



A NEWS ORGAN OF THE KAREN NATIONAL MOVEMENT (BURMA).



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An Apology

We very much regret the delay in the publication of this issue of KNU Bulletin, owing to unavoidable circumstances. Efforts will be made for punctual publication of the bulletin in future.



Gen. Bo Mya blowing out candles at his 60th Birthday.



Mela "Don" troupe. 1st prize winners at president's birthday.



Dear Karen Nationals!

On the auspicious occasion of this New Year Day, I would like to wish you all-happiness, health and prosperity!

This New Year is the new year of the entire nation of the Karen people. Every year, on the first of Thalay month all the Karen people, regardless of religion faith or social standing, celebrate the day together with pomp and ceremony and with one mind. I feel delighted and grateful to you for coming together and observing the New Year with harmony and unity today.

Though the Burmese chauvinists have tried to destroy the Karen people by aggressive war and by various other means, the Karens can remain in existence as a nation and can go in celebrating the new years in proper manner because of the courage and determination for the entire Karen nation, and the self-less sacrifice made in the struggle for independence and freedom of the Karen people.

We, the Karens, have all the characteristics of a nation and, accordingly, there must be an independent country for us. In spite of the Burmese Chauvinist's attempts to destroy the Karen people throughout the ages by violent means, the Karen people continue to remain as a stable people with strong traditions and customs and with all the characteristics of a nation. This, positively shows that the Karen once had lived peacefully in an independent country of their own. Had the Karens not been attacked and oppressed by the Burmese chauvinists, the Karens would be a well developed and vigorous nation which able to stand shoulder to shoulder with other developed nations in the World. However, as the Karens have had to bear the violent aggression and persecution of the Burmese chauvinists, their state of development is at a much lower level than those of the other peoples in the world.

In order to have progress and prosperity we, the Karen people, have to fight and overthrow the Burmese chauvinist ruling class which has been hindering our progress. Only then we can develop and prosper. Accordingly, I urge all of you to rally under the flag of the Karen National Union and fight voliontly for your country and people until the complete destruction of the evil Burmese chauvinist ruling class. Our honesty, bravery and determination shall definitely gain us victory over the Burmese chauvinist ruling class.

-The evil and wicked Burmese chauvinism shall definitely fall,

-The noble and just Karen Revolution shall definitely be victorious.

A REVIEW OF THE PREVIOUS YEAR'S WORK

Revolution is the resistance struggle of the oppressed, the powerless and the weak, against the oppressors, the powerful and the strong. The Karen revolution is the resistance struggles of the Karens against the oppression of the Burmese greater nationalist. For more than three and a half decades now, the Karens are fighting against the Burmese greater nationalists which today, happens to be the military regime of the Burmese Socialist-Program Party. 38 years have passed and the Karen revolution is one more year older in its struggle for national survival and independence. We have come to a new year and it is absolutely necessary for us to review our works during the previous year.

In the struggle of the BSPP regime to crush the resistance movements which prevail in various parts of the country, it has focussed its military actions especially on the Karen revolution which is under the leadership of the Karen National Union, in the hope to putting an end to it once and for all before closing in on other groups. Consequently, the Karen revolution did encounter with more trouble and hardships, but in the process, have matured and have acquired remarkable progress in the fields of politics, organization and military activities.

Political trainings could not be opened in the KNU central headquarters, yet, in Tavoy-Mergui district, Dooplaya district and Mutraw district, political trainings had been successfully opened under the auspices of the KNU Central Headquarters. Leaders of the KNU central headquarters had successfully held talks and discussions with various military units and have imparted in the ranks of and files a greater understanding of the Karen revolution and the current political situations.

The Kawthoolie women organization has been formed in every district under the control of the Karen revolution, except in Thaton district. The women are in their own corner, doing whole heartedly and actively, what they can in support of the Karen revolution. One of the outstanding achievements of the Kawthoolie Women Organization magazine whose first issue proves to be of quite a high standard.

Amidst trouble and hardships, the organization department of the Karen National Union has been able to keep on publishing regularly the Than Nu Htoo journal which is growing in quantity and in quality as well. The journal is able to keep Karen Nationals and people in Kawthoolei, in touch with current developments and reality. Many copies of Than Nu Htoo journal find their way into the hands of administration and military officials of the BSPP and even into the hands of their fighting forces on the battle fronts.

KNU Bulletin a news organ of the Karen National Union published by the KNU central headquarters, keep friends of the Karen revolution and observers around the world informed about the current situation in Burma and about the National struggles of the Karens and other ethnic nationals in Burma for national survival and independence. It has aquired considerable success in bringing international awareness to the Karen revolution together with moral support from friends and sympathizers around the world.

Many sympathizers as well as observers who have visited the Karenland got the opportunity of learning more about the Karen revolution, the sacrifices that the Karen resistance fighters and the Karen people have to make their steadfast resolution and perseverance and unwavering loyalty to the Karen national cause. The visitors also come to learn more about the gibes and fabrications concocted by the Burmese greater nationalists to paint the Karens black. These obscure and unknown facts are now being reported in the international news media from time to time.

On the military side, successive military training were given to new recruits who join the Karen national movement. This is an indication that the number of our fighting forces is growing. Officer trainings and other military training in various fields are also given to our fighting forces more than in former years and so our fighting forces now grows in strength and efficiency. At the same time mature in their political convictions.

Our fighting forces have been able to engage with the enemy in battles of annihilation and they had over run many important and strongly guarded enemy stratigic positions. Casualty for the enemy troops have increased greatly and our troops captured more arms and ammunition on the battlefields. Our troops have also been able to escalate their operations in guerilla and mine warfares. Attempts of the enemy to overrun and occupy our military positions have also been successfully checked. Our troops joined hands with people in the move to counter the enemy's attempt to organize and form people militia units in the areas. That is the reason why, what had been implemented by the enemy, is a far cry from, they have expected or hoped for.

With respect to the achievements of the National Democretic Front, an NDF task force had been able to make a trip, through countless Burmese military blockades, to Karenni, Pa-o, Shan, Palaung, Kachin and Wa areas. This remarkable mission has nurtured more goodwill and understanding among the oppressed ethnic nationals and has strengthened the ties that binds them together in their united struggle against a common enemy. The

task force returned safely to NDF headquarters after making the return trip, again through intense Burmese military blockades.

This is a review of our works and our achievements during the previous year. We shall have to admit that many still remain to be done. The situation had not permitted us to do some of the things that should be done. But as much as time and situation permitted, we have tried to our best in what could be done and will keep on trying towards the further advancement and progress of the Karen revolution.

In looking back through the year, we also note that discord prevails in the leadership circle of the BSPP and moreover their economic policy and corruption among the ranks had plunged the country into a quagmire of poverty. Burma is neckdeep in foreign debt, production of consumer goods hence dealing considerably and the country is in a state of Chaos.

