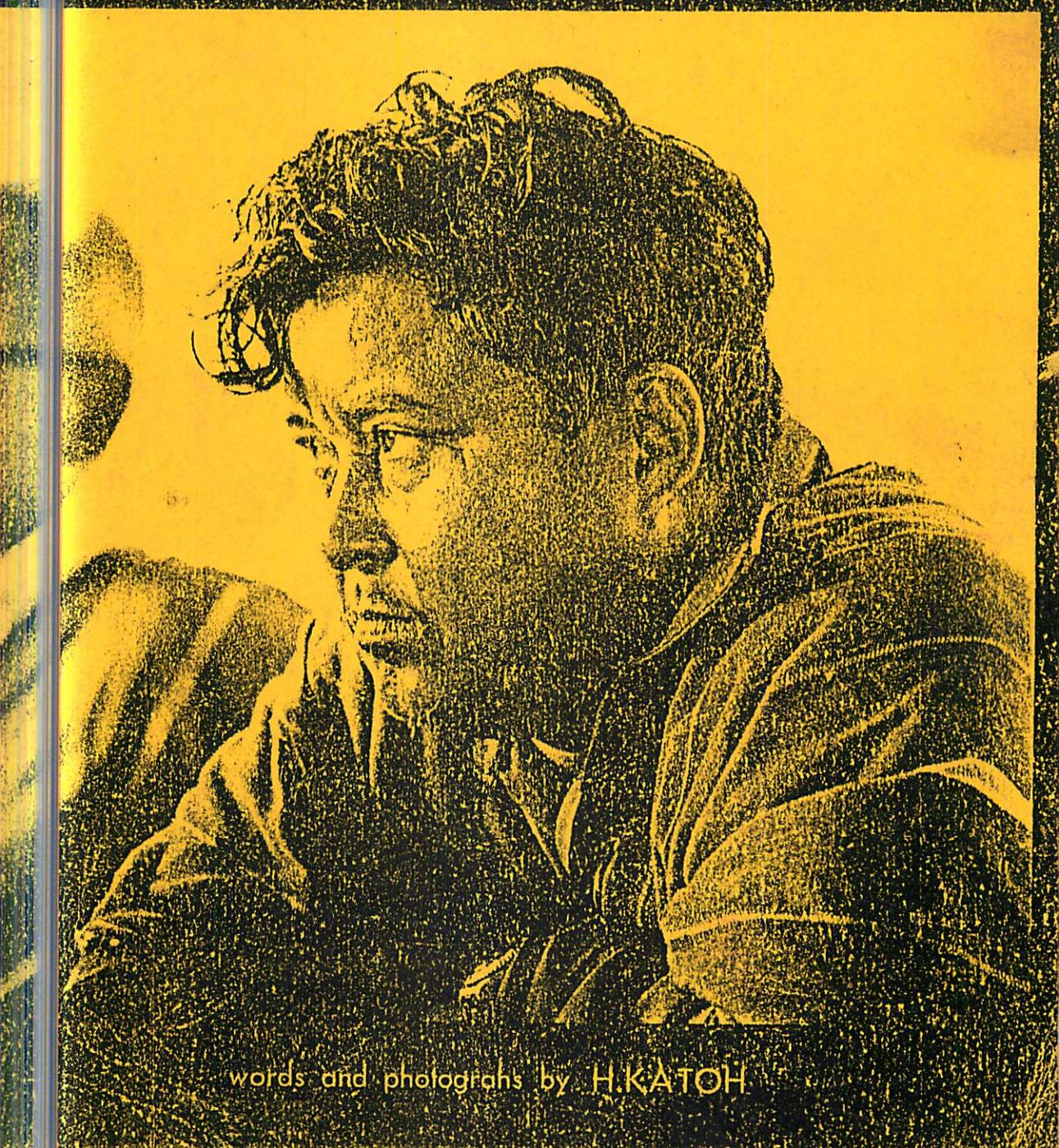


KAWTHOOLET

Report on the un-chartered states of Burma and the documents of the National Movement which
is independence from Burma

地 図 に な い 国



words and photographs by H. KATOH

KAWTHOOLEI

A report on the un-charted states of Burma and the documents of the National Movement which seeks independence from Burma

地 図 に な い 国

words and photograhs by H.KATOH

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Hiroshi Katoh

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In Dedication :

For those who were killed in the battle for
the freedom and independence of the Karens,
and for those who will be victorious in
their fight in the future.

カレン族の独立と自由のために闘い倒れた全ての人に、また将来独立と
自由を手にするだろう人々に本書を献げる。

序

コートレーイとはカレン語で“花咲く大地”という意味である。この言葉は“平和に満ちた土地”というイメージを抱かせる。しかし今日までこのコートレーイの大地から一日として砲声と硝煙の臭いが消えたことはなかった。

サルウィン河の流域からタイ国境にかけてコートレーイ政府の支配する地域がある。地図にのっていない国・コートレーイである。コートレーイ政府という存在を知っている人がどのくらいいるだろうか。残念ながらその数は極めて少い。

コートレーイ政府を支えるのはカレン民族同盟（KNU）と12,000名の武装勢力を有するカレン民族解放軍（KNLA）である。KNLAの支配地域では全村に小学校が建てられ、中高等学校もある。病院や簡単な工場もある。タイ・コートレーイ国境にはビルマ国内に必要な日常生活物資から薬品・粉ミルク・自動車のスペアパーツまで商う国境貿易がある。ビルマ政府軍の焼き打ち、略奪をうけた難民はKNUの指導する共同農場で自立する道さえある。

サルウィン河からタイ国境にかけるカレン民族同盟（KNU）とカレン民族解放軍（KNLA）の支配する地域は、マラリヤが猛威をふるうやせた土地である。人々は民族解放闘争をたたかう前に、熱帯のジャングルのこれらの悪条件と闘わねばならない。それでもカレン族の大多数の住むイラワジデルタからコートレーイに新生活を求めてやって来る者は後をたたない。ラングーンやモールメンなどの政府軍支配地域から秘かに脱出してくるのである。ラングーンやモールメン大学の卒業生、大学の講師、医師、音楽家など階層もさまざまである。

コートレーイ政府はこれらの人々を組織に吸収しながら行政機構の拡充につとめている。

第2次世界大戦が終ってビルマの独立が検討されるようになった時、カレン族は分離独立を求めた。大戦中、日本軍の支援を受けた「ビルマ独立義勇軍」によってひきおこされた虐殺事件の数々を忘れなかった。なによりもビルマ王朝時代から被抑圧民

族として迫害され続けてきた結果である。彼等はビルマ族の支配する社会に入りたくなかったのである。

1948年、ビルマは独立した。しかしカレン族の分離独立の要求はイギリス政府に拒否された。

一方、ビルマ軍のカレン族に対する虐殺事件がその後も起る。テナセリム地方の村の教会でクリスマス・イブの礼拝中に武装したビルマ軍にカレン族の男女・子ども200人あまりが機関銃によって虐殺される事件がおこった。各地で同様の虐殺事件が相次いだ。ついにカレン族は1949年1月、ラングーン北部郊外のインセインで武装蜂起した。インセインの戦闘ではシャン族やビルマ共産党もカレン族とともに誕生したばかりのビルマ政府を攻撃した。戦闘は120日間続き、ラングーン政府は風前の灯とさえ言われたが、ネ・ウィン將軍を中心としたビルマ政府軍がアメリカ、イギリスの援助を受けて反撃した。戦闘は5月の末になってようやく下火になった。そしてカレン族はサルウィン河流域にまで撤退する。

人々はそれから30年かかって新しい根拠地を築いた。山がちでマラリヤのはびこる地域を切り開き学校や病院を建設した。今やデルタ地帯から多くの技術者や知識人までもがカレン民族同盟、カレン民族解放軍に加わろうとやってくるまでになった。カレン族の人口の稠密なデルタ地帯に於てもKNU、KNLAの活動の様子は遂一伝わっており、カレン民族主義はコートレーイだけのものではなくイラワジデルタでもきわめて旺盛である。

カレン語による民族教育やコートレーイ政府の民族文化の継承発展に対する奨励はカレンの民族主義をますます揺ぎのないものにしていく。コートレーイでは人々の未来に対する大きな期待と未来を掴みとろうとするひたむきさがあふれてる。

Introduction

From the basin of the River Salween in Burma, to the border of Thailand, there lies the un-charted land of Kawthoolei. In the language of Kawthoolei's inhabitants, the Karens, the name Kawthoolei means "Flowerland".

However the people of this "Flowerland" have spent their lives in a long and bloody struggle to protect their culture and to gain recognition for themselves as a nation that is independent of Burma.

The Karens are of Mongolian descent and were the first settlers of Burma in the year 759 B.C. They were conquered by the Mon and the Burmese tribes who later immigrated to Burma. Under the rule of the Burmese, the Karens were stripped of their land and their culture and were forced to flee to the mountains and the jungle.

Centuries later, when Burma came under the rule of the British, the lives of the Karens improved. They had the right to hold jobs, and be educated as well as rebuild some of their own culture. The Karen National Association was formed to help gain more national rights for the Karens. The Association also took part in general political elections and tried to become members of Parliament, so they could pursue their cause to gain freedom and independence for the Karens.

However the progress the Karens had made in gaining their autonomy was cut short when World War II started. During the war, when the Japanese invaded Burma, the

British evacuated to India.

During the occupation of Burma, the Burma Independent Army(B.I.A.) with the support of the Japanese, arrested, tortured, raped and killed many of the Karens. The bitter experiences of World War II made the Karens realize that unless they fought to become autonomous, their future, if controlled by others, would always be one of enslavement and persecution.

After the end of World War II, as discussions were being made for Burma to gain independence from England, the Karens approached both the British and Burmese Governments and asked that an independent state for the Karens be allowed to exist. Their plea was not acknowledged by either government. In 1948, on February eleventh, one month after Burma gained its independence, Karens from all over Burma staged a peaceful demonstration to express their demands for an independent Karen State. Their motto was "Liberty, Equality, and Peace".

The Burmese Government ignored the Karens' demands, and ordered the Karen leaders to be arrested. Later the Burmese Army attacked, and burned Karen villages, raped their women and killed many Karens.

In order to survive these attacks and achieve their political aims of gaining independence, the Karens waged a war of resistance against the Burmese Government and its forces on January 31st, 1949. The fighting lasted 120 days. However due to the inexperience of the Karens in warfare, they were forced to withdraw from their fronts which allowed the Burmese troops to occupy

many of their areas.

In spite of these military set-backs the Karens united themselves in their struggle and persisted and have continued for the past thirty-two years to fight for their freedom. "We have no way to survive except to struggle against the Burmese oppression. We shall have to choose either a life of slavery or fight for the freedom and independence of the Karens" said Saw Richard, a sergeant in the Karen National Liberation Army.

During this cruel and bloody thirty-two year war, the Karens have fought without the aid of other foreign countries, while the Burmese Government has received large amounts of aid from many foreign countries. They also have endured the hardships of fighting in a malaria infested jungle. Their belief in their cause is so strong that they founded the Kawthoolei movement under the leaderships of the Karen National Union. Other minorities like the Karens living in Burma have also joined the Karen struggle for their respective independent states and together formed the National Democratic Front.

The Karens are trying to make their struggle known to the world. The President of Kawthoolei Government Lt. Gen. Saw Bo Mya on October first, 1981 sent a letter to Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary General of the United Nations concerning the plight of Karens. (See P.132) The letter states the Karens will never surrender, but will "march forward to accomplish our aims". "The war may be long and cruel" he wrote, "but we are prepared for all eventualities for to die fighting, is better than to live like a slave".

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Obliged Choice

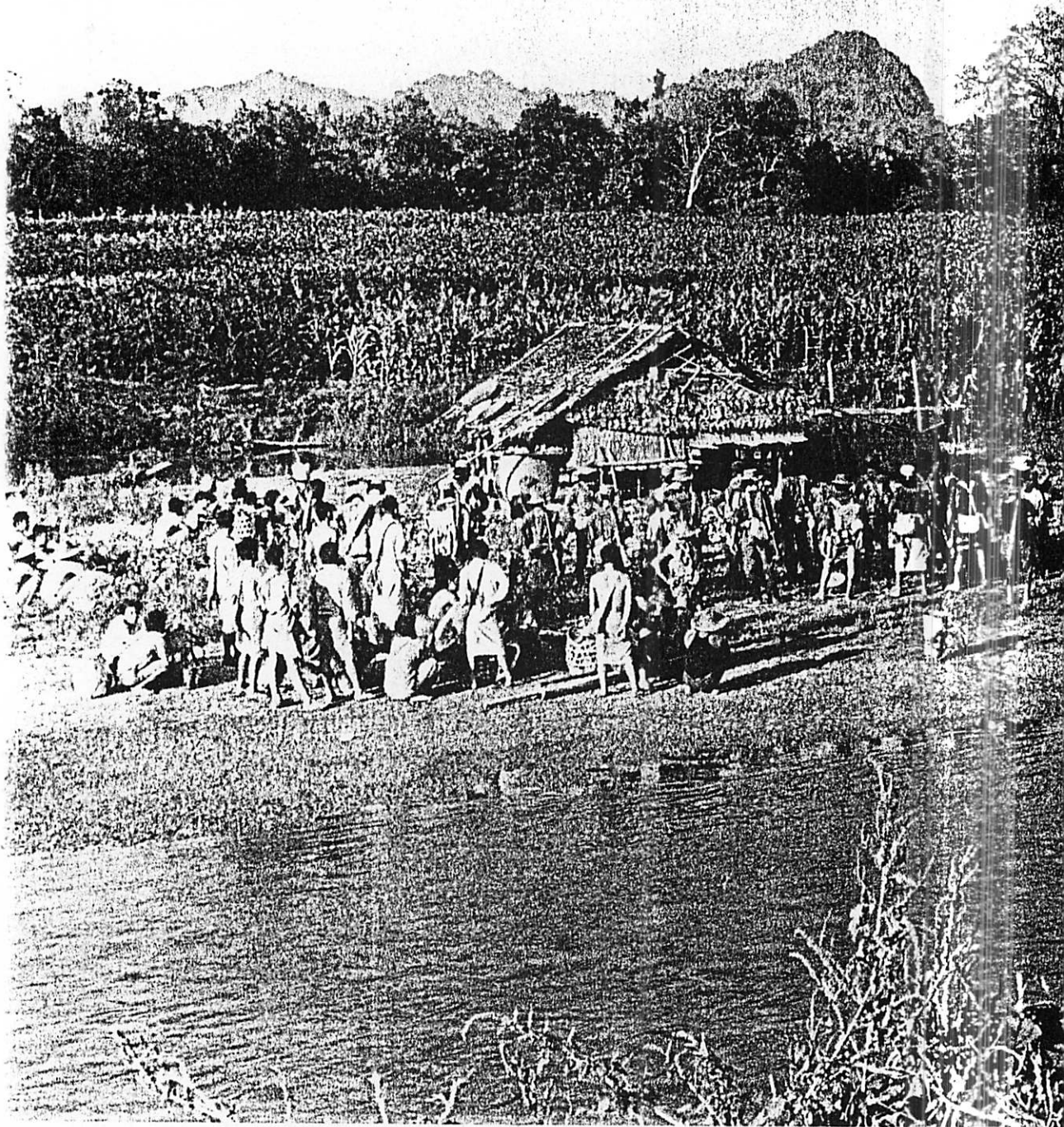
The only way for The Karens to survive is to keep struggling. We shall live and have to choose the life of slavery, or obtain the national freedom by fighting against the Burmese control.

---- Words of one
soldier of KNLA ----

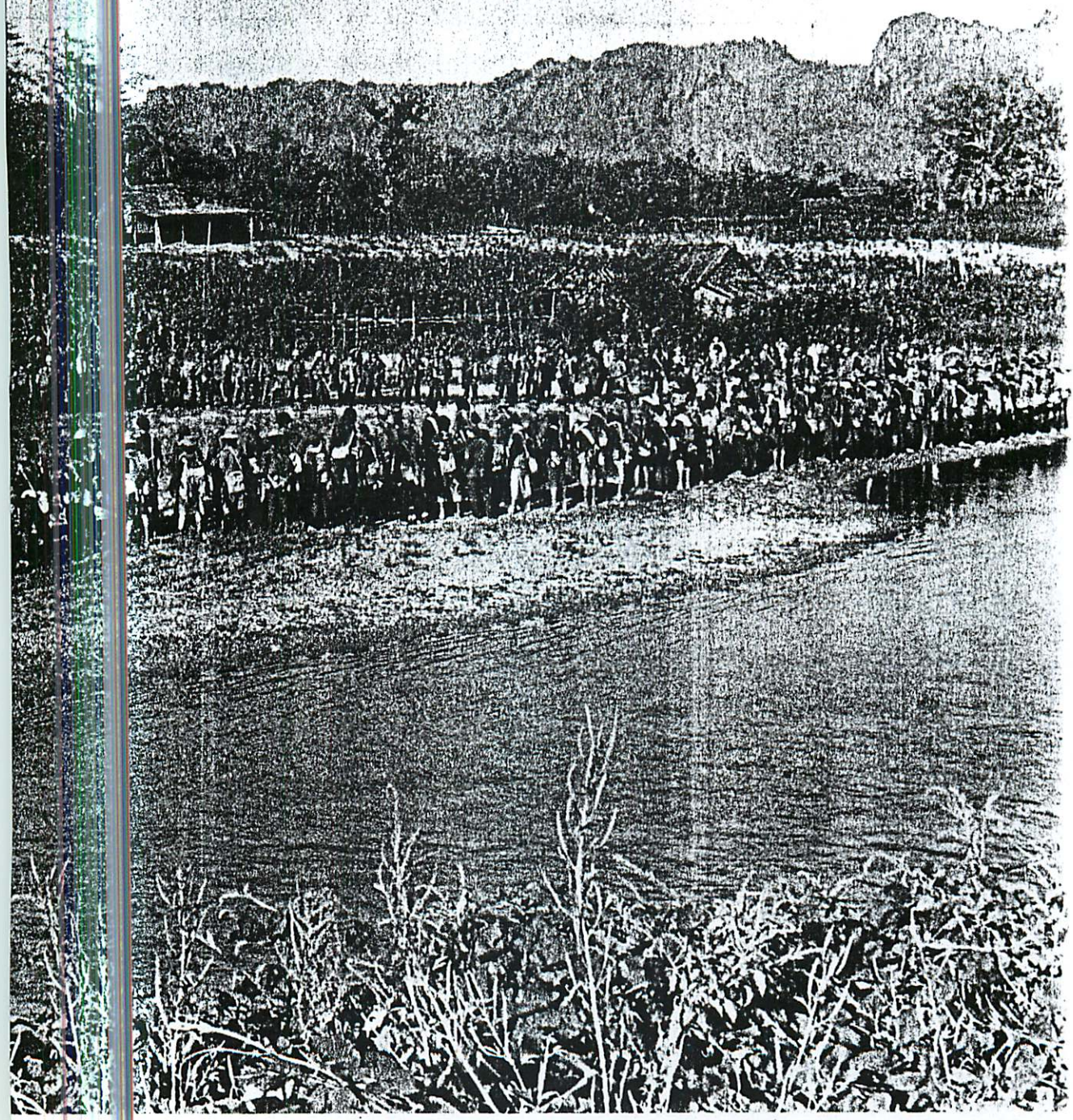
余儀なくされた選択

カレン族は戦う以外に生きる道はないのです。生きて奴隷の生活を選ぶか、戦って民族の自由を獲得するのか、ふたつにひとつです。奴隷として生きるよりも自由のために死ぬほうがましです。

—カレン民族解放軍兵士の言葉—

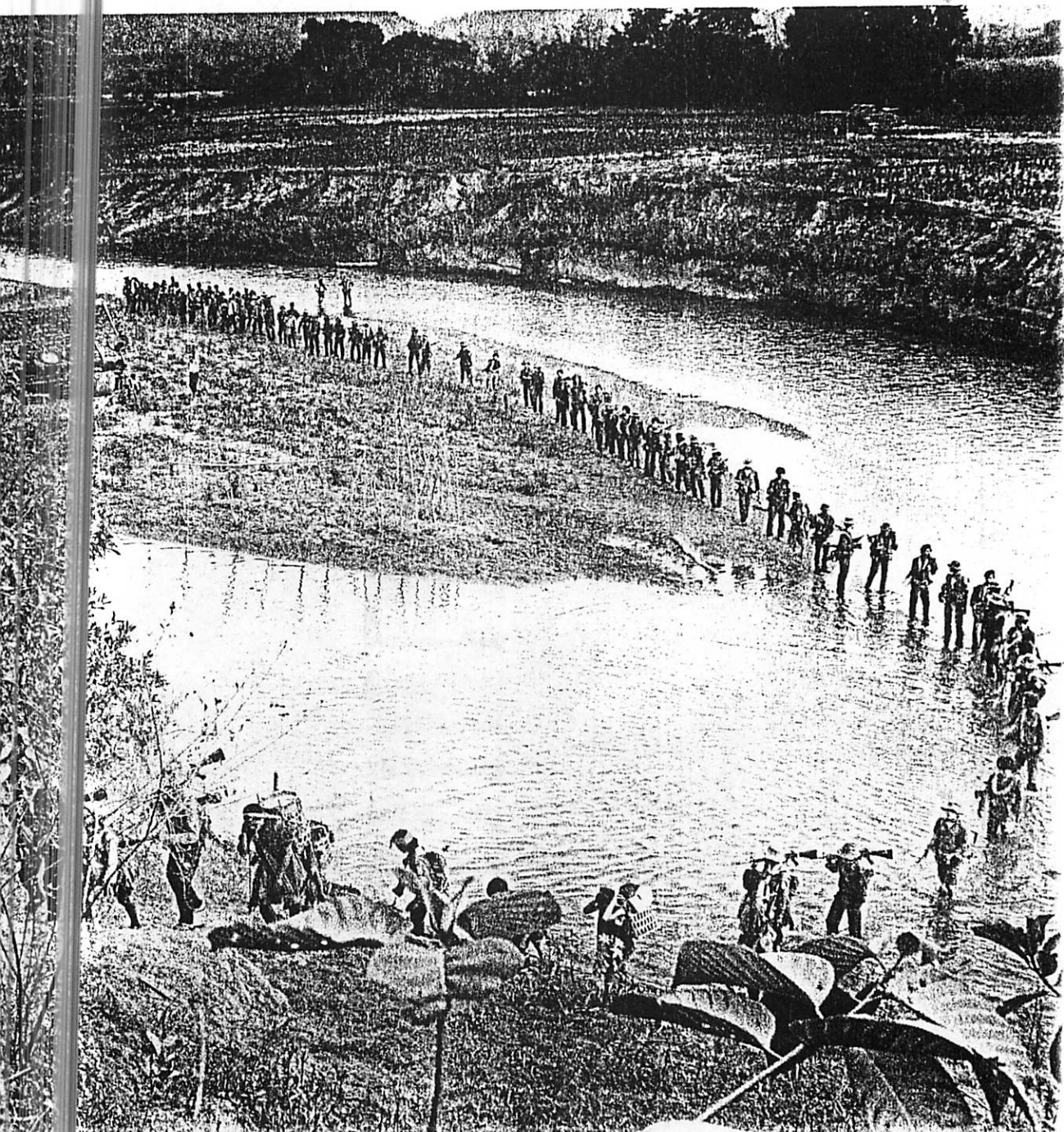


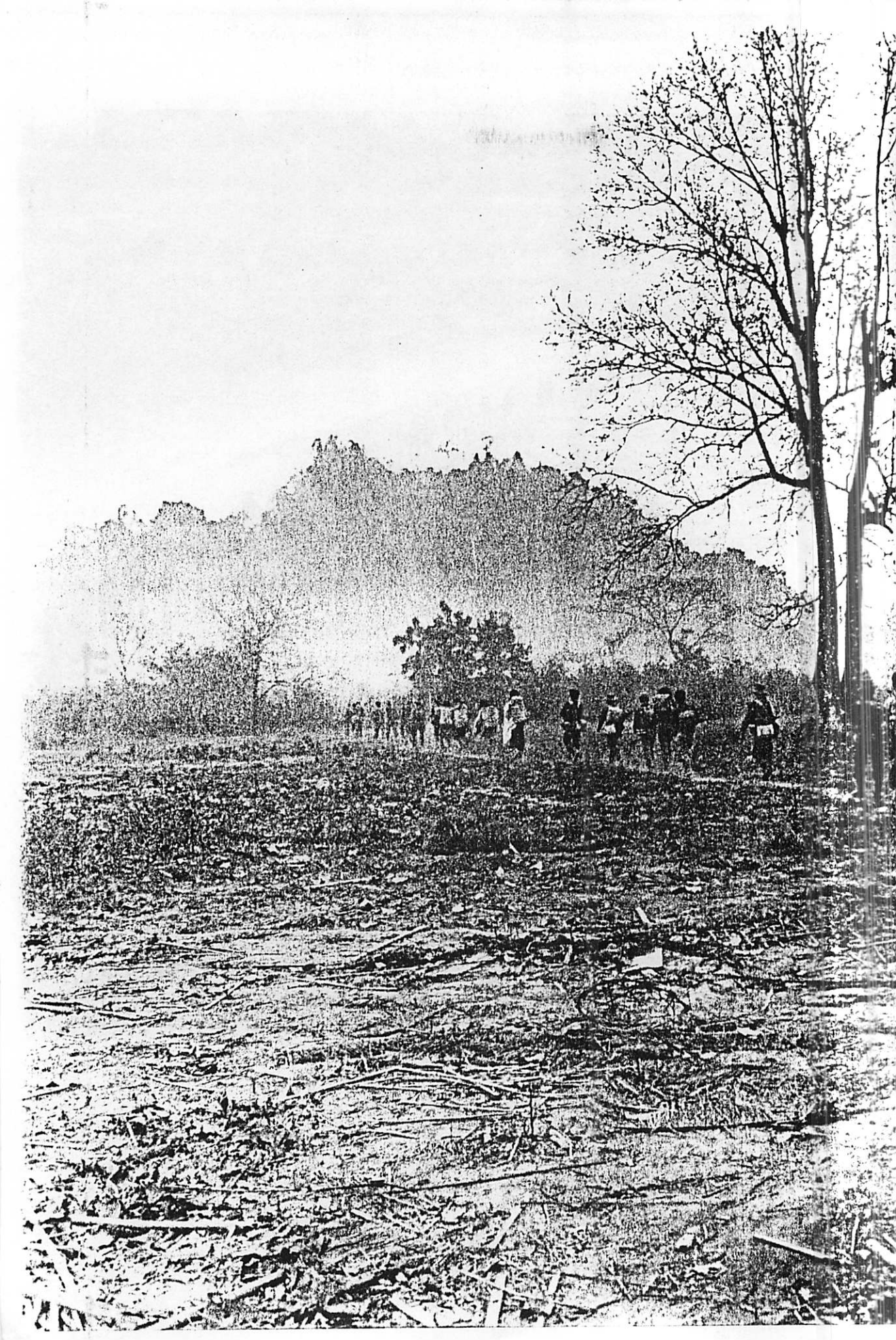
12,000 Karen National Liberation Army, armed forces struggle against the Burmese Government Army.



