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"THE THIRD DICTATOR TO FALL"**EDITORIAL**

The KNU Bulletin No.2 (Jan:86) featured an article on the " Profile of an Absolute Dictator " showing the past and present of Ne Win. " Peoples Power" has already accounted for the fall of two Dictators in 1986 and the question is now being asked, who is the next to go?

The misery that has overtaken the people of Burma since 1948 has driven them to despair and Ne Win's last action, the introduction of the 75 Kyat note, may well prove the spark that will ignite "Peoples Power" in Burma. Let us compare Ne Win with those other two dictators that have fallen, 'Baby-Doc' Duvalier of Haiti and Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines. Their cases bear a remarkable similarity.

It is rare for a dictator to retire peacefully, for once in power, the temptation to stay on for ever becomes too great. Both Duvalier and Marcos failed to heed the warning signs and Ne Win has shown the same weakness by refusing to retire and setting up San Yu as his puppet and so called President. However in their more sombre moments, both Marcos and Duvalier did consider the possibility that they might not last for ever and made careful provision for that event. Ne Win, too, has wisely looked ahead.

Obviously such dictators cannot remain in their own country and so the first consideration must be to obtain a residence or estate in a foreign land. Marcos has a wide range of choice, with many expensive properties in Hawaii and on the United States mainland, as we have seen on television; indeed he seems to be unable to decide which to choose. Duvalier too has property overseas, but so unpopular is he that he is finding it a little difficult to move in, since no country wants him. Whether Ne Win has property in Hawaii (a popular haven for retired criminals!) is not known at the moment but he does have properties in London and his most likely choice will be his splendid house which he purchased in Victoria road, Wimbledon, close to the world famous tennis courts.

Both Marcos and Duvalier took away all the ready cash they could from their countries' treasuries, before they left; no doubt Ne Win will try to do the same if they are not already empty. But as will be remembered, Ne Win made provision some two years ago when he paid a quick visit to Europe with a plane load of jade and gems, so heavy that the plane was unable to take off at first.

There is growing evidence from captured Burmese soldiers that feeling against Ne Win has reached such a pitch, that his end may come at any moment. Despite Rangoon's control of both Press and Radio, the details of how " Peoples Power" without recourse to arms, has twice succeeded in dethroning dictators and Ne Win knows that his days are numbered. Foreign governments are already asking themselves whether they have made a grave error in loaning the Ne Win regime the

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PRESIDENT GENERAL BO MYA'S SPEECH ON THE 37TH
ANNIVERSARY OF KAREN REVOLUTION

This 31st day of January 1986 is the 37th anniversary of the Karen Revolution. On this auspicious day, I extend my best wishes to all the leaders, personnel of the armed forces of Kawthoolei and all the Karen people, I urge you to make resolutions to carry on our Karen revolution with new spirit and new vigour until final victory is won.

For more than 37 years, our enemies, the Burmese-chauvinist rulers, have attempted to destroy our people and our Karen revolution by various means. We, however, have managed to maintain and strengthen our struggle, and stand up valiantly against them. Instead of destroying us, we have seen that it is the successive Burmese - chauvinist regimes which have suffered defeat and disintegration.

In 1975, the BSPP military regime started its " four-cut " operations, making an unprecedented effort to wipe us out in a period of four years. They tried to cut us militarily by stepping up their military offensives against us. Politically, the enemy tried to cut us by spreading false propaganda about us. When his false propaganda failed to win over the people, he started anti-civilian campaigns of atrocities to terrorize the civilian population. To cut us economically, he tried to destroy our economic activities and sources of in-come.

By the use of carefully orchestrated press and diplomatic activities, the enemy told lies about our revolution to foreign governments to prevent us from getting out-side sympathy or support, while endeavouring to acquire foreign aid and support for himself.

As you all know, the enemy's relentless effort in the four years failed to crush our national movement. In spite of failure the enemy has persisted in using the same " four-cut " plan up to now at the immense cost of thousands of innocent civilian lives and suffering, squandering millions of dollars on buying weapons and military equipment. One regretful matter I would like to mention at this point is the footing of war bills of the BSPP military regime by some foreign governments without trying to find out the true situation in the country.

Starting from 1983, the enemy has reinforced his garrison units in our area in addition to bringing in the No. 44, 66 and some elements of No. 33 army Divisions. It was a concentration of an overwhelming number of troops against us. Then the enemy brought in an unprecedented number of heavy weapons and began his

major offensive in early 1984. Our troops, however, valiantly and successfully countered the offensive of the enemy who boasted to annihilate us in a few month's time. The enemy suffered heavy losses in men and material. This has caused a great demoralization within the enemy's ranks, whereas the outstanding feats and courage of our troops have earned much appreciation and surprise.

The much predicted all-out offensive of the enemy did not materialize in 1985. Instead of making any serious attack against us, the enemy turned against the innocent civilians in our territory, in the whole year of 1985. The enemy troops burnt down the villages and wantonly killed the people. They destroyed the properties, including the live-stock, of our people. They tortured and raped the women folks. In short, the enemy has been practising a scorch-earth policy and waging a genocidal war against our people.

