

**MYANMAR
DEMOCRACY
LEADER**

DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI



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Chapter (1)

Myanmar Democracy Leader

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

Among those who had led the people in bringing down the military dictator regime in Myanmar today to build a new democratic nation, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is one of the leaders who has received the most support, trust and admiration. Apart from that, she also happens to be the democracy leader who is respected and valued by leaders from countries all over the world. In other words, no one can deny that she is the ‘mother of the democracy revolution’.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is not only someone who is getting rid of the evil system of the present military dictator regime, but was also the leader of the people, who struggles with much endurance and courage, willfully sacrificing her life through hardship and isolation. That itself is her most esteemed honor.

That is why it is clear that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is a person concerned with not only Myanmar, and the struggle between herself and the military dictators is not only an internal matter of Myanmar. The military government has no right to disregard the 1990 Election. The Myanmar people, exercising their basic rights as citizens, during the 1990 Election, have handed the power to rule the country on their behalf to the leader they desired, the results of the 1990 Elections cannot be disregarded the way the military

government hoped for. The full power rests only in the hands of the people.

Besides, Myanmar being a member of the ASEAN, is also a member of the 'ASEAN Human Rights Commission'.

Because of that, Myanmar as an ASEAN member, also has the responsibility to protect and promote human rights within the ASEAN region. Human rights groups in the regions have criticized and pointed out that Myanmar, which has prohibited basic human rights issues such as freedom to write and distribute, freedom to set up organizations, freedom to support the political party one likes, freedom to choose and elect the political leader one desires, should not be accepted as a member in the ASEAN Human Rights Commission.

Regional human rights groups have been strongly pressing ASEAN for the removal of the Myanmar military government from the ASEAN Human Rights Commission for suppressing and violating the human rights of democracy activists, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, in Myanmar today.

The more the military generals attack Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the more the military group is being loathed by the people. The more the military leaders insult the sacrifices made by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the more the military group is being opposed by the people. The more the political role of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is being suppressed, the more her leadership image is being brightened and heightened. Moreover, it is definite that the more the military group back away from her offer for political reconciliation, the more the military dictators will be without a future.

Apart from that, in the 2008 constitution which was one-sidedly written according to the likings of the military regime for sustaining military rule, it can be seen that women were barred from obtaining vital leadership positions. That act, not only discriminates Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, but all Myanmar women. Those who are barring women from being involved in the policy making process, are none other than the present military rulers who have carried along the old colonial concepts.

The International agreement on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was, with the approval of 130 countries, verified on December 18, 1979 by the General Assembly Resolution 34/180. As Myanmar had also signed that agreement, it has the responsibility to abide by it without reserve. According to the research done by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), in the international parliaments, there are 8,017 woman parliamentarians and 36,006 parliamentarians, and therefore 18.2% is represented by women. It can be seen that of the 189 countries that are practicing democracy, 30 of them are lead by woman political leaders. The fact that the military group lead by Senior General Than Shwe is opposing this historical trend is quite foolish.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is not a woman who appeared out from the blue. She is the people's leader elected by the people during the 88 people's democracy movement. She is also the people's leader who is respected and recognized by all the ethnic peoples.

If one is to review the outcome of the election held on May 27, 1990, it can be seen that the people over-



whelmingly voting for the parliamentary representatives of NLD Party headed by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, is in a way, handing them the authority and mandate for handling the affairs of the nation.

Apart from that, not only has Daw Aung San Suu Kyi received the support of all the ethnic people, she is also a political leader who has received the trust and faith of top leaders from around the World. If the military group attempts to ignore that point, there will never be peace and development in Myanmar.

Because of that, efforts by the military group to sideline a wise and natural political leader like Daw Aung San Suu Kyi using different unscrupulous methods, only illustrates their own idiocy and ignorance.

It can be clearly seen that the primary target of the 2010 election, which the military group systematically cooked up is Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. It is an attempt to erase the 1990 Election results and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's role using the new 2010 Elections. As the very original intention lacked sincerity, it is quite evident that the 2008 'Nargis Constitution' of the military regime and the Political Party Registration Law were projects intended to oppose democracy and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. For that reason, even before holding the elections, local and foreign political analysts and democracy advocates had assessed the 2010 Election simply as a deception like 'displaying a goat's head but actually selling dog meat'. Just as they have assessed, the Elections that was completed on November 7, 2010, was being openly



manipulated through vote riggings, intimidations and advance votes, in such a way that it was quite an embarrassment, and no one has accepted the election outcome. But it is quite certain that if the military group, having regards to no one, forms a government through the sham election, the history of Myanmar will remain in the dark and the entire people will continue swimming in the sea of misery.

Because of that, it is quite obvious that in the entire public - the news of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's release on November 13th tear is in the headlines of local and international news instead of the news about the results of the sham elections of the military regime and the coming formation of a government.

For that reason, there is no likelihood of success for the wicked scheme of the SPDC military regime to remove Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who is

imbedded in the hearts of the people. The reason being that there is not a trace in the military generals, the kind of good intentions that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has for her people, and no one can deny that all the people has only revulsion for the present military regime.



Daw Aung San Suu Kyi once stated concerning with the good intentions she has for the people :

"What I want most for the people is for them to be able to live safely under genuine freedom and for them to freely live with genuine security. I want to see them as people who can get rid of the bondage of fear. I want to see the Myanmar people as free people with their head raised high. I

want to see for all of us in a more peaceful, a more safe society built happily through a united effort."

Although Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has consistently requested for settling political problems through political means, the military group has always cowardly disregarded it. The military regime is very much afraid of being prosecuted for human rights violations, misappropriation of power, stealing of the country's resources and financial assets for the benefit of oneself and ones relatives, and other wrongs they have continuously committed. As fear is the result of insecurity, because they have done nothing for the good of the country and the people, one can say that they are afraid to have their moralities brought forth before the tribunal of their own conscience, and always live in insecurity, and are scare of retribution from the people.

As much as the people loath the military government, the reason the entire people trust and respect, and also depend on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is because of her wisdom, high spirits, and the sacrifices she has made for her country and her people.

Because of that, in an interview related with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Dr. Hla KyawZaw, the daughter of former brigadier general Kyaw Zaw has said . . .

"You can see a lot of strong points in Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The first point is, she was able to obtain the authority of her father, as the daughter of the Hero of Myanmar's Independence, Bogyoke Aung San, who all the people in Myanmar respects and love very much.

The second point is, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi herself does not only have similar facial features with that of her father, but also have quite a similar mind set. She is ready even to give her life for the freedom and wealth of the people, and also to go through hardship. The sacrifices she made illustrate just these.

The third point is, if you look at the political endeavors of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, not only will you find the political wisdom and big-heartedness like that of her father, but can also unite, not only the Burmese, but also the different ethnic groups.

Because of that, I believe that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi will be able to play a very important leadership role in the future of Myanmar politics.

The fact that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has widely received the international support that other politicians do not have and is impossible to have is in itself a strength for the Myanmar people who Daw Aung San Suu Kyi represents.

To sum it up, because the people in Myanmar have for them the leader and the firework for the struggle against the military dictatorship or (to say it in the words of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi) the leader of the Myanmar's second struggle for the national independence, one can say that the Myanmar people are very fortunate. I hope that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, with support from local and abroad, will be able to build a new rich nation, free from poverty, for the Myanmar people."

Bogyoke's Daughter Who Carried

Her Father's Legacy

In the morning of June 19, 1945 in Yangon, the Architect of Myanmar's Independence and the Father of the Tamataw – Bogyoke Aung San and Daw Khin Kyi gave birth to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who later obtained the respect and reliance of the entire public. Of the four siblings, she is the third born, and at the time when her father was assassinated, she was still only two years old.

She attended Saint Francis Convent in Yangon from 1949 to 1957. And she continued her education at the English Methodist School in Yangon (presently the Dagon BEHS 1) from 1950 to 1960.

In the year 1960, Prime Minister U Nu appointed her mother Daw Khin Kyi as Myanmar Ambassador to India,



and she went along to New Delhi in India together with her mother. In India, she continued her education at Convent of Jesus and Mary, and at Lady Shri Ram College.

Some fragments of her stay in New Delhi together with her mother can be seen in the book – "To be free from fear", written in Burmese language by Dora Than Aye, who is popularly known as 'Bilatt Pyan Than'.

In the book, she wrote -

"On arriving to New Delhi with her mother, Aung San Suu Kyi was a fifteen year old girl with a long and thick pigtail. She continued her education at the Convent





of Jesus and Mary, and at Lady Shri Ram College. From that time onwards the circle of her friends in India started to grow. It was a good opportunity for Aung San Suu Kyi to study and understand the country of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Aung San Suu Kyi's father had also been to this country and had met and talked with Nehru and was able to secure a friendly understanding with him. At the time when Aung San Suu Kyi's mother was appointed Ambassador, Nehru was still holding the office of the Prime Minister.

Among the arrangements that Aung San Suu Kyi's mother made to increase her experience and general knowledge, there was the Ikebana Japanese art of flower arrangement, studying art subjects, and learning to ride horses. At the horse riding compound for the personal



guards of the President of India, Aung San Suu Kyi used to meet the sons and daughters of the Indian President, children of the diplomats from foreign countries, and Sanjiv Gandhi, who was the grandson of Pandit Nehru and the son of Indira Gandhi. She also had piano lessons at No. 24 Akbar Street where she lived. That Ambassador's Residence was located inside a large compound that contained a magnificent garden. It was a type of building set for the highest Indian officials and the government has preserved it beautifully just as it was during the British era. The extent of the respect they had for Daw Khin Kyi was such that they provided that house to her.

One hobby that Aung San Suu Kyi especially liked was 'reading'.

Aung San Suu Kyi often mentioned the



gratitude and respect she had for U Ohn (1930-1981), the Economic Advisor of Prime Minister U Nu, who had encouraged her love for books and literature. U Ohn, a native of Taungoo, had his education from Rangoon University, and was a journalist who, while pursuing his education on one side, worked as a reporter for the Myanmar Alin (Light of Myanmar) Newspaper. He received his Degree in Arts in

1934, and while continuing his Law Arts Degree in Rangoon University, he held the position of Financial Officer at the Union in the University. In 1936, he went through the battle of the University Union, and



was not able to take his Law exam. After student union movement, he was chosen for scholarship, and had the opportunity to study ‘Civil Service Subject’ at Leeds University in England. After that, he did not return to Myanmar, but continued his studies and acquired a degree in education. During his stay in England, he had given much assistance to the representatives from Myanmar headed by Bogyoke Aung San, who arrived to press for the Myanmar’s independence.

He returned to Myanmar in 1948 and was appointed as the Minister of Commerce and Cooperatives. In 1949, he was appointed as Myanmar’s first Ambassador to Britain. In 1955, he was re-assigned as Myanmar’s Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and was given full special authority.

Being also a lover of literature, he was one of the persons who provided Aung San Suu Kyi with a long list of books in English and in Burmese to be read. One person who recognized the philosophical development of Aung San Suu Kyi and had keen interest in it was U Nyo Mya (1914-1958), who was an editorial member of the once renowned ‘Ohway’ Magazine of the Rangoon University Union and who attended the University together with Aung San Suu Kyi’s father, Bogyoke Aung San. Later on, U Nyo Mya became the author of many very famous books. More than any other, he has given Aung San Suu Kyi more guidance to the many English and Burmese books to be read. Aung San Suu Kyi still remembers up to today how she valued and read the very valuable set of Harvart Classic Books given to her as a present by U Nyo Mya. With those books, Aung San Suu Kyi was able to open the door into the world of literature.

At the Mehrauli Ward located in a suburban area of New Delhi, there existed a Buddhist department by the name of Ashoka Wihara which was quite deteriorated due to lack of maintenance for quite some time. To bring life back to that department, Daw Khin Kyi received assistances from Buddhists living in New Delhi, especially from Ambassadors from Buddhist countries. As a result of that feat, Ashoka Wihara, brought back to life for Buddhists in New Delhi and some Buddhists in other parts of India, also became the place where yearly Buddhists festivals were held and also became a place for worship and meditation practices.

Daw Khin Kyi also used to invite Buddhist monks from Myanmar, Thailand, and Cambodia, and offered meals, and listened to their sermons. When Aung San Suu Kyi's brother, Aung San Oo, came from England during his school holidays and helped out in those matters. As much as the Myanmar loved and respected the mother and daughter, Daw Khin Kyi's colleague diplomats and the Indian Government Officials, including Pandit Nehru, also loved and respected them. The experiences obtained in India proved very important for Aung San Suu Kyi and really motivated her. Up to now, the love and attachment she has for India remains strong.

At that time, the British Governor was Sir Paul Gore Booth (who later received the 'Lord' title). During the time he was serving as the Ambassador in Myanmar, he and his wife, 'Patricia', knew Daw Khin Kyi very well. That friendship was revitalized in India. When Aung San Suu Kyi went to study in Oxford University, Paul and Patricia took the responsibility of looking after her on behalf of her parents. Aung San Suu Kyi became like a family

member and also became like a sister to their two sons and two daughters. At their home, Aung San Suu Kyi had the opportunity to get acquainted with their friends and also with the politicians and government officials they invited to their house. Aung San Suu Kyi studied with interest – the appearances, practices, the way they speak, and other outstanding attributes of those people. Are not those people from the broad world she'll come to deal with in the future?



Aung San Suu Kyi used to come back to her mother in New Delhi during her summer holidays. But one year, she came and lived in Algiers, where I was. I was given the duty by the UN Information Department in New Delhi to form a similar department in Algiers, the Capital of Algeria. It was not very long ago that Algeria had obtained Independence after signing the Treaty of Evian with Charles de Gaulle's government in 1962. It was a country slowly getting back on its feet after eight years of struggle to obtain independence from the French. For that reason, it was not surprising that, in Algeria that time, there were very few places to stay, many deteriorating wards, very



few hotels in good condition, and limitation of service providing businesses.

