CHAPTER II

HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN MYANMAR

In this chapter, the writer will explain about some human rights abuses in Myanmar which is not match with the democracy and human rights principals of the US. The main idea of the writer to explain about the inconsistency and selectivity of the US to response Myanmar case especially related with the US foreign policy to apply humanitarian intervention policy toward Myanmar whereas this country conducted highly human rights abuses for about 40 years.

A. The Democracy life in Myanmar and Aun San Suu Kyi’s arrested because of her winner in regional election

This phenomenon is also to be dark history of human rights abuses the political life in Myanmar which is not match with the US principals. The freedom of Myanmar in 1948 is the top of Myanmar’s winner by British colonial. Under The Prime Minister U Nu’s leadership, who father of Aun San Suu Kyi, together the prime minister U Nu is the first idol man behind the freedom and to be leader of country. Furthermore, in Myanmar had coup d’tat, the power of prime minister U Nu was taken out by Ne Win who used junta military as the source of power and Ne Win handled the authoritative leadership.

The source of junta military which called council of country especially peaceful and development from Ne Win’s power. SPDC is dominated by Burma ethnics so the divided of power is not balance between Burma ethnics who
rebellion from some non north ominated mounatin regionethnics, who Burma ethnics, involved Karen, who known as golden Triangle.

By the powerfull of junta military, Ne Win choose socialication way which known by “Burmese way to Socialism” and through away Burma from international world. Otherwise, Ne Win also develop wn as military government who had known as (A Xenophobic Military Government). Ne win spread out all politic parties and established social Burmese Party programme as single party in Myanmar. Based on Ne Win, it is joining of Budhism, xenophobia, nasionalist dan megalomania.

In the early of 1987, the Burmese economic was bankrupt. The value of currency was collapsed, there were many saving money of community in the bank were cancelled. It changed the economic condition in Burma to be the poorest econome and was called the biggest corruption in the world, moreover at the first time this country had the economic level under Japanese. In one side, the citizen gave protest to government because ther were failed to handle the leadership. This rebellion happened in 1988 which known 8888 rebellion. In that moment, the University student jointed with Budhism leader to lead rebellion. But it was ended by savegery on 8 August 1988 which caused 3000 thousand of activists were died. But the demonstration dah results, Because Ne win fault down from his position.

But the military leadership still happen by SLORC ( State Law Order Restoration Council) form by the purpose to handle citizen by emergency military and failed.
On 27 May 1990, Myanmar had regional election to choose member of parliament by agreement of SLORC by multi party system. Then NLD (The National League for Democracy) which led by Aung San Suu Kyi won 80% of participants.¹⁷ Junta military was shocked the lose of their party and catch and sent to jailed the member of Suu Kyi's parliament without the process of justification.

Aung San as hero of Myanmar freedom had the daughter Suu Kyi who had good care of Myanmar after her father died, but the military power dominated the leadership and limit the citizen's rights so she studied philosophy, economic and politic in then lived together with her children and his husband in England.

In the August 1988 for the first time Suu Kyi speech in the big meeting where located in the Schedagon Pagoda. Then because of this speech, then in September on September 18 "Dewan Pemulihan Ketertiban dan Hukum Negara (DPKHN)" Myanmar promised that will be held fair and free for general election by along with stripped down of the gun.¹⁸

But those kinds of promises was not be fulfilled by Myanmar through DPKHN. In the hero day of July 1989, Suu Kyi give the clear statement that military is still handled by Ne Win and she was not sure that junta military will


give their power for civilian people, then because this statement Suu Kyi was
home arrested by Junta military. Aun San Suu Kyi attack with hunger strike until
her law process then DPKHN give her chance to follow the general election.