To heighten the tempo of this barbarous war, top members of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) leadership, including Ne Win and San Yu, have been going around the world begging for financial aids and loans and buying new weapons and military equipment.

The enemy's inhumanity has caused some difficulties for us. However, we have to remember that the enemy's problems are many times more and greater. His barbarity and the suppression of the democratic rights of the people have turned many people in the country against him. Mismanagement in military affairs has brought dissension and discord within the leadership of the BSPP and the army. Mismanagement in economic affairs has pushed the country to the verge of economic ruin. The debt-service ratio has risen year after year and is now 55%, which is unheard of in the history of the country.

Our problems are almost non-existent in comparison. Now, more and more people have rallied to our cause. Thousands of ordinary civilians have come to us for weapons to fight. The enthusiastic support of the people has boosted the morale of our troops to a new high. The better cooperation and coordination among the members of the National Democratic Front have lessened the burden we have to shoulder. Our revolutionary struggle has gained more and more attention of the out-side world.

On this 37th anniversary day of the Karen revolution, I would like to propose three resolutions for us to adopt and carry out.

The first is the resolution to increase the strength of our armed forces. The Karen revolution, being an armed revolution, must have a good military organization and, therefore, the enlargement and raising the quality of our armed forces is very important. That means increasing the number of men in the armed

forces and providing facilities for the study of military science and better training. We must endeavor to maintain the discipline, the faith and the morale of our fighting men. We must endeavor to equip them with enough arms and ammunition.

The second is the resolution to strive for the improvement of our organizations and our organizational skills. To organize well is to rally for victory. To organize all the forces for victory efficiently, the technical knowledge and skills pertaining to proper political education and indoctrination is a necessary requirement.

Although our revolution has reached its 37th anniversary, even some of our leaders are weak in their revolutionary and political consciousness. A well rounded political education is necessary to make us ardent and efficient activists in our struggle. We must also learn to cooperate and coordinate in the various aspects of our national activities for freedom.

The principles and programmes of the Karen National Union, the Kawthoolei Youth Organization and the Kawthoolei Women's Organization have been duly laid down, but these principles and programmes have been carried out mostly in name.

It is vital for all of us to rectify these weaknesses and organize a coordinated effort with total unity.

The third and last the resolution to raise the standard of leadership. In any revolution, a high standard of leadership is essential. Leadership means the leadership of all the leaders in the fields of politics, administration and military, starting from the central headquarters down to lowest levels.

A revolutionary war requires tremendous effort. It is strewn with problems which have no easy solutions. Sometimes, it requires common sense and sometimes it requires educated wisdom, but most of the time it requires great dedication and perseverance to solve them.

To be just, upright and to have the required courage and enthusiasm, a leader must always work hard to raise his leadership qualities. In this process of self-edification, he must always learn to accumulate knowledge and acquire proficiency. He must raise his capabilities by trying to acquire the virtues of a revolutionary nationalist prescribed in our political programme.

As the President of Kawthoolei and the Commander-in-Chief of its armed forces, I hope and urge every Karen national to do his respective duty for the progress and victory of our Karen revolution.

The evil BSPP regime shall fall;

The just Karen revolution shall be victorious!

BSPP GOVERNMENT AND THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE

The tri-border area of Thailand, Laos and Burma which has become the largest opium producing area in the world since 1950s is popularly termed as the "Golden Triangle" by the international press. Annually, this area produces from 1000 to 1,500 tons of raw opium which is then refined into heroin forming 80-90% of the world's illicit supply.

The serious problems created by heroin addiction has turned world attention to the fight against illicit drugs since president Nixon declared a "war on drug" in a June 1971 statement to Congress. Gradually, the UN and many individual countries have come to participate in activities to combat the scourge.

It is a well known fact that starting from 1980 many governments including the United States have been giving enough aids to the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) government for the purpose of eliminating opium and heroin production in the country. However, more than adequate international assistances in the six years have hardly produced any result to deter the production of opium and heroin in Burma. This certainly begs for an answer to the question "why?" The following is a factual account revealing the connection between the BSPP and the notorious opium warlord that would give a definitive answer.

A year after General Ne Win came to power in 1962 by a coup d'e'tat, he employed some local self-defence forces in the Shan States, the part of Burma where opium is mainly produced, to fight against the Shan nationalist movement. These self-defence forces were allowed to traffick in contraband goods including opium, as a measure of self-support.

Among the heads of these self-defence forces was a certain young man by the name of Khun Sa alias Chan Shee-fu, a half-Shan half-Chinese. He was a man of uncommon ambition. In a period of four years he managed to expand his army from a few hundred to two thousand men and became one of the major opium traffickers, or an opium warlord.

A competition with the Chinese Kuomintang army remnants to dominate the opium trafficking led Khun Sa to negotiate seriously with Shan nationalist leaders in 1968. When Ne Win got wind of the matter, he invited Khun Sa under the pretext of wanting to have a discussion. When he arrived in Rangoon, however, he was thrown into jail for an indefinite period of detention.

The Burmese press widely reported about the capture and imminent trial of Khun Sa. The world was much relieved to learn of the news. That relief, however, was not to last long, for Khun Sa was released, after about ten months, in

exchange for two Russian doctors who had been abducted by Khun Sa's men in the town of Taunggyi, under a very mysterious condition.