Not only embassies that were opening, UN offices, and businesses entering into the country, even the Algerian people themselves had to try very hard to find places to stay or do businesses. Although many of the French people who had settled for a long time in Algeria had left the country, other young people kept coming in. Those people, who instead of doing military service chose to undertake various types of social work, were mostly young French men, teachers, support project workers, and those who came just for visits.

The time Aung San Suu Kyi arrived was just a few days after Houari Boumedirre overthrew Ahmed Ben Bella in a coup that should be taken as a model for having been done without any bloodshed. Instead of going to all the receptions being invited, Aung San Suu Kyi was more keen on meeting with Algerian people and study the things that were happening in their country. Aung San Suu Kyi brought along with her a case full of books to read and study. We contacted an organization that supported those who went through years of struggles for independence. One young man in charge of a project came and explained to us about their activities. As they were building houses for wives whose husbands were killed in their struggle for independence, he told us how they welcome help from not only Algerians, but also young people from other countries. Aung San Suu Kyi herself went and stayed in that construction camp for many weeks and did voluntary works. The supervisor was a Russian and the colleagues were young people from Algeria, France, Lebanon, Netherlands, and Germany. Although they provided food and shelter, they did not give wages.

Aung San Suu Kyi's friends once took her to the Kabyle Mountain Ranges to go and see a wedding ceremony. The two of us together went on a long journey to a town located at the outskirts of the Sahara Desert. As the summer heat was terrible, we couldn't continue any further than where we got. And we were also able to visit the ruins of a city built during the Roman times. On the stone pavements of the open theater located in the ruins, the forces loyal to Ben Bella wrote in big words – "Long Live Ben Bella". Aung San Suu Kyi proceeded traveling to Morocco, and also did a quick visit to the southern shores of Spain. After that, she continued studying her school lessons and went back to Oxford at the end of the school holidays."



In the years 1962-1963, Aung San Suu Kyi studied political science at New Delhi University. Between 1964 and 1967, she studied philosophy, political science, and business at St Hugh's College in Oxford University, and received a BA Honours degree. After obtaining her degree, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi gave lectures at St Hugh's College for about a month. After that, she did research works together with the historical researcher Hugh Tinker. In 1968, she served as Assistant Researcher at Eastern and African Study Department, Political Science Department, at London University.

After that, she arrived to New York to stay together with Bilatt Pyan Than, who was then living in New York, in the United States. Dora Than Aye, also known as Bilatt Pyan Than, after serving in Algeria for 4 years, was



reassigned back at the UN Head Quarters. Frank Trager, who was like family to Bilatt Pyan Than, was the professor of international relations at New York University, and has helped arrange Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to take further studies at his department. Professor Trager had lived many years in Myanmar through the support program of the American government. He had widely travelled all over Southeast Asia and Eastern countries and is someone with great interest concerning with matters of that region. It has not been long that he had published a book titled – ‘From Kingdom to Republic’. He had

monitored the development of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and helped out with her needs. The bus trip from Manhattan where Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Bilatt Pyan Than were living to New York University is quite far and for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who had carsickness, it was quite tough and difficult for her. There was also the danger of hooligans who hangout where Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has to walk to Washington Square crossing a park from the bus stop. But from the house where Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was living was only 6 minutes walk to the UN Office.

Only after joining the United Nations, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had the idea of continuing her education. After surpassing the normal routine and difficulties of writing applications, obtaining recommendations, and going through interviews, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi finally got a job at the United Nations. After working at the United Nations for 2 years, she got the opportunity of serving as assistant secretary at the Finance and Administration Advisory Committee at the General Secretary's Office.

The committee members of that department were not appointed as representatives of their countries, but were selected for their skills in financial matters. That committee had to study, assess, prepare, and submit approval for project plans and budgets of not only the United Nations and its organizations, but also special agencies such as World Health Organization and Food and Agricultural Organization. Although it was a tough job, it was interesting for having to assess in detail the costs of UN's expenses and because of having to work together with its highly intelligent members. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi came to get acquainted with them very well.



The UN staff used to work as volunteers in the afternoons and in their free time on the weekends.

At a place not very far from the house in Manhattan where Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was living, the poorest of the city with incurable diseases and helpless and homeless people were cared for at the Belleview Center, which was opened by the New York Hospital. The sick that cannot bear life anymore were used to be brought to that hospital. Volunteer men and women were always needed to take part in the programs for reading and taking care of the Myanmar people there. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi took part in that program and worked as a volunteer for many hours every week.

This is an example of the social welfare mindedness that Daw

Aung San Suu Kyi inherited from her mother, Daw Khin Kyi.

During that time, U Thant from Myanmar was serving as the General Secretary of the United Nations.

His residence which has a view of the Hudson River was located at Riverdale District and is one and a half hours drive from Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's place. The Sunday meals at U Thant's Residence were occasions that Daw Suu enjoyed a lot. Other friends of U Thant also came and all sort of Myanmar cuisine that the Myanmar people loved were usually served. In special occasions like on the birthday of U Thant's grandson, not only the Myanmar people but permanent UN representatives from other countries were also invited.

The manner in which U Soe Tin, the permanent UN diplomatic representative from Myanmar, did his invitations and hosting of the events were a little different. He also lived in Riverdale, in a house not as grand as the residence of U Thant. During the time of the holding of the General Assembly from the second week of September to around the mid of December, U Soe Tin, in addition to his works, was fully occupied entertaining Myanmar and other representative groups. In the months of Thadingyut and Tazaungmon, during special religious days, he used to invite and entertain the Myanmar friends living in New York. Being a magnanimous person, U Soe Tin didn't discriminate between sheeps and goats among the Myanmar people. Goats mean those who criticized and pointed out the situation of Myanmar under the military dictator – U Nay Win, and they were normally sidelined by the Myanmar Embassy circle. At U Soe Tin's home, anyone can freely express

and debate their different point of views.



One day, at the time of the convening of the UN General Assembly, U Soe Tin invited Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Bilatt Pyan Than to his home for a meal, and Bilatt Pyan Than related what happened during that occasion. "We arrived at U Soe Tin's house in Riverdale around afternoon. In the square shaped living room filled with flowers, garden crotons, and golden Myanmar lacquer ware, the sofas and chairs were pushed back to the walls and the big tables with coffee cups were placed in front of the chairs. On the sofas and chairs, the Myanmar diplomats who came to attend the General Assembly were sitting on them. After those we didn't know were introduced to us, and 'Suu' was asked to sit at the corner of the room, between two prominent persons. For me, I was asked to sit not very far from Colonel Maung Lwin, who headed the delegation. After U Soe Tin's wife had placed the fruit juice and potato chips on the table, she went into the room nearby to make final food cooking arrangements. After everyone was done with their social chats, the head of the delegation asked 'Suu' how she is working with the United Nations? Which passport was she holding? As her mother was no longer the ambassador, 'Suu' will have to return her diplomatic passport, is it right that it is still not returned yet? That holding on to the diplomatic passport is not legal, that she must have known, and that is most irregular and should be rectified as soon as possible, and continually attacked her.

Those from the Myanmar diplomatic world, partly to make face and gain favor, approved what U Lwin was saying and looked at 'Suu' with unwanted expressions. That 'Suu' was able to remain calm and unmoved, made me a bit relieved. After that, 'Suu' politely, with dignity, and right to the

point replied that she had applied long ago at the Myanmar Embassy in London but still had no word from them, that she couldn't understand why it was taking that exceptionally long, in coming to New York for her studies, she had to hold on to the present passport, and when looking for a job for her living, she luckily got a position at the United Nations, the passport was required to show that she is a Myanmar citizen, that she was still waiting for the passport she had applied for months ago at the Embassy in London, that she will willingly return the old passport as soon as the new one arrives, that she



believed that all the uncles present understands that a passport is

needed (whether diplomatic or ordinary) to be able to work in a foreign country.

The Myanmar Ambassador who came from London certified that 'Suu' had applied for a new passport many months ago, and that the application was sent to Yangon according to the normal procedures. And he added that he had no idea why it was being delayed for many months. In truth, everyone in the room was quite aware that such delays that always occur in Myanmar were results of the confusing bureaucratic mechanism and the many steps of red tapes, causing such impediments. At that time, other ambassadors also came to understand that 'Suu' can't do anything more than what she had already done. The facial appearance of the head of delegation became like, to take the words of Myat Lay – "a face that can neither cry nor laugh", and said in a low apologetic tone that at first he didn't know the complete situation, that when he get back to Yangon, that he himself will instruct the passport department to have everything done quickly. Although those persons were much older in age than 'Suu', I concluded that they were not 'grownups' with good qualifications that should have come with their age. I then took the opportunity and said "We'll just have to hope for the day when passports will no longer be needed". After that we ate lunch together.

Among the permanent representative delegates, there was a friend who openly discussed about the situation in Myanmar with us. When that friend say that the criticisms of 'Suu' were too bold, 'Suu' replied – "Not only am I brave because of what I believe in but also because it has been a

tradition for me". What she meant was – ‘Suu’ being the daughter of Bogyoke Aung San and Daw Khin Kyi, she can’t be easily intimidated. What I think is – not only is ‘Suu’ the daughter of Bogyoke Aung San by blood, she also has the will of ‘Aung San’, and she is definitely a father-like-daughter."

While Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was still working at the United Nations Office, she married Dr. Michael Viallancourt Aris, who she had fallen in love during her University days, on January 1, 1971. Michael Aris was a British citizen and was a researcher at Oxford University, studying the social and cultural history of Northern Mahayana Buddhism. He also had written and published many books on the subject.



After serving three years at the United Nations Office, Daw Aung

San Suu Kyi decided to no longer continue working and chose the life of a housewife living together with the children. From there, she started a new chapter in her life. The things that happened after that are known to most people. Her husband, Michael Aris, had for many years taught the King's princes and princesses at the Himalayan Country of Bhutan and also worked as a senior official at the government's translation department. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi lived in Bhutan for about one year. As Bhutan became a member of the United Nations not very long ago, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi immediately got the job of advisor for United Nation related to matters at the Bhutan Foreign Ministry.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her husband returned to England to give birth to their first born child – Myint San Aung alias Alexander John Christopher Aris. Their eldest son, Myint San Aung, was born on Thursday, April 12, 1973. Not long after Michael started teaching at doctorate classes in London University, he worked at Oxford University as a scholar. The second child, Htein Lin alias Dannaian Kim Arunde Aris, was born on Saturday, September 24, 1977. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi then lived a peaceful life raising her children and visiting her mother in Yangon.

While maintaining the responsibilities of a housewife, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi started writing. Being very keen on reading, she had collected many books written in English and French languages. The Tibetan books and research related books of Michael had also increased day by day, and there was even no more space to keep them at home. The children also grew up as enthusiastic readers.

From 1975 to 1977, she served about two years as assistant librarian, taking care of Burmese books and cataloging palm leaf manuscripts at the Bodleian Library in Oxford University.

After that, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi started thinking about writing a biography of her father – Bogyoke Aung San. Hence, she started learning Japanese language with great ardor. As Japan is connected with part of Bogyoke Aung San's life, from how he contacted with the Japanese and how he took the 30 comrades to Japan and how they underwent military training in Japan, and, in the end, how the struggle for Myanmar independence was done with the Japanese, to study the data connected with Japan.

Apart from that, she started collecting books on Myanmar written in English and Burmese languages and books on Japan written in English and Japanese languages. As she had intended to write the biography of Bogyoke Aung San with strong verification, she started conducting systematic research.

On the other side, between 1985 and 86, she accepted a scholarship award, and did research work as a researcher at the Southeast Asia Study Department at Tokyo University in Japan. While doing research in Japan, she met with members of the Japan-Myanmar Friendship Team, and from them, she got in contact with Japanese military officers who knew her father and who were still living. During that time, Michael was at the Indian Advance Literature Study Department at Shimla in Northern India as a researcher fellow.

While conducting the research, in 1987, he worked as a research fellow at the Indian Institute of Advance Study at Shimla, in India.

At that time, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi planned to write a dissertation for a doctorate degree at the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University in London. One can say that her activities during that period illustrated her strong will and resolve.

The title of her dissertation was – "The Contribution of Journalism during Myanmar's Struggle for Independence (1910-1945)".

On that same year, her mother, Daw Khin Kyi, arrived in London for cataract surgery. As the operation was successful, although she had some discomfort because of the medical treatment, it was a time when she was happy.

After staying in London about 2 months, Daw Khin Kyi happily came back to Myanmar in June, 1987 when the condition of her eyes improved a lot. She also wrote to many of her friends about how happy she was during her visit to London and was quite pleased to be able to meet with them.

But less than 10 months after getting back to Yangon, on March 31, 1988, she suffered a severe stroke. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, holding of the work she was doing at Shimla, came back to look after her mother. Her brother Aung San Oo, who was working in the US, also came back for about 10 days.

Aung San Suu Kyi regularly visited her mother before and after getting married. Daw Khin Kyi, at about one year before her eye operation, together with the family members, organized the Buddhist novice monk

ceremony for her grandchildren at her home in Yangon. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Michael, and their two sons came back to London from India in September, 1987. While settling back in the academic world at the University, the news of Daw Khin Kyi's stroke arrived. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, right after getting the telegraph, returned back to Yangon with the first flight available, to look after her mother.

In 1988, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who arrived back because of her mother's illness, unexpectedly came into contact with the turn of events in Myanmar. Here, it is



important to mention that she came into contact with Thakin Ohn Myint, U Htwe Myint, and Thakin Tin Mya.

Thakin Ohn Myint is someone who was personally intimate with

Bogyoke Aung San. He was also a member of Dobama-Asiayone², and was also the editor of Toe Tet Yay (Progress) and Journal Kyaw Journals. Thakin Ohn Myint was born on April 28, 1918 in Lepadán, Bago Region. His Father was U Pho Kaung and his mother was Daw Aye Tin. In November 1933, he started anti-colonialism activities when he distributed Dobama-Asiayone proclamation leaflets at the State High School in Lepadán. In March 1934, he finished high school at the State High School in Lepadán, and without attending medical college, he worked in the newspaper world in Yangon, and lived in Yaykyaw Area with Journal Kyaw U Chit Maung.