Severe casualty on the battle fronts had greatly affected the morale of the BSPP soldiers. They have grown more than wise enough now to believe in the maxim of their superiors that there remain only a handful of rebels. The fact that they have to suffer and die while their superiors prosper because of war is not hard for them to observe either.

To avoid further heavy casualty, the BSPP changed its military tactics. Since 1985 it no longer employ its troops to make all out military offensive to overrun Karen military strongholds. It focusses actions on Karen civilians and traders. Karen civilians have been molested, abused and persecuted in many ways. Some were tortured and killed. Civilians were forced into resettlement camps where they have to contribute forced labour and they are also required to give money and many other things to the BSPP troops for all sorts of reason. Inability or rejection to pay, on the part of the villages resulted in physical abuse and in some cases death.

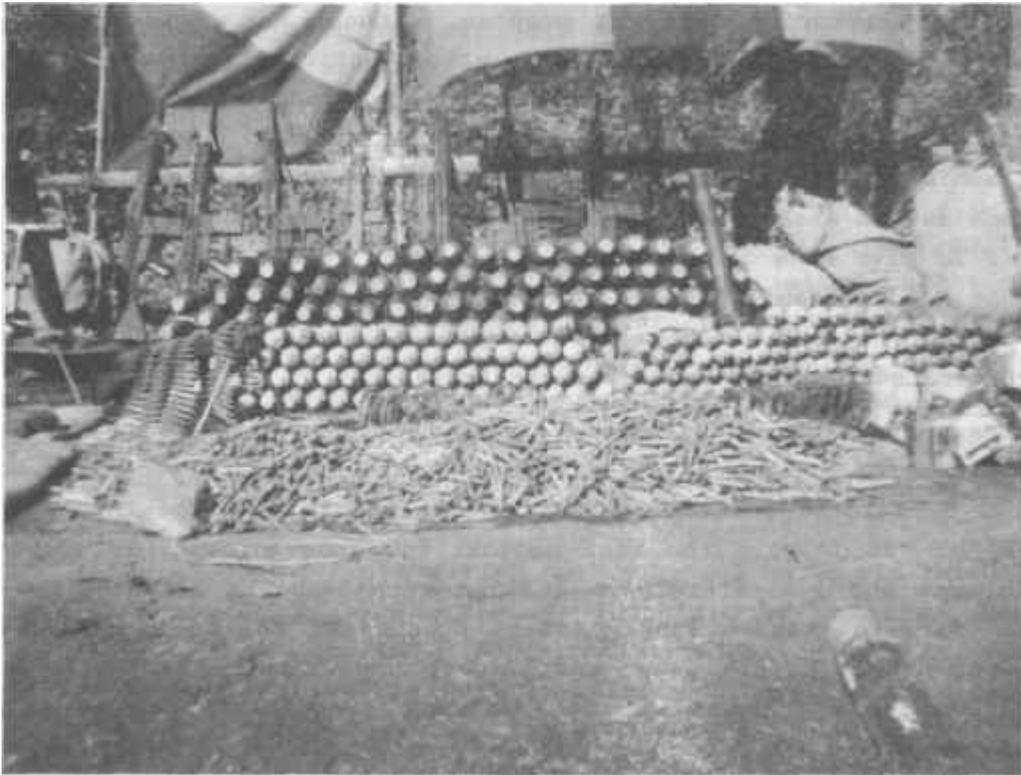
The villagers fled into the jungles because of these atrocities and persecutions. They were again hunted and tracked down like wild animals. Life for them became so perilous and unbearable that a large number of them abandoned everything and fled to the sanctuary of the Thai-Burma border. They had acquired through experience a great contempt and hatred towards the enemy so much so that many enthusiastically join hands with the Karen resistance fighters to fight against the Burmese oppressors.

The world has also come to know bit by bit about the isolation violation of human rights committed by the Burmese rulers against the Karen civilians.

Most of the plans and projects laid down by the BSPP has fallen far

short of the target and it would be very difficult indeed to change the trend. This has caused Burma to lose much of the confidence it previously enjoyed from foreign countries' 13 companies from Japan and South Korea were no longer to operate in Burma.

Now that we know what the position, past was or has been, it is our duty and our obligation now to lay down our plans and projects for the new year. We must resolutely retain what ever is good and beneficial for the Karen revolution and at the same time, knowing where our weakness is, we must make adjustments and separations that will turn our weakness into strength once more.



Arms & Ammos Captured at Say Day Battle 1-12-86.

BURMESE CHAUVINISM AND IMPERIALISM

A study of the political problems of Burma would only end in confusion without taking into consideration the ideology of Burmese chauvinism which has influenced the basic thinking of the Burmese ruling classes since the days of the Burmese Kings. The principal dogma of the ideology is that the Burmese are racially superior, especially to the indigenous ethnic nationalities of the country and hence it is the natural right of the Burmese to dominate or overlord.

Burmese chauvinism went into eclipse temporarily when the Burmese were stunned by the ease with which the British overthrew their monarchy and annexed Burmese land into their empire in the latter part of the 19th century.

Our unfortunate result of the British colonization of Burmese land was the demarcation of boundary line only with the idea of the effective exploitation of the Burmese land and lands adjacent to it economically, and providing security for that purpose, without any consideration for the ethnic line. Thus the lands of many ethnic nationalities; who had lived independently of the Burmese rule before were brought into the boundary of the state of British Burma and placed under more or less the same system of administration, blurring the separateness of the ethnic nationalities such as the Arakanese, Karens, Shans, Mons, Kachins and etc, from the Burmese. To give some idea about British Burma to an outsider, it can be said that had Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos been combined, with a little bit of China and Thailand each, into one state, it would have much similarity with the state of Burma created by the British.

Burmese chauvinism was revived during the years between the Wars when the British allowed some political freedom. The Burmese nationalist movement led by Burmese politicians who called themselves "Thakin", meaning "master" or "lord" were the most radical and chauvinistic. In speeches, songs, dramas and literature, these Burmese chauvinists extolled real or imagined Burmese grandeur and military prowess of the by-gone days. The indigenous ethnic peoples whom the Burmese chauvinists assumed to be of inferior racial stock and whom the Burmese chauvinists saw as helping the British were much disparaged and maligned in a way that appealed to instincts in man.

The Burmese nationalist radicals had a chance to oppose the British by force of arms when the Japanese were recruiting fifth columnists from among the Burmese a few years before the Second World War. In 1941, thirty young Burmese radicals secretly left the country to receive military and political training from the Japanese. Among the thirty was one Shu

Maung (a) Ne Win who is now Chairman of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP). The chauvinistic ideas of these Burmese young men must have been much enhanced by the Japanese facism, for soon after they entered Burma with the victorious Japanese Imperial Army in 1942, their troops started slaughtering thousands of defenceless Karen civilians (See KNU Bullitin No.7).

