

ALTSEAN

BURMA

ALTERNATIVE ASEAN NETWORK ON BURMA
campaigns, advocacy & capacity-building for human rights & democracy

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THE SPIRIT OF 8888 LIVES ON: NON-VIOLENT ACTIONS FOR CHANGE IN BURMA

- The spirit of the unarmed mass uprising of “8888” lives on, in the ongoing acts of peaceful resistance by the people of Burma, despite violent repression by the military regime.
- The courageous work of individuals and organizations who risk death, persecution and detention, continue to inspire the international movement for human rights and democracy in Burma.
- Since Depayin Massacre on 30 May 2003, which itself followed months of political rallies at which thousands risked all to show their support, the people of Burma have resisted oppression in many and varied ways.
- Despite mass detentions, harassment and persecution by the Burmese military regime, the National League for Democracy (NLD) prevails as a genuine political force.
- Other political groups and ethnic organizations also continue to actively represent the interests of their communities, ensuring that the voices of the oppressed are heard around the world.
- Groups and individuals have distributed leaflets, made statements, organized rallies and prayer meetings, engaged in peace-building activities, organized petitions and even utilized the SPDC’s own laws to pursue a non-violent path to justice, peace and reconciliation.
- Prisoners of conscience remain politically active while incarcerated. Students continue to be a source of activism and renewal in the movement for democracy. People from all walks of life remain politically informed through a diverse range of media sources.
- Protesting forced labor through domestic and international mechanisms, activists have challenged the regime’s abusive actions and drawn attention to its failure to comply with international obligations.
- Meanwhile, the regime known as the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) remains under siege, as their morale and strength recedes.
- The international community must continue to support and strengthen the unflinching efforts of the peoples of Burma to obtain human rights and democracy.



Despite detention, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi commands the peoples’ trust as Burma’s legitimate political leader.

NLD

The NLD membership continues its activities despite harassment, arrest, physical attacks against person, property and business.¹ NLD continued its activities as the elected representatives of the people of Burma, organizing meetings, issuing policy, and educating citizens on their political rights. This included -

- Holding regular meetings, passing resolutions, maintaining outlawed offices in members' homes and organizing for change.² Larger meetings were convened including the Committee Representing People's Parliament and other gatherings of free MPs.³
- Meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to discuss NLD policy.⁴
- Meeting and maintaining dialogue with international observers, agencies and their representatives - most recently with UN Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs Ibrahim Gambari.⁵
- Observing important anniversaries with gatherings, rallies and marches (up to 400 people), and other actions including prayers and the release of flocks of doves and balloons. Anniversaries observed have included the 1990 election, the formation of the NLD, Anti-fascist Resistance day, Union Day, Independence Day, Daw Suu's birthday; Martyrs Day and National Day.⁶
- Conducting public education campaigns including the distribution of information about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Depayin Massacre and the SPDC roadmap.⁷
- Producing statements, proposals, legal challenges and petitions (including one with nearly half a million signatures) on ongoing themes and emerging issues including: calling for reform, reconciliation, equal rights for ethnic nationalities, the repeal of unjust laws, and the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all political prisoners.⁸
- Dates providing material support, holding marches and prayer meetings for the health of political prisoners, including mass public prayer protests at Shwedagon Pagoda.⁹

OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES

A diverse range of political parties as well as ethnic organizations remain active and strong, advocating for the needs of their communities, providing leadership, and oftentimes coordinating the provision of social infrastructure in the absence of government-provided institutions. A small selection of these included -

- Students distributed leaflets produced by the All Burma Federation of Student Unions that criticized the SPDC Roadmap.¹⁰

¹ DVB (18 Apr 06) Sittwe NLD put under great pressure by Burmese authorities; Narinjara (23 May 06) Burmese junta deprives NLD MP of business opportunities in Arakan

² DVB (04 Feb 04) NLD held meeting despite SPDC's harassments; DVB (10 Feb 04) NLD members resume meetings throughout Burma; DVB (22 Dec 04) NLD members and leaders meet in Mandalay Division

³ Irr (25 Oct 05) Suu Kyi's 10 years detention marked worldwide; Irr (16 Jul 04) NLD Discusses National Convention

⁴ AFP (15 Apr 04) Myanmar opposition meets with its recently released leaders

⁵ Irr (19 May 06) Gambari Meets Senior NLD Members; Mizzima (19 May 06) NLD urges Gambari to push for dialogue; DVB (19 May 06) Burma NLD calls for dialogue process

⁶ AFP (27 May 04) Myanmar's pro-democracy opposition marks 1990 election anniversary; AP (28 Sep 04) NLD Marches to UN to Ask for Political Prisoner Release; DVB (27 Mar 05) Burmese activists and leaders mark 60th anniversary of Resistance Day; DVB (12 Feb 05) Burmese Union Day celebrated by NLD; The Nation (20 June 05) Thousands rally to call for Suu Kyi's release; AFP (04 Jan 04) Myanmar's opposition NLD prays for freedom from 'bondage'

