

**UK-org.**

**Member Comment:**

**22 October 2007**

THEN & NOW:

I include a comment below, which sums up Burma today, perhaps someone should tell Western observers, especially, governments, because they appear to have it wrong.

*Opinion/Analysis*

*Pro-democracy writer **Bo Nyein** argues that the opposition against the military government in Burma may be courageous and PR-savvy, but they are unprofessional and disorganized.*

### **THE FATAL FLAWS OF BURMA'S OPPOSITION**

**By Bo Nyein**

The brutal crackdown is underway and the brave souls who played a part in the resistance in Burma are now paying for their courage with beatings, interrogation and torture.

Many in the West will go back to their rhetoric, denouncing the Burmese military junta, making statements and asking the generals for a peaceful transition to democracy. The media and political elite will doubtlessly rush forward again, blaming the generals and asking for more sanctions. But who dares dig deep down, face the truth and ask: why did the uprising fail?

The current uprising has revealed an ugly truth: there is a near total disconnect between people inside Burma and activists' movements outside the country. They are two disjointed parallel worlds. Inside Burma, people are struggling to face the brutal suppression without much help, while outside most of the exile leaders are focusing on lobbying and public relations.

The most hurtful consequence of this duality was that when the uprising was gaining momentum and young leaders were begging for help on strategy asking what the next move, they were left rudderless. When young leaders were begging for guidance from the experienced leaders of previous uprisings, there were very few who bothered to return their calls. Why? Many were too busy competing for airtime on talk shows to respond to these cries for help from the inside.

Burmese military leaders have systematically crushed the opposition internally. The exiled leaders still have no clue of what is needed to face these military dictators. The result is that there is no political infrastructure to mobilize the masses, and, most importantly, there is a total generation gap in the leadership.

Nor is the problem confined to the Burmese opposition. Western democracies are totally focused on bringing the generals to the negotiation table with Daw Aung Suu Kyi (DASSK) by imposing sanctions on the Burmese government — a strategy they have pursued without success for the last 18 years.

It may have been feasible in early 1990s when the military junta was emerging from a total government breakdown following the earlier national uprising and their foreign reserves were down to less than 30 millions dollars. They were vulnerable then. But the street-smart generals soon addressed their weaknesses: they made peace with drug lords and survived on profits made from money laundering. Then the SPDC, the State Peace and Development Council, which is the official name for the military junta — systematically implemented a triangulation foreign policy of building a relationship with China, ASEAN and India to neutralize Western sanctions. The Burmese generals understood full well that Burma sat between ASEAN and South Indian nations and played the geopolitical card. Worse yet, they found gas; now the generals have even befriended the Russians and Koreans in addition to their Thai, Chinese, Indians and the French pals by using the global energy shortage to their advantage. Thus strengthened, the canny generals can not only secure the Russian and Chinese vetoes at the United National Security Council to cover their brutality, they could even neutralize the South African vote.

While the generals were working hard, and going from strength to strength, the exile leaders led by NCGUB—the government-in-exile—were squandering their opportunities. They spent nearly two decades begging for funds, yet failed to build the necessary political infrastructure both inside and outside Burma. When crunch time came, as it did recently, there was no infrastructure and leadership in place to lead the uprising. The result is the terrible suppression that follows defeat, whose horrors we can only barely glimpse. Both the Bush administration and leaders from the Congress have made the mistake of putting all eggs in one basket of blindly supporting NCGUB in the belief that their leader, who was the cousin of DASSK, was a preferred leader in exile. As in Iraq, where the Bush administration was fooled by Chalabi, the Americans naively supported the incompetent NCGUB instead of studying the existing Burmese organizations, the Burmese way of thinking, and understanding the dynamics among the leaders to carefully groom younger generation leaders for future uprisings, both inside and outside the country.

After 18 years, the Burmese generals have amassed enough cash to expand the army and build an oppressive intelligence machine to systematically crush any opposition while National League for Democracy (NLD) -DASSK's party- is close to collapse after severe oppression and isolation. SPDC is carefully using time and space to wear the resistance down. The generals are cunningly keeping the Western focus only on Daw Suu (DASSK) and NLD, the better to make them reinforce failure rather than look about for new avenues to success. When Daw Suu was detained, when all hopes were being destroyed, and while her party was brutally crushed and opposition became weaker daily, DASSK naturally became the sole beacon of hope. Despairing people came to believe that only she could walk the last mile to lead the people closer to victory. But great as she is, she alone cannot create miracles, and Burmese people over world must realize that it take people, organization and a political infrastructure to face these military dictators.

The failure of the uprising was at heart a systemic failure which the Burmese—both with the country and in the outside world—must acknowledge before they can face the challenge of setting things straight. Otherwise, there will be another uprising someday, but it will end in the same tragic way: starting with hope, only to be dashed by another crackdown, to be predictably followed by yet more futile Western efforts that fail to bring freedom and democracy in Burma.

