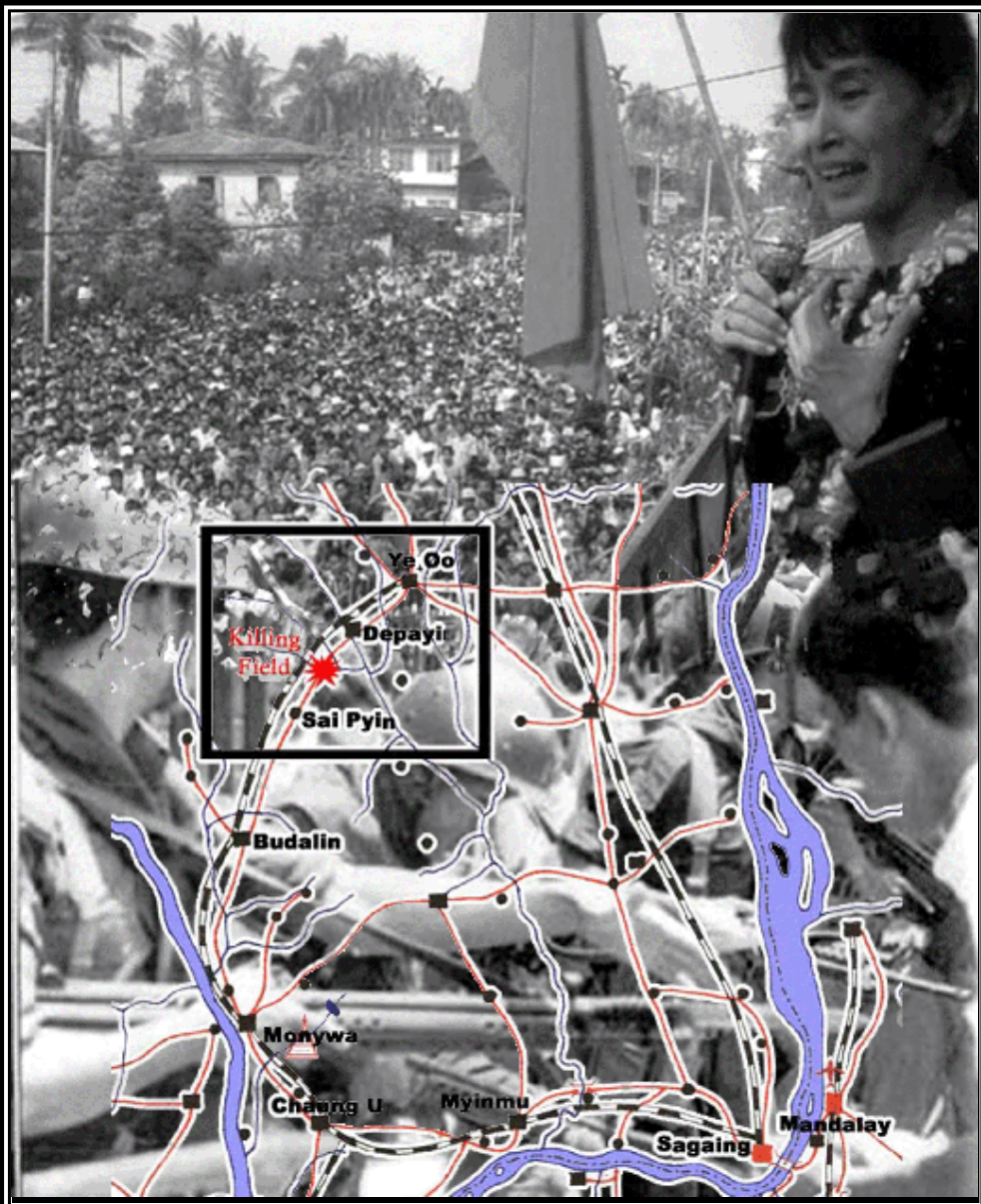


**Preliminary Report**  
**of**  
**The Ad hoc Commission**  
**on Depayin Massacre ( Burma )**  
**July 4, 2003**



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## **Acknowledgement**

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- (1) National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB) for providing information and cooperation.
- (2) Member Organizations of the National Council of the Union of Burma for their cooperation.
- (3) Political Defiance Committee (PDC) of the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB) for providing information and the photographs of the Depayin victims.
- (4) Network for Democracy and Development (NDD) for providing information and the photographs of the Depayin victims.
- (5) Assistance Association for Political Prisoners – Burma (AAPP- Burma) for providing information to compile the list of victims of the Depayin Massacre.

The Commission also expresses its profound appreciation to the anonymous individuals inside Burma, who bravely helped provide the precious information and assisted to bring the eyewitnesses out of the country.

## **Formation of the Ad hoc Commission on Depayin Massacre (Burma)**

The National Council of the Union of Burma and the Burma Lawyers' Council have formed a commission on June 25, 2003 to jointly deal with the alleged assassination attempt against the leaders of the National League for Democracy, including Nobel Peace Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, with the following programmes:

### **The Title of the Commission**

The commission will be entitled as the Ad hoc Commission on Depayin Massacre (Burma).

### **Aim**

- (1) To find out the truth on the Depayin Massacre;
- (2) To facilitate the struggle of people, based on legal affairs, both inside Burma and in the international community, in connection with the Depayin Massacre;

### **Programme Objectives**

- (1) To exert efforts to lodge a complaint with the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the event that it has jurisdiction over the Depayin Massacre case;
- (2) To lodge a complaint or complaints with other courts in the international community including the International Criminal Tribunal to be possibly established by the United Nations Security Council if the first objective is not possible;
- (3) To cooperate with the people inside Burma and the international community for the emergence of an official independent investigation commission in order to find out the truth on Depayin Massacre;

### **Formation of the Commission**

The following representatives from the National Council of the Union of Burma and the Burma Lawyers' Council constitute the commission on Depayin Massacre (Burma):

1. U Khin Kyaw Han ( National Council of the Union of Burma)
2. U Kyaw Kyaw (National Council of the Union of Burma)
3. U Aung Htoo ( Burma Lawyers' Council)
4. U Min Lwin Oo ( Burma Lawyers' Council)

On behalf of the commission, U Aung Htoo, as Coordinator, takes responsibility to communicate with the outside world.

### **Accountability**

The commission will be accountable to the National Council of the Union of Burma.

## **Explanatory Statement of the Ad hoc Commission on Depayin Massacre**

### **Depayin Tragedy**

The alleged assassination attempt against the leaders of the National League for Democracy, including Nobel Peace Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo, the deputy Chairman of the NLD, took place near Kyi village, Depayin township, Shwe Bo District, Sagaing Division, Burma at about 8:00 p.m on May 30, 2003. In spite of the fact that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo escaped from that killing field, it is confirmed that some leaders of the NLD, its many members and sympathizers were massacred. Many supporters were injured; and, unaccountable numbers of people disappeared.

In every society, whenever such a heinous crime that impacts on several thousand people occurs, the respective governments, in cooperation with the international community or by themselves, usually investigate the incidents. They seek to find out the perpetrators and their mastermind, and take proper legal action. However, as of now no national or international commission has been formed to thoroughly investigate the incident on what actually happened in Depayin township, Burma.

### **Ad hoc Commission on Depayin Massacre**

The National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB) is the largest democratic opposition comprising the Members of Parliament Union (MPU), National Democratic Front (NDF), Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) and the National League for Democracy (Liberated Area). The Burma Lawyers' Council (BLC) is an independent lawyers' organization attempting to promote and assist in educating, implementing, restoring and improving basic human rights, democratic rights, and the rule of law in Burma. The NCUB and the BLC have jointly formed an Ad hoc commission on Depayin Massacre (Burma) with equal representatives from the two organizations in order to find out the truth.

In its function, the commission consults with the NCUB leaders and seek their agreement for policy matters. However, the commission is an independent body in investigating the event and attempting to take a legal and other necessary actions against the perpetrators, who committed the crime against the victims in Depayin incident. All members of the commission are persons who have been struggling for achieving human rights and democracy in Burma for years. Nevertheless, in dealing with the Depayin issue, the commission attempts not to be biased, accepts primary and secondary evidence, and analyzes the incident based on available accurate factors without subjectivism. It also rejects the hear-say statements of the witnesses. It exerts efforts to explore the truth only on what actually happened. It tries not to simply accuse the ruling military junta as perpetrators. It is also ready to accept all reasonable information and explanations made by concerned parties, including the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), in that incident.

Analysis of the Military Junta's Press Conference With this background situation, the commission scrutinized all statements of the ruling junta. Without investigating the incident thoroughly and effectively, the SPDC military junta simply blamed the NLD for such an atrocious incident through its press conference held at 4:00 p.m, May 31, 2003.

**In that formal press conference, the SPDC officials publicized the following factors:**

1. the members of the NLD including U Tin Oo led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi incited unrest with the crowd of people, and due to their acts, there occurred a traffic jam and instability.
2. at the scene of crime where the incident occurred, people numbering about 5,000 were present to demonstrate against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi;
3. clashes broke out between those in support of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and those opposed to her;
4. as a result of the clashes, four people died, 50 injured, eight vehicles and nine motorcycles were destroyed.
5. the injured were admitted to hospital for medical treatment.

**Those aforementioned factors can be analyzed as follows:**

1. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo never made a trip to that Depayin town before; incitement has never been made with the local Depayin people; and, instability never occurred in Depayin as a consequence of the action of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo before this incident happened. As such, it is quite evident that **the accusation of the SPDC against the NLD leaders is groundless** in regard to this Depayin incident.
2. The presence of 5,000 people in that killing field, claimed by the junta, manifestly indicates that **the incident was a premeditated attack**. There is Kyi Ywa, that is the closest village, to the disputed area. Kyi Ywa is a very small village. The number of dwellings there is not more than a hundred houses. As such, the number of the whole population in the village may be less than 500. The number of villagers, from Kyi village, and the NLD members and supporters from the convoy of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were not more than 1,000 in total. The villagers from Kyi village were supporters of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. There was no eye-witness that the local people from Depayin town publicly came to that disputed area by any transportation or on foot on May 29 or 30. If so, where do 5,000 criminals who attacked the motorcade of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the villagers from Kyi village come from? Some reliable information indicates that they might be the members from the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) and other criminals collected and taken by the authorities from other parts of Burma to that killing field areas.

According to the statement of the eye-witnesses, when the incident commenced, the first large group of attackers came from the cars that closely chased the motorcade of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at the rear. The total number of those were over one thousand. Out of 5,000 claimed by the junta, the remaining numbers were positioned clandestinely beside the road in the two designated killing fields by the authorities. Both groups of attackers were holding iron spikes, iron bars, bamboo and wooden clubs and other sharp weapons. They appeared only after the two monks halted the motorcade of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Then, they inhumanely and brutally attacked the unarmed NLD members and its supporters.

3. In the event that the clashes between the two opposing groups with bare hands happened incidentally, it might not be atrocious and serious. It is evident that the NLD members and its supporters including the villagers from Kyi village held no weapons. To the contrary, 5,000 people claimed by the junta had already held the lethal weapons before the incident happened. The following factors indicate that it was not an event happened incidentally but

**it was a well-organized crime:**

- (a) Before the motorcade of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi arrived, the local authorities threatened the people living in the villages between Sai Pyin village and Depayin town not to welcome Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and not to appear if something happened;
  - (b) Out of 5,000 that the junta referred, over one thousand criminals, who took the cars at the rear of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's motorcade, firstly created problem with the villagers from Kyi village and started their premeditated attack at the first killing field.
  - (c) The remaining thousands of criminals awaiting beside the road under cover of night joined the first attackers and attacked the motorcade of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from the left site of the first killing field.
  - (d) Other criminals numbering more than 1,000 were already positioned at the second killing field. It was on the way to Depayin town, about five minutes drive from the first killing field. They attacked the cars of NLD members and supporters from Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's motorcade, that escaped from the first killing field without any reason.
4. According to the reliable information, the villagers from the villages around that killing field areas took care of the wounded victims. Then, the victims left those villages and were hiding from the danger of being arrested and executed by the junta. The junta arrested the wounded victims who did not escape from the killing field and placed them in the prisons such as Shwe Bo, Kathar, Khamti and others. As such, the list of the injured persons issued by the junta is not complete. There have been no public hospitals in the whole country, that the family members and relatives can meet the wounded victims from Depayin incident. The issue is that if the junta allows the wounded victims to meet the public including international Media, the wounded victims might articulate their experiences in the incident. It clearly indicates that **the junta is attempting to cover the truth.**

**The Function of Ad hoc Commission**

The commission has limited function as it cannot visit the scene of crime, examine all relevant witnesses, local people and responsible authorities. However, it examined four eyewitnesses, who personally experienced the incident and closely watched it. The political defiance committee of the NCUB collected these eyewitnesses from inside Burma, who escaped from the close watch of the military authorities. Out of four, two of them themselves were beaten. Without partiality, the commission scrutinized the statements of these four witnesses. In addition, the commission also received statements of two other eyewitnesses who were present at the scene of crime from reliable sources. The commission accepted the statements of those six eye witnesses as major primary evidence. It also transcribed the radio interviews made by the NLD leaders and MP elects, who personally met the eyewitnesses, and by the relatives who attempted to meet the victims. The commission accepted them as secondary evidence.

### **The Accountability of the SPDC Military Junta**

With reference to such a limited number of eyewitnesses and other available evidence, it will be quite premature for the commission to make an accurate conclusion on who committed such a heinous crime. However, oral statements and other documentary evidence consistently indicates as follows:

1. it was not clashes between the two opposing groups fighting each other accidentally; it might be an assassination attempt systematically plotted by the authorities;
2. SPDC military junta is directly accountable to the Depayin massacre for the following reasons apart from the factors mentioned above and below:
  - (a) 16 hours after the incident, the junta held the press conference blaming the NLD for the incident; for such a huge terrible incident, no competent investigation commission can conclude anything, without examining the reasonable numbers of eyewitnesses, within a very short time; as such, it indicates that the junta has already made up a story since before the incident actually happened;
  - (b) in the event that the clashes happened between the two opposing groups, the junta taking responsibility itself as government, requires to take an effective action against the perpetrators from both sites; in practice, it has not been the case; the junta detains the NLD leaders, members and its supporters; however, no suspected accused from other site has been arrested;
  - (c) to the contrary, in the aftermath of the Depayin event, the junta continued to arrest the wounded victims from the NLD;
  - (d) the junta has not yet allowed Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other NLD leaders to publicize their experiences in the incident through the international Media and other news agencies;
  - (e) the commission has received unconfirmed information that the authorities are attempting to forcefully relocate the villages that are situated around the two killing fields; if it is the case, the intention might be to expel the eyewitnesses from those villages in order to cover the truth.
3. the actual perpetrators might be the members of Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) and other criminals whose actions were directly controlled by the authorities;
4. the eye-witnesses closely watched the incidents from different areas within the crowd of thousands of people in a large killing field, that might be about one hundred yards long; each stated that more than 20 victims were massacred even in the presence of each of them in different areas of the major scene of crime; one witness stated that after running away from the first killing field for about ten minutes, he watched the killers dragged about twenty dead bodies to bury in a stream; in addition, some were killed in the second killing field; and there may also be other number of victims who were also assassinated nearby areas around those two killing fields; in brief, the number of the dead is still unknown;
5. on May 31, the junta announced that 50 people were injured; however, on June 4, it stated differently that 48 people got wounded; only when the independent investigation commission and international Media meets all injured people and ask, the accurate number might be available; unfortunately, the junta has not yet provided that opportunity in order to cover the truth; the accurate number of the wounded victims is also unknown; the other victims who got wounded and who were not detained by the junta might be hiding somewhere in various parts of Burma due to their well-founded fear of being persecuted;
6. there was no sign of hostility of the local people living in Kyi Village, against the leaders of the NLD, led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi;

**The military junta publicized that the Depayin event occurred accidentally between the two opposing groups fighting each other, resulting in the death and injuries of NLD members, its supporters and other people who were present at the scene of the clashes.**

Unless the Depayin incident is relevant to the junta, it should release all NLD leaders, its supporters and other people; publicly guarantee not to detain any affected person in the incident; allow the international media to meet all injured persons and other eye-witnesses; and facilitate all victims, who still survive, to formally lodge complaints in an independent investigation commission.