カレン民族解放軍は1万2000名の武装勢力を持ち、ビルマ政府軍に攻勢をかける。





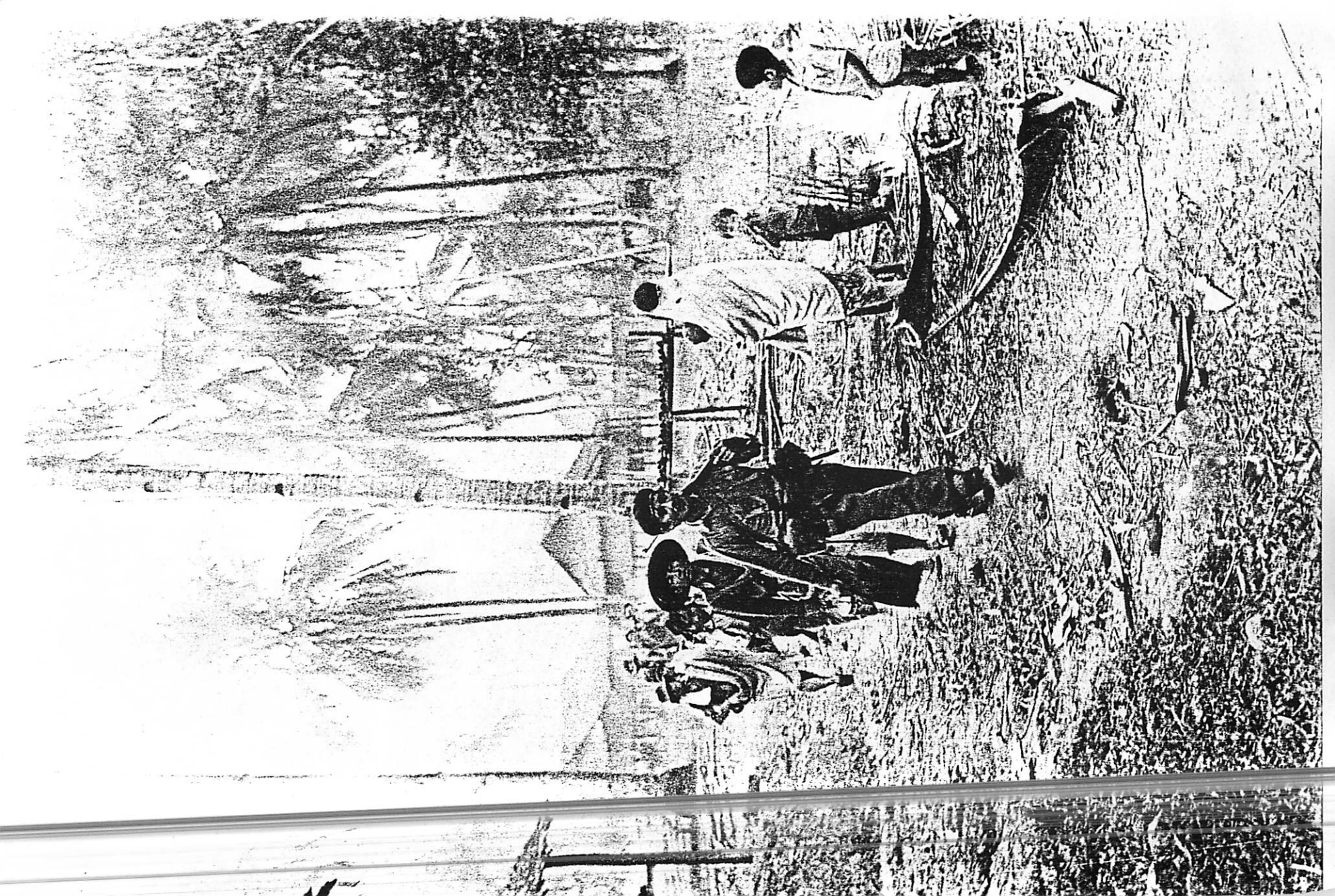




Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) move to the front line separately in the deep mist. Guerrilla warfare experts strike and defend against the Burmese Government forces with the support of the Karen masses.

朝もやの中を前線に向かって移動するカレン民族解放軍。KNLAはカレン族という海の中を自由に泳ぎまわるゲリラ戦を得意とする。







10 Before the sunrise KMLA soldiers move to the front line. Each step of the marching soldiers turn the fine mud into dust.









Fighters enjoy plain food, rice mixed with chili and dry fish. It is delicious meal if they can get a chicken to put in the soup. After finishing their meal they bury the firewood or any other evidence of their existence.

兵士達の食事は飯に唐辛子と干魚を混ぜただけの簡単なものだ。スープに鶏が入ればごちそうである。前戦が近づくとの出前に食事を終え、火を使った後は土に埋めて行跡を残さない。









No.7 Brigade,
which the Karens
call their
"mother brigade"
of KNLA is
always in the
position of
offensive
against the
Burmese Govern-
ment forces.

カレン民族解放軍の母体で
ある第7旅団はビルマ政府
軍に対して常に攻勢に出
ている。



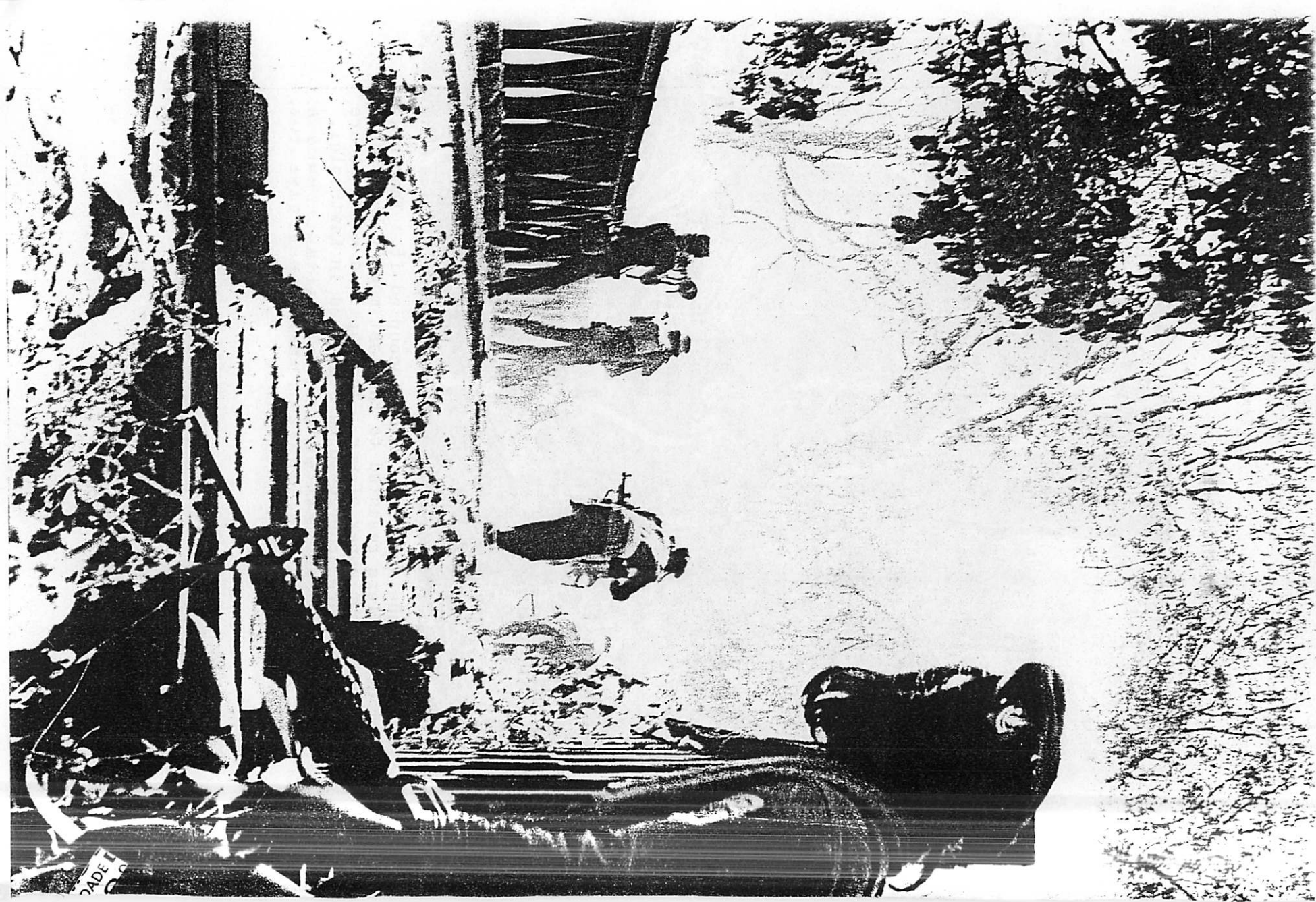


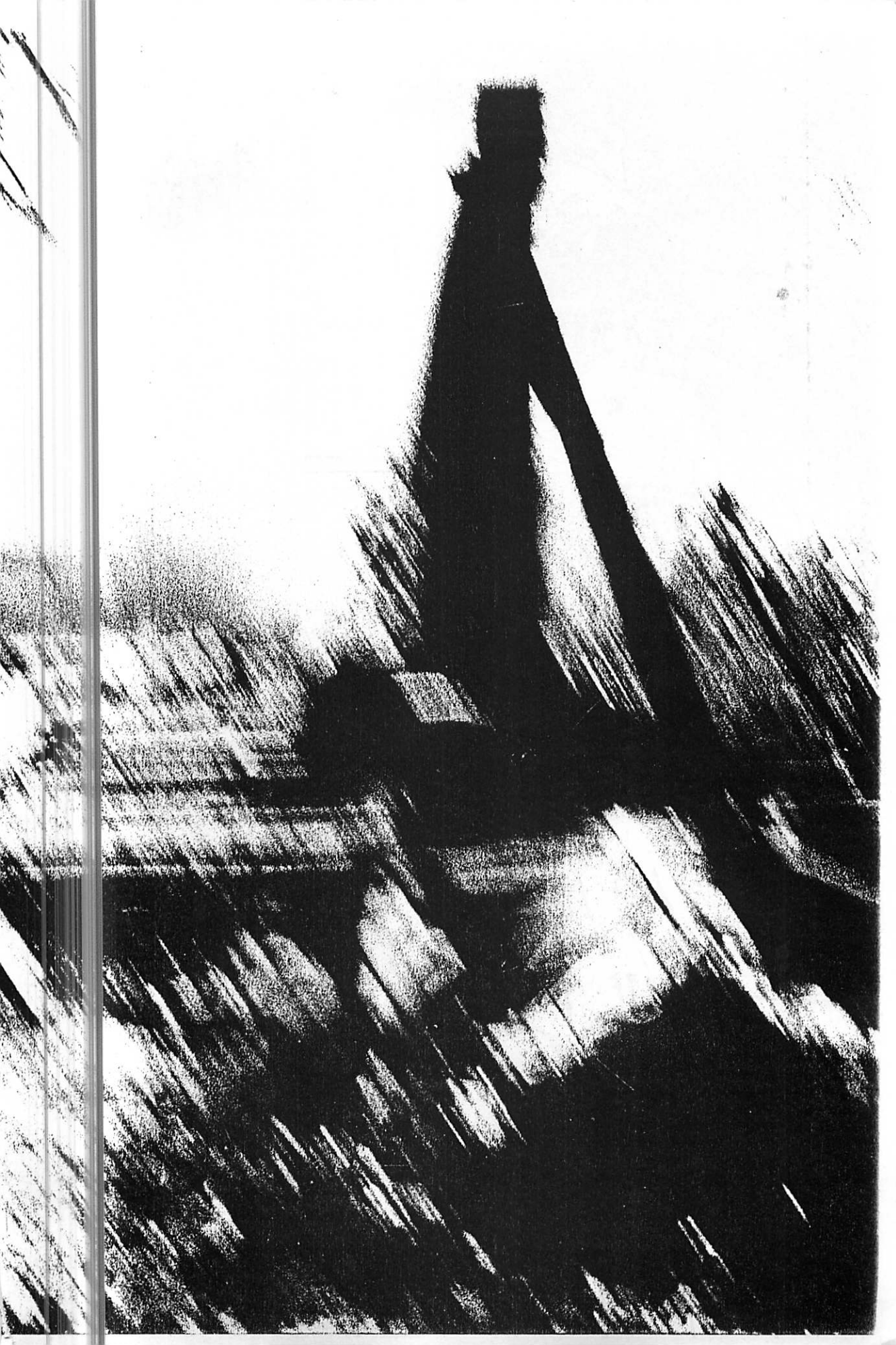
MADE IN
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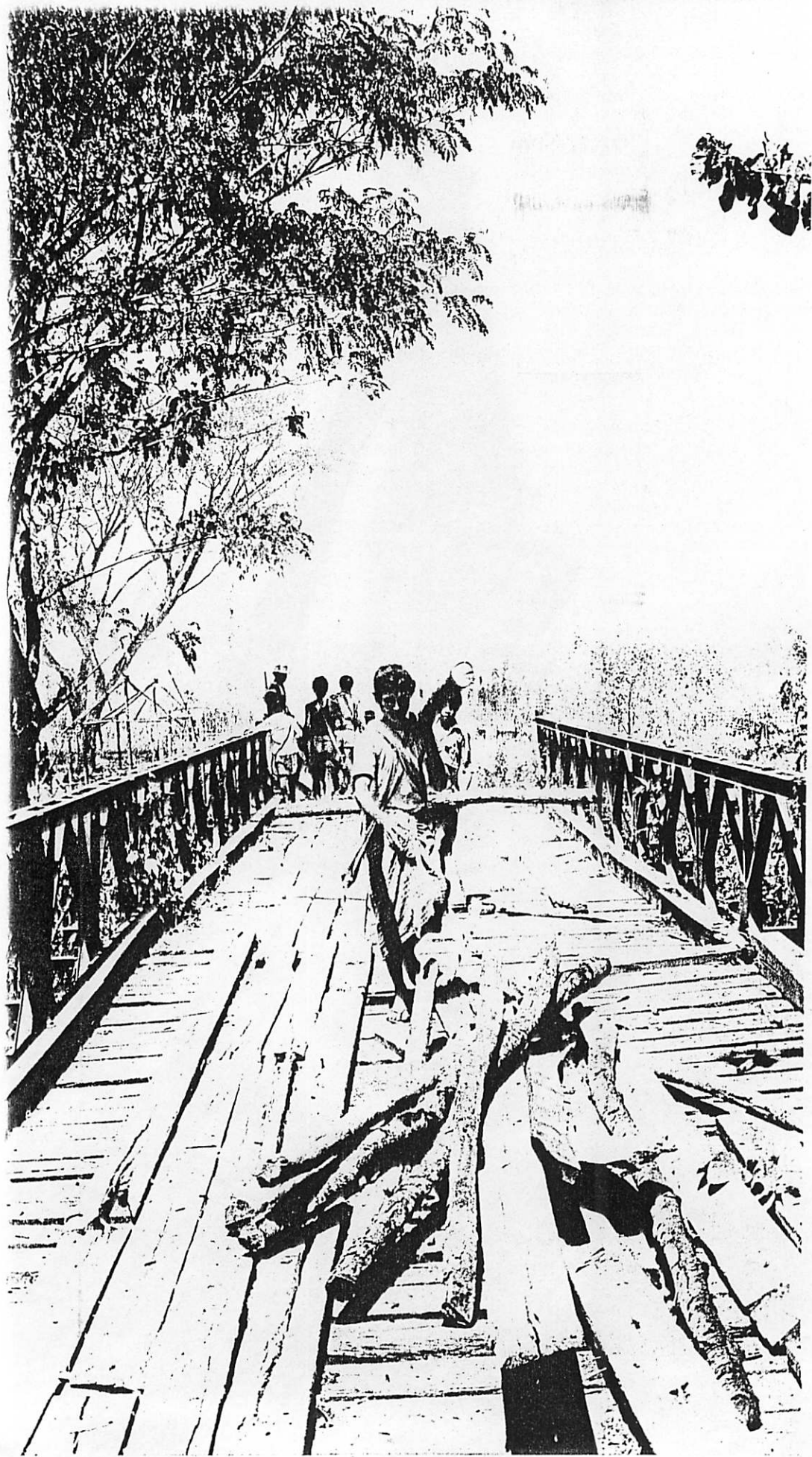


KNLA attacked the Army Outpost and occupied it. The three government soldiers resisted to the last moment but finally surrendered as prisoner of war. The captured soldiers are Alkans. They were ordered to be stationed in Kawthoolei.

カレン民族解放軍(KNLA)がビルマ政府軍の哨所を攻撃、占領した。3名が最後まで抵抗したが捕虜になった。ビルマ政府軍はカレン族の多く住む地域に他の少数民族を派遣し、少数民族同士を戦わせる方法をとっている。

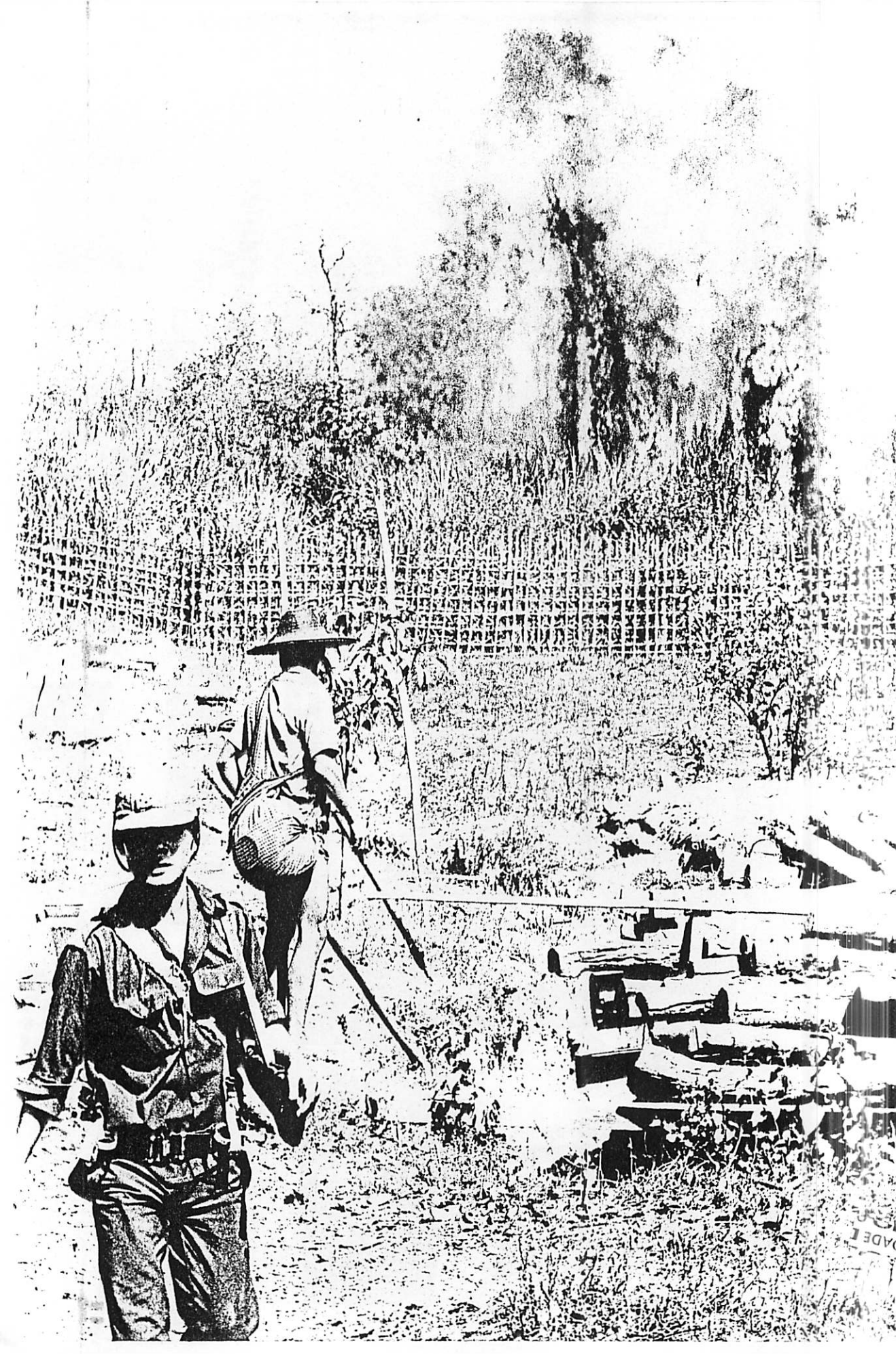






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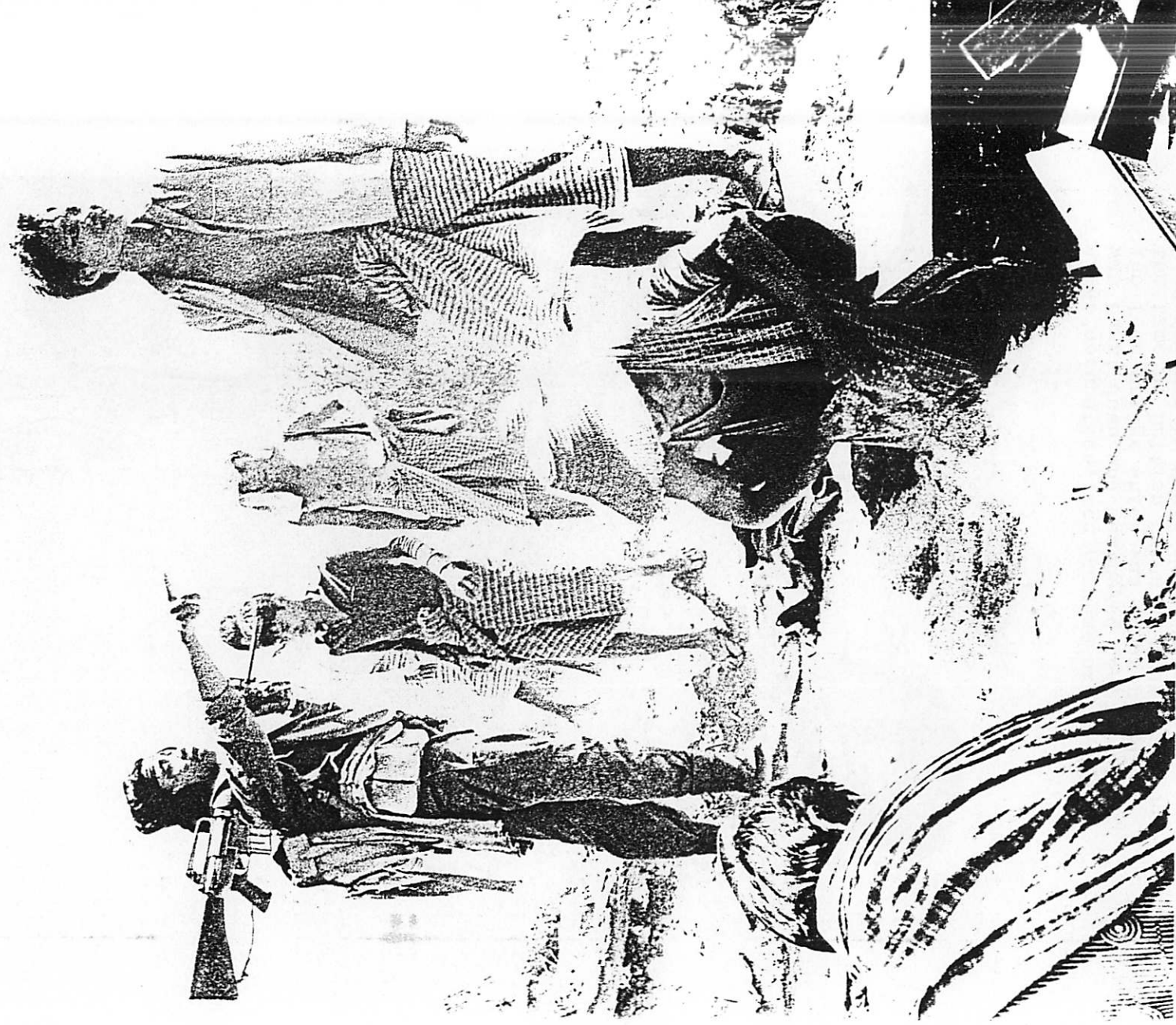






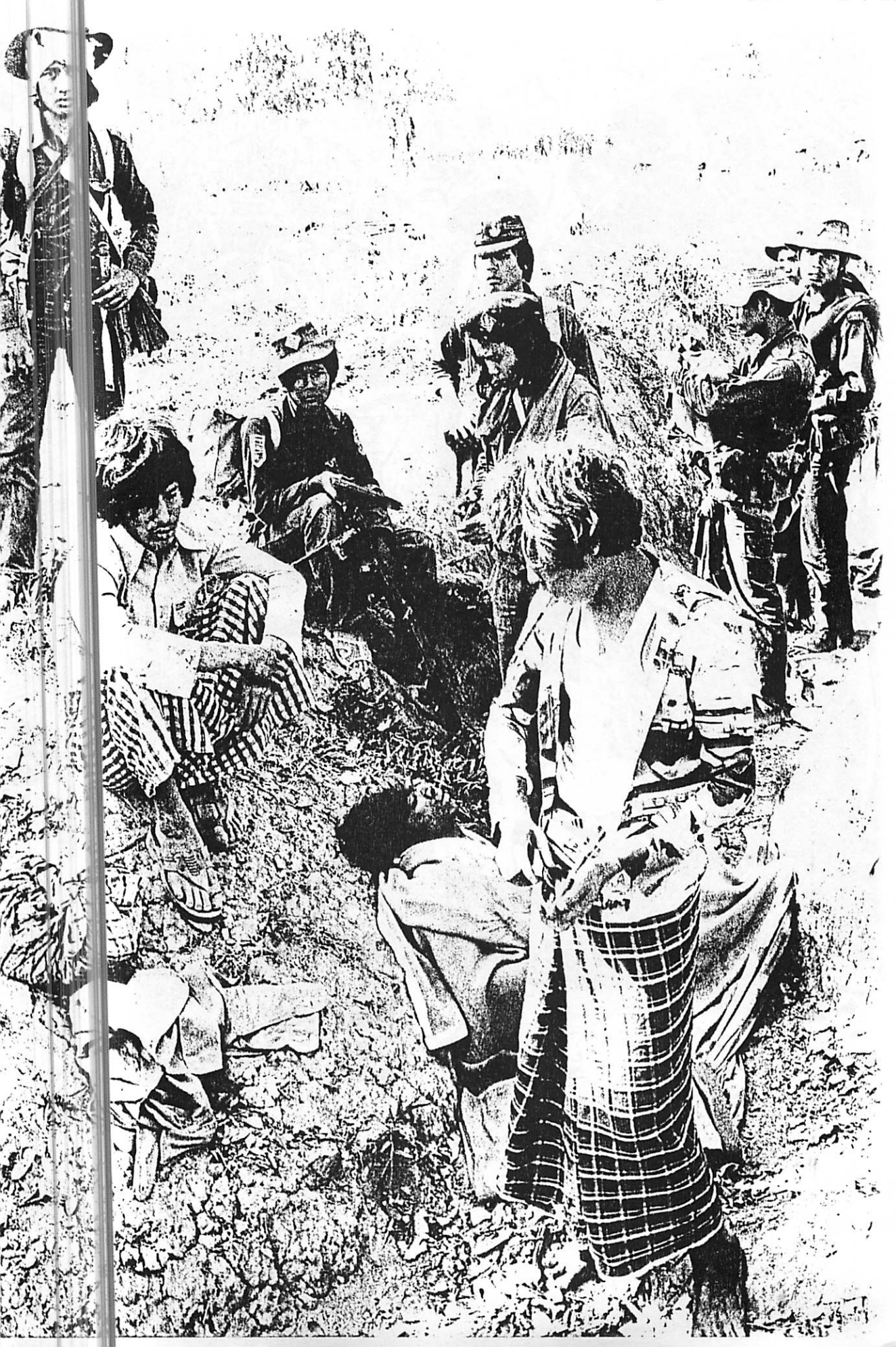
After occupation, the Burmese army outpost was burnt down and destroyed completely. The iron bridge which was constructed at the time of British Colonial rule could not be destroyed by Karen made dynamite.

占領後、ビルマ政府軍哨所は焼かれ、破壊された。イギリスの植民地時代に架けられた鉄橋はカレン族のダイナマイトでも壊れなかった。



The Burmese Army outpost which the KNLA occupied contained enough supplies for the villagers to recover some of their possessions which had been stolen by the soldiers.