When she was still home arrested by Junta, in the 1991 Suu Kyi got peace
nobel from Norway Nobel Committe for her dedication and her struggle of human
rights in Myanmar. Then in the 1995, she found freedom, but junta catch her
again in the 2000. In the 2001, foreign ministry of Japanese lobby toward junta in
order that junta give chance for Suu Kyi to develop her national party, this
dialogue get results by Suu Kyi freedom in 2002 but Suu Kyi was arrested again in
2003.

By seeing the status of Aun San Suu Kyi as a home arrested, automatically in
the general election in 2010, Suu Kyi and her party can not follow the general
election. Because the myanmar regulation forbide ex-political prisoner join in the
general election, even Suu Kyi have given freedom. However Aun San Suu Kyi
has been given freedom by Junta military government after jailed for 20 years, but
it is still not giving significant effect toward democratization process in Myanmar,
because all this time Aun San Suu Kyi has been given freedom three times and
there is no fundamental changing that was happened. And even that freedom as
the tool from Junta military government for transferring of abusing general
election issues in 2010 that was done by Junta military government.
International Amnesty where has headquarter in New York also argued about the freedom of Aun San Suu Kyi. This organization argued that the freedom of Aun San Suu Kyi was the one of cynical planning of junta military government to shift attention and to prevent critics toward general election which fully unfair and tricky in 2010.\textsuperscript{21}

B. The suffering Myanmar people because of poverty

Myanmar is the most corrupted and cruel regime in the world, for by tens years there was no significant changing in social life that be signals of democracy principles particularly in maintenance of human rights.\textsuperscript{22} The basic rights for citizen were ignored such as the rights to get educations and involved on the politic, getting more welfare life for Myanmar people, so most of the myanmar people are very poor. Moreover the information access like printed and mass media are cencored strongly, so it makes difficulties to get acces about Myanmar. In other that, junta military government had conscience to cast into prison without process of justification and more than that action, junta military can kill by gun to people who did not agree with their policies.

The most pain of Myanmar people is about poverty problem. Before 1970th, Myanmar is one of the biggest exporter particularly in South East Asia, but after that year Myanmar change to be rice importer, even the available rice were not fullfilled of rice stock for their own people. Per capita income of Myanmar people

only $67 in the 1960 until $200 in the 1989. It means that for about 20 years, income per capita only increase 140 $. This is really ironic conditions, because Myanmar has rich of natural resources such as the reserve of oil and gas natural but in other hand most of Myanmar people live in the poor condition.

Monetary reported involved of calculation of periodic estimated budget is very difficult to get. This condition cause of the information was limited since 1997, junta military government did not publish formally for estimated budget, then the calculation which they give can not be believe. In the same periodic, the informations of calculations about healthy and education are rare. But based on scientific predictions, junta military government use 40% of estimated budget for defence and gun, and only use 1% of GDP for healthy and education. It can proved that since 1988 until 2007, the power of military aspect increase from 200,000 soldiers to be 480,000 soldiers.23

The amount of population of Myanmar people are 50 millions of people, but 70% of profession in the agriculture because 50% of GDP came from agriculture, and 15% came from industries. And estimation of jobless more than 10%. So it makes income per capita in the 2006 was $1800.

But this calculation hide the real wealth. From 10% of poorest population only consume 2.8% of national wealth, moreover 10% the richest people consume 32.4% (statistic calculation in the 1998), this condition is more cronic when the

level of inflation increase on until 20%. This condition explained why 25% of Myanmar people live in the poor condition.²⁴

This economic conditions make the load of Myanmar people is more cronic, automatically the life need is more and more increasing. Like health, the dangerous of infect disease is high such as diahea, hepatitis, typhus, dengue, and malaria and also AIDS. Some years ago, the age of spark of life was only 62 years old, but now the age of spark of life is only 50 years old. This condition as a indication the worse of providing that is happened in some years.

The cronic condition is not only in the healthy, but also education. Junta military government only estimated 1 % for education so many children under age forcibly can not attend in the school because looking for money in the streets.