The junta is accountable to thoroughly prove that it did not mastermind the Depayin massacre. The question is how it is going to be proved. Junta's press conference alone should not be sufficient. U Khin Maung Win, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, briefed the Heads of Missions of embassies in Burma on the latest situation and development concerning the 30<sup>th</sup> May incident. He reported that an official inquest is being conducted by the Police Department under the Ministry of Home Affairs. The principle on the 'Neutrality of Police' has disappeared in Burma since 1962 military coup. The senior officials of the police are the former army personnel. The junta strictly controls the whole function of police including appointment, dismissal, promotion, transfer and etc. As such, the investigation of the police on Depayin Massacre might be mockery as the people and the international community suspect that the junta, the master of police, masterminded the incident.

### **Recommendation for the Emergence of an Official Investigation Commission on Depayin Massacre**

In order to seek the truth, it is required to form an independent commission. In order to establish the independence and neutrality of such a commission, the representatives either from NLD or SPDC military junta may not be included. It may comprise respected patriotic politicians, the academicians such as retired professors, legal practitioners from independent legal profession, religious leaders, the leaders who participated in the struggle of Burma's independence and the representatives from the international community including those from ASEAN and UN. The qualification for the selection of commission members should be made public. The UN may supervise the process for the formation of that commission and its function. To ensure an effective investigation, such a commission shall enjoy the authority to take testimony or a statement from any witness, regardless of political, military or governmental positions, under the principle of the rule of law within a reasonable time limit. The function of such an important commission should be transparent and accountable to the United Nations as well as the whole people in Burma.

Our Ad hoc Commission on Depayin Massacre (Burma) will be ready to facilitate the function of such an official commission, that might emerge in near future and that will be duly recognized by the national, regional and international community. However, in the event that the military junta denies the formation of such an independent commission and does not expedite its operation, the Ad hoc commission on Depayin Massacre (Burma) will continue to exist, find out the truth and attempt to take proper legal and other actions against the perpetrators.

### **Denial of Impunity on Depayin Massacre**

Taking actions on Depayin massacre is not a question of *politics* but the issue of *seeking justice* for the victims and *prevention of repeated crimes* in future. The release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, NLD members and other people, who were detained by the junta, should be welcome. Nevertheless, it should not be the final resolution in dealing with the Depayin massacre. ***It cannot be a trade-off.*** Depayin massacre issue has become a major concern not only for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD members but also for the whole society.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, a noble peace laureate, is a charismatic leader in the world. Unless an effective legal action be taken against the perpetrators for the well-publicized crime against the noble peace laureate or, in the presence of the noble peace laureate, the perpetrators will enjoy impunity forever. In addition, they will dare to commit more serious crimes against the innocent ordinary citizens repeatedly in the near future.

### **Dealing with the Previous Human Rights Violation Is the Foundation for a Genuine National Reconciliation**

The international community, as well as the people in Burma, have an expectation to transform the society from the rule of dictatorship to democracy, within the framework of the national reconciliation by peaceful means. However, without developing a proper mechanism to deal with the previous human rights violations in a transition process, a genuine national reconciliation might not be achieved. In a democratic transition from the rule of the dictators to democracy in Burma, it is required to seek justice for the victims properly and effectively. From 1962 to the present time, the successive military juntas have committed crimes against humanity several times. In spite of that, no effective action could be taken. The perpetrators have enjoyed impunity endlessly. In the event that the similar situation continues to take place even for Depayin massacre, serious human rights violations in Burma will certainly occur more than before.

### **Request to the Various Nationalities of Burma and the International Community**

The military junta, relying on its military power and reasoning the exercise of sovereignty of a state, might ignore the demand of the international community and its own citizens in order to establish the truth on Depayin massacre. If it is the case, our Ad hoc commission would like to request to the various nationalities of Burma, all national, regional and international organizations working for human rights and democracy in Burma and the international community, to work together to take an effective legal action on the junta, asking the legal intervention of the international community.

It is known that the International Criminal Court has already existed since 2002 and it will have jurisdiction to deal with the most serious cases when committed after the existence of ICC. The Rome Statue of the International Criminal Court enshrines the definition of "Crime Against Humanity" as any of acts - including murder, extermination, enforced disappearance of persons, and others - when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any

civilian population, with knowledge of the attack. Depayin massacre falls within such scope of the "Crime Against Humanity." It may not be fair if ICC denies the complaints to be possibly lodged by the victims from Depayin Massacre reasoning that it will have jurisdiction only over the countries that formally ratified the Rome Statue. The SPDC military junta in Burma will never ratify the Rome Statue. The junta usually refers to the term "Sovereignty of a State" to be applied as a shield to cover its human rights violations taking place inside the country and it should be ceased.

The UN Security Council formed the International Criminal Tribunals of Rawanda and Yugoslavia previously. Depayin Massacre might not be a similar serious crime as happened in those two countries. However it was also such a serious crime committed by thousands of perpetrators. In the event that the UN Security Council is keeping silent and providing impunity to the perpetrators, the more serious crimes, that will threaten regional peace and stability, might occur in Burma.

In order to achieve our objective to establish the truth and take effective legal actions against the perpetrators in Depayin incident, the victims and witnesses themselves are required to be courageous enough. They might come forward before the public, make known the truth, and bring the perpetrators into justice. To this end, our Ad hoc Commission on Depayin Massacre is ready to provide all necessary assistance to the concerned victims and witnesses. We will also seek cooperation with individuals, human rights and democratic organizations, legal institutions and governments from international community as well as from inside Burma.

**U Aung Htoo**  
**M.A. (Human Rights). R.L.**  
**General Secretary**  
**Burma Lawyers' Council**

**U Khin Kyaw Han**  
**MP elect, Yenangyaung Constituency (2)**  
**Member of Presidium**  
**National Council of the Union of Burma**

**U Min Lwin**  
**Team Leader, Legal Aid Section**  
**Burma Lawyers' Council**

**U Kyaw Kyaw**  
**Director , Political Defiance Committee**  
**National Council of the Union of Burma**

**(Footnotes)**

1 The military junta mentioned 5,000 number of people in its press conference held on May 31, 2003.

"A large group of people numbering about 5,000 were waiting for Daw Suu Kyi to stage a demonstration against her at a place two miles from the entrance to Dapayin."



## Brief Background of Event

After her freedom from 19 months house arrest on May 6, 2002 Daw Aung San Suu Kyi began her organization trips outside of Rangoon. Her release from house arrest was unconditional and as approved by the SPDC she could freely travel throughout the country.

Her first Rangoon precinct trip was to Shwe Pyi Thayar Township NLD head office on 17-5-2002 followed by trips to Daw-bon township NLD head office on 22-5-2002, on 24-5-2002, Kamayut Township NLD head-office, on 13-6-2002, as her fifth trip in Rangoon precinct, she visited Thakayta NLD head office.

Throughout the trip mentioned, she received overwhelming support from the people.

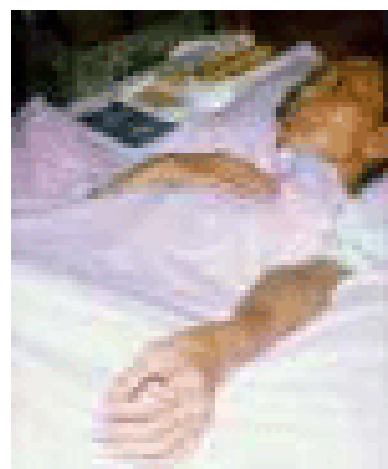
She later made her upper Burma trips from 20-6-2002 to 29-6-2002 visiting (16) township in Mandalay and Magwe Divisions continued by trips to Mon and Karen States visiting 12 Township from (14-10-2002 to 17-10-2002). She then visited 14 townships in Pegu Division from (13-11-2002 to 27-12-2002), 17 Townships in Shan States from (16-12-2002 to 24-12-2002), and 15 Townships in Arakan States, Magwe Division and Irrawaddy Division from (3-4-2003 to 13-4-2003).

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had experienced harassment from SPDC since 1996. The USDA had interrupted Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and caused her trouble throughout her journey in many ways. Such plot against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had since been arranged in 1996 and was revealed by the SLORC/ SPDC Minister of Railways Transport Ministry and secretary of the USDA U Win Sein.

On 1-11-96 at 14:00 hrs, in the compound of the Le Pyin village primary school which is about 1 mile away from Inn daw Township of Sagaing Division, the entire village USDA members's proposals submitting ceremony was held. U Win Sein who participated in the ceremony, delivered a speech to the attending villagers making strong personal attack on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Furthermore he stated that the creator of the internal political disturbances, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, must be eradicated. **"Do you understand what is meant by Eradicated"? "Eradicated means to kill",** and added, **"Dare you kill Daw Suu Kyi?"**. He repeated this 5 or 6 times, but no one answered him. In addressing the people by microphone and raising the question dare you kill Daw Suu Kyi was heard not only by those attending the ceremony but also villagers in the village and by monks in the monastery.



Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car was put off the road by the authority during her trip to Irrawaddy Division in August 1998.



Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was injured when she was brought by force back to Rangoon from above roadside.



Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car was damaged in (9-11-96) attack by SPDC's thugs in Rangoon.

Regarding this matter, NLD chairman U Aung Shwe informed Senior General Than Shwe by letter with letter No: 179/Cee (Nyein)/96 of 20.12.96.

Therefore it is obvious that since 1996 responsible personnel of USDA have been instigating the assassination of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and making verbal personal attacks on the General Secretary of the National Language for Democracy. The Depayin incident is indeed a practical move to bring about their intention.

On 9.11.96, Saturday afternoon at about (15:35) hrs, leader of the NLD U Tin Oo, U Kyi Maung and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi left the entrance gate of Kanbawza manor and slowly headed southwards in 3 motor vehicles. Just about (15) feet from the entrance gate, at a bus stand, on the road, and on either side of the road was a group of people estimated to be round about (200). They had with them rocks, iron chains, iron rods that can kill people and attacked the motorcade in the manner of following instruction from someone else. In the presence of the security members and in broad daylight, the attack was carried out like a country in anarchy.

Due to the attack, the back windshield of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car was cracked and the car of U Tin Oo and U Kyi Maung, the glasses on both sides of the back doors and the back windshield were totally damaged.

The second attack had taken place at the intersection of the University avenue road and Than Lwin Road. The time was about (16:45) hrs. At that place were an army major, a police inspector and 10 motor vehicle police blocking the University Avenue road. The NLD cars in turning towards the Than Lwin Road, two men from near the officers rushed out throwing stones at the leader's cars moved close to the cars and stabbed with daggers. As the cars were moving no one was hurt, but it was a formidable plot. The attackers after committing a brutal and barbarous attack calmly went back towards the security officers.

On 20-7-98, about (9:10)hrs, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and Central Executive Committee member and Chairman of the Irrawaddy Division organization Committee U Hla Pe set out on a trip by motor vehicles to Pantanaw Township, Irrawaddy Division to encourage and console the family of MP Dr. Tin Min Htut who was under detention.

On the way at telegraph post No (106) of Rangoon-Bassein highway near Pandaing village her journey was disrupted by the authorities. At about (11:40) hrs on resuming her journey, she was again stopped at a place about 4 miles from where she was first halted near Anyarsu and Pandaing villages. Round



Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's motorcade was blocked by SPDC during her trip to Dala township in August 2000.

about (14:10) hrs, the authorities brought Dr. Tin Min Htut to meet with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. With the consent of the authorities Dr, Tin Min Htut was taken back to Rangoon by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

On 24-7-98 at about (09:05) hrs Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, CEC U Hla Pe and party travelled to Bassein by motor vehicles to give moral support to the families of MPs who were detained under the 1961 Restriction of Movement and Probation of Habitual Act. They were halted at the thoroughfare near Pandaing and Anyarsu villages. On 29-7-98 about (21:50) hrs at the place where they were stopped, security members of the authorities by using force mauled her into her car against her will and took her back to her home. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car was driven back by a member of the authorities without her permission. The remaining CEC member and 2 NLD staff were treated the same way as Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and were taken back. Again on 12-8-98 Daw Aung San Suu Kyi with U Hla Pe, Central Executive Committee member and the chairman of the Irrawaddy Division Organization Committee, traveled by car peacefully on the public road to Bassein. On nearing Anyarsu-Pandaing villages of Htantabin Township, they were stopped on the way. After (13) days her health deteriorated, the CEC and other NLD members became anxious and on 24-8-98 took her back and arrived in Rangoon about (15:20) hrs.

On 24-8-2000 while Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and party were on their way to Dala Township in two motor vehicles, they were stopped by a group of policeman on the way. After detaining them for 9 days they were forcibly made to return by the authorities, on 1-9-2000. Within a matter of an hour, the NLD Headquarters was raided by the authorities. On 21.9.2000, while Daw Aung San Suu ky, and her colleagues were preparing to depart for Mandalay, they were halted by the authorities at the Rangoon Railway Station. After which she was put under house arrest until 6.5.2002.

In 2002 of May 6<sup>th</sup>, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was released from house arrest and the SPDC declared that a new chapter had been opened in the history of Burma and every citizen could take part in political activities. And that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had passed the period of confidence building between the NLD and the SPDC. After receiving her freedom from house arrest and in her travels throughout the country, the support she received from the people was gaining momentum and in the same manner her harassments from the USDA was also rising.

From 6.5.03 Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage were on an organizational tour by motor vehicles according to schedule, from Rangoon to Mandalay. And then to Shwe Bo, Khin U, Kaw Lin, Wun Tho, Indaw, Katha, Mohnyin, Mogaung, Pa Kan, Tanaing, Namti, Myitkyina, Waingmaw, Bamaw, Shwe Gu, Momeik, Mogok, Thabeikkyin, Singu, Madaya, Mandalay, Myintmu, Monywa, Butalin, Depaeyin. During the tour, party signboards were put up at one State office and 12 Township offices and were able to form 9 Township youth organizations. While they were travelling on the road from one town to another, USDA member with posters shouted slogans and oppsed them.

On 16-5.03 when they were entering Myitkyina Township, about 300 people carrying 2"x 1" clubs, catapults and short choppers surrounded the mortorcade of Daw Aung San Suu ky and her colleagues with hostility.

The USDA had interrupted Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and caused her trouble throughout her journey in many ways. On 30-5-03 about 7:30 PM at a place two miles from Depayin a little further from Kyi village intersection at Phayarpyet village, a group of ruffians led by the authorities made a violent attach on her motorcade.

The incident had been systematically premeditated by the authorities and carried out by their minions the USDA thugs.

## DEPAYIN MASSACRE

After her release from house arrest on May 6, 2002, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi journeyed to 95 townships during the time from June 11, 2002, to April 13, 2003, and reopened NLD offices.

Beginning from May 6, 2003, she traveled to Mandalay Division, Sagaing Division, Kachin State and Shan State, and presided over the installation of signboards and opening of NLD offices. On May 29, she began the Mandalay-Monywa trip. Trips to Upper Burma were made, only after she had obtained prior permission and agreement from the SPDC1 and township election commissions.

On May 29, at 9:00 a.m., a party of more than 100 persons in a convoy of 7 vehicles of NLD members, vehicles of supporters from Mandalay and more than 20 motorcycles set out for Sagaing, from due west of the 38th Street and south of the 84th Street of Mandalay. At the front, a scout car for security drove at a distance ahead of the convoy, and the car of Daw Suu<sup>2</sup>, cars of NLD members and those of the others, followed. The convoy reached the Sagaing Bridge at about 10:00 a.m. While it was passing the bridge and at the entrance to Sagaing Town, 800 members of the USDA<sup>3</sup>, on the left and right sides of the road, were holding placards with slogans "We don't want people who don't support USDA." They were also chanting the slogans exactly as they were written on the placards. After the convoy had passed these protesters, about 2,000 people from Sagaing who greeted the NLD leaders with, "Long live Daw Aung San Suu Kyi" and "Long live Ba Ba U Tin Oo."

The entourage continued their journey after leaving Sagaing and arrived at Myinmu at about 12:00 noon. In the whole length of the journey, the traffic police and military intelligence unit members followed from behind the convoy and took pictures with video and still cameras. In Myinmu, signboard for Myinmu Township NLD office was installed and the Upper Burma Youth officer as well as MP-elect of Leway Township constituency, Ko Tin Tun Oo, presided over formation of Myinmu Township NLD Youths.