The capital of Shan State, Taunggyi, is in the Southern Shan State. It was well guarded by the police as well as by the men from the all powerful Military Intelligence Service. Moreover, it is more than 250 miles away from the jungle hide-out of Khun Sa which was in the Northern Shan State. The kidnapping of the two Russian doctors by Khun Sa's men was something next to the impossible.

Sources with a good knowledge of "inside affairs" said that soon after his capture Khun Sa proposed and had a very secret meeting with the BSPP Chairman, Ne Win. A gist of Khun Sa's conversation with the chairman runs as follow:-

"Mr. Chairman, you know better than anyone else that unlike KNU, KIO, CPB and etc., my organization is not a political one. In the past as well as at the present, I have never tried to oppose your political power. In the future also I have no reason to oppose it. All my men and I have concentrated mainly on business matters. I arm my men only for the purpose of protecting my business operations. True to my origin as a Shan-Chinese, I possess all the tricks and wiles of a businessman. Using these tricks and wiles, I have kept all the tribes in my territory completely under my control and, as a result, I have kept them from going to the rebels. This benefits you, Mr. Chairman, as much as me."

"My deputy Chan Shu-chin cannot be relied upon for the effective control of these tribes who make up my army. If my organization breaks up, the factions are sure to join forces with the various rebel groups. That would only increase the number of your enemies. You know better than I, Mr. Chairman, that Shans, Kachins, Karens, CPB and etc. are trying to expand their forces at the present. In point of fact, I am your ally rather than an enemy. I am ready to participate in the effort to crush your main enemies."

"One more point I'd like to submit for your consideration, Mr. Chairman, is the acquirement of modern arms and equipment for your army. You allow me to continue with my business. Then you are sure to get a positive reponse if you solicit foreign aids for the purpose of destroying my business. Of course, from time to time, your troops and mine will have to stage make-believe battles. At every opportunity, I'll try to sow dissension and employ various means to break up the rebel groups opposing you. You and I, Mr. Chairman, will always keep in touch and orchestrate the activities with full understanding."

Ne Win was much persuaded by the argument. He was also convinced of the viability of Khun Sa's suggestions. The kidnapping, the cover for Khun Sa's release, was also suggested by Khun Sa himself. Ne Win had to use the plan after

a futile search for a better way to release him.

As recounted by one of Khun Sa's men involved in the kidnapping, the mission had almost had to be aborted. The duty-conscious commander of 94th Infantry Regiment stationed near Taunggyi at the time mobilized his troops as soon as he heard the news of kidnapping. He ordered his troops to block all the escape routes and make a thorough search of all the likely places. The kidnapers were almost caught when the troops were suddenly recalled to their command headquarters. After that, the kidnapers had a free and easy trip to the border.

Ne Win started receiving foreign aids for the suppression of opium in Burma in 1975-76. Soon, the much publicised destruction of poppy fields and military operations against opium warlords were launched. The poppy fields destroyed were not those of Khun Sa's. They had been planted by BSPP men for the purpose of deliberately deceiving the foreign observers and the press. The military operations were against the nationalist movements who had nothing to do with narcotic drugs production or trafficking.

"Whenever we had a battle with Ne Win's troops, Khun Sa's men would appear behind us and cut off our line of retreat," said a leader of the Shan State Progress Party. "And whenever we had a battle with Khun Sa's troops, Ne Win's troops would show up to attack us from the back. Things are very difficult for us. It is the strong national spirit of our people that has sustained our revolution up to this day. Otherwise our movement would have disappeared long ago."

The arms, ammunition and the airplanes given to Burma by well-meaning foreign governments have been used by the BSPP government expressly against the national movements of the various indigenous peoples in the country. The indelible proof of the BSPP's deceitful nature was the two helicopters shot down by the Karen National Liberation Army troops during Mawpokay battle in 1983. A number of helicopters were given to the BSPP government by the US strictly for use in narcotic suppression work. In contravention to the agreement between the two governments, the BSPP government used them against the Karens who had never been involved in either narcotic drugs production or trafficking. In fact, the Karen national movement has been following a very strict policy against all form of narcotic drugs from the very beginning up to this day.

Another conspicuous case showing the insidious nature of the BSPP government has been the case in which the Swedish government was deceived into selling 200 pieces of 84 mm Carl Gustave recoilless guns against its policy to the Burmese government. The Swedish government's policy has been to sell the guns only to a

country that has no civil war and with a good human rights record. The civil war in Burma has been raging since 1948 and the human rights record of Burma has been so poor that the chairman of BSPP, Ne Win, has been dubbed as "Idi Amin of Asia" by his own people.

Apart from foreign aids, the BSPP government is reaping handsome benefits by earning the much needed foreign exchange from the business operations of Khun Sa through direct involvement. News reaching here from Rangoon says that a recent CIA report confirms the involvement of some ministers of the BSPP government in international narcotic drugs trafficking and the US government is sending a protest note.

Over the years, the BSPP government has become more and more dependent on Khun Sa for cash to oil its military machine and to keep itself in power. It is existing in a symbiotic relationship with the existence of Khun Sa's business organization which is operating more than 80% share of the Golden Triangle's illicit production of heroin.