In April 1938, he attended the 3rd All Burma Students Union Conference held in Patheingyi. In June 1938, he started working as editor for Toe Tet Yay newspaper. In 1938, the "Tatse of the Prison" book which he edited became popular. He also wrote articles in Kyaw Journal. In January 1939, because of an article he wrote with the pen name – Si Mi Kwet³, the Toteyay Newspaper was put on bail. In the same year, he was chosen as a member of the working committee at Dobama-Asiayone Head Quarters.

After Bogyoke Aung San was killed in 1947, he had less contact with Daw Khin Kyi and family, and was able to go and have contact only about once a year. After Daw Khin Kyi arrived back to Myanmar, retiring from the position of Ambassador to India in 1967, he was able to meet up more frequently. At that time, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was doing her having her education in England.

In 1984, when Daw Aung San Suu Kyi made a short visit to Myanmar, she once again met with U Ohn Myint. At the time Daw Aung San

Suu Kyi was working on her dissertation, she had asked U Ohn Myint to help her compile the needed historical data. U Ohn Myint compiled the needed historical data by photo copying from libraries and buying books from second hand shops.

After that, the health situation of Daw Khin Kyi deteriorated and U Ohn Myint frequent Daw Khin Kyi's home every day and helped out with whatever that was needed. In 1986, when Daw Aung San Suu Kyi came back to Myanmar for a short trip after obtaining her doctorate, her mother - Daw Khin Kyi did the novice monk ceremony for her two sons. After the ceremony, at the time when everyone in the family was around, U Ohn Myint discussed about his wanting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to take some responsibilities for the country and the people.

After that, in May 1987, Daw Khin Kyi went to England for eye operation, and returned to Myanmar in the first week of June. After Daw Khin Kyi received the stroke at the end of March, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi came back to Yangon on the first week of April. U Ohn Myint openly told Daw Aung San Suu Kyi concerning with Daw Khin Kyi's health that as she is at the age where he does not think that there is any way she'll be able to recover. At that time, Daw Khin Kyi was 75 years of age.

He added that in case her mother dies, he wanted Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to stay in Myanmar and take a responsibility for the country without going back to England. Daw Khin Kyi passed away on December 27, 1988. She had already worked out that if she was to stay in Myanmar permanently and act for the country and people with sincerity, resolve, and conviction, that she

will have to make personal sacrifices and also about the difficulties waiting for her ahead. At that time, the democracy movements that followed the March student protests were underway.

Chapter (2)

Background History

The Military's Revolutionary Council, headed by General Ne Win, which did a coup d'état and overthrew the Union Party Government, established the Burma Socialist Program Party, known as B.S.P.P., on July 4, 1962.

The B.S.P.P. had for 26 years disillusioned the people with socialist ideologies, and forcefully implemented the Burmese Way to Socialism, pushing the already economically developing Myanmar, which was one of Southeast Asia's richest natural resources countries, into economic and political upheavals, and putting it into the list of the World's Least Developed Countries.

While such situations were happening, the 1988 uprising came about from an ordinary street fight which resulted from an unexpected clash between some students from the technology institute and some youths from the West Ward of Kyogyone, Insien Township.

At around 9:15 pm, Saturday evening of March 12, 1988, inside Sandar Win Tea Shop which was located near



Kyogyone Railway Station at Insein Township, a fight broke out between four technical institute students that included Maung Kyaw San Win and Maung Win Myint, and five youths that included the ward council chairman's son Zaw Zaw alias Nyi Nyi Lwin, who was drunk, concerning with the opening of a music tape of the singer Sai Htee Saing. Win Myint, one of the students, got beaten, and received cuts and wounds on his head, back, and arms. And thus, three of the students went to the police station and reported the incident to the police. The Insien Police Department therefore arrested Zaw Zaw alias Nyi Nyi Lwin and the five youths who committed the offence that happened at the teashop, and charged them with penal act 325 and 114. Because of the actions taken by the concerned school officials and the police force, the case ended for that night.

FEBRUARY 28, 1994 No. 9

OLYMPICS
GOOD TIMES IN NORWAY

TIME

INTERNATIONAL



The Lady and The General

Burma's Aung San Suu Kyi and Khin Nyunt



On March 13, 1988, the Insein Police Department released Zaw Zaw alias Nyi Nyi Lwin as he was the son of the ward council chairman. When the students heard that Zaw Zaw was released, about 20 technology institute students went and protested at the ward council office. The council chairman became furious, and stones were thrown at the council office. Clashes then brokeout again between technology institute students and the ward council's son and youths from West Kyogyone, and some more student were injured. When the students heard the news of what happened, they grouped together and threw stones and chairs at Sandar Win Teashop and the West Kyogyone council office and yelled and cursed at them. While those were taking place, the ward cooperative shop caught fire, so the people in that ward extinguished the fire and attacked the students. The tension between the two groups increased, with the Insein road dividing the two sides.

The local authorities did not peacefully solve the sensitive situation, but instead, sent the riot police to control the situation by force, and at around 3 in the morning of March 14, the groups temporarily dispersed. As shot were fired in the process, 5 students were injured, and among them, two day-class technological institute students – Maung Phone Maw, age 23, and Maung Soe Naing died. Maung Phone Maw had been the secretary of the technological institute's football team since the year before and was on his way to handover the accounts to the new secretary. He stumble upon the commotion and was hit by the gunfire of the security forces. The teachers and students carried the wounded Maung Phone Maw and hid him inside the compound of the technological institute. Maung Soe

Naing died not long after arriving to the hospital.

Because of that, on March 14, the students from the technological institute, continued to protest about the students who were killed. And they also made demands concerning with student rights to the government.

(a) For schools to remain open,

(b) For removing security police placed around the university compound,

(c) To send a responsible person who can settle the demands as soon as possible to negotiate with 5 student representatives, and not to come near if the cannot solve the problem.

Apart from that, at around 2 in the afternoon that day, they posted the following demands on the University compound walls and at the betel juice shops:

(a) To put in the newspapers about what actually happened on March 13, 1988.

(b) To allow the students to bury the dead students.

(c) The make a memorial record for the innocent students who died.

(d) To take action against those who used teargas and shot live bullets.

(e) For an official organization to take the responsibility of handling the demands of the students.

Although the Dr. Maung Di, the Deputy Minister of Education, immediately went and negotiated with the students on the next day, which was on March 15, it didn't go well and the tension remained. At that very moment, about 500 riot police invaded the Rangoon Institute of Technology campus and beat the students, with many students arrested, and some wounded. Because of that, the situation inside the technological institute compound went out of control. During that time, the authorities announced that the students who want to return to their native places can go do so, and temporarily closed the schools. The protests at the Rangoon Institute of



Technology spread to the main Rangoon University, the protests grew much bigger. The technological institute students, on March 16, joined up with the students from the main Rangoon University, and prepared to join up with the University at Hlaing Township. While the students approaching to University at Hlaing area reached near the 'white bridge', the police beat and shot the students, dispersing them. Concerning with the students being cornered around Inya Lake and getting beaten, former Brigadier General Aung Gyi wrote in the open letter dated June 8, 1988 as follows:

"It was stated in it that commands were given through the walkie-talkies to "Break the heads, hit hard!", and girls had their hair pulled, kicked into the lake, and girls who ran away with their sarongs removed were beaten up, and two bodies of the girls were found in the lake. It was also written in it that, on the night that happened on the bank of the Inya Lake, many were killed, and the bodies were cremated that night, and the parents were informed about the deaths through letters only after about a month, and the riot police entered the prisons and beat the students, the girls were raped, and many were tortured inside the prison, and that 283 persons died.

Similarly, on March 17, the student gathering inside Rangoon University was dispersed forcibly. But in the B.S.P.P. newspapers, it states that only 154 demonstrating students were arrested. It also stated that no one was killed or injured.

As the B.S.P.P. government can no longer ignore the demands of the students, a commission of enquiry was formed on March 17. The commission was to investigate and report on the upheaval with the students of the Rangoon Institute of Technology on March 12, 1988. The commission

was announced as Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma Council of State Notification 45/88 dated March 17, 1988, and according to it, that commission comprised of -

(a)U Ba Maw (Council of People's Justices Member) – Chairman

(b)U Hla Tint (Council of People's Attorneys Member) – Member

(c)Dr. Maung Shein (Council of People's Inspectors Member) –

Member

Apart from that, in that Notification, whoever the chairman chose will act as secretary and the commission



of enquiry will investigate to get the true data about how the riots

started, whose gun and who was responsible for the death of two students who died from gunshot wounds and to submit the report to the National Council by April 17, 1988. Further more, it is to include the commission's findings, recommendations, and actions that are needed to be taken to prevent similar occurrences.

While the government was doing the investigations, the students and the people combined and continued with the demonstrations. During the March riots, as much as many students and people's blood were shed because of the violent actions, and many more were injured and arrested.

On March 18, those who were peacefully demonstrating on Theinbyu Street were arrested and at around midnight were sent to Insein prison with prison When arriving to Insein Prison, it was found that out of 71 persons on a truck, 41 of them were dead. According to the government's media, it happened because there was a lack of prison trucks, and they had to place more prisoners than they were supposed to, and although it was only a 45 minutes drive, it took the trucks around 2 hours because of the road blocks.

The Botataung Township Police Chief, on March 19, 1988, asked the Botataung Township Justices Council to open a manslaughter case for those you died and have it investigated. The Botataung Justices Council, on that same day, went with the township official doctor and the concerned police officers to Insein Prison and did the investigation. According to the manslaughter investigation, it was found that the deaths were caused either because of having inhaled gas from the tear gas, or because of suffocating due to putting more persons than they should inside the prison trucks.

Concerning with that matter, it was announced on July 19, 1988, and it said the reason behind the delay in making it public was in order to avoid escalating the unrest.

Because of those deaths, U Min Gaung, the Minister for Home and Religious Affairs, resigned. Apart from that, Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha and Chairman of the Council of People's Attorneys U Myint Maung, who were partly responsible for the riots that happened in March



1988, were relieved from their positions on July 26, 1988. Concerning with the riots that happened in March 1988, a 41 page letter dated May 9, of former Brigadier General U Aung Gyi, was spread among the people. Further more, U Aung Gyi also distributed the following letters . . .

(1) The letter - "Well, how is it now?" dated May 12, 1988,

(2) The letter - "The Inya bank case" dated June 8, 1988,

(3) The letter - "The Sanchaung, Myaynigon Yadanarbon Cinema cases" dated July 22, 1988,

(4) The letter - "For the two of us only" dated July 9, 1988,

(5) The letter - "Case to obtain full human rights" dated July 19, 1988

were distributed accordingly.

No matter what they may be, the letters of U Aung Gyi that were distributed that time among the people awaken the political spirit of the people. If one is to study each of the letters, it can be seen as follows:

(a) In the letter written on May 12, 1988, the situation of the country 26 years after the Revolutionary Council took power, not only was it deteriorated, it was totally destroyed and the political, economical, and social aspects have fallen, the subordinate responsible people took the responsibilities, I had also written a report about it, and it was also rumored that before brigadier Aung Gyi quit, he said that he will hold the position of Party Chairman for 3 years, and that if he was not successful, that he'll let Bo

Aung Gyi handle it, Among the political colleagues, only U Nu, the Party Chairman, and Brigadier Aung Gyi are left and the rest have died, and that there will soon be 'rice' related problems soon, and almost all of the business in industrial sector have been shut down, had to give warning about the coming problems were stated.

(b) In the letter written on June 8, 1988, the student unrest was given priority. In the introduction of the letter it was clearly stated that he was not responsible for the demolition of the student union building that happened sometime before. Concerning with the March 1988 student unrest, the Party Chairman should not take the blame as the Party Chairman was not responsible for it, that the students were not responsible for the burning down of the cooperative shop at Kyogyone Ward, it was torched to destroy the documentations to coverup those who had committed misappropriations, the students were cornered and beaten on the banks of Inya Lake, the girls had their hair pulled and beaten, kicked into the water, and even the girls who ran away without their sarongs had their hair pulled and beaten up, and two bodies of girls were found in the water. It was a response and a blow to the government media's misinformation which stated that there were no deaths or serious injuries. Apart from that, in the letter of Brigadier Aung Gyi wrote that many died on the night it happened on the banks of Inya Lake, the bodies were cremated within that night, the parents of those who died were informed only after a month's time, the riot police entered the prisons and beat up the students, and raped the girls, and many were tortured inside the prison, and 283 people died. Those who read this letter were shocked and

outraged.

(c) On the letter written on March 7, 1988, it was written that former brigadier Aung Gyi met with the politicians in Japan and discussed about things that will benefit the country, as there are was problems in foreign relations dealing with Ministers presently in position, so they have approached him so that he can relay it to the chairman.

While the letter of U Aung Gyi was being spread outside, the report on the unrest that happened between some students from the Rangoon Institute of Technology and some people from West Kyogone Ward that happened on March 17, 1988 was submitted on May 13, 1988. In that report, findings from the detailed investigations were stated in 14 chapters, with a total of 292 pages.

If one looks into the 'Phone Maw Unrest', the B.S.P.P. military rulers' first big mistake was siding and protecting the chairman of the ward council and disproportionate use of riot police and violently suppressing the students. The second mistake was not only was there a strict media censorship, there were also falsified news broadcastings. Although the riot police were under the supervision of the Home Ministry and the Police Commissioner, according to the B.S.P.P.'s organization mechanism, the chain of command was not clear, and there were many interventions from above. In the Rangoon Division too, there are three authorities who can give command - the Regional Party Chairman, the Division Council Chairman, and the Rangoon Command Commander. In bringing in the 22nd, 44th, and 77th light infantry divisions for the security of Yangon, they were brought in without the

immediate awareness of the Commander-in-Chief, and in suppressing the riots, the commanders were not happy about the riot police being involved.

On May 30, 1988, when the schools re-opened, the students who were released from the prisons related their experiences, and demonstrations happened continuously from June 15 to June 20, at the Recreation Center in Rangoon University. Many people, including monks, workers, and even high school students, joined in.