⁷ DVB (26 Sep 03) Democracy party youth leader sentenced to three years in jail; AFP (01 Jun 04) Myanmar pro-democracy party says nine members arrested over protests; DVB (20 Dec 04) Military junta arrests four political activists

⁸ DVB (09 Mar 04) NLD Women demand SPDC to release political prisoners; Irr (08 Apr 04) Calls for Suu Kyi's Release; DVB (12 Apr 04) Burmese Democracy Party Urges Repeal Of Law Protecting; Xinhua (09 Dec 04) Myanmar opposition party proposes dialogue with government DVB (27 Dec 04) NLD issues statement urging dialogue; Irr (14 Feb 06) Activists Back NLD Proposal; AFP (13 Jan 05) Myanmar opposition NLD considers helping junta draft constitution

⁹ AFP (12 Mar 04) NLD members in Myanmar pray for vice-chairman's release on his 77th birthday; DVB (06 Oct 04) Prayer offered for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi & Burma's political prisoners; AP (28 Sep 04) NLD Marches to UN to Ask for Political Prisoner Release

¹⁰ AFP (23 Oct 06) Seven students arrested in Myanmar capital: dissident group.

- Shan leaders and MPs met and commemorated significant dates including Shan national day, Shan New Year, distributed political leaflets, and released statements regarding political developments and calls for dialogue.¹¹
- Mon leaders worked to maintain cultural practices, drawing the ire of the regime and the arrest of the Chairman of the Literature and Culture Committee on 8 July 2005.¹²
- Following the NLD's proposal to the SPDC for power-sharing for transition in early 2006, various other ethnic leaders and democracy activists responded in a spirit of reconciliation including NCGUB, KNU, KIO, DPNS, 88 Generation Students and United Nationalities League for Democracy.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Many political prisoners in Burma remain political active: undertaking hunger strikes, organizing political meetings, and writing and distributing political information within the prisons on a variety of issues from local prison conditions to national political reform.

- 18 prisoners in Insein held a hunger strike in May 2005 protesting conditions.¹³
- In September 2004, Dr Than Nyein, NLD MP had to be hospitalized following a hunger strike in Thayawaddy prison that protested the extension of his prison term.¹⁴
- Upon release from jail in January 2004, U Ne Win, secretary of the Kachin State NLD, vowed to continue his political activities as before.¹⁵
- 7 political prisoners in Bassein prison went on hunger strike on 6 September 2003, calling for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Prison authorities felt so threatened by the mostly elderly stalwarts of freedom, that they stopped giving them water after the first day, and after 10 days they opened fire, killing 10 and injuring others.¹⁶
- In July 2003, Moe Kyaw, Aung Soe Min and Kyaw Nyunt held a successful 4-day hunger strike for the right to reading materials.¹⁷
- U Win Tin remains in prison but his writings and his ideas continue to inspire others. He has continued to refuse to resign from the NLD in exchange for his release.¹⁸



U Win Tin remains undeterred

STUDENTS

New generations of students and student leaders have emerged and taken action against the regime.

- 4 students in Irrawaddy Division were expelled from their college for life for paying homage at a local pagoda to fallen national heroes on Martyr's Day in 2006.¹⁹
- On 9 May 2006, 300 Students at Akyab University boycotted buses, protesting against the doubling of bus fares. One thousand people protested the following day.²⁰

¹¹ SHAN (10 Feb 05) Shan leaders take state-financed holiday; DVB (10 Feb 05) Shan opposition leaders detained; AFP (15 Mar 05) Ten Shan activists arrested in Myanmar for conspiracy: minister; DVB (10 Feb 06) Breaking News: Shan leader Shwe Ohn released from house arrest in Burma; DVB (04 Nov 05) Shan leaders sentenced in Rangoon Insein Jail; DVB (08 Apr 05) Taunggyi NLD MP Kyaw Khin given another 14 years in prison

¹² Kaowao (22 Jul 05) Detainees interrogated after Rangoon explosion

¹³ Nonviolence International (05) Speaking Truth to Power: The methods of nonviolent struggle in Burma

¹⁴ DVB (26 Sep 04) Dr Than Nyein sent to hospital after hunger strike in prison

¹⁵ BBC (21 Jan 04) Freed Burmese opposition members vow to continue activities

¹⁶ DVB (16 Sept 06) Prisoners Shot Dead in Bassein Prison

¹⁷ Nonviolence International (05) Speaking Truth to Power: The methods of nonviolent struggle in Burma

¹⁸ Nonviolence International (05) Speaking Truth to Power: The methods of nonviolent struggle in Burma

¹⁹ DVB (24 Jul 06) Students expelled from college for life

²⁰ Mizzima (10 May 06) Magwe students demonstrate over bus fare hike

- 7 students formed a sports union without permission. They were arrested, interrogated, tortured and sentenced on 9 January 2004 to 15 years in prison.²¹

SPEAKING OUT

While Burma ranks at the bottom of press freedom year after year, the voices of the people of Burma reach the world through brave individuals flouting censorship laws, and independent news groups smuggling reports across borders.²²

- Free Burma Rangers, backpack medic teams and others continue to smuggle out reports from individuals eager to tell their stories despite the risks.