The suffering of Myanmar people are not extend far enough, in the 2007, junta military government make a policy which not stand for Myanmar people with raising fuel until 500% and suddenly they revoked fuel subsidy.²⁵ This case cause the price of fuel raise until fivefold whereas the price of solar raise twofold. This raising of fuel also give the effect of economic transport and other raising so the systemic effects. This condition make 90% of Myanmar people live in the poor condition. Automatically the price of daily need is raising until 35 %.²⁶

²⁴ ibid

²⁶ Kenapa "Suramak Prakantara", Tenggelam Bukan di Laut, 22nd, Sept 2007
With the chronical economic conditions, automatically it will give the big effect toward social life. The level of destruction of Myanmar social life more and more higher. The fact is the human trafficking is one of the biggest export commodity in this country, where it uses man, woman, and children were smuggled in the East Asia and South east Asia as sexual exploitation object, servant, and forced labour. Many of Myanmar immigrant were forcibly to be slave and many Myanmar woman were forcibly to be prostitute.

The Myanmar economic life is very contrast when comparing with all kinds all facilities which junta military government and their families get. When Myanmar people maintain and strugle their live in the economic limitation, the member of militay get facilities such as homesite, healthy, and the bigger proton than civilian. And the most chronic is when the highest leader of general Than Swe held her daughter's marriage Thander Swe and Mayor Zaw Phyo Win. Thander Swe used very expensive diamond and get the gift of marriage for about 50 millions $ that consists of some jewelries and some homes.

C. Suppresion of junta military toward minorities ethnics in Myanmar

The majority of Myanmar people are Burma clan (but 68%), but the rest of Myanmar people are minority ethnics such as Shans, Karens, Rakhines, Tionghoa, India, Mons, and other small ethincs groups. Many conflicts between clans that happened were caused of Burma clan is regarded that rule many powers, it is military. This case cause many rebellions from minority clans so minority clans
get pressures from junta military government. Actually the changing of “Burma” to be “Myanmar” in the June 18, 1989 by junta military government in order that decreased the gap between Burma clan as the majority clan and other minority clans, but also the name changing did not give the significant effect to solve the conflict. It is caused unfairty of junta military goverment give unfair facilities related toward minority clans related with economy, healthy and other general facilities. So in east border, there are offensive attacking from junta military government that have caused many refugees, particulary from Karen ethnic, Karreni, Tavoyan, and Mon.

The amount of Burma ethnics is about two third of total populations. Shan ethnic which has Budha religion have relative family with Thai ethnic. Arakan ethnics that called Rakhine generally has Budha religion and live in the mountain hill of west Myanmar. Mon ethnic that has Budha religion live in the south Thailand. Kachin ethnic that has christian religion, they also spread in China and India. Cin ethnic also most of are Christian then live in the India border. Rohingya ethnic is muslim ethnic which live in north Rakhine, most of them moved to Bangladesh or Thailand.

By ten years, Karen clan complain about human rights abuses by junta military governmet toward them. Those abuses such as forced labour, plundering, robbery, home and land destruction with the purpose to force them move to other
The rapists that were done by junta military government toward minority of women ethnics were high also and there is no process of jurisdiction. Because the rapists were done by junta military government, for all rapist cases only 1% who are punished and the others are free. Based on data from woman organization, that is Shan Women's Action Network or SWAN, in the six years there are 625 of rapist cases that were done by junta and the victims are 30% of teenager girls under age and 25% of those women were death after rapped.

About the human rights abuses toward minority clans that were done by junta, Human Rights Watch explained that since 2004, more than 1 million minority people were evicted from their villages, get amoral actions such as killing and forced labour, so they choose to move in the Thailand border.

Other sources explained that, in the 2004, the amount of minority ethnics that were evicted from their villages are for about 650,000. They spread in the Myanmar east. Before that year, in the 2000 a data explained that 157,000 ethnics were damaged, relocated, and not permitted build home in the certain regions. Most of the refugees move to Thailand. But the hope to be refugees be out of any proportion with their hopes to increase social welfare. They also be the victims of

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violences, harrassment, jailed without the process of jurisdiction, exploitation, forced labour with unproper salary, and forcibly life in the unhealthy condition.  