In 1949, a year after independence, the Burmess chauvinists in power confident of a quick victory, launched a war of domination or imperialism against the Karens, Karennis and the Mons who had been demanding a homeland in a peaceful and democretic manner. Contrary to the expectation of the Burmese chauvinists, the Karen, Karenni and Mon peoples, resisted and struggle for their national rights persisted. Ne Win who had remained in the army and who had now become chief of staff of the Burmese armed forces kept on asking for bigger and bigger military appropriations. Seeing the futility and the danger relying on the military means alone, and a bigger military force the politicians refused to make appropriations as large as the military men wanted. This was seen by Ne Win, who had a cruder view of things, as a treachery on the part of the politicians, consequently, he staged a coup d'etat in March 1962 and set himself up in power as a dictator. The Kachins and Shans, who had been lobbying for greater autonomy, rose up in arms soon after.

Being one of the most chauvinistic Burmese, Ne Win, held on to the facist idea of imposing Burmese domination or imperialism on the ethnic peoples by war. To regiment the people for war and to concentrate all the power into his hands, Ne Win chose socialism of the Marxist kind for his regime. However, to indicate his basis ideology of Burmese chauvinism, the qualifying word "Burmese" was used. Thus a new political system known as Burmese way to Socialism and the BSPP Party expousing the system were created.

From the very beginning, the BSPP regime headed by Ne Win has led the country into deeper mire by increasing the tempo of the civil war and mismanagement of the economy. Racial discrimination and oppression against the ethnic people have been increased. Religious and democratic freedom of the people have been ruthlessly suppressed. To cover all these happenings, a curtain of strict secrecy has been maintained by banning all foreign journalists and controlling all published materials in the country.

Now the BSPP regime has completed its 4th four-year economic plan, and its long term twenty-year economic plan started in 1974-75 is half-way the process of implementation. The news organs controlled by the BSPP

regime trumpet much about the success and progress brought about by them. In the ten-year period, according to the figures published by the BSPP regime, hospitals, dispensaries and rural health workers such as doctors, nurses, health assistants and etc., have been increased by 76% and expenditure on health has been increased by 3.2 times. In the area of education, schools for basic education, higher education and vocational education have been increased by 48%, school teachers by 5.3%, students by 41% and the expenditure on education by 2.6 times, says the report.

Whatever the regime says, the people have never felt any tangible progress in the areas mentioned. All the people have noticed are the ever increasing number of the unemployed persons and the spiralling inflation. Such and similar reports are published by the BSPP to deceive the public and most probably, its own chairman U Ne Win whom none of the BSPP members dare to tell the truth about the real situation in the country.

The ever increasing budget appropriation for the military effort of the BSPP regime was over 1,830 million kyats for the financial year of 1986-87 (Approximately? 8.2 kyats=1\$US) Without taking into consideration, civilians forcibly used, this means that the regime is spending 5.03 million kyats a day for its war effort mainly to kill and oppress the indigenous ethnic people of Burma.

To see how the country fares on the economic front, we may compare it with the starving Ethiopia which is one of the poorest countries in the world. The GNP of Ethiopia is US\$2,900.00 million whereas the GNP of Burma is about US\$1,800.00 million. The per capita income of Ethiopia is US\$ 91.00 whereas that of Burma is only US\$ 82.00. This much is enough to give an idea of the economic situation Burma is in.

For the ailing economy of the country, there seems to be no possibility of recovering. Burma has a yearly deficit of 2,000.00 million kyats in foreign trade, has to pay an interest of 1,890.00 million kyats on foreign loans and as the BSPP regime is spending 1,830.00 million kyats a year for its war effort.

The BSPP regime now has foreign debt of US\$ 3.10 million to service. It has also to face the difficulties of higher interest rates, the falling prices of its export commodities and the rising prices of the essential import commodities in quick succession. All these difficulties are transferred on to the shoulders of people who have a per capita income of only 575 kyats a year and who also have to bear the calamities of a raging civil war. The consequences of this is low standard of living, high commodity prices, rising rate of crimes and the deteriorating situation of health and education.

The enormity of the misfortune brought into the country by the BSPP regime may be judged by the opinion of experts who say that even if there were peace and all the people in the country devoted themselves to produce-labour, it would take more than 70 years to repay the debt Burma is in. So long as the civil war continues and the people are exploited and oppressed by the BSPP regime with its Burmese Socialist system as it is now, we can be sure that Burma would not be able to repay her debt even in a period of 1,000 years.

So far, there is no indication that the BSPP regime is going to wind down its war of imperialism against the ethnic peoples in Burma. To finance evil BSPP regime will have to go on ruthlessly exploiting and oppressing the war the 9.5 million farmers and 6.2 million workers of the country. Moreover, it will go on instituting various legislative acts and laws such as the Demonetization law, Special Income Tax Act, . Video Licence Act & etc., to legally rob the people of their hard earned money.

As the price of rice, the main export of Burma, has fallen on the international market and as the forests of Pegu Yoma have been depleted of teak and other valuable hard wood, the BSPP regime is desperately trying to lay its hands on the teak and mineral resources in eastern Karen-land by frenziedly launching brutal military operation with their attendant torture, wanton killing and looting. Burmese imperialism.

The eastern Karen-land is a hilly and forested region with a virulent type of malaria and other diseases. In spite of heavy casualties, the Burmese chauvinist troops keep on coming as if driven by fate to come to meet in this in-hospitable region, their nemeses in the forms of a bitter and enraged Karen population and the Karen National Liberation Army, under the leadership of the Karen National Union, who are resolutely determined to fight on in their resistance against the aggression and imperialism of the Burma chauvinists, until the final victory is won.

BURMA, The Paddy Land

Burma is a country which is filled with Agricultural as well as Geological treasures that abound on the surface and under the soil. When viewing the aspects on agricultural side, we can see that maximum productivity of paddy crops come from the fertile Irrawaddy deltas and the Sit-tang valleys and plains. Again, casting our eyes toward the Pegu Yomas, the Arakan Yomas and the Chindwin river valley we can see vast teak forests wherefrom large teak products are being obtained. Should we direct our attention on the mineral deposits, at Yenang Gyaung, crude oil and ample mineral gas can be seen. Furthermore, at Mogok, within the Kachin hills and valleys, best quality types of Jade and Rubbies are being mined and extracted. Other mineral deposits such as Lead, Tin, Wolfram etc. are also bountiful here.

Burma however obtains her Foreign Exchange from abroad chiefly through her rice export. Burma is now however classified as one of the poorest countries in our present world. It has been estimated that the yearly national income per capita in Burma is 174 U.S. Dollars, and besides this, Burma is 3,000 million US Dollars in debt to other countries.

During the pre-War years Burma was notable as the chief rice exporter to the out-side world. But, in the present times, Burma is no longer able to export her rice abroad as in former days. Consequently, this denotes impoverishments to the farmers and the people in the country who could not find enough to eat for themselves. Why does a country like Burma, which is so rich in soil and minerals, become so impoverished and her people pauperized?

There are three factors that caused the above deterioration of the once prosperous country.

1. The faulty agricultural scheme laid down by the BSPP Regime.
2. The inefficient programmes and plannings laid down by the BSPP national planners.
3. The adoption of Chauvinistic policy that do not allow equality and other Democratic rights to other ethnic races. Hence the armed resistances and the hazards of civil war.