Then, the convoy left Myinmu for Monywa after 3:00 p.m. Before reaching Chaung U, a group assembled for protest against Daw Suu near Yeposar Village was seen by the security scout car. It tried to turn back so as to inform the convoy about the matter. However, as the crowd prevented it from turning back, the scout car had to go on to Monywa. When the scout car, on reaching Chaung U, related about the incident at Yeposar to a crowd of students and people from Monywa, who had come to welcome Daw Suu, the crowd riding on about 3,000 motorcycles rushed to Yeposar. As there were about 6,000 supporters, the protesters were not able to do any mischief, and Daw Suu and the party was able to reach Monywa safely at 6 p.m..

The town's people of Monywa and the local population warmly welcomed Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD members. Though the government authorities had cut off power to the whole town, there was a rousing candle-lit welcome by the people, with shouts of " Long live Daw Suu; Long live Ba Ba U Tin Oo!" Daw Aung San Suu Kyi addressed the welcoming crowd in Monywa Town for about 40 minutes. After that, she retired for the night at the house of a former military officer and owner of Sein Hmyar Store of Monywa, U Tin Soe.



On the morning of May 30, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi presided over the installation of signboard and reopening of Monywa Township NLD office, and then the formation of Monywa Township NLD Youths. Though Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her party members later went to Zawtika monastery of Monywa to pay respect to the abbot, they did not have a chance to do so, as the abbot had been invited away by the Army Northwest Command headquarters. After that, Daw Suu and the party went to Okkan Tawya monastery briefly. At about 10: a.m., departure was made for Butalin Town through the Circular Road of Monywa. When Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and party arrived near Zeedaw Village, military authorities from the Northwest Command headquarters stopped the convoy including cars of the people of Monywa, who came along to send off Daw Suu and party. When Daw Suu and party arrived at Butalin, the ceremonies of installing the signboard and opening of Butalin Township NLD office, and formation of Butalin Township NLD Youths were performed.

After that, the supporters from Monywa who came along with the party returned to Monywa. When they arrived at Zeedaw, which was near the Army Northwest Command headquarters, the police waiting in readiness beat them up and put them under arrest.

At about 4:30 p.m., the entourage left Butalin for Depehyin Town. When it arrived at Saingpyin Village, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi went to the house of U Win Myint Aung, who was an MP-elect and who had been in prison, and gave a word of encouragement to the family members of U Win Myint Aung and NLD members of the village. On the way to Depehyin, as the scout car for our convoy did not return, motorcycle riders were sent to find out about the situation. However, they also did not return.

Then, the entourage continued the journey, and reached Kyi Village at about 7:30 - 8:00 p.m., where the massacre took place. From there, Depayin was only about 2miles away. At Kyi Village, the villagers and local population came out to welcome Daw Suu and the NLD members. After passing Kyi Village for about 100 yards, the car with registration number Ar/5415 in which Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was riding, was at the forefront of the convoy, and behind that was the car

in which U Tun Win (from Zaygyo) and U Khin Maung Thaung were riding. The third car (Hilux model, green color) was that of members of Mandalay Township Youths, who had the duty of providing close security. Behind that was the car of Sagaing Township MP-elect, Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt (Sunny, white color). Behind Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt's car was the car of members of Rangoon Division, NLD Central Youths security detail (Hilux model, white color) and behind the car of the Central Youths was the car of NLD Vice-Chairman U Tin Oo (Town Ace model, micro-bus) and behind U Tin Oo's car were cars of the NLD members, all in a line.

After passing Kyee village for about a hundred yards, by blocking the way in the front, two monks stopped Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car. When Central Youths security officer Ko Tun Zaw Zaw got off the car and asked about the reason, the



two monks said, "We have been waiting for a long time. Ask Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to give a speech." In reply, Ko Tun Zaw Zaw explained that it was not possible because of lack of time. At that moment, attackers on 2 Dyna trucks and 2 Torlagi cars, altogether 4 vehicles, which had been tailing the convoy, repeatedly shouted "Relying on external forces, axe handles; people with negative views, we don't want!" So shouting, they alighted from their vehicles. In response to that, Kyi villagers, who had come out to welcome Daw Suu and the NLD members, shouted, "We the people, in turn, don't want you!" At that, the USDA members, their mercenaries, and the faked monks, who had got off from the Dyna and Torlagi asked, "What are you saying?" So asking, they started to attack the Kyi villagers with pointed iron rods, iron bars, bamboo sticks and wooden bats, which they had brought in advance with them. As one of the attackers' Dyna trucks attempted to run over the people seen in the light of the cars, the villagers had to run in disorder. Then they gradually approached the convoy of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

At the mean time, about three thousand thugs holding the similar lethal weapons, who were laying in wait to attack beside the road appeared immediately. They joined the previous perpetrators and attacked the people in the cars of the convoy, including that of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, NLD supporters who were taking motorbikes, and the people who came along to send off the NLD, systematically. The killing field could be seen in the light of some Dyna trucks numbered at least four, that had been tailing the convoy.

The faked monks with red arm band and people in civilian clothes with white arm band while beating the women, they shouted, "Race destroying women; You want to be wives of Kala 4; Before you make yourselves wives of Kala, become our wives." Shouting such unspeakable abuses, they beat on violently without ceasing. From the women victims who had fallen to the ground, they pulled their NLD uniform jackets and sarongs, and they wrapped the hair around their hands and bumped the faces against the tar road. They rudely and savagely attacked until causing fatal injuries. They looted ornaments and cash from the victims.

The attackers concentrated their savage assault on the right side of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car, where members of the Youths responsible for security stood, with linked hands, in tiers. Many members of the youth security detail were seriously injured. As they hit violently and repeatedly on the head, NLD photographer Tin Maung Oo and Ko Thein Toe was killed on the spot. To terrorize the victims, the attackers violently struck the cars with iron bars and broke car windows by stabbing with pointed iron rods. In the vehicle, with registration number Ar/5415, were Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Ko Tun Zaw Zaw, the NLD Central Youths security officer, and car driver Kyaw Soe Lin, member of Mandalay Division NLD. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car had to rush out while members of youth security detail, giving close protection to Daw Suu's car, came under intense and violent attack. At the same time, the attackers launched a vio-





Depayin Massacre site (photo contributed by US Embassy in Rangoon)

lent assault on the car of NLD Vice-Chairman U Tin Oo and then they seized U Tin Oo at the place of attack and took him away.

The victims who escaped from the first killing field near Kyi Village and fled towards Depayin were attacked again by more than 1,000 attackers, who were waiting ready on the left and right sides of the road, at a place near the compound of local Irrigation Department. It was a second killing field. It could also be seen with the spot

lights already installed in the big rain trees beside the road and in the light of many Dyna Trucks that had been positioned by the authorities. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt narrowly escaped attack at the second killing field, because their cars rushed through the waiting crowd at high speed.

The reliable sources indicate that the authorities gathered and trained these terrorist attackers numbered about 5,0005, comprising the USDA members and other criminals from the prisons. They attacked Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and party, as well as the local population, who came out to welcome her and the accompanying NLD members, using violence and terror, with the intention of causing grievous injuries and death to a large number of the innocent, defenseless and the unsuspecting civilians.

It was learned that on the night of attack, after 11:00 p.m. about 80 riot policemen, with shields and sticks, in 4 Dyna trucks and 2 cars, that looked like Pajero jeeps, arrived at the scene of the attack. Two officers got off from the 2 smaller cars and inspected the scene of the attack. The policemen threw the bodies of the dead and the injured, as if they were garbage, into the trucks. The two Hilux pickup trucks left at the scene were pushed down into the rice field and then they set them up as if they had overturned. The other two Hilux pickup trucks were set up to look like as if they had had a head-on collision. Then they took pictures of them with video and still cameras, for the record. On the morning of May 31, an emergency police station was set up near the compound of the Irrigation Department not far from the place of the incident. In order to eliminate all the evidence, water was brought in with municipal trucks and bloodstains and other marks were washed away by the policemen, using brooms<sup>6</sup>.

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(Footnotes)

1 State Peace and Development Council (the Military junta of Burma)

2 Short for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

3 Union Solidarity and Development Association (a puppet organization of the SPDC)

4 A derogatory word for Indians and Westerners.

5 New Light of Myanmar, June 1, 2003 (SPDC, May 31 press conference)

6 Statement by Ko Chit Sann

## Affidavit of Wunna Maung



I, Wunna Maung, hereby swear under oath that:

**1.** I am a citizen of Burma, holding National Identification Card No-9/MCS- (N) 003840. I was born on March 16, 1977. My parents are U Kyaw Maung and Daw Tin Win. I live in Htundone Myo Thit, Chan Mya Thar Zi township, Mandalay. I make this affidavit in support of my statement on Depayin Massacre, Burma, took place on May 30, 2003.

**2.** I had applied for a membership in the Mandalay National League for Democracy (NLD) Youths. The NLD Vice-Chairman U Tin Oo himself said that we had been accepted as members. He continued to say that membership cards had not been issued to anyone due to prevailing situation and told us to continue to implement the Party's programs. As I had been elected by youths of Htundone Ward, I had to serve as Htundone Township Youth Organizer.

**3.** For the organizing trip of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to Upper Burma, I had to serve as a youth security officer, according to the duty entrusted to me by Mandalay Division NLD. By security duty, it was meant that, the ones holding the duty had to take the responsibility of keeping a close watch on the travelling party during the whole journey in order to guard against any danger that might befall. Daw Suu entrusted security duty for the organizing trips within Mandalay Division to Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt, an elected MP of Sagaing Township Constituency No.2 in Mandalay Division. Accordingly, Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt, in turn, entrusted Youths of Mandalay Northeast, Northwest, Southeast and Southwest Townships, the duty to serve as reserve security units. For the security of Daw Suu, there were 17 members of Central Headquarters Youths who had accompanied Daw Suu from Rangoon. Whenever there was a break in the journey for rest, the Central Youths members took up position as the inner tier of security while Mandalay Township Youths members took up position as the outer tier.

**4.** Even before we started on the journey, we had learned that bamboo clubs troops units had been formed at the township USDA offices and training was being given with Ya-Ya-Ka chairmen serving as battalion commanders. We also learned that villagers were ordered, under a different pretext, to furnish meal packets for these trainees. For that reason, before departure on the journey, Daw Suu advised us to absolutely avoid any words or behavior that might lead to confrontation with the dictators.

5. On May 29, at about 9 am, the long line of cars and motorcycles started out in a convoy from the back of 38<sup>th</sup> Street and drove along the 84<sup>th</sup> Street. In the car I was riding in, there were Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt, Ko Aye Win, Ko Wunna, Mandalay Northwest Township Secretary U Hla Than, Ko Aung Ko, Daw Khin Aye Myint, Daw Nyunt Nyunt, and Ko Thein Zaw. To serve as a scout, a car drove at a distance ahead of the main party. The party arrived at Sagaing, at about 10: 30 am.

6. At a bend before entering Sagaing Town and after passing over Sagaing Bridge, we saw, on both sides of the road, a group of about 600 people, holding placards with slogans, "We don't want people, who don't support USDA," and they were also chanting the slogans. At a moderate distance behind the group was a large crowd of people who were welcoming Daw Suu. When we saw the people in strength welcoming and supporting us enthusiastically, we also joyously responded to their greetings. To the shouts of " Long live Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Ba Ba U Tin Oo," we shouted in response, "Long live the people," and so on. The party did not take time to enter Sagaing Town and went on straight to Myinmu Town. The party reached Myinmu at about 12 noon and Daw Suu presided over the ceremony of installing the signboard and opening of Myinmu Township NLD office. After that, the Upper Burma Youth Organizer, Ko Tin Tun, presided over formation of Myinmu Township NLD Youths.

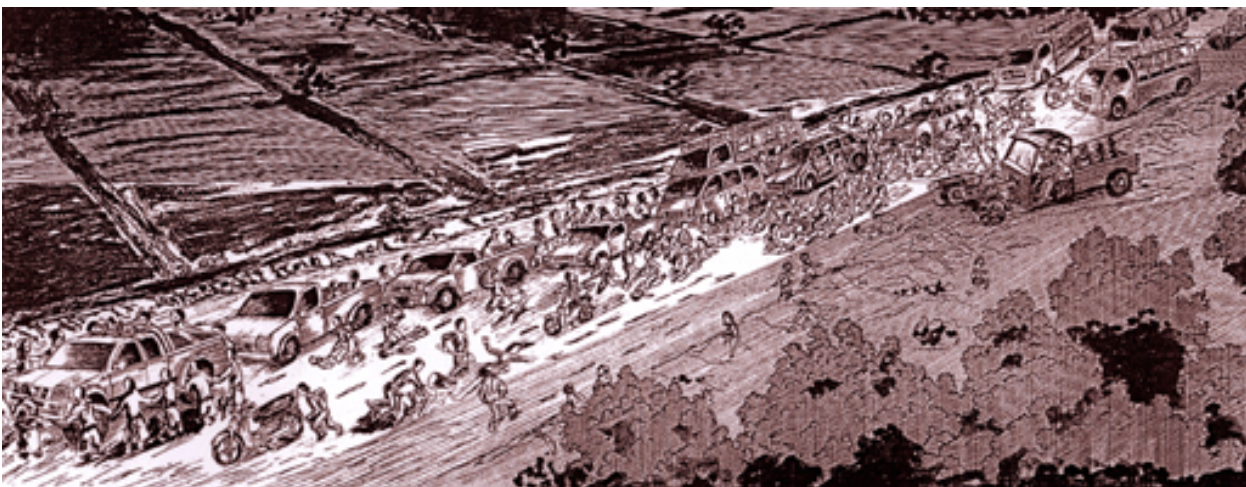
7. At about 3 pm, the party started to leave for Monywa Town. On the way we found more and more people in cars and on motorcycles coming to meet us. The party drove on in an orderly way and started to reach the entrance to Monywa at about 6 pm. As the crowd of people, coming to meet Daw Su in the town was so big that we could not reach the clock tower in the center of town, until 9:30 pm. In Monywa Daw Su addressed to the town elders and people for about 45 minutes and then the party retired for the night in Monywa Town. Daw Su slept in the house of one of the MP-elects and the rest of the party found other places to retire.

8. On May 30, the party started to leave from Monywa for Butalin Town at 10:30 am. At the beginning of the journey, 10 cars and about 150 motorcycles from Monya escorted the party. On reaching Butalin, the ceremony for installing the signboard and opening Butalin NLD Township office was held and Butalin NLD Youths was formed. At about 4:30 pm, the party started to leave Butalin for Depayin Town. On the way at Saing-pyin, Daw Su stopped to meet local NLD members and family members of U Win Myint Aung, an MP-elect, who had been held in prison, to give a word of encouragement and comfort. Before reaching Depayin, as the scout car going ahead of the party failed to return, motorcycle riders were sent to find out about the situation. However, the motorcycle riders also did not return.

9. At the exit of Monywa, our group, including Chairman U Tin Oo and Daw Su, went in to Zaw-ti-ka Monastery of Monywa for paying respect to the abbot. However, the abbot was away and we continued our journey to Budalin. As we continued our journey, it was about 8:30 pm when we reached a place, near Kyi Village, between Saingpyin and Depayin, where the incident took place. At that time, there was only a car between the car we were in and Daw Suu's car. Daw Suu's car was at the forefront and in the middle was a car in which U Tun Win (from Zaygyo) and U Khin Maung Thaung were riding. Ours was the third car, which was (Hilux model, green color). Behind our car was that of MP-elect, Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt's (Sunny, white color). Behind that was the car of Central Youths (Hilux, white color) and behind the Central Youths' car was that of Vice-Chairman U Tin Oo's (micro-bus), and then cars of the NLD members, all in a line. After passing Kyee Village for about 300 feet, two Buddhist monks blocked the way stopping the vehicle in which Daw Suu was riding. At that moment, Ko Tun Zaw Zaw got off from the car and, when he inquired about the reason, the two monks said, "We have been waiting for a long time. Ask Daw Suu to give a speech."