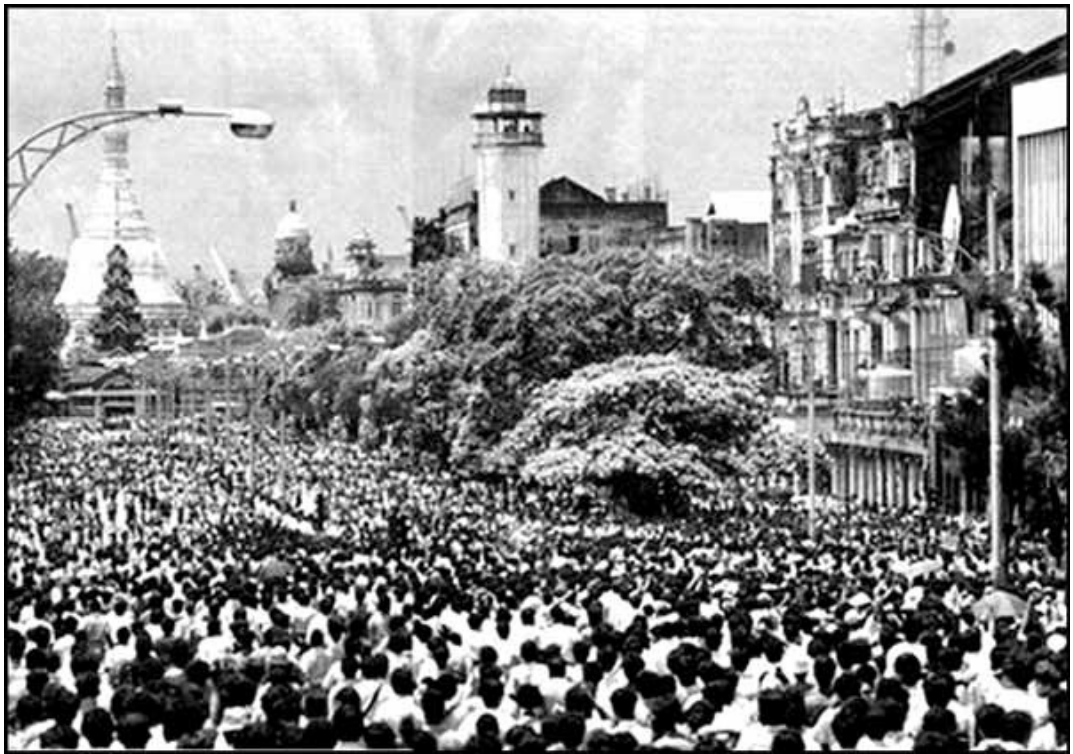
On June 21, although it was announced that the schools are being closed again, the strikes spread throughout the country. On that day students from the Main Rangoon University and Medical College 1 came out of the campuses and joining with the people, went and demonstrated at Hlaing, Sanchaung, Kamayut, Mayangon, and Insein townships. At Sanchaung Township, the police fired on the peaceful demonstrators, and there were deaths and wounded. On that same day, the students continued marching along Pyay Road towards the Medical College at the center of Yangon, and after passing Hantharwaddy Circle, on arriving Myaynigon, the riot police tried to stop the demonstrators, and as clashes erupted between the students and the riot police, the people watching nearby joined and attacked, resulting in the death of 20 riot police and over 100 of the demonstrators.

Although it was falsely stated in the government newspapers that, because of the attack by rioters using all sorts of weapons, six members of the people's police force died and 25 were seriously injured, it covered up the death of the people.

During that period, there were public demonstrations in Taunggyi

and Pyay, and Section 144 was issued. But the riots and demonstrations in Pyay could no longer be controlled, so, on July 22, 1988, the government announced 'martial law' and the army suppressed it using arms.

While the riots were going-on in major cities of the country, on July 23, 1988, the emergency congress of the B.S.P.P. was convened. In that meeting, Although U Ne Win, the Chairman of the Party, resigned because he was guilty, he left a black spot in history by challenging the mass and the students, by saying, "The army never shoots into the air, if they shoot, they shoot to hit". On July 24, the second day of the B.S.P.P. Emergency Congress, Yebaw Maung Thint from Tamadaw Organizing Committee talked about U Aung Gyi's 41 page letter. According to what he said, "The clarification about the truth of the demolition of the student union building on July 8, 1962 is a political ploy about a fact that happened in history, and it is found that it is just as attempt by former Brigadier General U Aung Gyi to make the students and the mass have a misunderstanding on the Chairman, that is just something he created to divide the three forces of the nation, which are the people, the Tamadaw, and the country's leaders, by taking advantage of that union's matter to instigate the people uprising, and furthermore, made false



accusations concerning with the situation of the March and June unrests, writing letters to perplex the mass, and distributed them to the people and the students, and at the same time, tried to divide the leadership and the Tamadaw, and while approaching as though with respect and loyalty towards the Chairman, attempted to gain power, and although he had written that he is loyal to the Chairman, he did not report to the Chairman that U Nu was planning to leave the country to revolt against the State, and in 1970, some exile rebels of U Nu, when entering the Delta Regions, were crushed by a combination force and Tamadaw and the people under name of Htaw Paing Military Operation. During that operation, to crush a force of just about two companies, the Tamadaw utilized massive number of troops, shows that it was done unnecessarily, and it was stated that in Shan State where there is a large number of rebels, operations were being done with a small number of troops, and a letter was written to the

Chairman with insincere intension of wanting the exile rebels to grow in the peaceful and secure area, if he really is someone who loves the country and a patriot, he should not write things that are not consistent. The Chairman, not only had fought for the country, but also had taken responsibility every time the country was in need, especially in 1958-59, had taken the responsibility of the caretaker government, and in 1962, because of the situation where the country was going to disintegrate into pieces, had to take control and look after the country. Therefore, the Chairman should reconsider about resigning from the party."

But decisions were made on July 25, the third day of the emergency congress, to accept the resignations of the Program Party Chairman U Ne Win and the Party's General Secretary U San Yu, as they didn't want to hold a referendum to decide whether to accept the resignation or not, thus the decision was made.

On July 26, the Tenth Central Committee Meeting was held at the Pyithu Hluttaw Convention Room, and the Central Committee members elected U Sein Lwin as Party Chairman. Apart from that, the Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha and Chairman of the Council of People's Attorneys U Myint Maung were dismissed for the case of suffocating to death of 41 persons on the prison truck. After that, also at the Fourth Pyithu Hluttaw Convention that was held on July 27th, U Sein Lwin was appointed as the Chairman of the National Council and as President of the country. Apart from that, U Tun Tin was appointed as the Secretary of the National Council. On July 28th, the students, in defiance against the ban on gathering, opened strike camps at Shwedagon Pagoda, and carried on with the demonstrations.

On July 29, the military regime detained U Aung Gyi and nine of his associates (U Kyi Han, AP Journalist U Sein Win, U Khin Nyo, U Kyi Maung, U Ba Shwe, U Chit Ko Ko, U Tun Shwe, U Aung Myint, U Zaw Win Oo), as a preventive measure 'according to criminal law procedures' - 'in order to prevent an attack against the state'.

The situation worsened, and the anti government slogans showed up on the streets. Starting from July 29, 1988, it spread to the schools located in the townships within the municipal areas of the capital, Yangon. The demonstrating students, from that day till August 2nd, opened strike camps on the platform of Shwedagon Pagoda. The demonstrating students handed out leaflets to the public audience who came and grouped on the platform of the pagoda and gave anti government rallying speeches.

After the students ganged up with the people, they came down from the pagoda and demonstrated in some townships in Yangon.

The BSPP government therefore, on August 3rd, under the Council of State Proclamation No. 5/88, proclaimed the Emergency and Military Administration in Rangoon Division. Apart from that, the executive powers and judicial powers were delegated to the Chief of Staff of the Defense, General Saw Maung. On that very same day, the Chief of Staff of the Defense, in accordance with the power delegated to him under the Council of State Proclamation No. 5/88, promulgated the Military Administrative Announcement No. 2 of the Office of the Chief of Staff, delegated Yangon Command Commander, Brigadier General Myo Nyunt, the powers to Administer Yangon on his behalf.

Thus, starting from 7pm of August 3rd, 1988 to August 24th, 1988, the Military Administrative Orders were promulgated by the Yangon Command as follows:

(a) Yangon Command, Military Administrative Order No. (1/88)

(b) Yangon Command, Military Administrative Order No. (2/88)

under which the administrative and the judicial directive was promulgated.

(c) Yangon Command, Military Administrative Order No. (3/88)

concerning with law within the administrative region.

(d) Yangon Command, Military Administrative Order No. (4/88)

concerning continual administration of the various stages of the People Inspection Boards.

(e) Yangon Command, Military Administrative Order No. (6/88)

concerning curfew and ban from gathering of five persons and more.

(f) Yangon Command, Military Administrative Order No. (9/88)

abolishing the orders in Military Administrative Order No. (6/88).

On August 5, 1988, the Military Advisory Committee was formed with 7 persons including a high military officer from the Tamadaw and a member of the Council of People's Attorneys. Apart from that, Chief of Staff of the Defense, General Saw Maung formed the Military Administration Committee by allowing the Yangon Command Commander to utilize all power delegated to him through Military Administrative Announcement No. 2 of the Office of the Chief of Staff as follows:

- (a) Brigadier General Myo Nyunt – Chairman (Division Commander, Yangon Division Command)
- (b) U Ye Win – Member (Chairman, Yangon Division Regional Party Committee)
- (c) U Kyaw Thein – Member (Chairman, Yangon Division People’s Council)
- (d) Colonel Aung Khin – Member (Mayor, Yangon City Development Committee)
- (e) Colonel Thant Zin – Member (Deputy Commander, Yangon Division Command)
- (f) Colonel Khin Myint – Member (Commander of Military Region No. 1)
- (g) Colonel Thein Tun – Member (Commander of Military Region No.2)
- (h) Colonel Thar Htay – Member (Commander of Military Region No.3)
- (i) Colonel Myo Swe – Member (Commander of Military Region No. 4)
- (j) Lieutenant Colonel Thein Myint – Member (Chairman, Divisional Magistrate)
- (k) U Myo Nyunt – Member (Chairman, Division Inspection Committee)

(l) U San Myint – Member (Police Brigadier General, People's Police Head Quarters)

(m) Colonel Zaw Min – Member (Director General, Myanmar Fire Services Department)

(n) Dr. U Sein Yi – Member (Yangon Division Health Department)

(o) Lieutenant Colonel Aung Than – Secretary (Military General Staff Officer (1))

(p) Lieutenant Colonel Tin Ohn – Joint Secretary (Assistant Military Attorney, Yangon Command) It is said that the BSPP government took such action of proclaiming martial law for the security of the State and to protect and safeguard the life, limb and property of the working people, in accordance with international practices, according to the Council of State Proclamation No. 5/88 which was done using powers delegated in section 76 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.

After the proclamation of Martial Law, the All Burma Student Union, defying the Martial Law proclamation, starting distributing rallying leaflets for the 8888 General Strike and many people joined in with the demonstrations.

From the time Martial Law was declared from August 3 - 8, 1998, and because of the armed crackdown by security forces of the large number of protesters in nineteen cities, including Yangon, thousands of people died, including Buddhist monks, students, and ordinary civilians. On August 8, 1988, hundreds of thousands of people took part in the general strike that

will go down into history. At five in the afternoon that day, while the demonstrators gathered in front of the city hall, making demands and shouting anti government slogans with demonstration leaders taking turns giving speeches to the crowd, the Commander of Yangon Command arrived and ordered the people to disperse immediately, using a loudspeaker. The crowd fearlessly carried on with their original program, and at around eleven that night, two light infantry brigades repeatedly fired upon the crowd from inside the city hall, and the blood of thousands of people was shed once again. On August 11, the army once again fired at various organizations, unions, and groups who were peacefully demonstrating, and thousands of people were again killed and wounded.

On the August 8, 1988 issue of the TIME magazine, a foreign magazine, President Sein Lwin, the person who mercilessly gave the command to shoot, was called a 'butcher'.

On that same day, the furious crowd overran some of the township police stations in Yangon Division, burning and destroying them. In the same manner, on August 19, 1988, the demonstration continued in major cities all over Myanmar.

Because of those situations, on August 12, U Sein Lwin had to resign from the position of Chairman of BSPP and of Chairman of the Council of State.

U Sein Lwin, who had a notorious reputation inside and outside the country, was born on January 22, 1942, at Kawt Kayin Village, in Paung Township, Mon State. His father was U Shwe Yin and his mother was Daw Mar

Gyi. Low in Education, joined the army as a private at the 3rd Company under the First Battalion, and during the Japanese era, attended the Mingaladon Military Academy's Officer's Training 3rd Batch. After that he served under the 3rd Infantry Regiment, Chin Rifle Regiment, and the No. 4 Rifle Regiment.

He later served as Deputy Commander of South-West Command and as Commander of North-West Command. From there, he served as Minister for the Ministry of Cooperatives, Ministry of Transport And Telecommunications, and Ministry of Religious and Home Affairs.

He then served as a Member of the Council of State, as the Secretary of the Council of State, and as the Joint General Secretary of BSPP. After resigning from the positions of Chairman of BSPP and of Chairman of the Council of State, he died on April 9, 2004.

The BSPP government released the following covered up figures concerning with the numbers of those killed, wounded, and detained during the 8888 Democracy Movement that happened between August 8 and August 14, 1988.

(a) Deaths - Male (106), Female (8), with a total of 114 persons.

(b) Injured - Buddhist monk (6), Male (304), Female (26), with a total of 336 persons.

(c) Detained - Buddhist monk (27), Male (2,557), Female (381), with a total of 2,965 persons.

And for figure the security forces killed and wounded during that period, the numbers were released as follows

(a) Tamadaw

(1) Deaths - 2 persons

(2) Injured - 10 persons

(3) Weapons lost - 1

(b) Police

(1) Deaths - 16 persons

(2) Injured - 4 persons

(3) Weapons lost - 27

For the cost of damages incurred during that period because of the violence, was also released with figures under relevant ministries –

(a) Ministry of Construction Kyats 1,827,260

(b) Ministry of Information Kyats 802,255

(c) Ministry of Energy Kyats 2,843,983

(d) Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry Kyats 141,550

(e) Ministry of Industry (1) Kyats 725,346

(f) Ministry of Cooperatives Kyats 10,373,778

The 88 Democracy Movement that occurred in August, 1988, didn't happen just in Yangon, but also took place in township throughout the country, and there were many lost of lives and property.