D. Brutal actions by junta military governmnet toward demonstration actions in Myanmar

D.1. Junta’s repressive action toward demonstration in 1988

This demonstration known as 8888 rebellion. The background of this demonstration is the beginning of economic decreasing in Myanmar since 1987. Myanmar economics have begun collapsed with the signals the decreasing value of currency, many saving of society are rejected. Automatically, this condition can be understood remembering that before under Ne Win general, Myanmar was welfare state after Japanese as the biggest rice exporter. Many Myanmar people argued that policies of general were not tend to citizen so worsening the economic condition toward Myanmar people.

In the march 1988, the biggest movement of demonstration happened was followed hundreds thousand of all groups from villages in the remote area and all kind of profession such as civil servant, labours, monks to oppose governement policies that regard not tend to Myanmar people. The demonstration was still
ongoing in the August 8, 1988, one of the human rights organization explained that junta military government had killed more than 3000 demonstrans.\textsuperscript{30}

One of the significant result of this demonstration is successfull to make Ne win to take down his position as a leader of junta, but the fact that it is just formally. Then general Ne win was changed to general Than Swe as the representative of military group also. By this incident military through their new general, Than Swe, form SLORC (State Low and Order Restoration Council) as military emergency government to eradicate anti governmental group. One of the significant policy of SPDC is that created constitution drafts of death sentenced for demonstrans and protesters. So that many students escaped to border region and mountain. They were given time to be back, but after they back, junta military were jailed them, and there are tortured until death.

The movement of 1988 consists of some specific organisations for against government who the policies not tend for Myanmar people. Most of the movements were ruled by students university. Those organizations as follows All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF), Democratic People for a New Society (DPNS), National League for Democracy (Liberated Area) atau NLD-LA, National Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), Arakan Liberation Party(ALP), Federation of Trade Union-Burma (FTUB), dan Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB).

For stemming tide of demonstration movements, junta military also form the stronger organization, it is Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA). USDA was almost same Golongan Karya (GOLKAR) in Indonesia, the purpose of this organization is to collect the mass to achieve the policies and junta welfare. This organisation indicated as military mass group with the specific purpose to provide pressures toward anti governmental groups. This organization often use violences in facing the demonstrators. The USDA has also reportedly engineered the massacre at Depayin in May 2003, when the convoy of Aung San Suu Kyi was attacked, which resulted in a large number of casualties of the National League for Democracy (NLD).^{31}

Every demonstrations that were followed by USDA and 8888 groups that consists of students and monks always attacking each other then cause many victims particulary from 8888 group.

D.2. Repressive actions of Junta military toward demonstration in 2007

The background of this demonstration is the rising fuel for 500% and taking subsidy of fuel for Myanmar people suddenly. This condition is make more ronic the economic condition of Myanmar people.

This action was done for 1 month. Firstly on August 19, 2007, 400 activists of pro democracy organize the mass for a demonstration with the purpose refuse increasing of fuel price. Then on August 24, this demonstrations involved of 100,000 people and on August,28 followed by 30,000 people. The pursuit of demonstration to the governent as follows to achieve more domocratic and transparent government, the policies which more tend for myanmar people. They feel that the condition of their live is more difficult particulary in the economic conditions by the signals of the increasing jobless and poverty. The country revenue of natural resources are exploited by foreigner only for junta military government and their groups and families, Myanmar people did not get fair result of natural welfare from their country.

