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~~Top Secret~~**Burma: Election Shadow Play**

Tensions are high on the eve of tomorrow's election, Burma's first multiparty contest in 30 years, but the military regime apparently believes it has intimidated and divided the opposition, has orchestrated the outcome, and can easily control any demonstration over the election results or ballot tampering.

The regime has encouraged the founding of numerous parties to divide the opposition vote: candidates from 93 parties and 83 independents are contesting the 486 seats in the National Assembly. Campaign rules also were set to intimidate the leading opposition parties. Parties could not criticize the government, the military, or other parties or say or do anything that could be construed as inciting unrest. A night curfew and a ban on gatherings of more than five people are in effect; each party was allowed to sponsor three hours of political rallies but only with advance government approval. Each party was allowed to give only one 15-minute radio and one 10-minute television statement; opposition politicians say their speeches were heavily censored.

The military is warning Rangoon officials to report any missing person or stranger in their districts to prevent sabotage, according to the press. [redacted]

[redacted] In a sudden reversal, the military is letting some 50 foreign journalists cover the election, but arrests of opposition politicians and other harassment continue, [redacted]

Spontaneous protests over the election results are possible, although the small Communist underground movement is too weak to organize major demonstrations. If necessary, the military regime would forcefully put down disturbances.

The regime is counting on the promilitary National Unity Party to win a plurality, but officials may hope their increased pressure on the opposition in recent weeks will enable the NUP to win a majority. The opposition National League for Democracy probably is the most popular party, but many of its supporters may stay away from the polls for fear of retaliation.

Whatever the outcome, the military does not intend to hand over power to an elected government for at least a year. It wants foreign aid donors and investors to accept the election as procedurally fair, however, and the decision to admit the foreign press suggests officials believe they have already orchestrated the outcome.

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~~Top Secret~~**Special Analysis****BURMA: Forced Resettlements Cast Shadow on Election**

Burma's ruling military committee for the past six months has been carrying out a forced relocation program, which is resulting in severe hardship and an unknown number of deaths. The regime apparently has two objectives: the removal of civilian opponents before tomorrow's national election and financial gain. [redacted]

According to Senior General Saw Maung, chairman of the ruling council, the program is intended to beautify cities and provide housing for squatters. [redacted] a significant number of those forcibly relocated held deeds to their own homes and that others had lived in their structurally substantial homes for many years. [redacted]

[redacted] roughly 500,000 of Burma's 40.5 million people have been moved to the new sites. Resettlement activities appear to be under way in Rangoon, Mandalay, Taunggyi, Prome, Bassein, Pagan, and several other cities. The distances of the resettlement sites from cities vary: one site is 14 miles from the capital and another is nearly 120 miles away. [redacted]

The regime is conducting a propaganda campaign in support of the relocation program. Maj. Gen. Khin Nyunt, considered by some observers as the most powerful figure on the military council, has publicly hailed the "extensive" infrastructure the government is allegedly providing inhabitants of the new "suburbs": hospitals, schools, and water systems. But most settlers are living in bamboo huts in malaria-infested former rice paddies, where the lack of adequate sewage and drainage facilities is spawning epidemics.

[redacted]

Profit, Political Motives

The program is an important means of harassing the regime's political foes. [redacted] many people have been evicted from Rangoon neighborhoods that supported the 1988 upheaval against former dictator Ne Win and believe they are being punished for antiregime activities. Disenfranchisement of registered voters

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probably is a key byproduct of the program; [redacted]
[redacted] voter rolls are not being prepared in the new
"communities," and the government's election commission is
ignoring demands of opposition political parties that relocated
citizens be restored to voter rolls. [redacted]

The relocation program is also giving the military a financial
windfall. [redacted] several high-ranking officers
are buying the vacated properties at a fraction of market value and
reselling them for huge profits. The government also reportedly is
using them for low-cost or free housing for officers. [redacted]

Burma's rulers apparently have no qualms about exploiting relocated
citizens. [redacted] residents in one new community
were given a plot of jungle and a loan for several days' subsistence
and told to grow raw materials for a nearby government factory; they
were to repay the loan out of earnings. At another site the regime
reportedly is denying food to those who refuse to work mandatory
shifts felling trees the government wants for utility poles. [redacted]