- In early 2006, 4 young activists wrote and distributed a book of poetry celebrating the “Strength of the Fighting Peacock”.²³

- Determined to show the world the scale of support inside Burma of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Dr Win Aung videotaped and recorded the democracy leader’s rallies leading up to the Depayin Massacre. He was arrested on 6 July 2005 and 2 days later sentenced to a 10 year prison term.²⁴



Rangoon City Hall: Site of many calls for change

- In 2003, Sports newspaper First Eleven attracted the attention of the SPDC with its coverage of the regime’s handling of a US\$4 million grant from International Federation Football Association. The office was raided Chief editor Zaw Thet Htwe, his wife and 4 journalists were arrested. All were released except for the editor, who was given a death sentence for treason and was tortured and interrogated.²⁵ His death sentence was later commuted.

SOLO PROTESTORS

Citing a wide range of different causes, protestors independent of political groups took their own stand for change -

- In July 2006, 36 year-old ex-SPDC army sergeant Naing Oo staged a solo protest in front of Rangoon City Hall because the salary hike did not include the pensions of war veterans.²⁶
- Solo protestor and former political prisoner Tun Tun repeatedly staged protests in front of Rangoon City Hall. In July 2006, he was taken into custody at night in his home after praying loudly for the health and freedom of political prisoners at Shwedagon Pagoda.²⁷
- Dr Salai Tun Than, himself previously jailed for his solo protest at Rangoon City Hall, made plans to return to his home to initiate a program of solo civil disobedience in June 2006, but was turned back at Bangkok airport following the SPDC’s cancellation of his passport.²⁸
- Tun Lin Kyaw, former bodyguard of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi protested in front of Rangoon City Hall in February 2005 in protest of the extension of her sentence.²⁹

²¹ Irr (09 Jan 04) Students Sentenced to 15 Years

²² To see Reporters sans frontiers’ annual press freedom barometer go to http://www.rsf.org/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=554

²³ DVB (23 Jun 06) RSF & BMA denounces Burma junta for jailing “poem” activists

²⁴ DVB (06 Oct 05) Burmese authorities intimidate NLD leaders again; DVB (21 Mar 06) Diehards: NLD members pressured and intimidated in Burma’s Pegu; DVB (07 Jun 06) Political parties come under more pressure from Burma junta; AP (07 Jun 06) Myanmar pro-democracy party says members’ resignations illegally coerced; DVB (17 May 06) New lies of Myanmar repeated: NLD members still pressured to quit party

²⁵ RSF (03 Dec 03) Outrage over death sentence passed on sports magazine chief editor

²⁶ DVB (16 Jul 06) Ex-Burmese army sergeant stages solo protest in Rangoon

²⁷ DVB (18 Jul 06) Solo protestor Tun Tun sent to mental hospital

²⁸ DVB (19 Jun 06) Solo protestor Salai Tun Than unable to return to Burma

- 2 Buddhist nuns protested in front of Rangoon City Hall, drawing attention to the plight of political prisoners. They were arrested and sentenced to 13 years' jail on 13 November 2003.³⁰
- In October of 2003, 9 people were reported to have initiated a prayer protest to occur at 9 am every day at 9 separate temples. They vowed to continue until Aung San Suu Kyi is released.³¹
- In September 2003, ex-soldier Phone Aung stood near Rangoon City Hall carrying a sign calling for political reform and the release of political prisoners.³²

DISSENT FROM WITHIN

While any dissent within the ranks of the military or the SPDC administration is even more closely monitored and silenced than elsewhere, cracks in the shell can be seen:

- Major reshuffles at between the generals indicate dissent even between top powerbrokers.
- The salary hikes of April 2006 for public servants were in direct response to unrest regarding the move to Pyinmana Naypyidaw, and attempt to stave off mass desertions.
- A recent Tatmadaw recruitment drive brought in 6275 soldiers, but during the same time period 8760 soldiers were lost from service, including 4701 absent without leave and 2000 arrested.³³
- High profile defections from diplomatic postings - in early March 2005, Khin Lay Nyo, an SPDC embassy staffer based in the New York's United Nations HQ applied for political asylum in the US.³⁴ On 1 April 2005 Aung Lin Htut, a retired SPDC Army major attached to the Myanmar embassy in Washington, absconded with his family after reportedly applying for political asylum in the US on 27 March.³⁵
- In June 2006, six policemen publicly discussed the Depayin Massacre incident, condemning the outcome and defying their superiors' instructions to be silenced. They were arrested and sentenced to one year in prison with hard labor.³⁶



Su Su Nway: Another Heroine for Burma

ANOTHER HERO: FORCED LABOR ACTIVIST SU SU NWAY

"This is a very significant development because this is the first time anybody has ever been found guilty of imposing forced labor in Myanmar."
- Richard Horsey, ILO Rangoon.³⁷