DASSK is now in her 60s and her time is nearing an end; in contrast, SPDC has trained the next generation of military leaders to take the place of Than Shwe and Mg Aye, the two ruling senior generals. Time is not on our side. Now is the time to reevaluate the situation, make hard decisions and change tack to face reality.

Timetotalk.org

October 16, 2007

UK-org.

### **Then:**

A number of comments apart from above, have raised the point; that the Military regime, has planned its future by training up its next leadership, whereas; the opposition, is in disarray, preferring instead to cling on to a Disney World power clique in exile, meaning, that were the regime to have collapsed, for example; under the last demonstration, the country would have fallen into a worse scenario because there is nothing in place within the ranks of opposition, which could have stepped in and maintained order before the rebels and profiteers, among the people, who are determined to seek revenge would have roused the population into a frenzied retaliatory state. Anarchy would have been the next problem.

It was quite obvious that the last demonstration or those who fired it up, were at a loss once it gained momentum.

Courageous leadership on the ground, were risking their lives, and indeed some paid with their life because they were without any infrastructure or logistical support, a necessary package to have had in place on the undertaking of such an action. These

brave people, who were expecting so much from the exiles who call themselves leaders, were betrayed by them, notably the NCGUB, who should hang their heads in shame. Their bloody, miscalculation, comes from an act of desperation, because they sense the end of their reign. People have finally realised that these inept individuals, have not only wasted precious time and allowed the regime to grow strong, but instigated an action without any firm plans, for which they will never be forgiven!

Still, ill informed people are comparing ASSK with Mandela of Sth. Africa, judging them to be icons of democracy and passive opposition. Firstly Mandela was not fighting for democracy, but the end of apartheid, something very different, secondly, he chose the gun and bomb and was imprisoned as a terrorist. That is not to say that his cause was not just, it was in my view. But, Burma could look, to Sth. Africa to see what is happening today. Mandela's ANC, has all but lost its way in running the country efficiently. It is virtually chaotic. Breakdown in law and order, corruption, social services are non existent, black townships are actually worse now than under apartheid.

The major point here; as with Burma , the young generation are tuned in to the same old 'logo', because they have no options to choose from. The Mandela generation, are getting old and tired, just as the figures in NLD and Suu Kyi are, but because these figures are constantly highlighted in western media outlets, as though they are the only icons of democracy the younger generation ignore the failures because they do not know what success looks like!

It would appear to any right minded person that the above gives a brief, but true account of the situation, however, the part which indicates of no opposition being in place to step in with sufficient capabilities, would today, be a historical fact but not, a fact of today!

In answer to Bo Nyein's question, "who dares to go deeper", into Burma 's political ineptness, I thought was quite obvious. The 'PDP', started the ball rolling some years ago, by speaking out in such a manner it was at first regarded as; not in line with Burmese ethics, that of 'do not criticise even if deserved'. Of course this attitude is not in line with what people want, 'democracy', it only suits those who want to monopolise on Burma 's suffering, and the 'Parliamentary Democracy Party', will not back down from confronting them in public, precisely what they have done. Because of this, many people who would normally stay silent, now voice their concerns.

It is true I grant, that one party, NLD, has unfortunately evaporated under its own steam, 'excuse the pun', its original party policy of; no compromise, in conjunction with a passive stance, which, to many observers, was more to do with pompous, arrogant tendencies, based on a belief, that the world was their protector, and the regime would quickly collapse around them, which of course, as historical fact reveals, proved to be a disastrous policy to have undertaken. Change of direction, which the NLD executed recently, if only after pressure from the PDP, and in political opposition to it, can only be good for Burma if yesteryears pompous arrogance, has been converted to political respect for ones opposition, on all fronts, and more importantly, the complete amputation of the NCGUB from its torso!

Those who follow events in Burma, will know, that the PDP, a senior political party, offered a desperate warning as to the consequences of such a speculative action. Its own in-house intelligence directive, with its infrastructure built over many decades, were accurate in its assessment to the point of the PDP becoming concerned about the safety of those taking part on the ground. It was aware of its build up in the months prior to the demonstration, as were the SPDC, as it now appears. The PDP, it is rumoured, did pass Intel reports to the NCGUB simply out of concern for the people, though not out of respect for Sein Wins group I might add. The reports were ignored.

As Bo Nyein correctly points out in his words, the outside world has a celebrity fixation with ASSK and has allowed the NCGUB to act out the part of govt. in exile. Although I believe, that it is not so much the West not being aware of any other viable political party, but does not want anyone else taking the post from someone they groomed for it.

The situation with ASSK appears remarkably like that of Benazir Bhutto. Listening to BBC radio 4 Sunday evening, it was given that the former Pakistani leader, has a bad relationship with her family, she is blamed for her brother's death, and is accused of being nothing more than a puppet for the West. The West should be concerned about all these accusations, but of course they are not; why not?