In response, Ko Tun Zaw Zaw explained that the "request could not be complied with as there was no time." While he was still explaining, two Dyna and two Torlagi trucks, altogether 4 trucks, full of people, came towards us from Monywa side. The people in the trucks, shouting over and over, the slogan, "Oppose those Relying on external forces, act as stooges; holders of negative views," alighted from the vehicles. At that moment, villagers from Kyi shouted, "We, the people in return don't want you!" At that, the USDA members and their cohorts from the trucks shouted, "What are you saying?" And with that, they started attack on the villagers with irons spike, iron bars, bamboo clubs and wooden clubs, which they had brought with them, and we had to witness the incident helplessly with a bleeding heart. At that time, as a Dyna truck also was trying to run over anyone in sight, the Kyi villagers who had come to receive us, had to run in disorder. When the two monks, who blocked Daw Suu's car for a speech, were asked to stop what was happening, they said, "We won't be able to do anything," and "You may also drive on." Just at that moment, our cars started to come under attack. I took responsibility for security on the right side of Daw Suu's car. The disposition for security was that I was close to the right side of the body of Daw Suu's car. There was no one behind me. We were standing in a line side by side. As the cars were parked close to the right side of the road, there were only one or two of us on that side. Two monks, with red cloth wrapped around the arm down to the elbow, were standing close to us. They were not the initial two monks who had blocked the way. At that moment, we saw that all the cars behind were being battered by packs of attackers. We, members of security unit, were standing from two to three tiers on the left side to cover Daw Suu's car. All the USDA members and their hired hands, attacking our cars were drunk. We learned later that from the time of departure from Monywa, a half-drum, full of liquor, was put on their car, and anyone in the car was allowed to drink as much liquor as he wished.

**10.** For that reason, when they attacked our cars they did it inhumanly and they shouted also, "Are you death-defying force for Kala<sup>1</sup> woman? If so die!" So shouting, they brutally struck down the youths. As there were few people on the right side of the car, the attackers concentrated their attack on the left side, and thus I escaped from the beating. When people on the other side of Daw Suu's car fell, the attackers struck down glass windows of the car. When the glasses were broken, they jabbed into the cars with the rods they were carrying. At that time we who remained shouted, "Daw Su, do run, run!" In the car, there were the driver, Kyaw Soe Lin, Ko Tun Zaw Zaw and Daw Su, only three. In the rear also, they attacked U Tin Oo's car in a pack, and I saw them seizing and taking away U Tin Oo. At that time, U Tin Oo was wounded on the head. Daw Suu escaped beating, because she did not get out of the car. If she did, the attackers would beat her to death, because the



Sketch of the scene of the first killing field near Kyi village.

attackers were totally drunk. They did not look like they were drunk on liquor but they looked like as if they were high on drugs. While the situation was in confusion, the attackers arrived near our car and in a pack, they rushed on to attack Daw Suu's car. They knew that we would not resist and I think, for that reason, they beat up with greater force and killed more.

**11.** They also beat up women in the third car (Hilux, green color), after pulling off their blouses and sarongs. When the victims covered in blood fell to the ground, I saw the attackers jumped on to them and wrapped the hair around their hands and pounded the heads against stone surface of the road, with all the force. I saw them behaving most inhumanly. I saw with my own eyes, earrings being forcibly taken from a woman who had fallen to the ground (Thanda Soe, second year student). The attackers uttered such base and sordid words like "You woman, wanting to be Kalas' wives, go ahead die! Before Kala, we will make you our wives. We have to build roads, repair roads, repair bridges and you want to be wives to Kala - die, die!" and went on brutally beating and attacking until the victims were dead. As the cars in the back kept their full headlights on, we saw all that happened. From my mind, I still cannot get rid of the sight of people, covered in blood, being beaten mercilessly and inhumanly.

**12.** After Daw Suu's car left, we also ran away. There were people fleeing on motorcycles and on foot. We were three, including a young monk. After running for a considerable distance, we could no longer continue to run. At that time, as we saw a car coming from behind and flagged it down. It happened to be a car from our group. All the three of us climbed onto the bonnet of the car. Before we drove for long, we saw a group of USDA members and their henchmen waiting for us on the way. We also saw about 40-50 motorcycles being beaten. Hence, we had to turn around and run back. It was only about 10-minute drive from the place we were first beaten and to the place where they were waiting. We also saw traffic police from a distance. As there was no escape for us going forward or backward, we wheeled down to the side of the road at a place that seemed to be a branch road. However, it turned out to be a ditch. The car got stuck in the mud. All the people got off and gave a push. At first, it moved a bit. After moving forward for a while, the car got stuck entirely in a ditch. No amount of pushing moved the car. As we had not had our meal and as we had to run from the killing, we became completely exhausted and could no longer push the car. There were about 18 of us who had been in the car. We were members of Youths from Mandalay who had taken responsibility for security, including the Upper Burma Youth Affairs Officer Ko Tin Tun Oo, Deputy Officer Ko Myo Naing, Joint Officer Ko Hla Oo and Central Youth Ko Thein Soe. We could no longer cared about the car and all of us tried to flee, away from the danger. Fortunately, the place we came to turned out to be a big bush. In our flight, Ko Tin Htut Oo and Ko Myo Naing failed to come with us. We saw there the people, who had fled before us. We find ourselves to be a total of 97 persons and 49 motorcycles. The ones we met were girl and boy students from Monywa and Sagaing, who had come with our convoy. The counting was done, of course, only in the morning. Two among the group turned out to be members of the gang that had attacked us, supposedly on the bidding of the USDA. They told us about themselves not because we asked them. They revealed their identity on their own volition. They explained, "We had never done such a thing in our life and since we could not bear to do such a thing, we came fleeing with you."

**13.** After counting all the persons and motorcycles, on the morning of May 31, we all went towards the main road at 5:00 am. At first, the motorcycles were forbidden from getting on to the main road

but without success. They stubbornly went on to the main road. Ko Chit Yin and I remained behind. Among those who went on to the road was Ko Hla Oo. His head was fractured and his hand was broken. The police from their car fired guns to stop the motorcycles, which got on to the road. We could see from a distance the motorcycles that ran on to the road. At that time, we heard 7 gunshots. The one who saw all the happenings was Thanda Soe, as she had been on a tree near the road, in the flight from danger, starting from the previous night. From her place in the tree, she was able to see all that happened on that morning. Three novice monks and Thanda Soe were about to get on to the road, but as I called out to them, they turned around and returned to us. Ma Thanda Soe was from Mandalay and we had been in the same car. She was a second-year student. There were about 20 women who came all the way from Mandalay. At the time of reassembling, we found that the car, in which Pone Pone and Khin Ma Ma Tun were riding, was missing. We did not know where the rest of the women were.

14. As we did not get on to the road and just walked across the paddy fields, we reached a village called Yin-dwai. As the villagers fed us, we ate and took rest for a while. At that moment, as a child who came back from outside said to us that the village headman was asking about us, we started to set out from the village. After leaving the village and walking in the fields for about 30 minutes in time, we met six other villagers. Those people took us to their field huts and looked after us for a night.

15. On June 1, at 5:00 am, we started out from a villager's field. I put on clothes of the farmers I met on the way, with which I exchanged my Kachin sarong and white shirt. A villager showed us the way, until we reached Hsin Inn Village in Shwebo Township. That villager had sent us for about 15 miles, and until we got to Hsin Inn, we had to walk through villages. We rode in a car from Hsin Inn to Shwebo. At Shwebo, I put up at a friend's house, temporarily. While in Shwebo, I met 8 persons who had come back from Depayin attack. They said, "While we were looking for jobs, a person took us to the USDA office. We were told that we would get 800 Kyat as daily wages, meals and liquor, and the job was to gang up and beat up a group of people." "As we were afraid of the officers in that office, we said 'Yes,' and gave our promise," explained the participants in the attack.

16. With regard to furnishing liquor, we saw about it from the time we got to Saingpyin. I left Shwebo at about 1:00 pm by bus to Mandalay, and reached Mandalay at about 3:30 pm.

Dated - July 4, 2003  
Bangkok, Thailand

Wunna Maung

Sworn to before me on  
this 4th of July, 2003

**(Footnotes)**

1 "Kala" is a derogatory term for Indians and White people.

## Affidavit of U Khin Zaw on Depayin Massacre



I, U Khin Zaw, hereby swears under oath that:

1. I am a citizen of Burma. I was born in Min Hla Town of Tharawaddy District, Pegu Division in the year of 1315 B.E., and now I am 50 years old. I am the third child among seven brothers and sisters of us. My father was Artist U Khin Soe and my mother is Daw Sein Than. In 1968, I appeared in the eighth standard school examination. In 1969, I moved to Rangoon. In Rangoon, I learned about gems from my uncle and I made a living as a gem trader and broker. I had never been in politics and had never been to jail. During the BSPP Era also, I never did anything in connection with government. I had been only a simple gem dealer.
2. I joined the NLD in 1998. The reason for joining the NLD was that after voting in the 1990 election, the whole family moved to Mandalay. There I met U Hla Win (AKA) Bo Mee Khae, who was related to me. U Hla Win was a native of Moenyo and he was with Gen. Aung San in the struggle for independence, during the British and Japanese times. He was working as a patron of the Mandalay Division NLD. We lived in the same compound and, through inquiry about each other's backgrounds, we came to learn that we were related. As a result of inspiration gained through this uncle U Hla Win's persuasion and my discontent with the military regime in power, there was a welling up of political courage in me and in 1998, I became a member of the NLD in the Southwest Township of Mandalay. Now, I am a full member of the NLD.
3. Responsibility in the Mandalay Division NLD: In September 2002, I started to perform my duty as Southwest Township Organizer. I had to attend regularly the township meetings. I attended without fail the ceremonies for special days such as the Martyrs' Day, the Union Day, the Resistance Day etc. I also participated in literary functions. I had also participated in stage plays for raising social and political awareness. At ceremonies on such days as Union Day, I had the experience of reciting limericks. As there were difficulties, relating to our party in the domestic situation, even members who had joined the party before me did not have membership cards. I am included in that.
4. Our leader Daw Suu<sup>1</sup> was released from house arrest on May 6, 2002 and her first trip after the release was to Mandalay. When she came to Mandalay, the Mandalay Division NLD gathered the Township branches and we were given the responsibility for the security of our leader. The person supervising security arrangement was Chief of Mandalay Division NLD as well as MP-elect, Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt, and we joined hands with him in taking responsibility for security. How did I have to perform my responsibility? ---Well we had to clear the way for our leader. We have to walk in front of the leader's car and clear people from the way. When our leader went to pay respect to Masoeyin Abbot, I had to personally assist her in alighting from the car. There were such little acts of responsibility constantly. At the lecture meeting held at the house of Ko Par Par Lay, I had to hold the footstool on which Daw Suu stood and gave a speech, to kept it steady from the beginning to end. If Daw Suu walked among the people, we had to link up our hands or arms and give protection. Of course, all the members who were on duty, had to stand on the sides, about two yards from the path of U Tin Oo and Daw Suu, and link up our

hands or arms for giving protection. If some thing happened, if there was some one attempting assassination on Daw Suu, we had to give protection so that the danger might not to reach Daw Suu. In giving protection, we did not mean to use violence against a suspect as our leader did not like it and our party rules also banned the use of violence. For that reason, we had to find a way to prevent danger in advance as soon as there were signs of it, in conformity with the laws laid down by the military regime in power.

5. Due to the health situation of my wife, I could not participate in the earlier trips of our leader to Mogok and Maddaya, in the last Upper Burma organizing trip. As there had been no problem during the first Mandalay trip, I thought that there could not be any problem in Maddaya trip. When I heard that there were problems during Mogoke-Maddaya trip, I became worried. I decided to go on the next trip, which was the trip to Monywa. So, I was on the trip that started out from Mandalay on the 29<sup>th</sup>. According to what I had heard about the Maddaya trip, I decided not to go on the trip as part of the Northwest Township security detail but as a person in the guise of a civilian, in order to be able to size up the situation of the trip and so, I went riding on a youth's motorcycle, remaining at a distance behind the car-motorcycle convoy. I started out from Mandalay office on the 29<sup>th</sup> at 9 am.
6. On the day the trip started, there were quite a number of Mandalay Division top NLD leaders, going with Daw Suu. As far as I remember, there were Myingyan MP-elect U Paw Khin, Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt, who took responsibility for security together with me during the first Madalay trip, as to the women, there were Daw Win Mya Mya, Upper Burma Youth Affairs officer as well as Division-level leader Ko Myo Naing, and then Division-level leader who drove the car for Ba Ba U Tin Oo, U Aung Soe, Laeway MP-elect U Tin Htut Oo who was also Upper Burma Youth Affairs officer, and Joint Upper Burma Youth Affairs officer Ko Hla Oo. From Rangoon NLD, the central level leaders were Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Ba Ba U Tin Oo. These two were the main figures. There were also members of the Central Youths, who took responsibility for security. I do not know their names. There were people I know among members of the Youths, who were close to Daw Suu and responsible for security. From the Southwest Township, there were Ko Min Lwin, Ko Khin Oo from the central headquarters, who had recited limericks with me, and photographer of central headquarters Ko Thein Soe. There were also women, but I do not know where they came from. I knew Ko Wunna Maung. When I went on an organizing trip to their township, he was on the list of 58 persons. I initially did not know that Wunna Maung was among members of the Youths who were responsible for the security during this trip of Daw Suu.
7. When we started out from Mandalay, there were a little more than 10 cars, including the cars of Daw Suu, U Tin Oo, ours, those of Mandalay Division and the cars of the ordinary people. There were a little more than 10 motorcycles. There were some Mandalay Sanghas<sup>2</sup> and some ordinary people. The strength was only about 400, when the travelling party started to leave from Mandalay. There was a Dyna truck-full of Snaghas, - about 40-50 monks. They were hired cars. I was on a motorcycle. When the party was about to depart from the Division office, Daw Suu talked for about 15 minutes. As I was at a distance, I could not hear clearly and did not know what was spoken about. After departure, the party crossed over the Sagaing Bridge at 10:00 am. At a bend near the entrance to Sagaing Town, there were about 600-700 people standing on the left and right sides of the road and holding placards. On the placards were slogans saying, "We don't want people who don't support USDA." The people were also chanting the slogans. I realized that they had started to provoke us with harassment and disruption. But there was no problem. After departure from Sagaing, we reached Myinmu at about 11:00,

12:00 am. In Myinmu, there were ceremony for installing NLD office signboard and other activities relating to the party. Daw Suu herself supervised the activities. The Sanghas of Mandalay had made arrangements with Sanghas of Myinmu, to protect Daw Suu's trip to Monywa. The Myinmu Sanghas came with the convoy, while Mandalay Sanghas returned to Mandalay.

8. As far as I know, we started to meet sizable number of people from Monywa at Chaung U. The party reached the entrance of Monywa after 3:00 p.m. At that time, the size of the party had increased considerably, because the people from Chaung U, Monyinthanboddya etc., including people on motorcycles and in cars, had joined the party, on the way from Myinmu. It was 9:00 p.m., when the party arrived at the center of Monywa. As the electricity had been cut off, the whole town was in darkness. When people started to light the candles, the size of the crowd was astonishing. I estimated it to be 3-4 hundred thousand. If we combined the people from Mandalay and about 400-500 people who came to meet us, after setting out from Myinmu, there would be about 700-800 people. There were people coming to join us in cars and on motorcycles on the way and the strength of the party gradually increased. When the party was headed for Monywa, our leaders' cars, cars of the security details, and the cars and motorcycles which came to send the party off, kept well to one side of the road and drove systematically. When there was overtaking, of course, the whole road became full. There was no problem for the cars coming from the opposite direction. Sometimes, cars coming from the opposite direction even stopped to give way to the convoy. When we arrived at Monywa, hundreds of thousands of people gave us a candle-lit reception. We were given candles. Of course, we were among those who lighted the candles. The people, unceasingly shouted, "Long live Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo." I heard that in Monywa, Daw Suu slept in the house of an retired col; U Tin Soe I do As I was separate, I went to sleep at a monastery.
9. Next day, in the morning, I got into town at 9:00 am. There, I heard that Daw Suu herself presided over formation of Youths in Monywa, and some pro-SPDC elements attempted to disrupt the ceremony. At about 10:00 a.m., Daw Suu went to two monasteries in Monywa, to pay respects to the senior monks. After that, we started the journey for Butalin. Something unusual after the departure from Monywa was that when we arrived at Zeedaw Village, which was near Army Northwest Command headquarters, army personnel from the Command stopped the convoy. About 14-15 cars and 20-25 motorcycles carrying Sanghas, ordinary people and students, who had accompanied us, were not allowed to proceed with the convoy. The 10 plus cars and 20 plus motorcycles that had come from Mandalay were allowed to proceed. As a result, the cars and motorcycles which were not allowed to go further had to return to Monywa and the remaining strength of our party continuing the journey, including the leaders, was about 3-4 hundred persons.
10. On arrival at Butalin, we installed the signboard of Butalin Township NLD office and Leway MP-elect Ko Tin Htut Oo, who was the Upper Burma Youth Affairs officer as well as Division-level leader, presided over the formation of the Butalin Township NLD Youths. Daw Suu had allocated four Youth Affairs officers for Upper Burma and four for Lower Burma. The four for Upper Burma were Ko Tin Tun Oo, U Myo Naing, Ko Tayza Naing from Sagaing Division and Ko Hla Oo from Mandalay Northeast Township. I had heard that U Tin Tun Oo and Ko Kyaw Soe Lin, who drove Daw Suu's car, were arrested.
11. After leaving Butalin, we reached Kyee Village at about 7:30 - 8:00 p.m.. To reach Depehyin from Kyee Village, we still had to cover a distance of about 2 - 2 1/2 miles. The place we had

arrived at was a jungle. However, it was not a jungle like those of Pegu Yoma. In the upper land, jungle meant clumps of bushes and thickets. The bushes were good for hiding. About 20-25 persons could hide in a bush. Even a standing man in the bush could not be seen, as it was so thick. The motor road was on a flat land and the road was wide enough for two cars to easily pass each other. As it was about 8:00 p.m. when we arrived at the place where the incident took place, the surrounding was in pitch darkness. We could see in the headlights of our cars about 1,000 Kyee villagers, who had assembled to welcome us near the junction where the village road met the main road. At that time, the car in which Daw Suu was riding and about 10 other cars had already gone passed the village. The motorcycle I was riding on was at the end of the convoy. There were Dyna and Torlagi trucks following behind my motorcycle. While our motorcycle was passing the villagers by, cars in the convoy suddenly stopped.