「いつも村にきて鶏や豚をとって金も払わない。米など欲しくないが、腹の虫がおさまらない」と村人は語り、政府軍が貯蔵していた米を集めた。

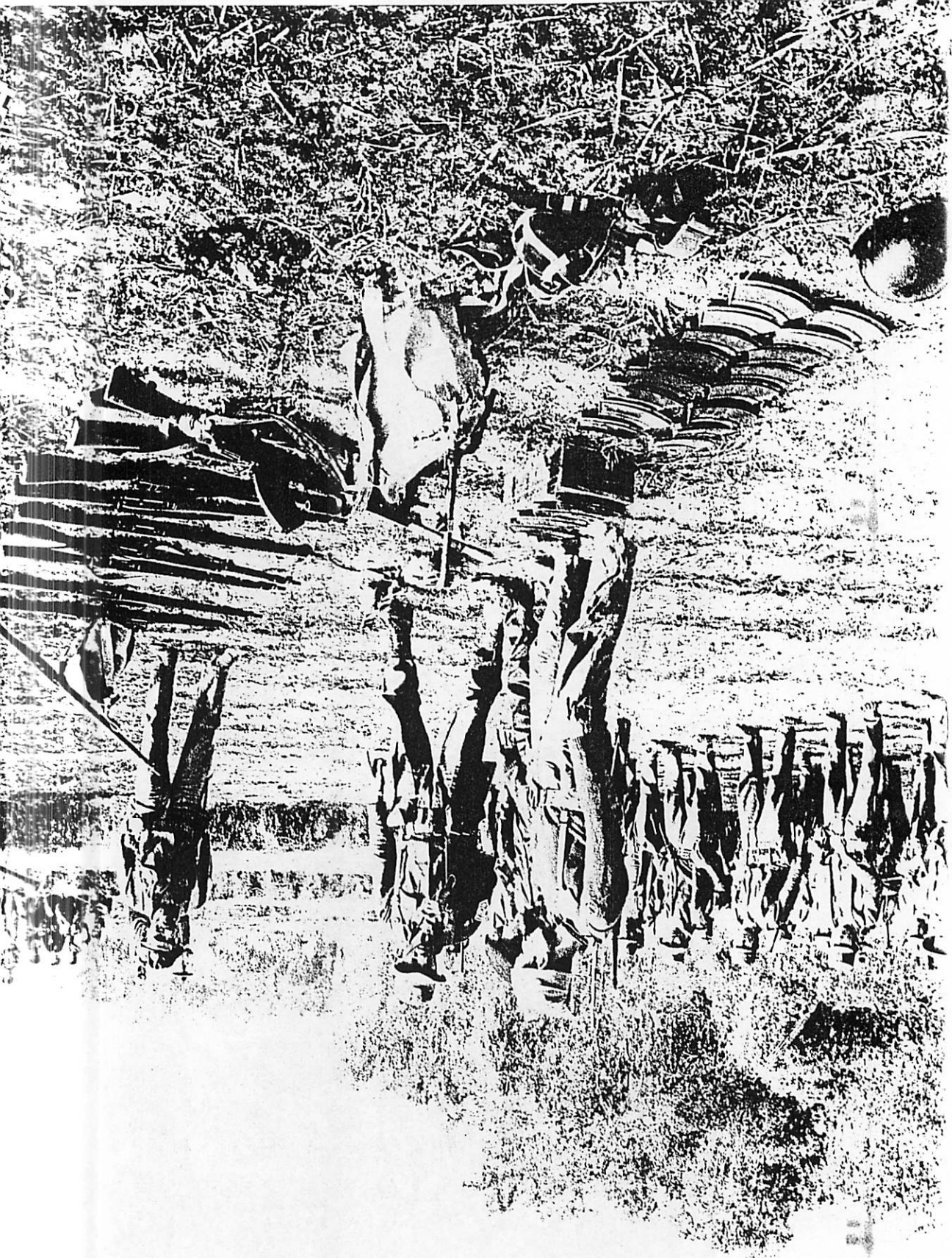




Three captured Burmese soldiers were investigated by Col. Saw Htay Maung in the jungle. Three hours later a government spy plane flew over. The KNLA hid in the jungle and were not detected by the plane.



われた3人のビルマ政府軍兵士はテイン・モン第7旅団長の取調べを受けた。哨所の陥落後、時間ほどして政府軍の偵察機がやってきたがジャングルに潜んだKNLAを発見することはできなかった。



We Desire the Peaceful Life only

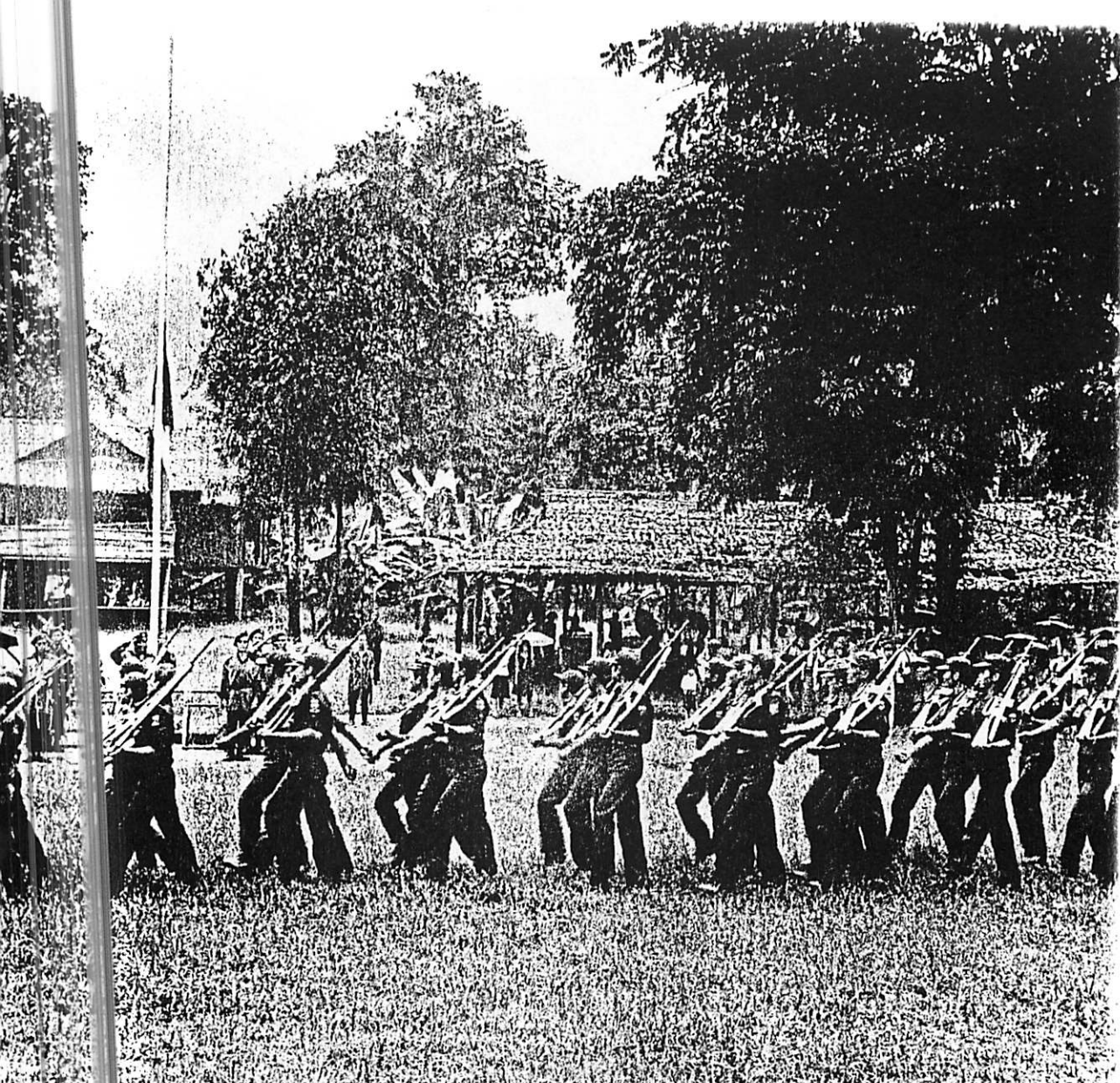
"We desire a peaceful life only"
The Karens want to observe their
customs and habits and to love
the Karens culture and society.

平和な生活が欲しい

私たちは平和な生活が欲しいだけです。カレン族がカレン族の風俗や習慣をまもり、カレン族の文化を愛したいのです。



DEL



Saw Ba U Gyi, the founder of Karen Revolution and supreme commander of Karen National Defence Organization was surrounded and shot dead in the mountains of Kawkaeik on 12-8, 1950. The Kawthoolei Government and people commemorate his Martyr Day in All of the areas which have been influenced by KNLA.

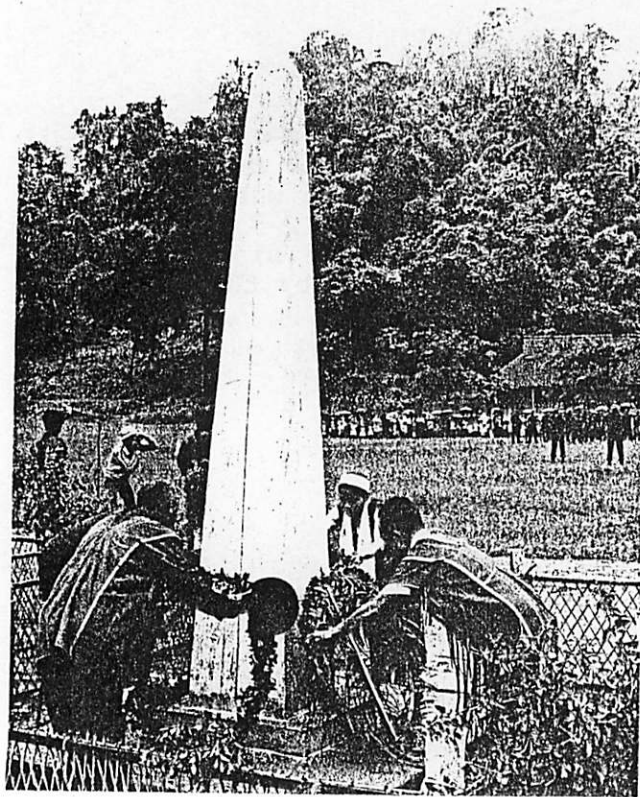
1950年8月12日、カレン民族防衛組織の最高責任者・カレン革命の創始者・ソー・バ・ウ・ジーがコーカレイ山中で政府軍に包囲射殺された。この日を記念し、毎年、コートーレイ全土で革命に殉じた人々をしのぶ式典が行なわれる。

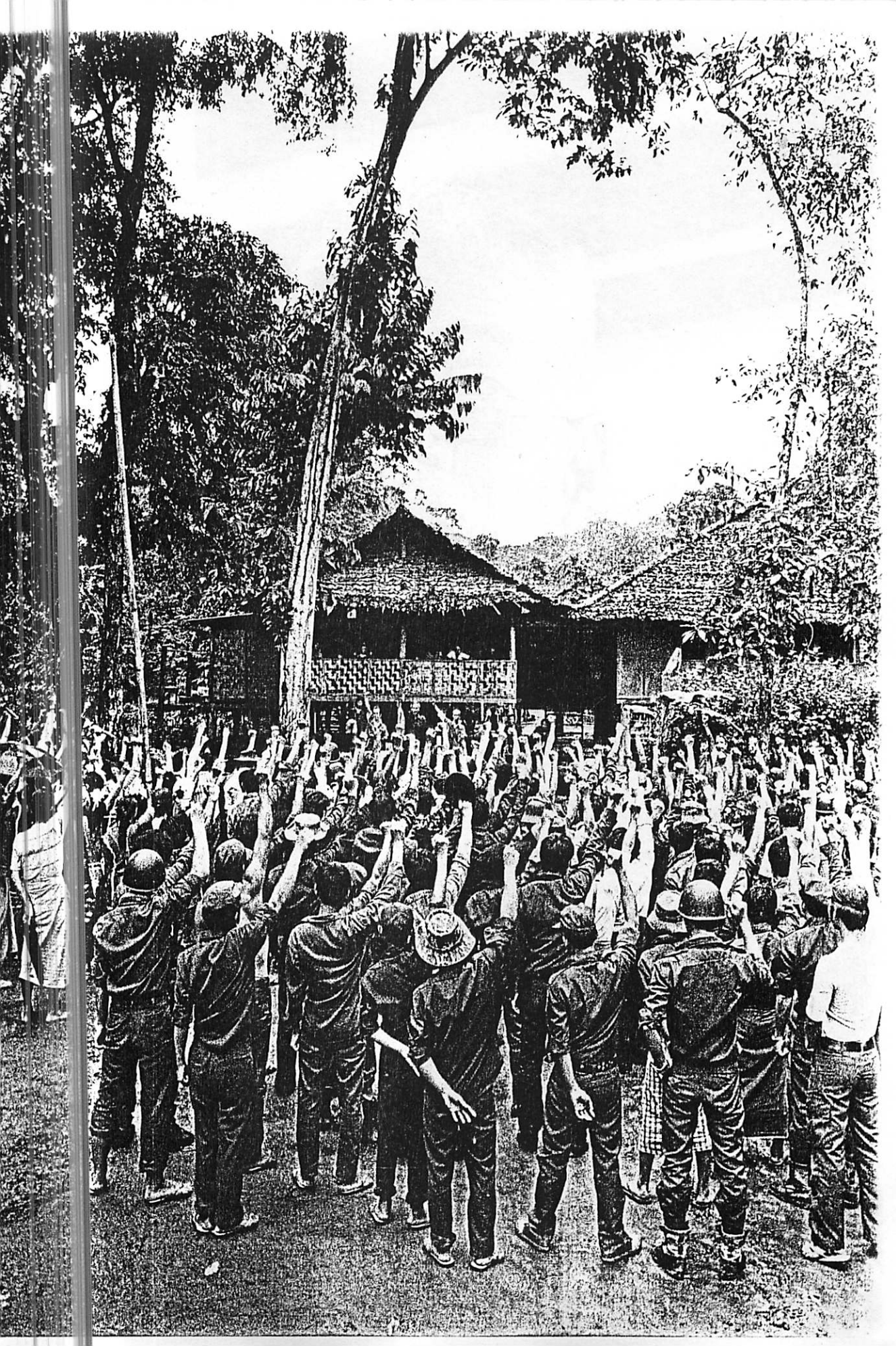


Wreaths of hibiscus are placed on the marker which was built in dedication to the martyrs of the Karen Revolution by Saw Than Aung General Secretary, Saw Hla Thoo, Adjutant General, Pu Ler Wah, Minister of Finance and Revenue and representative of women.

(Above from left to right)

ウ・サン・オン・カレン民族同盟書記長，ソー・ラトウ・カレン民族解放軍軍務局長，ソー・ブラ・ワ財務担当大臣，女性代表(左から右へ)が花輪を捧げる。

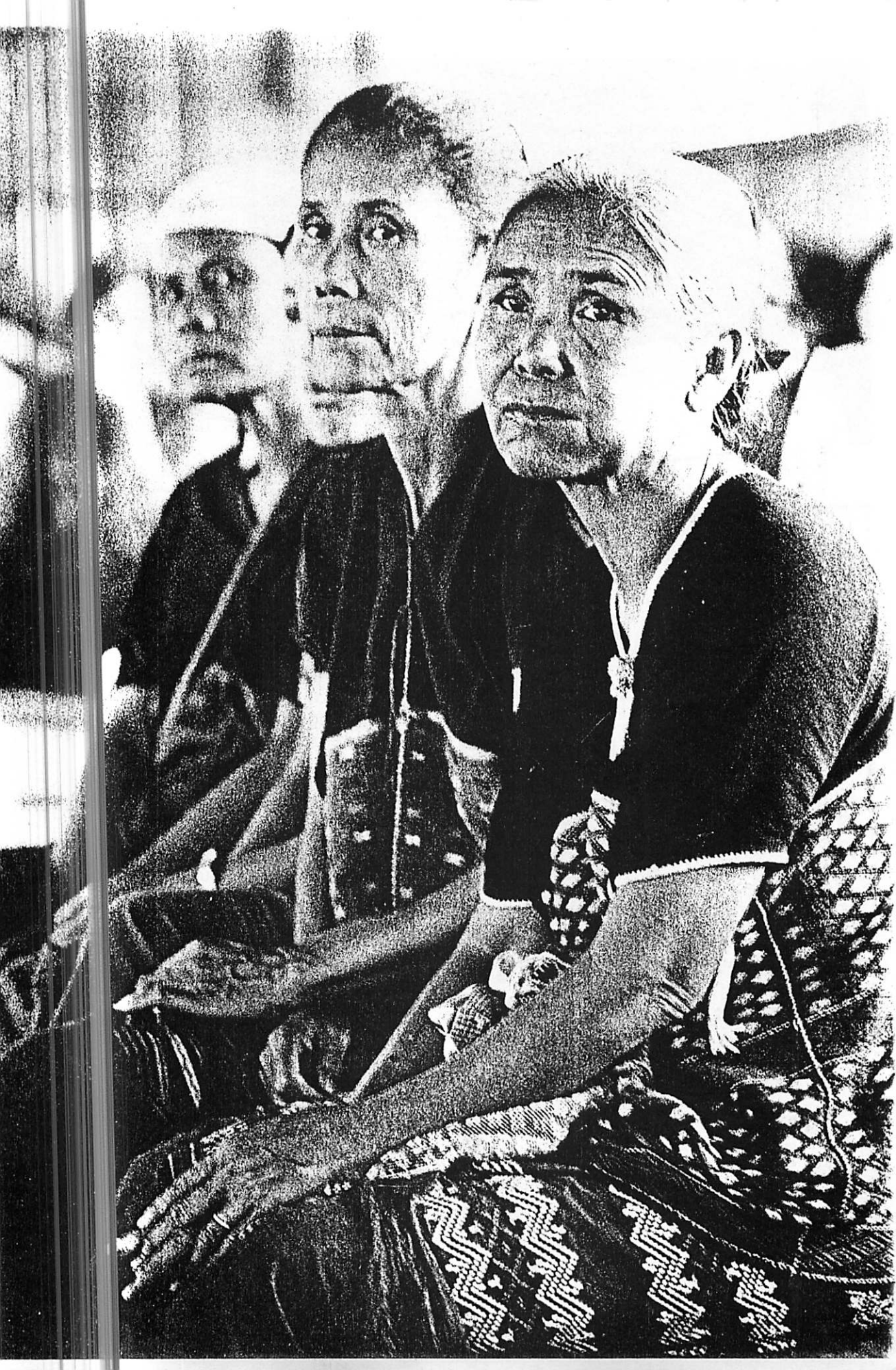






One old gentleman made a speech about the martyrs of K.N.U. and the K.N.L.A. in the church. Karen nationalism are strongly unified in their belief and their struggles.

カレン民族同盟とカレン民族解放軍の歴史と殉難者を語り、カレンの民族主義は強烈に統一されている。





Commanders of the General Head
Quarters

Lt. Gen. Bo Mya, President of
KNU, Supreme Commander of KNLA
(above)

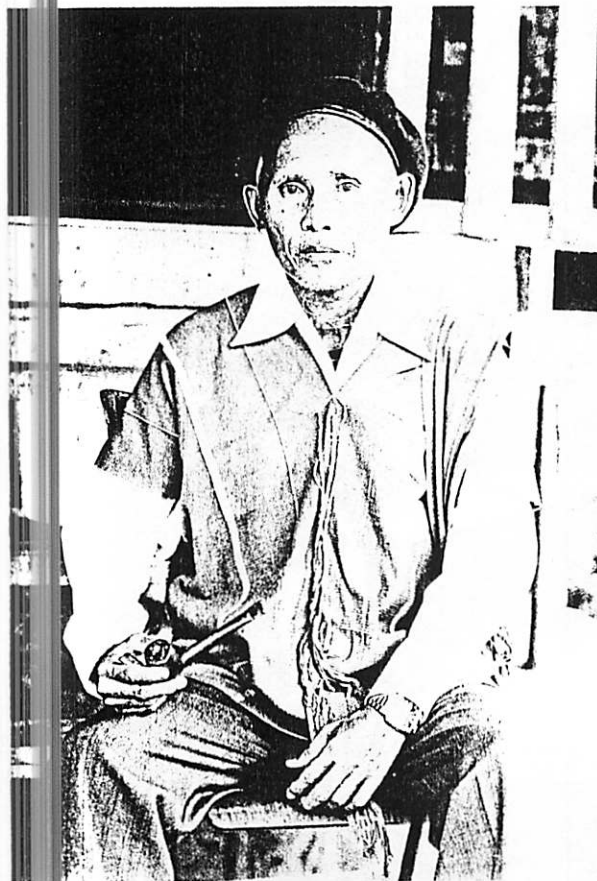
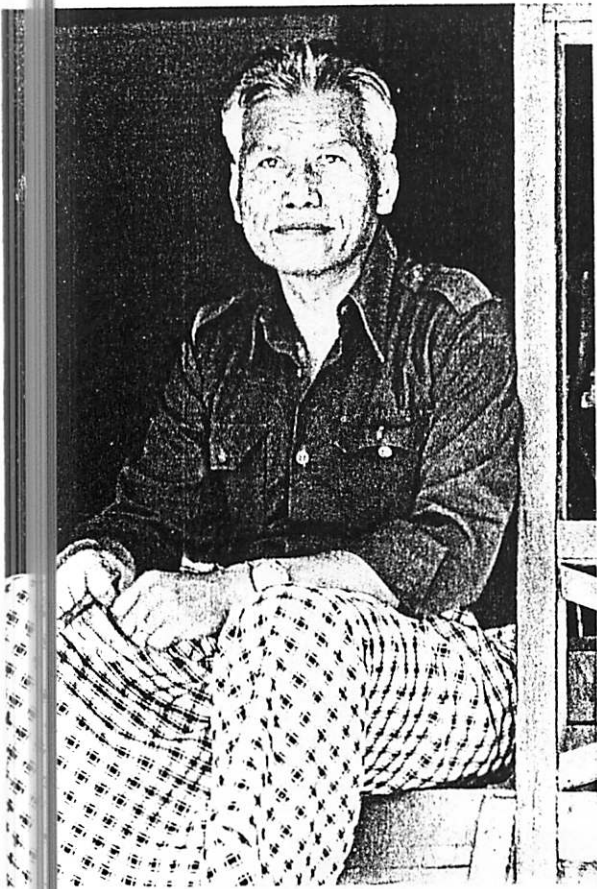
Saw Ba Thin, Minister of
Education and Culture (left)

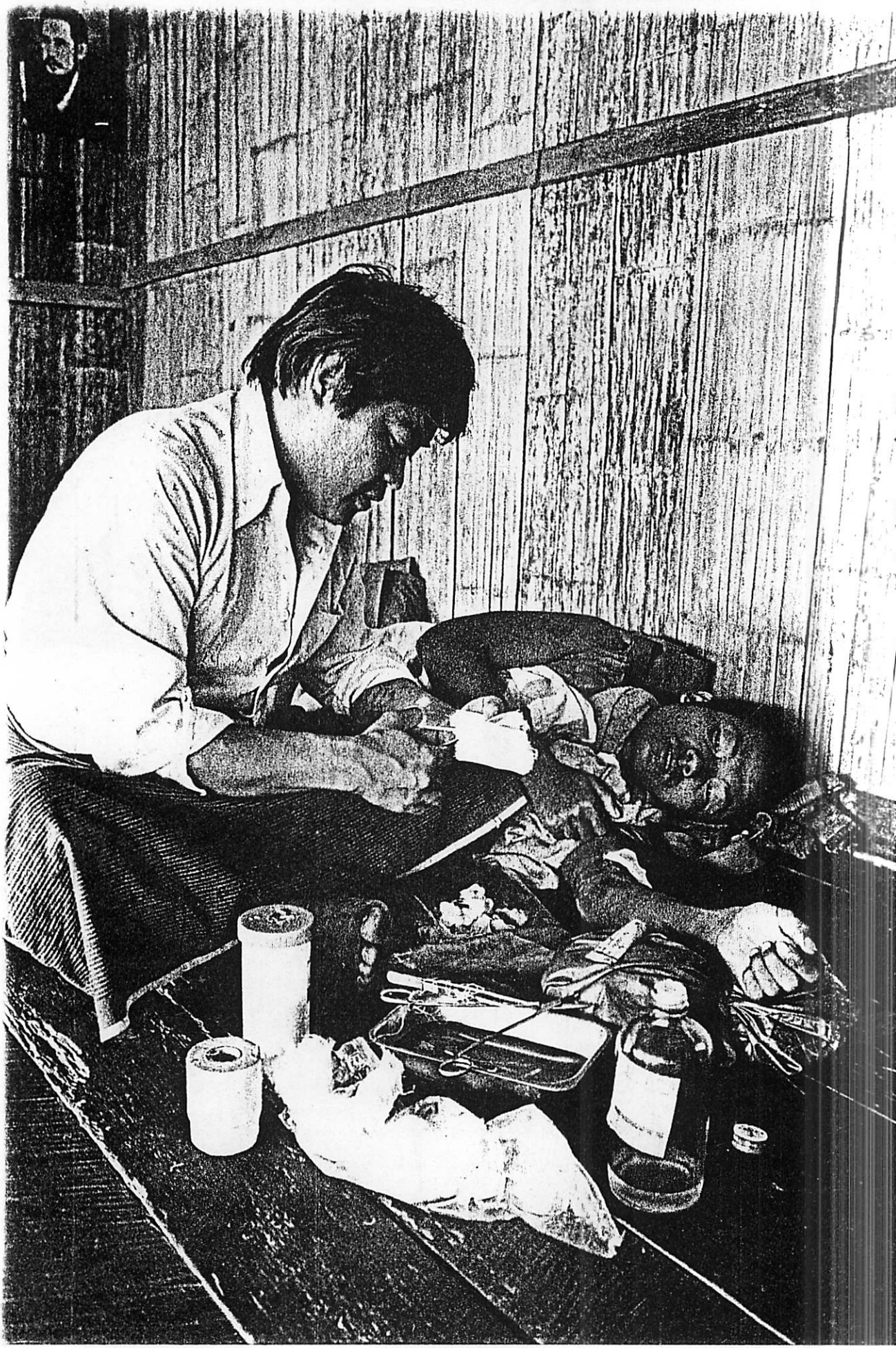
(next page from left to right)
Maj. Gen. Saw Tamla Baw, vice
chief of Staff Brig. Gen. Saw
Hla Htoo, Adjutant General, Pu
Ler Wah, Minister of Finance &
Revenue, U Soe Aung Member of
the Central Committee.