Then on September 23, the countinuing of demostration to against junta was followed by 20,000 people, a half of them were monks where in the front line then student university and civilian of all kinds groups. They all walk in procession in Myanmar capital city. This action was the biggest actions toward junta military government as long as 20 years. The nuance of orange and red from monks uniform colouring the prominent street in Yangoon. Monks march together with civilians start to create long march from Shwedagon Pagoda. These monks demonstrate while huged Budha small statue. Most of them bring a small bowl reversible position as the symbol refusing junta’s contributions. This rute way through NLD office that was led by Aun San Suu Kyi while praying. Then the members of party turned out to join in the march. The mass also bring the red piece of cloth as a symbol of sinergy with the monks.
Many realms optimistic with this demonstrations, they argued that this demonstration will create changing policies in the junta military government. It is impossible that junta will implement violence for facing the demonstration like in 1988 remembering that junta military is very respect toward monks, even the general leader of Junta has specific monk who is followed. Junta military give contributions for monks every money. With the policies of junta military that not tend to Myanmar people, so monks do not want again receive the contributions from junta military government in every months. Because monks as a guide of 90% of Myanmar people, so it will make easier to collect mass as many as possible.

The response of junta military government toward demonstrators is beyond belief. The actions of junta military government toward demonstrators keep on brutal repressive and not act in humanitarian way. Junta military regard that using lacrymator in September, 19 and catch 150 demonstrators. The brutal actions is still continuing, junta military government attacked monastery and catch more than 100 monks. In the center city junta soldiers bring automatic gun to shoot demonstrators. Through loudspeaker, junta give warning toward demonstrators in order that they dismissed and go home in the 10 minutes, if they not obey so junta soldiers will shoot them. But then the warning was not obeyed by the demonstrators. They still keep get on together in one place while throw the soldiers with stone, the soldier reply the demonstrators by repeatedly shoot to air or directly shoot to demonstrators.

One month after this tragedy, some universities in Myanmar change to be jail places. More than 6000 people were jailed, involved 1400 monks. 1000 people of the were jailed by junta military government without window. Most of the source mentioned that the amount of them which were jailed without window is 1700 people and 200 of them were women, the monks also do hunger strike.\(^3\) Demonstrants were not only jained in the universities building, but also in the old building. Based on the formal report of government, the mount of victims is only 13 involved of Japan journalist but based on the non governmental organization report mentioned that the victim were more than that formally report.

E. The highly human rights abuse by junta military government around Yadana Gas

Actually the violences toward minority groups is still has correlations with junta military government related with economic aspect. Those kinds violences to chase away the minority groups from their home and land then those land to build their Yadana gas project.\(^4\) This project can be said the controversial project in this world that operating in natural gas development under junta military government. The transfering of gas through Andaman sea of Myanmar to Thailand to light metropolitan cities in Thailand. This projects are operated by Total company (France), Chevron (US), PTTEP (Thailand), dan Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise (Moge).


Since the beginning of this project in the 1990th, this controversial gas project was criticized by some humanity organizations, because those organizations have found many human abuses that were done by junta military government. Based on junta military government, they applied those brutal actions with the purpose to keep security along pipe. Those kinds of abuses are forced labour, land robbery, forced relocation, rape, torture, killing, sexual harassment, and those...
Figure 1: Yadana Pipeline Region
The figure of 1\textsuperscript{36} shows that the Yadana project that operating in the natural gas development, the location of the pipe along with people's homes and it is kept by junta military around pipe. Because the government provide soldiers to keep security along pipe. In the name of company security junta military had the conscience to attack villagers who do not want to move or relocation. The Burmese army for using violence and coercion to secure areas slated for major investment projects and commonly demands forced labor to build associated infrastructure, then the result of construction of more gas pipelines across Burma is likely to line the pockets of the country's leaders while causing suffering for thousands of people.\textsuperscript{37}

Many thinks that be the victims of the development of this Yadana project, especially the villagers of Myanmar who live in that location. They are not only receive physical abuses, but also the place that they live get pollutions and some other abuses.