12. At the time the cars stopped, I noticed that the group, which was going to disrupt Daw Suu's trip, was behind us. The people in the group held up iron bars, pointed iron rods, bamboo sticks and wooden bats, which they had brought with them and shouted, "You, destroyers of race, whores, who want to have Kala<sup>3</sup> as husbands; Don't become Kalas' wives, become my wife!" etc. At the same time, I heard Kyee villagers countering by shouting, "You are the real destroyers of race, wreckers, act as stooges!" Then the people with weapons jumped down from their trucks and started attacking the villagers, who were welcoming Daw Suu. I did not notice exactly when the attackers started to tail the convoy. I think, these Buddhist monks were faked monks who had followed us from the Army Northwest Command, because most of the Sanghas who were accompanying us had been sent back to Monywa, as I have mentioned earlier, by personnel of the Army Northwest Command headquarters, based near Zeedaw Village. At first, we thought the monks on the Dyna and Torlagi trucks were the ones who had been accompanying us. However, we saw them taking out red cloths and wrapped them around their arms down to the elbow level. Accordingly, it was clear that they had planned in advance for the attack. I think, wrapping red cloth around the arm was an arrangement to prevent mistaken attack and to make them distinct from the monks who had accompanied us. While the commotion was thus taking place, the thugs, who had hidden in the bushes in advance, came to join forces with those who had come in the trucks. They were also armed with iron bars, pointed iron rods, bamboo sticks and wooden bats. They numbered about three thousand and the weapons they were carrying were the same as the ones carried by those who had come in the trucks. As the cars in the rear kept their headlights on, we were able to see the actions going on and the sounds and voices. We could not see the people clearly, as we were looking from a distance of about 100 yards. It was a gigantic mass of people. Kyee villagers were near the scene and they were the first who had to bear the beating, as they were the ones who exchanged hostile words with the attackers coming down from the Dyna and Torlagi trucks. For that reason, the USDA members beat them up with malice. The place where Daw Suu car was parked was quite a distance from where I was.
13. While the attack was taking place, those who came on motorcycles took flight after abandoning their bikes. Some were struck down in their attempt to flee. At that time, no one could care about his motorcycle any longer. It was a time when everyone had to run for his life. At first, I did think about helping our leaders and our NLD members. On second thought, I realized that I would surely die before I got to my leaders and my NLD members, because I had first to pass through the killing ground. It was frightening even to imagine. Before my own eyes, people were being beaten savagely. I was hearing the wounded, dying victims moaning and wailing in pain, shrieking in agony, and crying out for help. At that time, as the attackers from the Dyna trucks were shouting unspeakable abuses, it was just like the hell boiling over. I saw with my

own eyes the attackers striking down the victims with all the force and stabbing viciously with pointed iron rods. Truly, it was a murderous attack. The beating was done until the victims died.

14. I heard that U Tin Maung Oo of Southwest Township, Mandalay, was suffering from bleeding in the ears, as a result of the beating. Now, his name is on the list of those who died. He was Organizer for our Southwest Township as well as Mandalay Division headquarters photographer. Another one was Ko Thein Toe Aye, who was Candidate Organizer for our Township. His name also is on the list of those who died. It appeared that the attackers were systematically trained. They mainly aimed and struck on the head. Even when I was at a hundred yards, I heard with anguishing pain, the popping sounds of heads being broken by savage blows.
15. At about 9:00 p.m. on that night, two elders from Kyee Village came to me and one of them said, "My lad, you'd better come with me. You should not remain here." So saying they took me to the village, and from there I was sent, stage by stage, to Monywa. I had to sleep 2 nights on the way. I avoided going into Monywa and instead, I stayed in Kyaukka, a village outside of the town. From there, on June 4, I traveled back to Mandalay by bus. When I reached home in Mandalay, I saw my wife laid up in bed, as she became debilitated with illness, after hearing the news of us being beaten and slaughtered. For that reason, I took my sick wife and left urgently on the same night for Rangoon by 8:30 p.m., mail train. When I reached Rangoon, I stayed in hiding at a friend's house.
16. On the morning of June 13, my friends informed me that my father U Khin Soe, aged 76, passed away at 11 p.m., on the night of June 12. After deciding to send off my father on his last journey, even if I got arrested, I left Rangoon in the evening of June 13, by 5:00 p.m., express train, for Mandalay. I reached Mandalay on the morning of June 14, at 9:00 am, well in time for the funeral of my father. My relatives told me that my father died of grief caused by the arrest of his brother and the uncertainty as to whether I was dead or alive.
17. As soon as I arrived in Mandalay, my close relatives and friends told me that the military intelligence men had the intention to arrest me and they had subjected some of my friends to interrogation. At 2:00 p.m., the remain of my father was taken from Tundon Ward to Dagundaing Taung Myint cemetery for cremation. On return to Tundon, as I learned on the way that the military intelligence men were waiting for me at my house, I went and hid in a friend's house. From there, I arrived at a place in the liberated area, on the Thai-Burma border, on June 16.

Dated - July 4, 2003  
Bangkok, Thailand

U Khin Zaw

Sworn to before me of  
this 4th of July, 2003

**(Footnotes)**

<sup>1</sup> Short for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

<sup>2</sup> A Pali word meaning Buddhist monks.

<sup>3</sup> A derogatory term for Indians and Westerners.

## Affidavit of Maung Po Zaw on Depayin Massacre (Burma)



I, Maung Po Zaw, hereby swear under oath that:

1. I, son of U Than Maung and Daw Mya Kyin, am a citizen of Burma, holding National Identification Card No Ma Ma Na (Naing) 139877. I am 23 years old residing at Ba Ba Lay Ward, Mya-yi-nanda Myothit Town, Mandalay, Burma.

2. I had never been involved in politics. I applied for membership in the NLD only two weeks before Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's trip to Mandalay. While Daw Suu<sup>1</sup> was staying in Mandalay, I was given nighttime security duty for two nights. Daw Suu came to Mandalay on May 26. On the next day on May 27, she went to Dada U. During Dada U trip, persons who took security duty with me included Ko

Win Kyi, Ko Pone Myint Zaw, Ko Wunna Maung, Ko Aye Win, Ko Yeh Min San, U Myint and Ko Soe. I went together with Zaw Zaw Aung, Ko Tin Aung Myint and U Tway from Southwest Township on May 29 for Mandalay-Monywa trip. On that trip, I did not take security duty for Daw Suu. Due to shortage of vehicle, only two from each township were allowed to come for security duty. However, responsible persons explained that some could come on their own expenses. Accordingly, some went with the traveling party on their own arrangement. On the Mandalay-Monywa trip, the main responsibility for Daw Suu's security was taken by members of the NLD Central Youths.

3. The Mandalay NLD members and the people who went with Daw Suu on the trip were transported in a total of about 20-30 cars and motorcycles. The car I rode in was a 'Sunny', pickup truck. In the journey from Mandalay to Sagaing, there was nothing particular, initially. However, after passing Sagaing Bridge, we started to see a crowd of about 100 people and heard them shouting, "We don't want Daw Aung San Suu Kyi." We continued to travel from Sagaing to Myinmu. We reached Myinmu after 12:00 noon. In Myinmu, the activities of installing the signboard and opening of Myinmu Township NLD office, and formation of Youths were made. We continued our journey from Myinmu at about 3:00 p.m. Before reaching Chaung U, we saw a crowd of about 170 to 180 people, holding placards, near Ye Bu Sun Village. That crowd started to hurl abuses and provoke by poking placards into the cars. On the placards were the slogans saying, "Relying on external

elements, acting as stooges, NLD we don't want" etc. Consequently, the people from Myinmu who had come with the party and the Sanghas<sup>2</sup> from Monywa who had come to welcome us, requested them not to do like that. However, the placard bearers did not listen. They even started to increase their behaviors of provocation. At that time, there were police cars and authorities were among the bushes on the left side of the road. They did not try to settle the squabble between the Sanghas and the placard bearers, and just kept on watching. When the Sanghas could not prevent the acts of provocation, they started punching the placard bearers, who then turned around and departed. At the place of that incident, there were no villagers or other people. As we continued on our journey, the noisy protesters followed behind us in their own cars. At a village (name unknown) on the way between Myinmu and Monywa, we learned from the villagers that the authorities had ordered the local population not to go out and welcome Daw Suu, when she came. At that village, we saw a number of people who were systematically lined up for protest against Daw Suu. Behind the line of people, there were two policemen in uniform, keeping watch. On the village entrance road, we saw a number of traffic policemen. Though the villagers were ordered not to come out to the road and welcome Daw Suu, they ignored the order and the entire village came out to welcome her. At that time, when the protesters saw the villagers and Sanghas in force, they remained silent, put down their placards and kept their heads bowed. I saw that, persons in the cars tailing behind our convoy were taking, with video and still cameras, pictures of the villagers clapping their hands and greeting us.

4. From Chaung U to the entrance of Monywa, I saw people on 200-300 motorcycles from Monywa coming out to welcome Daw Suu. Those cars and motorcycles drove systematically keeping to their own lanes. In Monywa, as the authorities had cut off power for the whole town, the people gave our party a candle-lit welcome. We reached Monywa at about 6:00 p.m. At about 10:30 - 11 p.m. ceremony for installing the signboard and opening of Monywa Township NLD office was performed. At about 9:00 am on May 30, the party went to Zawtika monastery of Monywa to pay respect to the abbot, but as the abbot was away, we failed to see him. Therefore, we left for Butalin Town. Before our cars left Monywa, I saw on the left of our car, a police inspector and people with meal packs, in a Mandalay-Monywa bus (converted Dyna truck), who were going to hold protest against Daw Suu. According to a schoolteacher of Monywa, people who offered themselves to protest against Daw Suu were given free meals and 500 Kyat<sup>3</sup> per day. At the time of departure from Monywa, there were about 12 cars of Daw Suu and NLD members. Behind our car was the car, in which the women NLD members were riding, and in the front seat of it was Daw Win Mya Mya and about 12 men and women were in the back. Monks and novices were in the last car.

5. When we left Monywa, there was still nothing unusual. On arrival in Butalin, the ceremonies for installing signboard, opening Butalin Township NLD office and formation of NLD Youths were performed. From there, we left for Saingpyin at about 6:00 p.m. In Saingpyin, Daw Suu gave a speech for about 30 minutes. Then, we left for Depehyin. At that time, there were 9 cars in front of our car and 2 behind. When we arrived near Pyankya Village, I saw about 20 busses, each of which could carry 40 persons, trailing at a moderate distance behind our convoy. When we arrived near

Kyee Village, 2 monks stopped the car in which Daw Suu was riding and advised Daw Suu to give a speech. Then I saw Central Youths security detail leader appealing for pardon, as no speech could be given due to lack of time. Then, the cars moved on a little. At that time, protesters trailing at a distance behind us got off their cars and started to attack the local people with wooden bats, pointed iron rods, iron bars and bamboo sticks which they had brought with them. Daw Suu told our cars to stop. While the attack was in progress, 3-4 villagers shouted, "Daw Suu please help us!" and arrived at the place where our cars were. At that time, when Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt asked help from the two monks, they replied that it was impossible. On that day, the local authorities had come in advance and forbidden, with threats or with a promise to make offerings, all monks of the monasteries near Kyee village, to go out and welcome Daw Suu and NLD members when they arrived, give assistance or come out even if any problem arose. The monk explained that as they were forbidden like that help could not be obtained and that all communication lines had been sealed.

6. In order to document the beating of villagers on the video, attempt was made to line up the motorcycles and light up the area with their headlights. In the light from the motorcycles, we saw the attackers holding up wooden bats, iron bars, pointed iron rods bamboo sticks and shouting. At that moment, the sound of a whistle was heard, and led by monks in red armbands, they shouted and charged towards us. While we were still dumbstruck on seeing the charge, they started attacking the last pickup truck, in which the monks and novices were.

7. After that, I saw them attacked almost simultaneously the car in which Daw Win Mya Mya and the women were riding. As things were happening like that, some got off from the cars and ran into the fields and some along the road. As people were running in all directions, our convoy of cars, including the car of Daw Suu, remained behind. At the same time, there was shouting that Daw Suu's car was under attack, and the crowd of people, which was in the front turned around and came back. While the crowd reached near Daw Suu's car, I saw the car dash out from the pack attacking it. On the car, I saw 8-9 members of Central Youths standing on steps on the sides of the car, facing one another with linked hands, and giving protection. As others cars started to follow Daw Suu's car immediately, those running jumped on to the nearest car. As the car was full, I climbed on to the roof. As we drove on for about 10 minutes, because of the sound of our cars, the cars systematically parked in the fields on the left and right sides of the roads, turned on their headlights simultaneously. As I was on the roof of the car, I could see in the light from the headlights people with bats, iron bars, bamboo sticks and pointed iron rods, waiting ready for us. When Daw Suu's car reached among the waiting attackers, they flung at the car with sticks, brickbats and iron bars they were holding in their hands and shot at it with catapults. In a pack, the ones in range also hit at it.

8. At the time when Daw Suu's car passed through the attacking crowd, our car started to enter it. Just as our car tried to rush through the crowd, a Dyna truck parked on the side of the road for the purpose of blocking charged in to hit our car. While trying to avoid collision, our car fell off the side of the road and arrived at the front of the crowd. While our car was veering, I jumped off from

the roof on to the ground. While our car veered round to get back on the road, I managed to get in at the back of the car, after catching the rails on the sides. While I was trying to get back in the car, a stick thrown at me hit me in my back. The canvas sheets covering the sides of the car were taken down while the car was driving on. We were beaten for about 2 minutes by the attacking crowd. As people in the back of the car were lying flat on the floor, only persons on top got most of the beating. After driving for a few minutes, we reached Depehyin hospital. The members of the NLD Youths did not respond in kind the terrorist attack made by the crowd waiting in readiness. Daw Suu had told us that if we were wearing the NLD uniform of white shirt and Kachin Sarong, we had to bear with a bowed head, whatever was done to us, and must not retaliate.

9. When we arrived at Depehyin hospital, from our group Ko Soe (arm, knee, foot), Ko Myint U (head fractured), A student from Monywa, name unknown, (head fractured), Rev. Ashinpyinnya Depa, a monk from Yankin monastery (fractured head and elbow), 2 women NLD members from Monywa, names unknown (wounds in the head), Ko Myint Soe of Saingpyin Village, who had run away from the incident, and a person from Mandalay Southwest Township. All had to be treated as in-patients as the injuries were serious, except the one from Mandalay Southwest Township, whose injuries were light. On the second day of having treatment at the hospital, May 31, 2 traffic policemen came and took away the car driver. Then a police inspector and a policeman arrived on a motorcycle. They came to get the list of in-patients at the hospital from township hospital doctor. The patients were checked against the list and addresses of the patients were noted down.