We shall now discuss point number one where the plight of the farmers and cultivators of the country was based on the faulty and inhuman scheme enforced by the BSPP. 85% of the total population in Burma are farmers. The first scheme laid down by the BSPP was to allow the cultivators to cultivate only the plot of land allotted to him. That cultivator does not have the right to own the plot of farmland he cultivates nor the right to

work the land as he deems fit. For example, if the BSPP instructs that a farmer should plant only paddy, that farmer cannot plant other suitable crops that he knew would be more beneficial to him. If that farmer would desire to plant sugar-cane, he would not be allowed to do so. He must comply to the scheme worked out by the BSPP. He must plant the specific type of seed that the BSPP required of him to plant. The BSPP goes to the length of making a prior estimation, of the farm produce at the forthcoming harvest and calculates as to how much of the rice or paddy produce should be sold to them after the harvest. For any farmer who fails to comply in the mentioned way of sales of farm-produce, imprisonment is his lot. To be set free from prison, the farmers must purchase the required quota of paddy at high prices (two or three folds higher) from other available source and then comply to get his freedom. The price the BSPP gives the farmers for their paddy is comparatively less than available market price and there upon the farmers who thus have to sell their paddy to the BSPP government find themselves pauperize and in economic disaster. It is comparable to the Chittiyars during the British Colonial days. The BSPP are now taking the place of the Chittiyars in exploiting and oppressing the farmers through their assumed positions of great land lords and authorized proprietors.

Enforcement of their own choice of crops to be cultivated is just one phase of their oppressive schemes. The BSPP further exploit the farmers and villagers through their creation and nurturing of their lackeys in forms of councillors and other governing bodies. These lackeys know towed their BSPP superiors? While stamping upon the heads of those poor farmers to win? Favours. Not contented with the laid down sales quotas for the farmers to provide, some council members went even further to take all the paddy in godowns that are fuller, again to win favour from their BSPP Masters over the expense of the poor cultivators who are thus left to starve.

The BSPP then formed their Land Agricultural Corporation. The branches of this corporation deal with the distribution and sales of insecticides and fertilizers to the farmers. The staffs who are employed in the corporation steal these insecticides and fertilizers and sell them because their salaries do not meet their monthly expenses. This kind of theft causes the stock to become less. Therefore to supplement the diminished measures, their staffs start to add kerosene oil and other ingredients to the stock. So, when the farmers are in need of those fertilizers and insecticides, they have to purchase them from the black market at exorbitant prices. The BSPP has, on paper, the scheme for increased crop yield for each harvest. These increased crops are not so suitable

for consumption. The rice from those increased yield prove to be hard, coarse and are unpalatable when cooked. For these increased yields, ie, 300 baskets per acre, the BSPP government becomes vain glorious and bragged so loudly. The BSPP Regime is bent on producing only maximum yields of course rice. They want only quantity, but have no thought for the quality to be nourishments for the people of the country. They do not encourage the people to plant, crops of better quality. They have their own men assigned for the job of buying paddy from the farmers. These responsible persons neglect proper of paddy, and when the rain comes, the paddy stock suffered became rot and decay. They are not conscientious workers because the monthly pay they receive from the government is not sufficient for getting two square meals a day even.

Under similar conditions, there is no proper storage of crops, late milling of paddy and other impediments' cause much loss and inconveniences. Improper storage of paddy result in loss through rats and rodents as well as through pests and insects. In addition to the inferior grade of rice, improper storage and mismanagement in an all round aspect, made the rice stock finally stink and rot and unfit for human consumption and for general health.

Nowadays Burma can no longer export her rice. In the past, the chief importer of Burma's rice was Indonesia. But now, can produce her own rice supplies and therefore no longer needs Burma's rice. Burma's present rice production, being inferior in grade as it now stands, do not attract foreign purchase any more. The B.B.C. was once heard to broadcast that Burmans now living in England choose to eat rice only from Thailand and America and not from Burma. This is obviously due to the inferior quality of Burma's rice. This also caused British not to buy rice produce in Burma.

Many countries of the world today endeavour to cultivate rice for adequacy in their local consumption. This is therefore one reason that inferior rice can find no market in the present world. Consequently, in order that Burma rice would again reappear in the world market, proper changes and revisions in the agriculture plannings and schemes must be under taken. A complete and effective change would take at least a period of 5 years and obviously, Burma can never keep in step with other advanced countries. Analogous to inferior rice, there exists no way for progress and advancement for the country under the present regime. There can be no bright future for the land that had reached a dead-end and no hope for a possible return.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN BURMA

Since independence in January 1948 Burma has been beset by continual political and ethnic conflict. The "federal"¹ constitution drawn up by the Constituent Assembly in September 1947 failed to resolve the complex problems posed by Burma's diverse social and ethnic mix. The Communist Party of Burma launched armed insurrection just 3 months after Burma's independence. The Karen National Union, which had boycotted elections to the Constituent Assembly, began armed rebellion in January 1949. Throughout the fifties armed groups amongst other ethnic minorities Arakanese, Karenni, Mon, Pao and Shan-continued to challenge the rule of the central government. Finally in March 1962 with the very real threat of moves to secure the secession of the Kayah(Karenni) and Shan States, (a right granted in the 1947 constitution) General Ne Win seized power in a military coup and brought to an end the brief era of parliamentary democracy.

A "Revolutionary Council" of military officers now assumed all power, political parties were abolished and many leading politicians were imprisoned. It was not until 1974 that a new constitution was introduced and Ne Win's unique "Burmese Way to Socialism" were ratified by national referendum. All political and governmental institutions were centralised. Burma became a one party state under the Burma Socialist Programme Party (Article 11) and "a socialist society" was declared "the goal of the State" (Article 5). Under the new constitution there are clear guarantees for the basic rights of all citizens before the law "regardless of race, religion, status or sex" (Article 22), but the exercise of such rights must not be "to the detriment of national solidarity and the socialist social order" (Article 153(b)). And though the seven largest ethnic minorities are apparently recognised by states of their own-Arakan, Chin, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Mon and Shan-the unitary structure of the State and the centralised system of government in fact put an end to all discussion of rights of secession or independent political representation.

However the new constitution has failed to resolve the problem of national unity or gain widespread acceptance. The scale of insurgency has scarcely declined particularly in the ethnic minority states where many of the insurgent movements, including the Communist Party of Burma, are based today. It is worth noting, then, that according to the government's own statistics it was in the ethnic minority states the referendum received its lowest vote-66.40% in the Shan State, 68.84% in the Kachin State and 71.01 in the Kayah State.