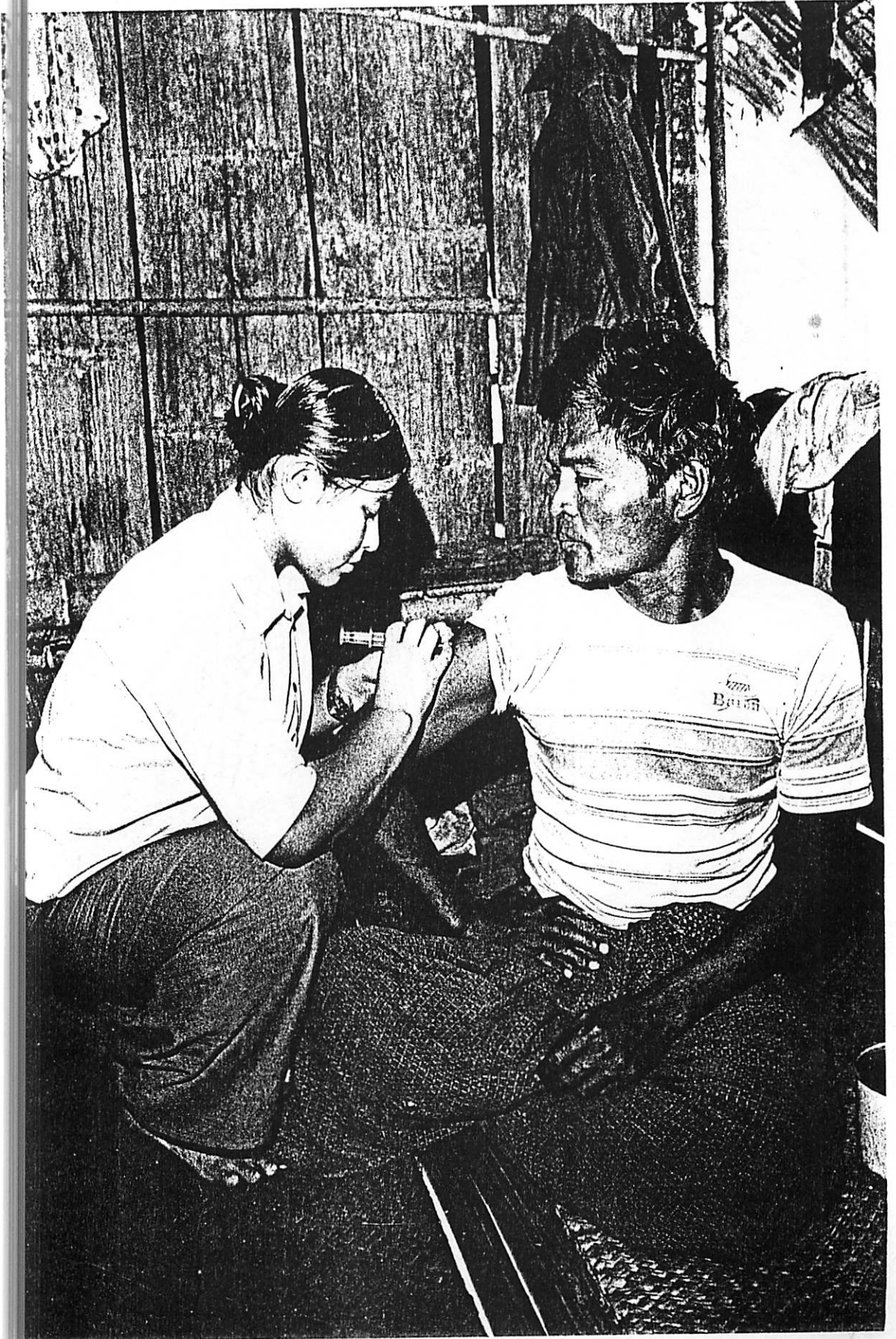


最高軍司令部の人々。

ボ・ミヤ、KNU議長・KNLA最高軍司令官(上)、ソー・
バスイ教育文化担当大臣(左)、ソー・タラム・ボウ副
参謀長(右頁左上)、ソー・ラ・トゥ軍務局長(右頁上)、フ
ラ・ワ財政担当大臣(左下)、ウ・ソー・オン中央委員(右
下)。





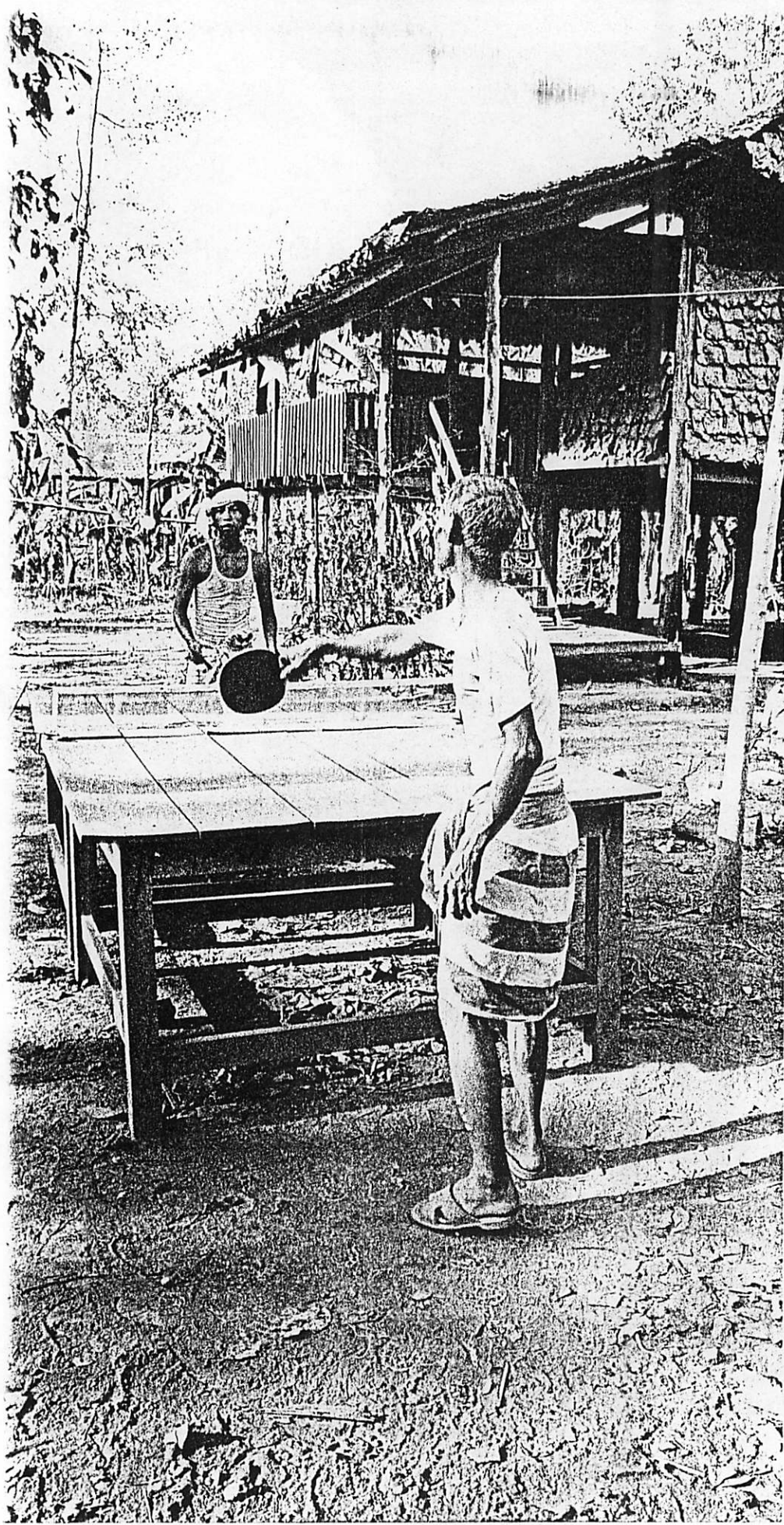


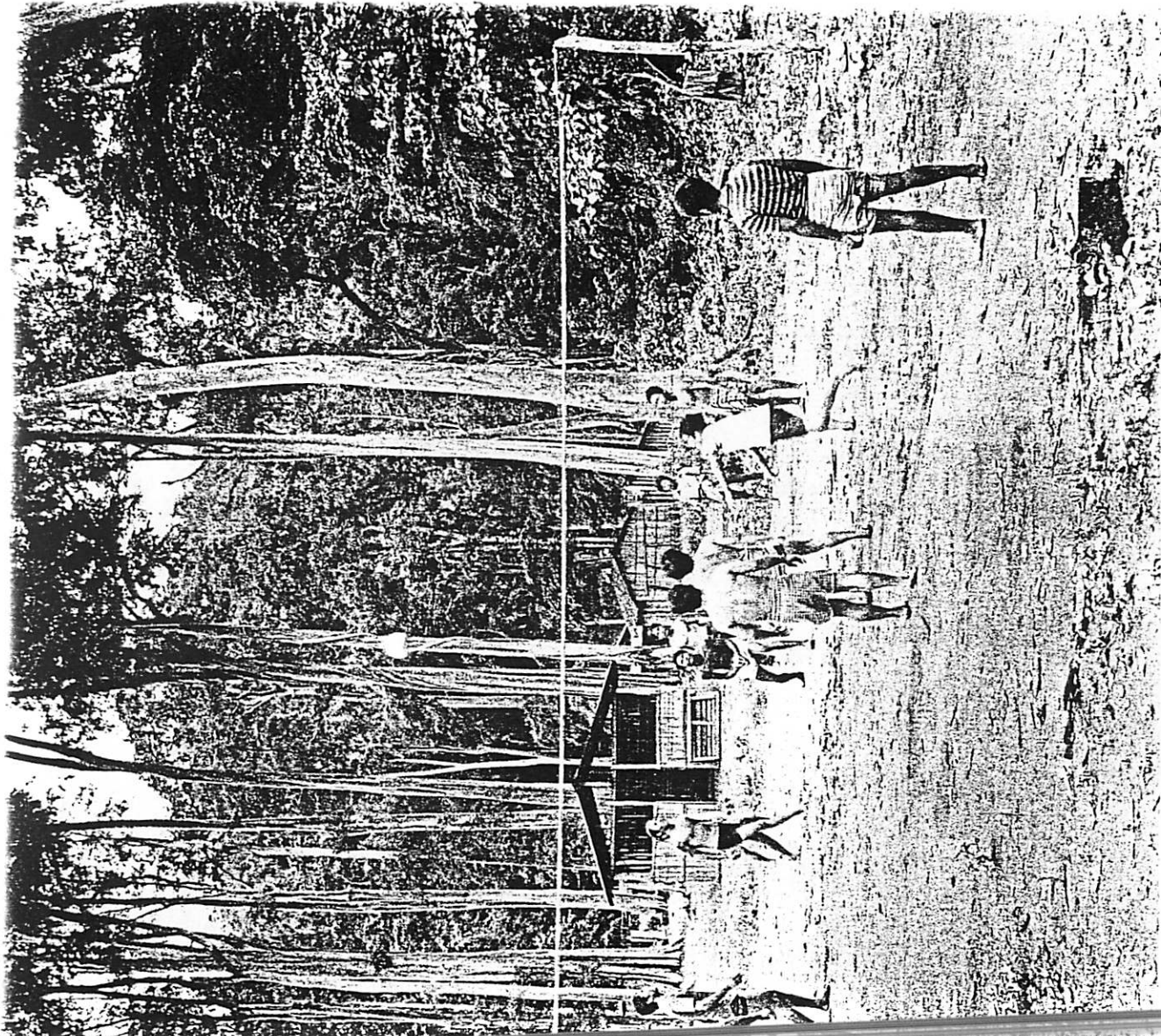












In the liberated zone of the jungle, people are required to cut down trees and bushes for setting up a new volleyball court. The pingpong table was made from a tree which the people cut down and sawed by themselves. However the board was warped by the heat of tropical sun and the humidity. Volleyball, football and pingpong are popular in the liberated zone of the jungle where amusements are few.

ボールのコート一面を造るのにもジャングルを切り開かなければならない。自分達で木を挽き製材した卓球台熱帯の太陽と湿度で湾曲してしまつた。

ボール、サッカー、卓球は楽しみの少ないジャングルの解放区では最もポピュラーな娯楽である。



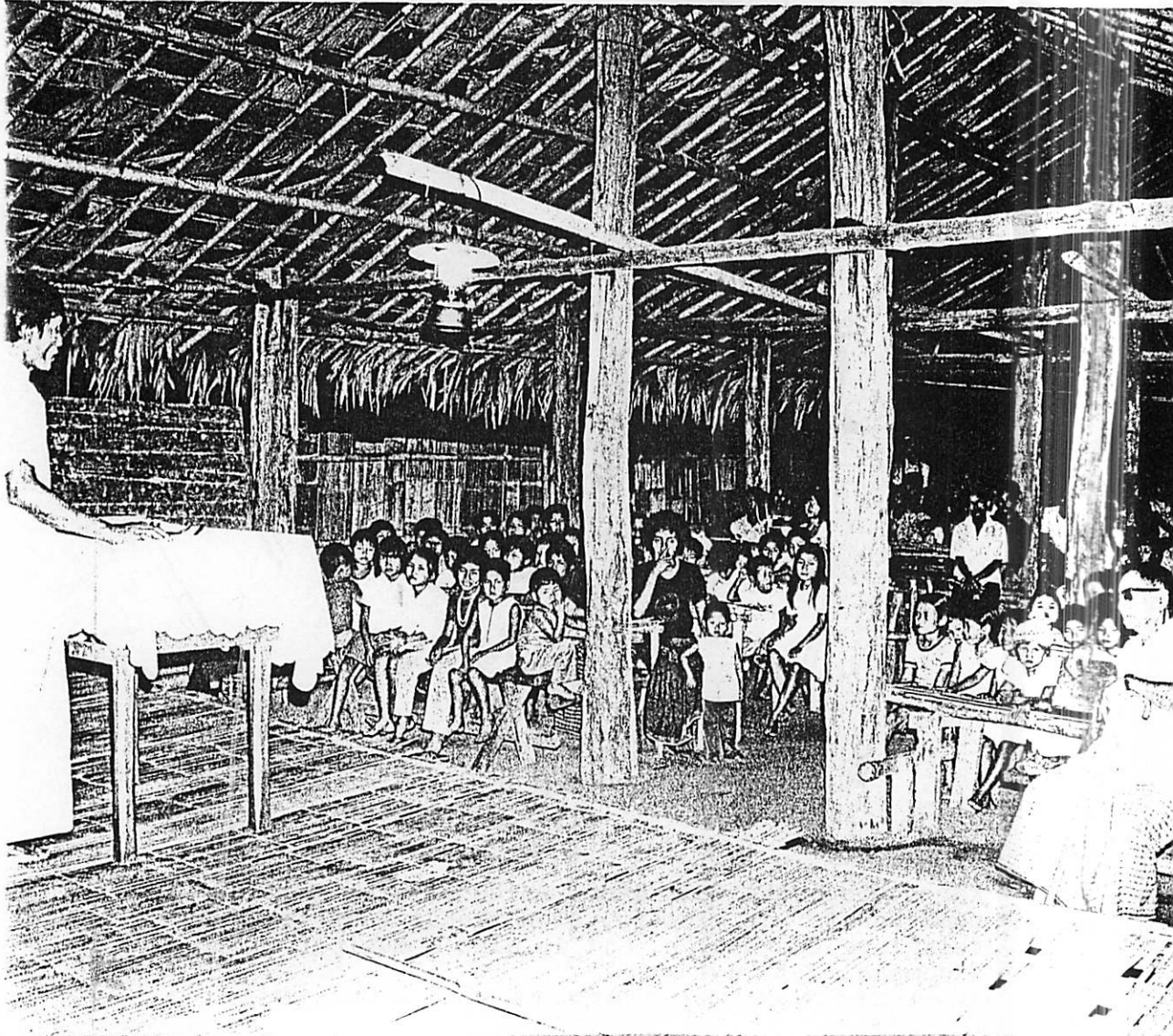




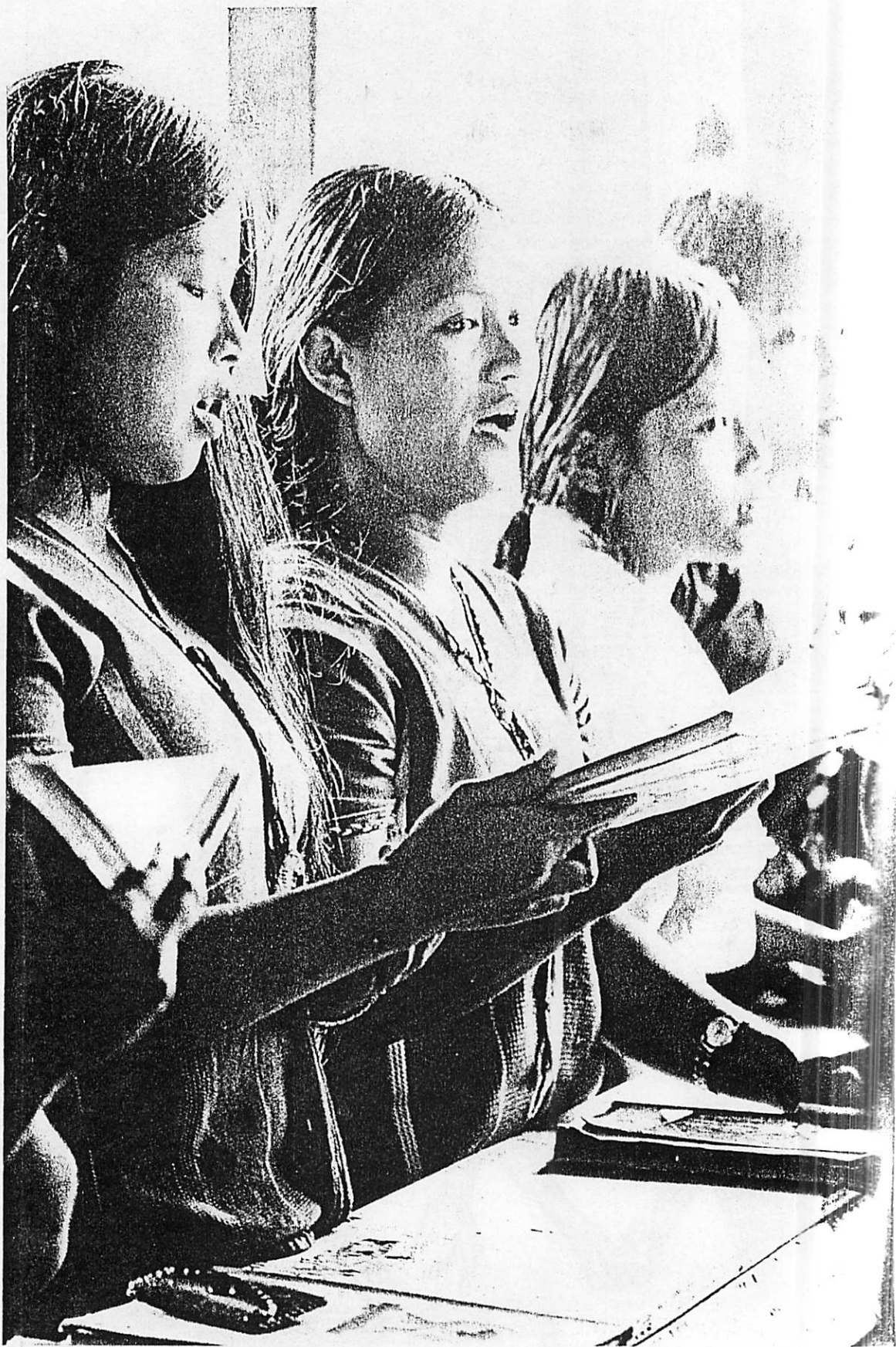


Karen Dohn, the folk dance which is performed to commemorate war victory, at national festivals, and religious ceremonies. It is also a musical comedy accompanied by lyrics.

カレン・ドーンと呼ばれる歌垣。詩・踊・歌の三要素が重要といわれる。詩は抵抗や希望を歌っている。









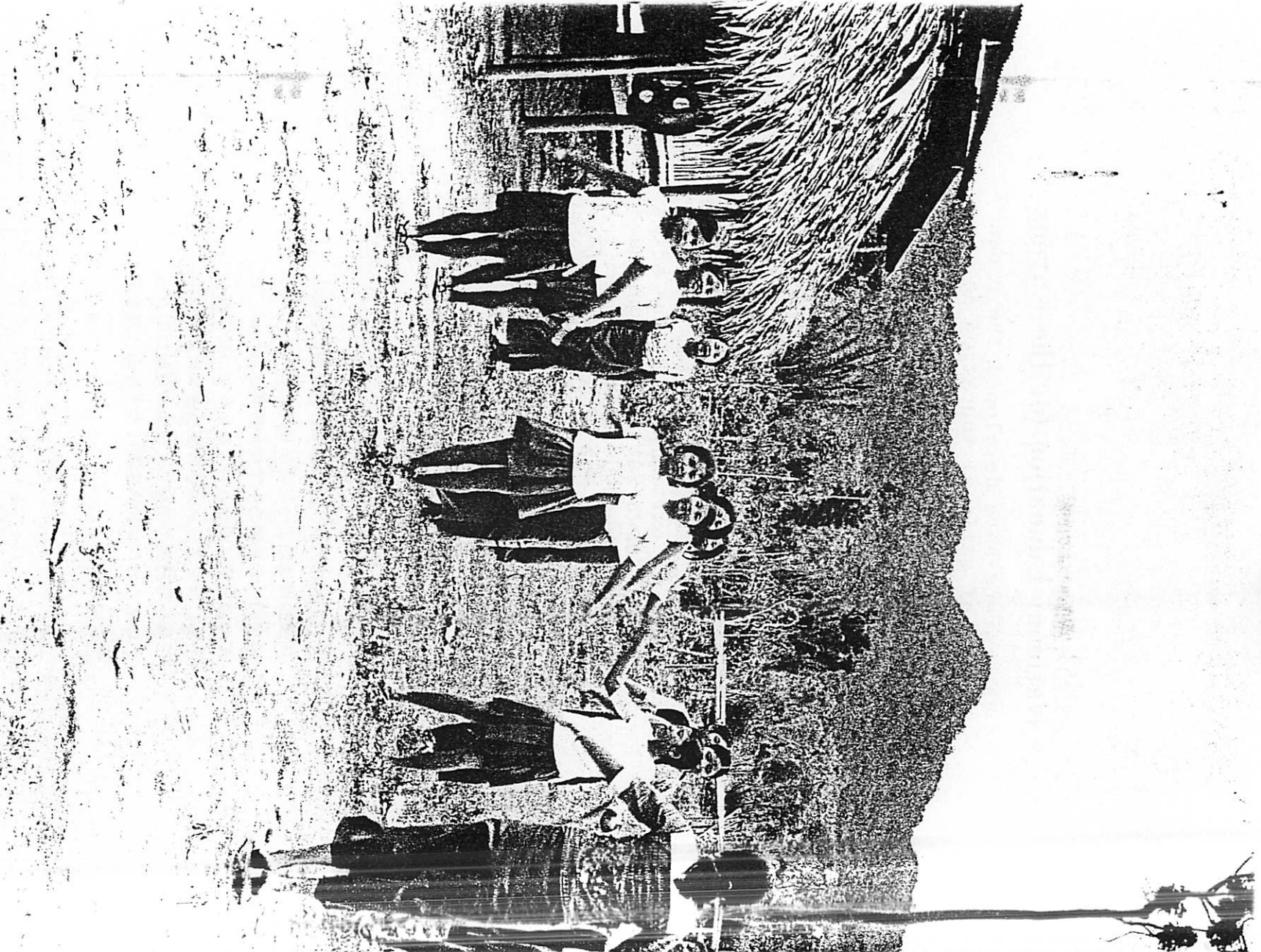


National Education for the Karens

The Karens have developed their own system of national education as well as their own language. National education of the Karen language has just been started. Elementary schools which train students for 6 years have been set up in all of the villages in Kawthoolei. However some of the school huts were set fire to and burnt down by Burmese government forces. Many intellectuals such as the graduates of Rangoon University, lecturers, medical doctors, pharmacists participate in the activities of Karen National Union and eventually succeed their former leaders. Karen Nationalism is at its highest level of unification.

カレンによるカレンのための教育

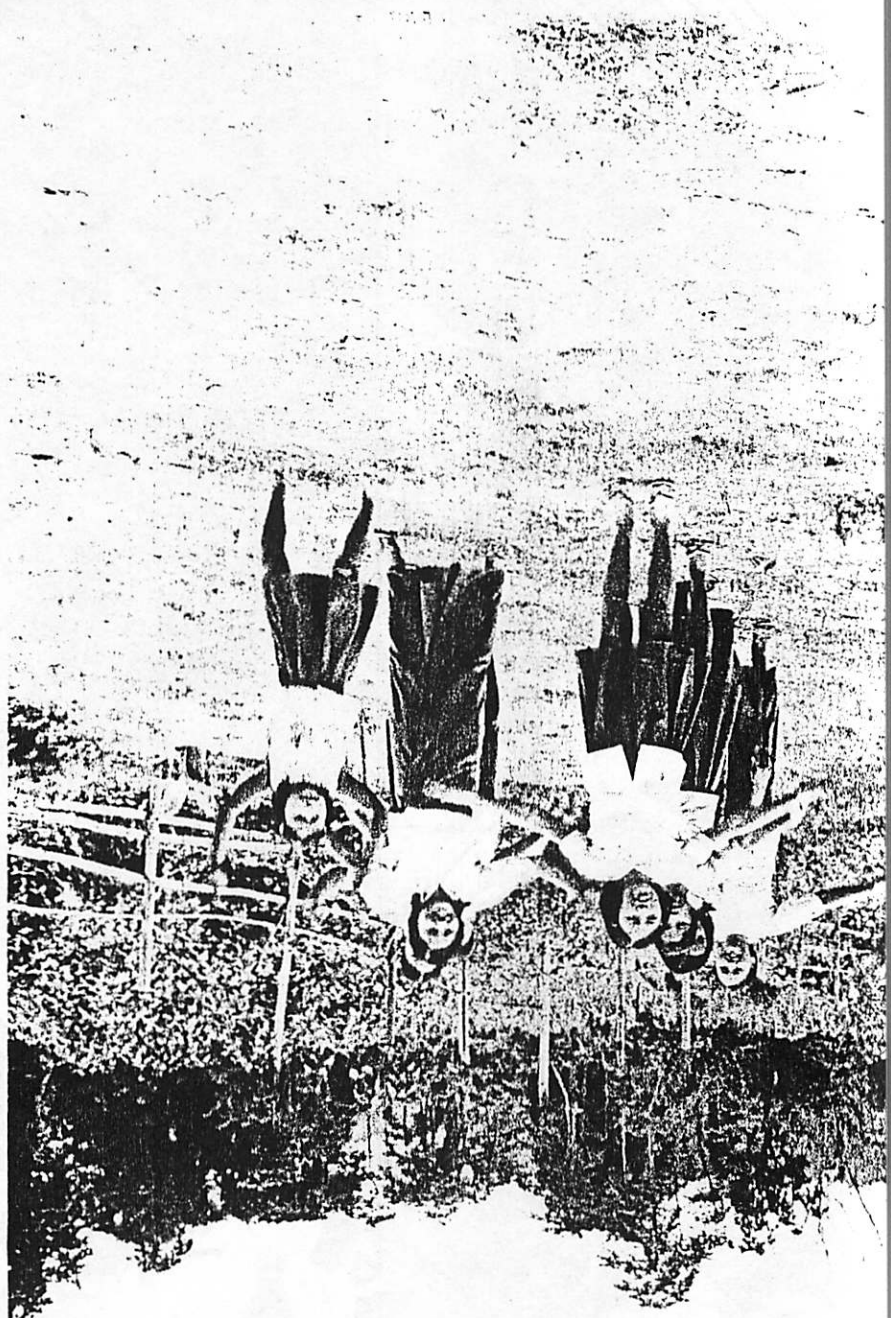
カレン族のカレン語によるカレン族のための民族教育は始まったばかりだ。コートーレイの全村に6年制の小学校が設置されたが、ビルマ政府軍に焼かれ村ごとなくなった学校もある。ラングーン大学の卒業生や大学の講師、医師が解放区で活躍し、後進の育成にあたっている。カレン民族主義は大きな高まりを見せている。

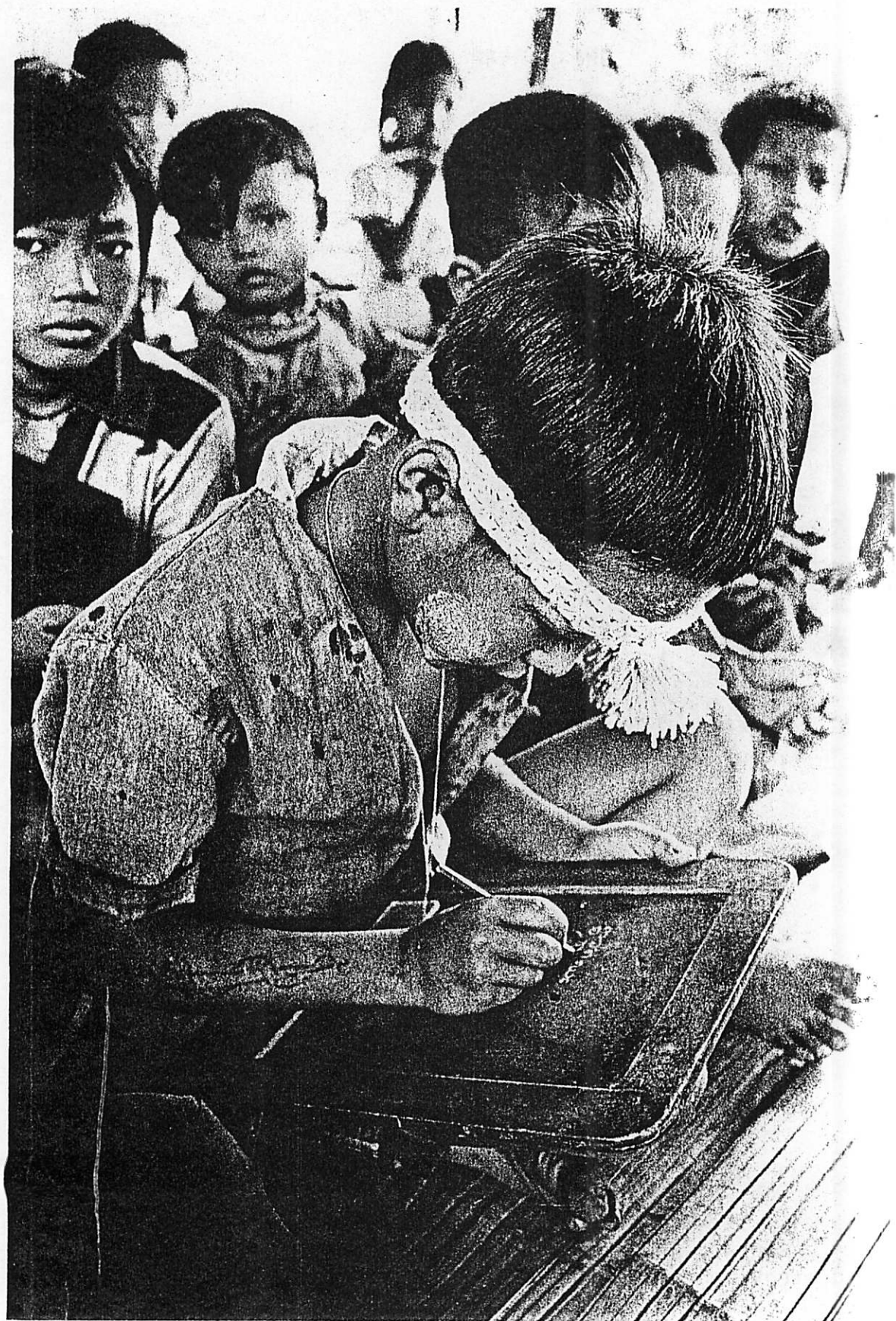


A newly opened school in Tavoy Mague area. It took 3 months for all the neighboring villagers to clear the jungle to build the school yard. All pupils stay in the school dormitory and get up 6 AM every morning and do group work such as water carrying, splitting firewood, cooking and cutting grass.