"I don't feel happy or sad about my release because forced labor in Burma still exists. I will continue fighting against forced labor and all kinds of human rights abuses...I took (my) prison uniform with me because I know that I will have to come back to prison until Burma gains democracy."
- Suu Suu Nwe on her release from Prison³⁸

The story of how one woman used the regime's own laws against itself is an example of how people in Burma continue to find innovative ways to seek justice for their communities. Ma Su Su's forced labor complaint led 3 Htan-Manaing SPDC village officials, including the village chairman, to receiving prison sentences of between 7 to 16 months at Kawmoo Township Court on 31 January 2005.³⁹

²⁹ DVB (28 Feb 05) NLD youth sentenced to seven years for solo protest

³⁰ DVB (13 Nov 03) Nuns given 13 years each for protesting in front of Rangoon City Hall

³¹ Irr (7 Oct 03) Burma's Yodaya Battle

³² Amnesty (04) Myanmar Country Report 2004

³³ Nation (03 Mar 06) Paranoid Burmese military a regional threat

³⁴ DVB (23 Apr 05) Another Burmese embassy staff applied asylum in US

³⁵ Reuters (03 Apr 05) Myanmar Says embassy official in US Absconds; DVB (03 Apr 05) Burmese diplomats: Slaves or Traitors

³⁶ BBC (13 Aug 03) Six Policemen Dismissed for Discussing 30 May Incident

³⁷ Kyodo (03 Feb 05) 4 Myanmar officials get jail over forced labor

³⁸ DVD (6 Jun 06) Breaking News: Su Su Nway Released

³⁹ DVB (31 Jan 05) - Local Burmese authorities sent to prison for forced labor practice

The regime bites back

“I will stand for the truth, even on the pain of imprisonment.” - Su Su Nway⁴⁰

- On 16 March 2005, the three SPDC officials appealed their conviction to the Rangoon Division Court, which accepted amendments to their original sentences.⁴¹
- In April 2005, Htan-Manaing village SPDC officials began to harass and issue death threats against Su Su Nway.⁴² Later that month, the same officials that had been convicted on forced labor violations in January filed charges that Su Su Nway had obstructed them in the performance of their duties.⁴³
- On 30 June 2005, the Kawmoo Township Court charged Su Su Nway with violations of Act 294b and Act 506, for using abusive language and threatening the village authorities.⁴⁴

During the course of her trial, she was required to attend even when she was seriously ill; worsening her pre-existing heart condition.⁴⁵ Her nurse was intimidated into refusing her treatment.⁴⁶ When she was finally sentenced on 18 October 2005, Su Su Nway was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, taken to Insein Jail, and her medicine was confiscated.⁴⁷

On 3 November 2005, NLD lawyers, Kyi Win and Myint Thaug, filed an appeal on Su Su Nway’s arrest and imprisonment with the Southern Rangoon District Court. The appeal was rejected with no explanation on 4 November 2005.

Su Su Nway’s attorneys continued to appeal her conviction through the court system up to the Supreme Court on 1 February 2006 where it was rejected within hours of filing.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, Ma Su Su’s health condition worsened and her medicine was withheld.⁴⁹ In early January 2006 Su Su Nway had been hospitalized at the prison’s clinic complaining of a fever and shortness of breath.⁵⁰

On 6 June 2006, the SPDC released Su Su Nway from prison. The release came following pressure at the ILO’s special sitting on Burma during its annual conference in Geneva on 3 June 2006.⁵¹

THE “ILO 3” – ACTION, ARREST, RELEASE

The “ILO 3” - Aye Myint, Shwe Mann and Min Kyi - have taken great personal risks in their campaign against forced labor, repeatedly filing forced labor reports against the SPDC with the ILO. They were convicted of high treason and sentenced to death in November 2003, but continued ILO pressure and intervention led to their release in the early 2005. While their convictions were for “plotting to overthrow the regime”, it was clearly related to their filing of reports with the ILO.⁵²

History repeats itself for Aye Myint: More Action, Re-arrest, Re-release

After his release in early 2005, Aye Mint spoke out again, this time against the SPDC’s confiscation of farmer’s land in Phaungdawthi Village.⁵³

Acting as the farmers’ legal representative - Aye Mint is a former High Court judge in Burma - he filed a report with the ILO representative in Rangoon.⁵⁴ Win Tin Oo, the assistant SPDC police commander of Daik-U Township, arrested and charged Aye Myint on 27 August 2005 under

⁴⁰ DVB (30 Jun 05) Villager Su Su Nway to stand trial at Rangoon Kawmoo Court

⁴¹ DVB (16 Mar 05) Burmese authorities could release culprits of forced labor practice

⁴² DVB (14 Apr 05) Burmese authorities plotting to trap and arrest Su Su Nway

⁴³ DVB (22 Apr 05) “Fearless” Su Su Nway charged with disrupting the authorities on duty