**Now:**

Burma must look to a political party who does have the capacity and the capability, to orchestrate a viable plan to suit the people of Burma, and not a puppet to the West, or Eastern policies.

The people must go to lengths in order to learn more about the 'Parliamentary Democracy Party' (PDP Burma) it is their heritage. If they continue to allow western media influence dictate their stance, then, just as this last demonstration proves, that the NLD and NCGUB are hopelessly inept to lead, Burma will continue to suffer injustices.

The more a person learns about the PDP, the more it will make sense to support it. Burma needs central leadership; it does not exist at this time, where all can sit around the table. Students for example, are by the very nature of the word; at a stage of learning greater knowledge, it does not, refer to; already, being in possession of greater knowledge, so they cannot, in any sense of the word, discount knowledge, or criticise which will expand their minds to a greater understanding of their own birthright; Burma's history. To study pre-WW2 and post WW2 is to study the PDP and whence it came, and where it is today.

It is the duty of all the people, to study those, who offer themselves as leaders. The people look up to ASSK for two reasons only; 1; because she is the daughter of General Aung San. 2; she has been celebritised, by western media, out of all proportion as to her abilities and her role. Support has come for all the wrong reasons. It is fully acceptable to understand that the people needed a figure in which to look to, but that figure has been allowed 18 years to bring the people together, and has failed miserably, because the west used her, knowing her presence in Burma would hinder more than help round table talks, but it is obvious that many Burmese are not familiar with the dirty tricks of politics when it come down to a nations

foreign policy, and actually believed that her being in Burma, albeit under house arrest, was actually helping.

It is clear now, had the NLD been allowed to form a government, of which, ASSK would not have been a part of, because she was not allowed to stand, therefore was not elected, it would have been doomed from the offset. The inept leadership, displayed by the NLD, and the NCGUB, since 1990 would have led Burma back into military hands within the first year, especially, when the West started to show its ugly head in Burma affairs.

If a famous father, and a good Public Relations team, can promote a false confidence toward ASSK, imagine what a true history, born from General Aung San's leadership, could do for the PDP!

**LEARN ABOUT YOUR COUNTRIES HISTORY, DO NOT LET PROPAGANDA  
DILUTE YOUR ABILITY TO GAIN GREATER KNOWLEDGE FOR THE GOOD  
OF BURMA!**

UK-org  
Member.

UK-org.

Question & Answer: UKorg / PDP

Attention of: Chairman Aung Din 'Parliamentary Democracy Party '(PDP  
Burma)

03 October 2007

Mr. Chairman,

It is with great sadness, that all of us at UK-org look upon recent past events in your country. A person cannot condemn demonstration against tyranny, certainly not, from where we as westerners sit, but we can and should condemn the actions of a tyrannical regime that kill and maim defenceless protesters.

It was noted, that the PDP gave a cautionary warning to those who may be orchestrating the marches in Rangoon and elsewhere, because, not only would it end in pointless deaths of many,

(Q)= Question

Q: Could this costly scenario finally seal the fate of Burma for the foreseeable future, inasmuch, that the regime will now have proven beyond any doubt, that the people will never rise up against them, no matter how many monks and civilians they murder, therefore; they have no reason to debate with anyone, and in turn, now leaves only one option?

Q: Has this event, damaged in any way, the many successes the PDP have achieved, to which, pro-democracy voices have much to be grateful about, or has it simply proven that your profiling of the political situation and of the regime, has always been extremely accurate, and that others chose to ignore, for what can only be describes as: selfish reasons, of which is now, their own demise?

Q: Does this position, what some would see as; a greater strength on behalf of the regime, jeopardise the forward planning of the PDP?

Q: Some regard this demonstration as foolhardy and without consequence, and believe it was instigated by those who benefit from regime rule?

UK-org Note: Precisely what this means or where it points the finger, we do not know for sure, but we can certainly guess.

Q: There are those, who believe that the lower echelons of command could mutiny. But now the regime has proven that there is a line the people will not cross, not yet anyway, would this not effectively seal the bond even more between them?

Q: As some groups have demanded justice once democracy finally arrives, does it not make the PDP's policy of non-revenge, unworkable, therefore; closing all doors for talks?

Q: Would we be accurate in saying that at this point in time, the only way forward is for armed insurgency? And if this is so, would all the ethnic armed wings, join in. And if indeed they did, 1/ who would command such a diverse group of armed men. 2/ How would trust stand between those who held cease

fire agreements with the regime, and now wish to revert back, and those who rejected it in the first instance?

Needless to say, we do not expect an answer on the last question for obvious reasons, but it is a question that many of our colleges and associates are asking.

### The Way Forward:

Perhaps, the unification of armed groups throughout the spectrum, if it came to fruition, would help, but also hold many setbacks. No need to elaborate on that we're sure.