10. After the list of patients was taken, Ko Soe said to me, "They've taken the patient list, but your name is not on it. So, you'd better leave and inform responsible persons." At about 5:00 p.m., the police inspector and 5 policemen came again to the hospital, in a car. All the people on the list were taken for detention. After sleeping 2 nights and staying 3 days, on June 1 at 3:00 in the morning, I left the hospital, with a friend, for Depehyin railway station. On arrival at the station, my friend and I bought train tickets and took the train to Monywa. We arrived at Monywa at 10:00 a.m. After arriving in Monywa, I went round and inquired about the bus to go on to Mandalay. I found out that busses were banned for 10 days from going to Mandalay starting from May 30, and there was nighttime curfew in Monywa. I arrived back Mandalay on June 1 at 6:00 p.m.

Dated - July 4, 2003

Bangkok, Thailand

Po Zaw

Sworn to before me on  
this 4th of July, 2003

**(Footnotes)**

<sup>1</sup> Short for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

<sup>2</sup> Pali word for Buddhist monks.

<sup>3</sup> Name of Burmese currency. (500 Kyat = 45.5 US Cents)

## Affidavit of Ko Chit San on Depayin Massacre (Burma)



I, Ko Chit San, hereby swear under oath that:

1. I, son of U Kyaw Hla and Daw Thein Tin, am a citizen of Burma, holding National Identification Card No Ma-Ya-Ta (Naing) 084649. I am 36 years old residing at Yatanabonmi Quarter, Maha Aungmyay township Mandalay. I am a car driver.
2. On May - 28 about (8) am in the morning car owner Ko Myint came and asked me to help drive his car No B/5671. He has applied NLD membership for 4 months already but was not issued membership card as yet due to security reason. I accepted his request.
3. On May – 29 about 8 am in the morning, I arrived at the Mandalay Division NLD office which is situated at the corner of 38 and 79 street and reported myself. I then went to the car which I was to drive. At 9 am we left by the Mandalay-Sagaing Road. When we left Mandalay, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi' car, NLD Central Youth's car, NLD V/Chairman U Tin Oo's car and cars from Mandalay came along as security, 5 cars were in front of me. Altogether there were about 20 cars and many motorcycles. Before reaching Sagaing there was no disturbance.
4. After crossing the Sagaing Bridge and on entering the town, there was about (50) people on either side of the road standing with posters, “We don't want Daw Aung San Suu Kyi – We don't want Kalar's wife”. As there were monks in the motorcade the protestors did not cause trouble.
5. We resumed our journey from Sagaing and arrived at Myinmu town at 11: 45 am. In front of the Myinmu NLD office by the roadside under a tree I saw USDA leader sitting in seats waiting and (50) USDA members with loud speaker in a Dyna car. They wore USDA uniforms, green sarongs and white shirts. As there were monks who came along from Mandalay and monks from Myinmu, they could do nothing. The opening of Myinmu office and the putting up of NLD signboard ceremony was held. I was in my car and did not know about the ceremony in detail.

6. We left Myinmu about 3 pm and arrived Chaung U about 4:30 pm. We took rest for a while and then continued our Journey to Monywa. On reaching Chaung U, I began to see people from Monywa came to greet us with about (70) or (80) cars and motorbikes. As there were cars in front of me, I did not know for certain. We entered Monywa at about 6 pm. As there was a black out in the town, I could see the welcoming people had lighted candles with them. After reaching the Monywa NLD office, those who were with me in my car went to put up for the night at a monastery. As I had taken the duty of a driver, I had to be with my car all the time.
7. On May 30 at about 9 am, we resumed our journey from Monywa to Butalin. In reaching Saingpyin village, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi gave a speech to the villagers, who came to welcome us and then continued the journey to Depayin at about 6 pm. We arrived at Kyi village, the place of the incident about 8 pm. After a few moments in passing Kyi village, the cars going in front stopped. Then from behind the motorcade shouting and swearing voices could be heard. "You walked on the road we built, you crossed the bridge we built, wives of Kalar, we will kill you with clubs. We have watched Chinese martial arts movies". With these barbarous words, they began to beat the people in the motorcades. They also beat our car. I witnessed through the rear view mirror in my car that the two victims, who were in my car, fell down to the ground as they were stabbed with iron spikes. The thugs were those who were rather tall. They were wearing gray-headed clothes. Their eyes were red in colour.
8. I did not know that the person sitting at my left side was attacked with which weapon. Yelling loudly, he fell on me. At the mean time, the thugs attacked the right side of my car in which I was sitting. They also struck down the window and front mirrors of my car. Then, I attempted to leave my car. As I energetically kicked the door of my car with my two legs, the attacker who was beating my car fell down to the ground. Then, I got off the car and attempted to drag the injured out. Unfortunately, it failed. The body of that victim could not respond anything. At that time, the attacker, who fell down to the ground, beat my right leg. As such, I could not continue my efforts to take the body of that victim out. At the time of the attack, I saw the killing field manifestly in the light of Dyna trucks. Then, I had to run away through the fields, where car spot lights could not reach. Subsequently, I wondered whether I had to continue running or get back to see the killing field again. After that, I decided to get back to that incident area. I watched the scene of crime from a distance. The thugs repeatedly beat the victims until they died. I also heard shouting, swearing, crying and asking for assistance. It took for such a long time. I could not estimate how long it was as I did not have my watch.

9. Then, about 80 policemen, holding shields and wooden clubs, got to that area in four Dyna cars. After that, the two cars, that were rather similar to Pajero Mitsubishi, chased the previous convoy, and arrived at that areas. The two officers got off the car and checked the killing field. Hiding under cover of night, I witnessed that the 80 policemen threw the bodies of the dead and the injured, as if they were garbage, into the trucks. I could clearly see view in the lights of trucks, that had been to that area before, and others that got to there later, although I could not discriminate the persons who is who. The two Hilux pickup trucks left at the scene were pushed down into the rice field and then they set them up as if they had overturned. The other two Hilux pickup trucks were set up to look like as if they had had a head-on collision. Then they took pictures of them with video and still cameras, for the record. After that, I left that area so that I could find a venue to hide for a night.
10. After three hours walk, I reached Shwe-ku-ni monastery in Kyaukka village. With the permission of abbot, I slept there. In the morning of the next day, May 31, 2003, I returned to the killing field again. I saw that an emergency police station No 2 was opened near the campus of irrigation department, that was closed to the killing field. In order to eliminate all the evidence, water was brought in with municipal trucks and bloodstains and other marks were washed away by the policemen, using brooms. At the mean time, except those official cars, I did not see any vehicle passing through the tar road. I took a walk from Kyaukka to Monywa town. After that, I got to Mandalay from Monywa on June 5.
11. I provide the abovementioned statements from paragraph (1) to (8), based on my personal experience at the scene of crime. I did it on my own free will, without being forced, threaten or persuaded by any influential person or persons.

Dated - July 4, 2003  
Bangkok, Thailand

Ko Chit San

Sworn to before me on  
this 4th of July, 2003

## SPDC's Press Conference

[ May 31 , 2003 ]

What I have to say today concerns incidents in which Daw Suu Kyi, leading a group of her followers of the National League for Democracy, including U Tin U, traveled to some towns and villages in Myanmar and tried to disrupt the prevailing peace and stability in the country by inciting widespread disturbances and unrest. This agitation caused crowds to gather blocking thoroughfares, creating confusion and disturbing the peace. As a result those citizens who disapproved of these tactics and who opposed Daw Suu Kyi and her NLD party have staged demonstrations. This further led to confrontation between Suu Kyi supporters and anti-Suu Kyi groups. Exploiting the occurrence of such incidents the NLD has used the international news media to heap blame and criticism and put pressure on the Government with exaggerated reports and has been spinning fictional incidents out of thin air. It all seems to have been a scheme planned and synchronized in advance. So I would like to give you a briefing on the actual events that took place. Frankly, we are averse to a situation where charges and counter charges are made and explanations have to be given. Nevertheless because the truth needs to be told, we are now obliged to give clarification.



Daw Suu Kyi and her NLD group were given the freedom to travel countrywide to the states and divisions and to hold meetings with her party members with effect from May 2002. She, accordingly visited Mon State, including the Thamanya area from 11-6-2002 to 15-6-2002; she visited Mandalay Division and 16 townships in Magwe Division from 22-6-2002 to 29-6-2002; Mon State and 12 townships in Kayin State from 20-7-2002 to 23-7-2002; 14 townships in Bago Division from 14-10-2002 to 17-10-2002; 17 townships in the Shan State from 13-11-2002 to 27-11-2002; Rakhine State and 15 townships in Magwe Division and Ayeyarwaddy Division from 16-12-2002 to 24-12-2002; and 21 townships in Magwe Division and Chin State from 3-4-2003 to 14-3-2003, making a total of 95 townships that she has visited. Her present trip began on 6 May with visits to Mandalay Division, Sagaing Division, Kachin State and Shan State. After that she made a detour to visit Mogok in Mandalay Division and was on her way to Monywa from Mandalay. The leaders of State believed that if Daw Suu Kyi had the chance to visit the states, divisions and townships to see for herself the changes that had taken place and the great strides that had been made in development to ensure the nation's future, she would be appreciative of the efforts made and would change her

underlying negative and pessimistic outlook, which would then pave the way to national reconciliation. Hence the reason why in her previous tours she was given the red carpet treatment as an honoured guest and invited to visit development projects that included, Duyin Kabo River Water Pumping Project near Aunglan, the Yanpai Creek Dam Project near Taungdwingyi, The Ayeyarwaddy Bridge (Magwe) Project, the Paunglaung Hydroelectric Power Plant Project, The Thanlwin Bridge (Mawlamyaing) Project, the Winphanon Dam Project, the Thayet Tabin Agricultural Station Project near Minhla, the Taung Nawin Dam Project near Paukkaung, the Nyaung Kaing Dam Project near Pan Taung and the River Water Pumping Ptoject near Na Hmaw.



When she first began her tour of the country, there was mutual agreement and coordination and she had given the undertaking that no untoward problems would arise from the gathering of large crowds; and that they would hoist the NLD signboard in township party offices that had been agreed upon by both parties after permission had been granted by the Township Election Commission concerned. So, on these trips Daw Suu Kyi and party were able to extend her party organizational branches, form youth chapters of the NLD and open party branch offices. But later going beyond what had been agreed upon she began to manipulate the situation so as to attract crowds on roads to where she gave speeches at every opportunity. She made use of monasteries where she could create opportunities to collect crowds and give speeches. In the next move she and her followers blocked thoroughfares and highways with their vehicles and placing tables in the middle of the road started to give speeches. Moreover, her speeches were far from positive; she did not tell the people present of what was necessary for the country, how she would work for its good and for peace and stability. There was nothing positive or edifying for the people in her speeches. The main purpose of her speeches was to search out any weakness of the government and exaggerate it. Finally what she said in her speeches became downright inflammatory for she urged the people to rise up and fight. With each trip her speeches became more and more vituperative and incendiary against the government and government officials and staff and her attempts to incite unrest more bold and blatant. She leveled charges and spoke derisively against educational and health personnel and against administrative staff and regional and local authorities; she made false accusations against other organizations and spoke scornfully about them. Her remarks were unfair and unwarranted and based wholly on rumours. As a result she has alienated and antagonized many people. But she has also intensified her efforts to create disturbances among large crowds. What we have discovered so far is that although Daw Suu Kyi herself was aware of some of these untoward incidents that occurred on these trips, there were some other incidents she did not know about and were just second-hand information and most of what she was told were false. Some mischief-makers would give full credibility when they heard some tidbit of news that they thought were favourable to them, whereas when they heard what they thought was unfavorable and harmful to others they would exaggerate it out of all proportion. Then such false and absurd news would be communicated to Yangon and those in Yangon would convey such false reports to the foreign

media. The biased and opinionated foreign news agencies would then eagerly broadcast and relay any news that would hurt the prestige of the Myanmar Government. This is the system that surrounds the NLD and we understand full well that Daw Suu Kyi who is surrounded with people of such pessimistic and negative views will find it most difficult to see the Government in a positive light no matter how good its intentions and what it has achieved for the country. We have no wish to reproach Daw Suu Kyi, but her negative criticisms, her irresponsible statements and the way she has been trying to incite the people to unrest in the name of democracy will surely destroy the peace and tranquility that now prevails in the country. However, I would like to clarify the incidents



that took place in her latest tour of Kachin State, Sagaing Division and Mandalay Division.

On 2 May we were informed that Daw Suu Kyi and a group of her followers wished to go on a tour of the Kachin State on 6 May and that while on this tour they desired to put up the NLD signboard in some of their township offices. A reply was sent on 4

May that they could raise their signboard in some of their township offices. They then sent a supplementary request that they wished to put up their signboard in 16 additional townships in Mandalay Division and the Shan State. Among the 16 townships for which the request was made, it was found that some township offices had already put up their signboards and in any case there were some difficulties on our part concerning this last minute request. There was not enough time for us to expedite this supplementary request because there was a weekend intervening and the persons in authority also were away on tour. Moreover the list given by the NLD mentioned only the townships in which they wanted to raise the signboards and contained no particulars about the location of the office concerned and its address. It is necessary to provide explicit details as to the location of the office of a political party to avoid future complications. For instance the said office should not be situated on religious land, government owned land, on Development Committee (municipal) land, on agricultural land, land involved in a lawsuit or in premises, which a family member is reluctant to rent and so forth. Such details have to be taken into consideration to avoid confusion and arguments later. But, whenever there is some delay on the side of the government due to legitimate reasons, there have been instances where the NLD is quick to accuse the government of prohibiting the opening of their branch offices. On our part we I would like to point out that we acceded to their requests in time to facilitate the raising of their NLD signboard at the township branch offices in Sagaing Division during the tour. To achieve mutual understanding and mutual respect we have, in spite of certain difficulties, always done our utmost to resolve any problems that arise.

I would now like to brief you on some of their movements during their tour of the Kachin State. These incidents will clearly reveal their underlying intentions and the plans they had already made before the tour.

The problem arose as soon as they departed Mandalay for Sagaing Division. Beginning from the arrival at Sagaing Bridge NLD party members on 20 motor cycles flying party pennants proceeded as outriders to Daw Suu Kyi's motorcade and although it was broad daylight the headlights of the vehicles were all ablaze and with horns blaring they drove thus to Sagaing and from Sagaing right up to Shwebo. I, of course cannot enlighten you as to whether their leaders in the saloon cars were aware of all the noise and din. But this was the way they traveled throughout the tour with the outriders making a racket. They were most undisciplined in the stretch of journey from Momeik to Mogok. About 40 motorcycles preceded two abreast in the vanguard of the convoy and blocked all traffic on the highway. The convoy itself followed with its own motorcycle escorts. They arrived at Mogok in this manner and continued across the town till they arrived at their accommodations. This caused traffic jams and blocked all normal traffic. The motorcade traveled in the same unruly manner on the return from Mogok to Mandalay. Due to such reckless disregard of traffic rules and regulations a 21 year-old pedestrian from the village of Patheinlay, a girl by the name of Ma Myat Thinn Thu was hit by a motorcycle and sustained injuries in the leg.

On 9 May, as they were passing Sapai Natha Village on the way from Kantbalu to Kawlin Township, about 20 youths who had just come out of a video hall, called out, "We don't want Daw Aung San Suu Kyi". So, the convoy stopped and members of the NLD youth groups started to berate the village youths with the most vulgar and offensive words, which the whole village heard. Then they threw stones at the young villagers who were forced to flee. At about 6 in the evening just at the entrance to Kawlin there is a high school, where summer educational courses were being conducted by the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA). As usual there were banners with slogans of "the People's Desire". At about 6 in the evening when the NLD convoy arrived in this location the NLD youth members who were part of the convoy stopped to take video films and photographs these banners. On seeing this two young men in the school compound started to take photographs of the NLD youths in turn, but the latter group then screamed and threw stones at the two students who had to run away. When the convoy reached Indaw it was over 9 p.m., but about 90 people opposed to Daw Suu Kyi were there holding placards with the slogans of "the People's Desire" and demonstrating against Daw Suu Kyi. But some NLD members lurking in the shadows threw stones at the demonstrators. Villagers Htay Lwin (a) Bo Lwin, Thein Nu, Than Oo, Soe

Myint Oo and Zaw Lwin Oo were injured in the incident.