Based on the data from EarthRight International, in the period of 2009-2010, the classifications of human rights abuses around Yadana project as follows: targeted killings, mandatory military trainings: protecting the military corridor, forced labour, and land confiscation for forest.\textsuperscript{38}

Firstly, targeted killings, related with targetted killings one of the local villager in the Yadana pipeline give testimony that:\textsuperscript{39}

"[The soldiers] arrested them for one night and the next day the soldier came in to the village to get a digging tool and later people found out that both of the villagers were killed by the soldier.

Based on thatwisneseth, in the 2010, two ethnic Mon were killed because two Mons were suspected having connection with Morn armed groups so military investigated Monks. Then military arrested them in one night and the next day military junat came into the village to get digging tool and then villagers found them are killed.

EarthRightInternational has found general abuses related with targetted killing for interest of Company (chevron and Total). Total and Chevron can not deny those kinds killings, because they are committed with junta military governent to provide the soldier around Yadana.\textsuperscript{40} But in the some statements Chevron and Total clarified that they did not have knowledge for abuses.
Secondly, Mandatory Military training: Protecting the Pipeline corridor, the purpose of the training is for providing security in the pipeline area and patrolling villages in the pipeline corridor. The abuse of this military training is about how way military junta around pipeline create this training. Each village in the area had to send representatives depending on the number of households in the village. Avillagers had to pay their expenses during the training. Now that they are done with the training each night they have to patrol the village and check for guests. They will increase their security when there is a new guest in the pipeline area and report them back to the pipeline for junta military. It is still have related with awareness of junta military governent to keep villagers from the armed ethnic of opposition group. Around of the pipeline area is forbidden for journalist, medias, and even, it is secret from international community.

Thirdly, Forced Labour, in about 2009th to 2010 Villagers around Pipeline have recently been forced to construct huts for military commanders, dig ditches next to pipeline roads, and provide the materials for other forced constructions.
Based on the witnesses of villagers, If junta ordered them to do any kinds of job, there is no rule time of working, junta can ordered them everything that junta want without clear salary and time management. For example, during the harvest season, around 25 soldiers came to a village and they ordered (around three villagers) through the village headman to porter for them. Villagers had to carry food for the soldiers as well as be the guide for the soldier. They went into the jungle to check on the armed opposition group. It was happening not as for many.
from the Total pipeline route. This time was happened about five days for villagers to come back.

Fourthly, Land confiscation for forest areas, based on Universal Declarations on Human Rights that was explained in the chapter II, explained that “The right to property, and the right to be free from having one’s property free from arbitrary interference by the state, is recognized explicitly in numerous International treaties and conventions”. Based in the practice of Junta military government especially villagers among Yadana pipeline project is faraway from the practices of justice related with location of live. According to Burma’s domestic laws prevent the state from confiscating land for public purposes without abiding by certain procedures, including those found in Burma’s Land Acquisition Act, which protects the privacy and security of the home and property. The Act lays out a procedure for the acquisition of land by the authorities that includes giving generous notice of any intended survey of the land, providing for just compensation for the land owner for both the surveying and acquisition of the land, and providing an opportunity for interested persons to have their objections to any such proceedings heard. The Act even sets out proceedings for a complaint process to be followed if the amount of compensation for the land is in dispute.41

But the problem is when those kinds of regulations unenforced by junta military especially for villagers around Yadana. Some of the datas of Human Rights
organizations shows that Villagers did not get proper compensation for their land, and even they did not have rights for having farming land.

Those kind of abuses in around of the Yadana pipeline is no doubt about that, those kinds of abuses based on the EarthRightInternational Reports and other human rights organizations is still ongoing until now. The abuses consist of murders, torture, rape, and forced labor perpetrated against villagers by the Burmese military providing security along the Yadana pipeline. Chevron and Total can be held liable for complicity in those kinds of abuses then bring to US federal courts under the Alien Tort Statute. But the responce of the US government toward human rights abuses is different with other abuses that was happened in several states, its depend on the national interest of the US. Whereas those kinds of abuses is not proper if comparing with the ideal principals of human rights that will be explained in the next chapter.