⁴⁴ DVB (30 Jun 05) Villager Su Su Nway to stand trial at Rangoon Kawmoo Court

⁴⁵ DVB (23 Sep 05) Burmese heroine Su Su Nway not well

⁴⁶ DVB (26 Sep 05) Burmese authorities intimidate nurse not to treat Su Su Nway

⁴⁷ Mizzima (13 Oct 05) - Su Su Nway sentenced to 18 months; DVB (14 Oct 05) - Burmese heroine Su Su Nway deprived of essential medicines

⁴⁸ Irr (02 Feb 06) Su Su Nway’s appeal rejected

⁴⁹ DVB (21 Nov 05) Burmese heroine Su Su Nway still not allowed to take vital medicines

⁵⁰ DVB (09 Jan 06) Burmese Heroine Su Su Nway’s health deteriorates

⁵¹ Irr (06 Jun 06) Burmese Female Rights Defender Released

⁵² ILO Appendix I, Governing Body 289/8/2, 289th Session, March 2004.

⁵³ DVB (05 Sep 05) Burmese lawyer Aye Myint detained again

⁵⁴ DVB (11 Oct 05) Aye Myint innocent, testify Burmese authorities

Emergency Provision Act 5C, alleging that Aye Myint had forced the farmers to write a false report to the ILO.⁵⁵

During Aye Myint's trial the SPDC failed to present any evidence to support their charges. Even members of the SPDC-sponsored Union Solidarity and Development Association and the Phaungdawthi SPDC village chairman testified in support of Aye Myint.⁵⁶ Despite the lack of evidence, the Daik-U Township Court sentenced him to a seven-year jail term on 31 October 2005 and taken to Pegu jail.⁵⁷

The ILO expressed its serious concern over Aye Myint's conviction.⁵⁸ In deteriorating health, Aye Myint filed an appeal on 2 January 2006 with the Pegu District Court, but this was rejected on the same day it was filed. San Maung, Aye Myint's attorney, vowed to continue to appeal the conviction to higher courts.⁵⁹

In a letter to his family dated 12 May 2006, the SPDC Bar Council revoked Aye Myint's license to practice law and dismissed him as a member of the High Court lawyer association.⁶⁰

After the ILO imposed a 31 July 2006 deadline on the release of all prisoners jailed for reporting forced labor issues, the SPDC released Aye Myint on 9 July 2006.

CHRONOLOGY OF COURAGE - ACTS OF POLITICAL DEFIANCE SINCE JULY 2003

2003	
17 Jul	First Eleven's work to circumvent censorship provokes authorities: SPDC Military Intelligence raids the offices of weekly sports newspaper First Eleven, arresting and torturing Chief Editor Zaw Thet Htwe, and arresting four other journalists. The arrests were believed to be in connection with their reportage of the regime's handling of a US\$4 million grant from FIFA, and the links with the banned Democratic Party for a New Society (DPNS). Zaw Thet Htwe's wife was arrested and released a few hours later. The following day all journalists except the editor were released and informed that the publication would continue following censorship laws.
13 Aug	6 police publicly discuss Depayin Massacre: 6 policemen in Kawthaung, Tenasserim Division arrested and sentenced to one year in prison with hard labor for publicly discussing the Black Friday attack.
02 Sep	Defiant Hunger Strike: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is reported to have gone on hunger strike.
05 Sep	NLD Youth's attempt to publicise Depayin Massacre: NLD youth leader Ko Thein Naing Oo and youth member Ma Tin Tin Nyo from Dala Township, Rangoon division were each sentenced to 7 years in prison for attempting to distribute leaflets on the Depayin Massacre
06 Sep	Political Prisoners' Hunger Strike: 7 political prisoners in Bassein prison begin a hunger strike calling for the release of Daw Suu and all other political prisoners. Prison authorities stopped water supply to them, and 10 days later opened fire on the hunger strikers, killing 10 and injuring others.
03 Oct	2 distribute leaflets opposing the SPDC Roadmap: Ma Myint Myint Soe and Ko Han Win Aung were arrested by MI personnel in Kayan township for attempting to distribute leaflets opposing the SPDCs roadmap
07 Oct	Ongoing Prayer Protest: Supporters have been praying for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's release at 9 temples involving 9 people at 9 o'clock every morning, and have vowed to continue until she is released.
23 Oct	7 distribute leaflets criticizing the SPDC Roadmap: Seven students were arrested after handing out All Burma Federation of Student Unions pamphlets criticizing the junta's 7-point roadmap.
27 Oct	Letter writing campaign for the reopening of NLD Offices:

⁵⁵ DVB (11 Oct 05) Aye Myint innocent, testify Burmese authorities

⁵⁶ DVB (11 Oct 05) Aye Myint innocent, testify Burmese authorities; also see DVB (19 Oct 05) Burmese lawyer Aye Myint's trial latest

⁵⁷ DVB (31 Oct 05) Burmese lawyer Aye Myint sent to prison again

⁵⁸ DVB (04 Oct 05) ILO and Burma Junta

⁵⁹ DVB (02 Jan 06) New year, same behaviour: Burmese lawyer Aye Myint's appeal rejected