Outlook

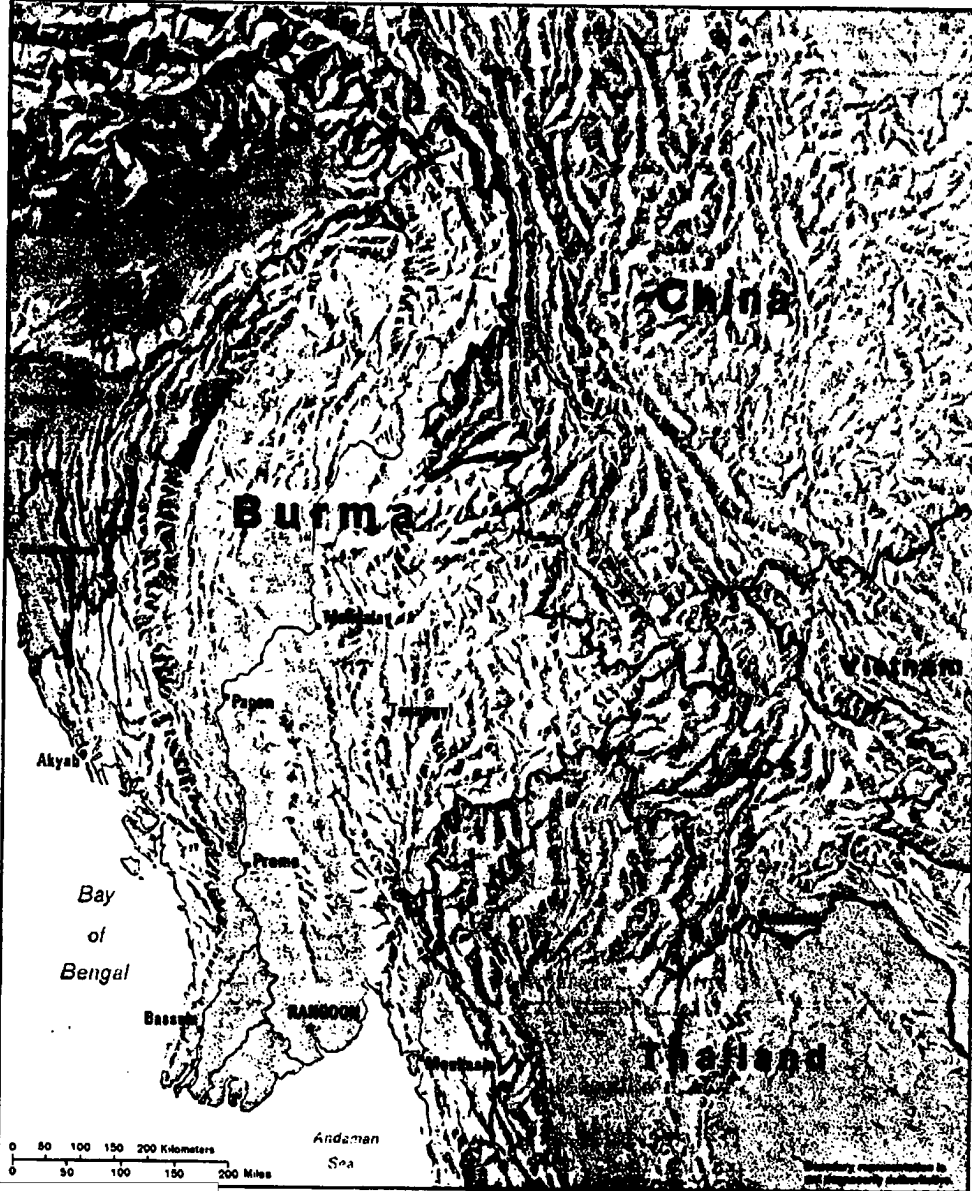
The resettlement program probably will continue. Burma's leaders
derive handsome profits and have had little resistance from the
dispirited public. Their actions, however, will intensify public hatred
of the regime and foster continuing widespread hardship that
ultimately could lead to renewed unrest. [redacted]

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Resettlement Activities in Primary Cities



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