It is from the ethnic minority states that many of the allegations of

human rights abuses in Burma today originate. Ethnic minority races make up a third of Burma's estimated 36 million population. But investigating such reports presents many difficulties. Since 1962 Burma has become one of the most hermetically sealed nations in the world. Outside visitors are restricted. Tourists are allowed 7 days visas only and movement is confined to a handful of government controlled towns, largely in the Irrawaddy Delta. For the casual visitor, except, for officers of the ubiquitous Military Intelligence Service (MIS) and the rampant blackmarket, there is usually little hint of the scale of the unrest or insurgency elsewhere in Burma. However in the last few years with a series of large scale Burmese army operations pushing close to the borders of Thailand and Bangladesh and refugees increasingly spilling over international frontiers, the human rights situation in Burma and in particular the activities of the Burmese army have begun to attract increasing outside attention and concern.

It is from the Karen State that the most persistent and detailed allegations have been reported. In January 1984 the Burmese army launched a major counter-insurgency campaign in the Papun, Paan and Hlaingbwe districts much of which have remained under Karen National Union influence since independence. The strategy used by the Burmese army is known as the "Four Cuts" or "Four Deprivations" Modelled on the tactics developed by Brig. Thompson during the Malayan "Emergency." The intention is to isolate insurgent forces by cutting any lines of supply and communication between the civilian population and the rebel underground. It is a strategy which was first used with some success in clearing Karen and Communist Party insurgents from central Burma in the early 1970's.

However it would appear that in areas under military operation even the most basic guarantees of individual rights under the Burmese constitution are suspended. Article 161 guarantees every citizen's legal right to the ownership of income and property. Article 159 guarantees the "personal freedom and security of every citizen" and the "no citizen shall be placed in custody for more than 24 hours without the sanction of a competent judicial organ." Yet accounts of the wholesale destruction of property, arbitrary arrest, army brutality and summary execution are commonplace and have been widely documented amongst the 20,000 Karen and Mon refugees who have fled to camps on the Thai side of the border.

Today much of the northern Dawna Range stands empty and devastated. Along a 75 mile front villages have been burnt down and crops confiscated or destroyed. Villagers have been ordered to move to camps under military control in the plains to the west or run the risk of being shot on sight.

And refugees from the new villages describe a life of extreme hardship. Food is rationed with villagers under constant curfew and under orders to report regularly to army authorities making the tending of any distant fields impossible.

Traders or suspected blackmarketeers have been singled out for particularly severe treatment. In Burma there are strict laws against smuggling-including the death penalty. Insurgent groups raise taxes on the thriving blackmarket and smugglers are classified as "insurgent saboteurs". But in practice such laws are irregularly enforced. As any visitor to Rangoon will recognise trading on the blackmarket in Burma has become a way of life. However on the Karen front there have been consistent reports of the summary execution, without any recourse to trial or even the most basic legal representation, of anyone suspected of carrying goods to or from Karen National Union bases on the Thai border. In June 1985, 42 traders were allegedly executed near one K.N.U. base at Phalu.

Another common allegation is the "press-ganging" of porters into service by the Burmese army. In theory any such service is voluntary and payment should be made but it would appear this system is widely abused. Army operations are usually preceded by the enforced conscription of dozens of local villagers to carry arms and supplies for the Burmese army often into hazardous front-line positions. Allegations of poor treatment have regularly been reported-including beatings and lack of food and medicine. At the end of such operations porters have often been found left behind wandering about on remote jungle trails.

However it is not only in the Karen state that the use of such tactics has been reported. In April this year several hundred porters were used by the Burmese army in operation "Lay Mahn Aung" east of the Salween River in the Kayah State where the Karenni National Progressive Party is active. In a two week sweep close to the Thai border 10 villages were burnt down, all paddy and livestock destroyed and several hundred people rendered homeless. In the Kachin and Shan States, too, similar operations have been reported though, given the difficulties of access, are more difficult to verify. Since August 1984 a "Four Cuts" campaign has been underway in the hills south of Hsipaw where the Shan State progressive Party has base areas and since the end of 1980 much of the south-west Shan State where Pao insurgents are active has been under continuous military operation. Again the same reports of the destruction of villages and the killing of innocent villagers continue to filter out. But how much such operations really hurt insurgent organisations is open to question. It is the civilian population who often bear brunt of the casual-

ties. An underlying problem would appear to be the attitude of Burmese army officers to minority peoples whom they regard as "suspect" and therefore in collusion with the insurgents. Far from driving a wedge between the insurgents and the civilian population such operations often have the effect of ossifying public support behind the rebel groups.

In the Shan States another tactic has recently been introduced which again suggests a scant regard by the central government for ethnic minority hill-farmers living in remote areas of only slight government control. In February 151 villages in Kengtung province in the eastern Shan State were reportedly sprayed with the U.S. supplied herbicide 2,4,D (a compound used in the production of Agent Orange) as part of an opium eradication programme. That the Shan State is one of the world's major opium producing areas is not in question. An estimated 300-600 tons are annually produced locally. But the logic of such haphazard aerial spraying is surely in doubt. Most observers are agreed that solutions to the twin problems of opium and insurgency are inseparable. But now whereas elsewhere in the region carefully monitored crop substitution programmes are underway, in Burma toxic chemicals are being dumped on remote hill villages without any apparent regard for the lives of local villagers or the ecological consequences.

From the Arakan state, too, there have been consistent reports of human rights abuses. In 1978 an estimated 200,000 Muslims from the Rohingya community fled across the Bangladesh border during the "Nagamin" census operation amidst widespread reports of rape, brutality and murder by the Burmese army. Most refugees were eventually permitted to return but reports of the persecution of Muslims still continue. Local Muslims claim the long-term plan of the government is to drive all Muslims out of Burma. A new citizenship law passed in 1982 restricts full citizenship (except for "indigenous" races such as the Burmans or Shans) to only those who can prove ancestors resident in Burma before 1824 and creates the new categories of "associate" and "naturalised" citizens. While the exact application of this law is still unclear, many Muslims born and brought up in Burma, are now apparently denied full citizenship rights and face constant discrimination and harrassment. In the last year Amnesty international has put out 3 emergency appeals after the arrest and alleged torture of Muslims. Interviews with refugees would suggest that fear of the Military Intelligence Service and torture is very real. And much of northern Arakan, which is usually considered a "white" area today, is also at present under military operation after a raid on the regional town of Minbya by the underground Communist Party of Arakan. From June 25th to July 20th the capital of Akyab was blockaded and all movements in and out

of the town controlled. Over 300 people have been reported arrested and though most have subsequently been released there have again been allegations of beatings and torture.

While the Ne Win government continues to pursue a military solution to Burma's deep ethnic and political problems there would appear to be little end to the continuing conflict in sight. Whatever the guarantees and rhetoric of the 1974 constitution, the Ne Win government is widely perceived as a military regime. Only one civilian, Dr Maung Maung, has appeared in the higher levels of government in recent years, all other positions being occupied by either serving or retired army officers. A widely-held view was expressed by a representative of the Kachin Independence Organisation who met with the government in abortive peace talks in 1980-81 and discussed many of the constitutional issues raised in this paper, "In Burma the constitution is a mere constitution written on paper. It is just an official document to show to the people. The true ruling system is dictatorship, a tyrannical government. They can do everything they want and how they want to do it."