It is indeed a regrettable situation for the world that the production of opium and heroin in Burma can never be eliminated as long as the BSPP government is in power.

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SHAM UNION OF BSPP AND THE GENUINE UNION

Since the time of the AFPFL government up to the present Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) regime, the 12th of February has been designated as the "Union Day" in Burma. Every year, the day is celebrated with great pomp and ceremony, parading a large number of indigenous peoples in their colorful national costumes, to mislead the world and delude the natives. However, the indigenous peoples fighting for their national freedom in Burma are not deceived by all the parades and fanfares staged on lavish scales on these occasions by the BSPP.

A "Union" is a combination or federation, for common benefit, of two or more states on the basis of equality and with a large measure of autonomy for the constituent states.

In the time of AFPFL government, the Shans, Kachins, Kayahs (Karennis), Karens and, later, Chins were given states. A large part of the country was taken by the Burmese and named as "Burma proper" instead of "State". The Burmese

chauvinists, or Burmese master - racists dominated the union government and strictly managed and controlled all the affairs of the ethnic states. This inequality led some Shan national leaders to demand for the creation of a genuine federal union in 1961-62, well after a ten-year trial period after independence. When the head of the union government, U Nu, made certain concessions to the demand, General Ne Win staged a coup under the pretext of saving the union from disintegration.

Ne Win's military regime abolished all the democratic rights of the people and set up the BSPP, the only party in the country, and constituted the government monopoly on all the economic enterprises. With the concentration of all power in its hands, the regime oppressed, exploited and persecuted the indigenous peoples more ruthlessly than ever. As a result, more and more indigenous peoples have taken up arms in resistance since the BSPP military regime came to power.

In 1973, a new constitution was promulgated. The country was officially named as the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, Again, the "union" is only a sham union. It is "union" only in form and a unitary system in essence, reducing the status of all the states of the indigenous peoples to that of a mere administrative area. This predication is verified by the following facts.

- The first fact constituting racial inequality is, like in AFPFL's time, the allotment of the largest and best part of the country to the Burmese. The territory is divided into seven administrative divisions and referred to as Burmese seven divisions. The Kachins, Kayahs (Karennis), Karens, Chins, Mons, Arakanese and Shans are allotted seven respective states of very under-developed areas. It is the same act of blatant racism practised by the AFPFL regime.
- The states, far from having the autonomy for self-government and self development, are not allowed to teach even their own languages and develop their own national cultures. The chairmen and members of state councils (state governments) are only puppets who have to follow orders given by the BSPP military regime.
- Though the BSPP has said that the sovereign power has been transferred back to the people, it is in reality still in the hands of the military commanders in charge of the states and divisions.
- The one-party system has denied all the peoples in the country of the basic democratic rights of freedom of worship, expression, assembly and protest.

- All the affairs of the country, namely, the political, administrative, economic, military, financial, social and cultural affairs are exclusively managed and controlled by the BSPP Burmese-chauvinists, or Burmese master-racists and, consequently, all the indigenous peoples in the country are oppressed, exploited and discriminated more ruthlessly than ever in every field of human activities.

The 12th of February 1947 was the day on which Panlong Agreement was signed by representatives of the indigenous peoples in the country, including the Burmese. The Panlong Conference was convened in response to the British demand for a proof showing unity among all the races of Burma. At the conference, the Burmese national leader Aung San, the architect of the independence of Burma, assured all present that all the ethnic nationalities (or the indigenous peoples) would have complete equality and full right to self-determination.

The essence of the agreement was that all the indigenous peoples in the country, including the Burmese, were to enjoy the right to complete equality and to live in peace and harmony in the union to be established after independence.

The Karen revolutionists led by the Karen National Union (KNU), are not extremist insurgents trying to break up the union as it has been alleged by their enemy. The Karen revolutionists are freedom fighters engaged in the struggle for the establishment of a genuine union of ethnic-nation states in Burma based on equality, self-determination and the principles of democracy.

In other words, KNU is engaged in a revolutionary movement for the establishment of a true federal union which embodies the exact spirit or essence of the Panlong Agreement.

The basic characteristics of a genuine federal union envisaged by KNU are as follows:-

- Each and every ethnic people (or indigenous people) in Burma, including the Burmese, is to have a state if that people have all the attributes of a nationality and the new union is to be a federation of the states of all these ethnic peoples in the country.
- Irrespective of size, all the constituent states of the union are to enjoy equal rights and opportunities.
- As part of the right to self-determination, each and every constituent state is to have the right to secede from the union depending on the popular will of the people in the state.
- In accordance with the basic principles of federal union, each and every

constituent state is to have the right to establish its own state constitution governing the exercise of the state legislative, executive and judicial powers, the right to have its own official language, the right to have its own national flag and other rights compatible with the right to self-determination and self-government.

- The totalitarian system of one-party dictatorship is to be abolished and all the citizens of the union are to have the basic democratic rights such as freedom of worship, expression, assembly, protest and etc.
- The union government is to have a bi-cameral legislature in order to be endowed with the powers to protect and promote the rights of all the citizens of the union, as well as the rights of all the nationalities in the country.

