

# The Mon Forum

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## Some Acronyms in This Issue

- SPDC- State Peace and Development Council  
TPDC- Township Peace and Development Council  
VPDC- Village Peace and Development Council  
LIB- Light Infantry Battalion  
IB- Infantry Battalion  
MOMC- Military Operation Management Command  
USDA- Union Solidarity and Development Association  
SEC- South East Command  
EC- Election Commission  
NLD- National League for Democracy

## News

### Mon National Day Committee accepts government censorship

IMNA 19 Jan 2010

The Mon National Day Committee, based in Mudon Township, Mon State, reported to IMNA last week that it has indeed removed the Burmese text from Mon National Day posters at 80 sites throughout Mon and Karen State, in accordance with recent orders from the Mudon Township Peace and Development Council (TPDC).

The Mudon TPDC ordered the committee to remove a paragraph of Burmese language that had been included in the Mon language posters. The paragraph in question described rise and fall of the Suwanabumi, the ancient Mon Kingdom, in what is currently Thanton District, Mon State. Members of the committee informed IMNA that they have issued a request to the Mon State Peace and Development Council that a speech about Suwanabumi history be allowed on the agendas of Mon National Day ceremonies in Mon State; the authorities have yet to respond.

“We obliterated the Burmese language as they ordered it last week, but we reported the agenda of Mon National Day, to ask about the speech in the Mon National Day ceremony”, a committee member in Mudon Town explained to IMNA last week.



A 63rd Mon National Day poster is seen at Hnee Padaw village, Mudon Township, in Mon State.

## New Conflicts in Mon Areas Signal Instability in 2010

Recently, after a conflict between the troops of the Burmese Army (BA) and a Mon splinter group in the southern part of Ye and Yebyu Townships, many newly displaced individuals have had to flee from their homes. At the same time, the Mon villagers still in the region are restricted in their movements and blocked inside their homes.

Some countries, including a number of ASEAN countries, believe that such problems will be solved after the 2010 elections. However the ruling regime, the SPDC, has not yet announced any laws about the elections and the formation of political parties for the 2010 elections. Nobody knows when the 2010 elections will be.

Actually, if the 2010 election plans are not free or fair, and are manipulated, new conflicts in both the democratic movement and ethnic armed groups could occur. Currently, the regime has no intention of allowing any other political parties like the NLD to participate in elections. If there is no participation by wider pro-democracy political parties, those political parties will be continuously stuck in non-violent political campaigns against this regime, and against a new military-dominated government after the elections.

At the same time, the ethnic nationalities, who have demanded the right of self-determination in their own ethnic regions, and the formation of a federal union of Burma, are not satisfied with the SPDC's 2008 constitution. This militarized constitution does not solve 6 decades of armed conflicts; instead, new conflicts will occur.

Even though HURFOM would not like to expect such a thing, there will be increased conflicts in Mon areas, and the Mon people will live in dangerous situations, in the upcoming year.

He informed IMNA that the committee first reported their agenda for the 63rd Mon National Day, to be held on January 30th of 2010 to Township authorities in mid-December 2009 they confirmed their agenda a second time on January 12th of this year. Reportedly, the offending posters were first hung up in various locations on the 26th of December 2009; by the 29th, the Mudon TPDC had summoned committee member to the TPDC office in Mudon Township to order the removal of the Burmese text.

IMNA reported on the Mudon TPDC's mandates ordering the removal of the Burmese language from Mon National Day posters otherwise written in Mon. The official explanation for the TPDC's orders was that the text could endanger ethnic unity in Burma. This marks the second incident of government censorship on Mon National Day propaganda; authorities ordered the removal of offensive sections from Mon educational pamphlets and ceremony speeches prepared for last year's 62nd Mon National Day, an incident covered on February 11, 2009 by IMNA.

### 200 Karen villagers forced into service in Than Tha Bin Township

January 25, 2010

HURFOM: Between January 7th and January 10th of this year, at least 200 villagers from various Karen communities in Than Tha Bin Township, Thaungoo district in Pegu division, were forced into service by soldiers from Light Infantry Battalion (LIB) No. 424 and Military Operation Command (MOC) No. 20, both based in Than Tha Bin Township. Area residents informed HURFOM's field reporter that over the course of 3 days, conscripted villagers were forced to porter food and building materials for the battalions' use; other villagers were pressed into service cutting bamboo to be used as building materials for the battalions in their various encampments around the township.

"From my village [Shan Yow Pole], we [villagers] had to provide the soldiers 100 bamboo poles for the soldiers' buildings. We not only had to cut it [the bamboo], but we also had to carry it to the army camp," said a 55 year-old Shan Yow Pole resident.

According to a Mae Kyauk village resident, on January 7th, 30 villagers from Mae Kyauk village, 30 residents of Dae Doe village, and 10 villagers from Ye Toe Kyin village were forced to porter food for soldiers from a small camp in Mae Kyauk village to an encampment in Bow Ka Lee village. The trip between the camps took the 70 villagers 3 days to complete; one porter was left behind after injuring his leg.