Alliances are good in some respects, but it is not only the search for the same shared goal which requires good team work, it's the rewards after victory that often tears at the union which won that goal.

**Q:** Can the same battlefield mentality which could win the war, stay together in peace?

Much of the world at times, criticise the British, mainly the English, for being to nostalgic, saying it prevents or hinders, change. Others would merely say, its that very nostalgia which helps us to melt slowly and controlled, into the present and prepare for the future in a calculated manner, instead of rushing full ahead without any due care as to where and what we are going into, and the casualties it may bring about!

**Q:** It is not a natural, to remember ones living past, in order to adapt to the present. Mistakes are certainly worth learning provided lessons are learned, but nothing appears to have been learned from 1988's slaughter?

**UK-org Note:** We believe the reason for this, is that, the younger generation have lost touch with their elders who have a life times experience. They perhaps believed that they know better, and blame the elders for today's problems. The results from the past weeks have produced the same ending as in 1988, WILL THEIR CHILDREN NOW BLAME THEM FOR THEIR FUTURE. If not, then who will they blame?

### UK-org Note:

What appears to be the problem with Burma, (and the fault lays squarely on the shoulders of the regime, going back to Ne Wins overthrow of Prime Minister U Nu, Burma's first and only elected government to take office) and that is; that history has been lost, or the very least, locked away from view, therefore the people have nothing to research and nothing to learn from. Those who took part in the 1988 demonstration, and survived, were, like everyone else, including the PDP, swept away by the unrelenting coverage of the NLD and ASSK, really believing that Burma was moving to democracy. By the time the real situation was realised, it was too late to counter act against a stronger regime. Those who supported, for obvious reasons, the NLD, found themselves beholding to the newly formed NCGUB, with Sein Win at its helm. Even at this stage, people still had hope.

**Q:** With all that behind us, what does the PDP intend to do in opposition, not only to the SPDC, but what has become, the notorious NCGUB, indeed we are getting reports that this whole demonstration was instigated by the NCGUB?

**Q:** The Brief history of the PDP, as seen on your webpage, is an excellent example of what the people have never been aware of because of the regimes closed indoctrination. Does the PDP have any plans to circulate this important part of Burma's history?

We hear and read, that **General Aung San** is revered, and rightly so, but his name may well have disappeared into the vaults of history, were it not for the West's staged performance of his daughter Suu Kyi. What is never mentioned, unless one does much digging into research, and that comes from British sources not Burma, that **U Nu**, a good and close friend to **Aung San** and one of the **30 comrades**, is seldom mentioned, even though he is a democracy icon more so than ASSK could ever be. Other leading figures; (please correct us if we are mistaken) who stand high on the platform of honour; **General Let Ya**, who as NO.2 among the famous 30 comrades, became leader of the Burma defence Army, (BDA) after **General Aung San** took on the role as politician. **General Twin**, who we know, was trade Minister in **U Nu's** government, later to become the 3<sup>rd</sup>. Chairman of the PDP in its early days. **U Than Sein**, 4<sup>th</sup>. Chairman.

**Gen. T Cliff** Air Marshal in U Nu's government-

**U Law Yone-**

**U Zali Maw-**

**U Mann Tha Linn-**

**U Soe Aung-** (Current Sec. Gen. PDP)

The list is endless. These men are Heroes of Burma from day one.

**General Aung San**, was, and would be today, very proud and humbled, to stand before these men. Burma should honour these men and the many more we cannot mention here, including yourself Mr. Chairman.

Exactly what he would think about his daughters stance is another story, although, we can guess quite accurately, what **Aung San's** opinion of **Sein Win** would be. Not very complimentary that we can be sure of?

**Prime Minister U Nu** will I imagine, as times goes on, become a leading light for democracy, precisely where he belongs in history and in peoples mind, in partnership with **Aung San**, which indeed as a historical fact, in both war and peace, cannot be ignored?

The sad but calculated failure of the demonstration, along with the unnecessary but inevitable deaths, will show that the PDP, because of the clarity in its political awareness and vision, together with the accurate psychological profiling of the regime, tried to warn about the most obvious results, proving the PDP's ethics, professionalism, in considering the peoples welfare above all else, also, their prognosis's, that the people are too indoctrinated with fear, that no popular uprising could be successful without the core feeling from inside the minds of the people that there is a well organised armed element supporting them!

This distressful episode is just another example of how totally ignorant and naive, these brave people are, just as it reveals the manipulative selfishness of those who instigated it, and in their sick mind, hope, that the cruel suffering of those people on the street, would propel them to the height of power and status.

When it comes to testing the regimes hold over the people, it reveals again also, the true status of the worlds standing toward Burma.