⁶⁰ DVB (05 Jun 06) Burmese lawyer Aye Myint's license withdrawn

	Magwe Division NLD demanded that offices be re-opened in letters to the respective township election commissions. Other NLD offices were expected to do the same.
13 Nov	2 Buddhist nuns protest in front of Rangoon City Hall: 2 Buddhist nuns who staged a protest in front of Rangoon City Hall were given sentences of 13 years each, charged with having contact with illegal organizations and leaving the country without permission.
18 Nov	350 NLD members march at Shwedagon Pagoda: 350 NLD members from 35 townships marched in uniform at the Shwedagon Pagoda to mark National Day. 70 MI and police were monitoring, but no arrests were made, despite warnings issued by the SPDC in the proceeding weeks. A statement from the group was issued calling for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all political prisoners, and to initiate genuine dialogue and reconciliation.
6 Dec	14 arrested for “conspiring to celebrate”: 14 NLD members from Rangoon Division were arrested for conspiring to celebrate National Day without permission. All the charges were dropped, but one of the accused was later prosecuted for distributing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
12 Dec	Ex-soldier protests at Rangoon City Hall: Solo protestor and ex-soldier Phone Aung was arrested in September for standing near Rangoon City Hall carrying a sign calling for political reform and the release of political prisoners was sentenced to 7 years in jail.

2004	
04 Jan	400 NLD members release call for reconciliation: 400 NLD party leaders and members call for national reconciliation and democracy.
15 Jan	NLD members defy harassment and meet: NLD party leaders and members from 5 townships in Myaungmya District, Irrawaddy Division hold a meeting to discuss the National Convention.
21 Jan	Ex-political prisoner vows to continue political activity: Shortly after his release from prison, U Ne Win, secretary of the Kachin State NLD, vows to continue political activities.
01 Feb	NLD members defy harassment and meet: NLD members from Meikhtila District, Mandalay Division hold monthly meeting despite SPDC harassment.
12 Feb	NLD releases call for reform: NLD demands democratic reforms, equal rights for the ethnic nationalities, and the immediate release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.
12 Feb	NLD passes resolution affirming the legitimacy of the 1990 elections: NLD passes a resolution stating that no new elections will be accepted except the 1990 elections result.
05 Mar	800 women demand the release of political prisoners: More than 800 women members of Pegu Division NLD demand the immediate release of all political prisoners including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.
12 Mar	Prayer protest for the release of U Tin Oo: Dozens of NLD members gather in Rangoon to pray for the release of U Tin Oo.
08 Apr	NLD demand the release of Daw Suu: NLD releases statement calling for the immediate release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.
11 Apr	NLD urges repeal of oppressive law NLD urges SPDC to repeal Law No 5/96 which outlaws discussion or criticisms of the National Convention.
15 Apr	NLD demands release of Daw Suu: Members of NLD’s central executive committee meet and demand release of Daw Suu.
19 Apr	NLD demands reopening of party offices: NLD demands SPDC to reopen all party’s office across Burma.
27 Apr – 13 May	NLD top members discuss party policy with leader NLD’s top members meet with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi 4 times to discuss NC.
12 May	SPDC forced to u-turn on death sentences for activists: Following intense international pressure led by the ILO, the SPDC commuted the death sentences of 9 people charged with “high treason”. Three of the accused, U Shwe Mahn, Nai Min Kyi and U Aye Myint, had been sentenced for contacting the ILO. Nai Min Kyi and U Aye Myint were convicted under charges that were altered to “encouraging, harboring