## Personal Accounts

In January 2009, HURFOM's field reporter met with a group of victims who had fled from the southern part of Ye Township in Sangkhlaburi, Thailand. These individuals shared their personal experiences and described the human rights situation in their area of residence.

Name	Nai Mon Kyan
Age	32
Native Village	Mankyi
Civil Status	Married



Photo of victim, Nai Mon Kyan, is seen from the personal account.

According to Nai Mon Kyan, due to the severity of the various kinds of tortures visited on the people of Mankyi village by State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) soldiers, many residents have already fled Mankyi in favor of safer communities. He informed HURFOM's reporter that Mankyi village is currently comprised of roughly 200 households. Around 30 soldiers from Light Infantry Battalion (LIB) No. 273 are also based in the village

In his interview, Nai Mon Kyan explained that in Mankyi village, villagers are frequently restricted from working in their farms and plantations by the LIB No. 273 soldiers living in their village. Residents must purchase a letter of permission in order to leave the village to work on their farms and plantations, and the LIB No. 273 soldiers have limited the time that villagers are allowed to work outside of the village to the hours between 6 am and 6 pm. When villagers return from their farms after 6 pm, they are tortured and fined. The average day laborer in Mankyi earns 5,000 kyat a day, but the letter of permission letter costs 3,000 kyat each day; many villagers must survive on a mere 2,00- kyat a day.

"Many villagers in my villager are daily workers. They rely on their labor incomes, even though the villagers work so hard, they do not have enough money for food", Nai Mon Kyan explained.

According to Nai Mon Kyan, last year two villagers returning home late were shot point-blank by LIB No. 273 soldiers, who justified their actions by claiming that since the victims had returned home past the time limit, they were probably rebel soldiers. The names of the murdered men were Nai Min, 32 years-old, and Nai Htut, 41 years-old.

"My nephew was arrested by soldiers because he came back home late, and they accused him of being a rebel soldier, and they tortured him severely and put him in their detainment house for a week. After he was detained, major Tha Aung from LIB No. 273 demanded 300,000 kyat for his freedom. After he got 300,000 kyat, my nephew was free. Since then, my nephew no longer lives in Mankyi village. I have received no information about my nephew after he left the village".

Nai Mon Kyan told HURFOM's reporter that many acres of farmland,

"We left him alone for three days. When we came back, he was in a serious condition because of his leg. The soldiers did not give him any medicine or nursing", this Mae Kyauk resident told HURFOM's reporter.

"Soldiers do not care about us villagers, they only use us for labor. When we get hurt they leave us, and they only choose those who can work for them. The ones that are useless to them are left behind to die," complained a 30 year-old Dae Doe villager to HURFOM's reporter.

According to a Ka Lae village resident, on January 8th, a military column from LIB No.424 was ambushed by a group of Karen Nation Union (KNU) soldiers. Following the attack, the battalion entered Ka Lae village, where the column's soldiers tortured villagers, verbally

harassed them, and accused them of being members of the KNU. Following this abuse, the soldiers departed, forcibly taking 58 Ka Lae villagers with them to use as porters. The status of these individuals is still unknown.

The presence of LIB No. 424 and MOC No. 20 in the area provide an added burden to villagers already struggling to survive after a year of low agricultural output, especially as many area residents are being forced to donate quantities of rice to the battalions.

"We villagers had no choice, to we had to work as they [the soldiers] said. We did not get enough food for this year [due to low production], and now we not only have to work for the soldiers but also we have to provide food for them", said a 40 year-old Bae Kaw Dae villager.

plantation-land, and house-land have been confiscated by LIB 273. Some acres of confiscated land are used for the battalion's camp and for the battalion's personal farmland. Around 4 acre's of Nai Mon Kyan's house-land was confiscated by the battalion's army base, for the purpose of building military buildings on the land. Other villager's lands and plantations were also confiscated and incorporated into the battalion's base camp.

"My house land was confiscated by LIB No 273. After my land confiscated I complained to Major Jamor Tha Aung. He said to me that 'all the land is owned by the state, no one owns the land. If we do not allow you live on the land, you will have to leave immediately' "

Nai Mon Kyan reported to HURFOM that Mankyi villagers are also forced by the battalion to stand sentry duty. Every night, 9 villagers have to stand sentry duty in the village. These 9 villagers under the order of LIB 273 soldiers, and if they miss their sentry duty they are punished and fined.

"During my turn at sentry duty, a soldier accused me of missing my duty; they accused me of going to sleep during my sentry duty. I did not go to sleep while standing at sentry duty. In the morning, they came and tied my hands and took me to army camp and tortured me severely. They kicked my body and hit my head with gun butts, and my head was wounded. After three days, my wife came and paid them 400,000 kyat. After that, they let me free. After they freed me for a week, my family and I fled to the [Thailand-Burma] border."