The PDP, you, Bo Aung Din, have always been only too aware of the true status of events, and have the utmost knowledgeable talent and experience, to plan accordingly.  
Hopefully the people will take note, and recognise the credibility of the PDP under your leadership.

Respectfully

UKorg.

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The Chairman  
UKorg  
Date: 10-10-07

Mr.Chairman,

Thank you for your communication of the 3<sup>rd</sup> October, 2007 and, I am pleased to reply to you herewith.

1) Answer: What has happened in Burma recently does not really in the considered view of the PDP change anything as regards the relative strength of the military regime. Just because the military regime has brutally put down an uprising of monks and some civilians, resulting in many deaths, does not confirm or confer on them an invincibility in the foreseeable future. The PDP had correctly analysed the political situation inside Burma, from robust intelligence and, came to the conclusion that any putative uprising was bound to end in a calamity, with swingeing repression and deaths. The PDP shared this conclusion with the public and all opposition groups, only to be insulted that "the PDP must not ride

on the "8888 horse, as they know what they were doing". Further, we advised members of the public, to be careful and not to get involved in such a mad plan. In the PDP's view, failure of the uprising was foreseeable for those, who wanted to see, because it was not a genuine uprising, as the 8888 was. This was manufactured from overseas and, executed by groups, whose contact with ordinary people, was wanting if not absent. From our reading of the political runes, the SPDC position has become somewhat weaker, as it has put excessive strains, as regards military cohesion at the top, as well as among senior officers and, they know that, the next round will not be an uprising, but real engagements with the PDP liberation forces in strategic areas, the capture of which will have severe military impact.

2) Answer: Far from damaging, the many successes the PDP has achieved, in advancing our just cause to end military rule and to restore democracy, freedom of speech, a market economy under the Rule of Law, it has in reality, enhanced the PDP political standing, while those other opposition political parties associated with or involved in the outside man-made uprising" have damaged catastrophically any credibility they might have had. The PDP can now reasonably predict that, in the foreseeable future, there is absolutely no realistic prospect of an uprising succeeding in ending military rule. In our considered opinion, only dedicated armed defensive guerrilla armed resistance will do so, but people must be prepared to make sacrifices, which is why, the PDP is still committed to this route.

3) Answer: NO SUPPORT FOR NLD AND 8888

The PDP's position, after the SPDC regime's crackdown of the Monks and civilian demonstrators, in Rangoon and other cities and towns in the country, has strengthened its stature rather than weakened it. On the other hand, the demonstrations clearly revealed that the NLD/ASSK and other opposition groups 8888 have no significant support, as it is frequently made out by these

organisations. About 60 NLD supporters demonstrated and none of the mass of demonstrators shouted support for the NLD or ASSK or 8888. This is a salutary lesson, which foreign supporters of these organisations should be wary to swallow hook line and sinker, these myths and claims made as to the extent and depth of internal support. It is true that in the early 1990s to the mid 1990s, the NLD/ASSK had potent support in the country and likewise, 8888 had a credible name. As time passed by without any tangible achievements by these organisations, their support among the people was eroded and, despair and disillusion set in. This prompted the World-Class Journalist and Editor of the Irrawaddy Magazine to write a painful review, of the state of the NLD and ASSK and other leaders, about their political performance in the 15 years since they got the General Election Mandate, which demonstrated the failure and incompetence of the leadership. The Editor Mr. Aung Zaw was a staunch supporter of the NLD/ASSK, but was impelled by the higher interest of the country to speak out. This gentleman and his fellow Burmese journalists are likely to be replaced or lose their funding for the Magazine from the West.

4) Answer: The PDP has cautioned against the demonstrations and said that those people, who organised it, misled the Monks from the comfort of New York and London and other countries in the West, were being irresponsible, as the SPDC regime was already aware of such a possibility, in the style of the Orange Revolutions in former Soviet East European countries and, had factored this in its defensive matrix. We believe that the Burma Industries in Britain and New York, must bear a heavy responsibility for what has happened in Burma and, also, for the destruction of the opposition groups credibility, who sought to nail their colours to the monks demonstration.

5) Answer: From our intelligence sources, the uprising by the Monks had been known in advance for about 9 months, by the SPDC Intelligence community, who labelled it a plot by some

countries in the West, who were working through some opposition Burmese collaborators, to create chaos and instability. The SPDC intelligence services knew what the Monks were up to and the people they were in contact with and, hence the uprising plan. The SPDC regime in its briefings to its troops, it used the spectre of some Western countries, wanting to re-conquer and occupy Burma for its mineral riches. It appears that, this succeeded in keeping military discipline intact. Also our Intelligence Analysts also suspect that, the high increases in commodity prices of essential goods, was probably made deliberately at that time, to flush out the uprising conspirators, before the UNSC meeting in New York and, to demonstrate complete ascendancy and control of events in Burma. This appears to have succeeded and left the UNSC in disarray. To conclude, there was therefore no realistic prospect at this time, for the lower echelons of the military to mutiny.