	or comforting persons guilty of high treason”, and their sentences commuted to 3 years of prison, along with editor Zaw Thet Htwe and one other. The high treason conviction for U Shwe Mahn and 4 others was upheld but commuted from death to life imprisonment. The SPDC’s Central Supreme Court later accepted an application for an appeal dropping 8 of the sentences altogether.
27 May	NLD demands recognition of 1990 election results: NLD marks 1990 election anniversary demanding SPDC recognize the results.
30 May	NLD distributes UDHR declaration: Nine NLD members arrested for distributing copies of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Rangoon.
15 Jul	Alternative parliament meets: With the support of the NLD, the Committee Representing People’s Parliament members meet in Rangoon to discuss NC.
20 Jul	National petition for the release of Daw Suu: NLD begins petition-signing nationwide campaign for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo. It is submitted to a Rangoon court on 17 August and rejected.
05 Sep	Daw Suu encourages youth: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi sends message to NLD youth members.
09 Sep	Villager files forced labor suit: Ko Mya Sein, a villager from Henthada Township, Irrawaddy Division, sued his village chairman and three village council members for forcing him to work without pay on several occasions. In late September, the SPDC judge Daw Htay Htay Win rejected the case, saying there wasn’t enough evidence.
16 Sep	CRPP demands the release of political prisoners: CRPP celebrates 6th anniversary in Rangoon and demands the release of all political prisoners.
26 Sep	Defiant hunger strike: Dr Than Nyein, NLD elected MP, is hospitalized in Rangoon following hunger strike in Thayawaddy prison.
27 Sep	500 attend NLD birthday party: More than 500 NLD sympathizers attend a ceremony in Rangoon marking the party’s 16 th anniversary.
27 Sep	NLD march to UN: NLD members peacefully march to the UNDP office in Rangoon to deliver letter to UN officials.
05 Oct	NLD prayer protest for political prisoners: NLD members hold prayers at Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon for all political prisoners in Burma.
14 Oct	Petition for Daw Suu and U Tin Oo: Rangoon court dismisses petition filed by NLD to seek freedom for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo.
22 Oct	Forced Labor Activists freed: U Ohn Myint and Ko Khin Zaw, two villagers from Kanyin Ngu, Hinthada Township in the Irrawaddy delta region, were released by the order of a court after some SPDC officials mysteriously paid fines imposed on them. On 7 October the two villagers had been sentenced by the Henthada Township Court to six month’s imprisonment or a fine of 10,000 kyat each for criminal defamation after they had attempted to take complaints of forced labor to the courts against their village chairman U Tin Tun.
01 Nov	NLD active in regions: NLD in Meiktila, Mandalay Division adopts resolution urging the NLD to press the government to take steps towards democracy, reform the Army, and release all political prisoners.
02 Dec	NLD requests dialogue with SPDC: NLD sends letter to SPDC calling for dialogue.
19 Dec	4 NLD members distribute human rights leaflets: Four NLD members arrested in Rangoon for distributing human rights educational leaflets. They were later all given life sentences by Insein special court without legal representation
19 Dec	NLD members defy harassment and meet: NLD organizing committee members from Mandalay Division meet with NLD members from Meikhtila Township to discuss their political activities.
27 Dec	NLD requests dialogue with SPDC:

NLD sends letter to SPDC urging dialogue.

2005	
04 Jan	NLD requests dialogue with SPDC: Independence Day Celebration renewed appeal for dialogue between the junta and all political parties, and for the release of political prisoners
13 Jan	NLD offers “clean slate” to SPDC: NLD offers to start from a clean state, and that they would participate in the National Convention if Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo were released and NLD offices were allowed to reopen.
07 Feb	Brave Commemoration of Shan State Day: 10 high-profile Shan activists, including an SNLD MP, were arrested for participating in a gathering to commemorate Shan State day and for creating “illegal” organizations without permission. All 10 were charged with conspiracy against the State. An eleventh, 84-year-old veteran Shan activist Shwe Ohn, was detained under house arrest but not charged.
12 Feb	Demands for the release of political prisoners: Union Day celebrations include a reissuing of demands for the release of political prisoners and genuine dialogue.
25 Feb	NLD MP encourages political activism: U Kyaw Khin, an NLD elected MP from Shan State was arrested by military intelligence agents for distributing political leaflets and inciting people to take part in political activities. On 8 April he was sentenced to 14 years in prison.
27 Mar	NLD requests dialogue with SPDC: NLD renewed requests for dialogue in a speech to commemorate Anti-Fascist Resistance Day. Some townships in Magwe Divisions were prevented from holding events.
18 Apr	ILO complainants: SPDC officials coerced two Ngapyin villagers into signing confessions that they filed false statements with the ILO. The two villagers were brothers of Ko Win Lwin who died while performing forced labor on an SPDC road project.
19 Jun	NLD members release doves for freedom: NLD members wearing t-shirts with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s photo and the slogan “Set her free” released 61 doves outside Shwedagon pagoda to celebrate Daw Suu’s birthday. They were arrested but released after removing their t-shirts.
06 Jul	Bold documenter of dissidents: Dr Win Aung was arrested and sentenced 2 days later to a 10-year prison term for videotaping and recording rallying trips of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and distributing a book written by an exiled Burmese author.
08 Jul	Mon defy oppression and maintain culture: SPDC military authorities arrested Nai Sein Aye, Chairman of the Mon Literature and Culture Committee in Thanbyuzayat Township
20 Jul	Martyr to independence remembered: On the 58 th anniversary of the assassination of Burma’s independence leaders, the SPDC prohibited the NLD from holding Martyr’s Day ceremonies to honor fallen heroes, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s father, Gen Aung San.
27 Sep	17th Anniversary of the NLD observed: Members were subject to interrogation about their preparations for the 2005 17 th Anniversary of the NLD. Although they were allowed to hold the event, afterwards several NLD participants continued to be harassed by the SPDC.
30 Sept	Shan leaders threaten SPDC with truth-telling: Member of the Shan State Advisory Council (SSAC) sentenced to a 10-year sentence for defaming the State and an additional three-year sentence and a 2,000 kyat fine for operating in the tourism industry without a license.
05 Oct	NLD defy oppression: SPDC electoral commission informs NLD leaders that they are barred from carrying out political activities and threatened with arrest.
17 Oct	Su Su Nway inspires villagers: SPDC Htan Manaing village authorities retaliated against villagers who supported Su Su Nway.
24 Oct	NLD MPs defy harassment and meet: All free NLD MPs gathered for the first time since the Depayin for a 3-day meeting. The