During that period of confusion, the BSPP Party's Central

Committee's 11th Convention was held on August 19, 1988 at the Pyithu Hluttaw Covention Room, in Yangon. At that meeting, the vacant position of the Party chairman was filled. The 4th Pyithu Hluttaw Session was held in the afternoon and subsequently it was announced that Dr. Maung Maung has been chosen as the Chairman of the Council of the State and as the Country's President.

After becoming President, Dr. Maung Maung, with the Council of State Proclamation No. 7/88, formed on August 19, 1988, the 'People's Desire Assessment Commission' with U Tin Aung Hein, Chairman of the Council of People's Justices, as Chairman with eleven members, to tackle matters concerning with the political, economical, and administrative situations presently happening in the country as follows –

- (a) U Tin Aung Hein - Chairman (Chairman of the Council of People's Justices)
- (b) U San Maung - Member (Member of the Council of State)
- (c) U Sai Aung Tun - Member (Member of the Council of State)
- (d) Dr. Mann Thet San - Member (Member of the Council of State)
- (e) U Ba Nyein - (Vice Chairman, Worker Organization, Central Head Office)
- (f) U Chit Swe - (Vice Chairman, Farmers Organization, Central Head Office)
- (g) Dr. Tun Thin - (Rector, Mandalay Medical College)

(h) U Hla Tun - (Pyithu Hluttaw Representative, Kyauk Tan 2)

(i) U Saw Hlaing - (Principal, Hinthada College)

(j) U Aung Toe - Secretary (Member, Employee Selection and Training Board)

(k) U Khin Maung Aye-Secretary (Director General, Central Court, the Council of People's Justices)

During that time, Thakin Ohn Myint introduced Daw Aung San Suu Kyi with Thakin Tin Mya.

Thakin Tin Mya asked for two agreements for him to accept Thakin Ohn Myint's request to help out Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

(1) In the essay – ‘a request to the government and the people’ written by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Htwe Myint, contains group politics concerning with the BSPP members, and that is wrong. To withdraw that view.

(2) If in the future Multi Party Democracy came about and if political parties arises, to accept his (Thakin Tin Mya) not being involved in the political parties.

As Daw Aung San Suu Kyi replied to those two agreements, Thakin Tin Mya contacted Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to help her out. After that, as Thakin Tin Mya had advised, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi wrote and published another essay about removing the phrase about singling out BSPP Party in the essay written by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi - the "Coordinating and Solving

Problems Through Holding the People's Advisory Conference" essay.

At that time, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi contacted Thura U Kyaw Htin, Secretary of the Council of State and delivered a letter of request. She also made attempts to meet with him in person, but didn't get the permission to do so. After that, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi tried to pass on her thoughts to Dr. Maung Maung through Thakin Tin Mya's help. It was learnt that, concerning with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's request, Thakin Tin Mya advised Aung San Suu Kyi that if U Tin Aung Hein, Chairman of the Council of People's Justices, agrees, to meet with him first, and later meet with Dr. Maung Maung. As Daw Aung San Suu Kyi agreed to it, Thakin Tin Mya went and discussed with Major Ye Htut (member of the Thirty Comrades) about Daw Aung San Suu Kyi meeting with U Tin Aung Hein. Major Ye Htut met with U Tin Aung Hein and discussed about U Tin Aung Hein acting in between to enable Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to meet with President Dr. Maung Maung, and subsequently, U Tin Aung Hein agreed to it.

After making arrangements for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Aung Hein to meet, on August 21, 1988, the meeting took place. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi explained U Tin Aung Hein about the ideas contained in the "Coordinating and Solving Problems Through Holding the People's Advisory Conference" thesis and asked for assistance to act in between for the opportunity to meet and discuss with Dr. Maung Maung.

During that time, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi expressed to Thakin Tin Mya her desire to meet and discuss with former political leaders and intellectual groups, and Thakin Tin Mya made the arrangements for her.

Thakin Tin Mya met with Maung Ko Yu, who was acquainted with him, and asked for assistance in helping Daw Aung San Suu Kyi meet the intellectuals.

According to the plan, at around 1 pm of August 21, 1988, on the top floor of a teashop near Bo Thura Street in Kyi Myin Daing, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and former politicians – Wi Du Ra Thakin Chit Maung, Thakin Khin Aung, Thakin Tun Khin; from the Layers' Association – U Ba Tun, Maung Ko Yu, U Tun Tin, Monywa Tin Shwe; literary persons – U Win Tin (Hantharwaddy Newspaper), Maung Thaw Ka, U Hla Win (a pilot); members of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's office – Thakin Tin Mya, Bo Santhar Kyaw, U Thar Tun (Kyaukphyu), U Hla Tin, attended the meeting.

The meeting recognized the 'People's Desire Assessment Commission' lead by U Tin Aung Hein, and decided to peacefully conduct people's desire activities within the legal framework, and also for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to hold a public conference as soon as possible.

During that time, on August 24, 1988, a letter containing 10 points came out on 23.8.88 from the Patriotic Former Commanders to Dr. Maung Maung, Chairman of the Council of State, appeared. In those ten points, it is mainly concerns about matters like - 'one party or multiple parties?', 'whether a referendum on the desire of the people is necessary or not', and 'to form an interim government and hold democratic elections'. The former military commanders who signed in the document were –

(1) Former Brigadier General U Aung Shwe

(2) Former Colonel U Saw Myint

- (3) Former Colonel U Lwin
- (4) Former Colonel Thiha-thura U Hla Maung
- (5) Former Colonel U Kyi Win
- (6) Former Colonel U Shwe
- (7) Former Colonel U Tin Oo
- (8) Former Colonel U Tin Maw
- (9) Former Colonel U Thein Toat
- (10) Former Colonel U Chit Khaing
- (11) Former Colonel U Tin Tun
- (12) Former Colonel U Ba Aung
- (13) Former Colonel U Aye Maung
- (14) Former Colonel U Kyi Maung
- (15) Former Colonel U Tun Aung Kyaw

The Democracy Strike Committee (Yangon) also expressed its views as follows:

- (a) In the present situation, the desire of the people has already been expressed and therefore a referendum is not necessary.
- (b) To protest against emergency convention for holding a referendum and an emergency Hluttaw Session.
- (c) To eradicate the present Constitution.

(d) To announce in all regions, townships, wards, and villages that the Hluttaw and all governing bodies have been removed by the people.

(e) To immediately set up an interim government.

(f) To hold a multi party election as soon as possible.



Due to such demands from the entire public, it was announced that the 'People's Desire Assessment Commission' has been dissolved. On that very same day, President Dr. Maung Maung announced the ending of the martial law.

Also on that same day, all those detained, including U Aung Gyi,

and a total of 2750 prisoners were released from the prisons.

The BSPP Party Chairman and President Dr. Maung Maung televised a speech, concerning with the present situation, to the nation on August 24, at eight in the evening. In that speech Dr. Maung Maung said . . .

". . . in two or three week time, an emergency convention will be convened. A referendum to know the desire of the people about whether one party system or a multi-party system is preferred will be proposed. If the convention rejects the referendum to know the desire of the people, all the fourteen members of the party's central working committee, including myself, will resign from our positions at the party. And if the convention decides to hold a referendum, it will be decided at the Pyithu Hluttaw on the next day and will make arrangements to hold the nationwide referendum as fast as possible. A commission will be formed to supervise the referendum with persons that the people respect through coordination with the people. In those elections, I myself, and members from Council of State, Ministers, Council of People's Justices, Council of People's Attorneys, and Council of People's Inspectors will not take part. After electing the people, will work on handing over to the organizations that'll be formed according to the duties invested in the constitution."

As the revoking of the Martial Law was announced as such, the security forces inside Yangon were withdrawn, and they repositioned themselves at the outskirts of Yangon, at important buildings, factories, and University campuses.

After the security forces were withdrawn from Yangon, many

criminal prisoners from prisons, including the one at Insein, were released. The criminal prisoners released from those various prisons started breaking into warehouses, mugged and killed people, and destroyed public property. For that reason, people at different townships and wards had to form guard groups and erected bamboo fencings, carrying sword, spears and pointed bamboo shafts and organized day and night security shifts. During that time, former Brig. General Aung Gyi, who was released from detention on August 24, gave a speech on the evening of the next day at the Padoma field in Sanchaung Township, in the presence of 5,000 people. In that event, U Aung Gyi talked about not to destroy the Tamadaw, not to offend the Tamadaw even within one's mind, for the present leaders to resign, forming of an interim government, and about democracy.

On August 26, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi also gave a public speech by the western gateway of Shwedagon Pagoda. Bo Yan Naing, member of the 30 comrades, and actor U Tun Wai were also present at the event. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said – "Venerable monks and people! This public rally is aimed at informing the whole world of the will of the people. Therefore at this mass rally the people should be disciplined and united to demonstrate the very fact that they are a people who can be disciplined and united. I would also like to apologize for the delay of this meeting for about an hour. It was because the roads were blocked on our way coming over here.

Our purpose is to show that the entire people entertain the keenest desire for a multi-party democratic system of government. It is the students who have paved the way to the present situation where it is possible

to hold such a rally. The occasion has been made possible because the recent demonstrations have been spearheaded by the students and even more because they have shown their willingness to sacrifice their lives. I therefore request you all to observe a minute's silence in order to show our deepest respect for those students who have lost their lives and, even more, in order to share the merit of their deeds among all of us. So while doing this please keep perfect silence for the duration of one minute. The voice of the master of the ceremony – (I therefore request everyone to observe a minute's silence as a salute to those students who have lost their lives).

I believe that all the people who have assembled here have without exception come with the unshakeable desire to strive for and win a multi-party democratic system. In order to arrive at this objective, all the people should march unitedly in a disciplined manner towards the goal of democracy. In this connection I would like to explain the part I have played in this movement. This is needed because a fair number of people are not very well acquainted with my personal history. It is only natural and right that those who do not know me would like to know some facts. A number of people are saying that since I have spent most of my time abroad and am married to a foreigner I could not be familiar with the ramifications of this country's politics. I wish to speak from this platform very frankly and openly to the people. It is true that I have lived abroad. It is also true that I am married to a foreigner. These facts have never interfered and will never interfere with or lessen my love and devotion for my country by any measure or degree.

Another thing which some people have been saying is that I know nothing of Burmese politics. The trouble is



that I know too much. My family knows best how complicated and tricky Burmese politics can be and how much my father had to suffer on this account. He expended much mental and physical effort in the cause of Burma's politics without personal gain. That is why my father said that once Burma's independence was gained he would not want to take part in the kind of power politics that would follow.

Since my father had no such desire I too have always wanted to place myself at a distance from this kind of politics. Because of that I have kept away from politics. Some might then ask why, if I wished to stay out of politics, should I now be involved in this movement. The answer is that the present crisis is the concern of the entire nation. I could not as my father's daughter, remain indifferent to all that was going on. This national crisis could in fact be called the second struggle for national independence. This great struggle has arisen from the intense and deep desire of the people for a fully democratic parliamentary system of government.

I would like to read to you something my father said about democracy. "We must make democracy the popular creed. We must try to build up a free Burma in accordance with such a creed. If we should fail to do this, our people are bound to suffer. If democracy should fail the world cannot stand back and just look on, and therefore Burma would one day, like Japan and Germany, be despised. Democracy is the only ideology which is consistent with freedom. It is also an ideology that promotes and strengthens peace. It is therefore the only ideology we should aim for". That is what my father said.

It is the reason why I am participating in this struggle for freedom

and democracy in the footsteps and traditions of my father. To achieve democracy the people should be united. That is very clear. It is a very plain fact. If there is no unity of purpose we shall be unable to achieve anything at all.

If the people are disunited, no ideology or form of government can bring much benefit to the country. This must be firmly fixed in the minds of the people. If there is no discipline, no system can succeed. Therefore our people should always be united and disciplined.

While I am talking about the need for unity I would like to say one thing. Some may not like what I am going to say. But I believe that my duty is to tell the people what I believe to be true. Therefore I shall speak my mind. If my words meet with your approval, please support me. If they are not acceptable, it cannot be helped. I am only doing what I believe to be right. What I wish to say is that at this time there is a certain amount of dissension between the people and the army. This rift can lead to future dangers. The present armed forces of Burma were created and nurtured by my father.

It is not simply a matter of words to say that my father built up the armed forces. It is a fact. There are papers written in my father's own hand where he lays out in detail how the army should be organized and built up. So what objectives did my father have for the armed forces? Let me read to you one of them:

"The armed forces are meant for this nation and this people, and it should be such a force having the honor and respect of the people. If instead the armed forces should come to be hated by the people, then the

aims with which this army has been built up would have been in vain."

Let me speak frankly. I feel strong attachment for the armed forces. Not only were they built up by my father, as a child I was cared for by his soldiers. At the same time I am also aware of the great love and affection which the people have for my father. I am grateful for this love and affection. I would therefore not wish to see any splits and struggles between the army which my father built up and the people who love my father so much. May I also from this platform ask the personnel of the armed forces to reciprocate this kind of understanding and sympathy? May I appeal to the armed forces to become a force in which the people can place their trust and reliance. May the armed forces become one which will uphold the honor and dignity of our country. For their part the people should try to forget what has already taken place, and I would like to appeal to them not to lose their affection for the army. We shall reach our goal of a strong and lasting Union only if we are all able to go forward in unity. We have not yet achieved this goal. Let us not be disunited. Therefore let us resolve to march forward in unity towards our cherished goal. In doing so please use peaceful means. If a people or a nation can reach their objectives by disciplined and peaceful means, it would be a most honorable and admirable achievement.