6) Answer: Although some groups have demanded justice, once democracy arrives, such demands will not change the PDP's chosen policy of non-revenge. We intend to pursue it energetically and to explain to the people of Burma the reasons why we are doing it. We believe that, the people will support our policy of non-revenge and, we intend to win the General Election, whenever it comes with an overall parliamentary majority of seats, sufficient if needs must, to pass the necessary enabling legislation for the non-revenge and guarantees. But the PDP's settled policy, should it win a General Election with an overall parliamentary majority of seats, is to form a Government of National Unity and Reconstruction with all other political parties, working together to heal the many wounds our people have suffered. In other words, the PDP's core policy and strategy will remain the same, but with refinements in tactics. We intend to argue our policies and approaches effectively and, we do not therefore think our policy on non-revenge is unworkable, nor will it close all doors for negotiation. On the other hand, if the SPDC military regime, refuses to handover power to a Multiparty

Civilian Interim Government and continues to fight, then the PDP will continue to wage relentless guerrilla warfare, until we defeat the military regime, because the people and some senior leaders and senior officers of significant sections of the armed forces will join us, in the glorious liberation of our Motherland. All the leaders of the military regime and senior officers, including civilians, who have committed crimes and atrocities, will face the full force of the law and receive just punishment. There can be no forgiveness for those, who have perpetuated an unjust dictatorship on the people. All the properties, wealth they have accumulated directly or indirectly will be confiscated by the state.

7) Answer: The only way forward is for the PDP to follow its realistic policy of negotiation and armed guerrilla resistance and, we shall continue with our allies of the minority communities, as exemplified by the Karen led by the Great Leader General Mya with whom, we have been working since 1970 and, also other minority communities, such as the Mon, Chin, Kachin, Arakan, Shan, Karanni and Rohingya, who are most persecuted minority community etc. The PDP is the only political party and armed resistance wing, which has effectively worked with minority communities in resistance and, this really will not create a problem for me and the PDP.

#### THE WAY FORWARD:

7 (a) The PDP intends to follow on its chosen policy and approach, on resistance and its alliances it has built, are credible and sufficient for its policy objectives and, it must be remembered that, the PDP is a political party of all the communities of Burma - minority communities and the majority community. It is opposed to all forms of racial discrimination, based on race, colour, religion, community origin or xenophobia.

8) Answer: LEARNING FROM MISTAKES:

The PDP profoundly regrets that, the public warning it gave to the public and, other opposition political groups among them the 8888 in Burma, but did not take our advice against such a plan, as its consequences were bound to lead to deaths. We believe that, we did our duty and the responsibility rests with those who ignored our advice.

8 (a)/                    Answer:    It is true that the younger generation has lost touch with their elders, who have a lifetime experience. This is not surprising, because, since 8888 and 1990, NLD, ASSK and fellow leaders and student leaders of 8888, by some unknown reasons, they did not tell the people about the history of Burma and its historical legacy and, the principal political actors of that period. This was the period, when these organisations' support was at its zenith and the leaders were regarded with awe by the people. As far as these organisations were concerned, the history of Burma and its achievements began in 8888 and 1990 and, before that, there was no history or success of any kind.

8 (b)/                    Your assessment is correct that, these leaders and their organisations "believed that they knew better" and the results of the past month and a half, have reproduced the same ending as in 1988. Your question poses a central issue of the current inherent political problem, which has faced, but ignored by the NLD and will continue to face the country in the coming years and, could determine, whether democracy and freedom is restored by ending military rule. Fortunately, the PDP has been aware of this generational political disorientation and, has its own pragmatic political enculturation linking the pre - and post independence history of Burma and the challenges, which faced the leaders of the period and, how these were resolved leading to independence with democracy, freedom, employment, education and the Rule of Law until 1962. Then we shall deal with the period under which military rule existed, but also with Premier U Nu's resistance to end military rule, when he founded the PDP in 1970 and also, the emergence of

8888 and the NLD in 1990. We shall also provide an analysis of the political impact these two events made and seek to discern any political achievements of these organisations up to 2007. This will not only provide continuity of historical events, which will inform young people and the public, but also, provide a comparative yardstick of political achievements, of the relevant political actors at different historical periods. By doing this, the PDP will have empowered young people with an appreciation of their own history and, given them a quest to strive for political and economic aspirations, in a framework of democracy, free speech, market economy under the Rule of Law. Also, those adults, who were young in 1962, will also be informed of their history with its successes and failures and, in their old age provide a political ballast, in the competitive multiparty politics.

8 (c)/               The PDP therefore does not expect the problem you have correctly asked, to occur again, because of the preceding proactive public awareness ongoing campaign. On the question of General Ne Win hiding the history of Burma, this was to be expected from a usurper of political power and, we do not believe that, we can blame them, as this is the nature of this beast. The people to blame are, the NLD/ASSK and 8888, who have deliberately hidden the history of Burma and, created a discontinuity with a historical chasm of pre-8888 and 1990 in such a way that, these dates marked the beginning of the history of Burma.