The sham union of the BSPP military regime has been plagued by crisis after crisis due to the ailing economy caused by mismanagement at all levels, the rising tempo of the civil war, the political infighting in the BSPP, the suppression of the democratic rights of all the peoples in the country and the apathetic policy practised by the ruling class towards the non-Burmese ethnic peoples.

In this situation, nothing short of the creation of a genuine federal union, based on the principles of democracy, with complete equality and self-determination for all the indigenous peoples can bring back peace, prosperity and progress to the country.

Accordingly, it is the paramount task of the KNU to fight against the Burmese-chauvinist Ne Win - San Yu BSPP military regime, hand in hand with other revolutionary organizations in Burma for the establishment of a genuine federal union of national republics, for equality, democracy and social progress.

FROM EDITORIAL

financial assistance which is the only thing which sustains him in power.. Once they withdraw that support, he is doomed, and the tottering Rangoon regime will fall.

In the next issue of this Bulletin, we shall be publishing a report by our Rangoon correspondent on the truth of who really assassinated U Aung San .and how U Nu and Ne Win were to gain by it.

"RUN! RUN! THE BURMESE ARE COMING"

For about 1,000 or more Karen civilians of Hlaingbwe Township some 20 kilometers inside Burma from the Thai-Burma border, the beginning of the year 1986 was not a happy one.

On 10 January a company of the Burmese soldiers from No. 83 Infantry Regiment entered a Karen village by the name of "Ka-marr-hta" and began shooting at women, children and elderly people. One woman who was 8 months pregnant was brutally killed. Two youths were wounded. Two weeks later the same company came again and shot at the fleeing villagers. A young girl was wounded in the abdomen and a woman and her 10 months old baby were slightly wounded. On 14 February, the villagers who were hiding in the jungle returned to the village to bury a friend who had died. While digging for burial, they spotted the approaching Burmese soldiers and ran. The soldiers opened fire wounding five men.

The followings are some of the accounts of Burmese brutalities given by the villagers,

"My elder sister, a cousin and me were having our afternoon meal when I saw some Burmese soldiers. I shouted 'Burmese! Burmese!' and jumped down from our house and ran toward the jungle. I heard many shots. I felt a very strong force push me from behind and fell face down. I got up again and ran into the forest", said Saw Ta Wai, a thirteen years old boy from "Ka-marr-hta" village.

"When we found him he was bleeding profusely", continued his father, Saw Pann Myaing. "Fortunately I had learned some first aids treatment from a Karen medic some years ago. I applied tight bandage using my old sarong, to control the bleeding. My son coughed out blood for the next two weeks. There was very little medicine available. I tried my best to save my son's life. Luckily, my son recovered and we were able to flee to you where we are sure we will be taken care of".

A young woman who was 8 months pregnant was not that much lucky. She was 18 years old and married to a farmer only last year. Her name was Naw Paw Lay.

On hearing the shouts of "run! run! the Burmese are coming", she grabbed her bag which contained 7,000 kyats from the recent sale of her cattles and began to run. She was seized by a Burmese soldier. On finding the money in her bag, the Burmese soldiers accused HER of being the wife of a rebel to possess such an amount of money. She honestly denied of NOT being the wife of a rebel. The village elders also testified for her. The soldiers refused to believe them. They took her into the forest and shot her twice, once through her pregnant

abdomen and the other through her left chest. They took all her money and the earrings she was wearing.

" We were having our afternoon meal, my mother, my two younger brothers and me, when I heard people shouting 'Burmese! Burmese!'. We got down from our house and ran toward the forest. I heard many gun shots. I felt something very hot hit my abdomen. I looked down at it and saw blood. I was very frightened. I thought I was going to die. But I kept on running. Later I met my family. They brought a village medical man and treated my wound. When I got better we fled the village. The incident took place about two weeks after Naw Paw Lay was killed by the Burmese soldiers. Two other villagers were also wounded on that day. They are also fleeing to the border and will arrive tomorrow or the day after tomorrow", said Naw Mu Pu, a Karen youth of 16 years old.

" After the two incidents of Burmese atrocities we left the village and hid in the jungle. One of the villagers got sick and died. We were digging for the burial when we saw the Burmese soldiers approaching. We left the corpse and ran. The Burmese opened fire at us with small arms and mortar. Five of us got wounded with mortar splinters. Luckily, not very serious. The wounded fled to the border by another route. This incident took place on 14 February", reported the village head Saw Kyaw Kler Po.

" These Burmese are real murderers. They shoot at women, children any body they see. I am very, very frightened of them. Two days ago they entered our village again and shot dead a boy keeping cattles. I want to run as far away as possible from these blood-thirsty maniacs", said a sixty year old woman.

" We left our hiding place five days ago. Our group consisted of eight families. We were afraid of running into the Burmese soldiers, so we asked the Karen soldiers to guard us to safety. On our second day we ran into some Burmese soldiers. A fighting broke out. The five Karen soldiers gave us covering fires when we fled. Three women and a baby are still missing. I think they have been captured by the Burmese soldiers", said the leader of the group.