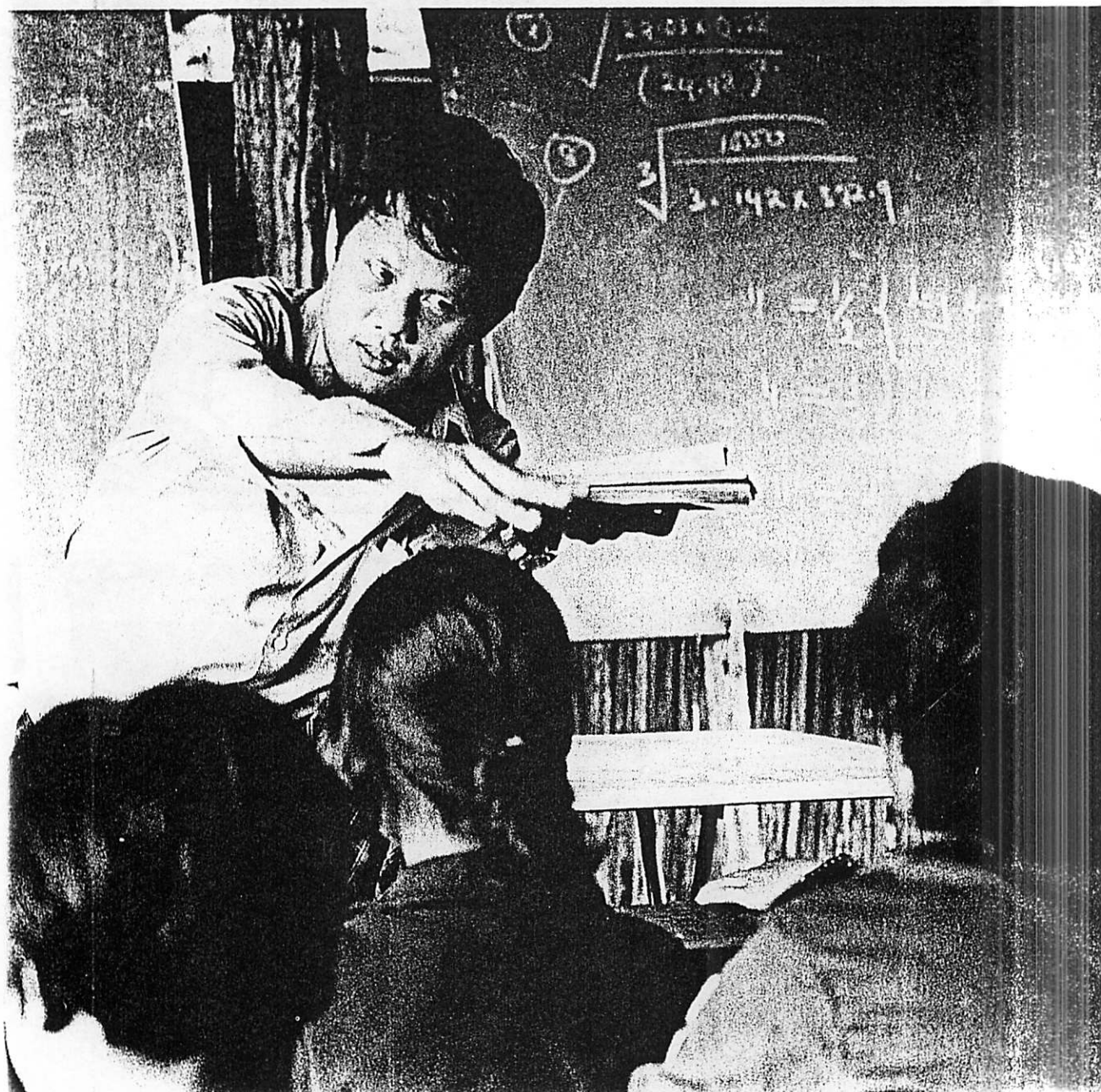
The school hut, dormitory and cafeteria were bombed and destroyed by a Burmese air raid in 1981.

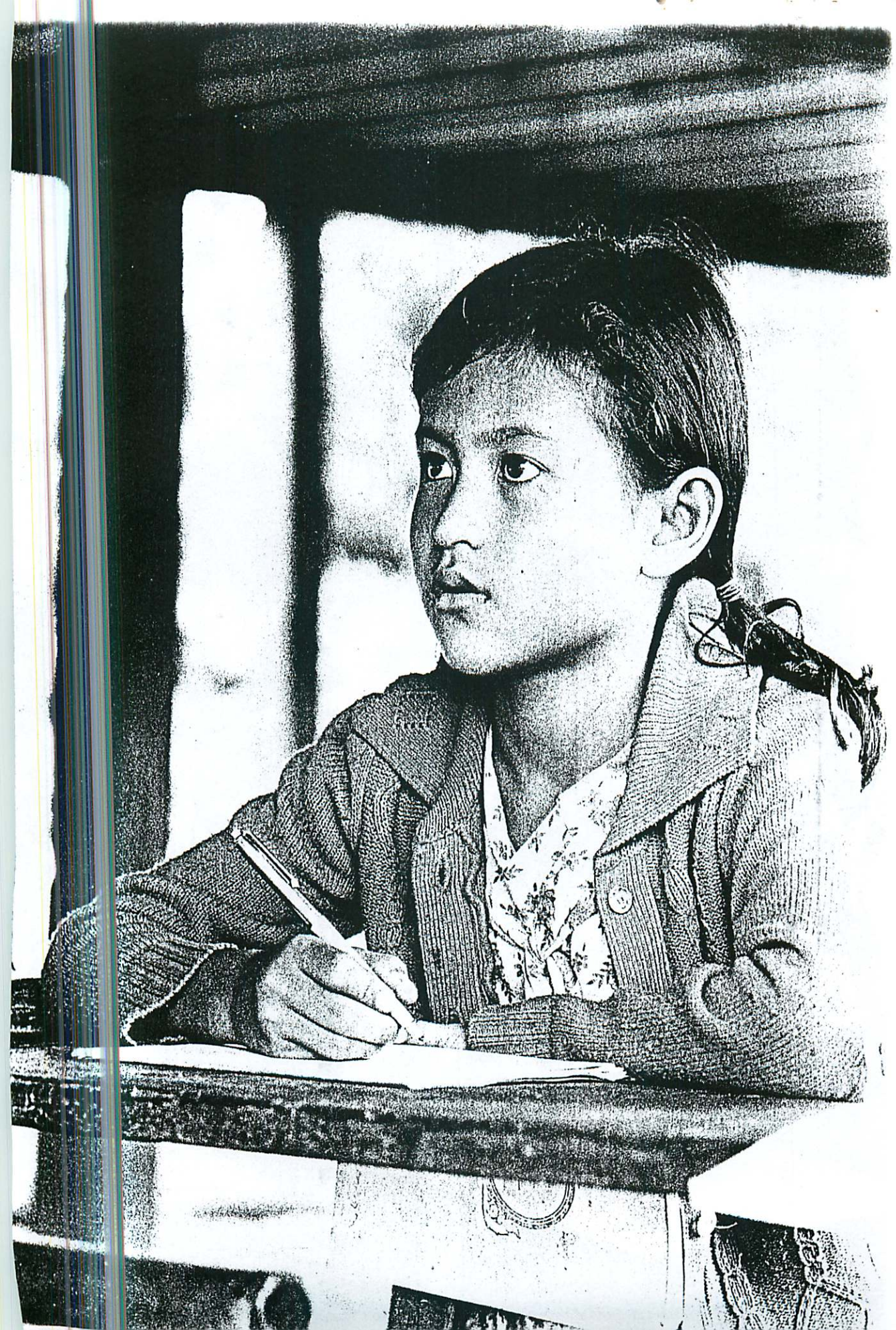
タイ・マクエ地方に新しく開設した学校。ジャンソルの平地を切り開くのに3ヵ月を要した。毎朝6時に起きて水汲み、新割、炊事、除草のグループ作業から1日が始まる全寮制の学校だったが、ビルマ政府軍機の爆撃で1981年になくなった。









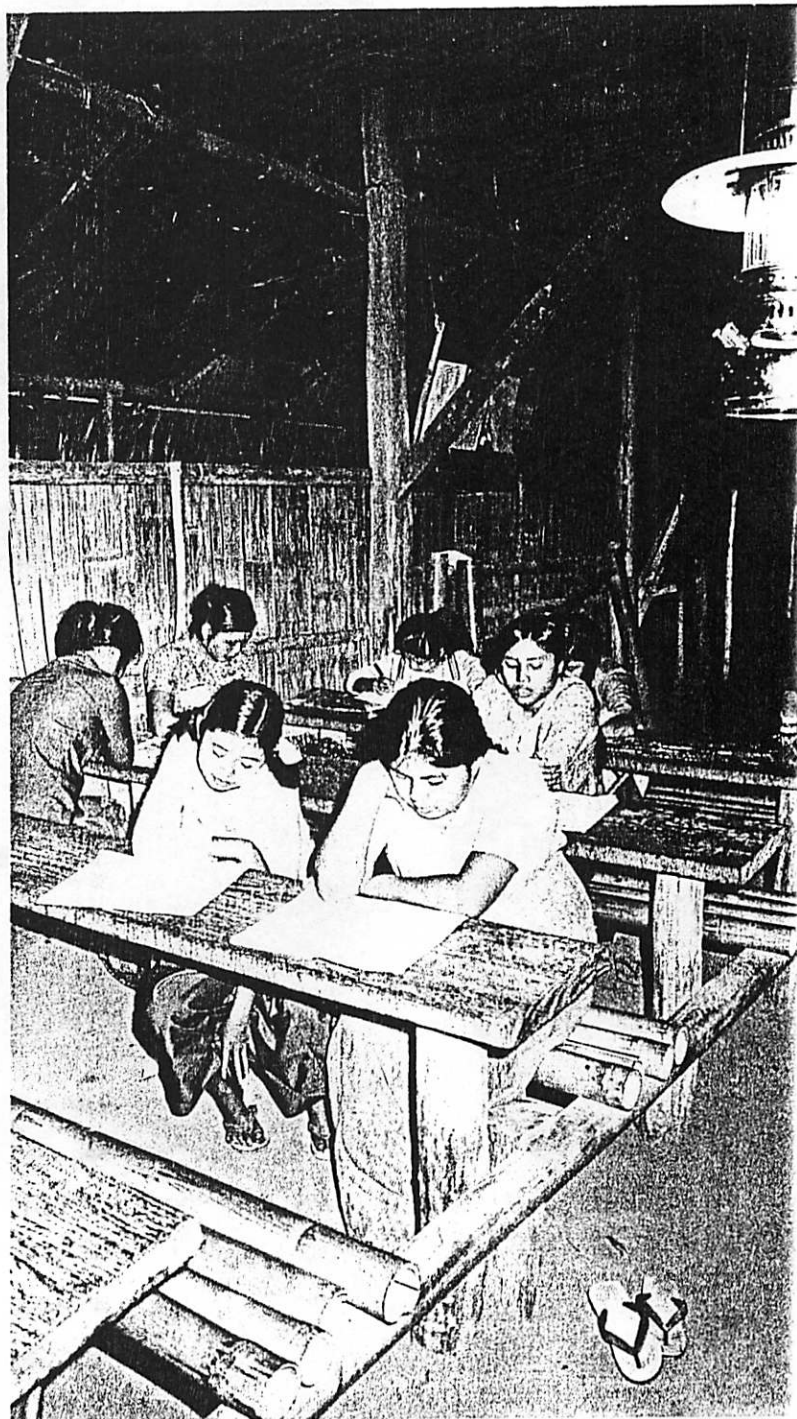
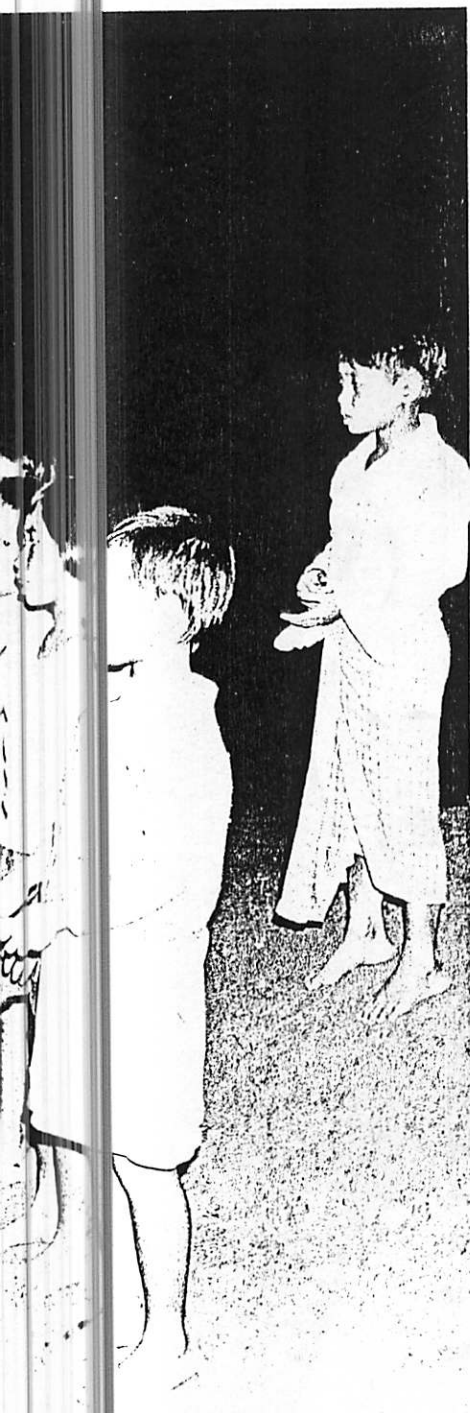






There is no electricity in the Kawthoolei villages. The children study under kerosene lamp until 9 at night. The children amuse themselves by singing and dancing. School benches are made of three or four bamboo poles gathered together. For desks, one wooden board is used. School notebooks and textbooks are few and there are not enough for the students. Some schools use slate boards as notebooks, and textbooks are only possessed by the teachers.





コートレーの村には電灯がない。生徒たちはケロシンランプの下で演芸会をしたり、自習をしたりし夜9時迄過す。椅子は竹を3本から4本合せてベンチに、机は製材しただけの簡単なもの。ノートがいきわたらないところは石板を使う、教科書は教師が持っているだけ。







Py Li Py Operation

Burma Government Forces maltreat, suppress and kill the Karen Masses with a plan called "Py Li Py". It is their way to destroy the Karen revolution. The term "Py Li Py" means four cuts: (1) to cut lines which supply provisions, (2) to cut the line of contact between Karen Masses and KNLA, (3) to cut financial sources of border trade, (4) to cut the heads off any revolutionaries. Resisting Karen villagers are taught how to set mines for self defence purpose.

皆殺し作戦への抵抗

ビルマ政府軍はカレン族の皆殺し作戦を展開している。コード・ネームをピャ・リ・ピャと呼ぶ。ピャ・リ・ピャとは4つの道を断つという意味である。糧道を断つ、KNLAとカレン族大衆の接触を断ちコミュニケーションを不可能にする。KNLAの財源である国境貿易の道を断つ、革命家の首を断つという恐ろしい作戦。抵抗する農民は自衛のためにKNLAから指導を受ける。

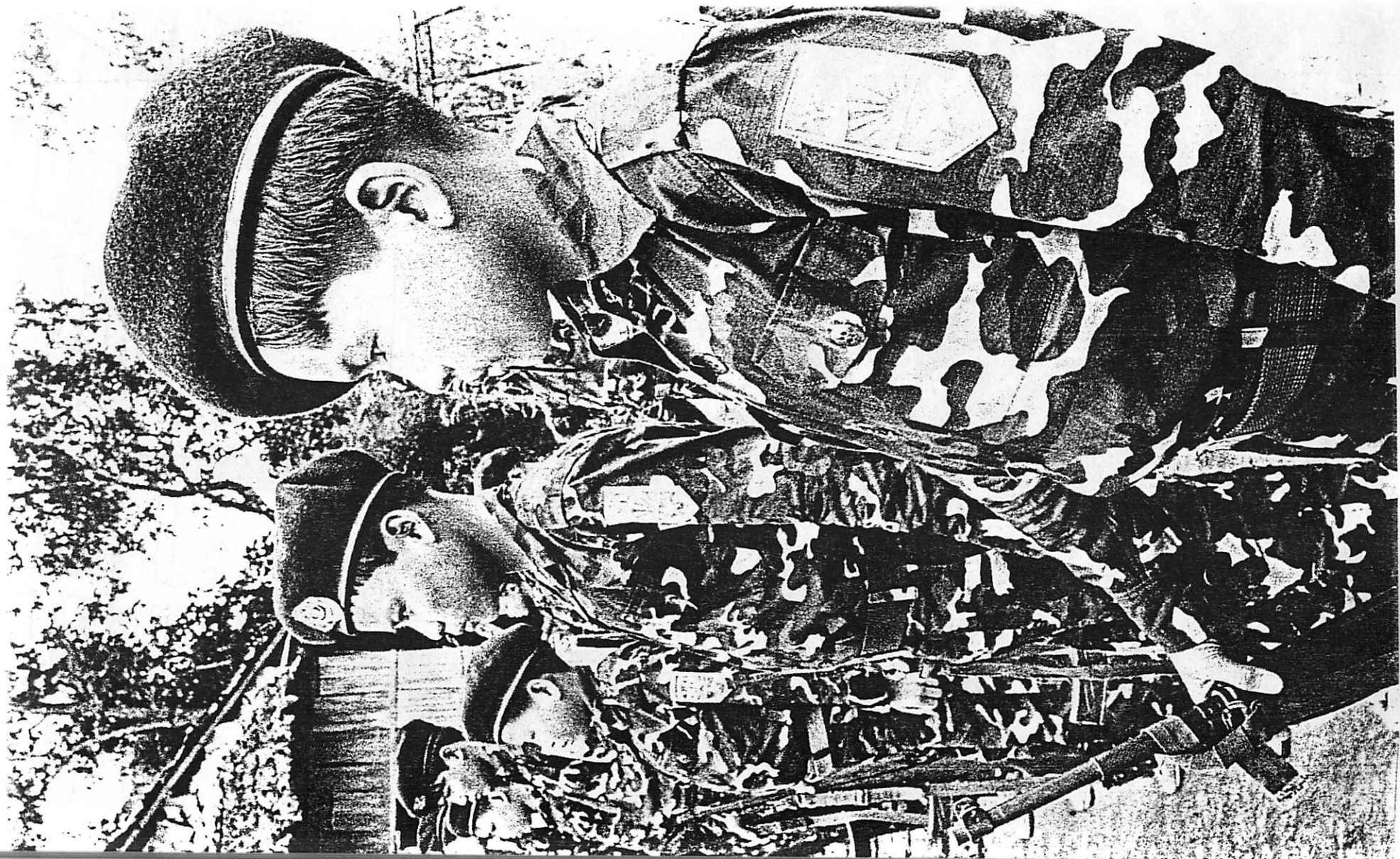






Girls and boys, below eighteen years of age, who want to volunteer as soldiers can join the military service of KNLA. Their duties are to engage in custom office work, the medical service, agricultural work and military training in the rear service.

18才以下でも志願すればKNLAに参加できる。役割は後方の税関業務、看護、農業、軍事訓練などである。





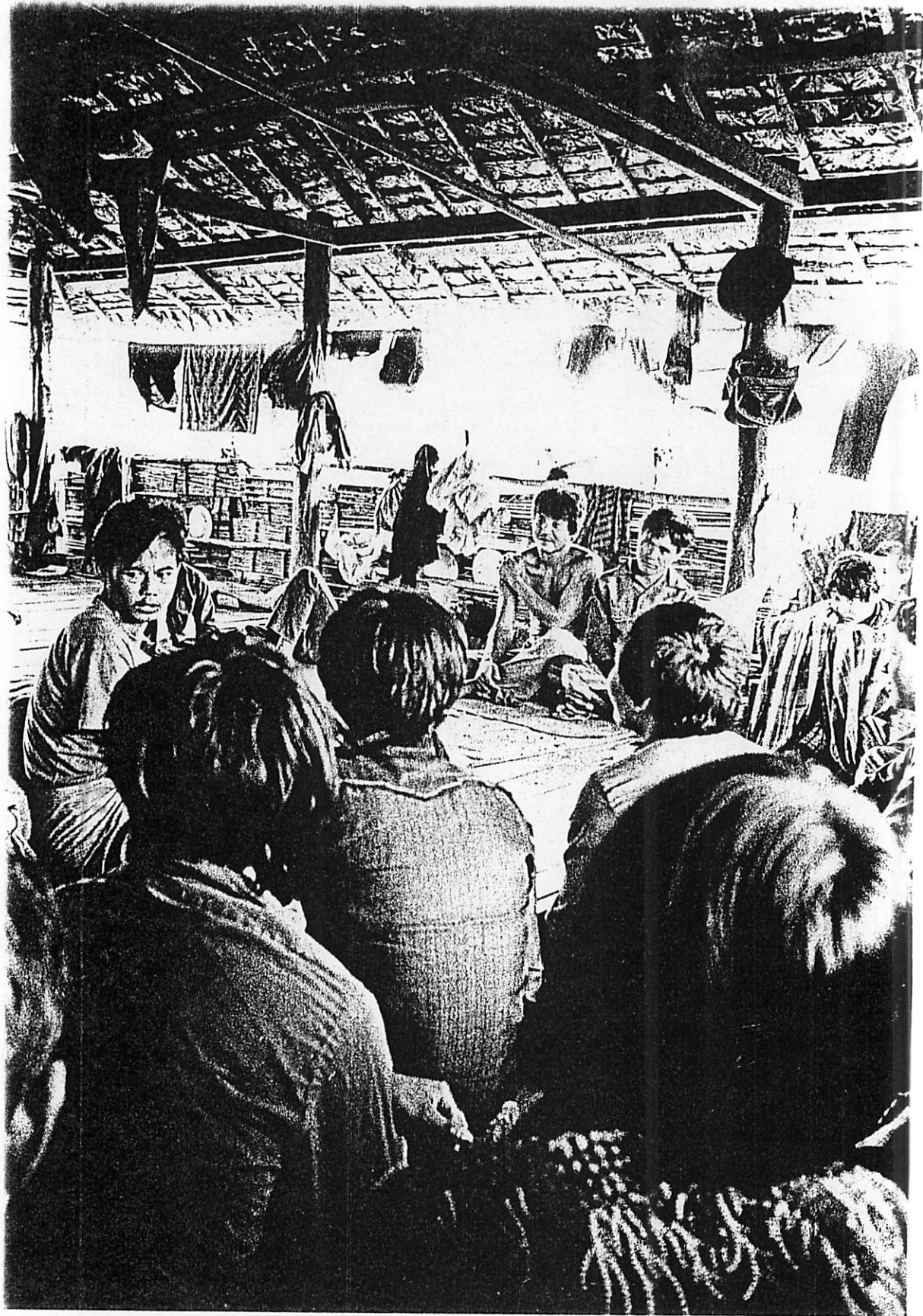






Kawthoolei can not produce enough necessary food stuffs. It can only produce enough rice to last for a nine month period. The villagers grow corn and soybean by utilizing the slope of the hills. Everyone, from children to adults make an effort to concentrate manpower so the villagers can supply themselves with food.

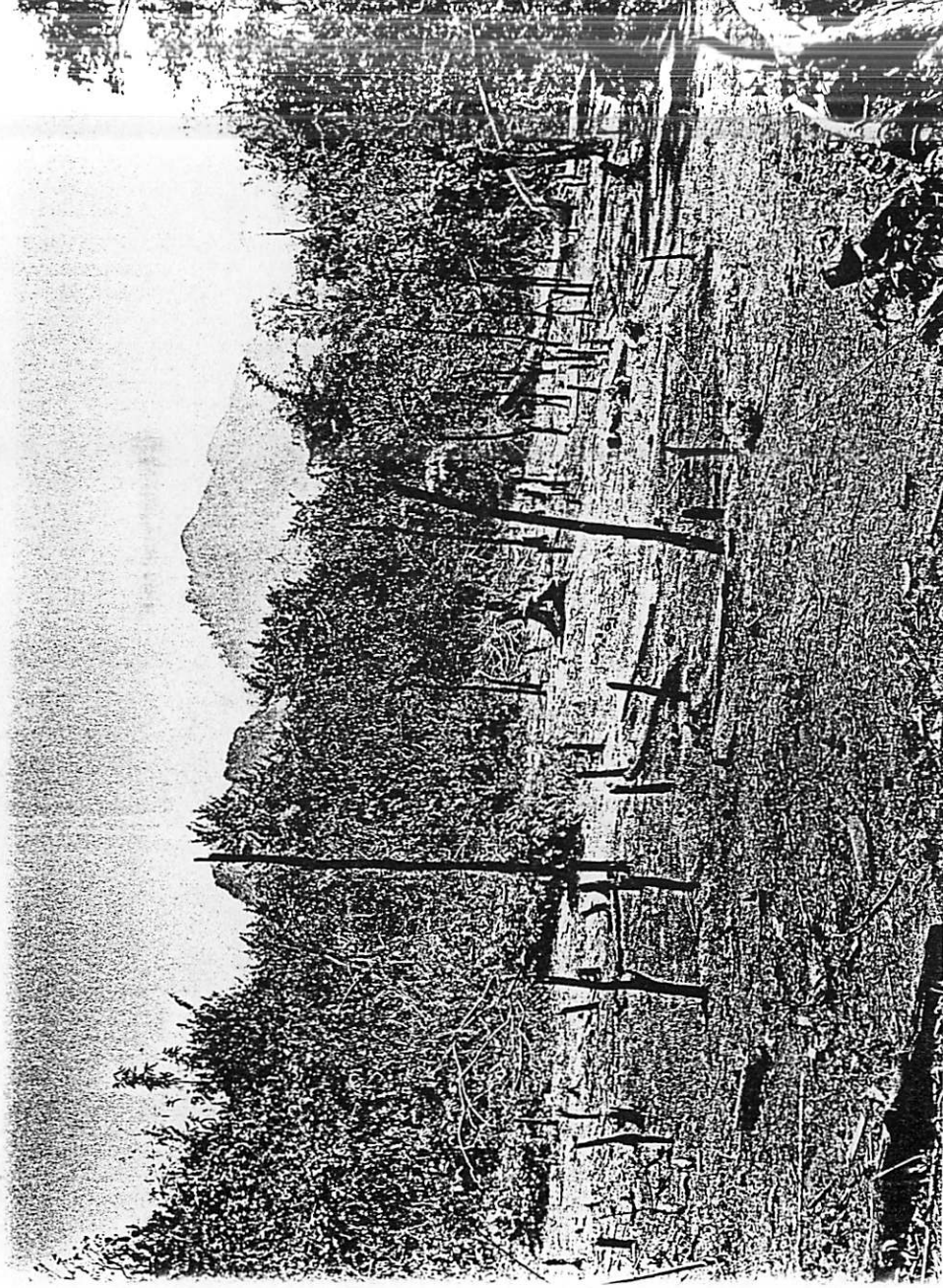
コートレーでは1年分の必要な米のうち9ヵ月分の米しか自給できない。山の斜面を利用してトウモロコシや大豆などを生産している。食糧を自給するために子どもから大人まで総力をあげている。



Refugees who suffered from Burmese Army plundering, abandoned their villages and stream into KNU managed cooperative plantation.