8 (d)               Further, the PDP blames the Burma Industries in Britain, the USA, Norway and other countries in the West, who have not only willingly endorsed, the NLD and 8888 deconstruction of history, but also, abetted its unfortunate undemocratic claim, to a General Election Mandate - 1990, even after it has expired! Also, the British media - Radio, TV has regularly produced make-believe news about the NLD and ASSK supporting their claim to a General Election Mandate, which they must know is undemocratic. More surprisingly, even the All Party House of Commons Foreign Affairs

Committee on Burma, has inexplicably, bought the validity of the General Election Mandate 17 years after 1990! Does Britain really democracy or just a political sham to install a political party and political leader for Burma, chosen by the British Government? Yes, in 1990, the Burmese people gave the NLD an overall parliamentary majority of seats, but it cannot now be said that, this Mandate is still alive, as its term of 4 years has expired. Only another General Election will determine, which political party will have an overall parliamentary majority of seats Mandate.

8 (e)/                    Because of the British campaign to support the NLD and ASSK, as the legitimate party and leader with a Mandate, we have the absurd situation recently, when Dr.Sein Win signing himself as the (so-called) Prime Minister of the NCGUB - Government in exile in a letter, he wrote in September 2007, to His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI ! Britain is being associated with this type of political nonsense and its support for NLD/ASSK seriously compromises its position, as neo-colonialism to divide rule and occupy Burma. Instead of a hands-off approach, by not committing itself to any particular political party or leader, it has destroyed its ability to influence events in Burma in a constructive manner.

8 (f)/                    The problem for Britain, as the PDP sees it, is that, the political situation in Burma of a dictatorship, has created a large number of political and non-political groups in Britain, the USA, Norway, Canada ect, which have accumulated huge incomes and, have probably thousands of employees working on the Burma situation in support of the NLD and ASSK. It is important to remember that, the top military echelons in the junta are Nationalists first and, dictators second. This is very important in understanding the mindset of the regime and the political drivers which shape their attitudes and actions. For example, it is futile for Britain and her allies to attempt to pressure the SPDC regime to talk or negotiate with ASSK for "reconciliation", because, the Generals know that the NLD General Election Mandate of 1990 has expired and, she no

longer holds any special position. ASSK is now, just an ordinary political leader of a party, like any other political party in Burma. Attempts to pressure the SPDC via the UNSC will not succeed, because, they argue that, why does the West insist for us to negotiate with ASSK alone, rather than with all other opposition groups, if they really want a democratic settlement.

8 (g)/ We believe that, Britain should particularly follow the political and strategic understanding of ex-Ambassador Derek Tonkin (now retired) who is a first class Specialist in International Relations, and who has categorically stated that, a General Election Mandate cannot last for 17 years. This in ordinary political language, there is no political party in Burma, which is invested with any particular authority at the moment and, only a General Election will determine this. His approach is a sensible route towards finding a realistic solution of the Burma situation and, does not antagonise other political parties, other stakeholders and, we believe, the SPDC regime. Britain's emotional spasm of ASSK is a barrier to effective diplomatic influence and success. The SPDC will not hand-over power to her under any circumstances, as she is perceived as a Trojan Horse of Britain. And they use General Aung San's struggle for Independence against British colonialism as justification.

9) Answer: The PDP is a resistance and opposition political party to the SPDC military regime and, we intend to continue our two-pronged strategy, as we have outlined earlier, but with certain refinements. The PDP does not consider itself as an opposition political party to the NLD nor to the NCGUB, but we are political adversary competitors. Further, the PDP intends to end military rule, restore democracy, freedom of speech and a market economy, peace and security under the Rule of Law. It is very sad that, you have compared us or put us in the same category as the corrupt NCGUB, which has no viable political policies for the future of Burma, other than an overweening ambition to grab power by undemocratic

means and, at any cost. We have been informed by reliable sources that, some Burma Industries groups in Britain, the USA and Norway collaborating with NCGUB and its allies 8888 via a religious figure instigated the recent demonstrations in Burma. As you are aware, the PDP warned against planning such an inept scheme, which was bound to end in casualties.

10) Answer: Yes, the PDP intends to make available as widely as possible "A Brief History of the PDP" to assist the wider public to know an important part of the history of Burma.