The villagers from Ka-marr-hta and the surrounding villages became too frightened to remain in their villages or hide in the jungles. They collected whatever they could carry on their shoulders and fled to the border in groups for temporary refuge. They have been arriving at the border since 17 February.

On 19 February President General Bo Mya, Secretary General Padoh Ba Thin and the author visited and talked with some 150 civilians fleeing from the Burmese atrocities.

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THE MASSACRES BY THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

On the evening of 25th June 1985, three wounded were brought to the Karen Military hospital in Paloo, one of the Karens' strongholds situated along the Thai-Burma border. From the injuries they had sustained one could easily mistake them as Karen soldiers wounded at the front and brought back to the hospital. The condition of one of them was so serious that the medical officer in charge had to refer the case to a more advanced hospital after giving necessary first aid treatment. The patient however, died on the way. Of the other two, one was shot through the right arm and the arm bone was broken. The wound was so infected that amputation of the arm had to be done. The other was shot through the left fore-arm. They were not Karen soldiers but civilians who were trying to find extra income to support their families as hired porters. The following is the story of how they narrowly escaped the massacre by the Burmese soldiers, troops of the so-called people's Army,

"Both of us are from the same village" began Thein Zan, who was 27 years old. "My friend is San Nyein, 28 years old. Both of us are married, I have two children and San Nyein has three. We are from Pane-ne-gone village of Kyaikmarraw township, (A town about 150 kilometers east of Rangoon), We are Mon nationals".

"Our parents are farmers and so are we," continued Thein Zan, "Normally our yearly paddy yield is sufficient for our family. But since we have to give our 'quota' to the government we do not have enough for our families anymore. To compensate for the shortage, we carry freight for the traders from the border to Kawkareik", (Kawkareik is a town about 180 kilometers east of Rangoon).

On 24th June a trader hired 15 porters to carry goods from Paloo to Kawkareik. On their way they learned that the "news is not good" which meant the Burmese soldiers were somewhere along the way,

"The fifteen of us waited, some sitting and some standing waiting for the 'all clear' for us to continue. Suddenly, some twenty or 30 soldiers appeared from the jungle and started shooting at us. I was hit on my left fore arm, got up and ran for my life". Said San Nyein,

"I was hit on my right arm and fell down and one of my friends fell on top of me. I closed my eyes and feigned death. The soldiers came and took away all our goods. I heard two or three shots very close to me. Those shots were probably for those who were not quite dead, I lay very still for fifteen or twenty minutes and slowly opened my eyes and looked around. Everything was very

quiet. Dead bodies were all around me. When I was sure that all the soldiers were gone I pushed away the body on top of me and started to run back to Paloo where I was picked up by the Karen soldiers who sent me to the hospital," explained Thein Zan. "The doctor tried to save my arm, but finally it had to be amputated".

"Nine or ten days later, an Indian was brought to the hospital. The next day when I talked to him I found out that he also went through the same nightmarish experience like us. Of his ten companions, including two women, he was the only one who escaped when the Burmese soldiers opened fire at them," said San Nyein. (The name of the Indian-muslim is Yunoo, 40, of Kawkareik town. He was well looked after at Paloo hospital until properly cured and then sent back home.)

"They called themselves soldiers of 'Pyithutamadaw' (People's Army), they are our soldiers why do they have to kill us indiscriminately? I thought they were to protect us or at least they would not act like insane murderers," said Thein Zan, rubbing the stump of his right arm.

REQUEST TO THE READERS

We are very grateful to the readers who have responded to our request with contribution, advice and encouragement. We look forward to enjoying the same support and good-will of our readers in the future as well.

To defray the cost of publication and distribution, which is quite considerable, we accept a voluntary contribution of US \$1 or an equivalent amount in any currency, except Burmese, for a copy of the KNU Bulletin. Readers living farther away than Thailand usually double that amount.

Once again, we have to beg the indulgence of the readers for being late in bringing out the present issue. We are now able to give an address that can be used for the purpose of sending contribution or correspondence through normal mailing. We hope that we will be able to give an additional address later, for the convenience of readers in Asia, Australia and Africa.

Tee Set Mas Ywa Press,
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BATTLE FIELD REPORTS

I. Late Reports For December 1985No. 1 Military Zone, Thaton District

In four minor actions from 25-12-85 to 31-12-85, our troops killed 6, including 1 lieutenant, and wounded 6 enemy troops from No. 90 Infantry Battalion. The village council chairman of Taungale, 1 G3 rifle and some military equipment were captured.

No. 2 Military Zone, Toungoo District

From 9-12-85 to 4-1-86, the enemy's Central Command launched an operation with 3 columns of troops against our 2nd Brigade in Toungoo Township. Our troops countered the operation with guerilla attacks, ambushes and mines. In the 23 skirmishes, the enemy suffered a total of 12 killed and 25 wounded. Only one was slightly wounded on our side.

No. 3 Military Zone, Nyaunglebin District

From 22-12-85 to 31-12-85, 2 enemy companies from Kyaukkyi launched an operation against our 8th Bn in Moun Township. Our troops put up strong resistance and the enemy withdrew after suffering 8 killed and 5 wounded. Our anti-personnel mines killed 3 and wounded 2 enemy troops.