I have a few things to say about the students who have been at the forefront of this nationwide movement. The students are most able. They have already demonstrated their physical courage. I believe that they will now go on to demonstrate their moral and mental ability.

May I appeal to the students to continue to march forward with

the same kind of unity and resolve? At this moment there are a number of student groups. I would like these groups to come together as a unified body. I understand that they are soon going to call a conference for this purpose. Should this occasion arise may I pray that it will result in an entire cohesion and unity of the students.

Some students have asked me which politicians are standing behind me. They are apprehensive that such politicians might manipulate me and then take over the students. I am happy that the students have been so open and honest with me. Young people are frank and free from deviousness. I answered them truthfully. There are no politicians behind me. What I am trying to do is to help achieve the democratic system of government which the people want. For the achievement of this system, there are some veteran politicians who wish to help me in various ways. I have told such politicians that if their object is to obtain positions of political power for themselves, I would not support them in any way.

Should these politicians try to obtain positions of political power I promise in front of this assembly of people that I myself will not hesitate to denounce them.

There is a sort of gulf between the older and younger generations. This gulf will have to be bridged. There is the feeling that the older and younger generations are quite apart from each other. This is something that should not happen. Whether young or old the entire people should be united. The strength of the people is growing day by day. Such growing strength has to be controlled by discipline. Undisciplined strength or strength which is not

in keeping with right principles can never lead to a beneficial fruition.

It could lead to danger for many. Therefore please continue to use our strength in accordance with rightful principles. At this juncture when the people's strength is almost at its peak we should take extreme care not to oppress the weaker side. That is the kind of evil practice which would cause the people to lose their dignity and honor. The people should demonstrate clearly and distinctly their capacity to forgive. If we are to examine what it is that we all desire, that is what the people really want at this time, the answer is multi-party democracy. We want to get rid of the one-party system.

The President, Dr Maung Maung, has said that he is calling an emergency party congress to decide whether there should be a national referendum. So far as I am concerned I do not think it is necessary to have this referendum. The entire nation's desires and aspirations are very clear. There can be no doubt that everybody wants a multi-party democratic system of government. It is the duty of the present government to bring about such a system as soon as possible.

For the people's part they should continue to demonstrate for this through peaceful and disciplined means. May I emphasize again that we have not yet arrived at our cherished goal. Please think in advance of what should be done to bring about a firmly established Union. Please think of the country's future. Unless we consider the future of our country, the changes that are coming into being may not be able to achieve much benefit for the country. My father said there is a great need for the people to be disciplined and this cannot be repeated too often.

We do not need to have a referendum. What we do need is a multi-party system. It should be introduced as quickly as possible by means of free and fair elections. Conditions necessary for the holding of free and fair elections should be created throughout the country. The people have lost their confidence in the government of the day. If the holding of free and fair elections requires an interim government, such a forerunner should be created.

The main objective is not to have either the present form of government, nor an interim government, nor to have some other new government, but to have a government that can bring about a strong and prosperous Union of Burma. Please do not lose sight of the main objectives, nor forget the future welfare of the country. Should we lose sight of these, present victories will change to future failures. What stage have we reached now? Well, our cherished aim is clearly within sight. Let us march forward together towards that goal. Let no divisions creep in. It is important that divisions of opinion should not arise among the students. There should be a complete restraint on creating such divisions. Therefore should differences arise between them now the country's future unity will be jeopardized.

While I am on the subject of unity may I speak for a while on the union of states of which Burma is composed. The different peoples of Burma should also remain united.

The majority people of course remain the Burmese. They must strive with ever-increasing efforts to live in this accord and amity. Because the Burmese people form the biggest majority, they should make the greatest

efforts to live in this accord and amity and to achieve that much needed unity and friendship among national racial groups. Those who have the greater strength should show restraint and tolerance towards those who have less strength. Here I wish to say one thing regarding those people who are supporting the one-party system. The fact is many members of the Lanzin Party have themselves lost faith and confidence in their party. Such party members should resign from the Lanzin Party. They should hand in their party cards.

However, those who continue as members of the Lanzin Party out of conviction should not be molested. Democracy is an ideology that allows everyone to stand up according to his beliefs. They should not be threatened or endangered. Each one should go forward towards his own goal. Do not because of your greater strength be vengeful towards those who are of weaker strength. We have gone far beyond the intended time, so I must cut this short. The final remark I wish to make is for our rally to maintain unity and discipline. Our strength should be used for the cause of what is right. Only by observing these requirements shall we be able to find our goal.

May the entire people be united and disciplined. May our people always do what is in complete accord with rightful principles. May the people be free from all harm. To conclude I would like to reiterate our emphatic demands and protests, namely that –

- we have no desire at all for a referendum,
- that the one-party system should be dismantled,

- that a multi-party system of government should be established,
- and we call for free and fair elections to be arranged as quickly as possible.

These are our demands.

" The people also overwhelmingly supported Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's demands and the meeting ended at 11:30 in the morning with the chanting of the people.

During that time, former Prime Minister U Nu formed the 'Democracy and Peace Party (Provisional)' on August 29, 1988 at Bahan Township, Yangon Division, with U Nu as the Patron and 21 members listed below –

- (1) U Nu (former Prime Minister) - Patron
- (2) Mann Win Maung (former President of the country) - Chairman
- (3) Major Aung (former Chairman of the Hluttaw) - Vice Chairman
- (4) Thura U Tin Oo (former General)- General Secretary
- (5) U Than Sein (former Parliamentary Secretary) - Joint General Secretary
- (6) U Aung (Myingyan) - Trustee
- (7) Thakin Chit Maung (Wi Du Ya) - Executive
- (8) Thakin Khin Aung (Tharrawaddy)- Executive
- (9) Thakin Thein Pe (Wakaema) - Executive

(10) U Aung Shwe (retired Brig. General) - Executive

(11) U Saw Myint (retired Brig. General) - Executive

(12) U Khin Maung (former Minister) - Executive

(13) U Tun Sein (Myeik) - Executive

(14) Major Tun Tin (Chairman of Electric Power Supply Board) -

Executive

(15) U Ba Swe (former Second Secretary) - Executive

(16) U Nyunt Aung (former Parliamentary Secretary) - Executive

(17) Thakin Chit (Vice Chairman / Bar Council) - Executive

(18) U Ba Tun (Chairman / Rangoon Attorneys Council) - Executive

(19) U Ye Gaung Nyunt (former Parliamentary Member) - Executive

(20) U Thu Wai (former member of the Democracy Party) -

Executive

(21) Dr. Van Ko Haw (retired Ambassador) - Executive

The objectives of that Democracy and Peace Party (Provisional) are . . .

(1) To put all effort to solve the present ongoing problems.

(2) To work for materialization of the legal demands of those protesting for democracy. That organization headed by U Nu was not only the first one that appeared for the protests but was also the first step to forming an interim government.

In the same way, unions such as the All Burma Students Union, All

University/College Teachers Association, Rangoon Young Monks Union, Health Staff Union, Medical College and Students Union, North Okklapa Students Union, were organized and set up. Apart from that, Yankin No. 1 Basic Education School, South Okklapa No. 2 Basic Education School, Dagon Township People's Council Office, Dagon Township Party Unit Office, Latha Township Party Unit Office, Lanmadaw Township Party Unit Office and the Township People's Council Office were used as camps by the students and union organizations.

On August 31, 1988, the Council of Ministers Announcement No. 1/88 reads that those who have taken over and camped at the State-owned buildings and the Township People's Council Offices to vacate those places. During that time, the country's President Dr. Maung Maung, on September 1, 1988, said in his speech . . .

"We will have to abide by the Constitution and the law. In order that the people can choose the system they desire legally, it will be decided at the party convention which will be convening soon and at the Hluttaw, people will freely decide at referendum and the general elections, enable those who are highly regarded by the people to supervise the referendum and elections, that he agrees to the systematic forming of the Student Union, and that the Student Union building demolished on July 8, 1962 will be rebuilt, that he desires all the government employees to return to their workplaces and serve the people."

On September 2, 1988, the Council of Ministers Announcement No. 3/88 was proclaimed and urged all public service employees to return to their

respective workplaces and resume their duties. But it did not deter the employees as if the announcement had nothing to do with them and continued pursuing their original political objectives.

In the same way, on September 3, the meeting between the Education Minister and the University and College Teachers was held at the University Central Council Hall, and asked for the thoughts of Student Union's Provisional Executive Committee and the Teachers Provisional Executive Committee concerning with forming of the student union and the rebuilding of the Student Union Building contained in the speech of the President Dr. Maung Maung released on September 2nd. In their response, it was stated that . . .

"As the demands of the students and the people are identical, so as long as the people's demand for abolishing the one-party system and the immediate forming of the interim government and obtaining democracy are not met, we will not accept the forming of the Student Union."

In the same way, on September 2, 1988, the central executive committee meeting of the Democracy and Peace Party (Provisional) was held at No. 10, Win Ga Bar Street, and released Announcement No. 2. In that Announcement.

"The people's General Strike for the quick emergence of multi-party democracy within the country will be staged on September 8, 1988, and for the people who support the standpoint and program of the Democracy and Peace Party (Provisional) to take part in that general strike in full force and for the people to be especially united without any disunity, and that

there will be saboteurs who will attempt to sabotage in many ways. In order to be able to face it, everyone should be well disciplined, and as the battle is the 'battle of the heart', no matter how much you've been instigated, not to use violence." The announcement is to incite the people into bringing down the BSPP government.

On September 5, the Cooperatives Association Staff Union (Provisional), Tamwe Township Tuition Teachers Union (Provisional), North Okklapa Township Attorneys Union (Provisional), Health Staff Union (Provisional), the Muslim Free Hospital Workers Union (Provisional), Thaketa Township Literary Movement Force (Provisional), Myanmar Insurance Corporation Workers Union (Provisional), the Burma News and Periodicals Union (Provisional), the Aeronautical Engineers' Union (Provisional), and the National Committee for Human Rights (provisional) were formed and demanded abolishing the one-party system and forming the interim government as soon as possible.

On that same day, the government, took countermeasures against the strike camps and the demonstrators, boxes of clubs, swords, slingshots, and other weapons made from the Defense Factory were brought to South Okkalapa Township Planning Ward (1), where many of the military veterans lived, and the news of it spread and bringing about confrontations with the people in the ward. During that scuffle, 23 persons thought to be injected with stimulants by the military, were beheaded and burnt. 46 houses of that Planning Ward were also burned down. In the same manner, 5 persons accused of being sent by the military to poison the water tank at children

hospital in Yangon were also killed.

News of those events were published in free private newspapers and journals with pictures and caused repercussions in major cities, including Yangon and Mandalay.

Because of those events, trust dissipated between the people and the Tamadaw and between the country's leaders and the general public, and direct confrontations with the government increased.

In the same manner, the intelligence personnel, together with U Ne Win's daughter Khin Sandar Win who was a medical officer at the Mingaladon Military Hospital were accused of poisoning public food and water and throwing fire rings into the wards, bringing about terror.

While riots and demonstrations were taking place everywhere, on September 9, Democracy and Peace Party (Provisional) Patron U Nu held a press conference with foreign and local journalists at No. 10, Win Ga Bar Street, Yangon. In the press conference, U Nu made the following announcement . . .

"According to the Constitution ratified by the Pyithu Hluttaw in 1947, only I am the legitimate Prime Minister, and am forming the interim government."

It was announced that his interim government was formed with Mann Win Maung as President, U Nu as Prime Minister, and U Tin Oo as the Defense Minister.

Concerning with that matter, at 8:25 pm on September 9, what U

Nu broadcast on BBC was that the General Elections will be held in one month's time, that he alone is the legitimate Prime Minister, and that countries around the World should only recognize him. U Aung Gyi stated that What U Nu was doing was very dangerous, and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi also said that what U Nu did is not appropriate, and most of the youth felt that it was an attempt to monopolize and grab the credit of the victory which was actually won by them with great effort.

Concerning the forming of the interim government, in an interview with a reporter from Asia Week Magazine, U Nu said . . .

"Some people really want me to unite those three persons. By those three persons, I mean – Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Tin Oo, and U Aung Gyi. If those three want to join with us, they can do so. For me, if they join the group, as it is my program, I will have to be the leader.

If I want to do something, I have the habit of doing it immediately, even at times without consulting with my comrades. But if they don't like what I am doing, I will step down as the leader. If they accept what I do, they will have to support me. That is democracy. They say that I am a person without strategy, and is hasty in doing things. Although a person without strategy can sometimes do the wrong things, but sometimes, what he does can be good.

U Ne Win cannot grab the authority from me. But I want the Burmese people and the people outside Burma to know that I am the legal Prime Minister according to the Constitution. That person is not the legal leader according to the Constitution. Not only am I the leader according to

the Constitution, I am also the one who have received the overwhelming support of the people."

After that, on September 10, the Extraordinary Party Congress of BSPP was convened at the Pyithu Hluttaw convention room in Yangon. In that convention, it was decided to hold a general election though a multi party system. In that convention, the multi party Chairman, Dr. Maung Maung, said . . .

"According to what was decided in the convention, we will seek the Hluttaw's decision in order to be able to practice multi party system in Pyithu Hluttaw, and has planned to hold as fastest, fairest, and freest as possible, the general election where multi parties can take part."

On September 11, 1988, the Fourth Pyithu Hluttaw Session was reconvened. In the session, the Pyithu Hluttaw accepted and agreed to the suggestions made by the Pyithu Hluttaw representatives, and the Chairman of the Council of State, Dr. Maung Maung said . . .

(a) To hold general election with multi-party system.

(b) Pyithu Hluttaw is to handover to the Council of State to eradicate the relevant provisions and other laws and regulations contained in the Constitution to be able to hold general election with multi-party system.

(c) According to Section 43 (a) of the Constitution, the normal lifespan of the Fourth Pyithu Hluttaw Session has been limited only up to the time where the general election is held and the First Session of the new Pyithu Hluttaw's convenes.

(d) The election commission formed by the fifth meeting of the Fourth Pyithu Hluttaw Session is to be abolished.