	resulting statement call for new channels for communication with the junta.
Nov	Religious ceremony in the face of oppression: Members from Aunglan, Magwe Division celebrated the traditional religious festival of Kahtein in November. Participants were subject to interrogations by the SPDC the following day.
11 Nov	9 people put cases to the ILO: SPDC court sentenced nine people to prison terms ranging from 8 to 25 years for contacting the ILO. All nine were denied legal representation during their trials at Insein jail.
03 Dec	Shan defy oppression and celebrate culture: SPDC authorities in northern Shan State arrested 8 people, including Dr. Sai Maw Kham, Chairman of the Shan State Literature and Culture Committee, supposedly for being involved in the organization of the Shan New Year's celebrations.

2006	
04 Jan	NLD offices celebrate Independence day: NLD HQs in Rangoon, party offices in Mandalay, and Sagaing Townships hold ceremonies to mark the 58th anniversary of Independence Day despite intense surveillance by Special Branch police officers. NLD members in Sagaing Township held a small ceremony defying the local authorities' refusal to grant them permission to celebrate the anniversary
04 Jan	NLD proposes dialogue with SPDC: NLD spokesperson proposes a "supreme leading body" to bring all stakeholders together for genuine reconciliation and transition to democracy.
29 Jan	Students protest: 300 Students at Akyab University boycotted buses, protesting against the doubling of bus fares. 1000 protested the following day.
12 Feb	NLD proposes dialogue with SPDC: The NLD proposes to recognize the SPDC as the country's legitimate transitional government if the junta free Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and convene the parliament in accordance with the 1990 election results. The proposal was welcomed by various other ethnic leaders and democracy activists in the following months including NCGUB, KNU, KIO, DPNS, 88 Generation Students and the United Nationalities League for Democracy.
03 Apr	NLD leader continues despite harassment: SPDC authorities in Meikhtila District summoned the NLD chairman Dr. Thein Lwin and ordered him to stop all political activities. Thein Lwin has been summoned and warned three times since the NLD issued its Union Day statement.
21 Apr	NLD proposes dialogue with SPDC: The NLD renews its call despite no official response and increasing persecution of members. The SPDC formally rejected the proposal on 26 April.
16 May	NLD presence triggers harassment: A group of unknown individuals throw stones at the home of Mandalay Division NLD secretary Kan Tun
17 May	NLD offices maintain presence despite harassment: During the night the signboard of the NLD office in Northwest Township, Mandalay Division, was removed by a group of unknown individuals.
19 May	NLD leaders meet Ibrahim Gambari: NLD Chairman and 5 other senior members meet with UN undersecretary-general Ibrahim Gambari in Rangoon. The NLD made it clear that it would not take part in the National convention, and urged Gambari to push the regime towards genuine reconciliation, with the facilitation of an international negotiator.
20 May	Daw Suu meets Ibrahim Gambari: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi met with UN undersecretary-general Ibrahim Gambari.
06 Jun	Forced Labor Activist released: The SPDC released Su Su Nway from jail.
09 Jun	Poetry to celebrate freedom and democracy: 4 young activists sentenced between 7-19 years for writing and distributing a pro-democracy book of poetry.
13 Jun	Chin State NLD members unsettle SPDC: Local SPDC authorities in Haka Township, Chin State, ban NLD members from holding

	meetings and ceremonies. The Haka Township NLD chairman and secretary were summoned and forced to sign a pledge agreeing to refrain from defying the ban. Authorities seemed worried that party members might be celebrating Daw Suu's birthday
16 Jun	Students protest inadequate provisions 6 students at Magwe College were expelled for life after leading students on a walk to college protesting the shortage of buses to school.
19 Jun	Solo protest outside City Hall: Solo protestor and former political prisoner Tun Tun stages a demonstration outside Rangoon City Hall
19 Jun	Solo protestor plans civil disobedience program: Dr Salai Tun Than turned back at Bangkok airport, thwarting his plans to return to his home to initiate a program of solo civil disobedience.
01 Jul	Former soldier protests outside City Hall: Ex-SPDC army sergeant Naing Oo stages a solo protest in front of Rangoon City Hall because the salary hike did not include the pensions of war veterans.
07 Jul	Prayer protest for political prisoners: Solo protestor and former political prisoner Tun Tun rearrested and detained at Ywathagyi "mental hospital". He was taken into custody at night in his home after praying loudly for the health and freedom of political prisoners at Shwedagon Pagoda.
24 Jul	Village plans ceremony for Su Su Nway: Local SPDC authorities at Kawmoo Township in Rangoon Division, bar NLD members from holding a ceremony honoring Htan Manaing Villager, Su Su Nway. The ceremony was to be held officially on 25 July.
24 Jul	Students honor national heroes: 4 students in Irrawaddy Division are expelled from their college for life for paying homage at a local pagoda to fallen national heroes.