No. 6 Military Zone, Pa-an District

From 17-12-85 to 31-12-85, our troops from the 7th Brigade engaged the enemy in 10 guerilla actions killing 21 and wounded 78 enemy troops, including 1 column commander, 1 lieutenant and 11 NCOs.

Our land mines killed 1 and wounded 16 enemy troops. Nine of the wounded had a leg each blown off.

1 Browning pistol with 30 rounds, 11 pieces of assorted small arms and 87 rounds of assorted ammunition were captured by our troops.

20th Battalion Area, Papun District

On 22-12-85 and again on 26-12-85 our troops attacked the enemy units at Tha-aw-pi and Ta-re-ki villages. A total of 12 enemy troops were killed and 16 wounded. Our troops captured 3 G2 and 2 G3 rifles. Over 1,000 rounds of ammunition and a quantity of military equipment were also captured in the two attacks,

Central Security Force

In December 1985, units from our Central Security Force, operating behind the enemy's line, inflicted a casualty of 4 enemy troops killed and 8 wounded. One enemy was killed and 11 wounded by our anti-personnel mines. Eight of the wounded had a leg each blown off.

One D 4 bull-dozer and 2 trucks were destroyed by our land mines and 2 enemy agents were captured.

II. Incomplete Reports For January 1986No. 1 Military Zone, Thaton District

From 1-1-86 to 6-1-86, our Village Defence units destroyed 4 bridges. Anti-personnel mines killed 2 and wounded 3 enemy troops, including one lieutenant who had one of his legs severed. They are from enemy's No. 24 Infantry Battalion.

No. 2 Military Zone, Toungoo District

On 4-1-86, our troops attacked and killed 2 and wounded 7 enemy troops in Maw-they-der area.

No. 5 Military Zone, Nyaunglebin District

In two attacks on 2-1-86 and 11-1-86, our troops killed 2 and wounded 4 enemy troops. On 7-1-86, our combined troops' attack on the enemy's peoples militia out-post killed and wounded 17 militia men.

Our anti-personnel mines killed 5 and wounded 4 enemy troops. Our land mine blew up one enemy truck killing 4 and wounding 6 enemy troops in it. One army engineer was among the casualty.

No. 4 Military Zone, Mergui-Tavoy District

From 1-1-86 to 19-1-86, our troops initiated 6 attacks killing 2 and wounding 3 enemy troops. Our troops captured 3 303 enfield rifles, 1 G2 rifle, some ammunition and military equipment, in these actions.

No. 5 Military Zone, Dooplaya District

On 1-1-86, our troops attacked an enemy column between Toe-ki and Ya-thar-ta villages. The enemy withdrew after suffering 2 dead and 10 wounded, including one column operation commander.

Our troops killed 5 enemy troops in an ambush on 3-1-86 near Takaki village.

No. 6 Military Zone, Pa-an District

From 1-1-86 to 20-1-86, our troops initiated 8 attacks in which 9 enemy

troops were killed and 16 wounded. Our anti-personnel mines killed 2 and wounded 1 enemy troops.

Our troops captured 5 assorted small arms with 2,052 assorted rounds of ammunition and some military equipment in these actions.

101st Special Battalion Area

Our troops in this area initiated 15 attacks on the enemy and inflicted a casualty of 14 enemy troops killed and 42 wounded. The anti-personnel mines killed 2 and wounded 22 enemy troops, 5 of whom had a leg each severed. Two bridges and 11 trucks used in road-construction were blown up. Twelve enemy trucks were damaged by our shelling attacks. Six assorted small arms and some military equipment were captured.

20th Battalion Area, Papun District

One D4 bull-dozer and a truck were blown up killing 4 and wounding 16 enemy troops. Our troops initiated 7 attacks on the enemy inflicting a casualty of 14 dead and 27 wounded. The No. 37 Battalion commander was among the casualty. Eleven assorted small arms, ammunition, military equipment and 9 wrist watches were captured from the enemy.

Central Security Force

On 19-1-86, our land-mine destroyed an enemy truck. Our troops kill 3 enemy troops including one officer.

A summary of the above reports gives the figures of enemy casualties and material losses as follows:-

I. Total number of killed	147
2. " " " wounded	338
3. " " " troops captured	2
4. " " " small arms captured	44
5. " " " ammunition captured	3139 assorted small-arm rounds
6. Two bull-dozers and 17 trucks damaged or destroyed	
7. 6 bridges blown up.	

III. Battle News From Other NDF Members

The Kachin Independence Army, (KIA)

On 27-12-85, two companies from the 10th Battalion of KIA attacked the enemy troops from the No. 37 and No. 63 Battalions inflicting a casualty of 15 dead and capturing 2 alive. Three G2, 4 G3, 1 G4 rifles, 2 .30 M1 carbines, 1 M79, 1

Browning pistol, 3 hand grenades, 9 wrist watches, 11 sets of military equipment and 640 rounds of assorted ammunition were captured from the enemy. The KIA troops suffered no casualty.

Palaung State Liberation Army, (PSLA)

On 5-1-86, a column from the PSLA attacked the enemy troops from the No. 13 Infantry Battalion inflicting a casualty of 10 enemy troops dead and wounded, while PSLA suffered only 1 dead.