There remain large, unresolved contradictions in the constitution and little means to debate them. A particular stumbling block is the representation of minority or dissident interests. Article 158 of the constitution states "Every citizen shall have the right freely to take part in political, social, class and mass organisations permitted by law and to enjoy freedom of association, assembly and procession." And yet Article 11 expressly stipulates, "The state shall adopt a single-party system. The Burma Socialist Programme Party is the sole political party and it shall lead the state". Political opponents, including those from within Ne Win's narrow government circle, have routinely been imprisoned. Brig-Gen. Tin Oo, Joint-secretary of the BSPP and regarded by many as Ne Win's heir apparent, and Col. Bo Ni, Home and Religious Affairs Minister, were both jailed for life in 1983 on alleged corruption charges. At the same time periodic amnesties and the release of political prisoners tend only to add to the impression of a government ruling by dictate.

Nor should the allegations of human rights abuses in Burma be seen only in the context of the background of insurgency. Allegations are frequently made by many who profess no desire to become involved in insurgent movements. Again many such allegations come from the ethnic minorities. A common grievance is discrimination in employment opportunities despite the guarantee of "equal opportunities" in the constitution. (Article 22). Another common complaint is "the official obstruction of minority languages though Article 153(b) guarantees "Every citizen shall have the

right to freely use one's language and literature." There are great difficulties in printing and distributing materials in minority languages. All books and magazines have to be submitted to government censors who not only restrict the content of the materials published but even the numbers of copies printed. And though Article 152(b) allows for minority languages to be taught in schools their status is so down-graded as to put many ethnic minority children at a great disadvantage. It is, thus, often said that whatever the constitutional guarantees towards the minorities the government is instead following a none too subtle policy of "Burmanisation" to resolve the very real ethnic and political differences of opinion.

The tragedy in Burma today is that the expression of views like these can be deemed a punishable offence and to the "detriment of national solidarity". The result has been the continuing flight into the jungles and into exile of many of Burma's ablest intellectuals and leaders fuelling a cycle of conflict to which for the present there would appear to be no end.



Officers of Pao. NDF Troops.

CONSOLIDATED KNLA MILITARY ACTIVITIES FROM 16-11-86 To 31-12-86.

Military Zone	No. of our attacks	No. of our mine bombs	ENEMY CASUALTIES				ENE. ARMS & AMMOS CAPTURED					REMARKS		
			Killed	Wounded	Leg. Severed	Surrender	Total	Small Arms	Magazine	Ammos	Heavy Weapons		Rounds	Bombs
No. 1	11	4	9	13	3	-	25	4	30	130	-	-	-	Destroyed ene. Post at Donzavlt. Burned down ene. stores and buildings.
No. 2	5	3	10	11	2	2	25	3	13	340	-	-	-	(2) Ene. Kaling Soe Ag (577979) and Kaling Than Mg surrendered (1) G-4, (13) magazines 340 rds. Amms. (1) Coy Comdr. wdd.
No. 3	12	6	30	28	4	-	62	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
No. 4	5	2	12	9	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	(1) Ene truck destroyed. (1) NCO wounded
No. 5	10	5	8	24	3	-	35	3	20	561	-	-	-	(1) Ene Column Comdr, Win Kyi Kid. (2) NCOs wdd. Destroyed (2) bridges.
No. 6	11	15	17	67	7	-	91	5	15	1050	3	42	15	(2) officers kid, (2) officers & (4) NCOs wdd, Destroyed 1 military truck.
101 Bn	4	12	6	19	8	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	(1) cart with ene. rations destroyed (1) officer kid, (2) officers wdd.
20 Bn	8	2	18	26	1	-	45	2	8	200	-	-	-	(2) officers lkd, (2) NCOs wdd, (1) military truck destroyed.
GHQ	10	20	52	90	-	-	142	43	79	11059	2	162	55	(2) officers and (4) NCO kid, (2) Tractors destroyed.
Total	76	69	162	287	28	2	479	60	165	13340	5	209	72	(9) officers & (4) NCOs kid, (5) officers & (9) NCOs wdd. (3) military trucks, (2) tractors, (2) bridges destroyed.



KNLA Troops which attacked and occupied Enemy Wakla Kyo and Mesena posts after their arrival back at GHQ.



Arms and Ammos Captured at Mesena on 25th December 1986.

SOME MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF THE KNLA TROOPS

The following are some of our KNLA military activities from 16-11-86 to 31-12-86. We include in this issue some of our guerilla and mine warfairs.

No.1 Military Zone, Thaton District

On 20-11-86 our troops attacked one enemy truck at Taunggale. The truck capaised and got burnt.

On 3-12-86 a section of our troops ambushed enemy No. 77 Infantry Bn. at Tee See Baw inflicting (2) enemies killed and (3) wounded.

On 10-12-86 our troops embushed the enemy at Tee See Baw, between Tee See Baw and Kaw Po Ple, and between Kla Yu and Kwiday. On these (3) attacks enemies suffered (1) killed and (3) wounded.

On 11-12-86, (1) enemy got his leg severed by our mine-bomb at Kyaw Hta. On the same day, our troops ambushed the enemies near Pyin-Tha, inflicting (1) enemy, killed and (2) wounded.

On 13-12-86 our troops combined with some 3 Bde troop, made surprise attack on enemy post at Donzayit on Sittang river. We destroyed all the enemy post and burnt down enemy co-operative stores, council building and police station. We captured a quantity of military equipments and rations.

On 18-12-86, one bomb exploded near Shwe-Oke inflicting (1) enemy leg severed.

On 19-12-86, we attacked enemy between Nat Kyi and Be Le No. (2) enemies were killed and (3) wounded. We captured (1) G-4 riffle with 3 rounds ammos.

No. 2 Military Zone, Toungoo District

On 3-12-86, our troops attacked enemy at 3 places, one near Maw Pa Der, one at Thauk Yegan Bridge and one at Pa-We. On these (3) attacks, enemies suffered a total of (4) killed and (5) wounded.

On 16-12-86, (2) bombs exploded near Kaw So Ko and Maw Pa Der. (2) enemies got killed and (3) wounded including one Coy Comdr. Willie Thein Tun.

No. 3 Military Zone, Klerlweetu District

On 16-11-86, one bomb exploded at Mukaday. (1) enemy was killed and (2) wounded. Our troops attacked the retreating enemies, inflicting (2) enemies killed.

On the same day, one bomb exploded at Nwata, inflicting (1) enemy killed. In the evening (1) bomb exploded near Nwata (2) enemies were wounded including (1) leg severed.

On 17-11-86, one bomb exploded near Kawbilayko wounding (1) enemy seriously.

On 18-11-86, one bomb exploded at Ner Day. (1) enemy leg severed and (1) wounded. We attacked the retreating enemies inflicting (1) killed and (1) wounded. We attacked the same enemy in the evening at Wata. Fighting lasted 30 minutes. Enemy suffered (2) killed and (3) wounded.