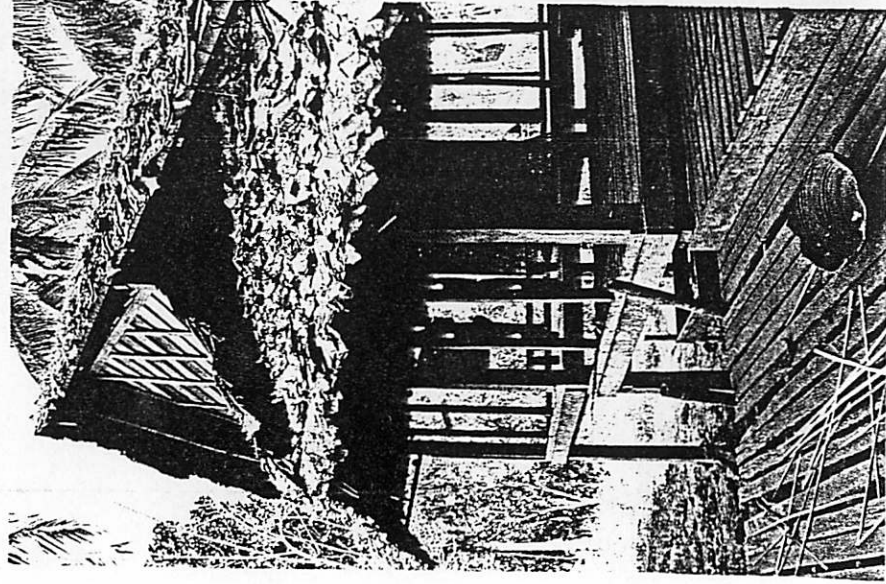
ビルマ政府軍の略奪を受けて難民となった村人はKNUの指導で協同農場で自立の道を見出す。





The village, Yell-De-Wingoon (Well Place) in Pa An district was burnt down. Three families remained and 10 other families evacuated the village and asked their relatives for help. The Burmese soldiers, often set fire to Karen vil-
lage.

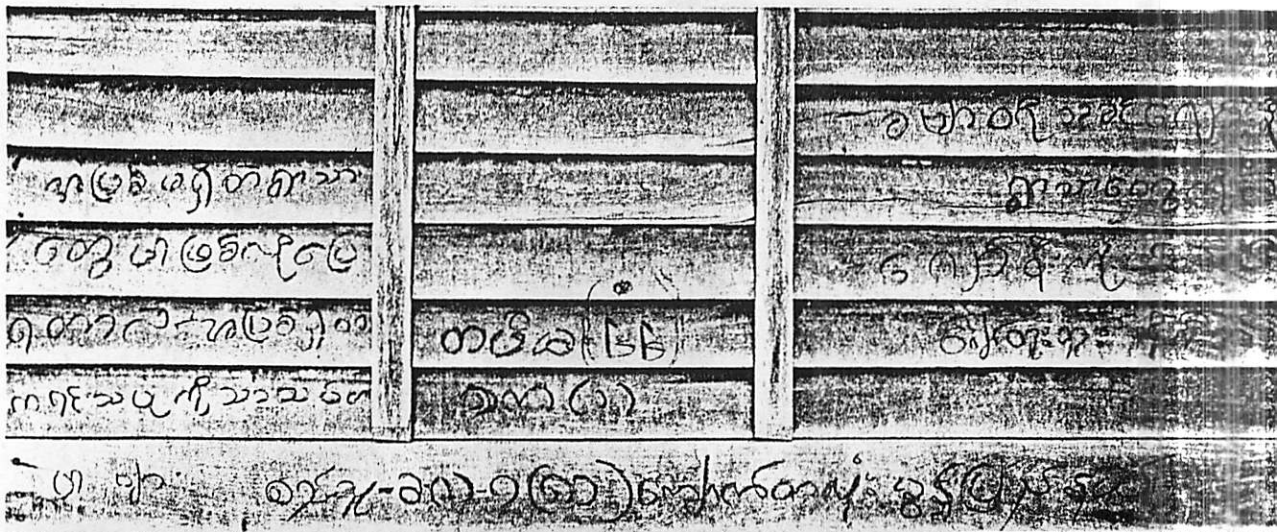
ビルマ政府軍によって焼かれたパーアン地方イルドウィ
ンゴン村。家の支柱だけが残っている。焼き打ちは都市
から離れた村ほど被害が大きい。



Shanywathe village in Pa An district has been a victim of Burmese Army raids approximately 20 times since 1977. Villagers abandoned their houses on Nov. 1978.

1977年から20回近い略奪を受けて逃散したパーアン地方
シヤンイワセ村。チーク材の柱やレリーフの施された壁
がいたいたしい。政府軍は村にやってくるたびに鶏、牛、
豚を徴発していった。





"Innocent villagers, why did you run away? We came only to kill Karen insurgents" reads the above inscription. It was written on the Karen house by Burmese soldiers.

「罪ない村人よなぜ逃げた。我々はカレン反乱分子を殺すためだけにきた。第66師団シト-81連隊第1中隊」の落書



In Takwikla village, Pa An district in 1977, a villager lost his eye due to random firing by Burmese Government forces which attacked the village.

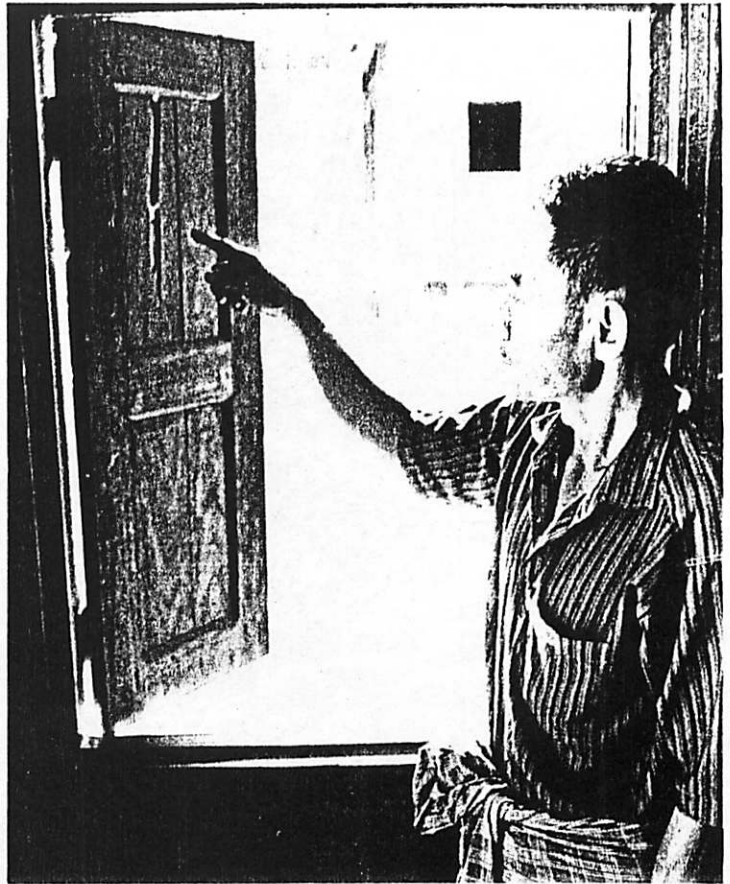
ビルマ政府軍の兵士が乱射しながら村に侵入してきた時、銃弾で失明した村人。1977年・バーアン地方・タクウイクラ村。

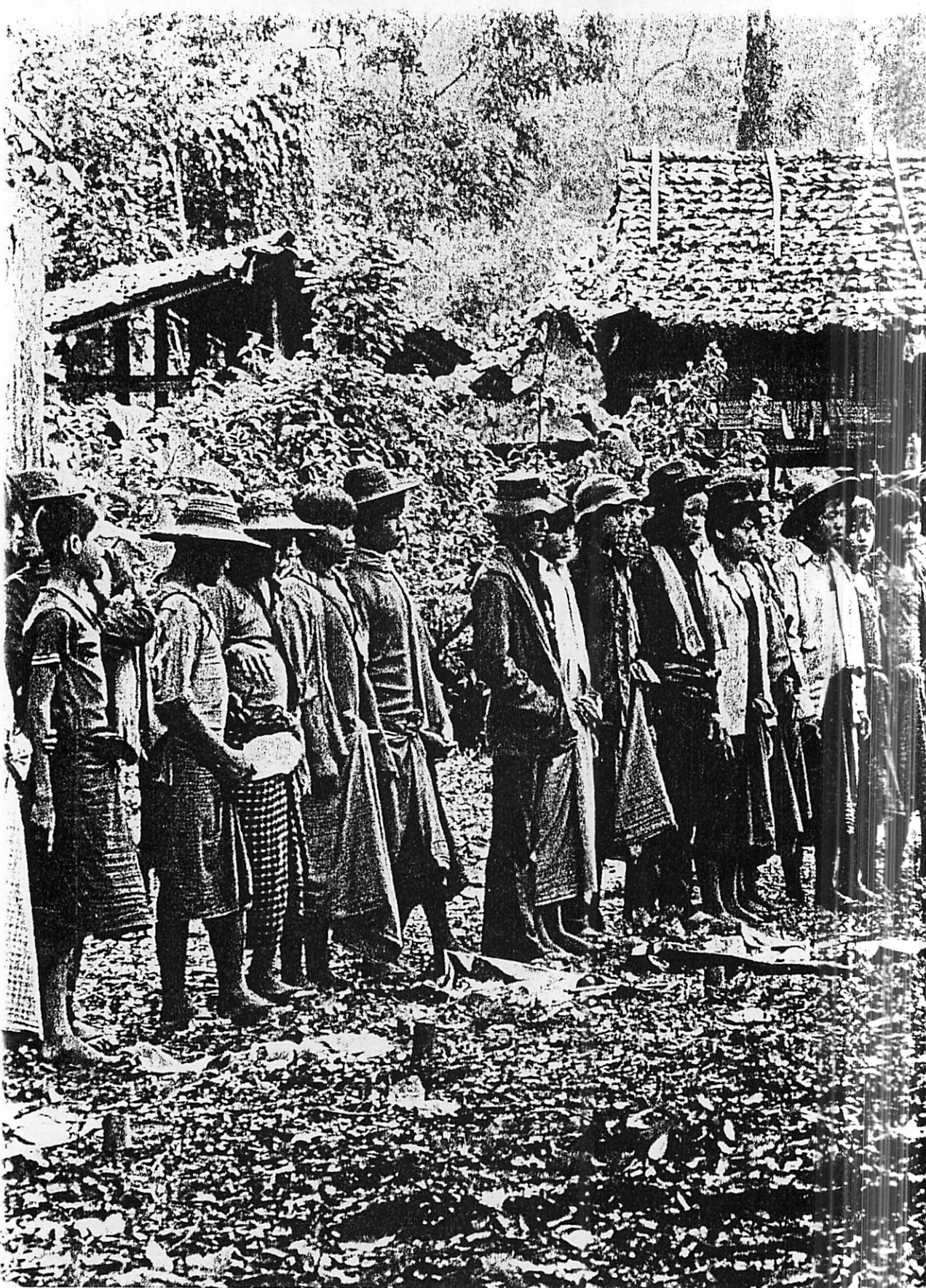
TESTIMONY

Na Soe Hlang, housewife, age 44 Meejie village Pa An District

"There are 13 bullet holes that remain in my house. The Ne Win Army came to our village on the 8th day after my child was born. I and some other villagers fled to the outskirts of the village, to the pagoda; but the soldiers followed us here. The soldiers robbed all my possessions. I told them 'Please, do not burn my house. You may take my property.' It is better than nothing, if I only can keep one sheet of bamboo knitting mat and one brassiere for changing and one jar. They took a cooking pot, plates and rice. Is there any reason I must suffer such an unbelievable misfortune?"

証言 ナウ・ソー・ライン、主婦 44才
私の家は13個所の弾痕が残ってます。下の子どもが生まれて8日目に、ネ・ウイン軍がやってきました。ネ・ウインの兵隊が私の避難していた村のバゴダまでやってきて私が持っていたものを全て奪い取りました。私は兵士に言いました。「家をやかないで。私の財産は持っているだけでもいいから」何も残らないよりはましです。私の手もとに残ったのはゴザが1枚、替のブラジャー1枚、ポット1つだけで、鍋も皿も米も皆持っていかれました。私にどんな罪があるのでしょうか。





Those who can not endure the attacks and the destruction of their villages have decided to fight in self defence against the Ne Win government force, and learn how to set mines during the rainy season.

たい重なる政府軍の焼き打ちや略奪に耐えかねた村人は自衛のために闘う決意をする。KNLAから地雷の取り扱
かい方を学ぶ。

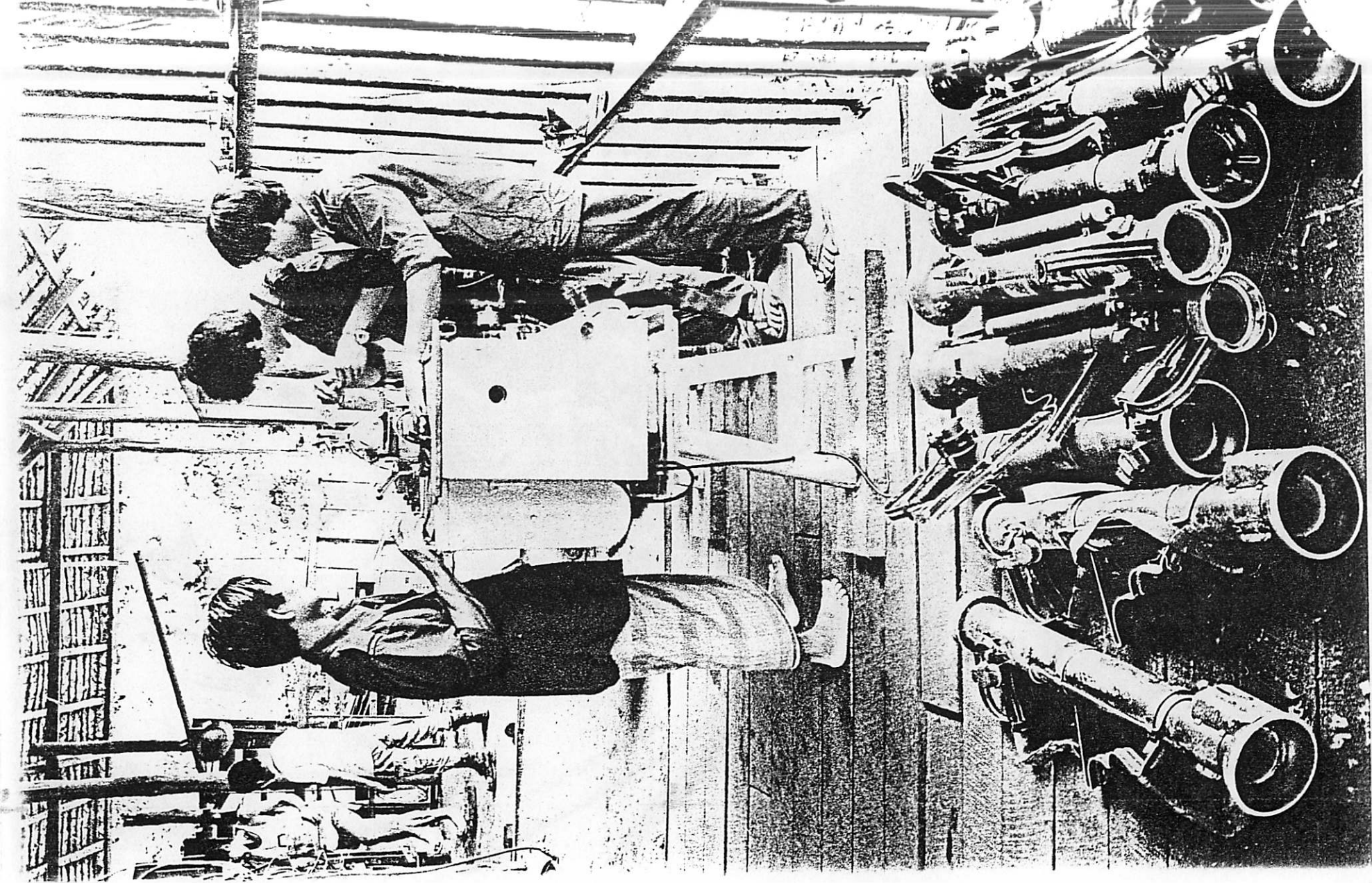








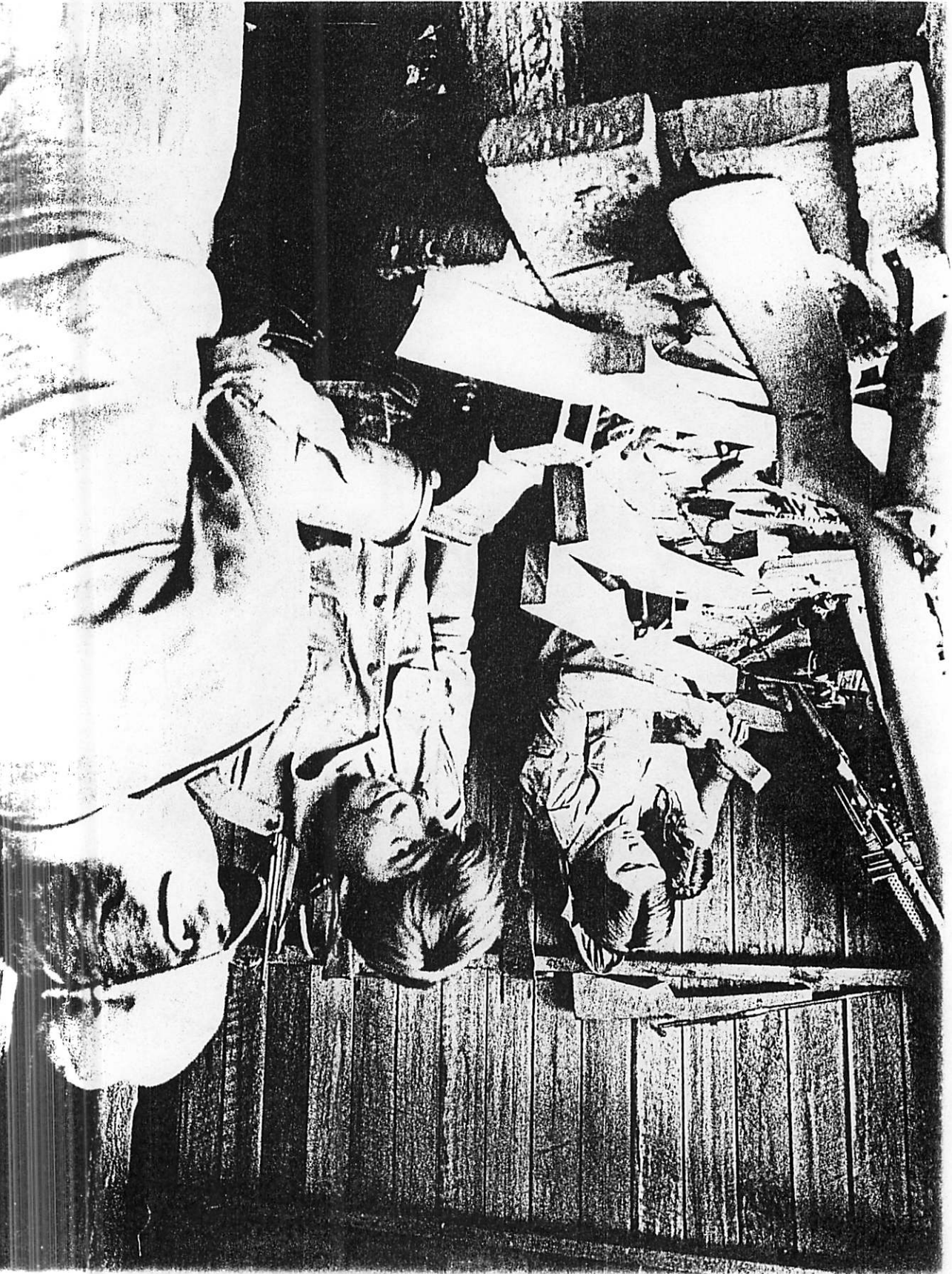






KNLAは総司令部直属の兵器廠以外に各旅団管区ごとに独自の兵器廠を持つ。

KNLA has an armoury attached to each brigade, except for those brigades which are directly controlled one by General Headquarters.





The cotton weaving factory

Each Karen family has their own hand-operated cotton weaving machine. the KNU gathered each familys' machine created a factory for them to work in.

コートレーの代表的な機織工場。工場制手工業の段階を出ていない。綿布の自給を目標にかけている。

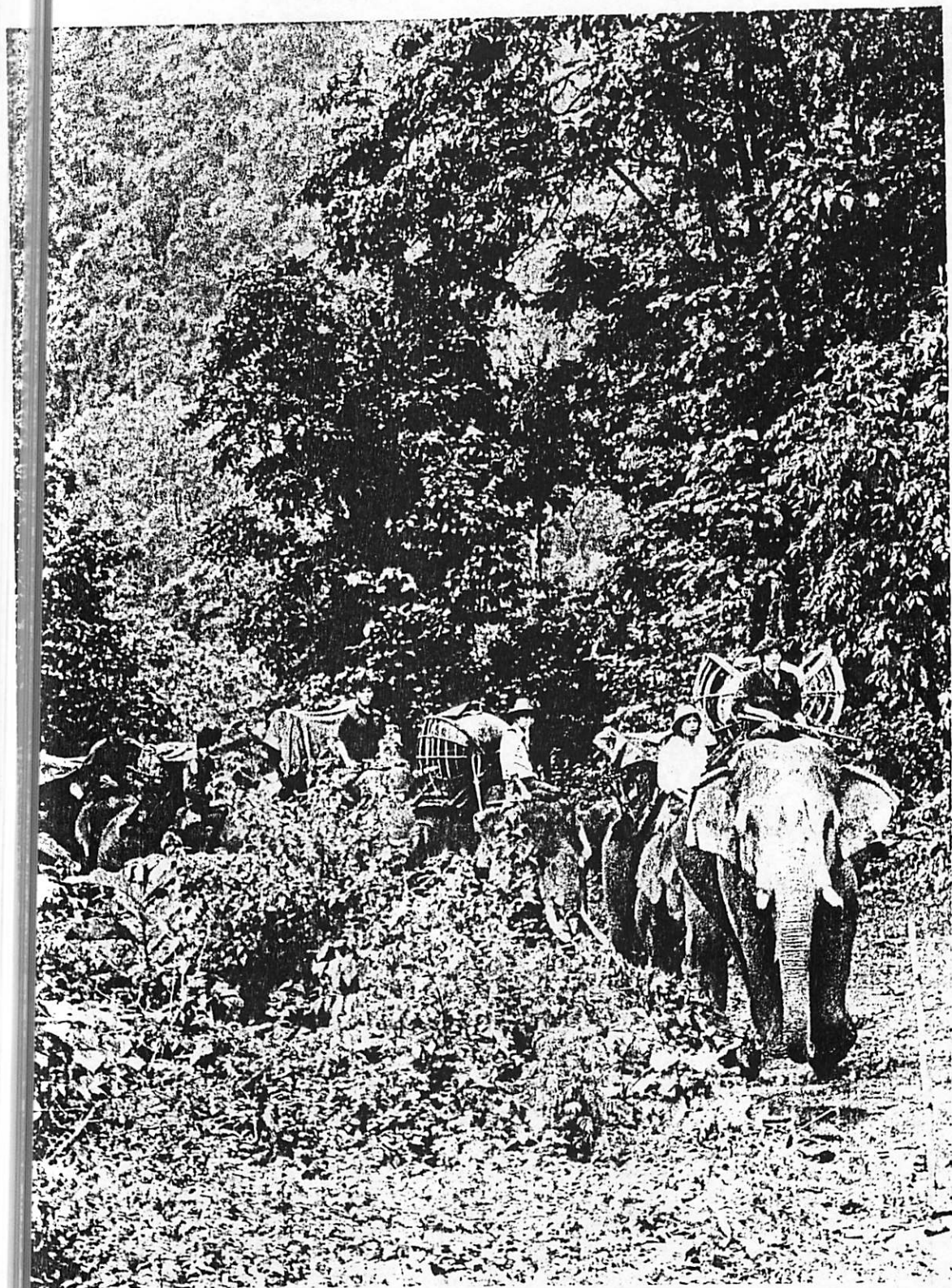




Elephants employed in the transportation unit are used to catch the wild elephants of the Pegue Mountains in Kawthoolei.

象部隊の象はペグー山地の野性の象を捕えることから始まる。



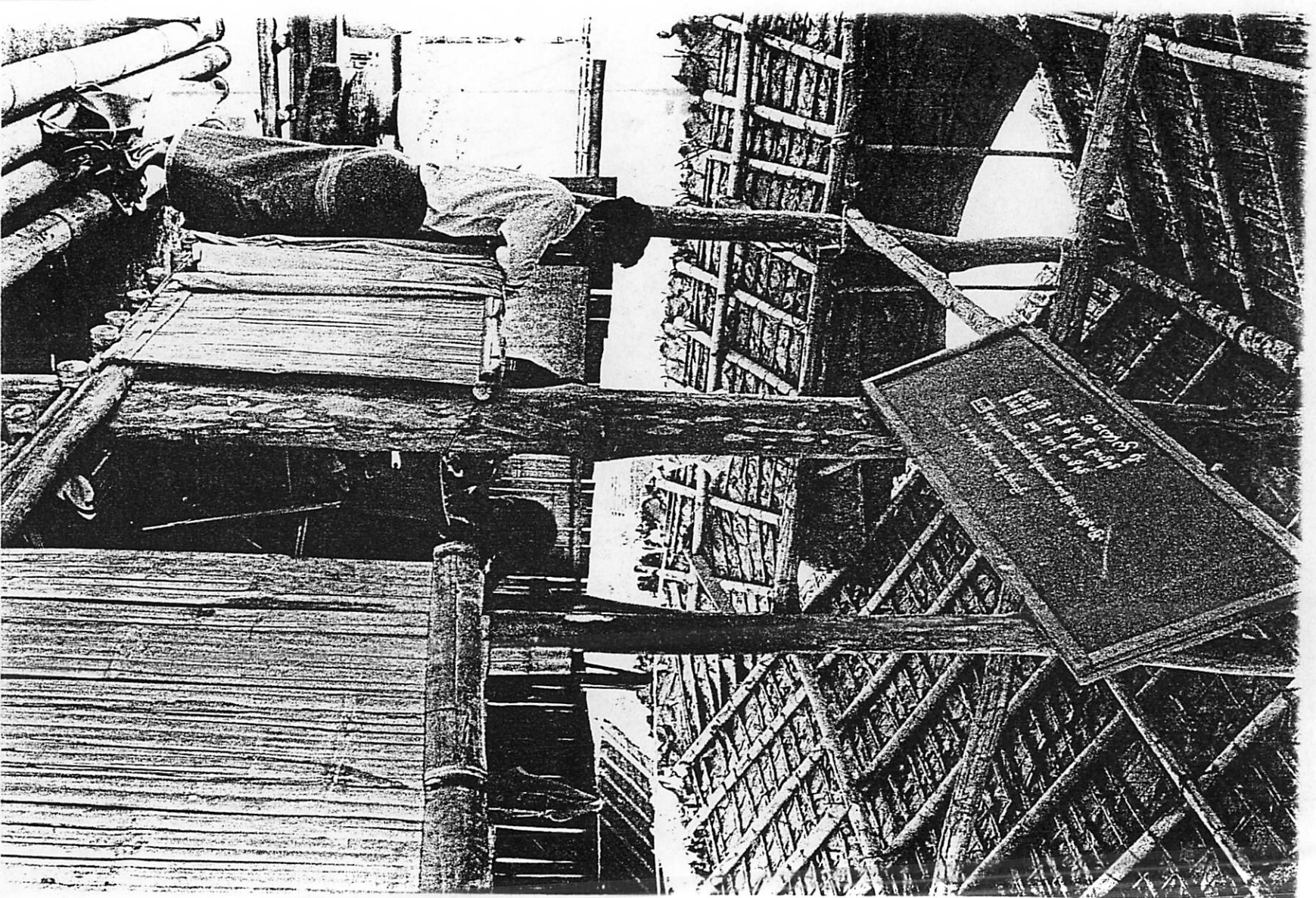


The elephant unit of the Karen Army works vigorously in the rainy season. They transport ammunition and food supplies to the front line.