11) Answer: General Aung San: our revered leader and Hero of the struggle for Independence, was indeed a close ally and confidant of U Nu, but was not one of the "30 Comrades". U Nu is certainly a democracy icon more so than ASSK could ever be. For 15 years, in which Prime Minister U Nu ran the Government, Burma was a democracy, with free speech and the Rule of Law. U Nu had also allowed a "Speakers' Corner", as at "Hyde Park Speakers Corner" where people could say anything, criticise, the government etc. Other leading figures of the PDP are: General Let Ya, who was No.2 among the famous "30 comrades", became leader of the Burma Defence Army (BDA) after General Aung San resigned to become a politician. General Twin - Trade Minister in U Nu's government, later became the 3<sup>rd</sup> Chairman of the PDP in its early days.

U Than Sein 4<sup>th</sup> Chairman

Gen.T. Cliff Air Marshall in U Nu's Government

U Law Yone:

U Zali Maw:

U Mann Tha Linn:

U Soe Aung: Current Secretary General PDP

There are many other leaders of the PDP, who have not been mentioned, but are in the Brief History of the PDP.

11 (a)/               The PDP agrees with you that General Aung San, if he were alive today, he would be very proud and humbled to stand before such men. We agree with you that, Burma should honour these men and many more. Our Chairman Bo Aung Din expressly refuses to be elevated to such a level, and he has asked us to say that: he is just an ordinary simple man, who has only answered the call of history, to do his duty, to free his country from military rule and, restore democracy, freedom and the Rule of Law. He is just a simple guide and no more. He has no ambition or lust for power and, the leadership position of the PDP was unwillingly thrust at him despite his objections.

11 (b)/               Prime Minister U Nu: The PDP intends in its political programme and activities, to highlight his unique political role as leader, who led Burma to Independence with a democratic government and shaped the educational and social structure of Burma. We want people to know and to understand their history and the role U Nu in partnership with General Aung San, which indeed, is a historical fact in both war and peace, must not be forgotten.

12) Answer:       We appreciate very much the kind words of realistic expressions of the PDP's approach. However, our awareness of the dynamics of resistance and, counter resistance by an entrenched dictatorship make us realistic of our strengths and weaknesses, which we have to factor in all our tactics and operations. One of our major strengths is, our support among the military from General, senior officers to junior officers and rank and file. These have already offered to join us, but we have advised that our financial resources, cannot cope with such numbers We hope that, our resources base will improve in the near future, we shall then ask them to join us. Our commitment and promise to the people of Burma, of all communities, regardless of race, colour, community origin, religion xenophobia and gender that, the PDP is adamantly opposed, to any form of racial discrimination and, it will deliver to all the people equal access to services and to equal opportunities in

employment, primary health care, education and equal access to political office. We are particularly concerned with the plight of the Rohingya people, who are the most persecuted people in Burma and, the PDP promises to end all forms of discrimination and persecution against our fellow citizens and, we shall repeal all laws with a Bill of Rights, which discriminate against them in all walks of life.

13) Answer: The PDP Concern:

The party has experienced a very unequal playing field in the British Media of all kinds, while the NLD and ASSK have received thousands of acres and acres of publicity, projecting them as the opposition democracy party and, the leader, an icon of democracy, whose party won the General Election in 1990. The PDP, although it was founded by Prime Minister U Nu in 1970 as a resistance party to end military rule in Burma, it has never been mentioned at all in any News Media nor acknowledged, as an opposition political party! The censorship of the PDP political news and the denial of the true history of Burma in the British Media speaks volumes about British intentions. Despite this institutional boycott and censorship, the PDP has, successfully through the new media of the internet, been able to publicise our political programme and, to challenge the undemocratic claims of the NLD and ASSK's claim to the opposition leadership of Burma. Many of our members are questioning where is the famed fair play of the British and, adherence to democratic principles and free speech? Why support a political party, whose Mandate has expired, they ask? Despite the cold- shoulder we have received from the British political establishment and News media circles, we have no hostility towards this country. We intend to continue our chosen political path and we shall soon have access to broadcasting facilities to project our political programme to Burma and the world.

14) As you aware, the PDP is not aligned to any big power in the East or the West. Our Foreign Policy is to have mutual beneficial

economic relations, cultural and diplomatic relations with them in the diverse fields of endeavours. The PDP's other major objective is to have economic relations, cultural, educational fields with Third World Developing Countries. Also, our important Foreign Policy construct is our subscription to Prime Minister U Nu's principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. From what the PDP has seen and what has happened in relation to Burma, we shall not give access to our country to any foreign NGOs or Human Rights groups. But it is our hope that, we shall continue to work with your organisation for the mutual benefit of both our countries. May I take this opportunity to thank you and your colleagues for your organisation's disinterested support and understanding.

Nota Bene: For your information, we have received around 70 requests, since early this year from political groups associated with NLD, who want to join the PDP. We have had discussions, but we have been unable to accept them, because, they want the PDP to pay them a monthly allowance, which they receive from NCGUB. We have told them that, we have no resources for such payments.

With My Highest Respect,

Yours Sincerely,

Bo Aung Din  
Chairman  
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GHQ (Liberated Area)  
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