On 21-11-86, the enemies stepped on our (2) mine-bombs at Ler Awka, resulting in (1) killed and (2) wounded.

On 23-11-86, (2) bombs exploded at Berkaso. (1) enemy got both legs severed and (2) got their eyes wounded.

No. 4 Military Zone, Mergui-Tavoy District

On 20-11-86, our troops attacked enemy at Ale-Sakan, inflicting(3) enemies killed and (2) wounded.

On 1-12-86, our troops embushed (1) enemy truck and burnt it. (3) enemies were killed and (2) wounded. On the same day, we attacked the enemy at Man Pan inflicting (1) enemy killed.

No. 5 Military Zone, Dooplaya District

On 21-11-86, at 0600 hrs, our troops attacked enemy at Yebu village. Fighting lasted one hour. All enemies fled after suffering (2) wounded. We captured (1) G-3 riffle with (200) rounds of ammunicions, (3) military packs, (3) hats and (2) mosquito nets.

On 25-11-86, our troops attacked enemy No. 8 Light Inf, Bn. at Tee Kay. Fighting lasted (4) hours. The enemies suffered (3) killed including No. 8 L/B column Comdr. Win Kyi and (12) wounded.

On 26-11-86, our troops attacked the enemy at Metarit Kwi, and at Mepale inflicting (3) enemies wounded.

On 28-11-86, our troops attacked the enemy at Noe Po village. We captured (4) 2 inch mortar bombs, (8) G-3 magazines with (111) rounds ammunitions.

On 3-12-86, our troops combined with Kaligaw column attacked enemy No. 7 L/B. near Htimootah. Fighting lasted 30 minutes. Our troops captured (1) G-3 rifle, (1) G-4 rifle with 12 magazines and (240) rounds ammos and some military equipments.

No. 6 Military Zone, Paan District.

On 5-12-86, at 1530 hours, (1) mine exploded inflicting enemy sgt. Po Kywe, leg severed. On the same day we shelled enemy position at Mala Gale killing enemy 2nd Lt. Min Zaw Naing of 10 L/B. On the same day at 1000 hrs, we ambushed enemy near Metama, inflicting (2) enemies killed and (4) wounded. We captured (2) rifles.

On 6-12-86, we counter-attacked the enemies attack inflicting enemy cpl. Ag Min killed and (4) others wounded.

On 10-12-86, enemy sgt. Pyi Soe of 9 L/b got his leg severed by one mine-bomb at Metawei.

On 11-12-86, at 0600 hrs. (3) enemies of 8 L/B were wounded by our ambush at Me ple waki.

On 19-12-86, enemy Hla Thaug of No. 8 L/B was wounded by our mine-bomb. On the same day at 1200 hrs. enemy Kyaw Kyaw of No. 2 L/B got his leg severed by one mine-bomb at Taw-oke.

On 21 -12-86, enemy Khin Win of No. 2 L/B got his leg severed by mine-bomb.

On 22-12-86, enemy Myo Thant and Myint Win of No. 8 L/B got their legs severed by our mine-bomb at Wame. On the same day enemy Tint Lwin of No. 8 L/B was wounded by our guerilla attack.

No 101 Special Bn.

From 22-11-86 to 22-12-86, within one month, a total of (14) of our minebombs exploded inflicting a total of (13) enemies wounded including (5) legs severed. (1) cart fully loaded with enemy rations was totally destroyed.

On 24-12-86 at 1720 hrs, our 101 Bn troops combined with some 7 Bde. troops attacked enemy 8 L/B Thaypo Walu. (5) enemies including (1) 2nd Lt were killed and (15) including (1) capt. and (1) 2nd Lt were wounded.

No. 20 Bn. area, Papun District

On 21-12-86 at 2315 hrs, our troops attacked enemy between Mawloklo and Ler Kwe. Fighting lasted (4) hours. (5) enemies were killed and (15) wounded. We captured (8) 60 mm rounds. (2) M.9A1 bombs, (231) G-3 rounds, (100) Carbine rounds, (1) sten magazine with 9 rounds and (7) pairs enemy shoulder badges.

On the same day, our troops also attacked enemy No. 77 Inf. Bn. with mortar bombs at Bawkyotah. (1) enemy Lt. Kyaw Tun was killed and (2) others wounded

GHQ troops

Waklakyo Battle On 12-12-86 at 5 A.M, our GHQ troops combined with some 20Bn. troops attacked enemy 19 Inf. Bn. No. 4 Coy, strategic post 3232 at Waklokkyo. Fighting continued till 0700 hrs. When we occupied the whole enemy position, all enemies fled leaving (5) dead bodies including Coy comdr. Aye Thein and Sgt. Tin Hlaing.

We captured (50) rounds of 81mm, (50) rounds 2" mortar (3) Carbines, (3) G-3 rifles, (1) Browning pistol, (1) compass, (4) military maps, (10) Hand grenades, (4) BZK bombs, (15) G-3 magazines with 5705 rounds ammos, (1) charging set, (1) radio, and a large quantity of rations, military equipments and documents.

Mesenam Battle On 25-12-86, our GHQ troops combined with some Karenni troops attacked enemy No102 Inf. Bn. No 4 Coy post at Mesenam from 0550 hours to 0610 hrs. When we totally occupied the post, all enemies fled, leaving (10) dead bodies including (1) sgt and (1) cpl.

We captured 1 Browning pistol, (1) 79mm riffle, (2) Japanese riffles, (12) Brt. Rifles, (1)M-9A1 rifle, (10) G-3 rifles, (8) sten guns, a total of (212) bombs, (35) Hand grenades, (38) 2" mortar bombs, (42) G-3 magazines, (9) Sten magazines with (2640) rounds, (4456) rounds of Carbine Ammos, (1) 156W/T set, with codes and ciphers, (2) cassette radios, (2) flags and a large quantity of medicines, military equipment and rations. No casualties in our side.

THE MOVEMENTS OF FREE BAPTIST MISSION AND PHU HSAH YE

Phu Hsah Ye was born at Nakhoki in Papun District and was known as Pah Khe when he was young. When he became a little old enough he went down to Shwe-gyin town for schooling and before acquiring much education he went back to his native village and indulged in matrimony when quite young in age. He owned an elephant when he got married but not long after the wedlock, his wife and elephant died. In consequence to this fateful plight, sadness and remorse drove him to seek hermitage in the jungle and meditate and fast in the way of a recluse until folks from his village later found him half-dead from hunger. In the course of time, he made his dwelling on the hills of eastern side of Shwe-gyin town, built a temple and a pagoda called "Gho Mu Plaw" on a rocky bluff that made a very difficult access for his visitors. Despite the aforementioned difficulty, his oracular and persuasive personality attracted and drew throngs of adherers and worshippers to his sanctuary thereby magnifying and increasing his fame to a wide public and even within the notice of the government of that day. His followers then persuaded him to come down to the plains on the western part of Nyaunglebin town whereupon he built and founded a big village named Pah Doh Plaw which can still be seen to this very day.