カレンの象部隊は雨期に活躍する。前線に弾薬や食糧を運ぶ輸送部隊である。

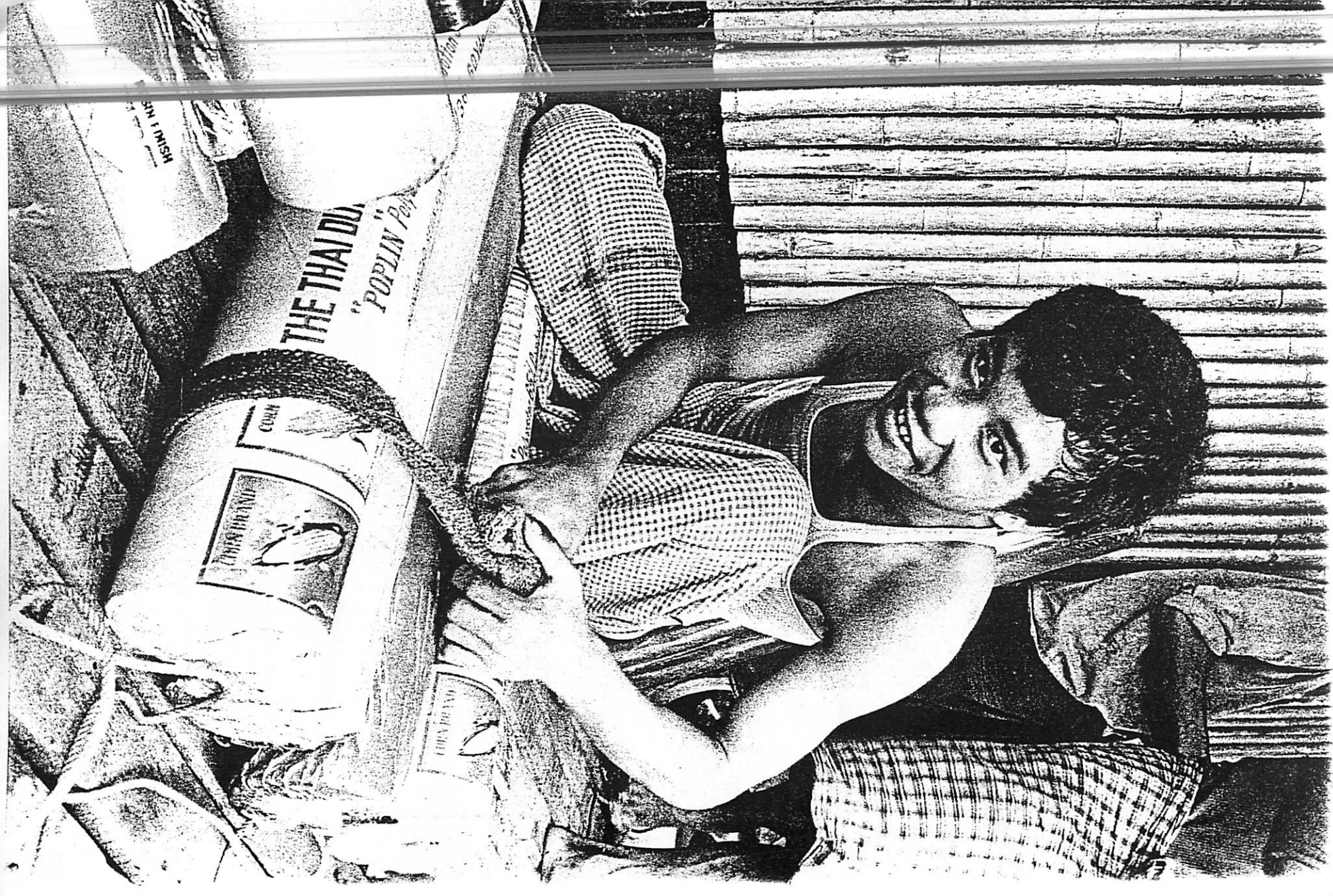






The border trade is very important to both the KNLA and Burma. For the KNLA, the border trade amounts to an annual income of \$ 10 million U.S. dollars, and for Burma it supplies all it's consumer products.

ビルマ国内で不足している機織、日用雑貨はタイ・コトローイ国境の貿易に依存している。これがなければビルマの経済は成り立たない。コトローイ政府の関税収益は年間1億ドル、およそ240億円に達する。



THE THAI DU,
"POPLIN" Pepp

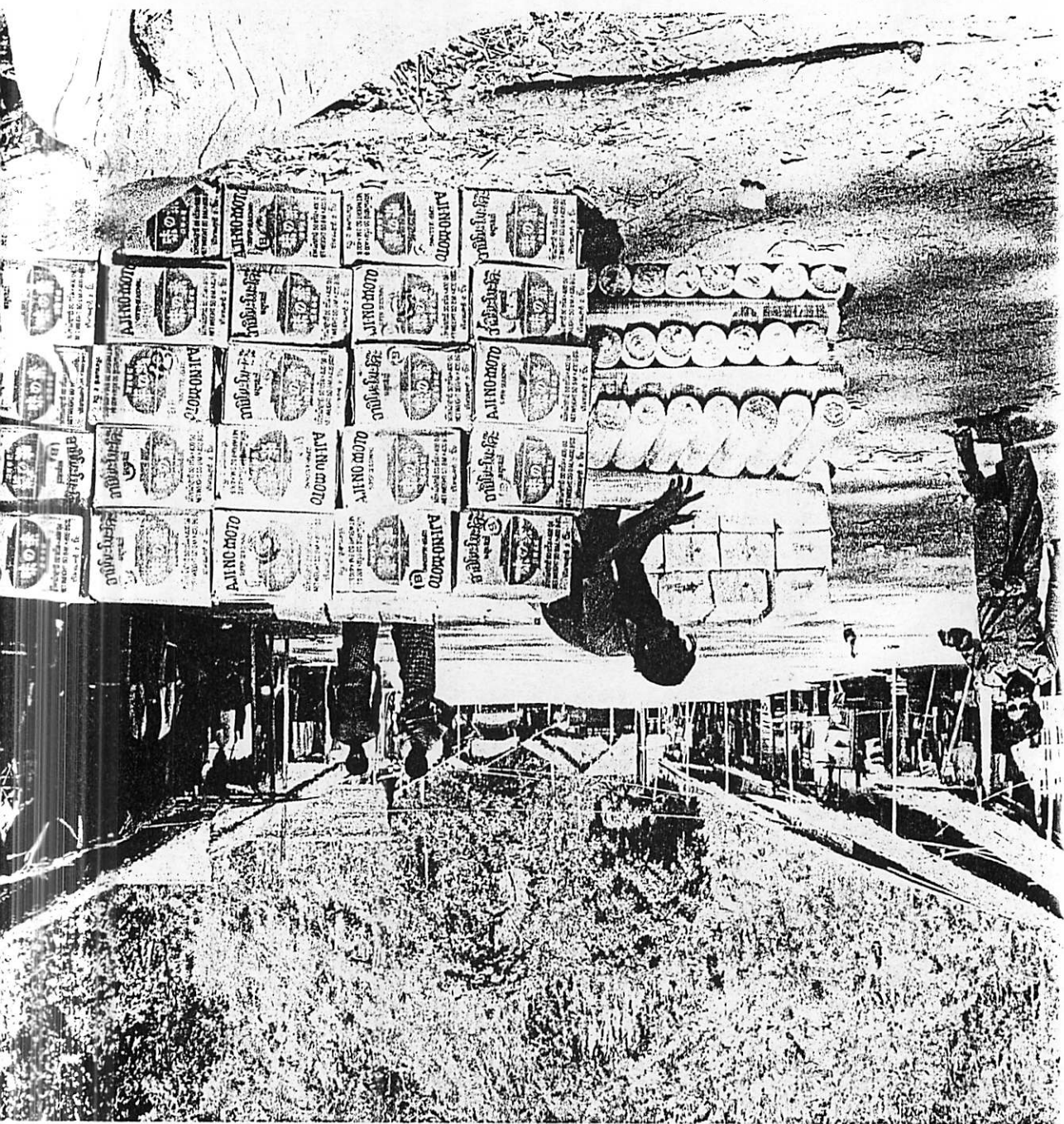
THE THAI DU
"POPLIN" Pepp
COOK

THE THAI DU
"POPLIN" Pepp

IN FINISH

Some the products which pass through Kawthoolei are; AJINOMOTO, a kind of seasoning, sewing machines, spare parts of cars and bicycles, medicine, nylon rope, fishing net, tetlon cloth.

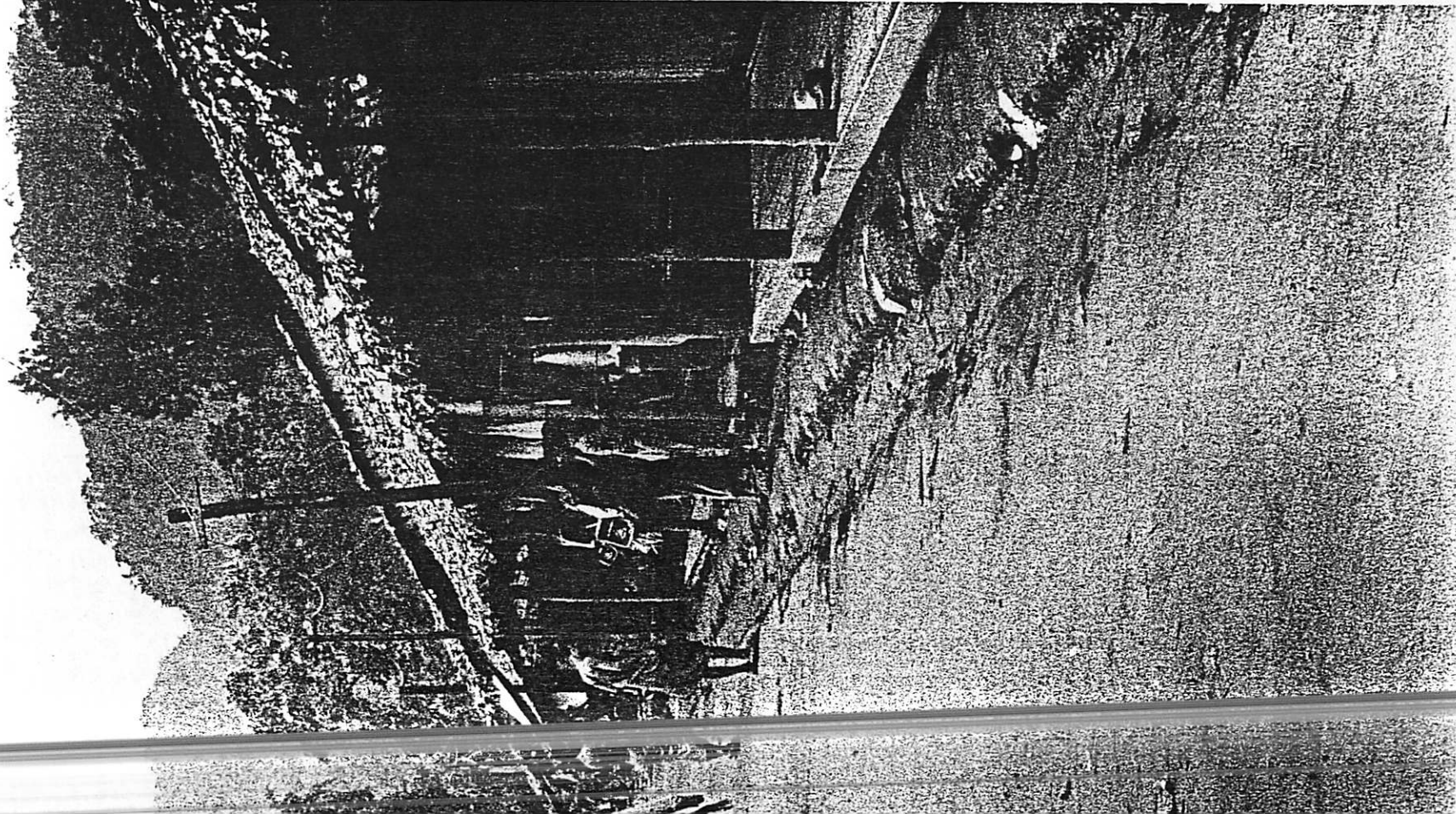
味の素、チロソ地、ミンソ、自動車や軽車のパーツ、薬、ナイロンローフ、魚網などほとんどの商品がコーレイ領を通過する。







Burma economical analysts feel that Burmese industry could meet domestic demands for all daily necessities, if border trade would stop. However border trade has steadily increased and trade scale has grown larger.



ビマの経済成長率が上昇し、繊維製品は自給できるようになったと言われて久しいが、
国内貿易基地は拡大するばかりである。







The Way to the Flowerland

The life of the Karen villagers is extremely simple. They eat rice as a main food with chili, salt, dried fish or sometimes mix it with corn and soybean. Chickens, pigs and ox are their precious property, even though they are few in number. The Burmese army requisitions chickens, pigs, cows rice and other food from the villagers. Those villagers who protest and refuse to obey the requisition are beaten and killed by the Burmese soldiers. Children of the Karens when they grow up, look at their parents miserable life with fortitude. Due to living under these conditions, The new generation of KNLA soldiers is in effect trained by the Burmese government forces and are prepared to fight in the same manner as their enemies. The KNLA soldiers dream and hope to the way to the true, peaceful Flowerland of Kawthoolei.

花咲く大地への道

村人の生活は簡素だ。米を主食に豆、トウモロコシなどの雑穀に干魚、唐辛子をまぜて食べる。わずかな数でも鶏や豚は重要な財産である。山の斜面や畑でできた野菜、タバコの葉を町の市場に売りにいく。現金収入は日常生活に必要な石ケン、布などを買うのにあてられる。ビルマ政府軍は作戦のたびに村人の財産である鶏・豚・牛を徴発する。拒否したり抵抗したりして命を失った者もいる。子ども達は泣き寝入りしなければならない親の姿を見て育つ。KNLAの兵士が生れる下地がここにある。そして兵士たちはコートレーイが真に花咲く大地になることを望んでいる。



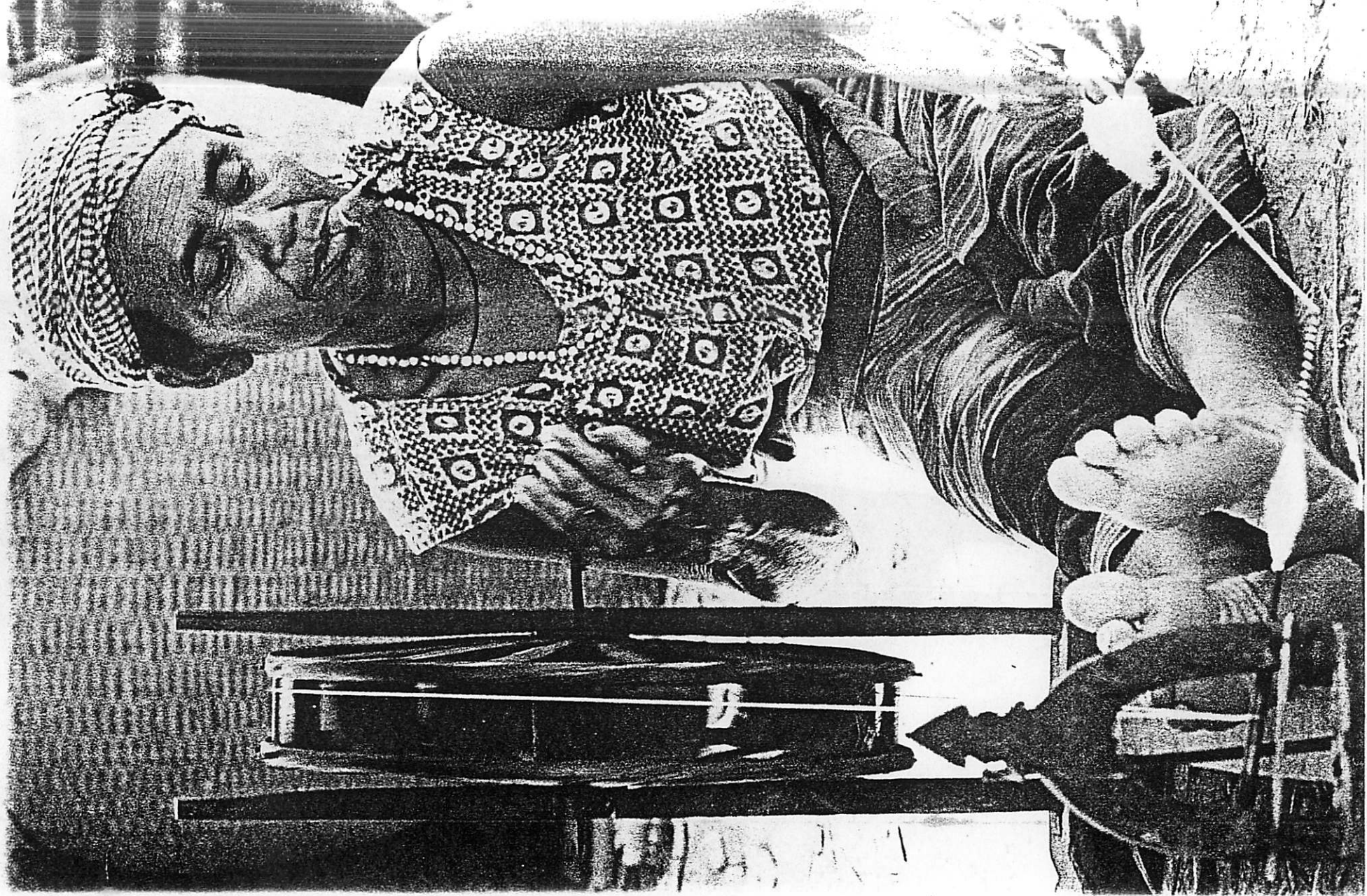




The Salween River is one of the two biggest rivers in Burma. In this river, boats with engines are prohibited because they aid the KNLA military activities. People use bamboo rafts, or row boats. They do their buying and selling on floats.

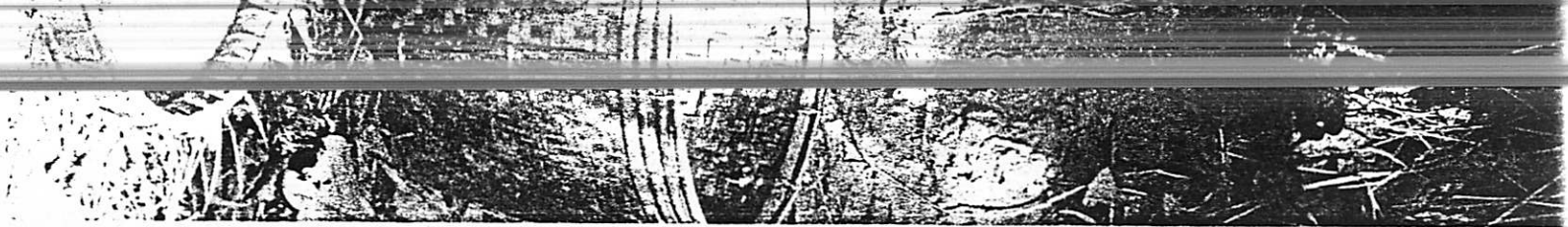
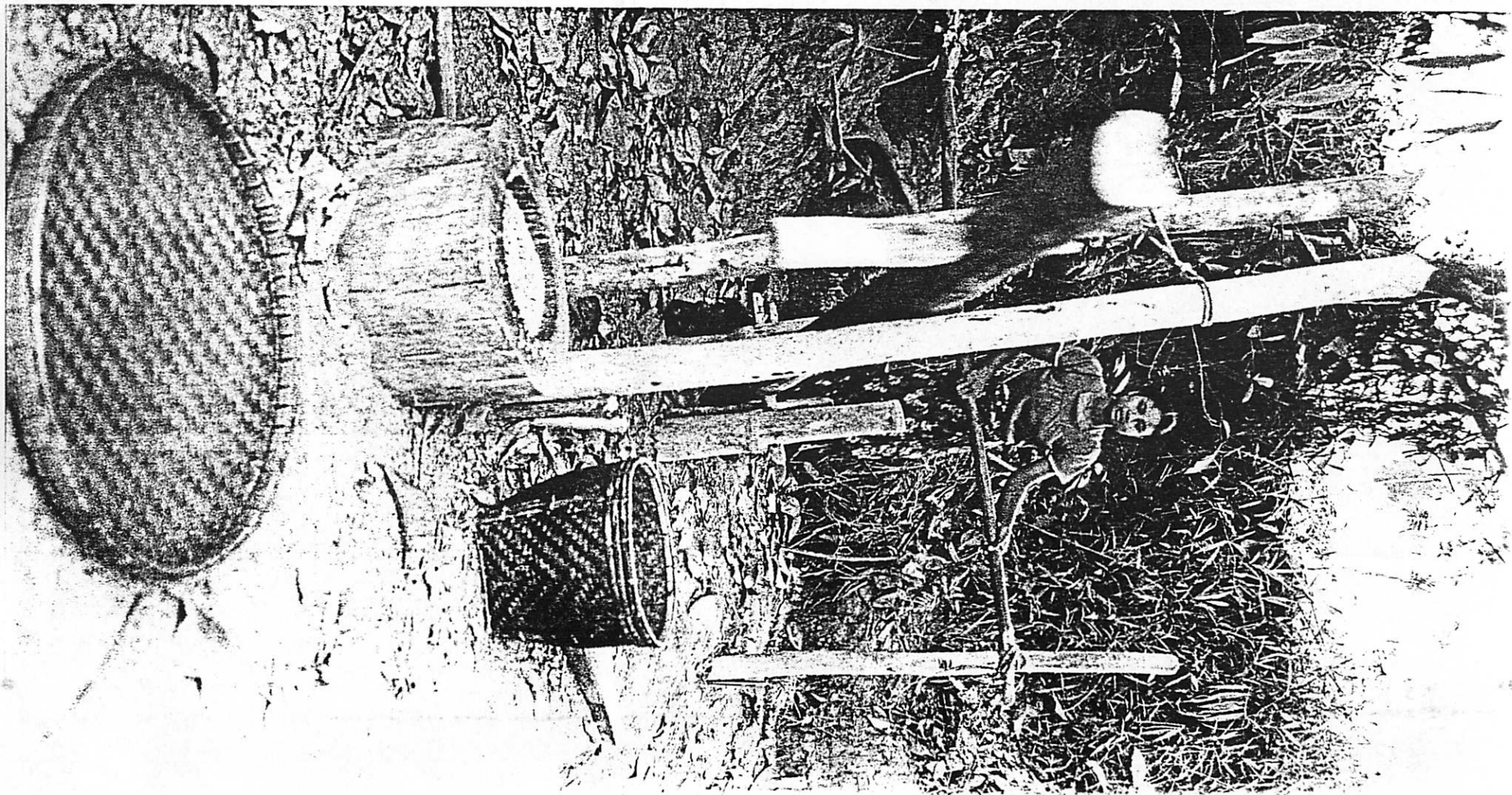
ビルマの二大河川のひとつサルウィン河。この川ではエンジン付ボートの航行は許可されない。KNLAの軍事活動を助けるという理由からだ。人々は筏やヨット、手漕の船で商いをする。移動する水上マーケットである。







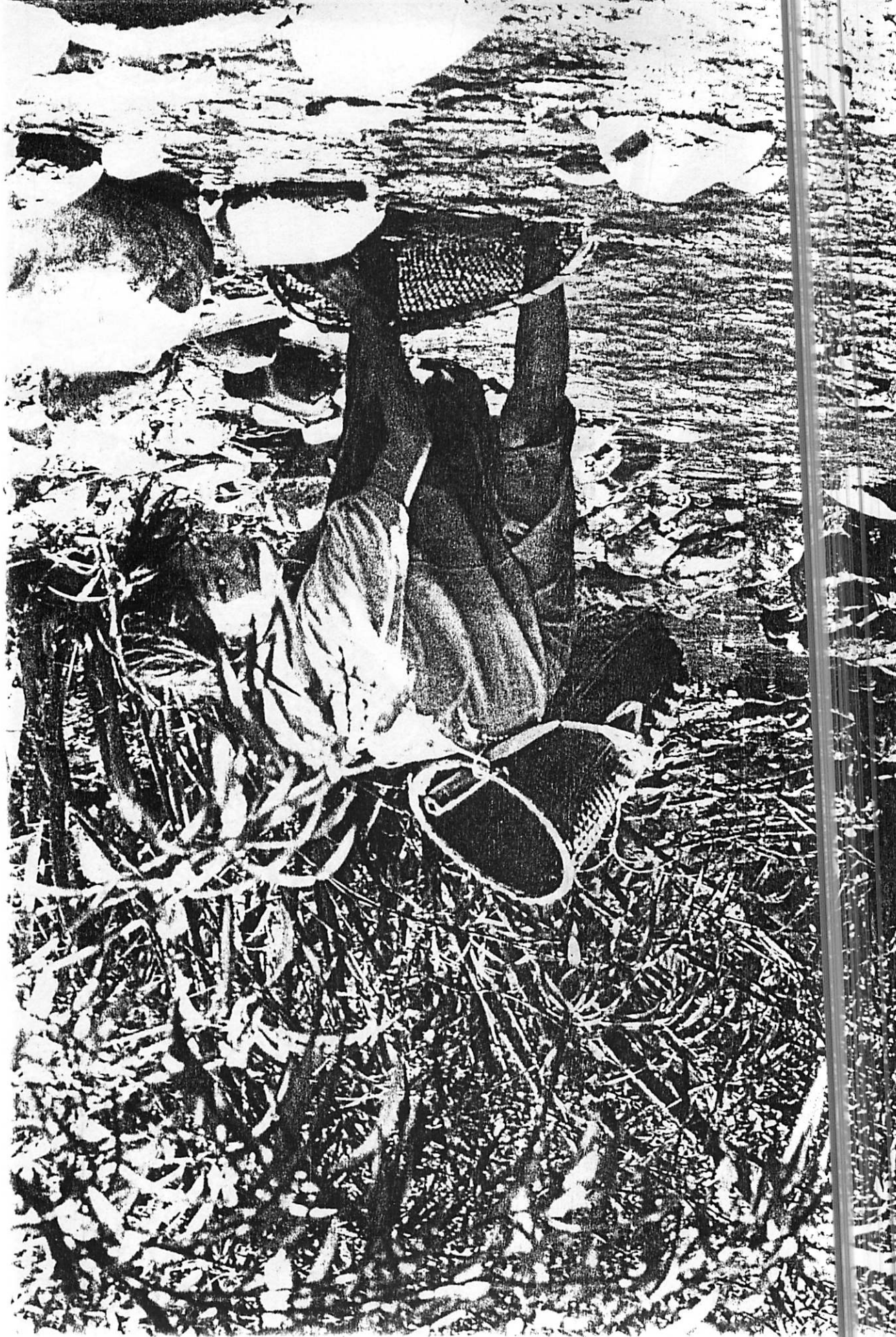










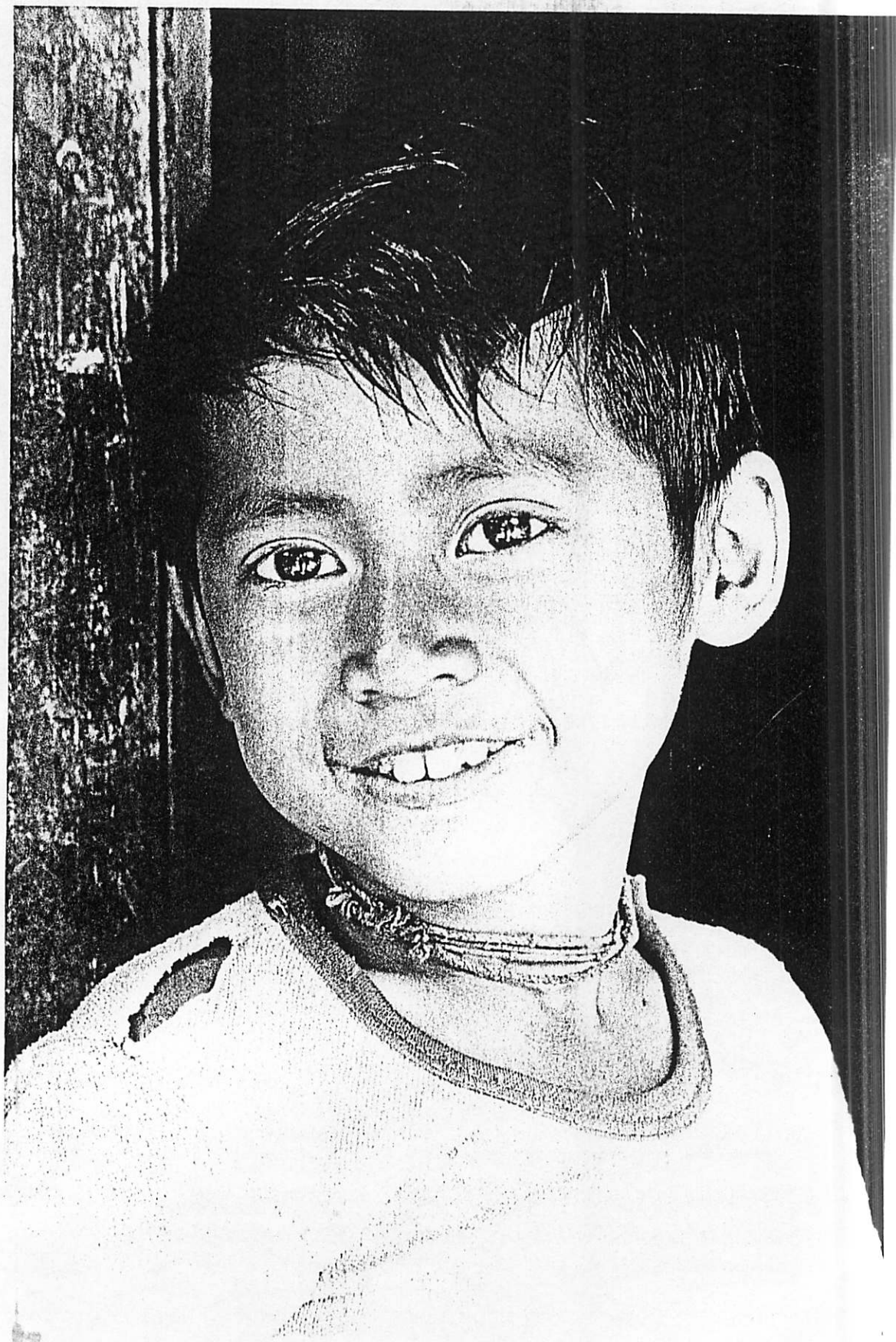












References

- I Letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Office of the U.N.O
- II Communique to all the peoples of Burma and the World
- III Chronology

(References I)



THE GOVERNMENT OF KAWTHOOLEI

SUPREME HEADQUARTERS

Dated October 1, 1981

To,

His Excellency Kurt Waldheim
The Secretary-General of the United Nations
Office of the U.N.O.
New York.
U.S.A.