(e) To be able to successfully hold a fair general election, to appoint the following persons and handover the responsibilities –

(1) U Ba Htay (retired Chief Trustee)

(2) U Kyaw Nyunt (retired Burmese Ambassador to Canada)

(3) U San Maung (retired Chief of Thrift and Insurance Premiums)

(4) U Saw Kyar Doe (retired Brigadier General)

(5) Saya Che (former parliament member and Pyithu Hluttaw representative)

(f) For Pyithu Hluttaw to handover to the Council of State concerning with right to increase the number of members at the election commission and replace the vacant places.

(g) For Pyithu Hluttaw to handover to the Council of State concerning with consulting with the commission on registration of parties, writing and promulgating the election regulations and duties and responsibilities.

(h) To hold the general election only for the Pyithu Hluttaw.

(i) The date of the general election is set for the day that reaches the third month starting from today. But if, in accordance with advises from the parties that will come up, the election is to be moved up, but not earlier than one and a half months from today, or if to be moved back to be done

only after three months, the right to reschedule the election is to be passed on to the Pyithu Hluttaw Council.

After that, the Election Commission, to present the commission's view to the country, the MultiParty Democracy General Election Commission's Announcement No. 1 was announced as follows -

"1) The commission members are those who have retired due to their age and have no intentions to continue with any form of party-politics. They also don't have any form of self interest. Because of that, in accordance with the present situation of the country, the members of the commission were requested to freely intercede in holding the general election; and it is also because they believe that, in accordance with the directions given by the President at the Pyithu Hluttaw Session held on September 9, 1988, the Council of State will not only refrain from intervening in the work of the MultiParty Democracy General Election Commission, but also help out when needed, the commission members joined the commission to fully contribute as much as they can will goodwill.

2) Therefore, venerable monks, students, and the people who have been asking for multi-party democracy, together with the responsible leaders, in order to hold the multi-party democracy general election in the near future, are respectfully invited to help out and collaborate with this commission, and give the needed advices."

But the general public and the democracy leaders have no faith in the elections that the government will be holding, and just demanded for the formation of an interim government. They also rejected the government's

offer to hold the elections in three months' time.

On September 13, 1988, U Aung Gyi, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Thura U Tin Oo, All Rangoon Young Monks Union League, All Burma Workers Union League (Rangoon), Law Firms Workers Union (Rangoon), University Degree Holders and former Students Association, Association of Students Fighting for Democracy, Universities (Yangon), the Chairman, secretaries, and representatives attended the meeting between the Election Commission and the political leaders, which took place at the meeting room of the Multi Party Democracy General Election Commission Office located at No. 94, Natmauk Street, Bahan Township.

At the meeting, U Aung Gyi, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Thura U Tin Oo, and those who came to the meeting stated that they respect and trust the members of the Multi Party Democracy General Election Commission, and saluted them. But as this commission was formed by the present government, and as the nation and the people had no longer trust the government at all, and therefore totally cannot accept this commission, and had no faith in it. In the present situation, the elections cannot be a fair election if the elections are hold within three months, parties who still haven't been formed and have not obtained any fund will have to compete with the ruling party which has been formed for 26 years and is organized and performing with State's finances. All the members of the Tamadaw and most of the government employees are party members of the ruling party, and therefore, no matter how directions are given for the members of the Tamadaw and government employees to stay neutral, the general public has no trust in it. Present in

various townships and regions, as there is no governing mechanism and security, it is impossible to hold the elections. It was therefore discussed that, an 'interim government' that is made up of people who the general public trusts should be formed as fast as possible.

Apart from that, in the September 15, 1988 issue of the Mirror Daily (Kye Mon Newspaper), letters with the title - ' A Call to the Entire General Public', written and signed by U Aung Gyi, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and Thura U Tin Oo, dated September 14, 1988 can be seen. In the 'Call' . . .

1. Through the economic hardship that is increasing day by day, the pace of the people's struggle for democracy increased. Although the country is experiencing this mass demand for democracy by the entire people like it never did before, the government, at first, ignored and used the strategy of dragging time. Now, giving in a step, an Election Commission was formed with 5 persons to able to hold a MultiParty General Election within 3 months.

2. The people had no faith in the government. For that reason, they also don't believe in the Election Commission. The people knew very well that there is no way that the elections will be fair as parties which have nothing prepared are to compete the present ruling party, within a very short period of three months. The general public which is presently demonstrating, had already clearly presented this point to the election commission.

3. Young students who had shed blood at the frontline of the demonstrations, were the most active participants. As much as there were students who hand in hand with the general public, were demonstrating

peacefully, one can also see students who were unhappy with the delaying strategy of the government, resorted to hunger strikes. It can also be seen that within the general public, frustrations can be seen and those wanting to resort to other further steps are arising.

4. But this democracy struggle is actually a moral and mental struggle. It is a struggle that should be won with moral and mental courage through demonstrating with discipline. Apart from forming as fast as possible, an interim government that the entire people desire, the government has no other options. It is needed for the entire public, including the students, using moral and mental courage as the true weapon, with unwavering will, peacefully demonstrate, and especially avoid bloodshed and tragedy that can be brought about through impatience.

"The true democracy struggle will surely be victorious."

***** (U Aung Gyi)

***** (Daw Aung San Suu Kyi)

***** (Thura U Tin Oo)

Apart from that, in the September 13, 1988 issue of the Botataung newspaper, it contained with the title - "the general public has no faith in the present government, and if an interim government is formed, the strikes will come to an halt. U Aung Gyi, Thura U Tin Oo, and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi met, discussed, and sent their position to the President".

"Concerning with holding the general election under the multi-party system, we would like to present our position. At the present situation,

the government mechanism of the entire country has come to a halt, and the entire population has a lack of food, shelter, clothing, and security problem, like never before.

The prices of commodities have also increased more and people more, and are facing poverty due to disruptions in their livelihoods, and the government cannot guarantee security even inside Rangoon, with the people having to take care of their own security, are in mental and physical miseries.

The situation is worsening day by day. In this condition, the government is therefore in no condition to hold an election. To put an end the day by day and hour by hour worsening of the economy, social, and security conditions, there is no other option than to form an interim government that is acceptable to the country.

As the general public has no more faith in the present government, the country will not have faith in, or accept the election that will be lead and organized by the commission that is formed by the government.

We believe that once the interim government acceptable to the people has been formed, the strikes and demonstrations will cease, and the government mechanism and the buying and selling activities will be re-activated again.

Because of that, in order for the economy to rise up again and to rebuild democracy and to hold a general election, the only thing to do is to form an interim government.

As the situation with time is moving towards getting even worse,

we call for forming an interim government as early as possible without delay."

Not long after those calls and demands were made, the entire public went to the streets and the calls for 'abolishment of one-party system and forming of an interim government', became much louder.

During that time, while the responsible people from the government and the members of the commission were meeting and discussing about it, copies of the handwritten and signed letter of Brigadier General Aung Gyi were spread within the people. In that letter, U Aung Gyi wrote, "I have faith in the government's announcement concerning with forming of the Election Commission and on the holding of the election, and as the demonstrations have also become weary, I urge the people for ending them. In case if the elections were not held as being asked, I myself will personally will go in front of the hospital, do a hunger strike, and burn myself with gasoline". The Election Commission took U Aung Gyi's letter as positive and was satisfied and happy about it.

At that time, on September 14, 1988, U Aung Gyi, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and Thura U Tin Oo wrote an open letter to the All Burma Student Union. The complete content of the letters . . .

1. On September 14, 1988, the Election Commission chosen by the government met and discussed with the forces that are presently struggling for democracy in the country - U Nu, U Aung Gyi, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Thura U Tin Oo, students groups, and monk groups.

2. After meeting and discussing like that, your Union had invited people from various groups to the hall at Medical College 1, and had discussion with them. In that meeting, the students were explained that in accordance with our strong stance, we just talked with the commission about our basic policy, which is the forming of an interim government.

3. The students responded saying, "we accepts and welcome your stance. But as we are no longer patient concerning with the government's delay and due to our strong resolves, we call for you to form an interim right here at this meeting". The senior politicians responded by saying, "As we need to discuss about it with our organizations, we request this matter to be postponed." The student replied that as they do not desire to wait much longer for the forming of an interim government, requested that it will be done within 48 hours.

4. In the present situation, the forming of an interim government is a real need, and all the groups and the entire people desire it and call for it. But if a new government is formed by our own will without the removal of the present government, it will become a parallel government and not an interim government. If that happens, if a step is taken before its time, unwanted obstacles and other dangers can arise. Thus, only if the present government is removed and the interim government that the people desires come about, the present situations and difficulties can be solved with the power invested by the people. And only then we will be able to carry out all the needed plans in accordance with the wishes of the people to hold a fair election for bringing about a genuine democracy government that all the

people desires.

5. We understand the desires of the students. The desired aims are also the same. But as serious considerations are needed concerning with the matters discussed, we respectfully request not to be too eager. "

After that, in September 1988, the commission members, met with the members of the Council of State, headed by President Dr. Maung Maung. In meeting with those persons, the members of the commission desires that investigations be made on the inclusion of Tamadaw, People's Police Force, and government employees in the BSPP Party, and President Dr. Maung Maung asked the commission how they wanted it to be handled, and that he will act as advised.

From there, as the members of the commission advised, Dr. Maung Maung, Chairman of the Council of State, issued Proclamation 14/88 – "As the public service personnel have to be loyal to the State and serve the interest of the people and in accord with the multi-party system practice before, members of the Pyithu Tatmadaw, People's Police Force, employees of the various public



services organizations, State economic enterprises such as boards and corporations and other service personnel who enjoy salaries and allowances provided by the State shall not be a member of any political party or organization, including the Burma Socialist Program Party, with effect from today".

On that very same day, U Aye Ko, the General Secretary of BSPP, permitted members of the Pyithu Tatmadaw, People's Police Force, and other employees to quit as party members of the BSPP.

Chapter (3)

The Military Takes Over with a Coup d'état As the demonstration continued without ceasing with calls for an interim government also continuing, and as Dr. Maung Maung, Chairman of BSPP and of the Council of State, can no longer maintain authority of the country, he signaled the Chief of Staff of the Defense Services, General Saw Maung (later to become senior general) for the military to take over the country.

In that manner, the forming of an interim government that the entire public asked for was ignored, and on September 18, 1988, the military took power over the country by force. In the history of Myanmar, there were three times that military had taken over power - once in 1958, another in 1962, and the present one, in 1988.

After having taken power, on that same day, through Declaration No. 1/88, the formation of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) was announced. The SLORC is composed of –

(1) General Saw Maung - Chairman

(2) Lieutenant Colonel Than Shwe - Member (3) Vice Admiral Maung Maung Khin - Member (4) Major General Tin Tun - Member

(5) Brigadier General Aung Ye Kyaw - Member (6) Major General Phone Myint - Member

(7) Major General Sein Aung - Member

(8) Major General Chit Swe - Member

(9) Brigadier General Kyaw Ba - Member

(10) Brigadier General Maung Thint - Member (11) Brigadier

General Maung Aye - Member (12) Brigadier General Nyan Lin - Member

(13) Brigadier General Myint Aung - Member (14) Brigadier General Mya Thin - Member

(15) Brigadier General Tun Kyi - Member

(16) Brigadier General Aye Thaug - Member (17) Brigadier

General Myo Nyunt - Member (18) Brigadier General Khin Nyunt - Secretary (1)

(19) Colonel Tin Oo - Secretary (2)

On September 18, 1988, the SLORC with Declaration No. 2/88, announced the dissolving of the Pyithu Hluttaw, the Council of State, Council of Ministers, Council of People's Justices, Council of People's Attorneys, Council of People's Inspector, and all levels of the People's Councils, and also announced the dismissal of all the deputy ministers from their respective positions.

On that same day, with Declaration No. 3/88, it was announced that Myanmar will continue with its independent and active foreign policy. In continuation,

Order No. 2/88 was issued for the general public to follow and Order No. 3/88 was issued for public servants to resume their duties. According to Order 3/88, all employees must return to their work places

starting from September 19, 1988, and if they fail to return to their work places by September 26, they will be dismissed from their duties.

On the same day of September 18, Declaration No. 1/88, 2/88, and Order No. 1/88, 2/88 and 3/99 were issued consecutively, and started functioning as SLORC military government.

The SLORC Chairman, General Saw Maung, became the Prime Minister, and not only did he hold the positions as head of the country as well as the Defense Minister and Chief of Staff of the Defense Services, he also took the position of the Foreign Minister.

The SLORC government, right after taking power, viewed and named the 1988 movement as an anarchic movement, squashed it in many different ways, and continuously conducted arrests. Although the government had taken power, the BSPP and its leaders were still included in the list, and it greatly defended the BSPP and stood by it. As it defended the BSPP and had stood by it, the people mockingly called SLORC as 'Ne Win's army'. Apart from that, the people also named the State Law and Order Restoration Council as 'Nyain Pee' group. The guidelines, policy, and activities of it had also been called 'mischievous Nyain Pee path'.

After that, on September 19, 1988, around one in the afternoon at the Defense Ministry at Dagon Yeikthar, the SLORC summoned the commission members and held a meeting. At the meeting, SLORC members headed by SLORC Chairman General Saw Maung – Lieutenant General Than Shwe, Vice Admiral Maung Maung Khin (Navy), Major General Tin Tun (Airforce), Major General Sein Aung, Major General Chit Swe, Secretary 1

Brigadier General Khin Nyunt, Secretary 2 Colonel Tin Oo (assassinated), and commission members headed by Commission Chairman U Ba Htay – U Saw Kyar Doe, U San Maung, U Kyaw Nyunt, and Commission Secretary U Aye Maung were present at the meeting. The member Saya Che was stuck in a heavy traffic and was not able to make it to the meeting. In the meeting, the SLORC Chairman said, "The Tamadaw and the public servants are no longer members of any political party, we are neutral organizations, and are organizations meant to serve the people, and we request the members of the commission to hold the multiparty democracy general election in the freest, fairest, and fastest manner to implement as fast as possible, the multiparty democracy that the people today desire. Concerning with the duties of the commission, we as an organization and as individuals, will not be controlling it in anyway, and whether in writing election laws and regulations, or meeting with any organizations that the commission members want to meet, they can freely meet and obtain ideas, and write them. The laws written and approved by the commission will be enacted as fast as possible. In order to be able to hold the multiparty democracy general election successfully, will fully provide the help needed."