At that time he called himself as Po Pike Hsan but he later assumed the name 'Phu Hsah Ye' after he and his 200 followers were baptised by Reverend Vinton within a single day. The staple food of Karens are rice and water. Without the mentioned principal food life could not be sustained.

After his baptism, Phu Hsah Ye went out evangelizing every where. He went to Pegu, Rangoon, went up to Hmawbi, Wanetchaung, Okkan, Tharawaddy, Letpadan and crossed over to Henzada, Maubin, Myaungmya and Bassein. He possessed the "gift of the gap" and his ability in preaching drew many people to be baptised and become Christians. His power of persuasion made the prosperous farmers poured in basketfuls and matfuls of money to his mission seemingly without any restraint as alms and donations.

Phu Hsah Ye did not only endeavour in preaching. He collected donations and with the money he received he freely built many religious buildings, big and small, in the vicinities where his numerous disciples were staying. The biggest structure and reservoir (lake) that he built was at Hmawbi town. This building caught fire and was burnt. Many schools, churches and buildings, wells and lakes were constructed by him at Pah Doh Plaw, Nyaunglebin, and Htongyi centres. A rest house was also built near the Rangoon Main Railway Station. At Okkan-Letpadan highway and some places in Henzada and Maubin, up north at Shwegyin and Kyaukkyi, such charitable buildings and constructions were the endeavours of Phu Hsah Ye. Those buildings were in the course of time decayed and gone and some were lost through mortgages in the hands of the 'Chettiyars' (money-lenders). Some buildings, as in Htongyi, Okkan and the big house in Rangoon were destroyed during the Japanese regime. The remnant buildings are the ones left in Pah Doh Plaw and Letpadan which were preserved in memory of that elder who built them.

Phu Hsah Ye had great plans for the Karen people, but due to various adverse circumstances his dreams did not come so true as he had so ardently hoped. Due to the world war and the economic depressions for the people, especially the farmers who were impoverished, could no longer support the high and lofty plans of their leader and sage. In addition to this adversity, the second marriage of Phu Hsah Ye, of whose celibacy they had all the time revered, caused no small disillusionment to those simple folks. Phu Hsah Ye expected his second matrimony to bring him male offerings for the future glory of his work, but it was a girl when the baby was born. These factors led him to accumulate debts ultimately causing things to fall short of his previous dreams.

Phu Hsah Ye had depended on the Baptist missionaries, however on perceiving that those missionaries did not render much care to the secular advancement for Karens and also due to cases where some individuals indulged in monetary misappropriation of some Karen clerical organizations, he undertook to join Reverend Menton of the Anglican Church. Reverend Menton advised

him to establish a Karen Bank and consequently Phu Hsah Ye formed a Karen monetary bank in the city of Rangoon. In so doing, he again was swindled by Reverend Menton in this project which finally caused the liquidation of the bank. The big building near the main Rangoon railway station was pawned by Rev. Menton for which Phu Hsah Ye no longer had any means to redeem.

Due to the swindlings and dishonest attitudes of those missionaries, Phu Hsah Ye was bitter over the injustice done to the Karens, whereupon he consulted with two Karen elders who were pensioners, U Thin Oh and Doctor Robert Po Kay. They decided then to form a Free Karen Baptist church which would have to do nothing with those corrupt foreign missionaries.

The monetary debts and liabilities of Phu Hsah Ye had now gone up "neck high" so to speak, due to

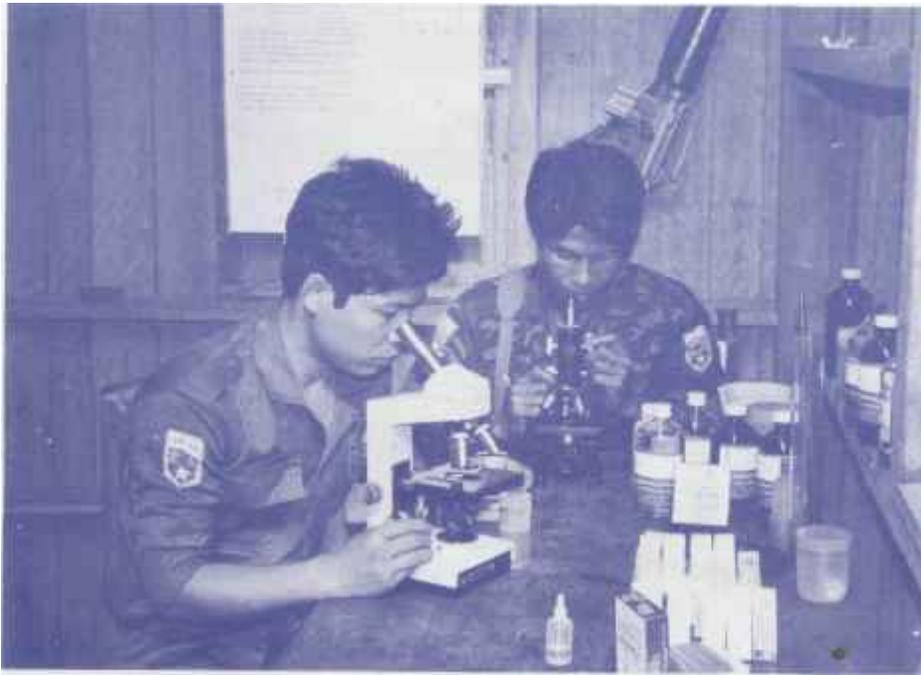
1. The impoverishments of farmers who were his staunch supporters,
2. The ever growing amount of debts to "Chettiyars" (the Indian money lenders). Obviously due to the above severity of adversity that had be fallen him, Phu Hsah Ye was one morning found missing in his bed. On an extensive search by his followers, his body was found in a well. It was surmised that Phu Hsah Ye committed suicide in a well because of his enormous debts.

Although Phu Hsah Ye is now dead and gone, his Free Karen Baptist Church or mission was still looked after by U Thin Oh and Dr. Robert Po Kay which stands firm to this day. There was a coordination with the American Baptist Mission leaders in aspects of Bible training schools, and semineries sponsored by the Karen Baptist convention but they have separate pastors and congregations in places such as Pa Doh Plaw, Htone Gyi, Okkan, Kominin, Letpadan, Maubin, Danubyu, Pantanaw and Shwegyin, townships and villages.

In the present time religious sects such as "Tah sit pa" headed by Phu Kasa and the Kanyaw Weh Ko (Elder Brother) of Phu Tah Moo (both leaders deceased) still revere Phu Hsah Ye whom they called "Phu Bweh Moo" and the works founded by this renowned sage and religious leader.



Heavy Arms training at GHQ.



Malaria Lab at Kawmoorah.



Womens' Volley Ball 1st Prize Winners on Karen New Year Day.



Dooplaya Women's Foot ball Team 1st prize Winners on Karen New Year Day.



Kawmoorah Schoolgirls football club 1st prize Winner on Karen New Year Day.