Subject: The Struggle of the Karen People
for Independence.

Your Excellency,

Please permit me to approach you and to draw your kind attention to the statement of your predecessor, in-office, the late U Thant, in the book, "The United Nations and Decolonization" page 1- which say:-

"The United Nations stands for the Self-Government and independence of all peoples, and the abolition of

racial discrimination without reservations. It can never afford to compromise on these basic principles."

Burma is a multi-national State, inhabited by the Burmese, Karens, Shans, Kachins, Chins, Mons, Arakanese, Paohs, Palaungs, Lahus, Was, Nagas and other national minorities. Since Burma attained its independence on the 4th January, 1948, the Burmese, who all along hold the reins of the Government, have been practising Burmese Chauvinism, and the independence of Burma is but the subjugation and domination of the Burmese over other nationalities of Burma.

Now, all the nationalities of Burma, Unable to stand the oppressions of the ruling Burmese, have taken up arms against the Greater Burmans, all fighting for their respective independent state. The Karens, Karennis (Kayahs), Mons and Paohs rose up in 1949, the Shans in 1958, the Kachins in 1962, the Palaungs in 1963, followed by other nationalities like the Arakanese, Lahus, Was and very lately by the Nagas in 1980. This taking up of Arms by all the nationalities against the ruling Greater Burman, is sufficient proof that though Burma got its independence, the independence is for the Burmese people only, whereas the nationalities are subjugated by the ruling Burmese. There is racial discrimination and no equality of people and races under the Burmese Government.

We, the Karens are a nation, having all the essential qualities needed of a nation, and were the first settlers in this country now known as Burma. We are a simple, quiet and peace-loving people, and were later conquered by the Mons and the Burmese who came in after us. The Karens suffered untold miseries in the hands of these overlords, by being ruthlessly persecuted,

looted and tortured by them.

When the British occupied Burma, the lots of the Karens were improved. They began to earn their livings without being hindered, and enjoyed the right to go to schools for their education, and were then ahead of other peoples in this country in many aspects, especially, in education, athletics and music.

When the Second World War broke out, and the British evacuated Burma, making ways for the Japanese to take the country, the B.I.A (Burma Independent Army) started attacking the Karens, arresting, torturing, raping and killing many Karens.

The bitter experiences gained by the Karens during the Second World War, gave them one lesson, that unless the Karens have their own country they can never grow and prosper. Instead they would always be persecuted and enslaved. This gave the Karens a desire to ask for their lost Country, the Karen State.

So, as soon as the Second World War ended, the Karens started asking for a separate Independent Karen State, through democratic means peacefully. But the ruling British and the Burmese Government paid no heed to the Karen's peaceful demands. On the 11th February, 1948, just barely one month after Burma got its independence, the Karens all over Burma, numbering over 400,000 staged a peaceful demonstration to show their desire for an Independent Karen State. The banners carried in the processions contained (4) slogans, namely,

1. Give the Karen State at once.
2. Show Karen one Kyat and Burmese one Kyat at once.
3. We do not want communal strife, and
4. We do not want civil war.

The slogans of the Karens in this mass demonstration are but the 3 slogans of the oppressed colonies -- "Liberty, Equality, and Peace."

Instead of meeting the Karens for peaceful discussions, the Burmese Government, and their presses, spoke many ills of the Karens, accusing the Karens of being stooges of the British Imperialists. They later arrested the Karen leaders, attacked many Karen villages, shot and killed many Karens, raped their women, looted their properties, and burnt many of their hearths and homes. These atrocities of the Burmese Government were so unbearable that on the 31st January, 1949, the Karens all over Burma, took up whatever arms they had, and rose up against the Burmese Government to fight for their lives, their honour, and their long cherished Independent State.

When the Karens took arms to fight for their very existence and their independence, they at first attained great successes, but these did not remain long. They soon suffered military reverses and had to withdraw from many fronts, allowing the Burmese troops to re-occupy many of their areas. These military set-backs of the Karens are due to 2 reasons, namely,

1. The Karens, then, had little understanding and no experience of the revolutionary war, and
2. The Karens all along stood on their own feet, fighting along without aid of any kind from any country, whereas the Burmese Government received large amount of aids, militarily included, from many foreign countries.

The Karen Revolution has now lasted over 32 years. During these long and hard years we have gone through

many experiences--difficulties and pleasantness, successes and defeats. But this 32 years has been a blessing in disguise for us. Our understandings in many fields have increased, our skills in all our works have improved. We have been hardened and steeled both physically and mentally.

We are fully convinced in the just and righteousness of our cause. For, our enemy, the Burmese chauvinists, from U Nu's AFPFL to the current Ne Win's BSPP (Burma Socialist Programme Party) use Burmese Chauvinism when they get power, in suppressing and oppressing our Karens, and all the other nationalities in the country--an act of racial discrimination and national oppression which is abhorred by the United Nations.

Under the rule of the Burmese Chauvinists,

- The Karens are no longer allowed to study their own language in schools,
- Their schools and educational institutions were taken by force and many were destroyed,
- Many of their newspapers and books were stopped, even the religious periodicals are tightly censored,
- They are oppressed in many walks of life, in education, in getting employments and in earning their livelihood,
- Their fields and plots of lands were nationalised and confiscated,
- They were being systematically exterminated by the annihilation, absorption and assimilation programmes of the unscrupulous Burmese Chauvinist,
- Many ways are used to divide the Karens to fight

each other,

- The Karens have now to take Burmese names and thus become Burmese Nationals.

In short, the Burmese Chauvinists,

- Oppress us politically by giving us no democratic rights,
- Exploit us in all economic fields,
- Absorb our Karen cultures, Karen language, Karen schools, and all our good manners and customs,
- Attack and kill the Karens militarily.

To-day, the enemy is attacking us with (4) Cuts Operation, fiercely in order to smash and annihilate us. The numbers of our refugees have increased. But, contrarily, it is amazing to see that the strong will and determination of our armed personnels and all our masses to fight to win this war have increased many folds on all sides.

During this long and cruel 32 years' war,

- We have been steeled and hardened both physically and mentally,
- It gives us various correct understandings and trains us to be fit for our heritage,
- It makes us see our own weaknesses in order to be able to correct them and we have actually corrected many of our shortcomings, in moral, in many of our revolutionary lines and in our attitudes and thoughts,
- The morale as well as the military skills of our armed personnels are heightened,
- Our masses in all battle fields have now participated to fight the enemy in various ways,
- Our peoples in towns and cities and in enemy occupied areas have now joined our revolution in

great number,

- Many Karen University Graduates in Medicines, Engineering, Laws, finance and Accounts, Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Geology, Philosophy, Education have now also joined our revolution, thus enriching our revolutionary quality,
- All the nationalities in Burma have now taken up arms to fight the Burmese Chauvinistic Government for their respective independent state, and are united in National Democratic Front (NDF)
- We have now been able to inflict more casualties to the enemy in all our engagements,
- The masses of all walks of life in the whole country have now tried to oppose the enemy in various ways.

Over all these situations, we, the Karen Revolution, now proclaim that, we have established a Karen State known as Kawthoolei, and have also founded the Kawthoolei Government under the leadership of KNU - The Karen National Union.

- Kawthoolei is Karen Independent State with full right of self-determination.
- The extent of Kawthoolei shall be the areas where Karens are in majority, and shall be in accordance with the wishes of the Karen People and at the same time just and righteous in the eyes of the people of the country and the world.

The policy of Kawthoolei is National Democracy, which is not Capitalism, neither Socialism nor Communism. It fully accepts private ownerships, but opposes exploitations and monopolies of all forms.

All the people in Kawthoolei shall have full

democratic rights politically, economically, socially and culturally.

Freedom and Equality of all religions is guaranteed.

To uplift and develop our country, investments of foreign capitals will be allowed on condition that they will not harm us.

Kawthoolei shall maintain cordial relations with its neighbours and other foreign countries which wish to see the prosperity of Kawthoolei, on the basis of mutual respect, trust and benefits.

The basis programme of the Karen Revolution is not only to establish an independent Karen State with full political, economical and cultural rights to all the people of the State, but to establish a New Federal Union, headed by the NDF, comprising of the states of the nationalities on the basis of equality and self-determination for all the nationalities in the country.

The Union of Socialist Republic of Burma, headed by the BSPP (Burma Socialist Programme Party) as it exists today is but a union in name only and it will and can never solve the present conflicts and crisis in Burma. For the Union is dominated by Burmese Chauvinism in both form and content.

We are not a handful of insurgents, blackmarketeers, smugglers as the present ruler of Burma has painted us, but are real revolutionaries who are fighting against national oppressions, subjugation, domination and exploitation of Burmese Chauvinism.

In our march forward to accomplish our aims, Ba U Gyi's (4) principles mentioned below are our motto and guiding principles.

(1) For us surrender is out of question.

(2) The recognition of the Karen State must be

completed.

(3) We shall retain our arms.

(4) We shall decide our own political destiny.

The war may be long, hard and cruel, but we are prepared for all eventualities. For, to die fighting is better than to live a slave. But we firmly believe that we shall not die, because our revolution is just and righteous.

We strongly believe in the Charter of the United Nations on the principle of self-determination and the equal rights of peoples--a cause for which we are fighting.

We are approaching you again to make our cause known to the World Organization, and through you to the whole world. We shall try to send you details of our activities from time to time in due course.

We shall be very grateful if you will do whatever you can to help us gain our independence and build a genuine New Federal Union of Burma free of National oppression, domination and exploitation and where liberty, equality and peace prevail.

At the same time we request you to send a fact finding mission to us for the purpose of gathering first-hand informations about conditions that exist in our area and about the wishes of the nationalities of the National Democratic Front regarding their future.

With deep respect,

Yours faithfully,

(Lt. Gen. Saw Bo Mya)
President
Government of Kawthoolei

Copy forwarded to all Heads of States and Heads of
Government.

(References II)

KAREN NATIONAL UNION (K.N.U.)

SUPREME HEADQUARTERS.

COMMUNIQUE TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF BURMA AND THE WORLD.

We released this communique in order to let understand and to attain sympathy from all the peoples of Burma and the World by studying the true historical facts and the current situation of the Karen revolution led by K.N.U.

The ruling totalitarian Ne Win-San Yu military chauvinist regime falsely alleged our revolution as insurgent, radical nationalist and separatist movements through their misguiding propaganda network.

The Karens are a pastoral people of Mongolian descent and most of the historians also agreed that the Karens were the earliest settlers in Burma long before the advent of Burmans into the country. There two peoples have different aspects on their cultures, customs, traditions, temperaments and in their moral codes. The Karens were forced to abandon their homes and lands and had to flee for their safety and security into the jungles and the mountains because of the Burman feudal tyrants.

Under the British colonial rule we had a better administration though there remained other kinds of oppression. During the second World War under the Japanese fascists, our situation was the worst among all the nationalities owing to the ill-treatment of the then Burma Independence Army (BIA).

After the second World War at the time of struggle for independence, Karen people had participated not only for the entire nation but also for their own Karen State. Our just and peaceful demands for the creation of the Karen State were ignored both by the British colonial government and the then Anti-fascist Peoples' Freedom League (AFPFL) Interim Government.

When Burma regained her independence on January 4, 1948, the Karens, under the banner of KNU which was founded on February 5, 1947, staged a peaceful widespread demonstration on February 11, 1948 with four slogans:

1. Give us the Karen State at once,
2. Show Karen one Kyat and Burmese one Kyat at once,
3. We don't want communal clashes, and
4. We don't want civil war.

The essence of these slogans means liberty, equality, unity and peace.

Instead, our demands were responded with the brutal attacks - arsons, rapes, lootings, killing, etc. - by the Burma Army.

Thus, in order to survive and achieve our political aims - the Karen State with the right of self-determination - we inevitably had to wage the war of resistance on January 31, 1949.

We are fully confident of our just and righteous demands enjoyable by a nation. So it was obvious that our armed revolution is just and fair and our armed struggle is not only in the interest of the Karens but also for the entire nation.

The Karen State constituted in the year 1954 was a fake and the present so called the Socialist Republic of the union of Burma is also a namesake which is contrary to our consent and the will of the nationalities. Because of its sham republic and wrong policy, the present Ne Win-San Yu military regime which has been in power by coup d'etat since March 2, 1962 cannot and will never be able to solve the political crisis, economic difficulties and social problems besetting the country.

we believe and would like to stress that the one and only solution to the problems of indigenous races including Burmans is to establish the genuine Union of the National Democratic Federal Republics based on liberty, equality, and social progress with the right of self-determination.

Today, we - Arakan, Karen, Karenni, Lahu, Palaung, Pao, Shan, etc. - have already founded the National Democratic Front (NDF) in a united effort for the realization of the above stated aims and objects.

Therefore, we sincerely request all the peoples of Burma and the World to provide us with a helping hand for the achievement of our goals.

Dated the 31st. January 1982.

Central Committee,
Karen National Union,
Supreme Headquarters.

(References III)

C H R O N O L O G Y

- B.C. 2617 Immigration of the Karen from Mongolia
- B.C. 2013 Arrival of the Karens in East Turkistan
- B.C. 1866 Immigration of the Karens from East Turkistan
- B.C. 1864 Arrival of the Karens in Tibet
- B.C. 1388 Immigration of the Karens from Tibet
- B.C. 1385 Arrival of the Karens in YUNNAN in China
- B.C. 1128 Immigration of the first group from Yunnan to South East Asia
- B.C. 1125 Arrival of the first group Karens who entered South East Asia
- B.C. 741 Immigration of the second group of the Karens from Yunnan to South East Asia
- B.C. 759 The last arrival of the second group to enter South East Asia
- 1824 The first Anglo-Burmese war
The British took the Arakan and Tenassarim states.
- 1852 The second Anglo-Burmese war
The British annexed the Pegue State
- 1881 The Karen, Thra T. Thanbya, Thra Myat San Po Kwe, U Loo Nee, Thra Saw Tay and U San Lone formed Karen National Association. This association worked towards the Karens having national rights and took part in the general political elections to become members of parliament in where the Karens could present their case.
- 1885 The third Anglo-Burmese War, The British took Upper Burma and the whole Burma came under the control of the British.

- 1886 The British declare that the Burma is a part of India and under the control of the British.
- 1927 Sir San C Po published a book "Burma and the Karens" in which he argued about the grant of Tenessarim Division as a separate Karen State.
- 1928 Sir San C Po carried his argument a step further and asked the British Government to consider the question. No developments occurred in relation to Sir San C Po's suggestion.
- 1937 Burma was separated and under the direct control of the British.
- 1939 Anti British National Movement penetrated through the whole of Burma. Mass meetings and big demonstrations were held to gain independence
- 1941 Prime Minister U Soe visit the Britain. Burma came to bet the Dominion. World War II broke out Dec. 8th. Burma Independence Army was formed with support of Japan.
- 1942 Burma Independence Army occupied the Victoria point and the capital Rangoon. Pro Birtish Government moved to Mandalay and exiled to In India. The Karen Army about 2,000 strong went along with the British. B.I.A. went to Karen villages looted proper-ties, raped the women and burnt down the dwellings on the pretext that Karens were spies for the British. B.I.A. caused havoc in the Papun east of the Sittang (the area of Karen settlements where the British, the Burmese or the Japanese seldom visited) and the Delta region, in places like Bassein, Myaung-Mya Maubin and Hanzada.
- 1943 Central United Karen Association was formed for keeping the status and rights, of Karens and reconciling the Burmese and the Karens over cooperating with Japanese Army. A memorandom sent to the British Government by

about 2,000 Karen fighters serving with allied forces in India, requested the British Government to give attention matters in relation to the demand of a separate state.

- 1945 Formation of the Karen Political Organization called K.C.O. (The Karen Central Organization)
Demand for Tenessarim Division to be considered as a separate state of Karen
Decided to send the delegates to United Kingdom
- 1946 3-2 Karen National Congress was held in Rangoon. Former solution changed. Tenessarim Division and Irrawaddy Division were demanded to be considered as a separate state from the Karen. Aug. to Dec. The Karen Goodwill Mission was sent to United Kingdom for explaining the Karen affairs to the British Government.
- 1947 2-1 Aung San - Atlee Agreement, Contained nothing about the affairs of the Karens.
- 4-2 Karen National Congress was held in Rangoon and all the Karen political parties attended
- 5-2 K.N.U. Karen National Union was formed as a National Front for the precise undertaking of the Karen National Affairs.
- Resolution was passed for the demand to include the affairs of the Karens separate state and its rights in the Aung San - Atlee Agreement. If there were no response, it was further decided that:
- (a) Saw Ba U Gyi was to resign from his office as Cabinet Minister.
 - (b) To Boycott the country's constitutional election
- 20-2 The Karen urged the Burmese Government to accept in principle, the idea of Karen State.

- 1947 28-2 Karen leaders met the Council of Ministers led by Aung San. The Karens were told that the issue of the Karen State was a thorny problem which could be probably thrashed by the contry's Assembly.
- 7-3 The Karens received a letter from the Secretary of State of Burma in which he made an appeal to them to join the election and work for the state through the constitution.
- 4-3 Saw Ba U Gyi resigned from his officer. Due to the calumination of A.F.P.F.L., (Anti Facist People Freedom League) Saw San Po Thin and his colleague submitted their resignation from K.N.U.
- 10-3 Due to the calumination of A.F.P.F.L., the Karen Youth Organization, (K.Y.O) was recognized and San Po Thin accepted a minister post.
- 6-4 The Karen National Union was re-organized.
- 16-7 The Karen National Defence Organization was organized.
- 19-7 Assassination of Aung San and six other Cabinet Minister. U Nu organized New Cabinet and got the seat of chairman of A.F.P.F.L.
- 3-10 Moulmein Congress; The following resolution is Passed:
- 1) A demanded Karen State must be comprised of : Old Tenessarim Division, Irrawaddy Division, Insein and Nanthawaddy District, Nyaunglebin Sub-Division of Pegu district
 - 2) To boycott the constitutional election
- 17-10 U Nu - Atlee's independent agreement allowing the British to maintain a power in holding defence and economic affairs.
- 10-11 Constitutional election
A successful general strike was held by the Karens.

- 1948 11-2 A country wide demonstration of more than four hundred and fifty thousand Karens all over Burma was held, demanding Karen State.
- 10-3 Meeting between A.F.P.F.L. leaders and Karen leaders
 A.F.P.F.L. : U Nu, U Po Kun, U Ohn, U Win Pe
 K.N.U. : Saw Ba U Gyi, Thra Tha Hto, Saw Tha Din, Mahn James TunAung, Saw Belly
- 1948 Sept. A.F.P.F.L. Government began to recapture arms from the hands of the Karens. K.N.D.O. invaded Thaton, Moulmein, Shwegyin and Kyaukkyi. These town were returned to the A.F.P.F.L. Government after compromise was reached.
- Dec. The Karen U.M.P. in Tavoy and Mergui were disarmed and sent to Rangoon.
- 23rd In Tavoy District 200 innocent Karens were
 25th killed by fully equipped Burmese troops while celebrating Christmas Service in a village church on the night of the 25th. Similar massacres also occurred during this time in Maubin.
- 1949 Jan. The Karen arms were confiscated, Karen leaders were also captured.
- 20-1 Tha Nat Chaung crisis
 Merciless massacre were committed again by Burmese. These Burmese looted the village of Tha Nat Chaung, committing inhumane offences by raping Karen women, killing all the villagers who were unable to run away from the incident and burnt down their houses.
- 30-1 Ahlone-Sanchaung crisis
 The assault of the Burmese Government towards the innocent Karen people living in Ahlone-Sanchaung, at Rangoon; The assailants

were Burmese armed force personel. Women were raped, children were shot dead, properties of the Karen people were stolen and their houses were burnt down leaving the whole Karen quarters to a barren ground.

31-1 The Karen took up arms and began to fight the Burmese Government for the survival of the Karen People, and occupied the Toungoo and Bassein Delta Areas. The Karen Revolution broke out. The assault continued to spread to the Karens living in Thamaing and Insein Delta Areas.

あ　と　が　き

1976年から5年の間、幾度もコートレーイを訪れて取材した。私がコートレーイの取材を始めた頃、世界の眼はインドシナに注がれていた。1975年4月30日、長年戦われていたベトナム民族解放闘争はサイゴン陥落をもって終わった。その後ベトナムとカンボジアの領土紛争がしだいに激しくなり、ボートピープルという名の難民が世界の関心を集めていた。

カレン族の民族解放運動はインドシナ報道の陰に隠れて日の目を見ることはなかった。その上カレン族の民族解放運動にはベトナム解放民族戦線が世界に誇示したようなはなやかさもなかった。それでも私はカレン族の民族解放闘争が外国からの援助なしに、自力で推し進められている点に深い関心を寄せた。それに1949年から闘い続けている民族解放闘争の系統性と一貫性に信頼できるものを感じた。

コートレーイは外国からの援助なしの自前の民族解放運動であるから国際的な注目も集らずセンセーショナルにとりあげられることもないだろう。その方が民族解放運動も解放達成後の情況も複雑にしないし国家建設もより進めやすいかもしれない。

北はカレン州との国境から南はタボイ・マグエ地方まで歩いた。乾期の旅行は楽だが雨期の旅行は泣きたくなるほどつらい思いもした。湿気と高温のためにフィルムがダメージを受けないように乾燥剤や保管ケースの調達など普通の取材では考えもしない工夫が必要だった。タボイ・マグエ地方ではサソリにもう少しでやられるところだったし、チョコレート色の水で水浴し、この水を沸して飲んだ。とうとうマラリヤにもかかり3年もの間定期的に出る高熱と震えに悩まされた。時間がかかる割には期待するような撮影ができないでがっかりしたことも多かった。取材地まで往復4日かかって3日間の滞在で2、3カットしか撮影できない場合もあった。つまり1週間に10回もシャッターを押さなかったわけである。

5年間に取材に協力していただいた人の数は数えきれない。いちいち名前は挙げないが取材に協力していただいた方々に深く感謝したい。しかし取材に応じてくれた人

の中には二度と会うことが出来なくなってしまった人々もいる。

「私達は戦う以上に生きる道はないのです。生きて奴隷のように暮すか、カレン族の自由と独立のために闘うかです」

私に熱っぽく語ってくれたソー・リチャードKNLA軍曹はビルマ政府軍との戦闘で死亡していた。22才の若さだった。記念写真を撮って次の取材旅行の時渡そうとすると必らず、戦死や病死している人が幾人かいて配達できない写真が手許に残る。

それでもカレン族の民族主義精神の高揚は学校教育の場でも、兵士、農民の中でも感じられる。カレン民族解放軍（KNLA）を積極的に助ける農民たち、自衛するためにKNLAから地雷の敷設訓練を受ける農民、共同農場で働き自立する難民の姿などを見るにつけKNUを支持する基盤はますます強化されている印象をうける。

これからもビルマ政府軍のカレン族の村々に対する焼き打ち、略奪は続くだろう。そうすれば多くの若者がKNLAの側に身を寄せることになる。そしてカレン民族主義で武装した若者たちは大ビルマ族主義に挑戦し続けるだろう。ビルマ政府軍とKNLAの戦いはどちらかが決定的な軍事的敗北を喫するまで続くかもしれない。

カレン族は武装闘争に入った経緯からしてもビルマ族社会にとどまるような政治解決は望むまい。カレン族の歴史的経緯と主張からみてカレン族の独立した主権国家をビルマ政府が認めない限り民族解放闘争は続くだろう。ビルマ政府が大ビルマ族主義をすて、カレン国家を認めることが平和への唯一の解決策のように思えてならない。

Note from the Author

I started covering the Karens and Kawthoolei in 1976. While the eyes of the world were concentrated on the war of Indo-China, I committed myself to reporting the struggle of the Karens which is unknown to the world.

Both the struggle of the National Liberation movement of the Karens and the conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia occurred during the same time. However the National Liberation Movement of the Karens had not the same impact on the world as the National Liberation Front in Vietnam. The situation in Indo-China cast a shadow over the Karen struggle and distracted world attention from it. I felt a responsibility to convey to the world the struggle the Karen National Movement because it is an independent fight for liberation that has existed without any financial or military aid from any other foreign countries. Also I felt the Karens had a sincere belief in their cause and that their policies remain constant and up-held.

I covered the border between Karen and Kareni from the north to the Tavoy district in south. During dry season it is easy to work, but during the rainy season it was extremely difficult for me to take photographs. I was about to cry at times, because of the severe conditions, I had to work under in the tropical zone. I nearly suffered a scorpion bite in the Tavoy area. The muddy color Tennasseriam River, served as both a bathing place and as a source of water supply. The water had to be boiled first, before drinking it. Finally I caught malaria and for nearly three years I was troubled by bouts of high temperatures and shivering which are a result of the disease. When working in the tropical area it was necessary for me to take several special precautions to avoid my film being damaged by the humidity.

I was sometimes discouraged and disappointed not to get good pictures when compared with the amount of time I spent photographing. There were times I was only able to take four or five shots over a period of three days due to travelling conditions and not being able to get information about the current situation of the war. The trip from Tokyo to Kawthoolei took four days round trip. Most of my travelling was done on foot, I found it, exhausting.

There are so many who helped me in my photo coverage, some of them I may never see again, as in the case of Saw Richard, Sergeant of KNLA who spoke passionately about the future of the Karens; he was

later killed in a battle in the village of Notmah, in the Pa An District of Kawthoolei. He was only 22 years old. Also there were several memorial photos which I had intended to give some of the Karens, but because they were victims of the war, I couldn't deliver them, and the photos remained in my hands.

When I was faced with these tragic cases, I felt the strong necessity for the Karens to prepare the table for peace talks and to try to live in co-existence. I would like to see the day when the shooting stops and Karen States sets up.

Hiroshi Katoh, Tokyo

June 28th, 1982