In that manner, the SLORC, with the Declaration No. 1/88 dated September 18, 1988, in order to hold the multiparty democracy general election, gave the election commission formed during Dr. Maung Maung's time, to continue with their duties. In order to implement the duties of the commission, the SLORC, on September 21, 1988, promulgated the MultiParty Democracy General Elections Commission Law No. 1/88.

After doing a detailed study of the suggestions given by the people and the political parties, the Pyithu Hluttaw election law was revised and submitted to the SLORC with the intention of using it only this time for the coming multiparty democracy general election, and for future elections and bi elections, to revise it only when the time comes.

After coordinating and reviewing the draft of the law with the commission on May 25, 1989, the SLORC promulgated the Pyithu Hluttaw Election Law (SLORC Law No. 14/89) on May 30, 1989. That law comprises of 15 chapters and 82 sections.

In implementing the regulations contained in the law, the detailed regulations that must be followed were promulgated on June 30, 1989. After the regulations of the Political Parties Registration Law has been enacted, the commission allowed the registration of the political parties that intend to take part in the elections starting from September 30, 1988, and the commission set the last date as February 28, 1989.

After the forming and registering of political parties were official allowed, from working together as 'Aung-Suu-Tin', the Central Executive Committee of the National League for Democracy was formed on September 27, 1988, with four persons of U Aung Gyi, four of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and four of U Tin Oo, making a total of 12 persons. After that, it was officially submitted for registration, and the election commission officially recognized it as an official party through Declaration No. 3, dated October 3, 1988.

The four from Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's side were - Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Win Tin, Daw Myint Myint Khin, and U Aung Lwin (movie actor and

director). At the time when it was first formed, the members of the Central Executive Committee of National League for Democracy (NLD) were . . .

(1) U Aung Gyi - Chairman

(2) U Tin Oo - Vice Chairman

(3) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi - General Secretary (4) U Kyi Han - Secretary/Member

(5) U Chit Khaing - Secretary/Member

(6) U Win Tin - Secretary/Member

(7) Daw Myint Myint Khin - Social Class Section Head

(8) U Lwin - Head of Trustees

(9) U Aung Lwin - Head of Information Department

(10) U Aung Shwe - Head of Organizing Section

(11) U Kyi Maung - Researcher

(12) U Ba Shwe - Head of Administration

The National League for Democracy, at the very start of its formation, became the favorite political organization of the people. In a short length of time, the number of party members of the National League for Democracy increased greatly.

After that, the Central Committee with 30 members was formed. Just as in the time when the Central Executive Committee was formed, the Central Committee was also formed with 10 persons each from U Aung Gyi,

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and U Tin Oo. The new members of the central committee were -

- (1) U Khin Nyo
- (2) U Zaw Win Oo
- (3) U Min Din
- (4) U Kyaw Myint Lay
- (5) U Thar Hto
- (6) U Thein Naing (Distinction)
- (7) U Khin Maung Maung Myint
- (8) U Maung Maung
- (9) U Nan Nwe
- (10) U Bo Aung
- (11) U Thaung Dan
- (12) U Hla Maung
- (13) U Saw Myint
- (14) U Shwe
- (15) U Aye Maung
- (16) U Tin Aye
- (17) Bo Ye Htut (Member of the 30 Comrades) (18) U Than Tun
- (19) U Chein Poe

- (20) U Hla Maung
- (21) U Tun Tin
- (22) U Thaw Ka (Maung Thaw Ka)
- (23) U Ko Yu (Maung Ko Yu)
- (24) U Moe Thu (Maung Moe Thu)
- (25) U Chan Aye (Maung Su San)
- (26) Dr. Tin Myo Win
- (27) Dr. Thet Min
- (28) U Win Hket
- (29) U Tin Shwe
- (30) U Khin Maung Swe

The National League for Democracy at the very start of its formation, handed 25 membership forms to each of the party members who came from various regions of the country and those who wished to continue being active, and recognized them as temporary organizers. In that manner, the number of the league's members increased greatly within a very short period. The popularity gained within a short period of time that even surprised all the other political parties, was because of the hope and respect the general public had for the league's General Secretary, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

The first problem that arose inside the National League for

Democracy that had gained a huge support from the people was first started by the league's Chairman, U Aung Gyi himself. The problem came from his claim that - "There are communists within the league, they will have to be removed as fast as possible". U Aung Gyi's emergency assessment dated November 29, 1988 was as follows –

Emergency Assessment

(1) In the present situation, communists and those who favor communism have grown with the National League for Democracy.

(2) Another factor that can cause disqualification is a financial issue. It is needed to have the States and Divisions audited.

(3) Various resistance movements, underground, and communist activities can be pointed at the elections and get disqualified.

(4) It is therefore important that 'Aung-Suu-Tin' should not be divided. It needs great attention.

(5) Because of that, communists and procommunists within 'Aung-Suu-Tin' should be requested to leave.

(6) As in the saying - 'if the leg is not strong, the hand should be strong, and if the hand is not strong, the leg should be strong', the same applies in the case National League for Democracy, were it to be disqualified, a reserve organization is needed.

(7) As the Union National Democracy Party (UNDP) is only a reserve organization, and is under the flag of the National League for

Democracy. We have to work hard on all side so that the National League for Democracy will not fall apart for any reason. Quick clarifications are needed concerning with incitements from other organizations to avoid misconceptions.

(8) The Union National Democracy Party should act, in the manner of that of the Pyithu Yebaw, Socialist Independent activities under the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League's flag during the time of independence, like the way the present veterans groups are active, must act as a unified national force.

Aung Gyi

9.10.88

The eight persons who U Aung Gyi branded as communists and wanted to be removed were – U Win Tin, Daw Myint Myint Khin, U Aung Lwin, U Tun Tin, U Ko Yu, U Chan Aye (Maung Su San), U Tin Shwe (Monywa), and U Win Khet.

Although the majority of the members of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Committee tried to convince U Aung Gyi that it should not be done like that, the problem wasn't settled and it went to the point where votes had to be taken to clear the matter. In taking the votes, it was agreed that if U Aung Gyi loses, he is to quit and if the group of eight persons lose, they will have to quit. In accordance with that agreement, 42 persons, including 12 members of the Central Executive Committee and 30 members from the Central Committee voted on it. As even U Aung Gyi's own

people objected to U Aung Gyi's ploy, he eventually lost the votes. Because of that, U Aung Gyi had to resign as Chairman of the league. Together with U Aung Gyi, 12 people from U Aung Gyi's side - U Kyi Han, U Ba Shwe, U Nan Nwe, U Khin Maung Maung, U Thar Hto, U Thein Naing, U Min Din, U Khin Nyo, U Kyaw Myint Lay, U Bo Aung, U Maung Maung, and U Zaw Win Oo also resigned from their positions.

After that, the National League for Democracy, within December 1989, reorganized the Central Executive Committee. The new Central Executive Committee was as follows:

(1) U Tin Oo - Chairman

(2) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi - General Secretary (3) U Win Tin -

Secretary

(4) U Chit Khaing - Secretary

(5) U Kyi Maung - Researcher

(6) U Aung Shwe - Organizer

(7) U Lwin - Trustee

(8) U Aung Lwin - Information Officer

(9) Daw Myint Myint Khin - Social Class Section U Aung Gyi and the

twelve announced their resignation from the league, and the league also announced that it had dismissed U Aung Gyi and the twelve from the league. U Aung Gyi and his group separately formed the 'Union National Democracy Party'.

After U Aung Gyi and his group left, the National League for Democracy, instead of becoming weak, it actually even became stronger. The number of parties that allied with the National League for Democracy increased to 46 parties. The Veterans Yebaw Party and the National Democracy Party became like the left and right wings of the National League for Democracy.

As an information providing function for the National League for Democracy, the 'Hmattan Hlwar' Journal was published regularly. In that journal, objections against the wrongful arrests, punishments, and unfair cases that happened in different areas of the country were stated.

Because of that, the Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs promulgated Printers and Publishers Central Registration Committee Directive (38). It was announced that if the Printers and Publishers Registration Law of 1962 is not followed, punitive actions will be take. Thus, more resentment grew over the SLORC governments.

In May 1989, the Maharnandar Publishing House located at No. 145, 37th Street, Kyauktada Township, Yangon, was convicted by the military regime for publishing illegal journals, and the materials of the National League for Democracy under publication were confiscated. That incident pivoted the NLD to the path of confrontation.

After that, on June 6, 1989, the NLD informed that it could not abide by the Directive 38 of the Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs.

Within the first week of June, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi discussed

with literary experts from the National League for Democracy – Maung Thaw Ka, Daw Myint Myint Khin, Tharrawaddy San San Nwe, Maung Ko Yu, Maung Wun Tha, Maung Khet Pan, and U Tin Mo. In that discussion, Sayar Maung Thaw Ka read out a quote from Henry David Thoreau to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. All the members liked it and everyone read out a passage that will go well in Burmese. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi also liked their idea and at the NLD meeting, she gave the responsibility of discussing the path of confrontation to U Win Tin. In the executive committee meeting, U Win Tin proposed the slogan – ‘defy all orders and authority disapproved by the majority’. Everyone agreed to it and in printing it as NLD’s slogan, and it boldly stated that "this journal is published as a defiance against the suppressive Order of the SLORC’s Home Ministry".

Concerning with that matter, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said at the press conference held in June 1989 at the League’s office –

"We have already announced about our defiance of authority. It is to disobey the unfair Order, and the ‘SLORC’ recognizes it. The reason why we disobey the unfair order and authority is . . . what is important? It is to be able to freely publish. During last week’s press conference, we have already talked about this matter. If according to the Printers and Publishers Registration Law of 1962, our organization is an organization that has the right to freely publish. But this right has been banned by that Order and we don’t have the right to freely publish. When they say that we cannot publish, not only do we not get the right that we deserve, it can be clearly seen that it is getting lesser and lesser. For that reason, we will have to defy that Order.

We will have to continue publishing the things we have to publish.

By looking at things that happened in the past three or four days, it is quite obvious how much we need to publish documents. The SLORC held a press conference and it was announced from the Burma Broadcasting Service and published in the Working People's Daily newspaper. They have it for two successive days and were not satisfied, today, they even placed it on an extra sheet. Some may think that this was done in goodwill for us. But if you look at what is written in it, it is clear that it was not done out of goodwill.

Therefore, if they one-sidedly use the Burma Broadcasting Service and the Working People's Daily newspaper to attack us, it is obvious that we need to be able to freely publish. If the SLORC wants to do it correctly, and if they publish us in the newspapers, and also in the Burma Broadcasting Service, I am ready to admit that we are wrong and that the SLORC is really doing it with good will. So . . . there are gentlemen from the Working People's Daily present here now. If you would published the things that I've said correctly and completely, I will once more apologize to the SLORC, that I have been mistaken. That I mistook things. I have the courage to say that the SLORC was doing it with goodwill."

Not very long after that, The SLORC government announce declaration 2/89 concerning with commemoration of the Martyrs Day.

The complete text of the declaration is as follows: (1) The State Law and Order Restoration Council is working with the set objective of successfully holding the multiparty democracy general elections. Apart from

that, the government is commemorating important dates that are related with the state. The State, as in previous years, will therefore oversee the commemoration of the 42nd Martyrs Day ceremony which will be held on July 19, 1989.

(2) From the State Law and Order Restoration Council, State organizations, family members of the martyrs who had lost their lives in the hands of the colonialists, diplomatic organizations, and the political parties that have registered at the multiparty democracy general election commission will be attending the ceremony paying their respects.

(3) In order to attend the 42nd Martyrs Day Ceremony, the commemorating committees have already invited the nine families of the martyrs. The following eight families of the martyrs have replied in writing that they will be attending the ceremony:

(a) Family of Minister Thakin Mya

(b) Family of Minister U Ba Cho

(c) Family of Minister U Razak

(d) Family of Minister U Ba Win

(e) Family of Minister U Ba Khine

(f) Family of Mongpawm Sawbwa Sao Sam Tun (g) Family of Secretary U Ohn Maung

(h) Family of Yebaw Ko Htwe

(4) Although the above eight families of the martyrs attended the

42nd Martyrs Day Ceremony formal rehearsal that was held on July 16, 1989, the family of Bogyoke Aung San did not attend. And they still also haven't yet informed us that they will be attending the 42nd Martyrs Day Ceremony.

(5) As the Election Committee had invited the political parties that had registered at the Multi Party Democracy General Election Commission, 70 political parties had informed that they will be attending the 42nd Martyrs Day Ceremony. The names of the parties that will be attending the ceremony were published in the daily newspapers.

(6) As it has always been traditionally done, arrangements had also been made to enable the general public to come to the Arzarni Mausoleum and salute the martyred leaders after the ceremony organized by the State is over. Therefore the general public who wishes to peacefully pay their respects, they can come to the Arzarni Mausoleum either one by one or in a group of not more than 5 persons.

(7) It is needed for the general public to be able to pay their respects to the arzarni leaders. Therefore going around in procession, shouting slogans, instigating to cause disturbances, causing disturbances, organizing by force and gathering people in order to make political profit are prohibited. It was also announced that any violation of the prohibitions will be taken legal actions.

By the command of –

(Maung Ko)

Secretary

Union of Burma Government

Apart from that, on July 19, 1989, in the Working People's Daily, it can be seen that it was published under the title – "The confrontation program of Bogyoke Aung San was the program set during the British colonial times . . . Tamadaw is an organization that is opposing the colonists and protecting the independence. The people, in coming to the Arzarni Mausoleum to pay tribute, must be done under our security program".

After that, on July 19, 1989, Daw Aung Suu Kyi, in order to avoid unwanted affliction to the people, cancelled the Arzarni Day marching plan. She also gave directions to have the Arzarni Day ceremony done at the League's Office.