When the NLD group arrived in Katha on 8 May, there was a considerably larger number of demonstrators against the visit of Daw Suu Kyi. There were shouting and insults hurled from both sides. Only when the chairman



of the District Peace and Development Council intervened and placated both sides did the crowd disperse and the NLD convoy able to continue its journey. There was however no physical assault

on either side in this incident. Similarly in some towns and villages in Kachin State, although there were NLD party members on hand to greet her in a variety of ways, there were also present those who were opposed to her and protested her visit. They too were determined to let Daw Suu Kyi and her followers know how they felt. Thus aside from those who demonstrated against her visit, there has been no attempt to prohibit, obstruct or interfere with her tour as broadcast by the foreign news media who base their statements on reports received from the NLD. There were no attempts to throw stones, to hit with staves and sticks, to bang on the car windows with fists nor have there been threats with the Kachin 'dah', sword. If such incidents had actually occurred as they claim one would surely begin to wonder if the whole convoy were now in bits and pieces.

By the time the NLD reached Momeik on 9 May, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was no longer alone in ranting against the government in her speeches, for U Tin U had also joined in to speak ill of the Government and the regional authorities, muttering threats and citing sections from legal tomes. On 25 May, after arrival at Nwe Yone Village in Singu Township NLD party members attacked with catapults, some people who had come to demonstrate against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Villagers, Kyaw Naing of Wa Yone Kone village San Oo and Pho Cho of Yauk Pin Yoe village, Singu Township were injured. According to an NLD announcement one of their members was also injured. When they arrived in Mandalay they collected a gathering in front of their Divisional party headquarters to give speeches. Later the traffic Police on duty in Maha Aung Mye Township arrived on the scene to ease the traffic jam. Some NLD party members then attacked the police pick-up truck, (registration number 5-Ka/8175) which was parked between 78<sup>th</sup>/79<sup>th</sup> Streets with iron rods breaking the windscreen glass. But the NLD announcement claimed that the truck was attacked because it forced its way into the crowd.



It can be seen that Daw Suu Kyi and her followers, no longer satisfied with gathering a crowd and inciting unrest, had begun to assemble a large number of motorcycles and cars and in going from one place to another these vehicles had become most unruly and lawless. When they first left Yangon there were three cars and 18 people. On 29 May when they traveled from Mandalay to Monywa the number of vehicles and people had increased to 7 cars, 20 motorcycles and over 100 people. By the time they left Chaung-Oo and arrived in

Monywa, the number had grown to 150 motorcycles, 16 cars and over 300 people. After arriving in Monywa they went around town for three hours causing a commotion in Monywa, which is a quiet and peaceful town. A photographer by the name of Maung Myo Myint who was present at the time tried to record this event on camera, but he was assaulted by the NLD followers. Maung Myo Myint received head injuries and is now in hospital for treatment. The video camera he had on him

was also destroyed. Daw Suu Kyi and her followers then hoisted their party signboard at their Monywa party office that very same night. They did so in violation of the mutual agreement that a party signboard would be put up only after informing and receiving permission from the Township Election Commission or the Township Peace and Development Council.

On 30 May they left Monywa for Budalin at about 12. Fifteen cars with about 100 motorcycles escorting them in front, behind and on both sides entered Budalin with headlights blazing and horns blaring. After holding a signboard hoisting ceremony in Budalin they left for Dipaiyin. They made a stopover at Hsaing Pyin Village on the way and left for Dipaiyin only at 7.30 in the evening in 9 motorcars and 40 motorcycles as escort. About two miles away from the entrance to Dipaiyin they met about 5000 people waiting to protest her visit.

When the vehicles in Daw Suu Kyi's convoy tried to forcefully push through the crowd, a fracas broke out between the two groups. The fight went on from about 8 p.m. till nearly 11 p.m. and there was a lot of confusion and disorder. In the turmoil one car was said to have driven off course and into a tree trunk at the roadside. Another drove off an incline at the side of the road and its glass shattered. One of the cars in which the anti-Suu Kyi demonstrators had come was burnt and destroyed by NLD members. In this incident, according to information received 4 people are said to have died in the car crash and accidents and about 50 people from both sides received injuries from the clash. Eight motor cars were damaged and 9 motorcycles destroyed. As soon as news of the fight was received a security force manned by police personnel and led by Secretary of the Sagaing Division Peace and Development Council went to the scene of the incident and brought the situation under control. The whole situation was under control by 12 mid-night. Those injured have been sent to hospital for treatment. Action will be taken in accordance with the law and every effort is



being made to reestablish peace and calm in the area. During the night however, some NLD party members in groups went around town to destroy the signboards with slogans of 'the People's Desires'. When security forces arrived they dispersed and fled. At present the

situation in Monywa is peaceful and stable.

It is evident that if Daw Suu Kyi's convoy had passed by without confronting those demonstrating against her on the wayside and had tried peaceful means to resolve the problem with the few demonstrators on the road the situation would not have been so aggravated. The physical conflict was set in motion because the cars and motorcycles in Daw Suu Kyi's convoy tried to force their

way through and overrun the people. The main cause of the conflict however is due to the fact that the NLD violated the mutual agreements made and tried to use confrontational methods, which later got out of control. The NLD leaders were not able to exert control even on their own supporters and their motorcycle gang. During the entire trip, we made every effort to contact and warn the NLD leaders not to go to extremes and let things go out of hand but they paid no heed. They rejected our words of caution and in fact went out of their way to provoke the situation by using their party members as tools in their confrontational tactics. This seems to be the root of the problem. I would like to inform you that Daw Suu Kyi and U Tin U who went on the trip from Yangon are now being well-looked after by security forces.

Our country, as you all know, from the time of independence, has not had a chance like other nations, to let her people devote their efforts to the modernization and development of our country in peace and security. We have had to waste valuable time first tackling the internal insurgencies, the conflict in ideologies and internal disturbances and unrest. We have had to deal with traitors to the country who are bent on creating misunderstanding among our own people with their treachery and who under the influence of their foreign masters do their bidding against the interest of the country and the people. Most of our time has been spent on trying to resolve these problems and we were thus unable to focus fully on nation building and development. But much of this distressing situation has to some extent, been alleviated. We have been able to lay solid foundations for future development and using these favourable conditions as a springboard we ought to continue unremitting efforts for further development. So, what is crucial today is to set our differences aside and through national reconciliation, national togetherness or call it what you will, we should forge and strengthen national unity to work in earnest and find the best ways and means for the development, progress and prosperity of our country, the Union of Myanmar. It is time we fully understand this vital need. Creating and aggravating problems with accusations and insults solves no problems and does not help national reconciliation efforts. We, on our part, shall systematically work to establish peace and the rule of law and order for we are firmly committed to our goal of development of the nation.

## MYANMAR INFORMATION COMMITTEE, YANGON

### Information Sheet

#### N0. C- 2651 (I)

4th June, 2003

**This office is presenting a statement given by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs H.E. U Khin Maung Win at the meeting with the diplomatic corps in Yangon on 3rd June at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.**



As is well known, the Government has designated national reconsolidation as one of its political objectives. In keeping with this objective, the Government has engaged reconciliation efforts since the time of the assumption of state responsibilities. Consequently, agreement has been reached with I7-armed groups and these groups have returned to the legal fold and are working with the Government for the development of their regions. As a result, the problem of armed insurgency that had plagued the nation since the time of the regaining of independence is now almost completely resolved. The nation today is therefore enjoying peace and stability. A visit to the remote border areas will show that the battlefields of yesterday have now been transformed into zones of development.

It is the desire of the Government to have the participation of all the forces in the country to work together for the development of the nation and for peaceful and smooth transition to democracy. Therefore, its national reconciliation efforts also extend to the 10 legally existing political parties. Moreover, it has sought the cooperation of the political parties to maintain the existing peace and stability, law and order. Transition to democracy cannot take place in an environment of unrest and chaos. As part of the systematic transition to democracy, the Government is permitting the political parties to expand their political activities. This includes the NLD. Consequently, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD have been engaging in a wide range of political activities, including the undertaking of trips to various parts of the country for political organization purposes, meeting with foreign dignitaries and diplomats as well as local and international media. Moreover, she was allowed to move freely and to open party offices across the country.

It may be recalled that in the period between June 2002 to April 2003 she visited 95 townships in Mon, Mandalay, Magwe, Kayin, Bago, Shan Rakhine, Ayeyarwady and Chin states and divisions. In her latest trip starting 6 May 2003, she visited Mandalay and Sagaing division as well as Kachin and Shan States before returning to Mandalay Division.

It may be mentioned that there were prior consultations between the Government and the NLD regarding all the trips undertaken by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The desire of the Government is to ensure the safety and security of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the members of the party as well as to facilitate her travels. To give an example, the Government persuaded Daw Aung San Suu Kyi not to travel by car in certain areas during her trip to the Shan State last November because of insurgent activities. In addition, there was also prior agreement between the two sides that while Daw Aung San Suu Kyi could engage in normal political activities including meeting with her party members and supporters at the NLD branch offices and the setting up of party signboards with the permission of the respective Township Multi-party Democracy Election Commission in the agreed townships. In addition, there was also mutual agreement that there should not be any

action that could disturb the existing peace and stability and the daily lives of the local populace. The Government has time and again urged the political figures in the country and their political parties to assist it in making an orderly and peaceful transition to democracy by respecting the law and acting in an exemplary manner.

It has also been the hope of the authorities that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's visits to various parts of the country would provide opportunities for her to see the actual situation in the countryside as well as the developments that are changing the lives of the people for the better. It was believed that she would also have a better appreciation of the efforts of the Government for national progress. In keeping with this spirit, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was shown various projects that are being undertaken including the construction of irrigation dams, bridges, hydroelectric generation plants, water-pumping and agricultural projects. Everywhere she went, she was given VIP treatment and briefing was given to her by Directors-General and Managing Directors. In other words, she was accorded treatment comparable to that of our leaders.

During the recent visits to the towns, there emerged a growing resentment among the local populace because of the highhanded action of members of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's entourage, particularly the youth members. Lately, there were a number of instances of clashes between these militant NLD youths and local people when these NLD youths grabbed cameras and video cameras of some people who were innocently taking pictures. These incidents happened during her visits to the Chin State and Magwe Division in last April. People became anxious when they heard that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her party members were coming to their towns and villages, fearing that there would be disruption of their peaceful daily lives.

Although Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's motorcade consisted of 3 vehicles when she left Yangon on 6 May on her latest trip, the numbers swelled with militant NLD youths taking to the road on motorcycles. On May 8, when she went to Sagaing Division from Mandalay, 20 motorcyclists flying NLD flags met her at the Sagaing Bridge. The motorcyclists accompanied her vehicle into the city with headlights shining and horns blaring. Later, the number of motorcyclists increased to 40 when she went to Shwe Bo. Sometimes, the motorcyclists rode two abreast in formation, thus blocking the road and with complete disregard to the traffic rules and the local population. One motorcycle ran down a 21-year-old villager at Pathein Lay village.

There were also instances when these youth took the law into their own hands. A case in point is the incident in Kawlin township when these unruly individuals threw stones at some youth demonstrating against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. A similar stone throwing incident took place at Indaw in which villagers were hurt because of the stone throwing by these unruly NLD youths. Catapults were also used in the incidents. By 29th May, when Daw Aung San Suu Kyi travelled to Monywa, her motorcade consisted of 16 cars, 150 motorcycles and over 300 people.

A new and more dangerous element emerged with the involvement of some militant monks in Mandalay. These monks, led by a NLD organizer who donned the yellow ropes, just recently attacked and beat up people who were demonstrating against the NLD on 26 May. They used sticks, ironpipes, bicycle chains and catapults in the attacks. Moreover, the cars carrying some monks also joined Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's motorcade. These are but a few examples of the many incidents of lawlessness committed by NLD youths.

Allow me to turn to the events of the night of 30th May. 9 vehicles including the vehicle carrying Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and 40 motorcycles were blocked by townspeople protesting against her visit at a location about two miles outside Depayin town. The cars in Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's motorcade attempted to plough through the crowd resulting in injuries to the people. As a result,

clashes began to take place between the townspeople and the motorcade. In the clash, 4 people died and 50 were hospitalized. The clashes occurred at about 8 pm and the situation was returned to normal around midnight only after the police arrived at the scene from Monywa. There were no police or military personnel present at the scene at the time of the clashes. Here, it must be emphasized that there is no truth whatever to the foreign media reports that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car was shot at. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car was able to make it to Depeyin town and she was not hurt in any way during the incident. There was not a single gunshot fired.

In view of the situation, the Government was compelled to take temporary measures to give protection to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and some members of her party. Similarly, NLD offices in Yangon and some other localities were asked to close temporarily to prevent possible undesirable incidents. It may be mentioned that even before the incident took place the Government had asked the NLD Secretary U Lwin to tell the NLD youths to refrain from unruly and high-handed action because it could result in disturbances.

An analysis of the entire episode will show that:

- Although the Government is undertaking sincere efforts to promote national reconciliation, the activities of the NLD youths have not been of a positive manner and are acting in a manner resembling the days of anarchy in 1988.
- The Government entertains no animosity or hostility towards Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.
- As there are people who are in favour of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, there are also a great number of people who have strong feeling against her, particularly among the people who have lost jobs or are hurt by her policies of no assistance, no investment, no tourists and call for economic sanctions.
- The lawless and high-handed action of the NLD, particularly the NLD youth members, have aroused the resentment of the ordinary citizens, resulting in demonstrations against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her party.
- By taking the law into their own hands, the NLD youth wing acted rashly and in a vigilante style, resulting in injuries to the ordinary people.
- Therefore, the incident near Depayin must be considered as being very unfortunate for the country.

In conclusion, allow me to say that:

- The Government has had to take certain temporary measures to ensure the safety of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and some of her party leaders.
- The closure of NLD offices has also been made in the same spirit.
- It must be emphasized that these measures are temporary in nature.
- The Government will continue with its policy of national reconciliation.
- The Government will continue with its policy of transition to democracy in a systematic and step-by-step manner.
- The Government hopes that the international community will understand the situation and not try to further complicate it.

**MYANMAR INFORMATION COMMITTEE, YANGON**  
**Information Sheet**  
**N0. C- 2658 (I/L)**

**10th June, 2003**



**H.E. U Khin Maung Win, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, briefed the Heads of Missions of the embassies in Myanmar on the latest situation and development concerning the 30th May incident at 15:30 hrs, today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Yangon.**

The salient points mentioned at the briefing are as follows:-

The Special Representative of the UN Secretary General Ambassador Razali Ismail paid a visit to Myanmar from 6 to 10 June. He left Yangon early this afternoon.

During his visit, he called upon Vice Chairman Vice Senior General Maung Aye and had extensive discussions with Secretary-1 General Khin Nyunt.

In the course of the meetings, the Myanmar side was able to assure him that we regarded the incident as most unfortunate and that our commitment to national reconciliation and democratization remains firm.

We also informed him that the safe custody measures instituted are temporary and that they will be lifted as soon as the situation returns to normal.

One of the agenda of Ambassador Razali's current mission is to have a meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The international community has also shown great interest in the matter.

I wish to inform you that he met with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi earlier today. He was very pleased with this special gesture on the part of our Government and expressed his deepest appreciation.

I am now also in a position to provide more information about the incident that took place on the night of 30th May.

An official inquest is being conducted by the Police Department under the Ministry of Home Affairs. Preliminary investigation reveals that the incident began when the convoy of Daw Aung

San Suu Kyi attempted to plow through the crowd that was blocking the road. Up to that point there were no incidents of violence.

However, since some people were hit by the cars in the convoy, a melee ensued between the followers and opponents of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. As it was nighttime and in an area with no public lighting, there was much confusion and things got out of hand.

Finally, when the police regained control of the situation, four persons were found dead and 48 persons injured. As a result, the Dapayin Police Station has opened a case under Section 304 (A) of the Penal code.

Contrary to the exaggerated reports circulated by some quarters, I wish to confirm once again that only four persons died during the incident, not 70 or more as alleged.

As for the 48 people injured in the clash, 16 were treated for superficial wounds and sent home without having to undergo treatment at the hospital. Out of the 32 persons hospitalized, 14 have been subsequently discharged from the hospital and only 18 are still undergoing treatment in the hospital. According to preliminary enquiries, the injured included both local people as well as members of the NLD party.

These are the facts that we are able to garner from the preliminary police investigation. The inquest is still on going and we hope to uncover more details in the near future. However, wild speculations and rumors are still being spread.

Allow me to say categorically that allegations that the attack was premeditated are unfounded. As I have stated, the melee began when the cars belonging to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's convoy tried to force their way through the crowd in the dark of the night. Both Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and NLD Vice Chairman U Tin Oo were not hurt in the incident. After his meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi earlier today, Ambassador Razali confirmed that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is well and has not been injured in the incident.