Again on 11-1-86, an ambush on the enemy troops from the same unit killed 5 and wounded 10 enemy troops.

In a skirmish on 8-1-86, the PSLA troops killed 2 and wounded 3 enemy troops. The PSLA suffered no casualty.

Mon National Liberation Army, (MNLA)

On 26-12-85, the MNLA troops attacked the enemy No. 31 Infantry Battalion at Than-byu-zayat inflicting a casualty of 10 enemy dead and many wounded.

Karenni Army, (KNIA)

In an engagement on 18-11-85, the KNIA troops killed 4 and wounded 3 enemy troops.

In an attack led by Capt. Oo Reh, the KNIA troops killed 10 and wounded 23 enemy troops. One captain, 1 lieutenant and 6 NCOs were among the dead and the commanding officer, a major, was among the wounded. The KNIA troops captured one sten gun and some military equipment.

The KNIA troops suffered 3 dead in the two engagements.

NDF Combined Forces In Kawthoolei

On 25-12-85, troops from the NDF Combined Force attacked the enemy at Lay Po Klo in Karen territory, killing 2 and wounding 4 enemy troops. Two G3 rifles with 300 rounds were captured.

On 26-12-85, the NDFCF troops killed 2 and wounded 4 enemy troops including one 2nd lieutenant.

One Browning pistol with 30 rounds, 1 G3 rifle with 300 rounds and 15 60mm mortar shells were captured. In an ambush on the same day, NDFCF troops killed 2 and wounded 44 enemy troops including one column commander and one platoon commander. One .30 M1 carbine with 40 rounds, 20 rounds of M79 and a quantity of military equipment were captured.

A summary of the above reports gives the figures of enemy casualties and material losses as follows:-

1.	Total number of killed	55
2.	" " " wounded	105
3.	" " " troops captured	2
4.	" " " small arms captured	17
5.	" " " ammunition captured	1010 assorted small-arm rounds
		15 60mm mortar shells
		20 M79 mortar shells

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BRIEF NEWS FROM KNU HQ

I. Central Political & Leadership Training Course

A special Central Political and Leadership Training Course was held at the KNU Supreme Headquarters from 5-1-86 to 7-2-86. The course was attended by 10 Central Committee candidate members, 15 district leaders, 7 central and 8 district level Kawthoolei Women's Organization leaders, 20 officer staff members from various detachments under GHQ and 16 central KNU office staff members, a total of 74 trainees.

The subjects given at the course were the Karen Revolutionary History and Organizational Work given by Skaw Ler Taw, Karen Revolutionary Political Line and Programme given by P'doh Ba Thin, Military Line and Programme given by Brig. Gen. Hla Htoo and Leadership and KNU Organization given by P'doh San Lin.

II. Honouring The Karen Revolution Veterans

On 31st January 1985, the 37th anniversary of the Karen Revolution, a ceremony honouring 50 Karen Revolution veterans was held at the Central KNU Headquarters. The veterans are those who have served the Karen revolution since the beginning. Spouses of the 50 veterans and widows of the veterans who had served the revolution from the beginning for a period of 30 years or more were also honoured at this ceremony.

P'doh Hla Gyaw of the Mining Department presided over the ceremony and P'doh Aung San of the Forest Department delivered a laudatory address praising the honoured for their unwavering loyalty, endurance and courage and the sacrifice they have made for the noble cause of the Karen revolution.

Each of all the veterans with their spouses and the widows were presented with a set of Karen national costumes. Dinner and entertainment followed for all who attended the ceremony.



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PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. President Gen. Bo Mya and family at his 59th Birthday ceremony.
2. Phalu primary pupils wishing President Bo Mya happiness through their songs.
3. Trainees of the 1986 Central Political and Leadership Training Course.
4. The trainees at lecture class.
5. Some of the Karen Revolution Veterans, wives and widows honoured on the 37th Revolution Day.
6. Naw Htoo Day at Army W/T Signal Head Quarter.
7. Colonel Shwo Hser, 6 Brigade Commander, taking salute at Karen New Year day at Walay, Dooplaya District.
8. Playing of Karen Harp with singing at Karen New Year Day celebration.
9. Bamboo Dance Troupe at Walay Karen New Year Day.
10. Presenting of gifts to the Aged.
11. Major General Tamlabaw. VCS, inspecting Guard of Honour at Manerplaw.
12. Playing of Karen Xylophone with Karen Drums on Karen New Year Day at Manerplaw.
13. President General Bo Mya talking to villagers fleeing Burmese soldiers atrocities.
14. Fleeing Karen villagers from Bokpyin Township Area, at a Border Camp, after their villages, houses were burnt down by BSPP troops.
15. A fleeing family at their Refugee Camp.
16. Than Htay (R) and Htay Win (L) of enemy 1st Infantry Battalion who surrender No.101 Battalion on 7-1-86 with their arms.
17. Karen young men from Bokpyin township, Mergui district, who now takes up arms after their villages and houses were burnt down by BSPP troops.
18. Enemy Arms, Ammunitions, Equipments and Documents captured by Major Johny troops on 6-1-86.

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