I wish to assure you that the police inquest will be conducted fairly and objectively.

----- End of Message -----

## Victims of Depayin Massacre



Daw Win Mya Mya  
Mandalay North - East Township  
Member of Mandalay Division  
NLD Organizing Committee



Daw Tin Myint  
Mandalay South - West Township  
Member of Township  
NLD Organizing Committee



Ko Myint Maw  
Mandalay South - East Township  
Member of Youth Wing



U Tun Win  
Mandalay Zaycho



U Khin Maung Thuang  
Mandalay South - West Township  
Member of Township  
NLD Organizing Committee



Ko Tun Zaw Zaw  
NLD Youth Central  
Security In - charge of Daw Aung  
San Suu Kyi



Ko Khin Oo  
Mayangone Township  
Youth Wing In - charge  
NLD Youth Central



U Myo Naing  
Mandalay South - West Township  
Member of Mandalay Division  
NLD Organizing Committee



Ko Win Khaing  
Mandalay North - West Township  
Member of Youth Wing

## Victims of Depayin Massacre



Ko Thein Toe Aye  
Mandalay South - West Township



Kyaw Myo Thu  
Mandalay South - West Township  
Member of Youth Wing



Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt  
MP, Singaing - 1  
Mandalay Division



Ko Min Lwin  
Mandalay South - West Township  
In - charge of Youth  
NLD Organizing Committee



Maung Soe  
Mandalay South - East Township  
Myayi Nanda, Htundone Myothit



Ko Myo Tint  
Mandalay South - West Township  
Member of Youth Wing



Zaw Zaw Aung  
Mandalay North - East Township  
Secretary of Township  
NLD Organizing Committee



Ko Hla Oo  
Mandalay North - East Township  
Member of Township  
Organizing Committee



Ma Khin Ma Ma Tun  
Mandalay North - East Township  
Member of Women Wing

**Translation of interview with Zaw Zaw Aung, head of NLD Youth Wing ,  
Mandalay Division about the brutal attack on May 30, 2003**



He was together with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi when they were attacked.

If you would like to listen the interview in Burmese, please visit (<http://www.nldla—australia.org>)

**Q.** You were in the midst of the attack on Daw Suu's motocrade at Depayin township in Sagaing Division and escaped luckily. What time did you leave Butalin for Depayin?

**A.** Round about 5 pm.

**Q.** At about what time did you reach Kyi Ywa village?

**A.** About 8 pm.

**Q.** Where there people on the road to greet Daw Aung San Suu Kyi?

**A.** Yes, We responded and spoke to the people.

**Q.** Were people who shouted and opposed Daw Aung San Suu Kyi there?

**A.** I heard on such shoutinh.

**Q.** It was 8 pm. when you arrived at KyiYwa. How large a number of people were there to greet and welcome you all?

**A.** I estimated about 3000. Could be 4 or 5 thousand.

**Q.** Is it a big village?

**A.**Yes, it is.

**Q.** Aer there jungles surrounding Kyi Ywa?

**A.** There are paddy fields.

**Q.** Did you hear any opposing voices in the crowd that was out there to welcome you all?

**A.** No, I did not hear any opposing voices.

**Q.** Were there any posters etc. of dissent?

**A.** No.

**Q.** For how long did Daw Suu address the people?

**A.** Nearly 10 minutes.

**Q.** Again, all went on from there?

**A.** We had not gone very far. About 200 yards from the villagers – the car behind had not caught up with us as yet. We were not far from the villagers. They had not yet dispersed. Then, two monks and three laymen stood in front of Daw Suu's car stopping it from proceeding. They asked Daw Suu to speak to the people.

**Q.** Instead of coming to place where the people had already assembled?

**A.** They could have joined the people, instead they stood and waited at a distance.

**Q.** Stood and waited, then asked for a speech?

**A.** Yes, they asked her to step out and speak. It was getting late. We had to go on to Depaeyin also. So, the NLD member who was in Daw Suu's car said " Revered monk, it is very late and there is no time. Please excuse your disciples." But the monks did not leave. They were looking back and said. "The people in our group are worthless." We got out of the car and stood around to protect Daw Suu. Then the monk said, "My people will be following up. Listen to a monk's words. "Give your speech to them". We requested them to let us pass through but they insisted that we stay. Then, the place was lit up by light from car head light and we saw about 7 cars.

**Q.** For how long did they do this?

**A.** It could have been not less than two hours. They went around all the cars and vehicles and watched to see if there were any movement and looked on at those with injuries.

**Q.** What about Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car?

**A.** Very soon after all this started five cars, including Daw Su's and U Tin Oo's car drove off to them front. The Youth Wing Security car and our Mandalay Division car too.

**Q.** So they escaped from Kyi Ywa and you were left behind? So the beating took place for about two hours after they had driven off?

**A.** Yes, it was more than two hours.

**Q.** Can you estimate how many died or wounded as a result of that attack?

**A.** More than 20 persons. I am talking about what happened at Kyi Ywa. What happened after that I am not sure.

**Q.** So, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's car got away. Then again at Depaeyin the same thing happened?

**A.** Yes, the young people from there fled and I met them. They were attacked with spears, wooden, bamboo clubs and iron rods. They saw students with hands tied up being led away and their cycles confiscated. This person's cycle was taken but he managed to escape.

**Q.** Information had been received that gunshots were heard there.

**A.** Yes, we heard the gun shots. It was between midnight and 1 am. We were deeply worried for our Auntie Suu and Uncle U Tin Oo. Without any shooting here about 20 or so died and sustained injuries. With shooting it could be worse. More could die.

**Q.** Did these attackers go forward or did they retreat?

**A.** It appears to be a separate group. They turned and dispersed.

**Q.** When was that?

**A.** After 10 pm.

**Q.** Then, how did you escape?

**A.** I was lucky. I escaped without any injury. I fled and crossed the paddy fields to Monywa.

**Q.** When you escaped what did the USDA do after they retreated?

**A.** Even though I was not hurt, I was shaken and very distressed. It was about 10:30. I saw person on a cycle. Likely he came to see the spectacle. He stood and looked at the dead and after some time he departed. Then about 10:45, three Hino buses arrived without any passengers. They saw the injured and the dead, the line of cars. They turned back and left.

**Q.** So, those injured and the dead were left lying there?

**A.** Yes, I saw some being taken away on cars.

**Q.** In the end what happened?

**A.** I was not steady on my feet. I looked on. At about 12:45 (I had my watch on so I knew the time) members of the police force, the fire brigade, local authorities put the injured and dead bodies onto the motor vehicles. Then what astonished me most was that our car that was heading west for Depaeyin was pushed so that it appeared to be heading south and shoved down the ditch. Another

car was pushed into the ditch. This was a deliberate act to create a different scene. I witnessed this with my own eyes.

**Q.** To look like two cars collided?

**A.** Yes, to appear that way. I couldn't believe my eyes. I remember this very clearly. Then some cars with injured people drove off towards Depaeyin. Some cars went in the other direction. About 30 persons remained. I couldn't say definitely if they were the police or the USDA because they all wore the same uniform. They pushed the cars towards Ye U side.

**Q.** Were these cars in which NLD members traveled?

**A.** Yes, They pushed them. Then we could hear them removing steel parts from them.

**Q.** All these happened in Kyi Ywa? You don't know what happened in Depaeyin?

**A.** I have no idea.

**Q.** Earlier you said that you heard gun shots from the place towards which the cars were heading after this incident. Some did not say so. Some said they saw. It looked like there was another party of attackers.

**A.** Yes, that is definite. Because we heard those shots and eyewitnesses had spoken about it.

**Q.** Thank you for giving us this information.

**A.** It is an account of what we know. If they fired guns many would have died. It must be worse than what happened here.

**Q.** Later even must have been worse.

**A.** Yes, we have experienced a very serious attack.

## Appendix II

### Statement of Ko Aung Aung from Democratic Party for New Society

When Daw Suu requested me to repair the car during the break-time on 28 May 2003, I registered the car at the workshop, accompanied by NLD Headquarters (Youth) members named Ko Thet Htun, Ko Myint, Ko Khin Oo, Ko Htun Zaw Zaw. In the evening on the same day, in accordance with Daw Suu's request, Ko Tin Htun Oo and Ko Htun Zaw Zaw needed to follow to Monywa. But nevertheless Daw Suu told me not to follow up their principles because I was not an NLD member. I wore plain dress and went ahead as an indicator on the way to Monywa on 29 May 2003.

When we, Ko Htun Zaw Zaw, Ko Tin Htun Oo and I, went ahead on 29 May 2003, youngsters from Mandalay pursued us until we reached Sagaing. The NLD (Youth) members from Sagaing, Myinmu and Chaung-Oo welcomed us, and the trip was, in fact, magnificent one. We continued our trip by 16 automobiles and more than 500 motorbikes. The people from 'Dyna' truck cried using microphones "We don't need the ones who were backed-up by the outsiders!" just before we reach at Myinmu on the one hand and the sound disappeared by the crowd on the other. Despite the crying near by the Myinmu NLD office for about 30 minutes their sound could not be permeated to the people's voice of "Long live Daw Suu!"

NLD (Youth) members arranged lunch for us at Myinmu and we, the Democratic Party for a New Society, led the trip as an indicator to Monywa. After we left Myinmu for Monywa and about 10 miles away from Chaung-Oo, near by Ye-Pu-San Village, we have, unfortunately, already stepped at the enemy's first combat, and we drove in a hurry to Chaung-Oo because it was impossible to inform to Daw Suu and the NLD delegation. We asked the youngsters and monks from Monywa and Chaung-Oo -- estimated as between 2000 to 3000 motorbikes -- who were awaiting us and they, on the one hand, escorted and paid attention for security, on the other. At the place, there were 10 to 15 knolls of stones existed although no at other places. The welcoming crowd paid assistance and security for Daw Suu and NLD members in spite of the annoyance of the group led by one traffic police and unknown colonel. The group's crying "We don't need the ones who were backed-

up by the outsiders!" nevertheless disappeared within the sound 'Cannot be adequate till the infinite' sang by the NLD (Youth) members.

On the way to Monywa, the crowd, including the elderly and newly-born babies, welcomed marvelously and blessed "Long live Daw Suu!" For the welcoming by the people, it took seven hours to reach Monywa though the journey normally needs 45 minutes drive. We reached Chaung-Oo at 4:30 pm, and the authorities cut off electricity when we arrived at Monywa at sunset. But nevertheless it was breathtaking to see the welcoming using candles. It was a Daw Suu victory, in fact. Daw Suu stepped down from the four-wheel-drive and climbed up onto the Hilux pick-up truck and greeted intimately the welcoming crowd. The youngsters from Monywa highlighted the search-light to the truck where Daw Suu was on. Welcoming with the candle-lights means the catcall to the SPDC but cheer only to Daw Suu, and the scene was, in fact, so royal. For the being cause was the disciple of the people who supported Daw Suu and, for the same reason, the SPDC became intolerant. At about 11:30, Daw Suu delivered greeting and speech to awaiting crowd and the people gave wholehearted support. When Daw Suu visited to Zaw-Ti-Ka monastery to offer breakfast in the morning on 30 May 2003 the people welcomed her by both sides of the route. For the out of order of the youth-security-truck when leaving the monastery, we acted as Butalin-security-guards started from Monywa.

I went and checked the entry gates to Butalin before the meal, I saw round about 15 to 20 Dyna trucks and the people and monks who wore white arm-scarfs. I heard that about 80 motorbikers who escorted Daw Suu were caught by bulb-wire at Zeedaw Village. After Daw Suu asked U Aung San, Chairman of Butalin Township NLD, and his township members to solve the problem, they were also arrested by the authorities and detained at the Northwest Military Command Headquarters. While Daw Suu was having a meal, she requested the members to go ahead but not for security concern but for hunting information. We continued our trip and reach at the Sai-Pyin-Gyi-Welcoming-Camp based at the house of U Win Myint Aung, NLD MP for Depaeyin Township Constituency, who was arrested last month and two-year-sentence with Section 505 (b). When we said Daw Suu will reach there we asked about the next route and they said it was OK and we, again, continued the trip, but nevertheless, we were arrested at (the Massacre Site) two or three miles away from Depaeyin.

The scheme was conducted by the Strategy Consultant of the Northwest Military Command Region. They knew that Daw Suu would come and gathered around four or five thousand people and fenced three-sided bulb-wire in order to beat Daw Suu and her sympathizers. They arrested us in the beginning, then brought us to the Irrigation Department compound and forced us to sit down. For a while later, the Strategy Consultant came and lied to the monks that the people were dissatisfied with Daw Suu and they were going to make a strike. They asked the monks to control the people and not to have problems. Then he himself ordered, using a microphone, the people not to step on the route where Daw Suu would come.

Meanwhile, the Dyna trucks arrived at the back of the people and, also from Kokko-tree on the left side of the road, lighted on to the crowd, and he was ordering his followers not to step onto the road. Shortly after this, Daw Suu and her group arrived. The location had a slope-down and easy to lose the location where the highway used to be. One of the five monks whom might be artificial-ones asked Daw Suu to climb up onto the truck and deliver speech to the people after Daw Suu reached to the crowd. While Daw Suu and Htun Zaw Zaw were saying it is too late, about 20 Dyna trucks that came from Butalin brought people and monks and cried "Kill...kill!" and launched an attack -- beating, chopping with swords, digging with bamboo-sharps -- to Daw Suu and her

sympathizers. The NLD (Youth) members have no choice but to keep quiet because their policy is 'keep silence if they beat or even kill.' A few minutes later, the car that U Tin Oo was being carried arrived and he stepped off and tried to meet the Strategy Consultant.

At that time, the awaiting people started destroying U Tin Oo's car and arrested U Tin Oo and his five colleagues. When Daw Suu's car driven by Ko Kyaw Soe Lin drove ahead very quickly and the youngsters shouted as "Protact to mom, protact to mom!" and they really protested Daw Suu, riding motorbikes covering to Daw Suu's car. There was one no counter-action to the people who beat them. The Strategy Consultant tried to hit Daw Suu's car by another one truck, tete a tete, of the two Dyna he arranged.

Ko Kyaw Soe Lin drove smartly and shunned the blocked two trucks and broke through the six-foot-high four bulb-wires in order to release Daw Suu from the danger. The two Sunny pick-ups followed to Daw Suu's car, in which Daw Win Win Mya was on, and the Strategy Consultant ordered to fire to the three pick-ups. The stand-by army and police fired and the bullets hit Daw Win Win Mya's car-tyre. The driver dropped from the car and the car hit to the roadside Kokko-tree. Daw Win Win Mya's two hands and one leg were broken and injured a little in her face. The driver was cut in the forehead between the two eyes by beating and has got four stitches for the injury. The last car driven by U Thaung Nyunt, of which U Hla Soe Nyunt from Sagaing was on, was fired and glasses were smashed, seven were severely injured and the driver drove so fast to Depaeyin hospital.

Dr. Hla Soe Nyunt was shunned away from the hospital. Since Daw Suu escaped the Strategy Consultant himself ordered through the intercept-machine to the gates at Ye-Oo, Tamar-Taw, and use even machine-guns if needed, and et cetera. And he also ordered to beat and dig with bamboo and even shoot to the remaining people as foes. The authorities already announced martial law at the massacre site at Kyi Village before Daw Suu was arrived. But nevertheless, the villagers nearby the site took care of the people who escaped. The authorities ordered to shoot them too. U Tin Oo, U Tin Aung Aung, MP for Northwest Constituency, and other five people were brought to Depaeyin Police Station.

The escaped Daw Suu's four-wheel drive car, of which NLD (Youth) members and about 20 youngsters from Mandalay, Monywa, Butalin and Myinmu were on, was stopped at Ye-Oo Gate. Daw Suu herself treated to the injured youngsters. The army trucks arrived in the morning and arrested everyone at the area. The two NLD (Youth) members named Htun Zaw Zaw, Htun Myint and Daw Suu had stayed together at Ye-Oo Township Military Hall until 2:00 am, and the two members were brought away by the Strategy Consultant. All the youngsters who were on the car, apart from Daw Suu, were brought to Shwe Bo Prison at 11:00 am. Daw Suu was injured at the end of her right arm, no one knows injured whether by the beating or stone throwing, and a crashed glass cut a little at her throat too.