Name: Nai Chop  
Age: 40  
Residence: Chan keo village  
Civil Status: Married



Photo of victim, Nai Chop, is seen from the personal account.

At the close of January 2010, HURFOM's field reporter met with a Mon farmer named Nai Chop who had fled from his village in southern Yeh Township, Mon State, to the Thailand-Burma border. Nai Chop spoke with HURFOM's reporter about his experiences in his village.

Nai Chop explained that Chang Gu village comprises of 250 households. Each month,

every household must pay the village headman 5,000 kyat. Nai Chop earned an income of 5,000 kyat per day as a day-laborer, harvesting rice from paddies as well as other crops growing in the area. In order to leave the village to earn his living in the surrounding farmland, he had to purchase a letter of permission from the village headman every day. The Chang Gu village headman is named Nai Win, aged 45.

"The villagers could not go outside of the village. If they wanted to go out of the village, villagers had to ask for a permission

letter from the headman. Villagers had to get a permission letter from the headman for 3,000 kyat per day. My family is very poor, and I have three children. I got an income of 5,000 kyat per day, but I had to pay 3,000 kyat every day for a permission letter. I had 2,000 kyat for me. It was not enough to buy rice for my family."

According to Nai Chop, if villagers want to travel outside of Chang Gu village to their farms and gardens, they have to purchase a permission letter, as the local Burmese army battalion, LIB No. 317, frequently checks if travelling villagers are carrying the documents. Villagers not in possession of a permission letter are required to pay the battalion 15,000 kyat; residents unable to pay this sum must labor for the battalion.

Each household in the village is required to pay a tax of 5,000 kyat per month to the village headman on the army's behalf; Nai Chop explained that villagers unable to pay the tax are sent by the village headman to labor for LIB. No 317.

"Before I fled from my village, I saw that some villagers didn't have the money to pay the headman 5,000 kyat per month. The village headman passed those villagers to the local Burmese battalion. Another villager told me about how the battalion abused them [the villagers]. So, I felt afraid of the army, because I also didn't have enough money to pay the village headman."

"At that time I talked with my wife and my mom, and [decided that] we had to move away somewhere. I fled from the village at night-time. Nobody knew. I and my wife, and one child fled to the Thailand-Burma border. Now my other two children are living with my mom in the village."

"I arrived here [at the Thailand-Burma border] one week ago. Now I am working here. If my job earns me enough for food, I never go back to my village again. Now I am saving the money to bring my other two children here to live with me."

'If things my village change, and we [the Chang Gu villagers] don't have to pay a tax and get permission letters like that [like before], I will go back again, because I have my home and my garden."

## Report

# “We have to try”: Mounting pressure in election preparations and responses from the Mon State community

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## Introduction

Between December 2009 and early January 2010, South-East Command Major General That Naing Win issued a series of orders to local and regional Burmese government administrators in Mon State, mandating that their offices begin lobbying the residents of the areas under their administrative control for political support, in preparation for the 2010 election. These orders coincided with a rapid increase in human rights abuses targeting the citizens of Mon State. The most common instances of these abuses, forced militia trainings, extortion of election funds, forced rice donations, land confiscations and mandatory summer rice paddy cultivation, have been continuously documented by HURFOM in its November and December 2009 reports. This month's continued documentation of abuses by the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) forces has painted a stark portrait of pre-election efforts by the military government, that are directly intended to ensure it will maintain its grip on state power after the supposed transition to a civilian government post-election.

This month, HURFOM continues its series of reports documenting effects of SPDC preparations for the coming 2010 election. Previously published information pertaining to pre-election human rights violations, along with updates in Thanbyuzayat township, serve as a backdrop for a discussion of the methods by which the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) has begun to increase its control over the voting population of Mon State. HURFOM then addresses the three-pronged approach by the Burmese government to maintaining control of the voting population in Mon State: census-gathering of village and township population levels, identification checking and travel restrictions, and checks placed on monastic communities.

In response to the SPDC's ongoing campaign, HURFOM hopes in this report to highlight the actual responses from Mon state villagers to increases in government pressure. As noted in the Karen Human Rights Group's 2008 report “Village Agency”, rural communities are often overlooked as agents of political action or thought in the state. However HURFOM hopes to highlight that by providing individual accounts from a diverse array of dissenting voices, including monks, TPDC chairmen, truck drivers, and government staff members, this report will reveal a clear and strong community response, regarding their perceptions of and reactions to these growing efforts to undercut any real democratic process.

## Background

The human rights violations that HURFOM documented in the months of November and December 2009 pertaining to SPDC preparations for the 2010 election have persisted into the first month of 2010. Here, HURFOM includes a short update on reports of increasingly intense pre-election abuse in Mon State.

Starting in early December 2009, Military Operations Management Command No. 19 in Thanbyuzayat Township forced between 10 and 30 residents from each village in its controlled area to act as “observers” for the military government. These individuals were forced to complete military training, and then were ordered to act as unofficial spies for the Burmese government in their villages, motoring each settlement for anti-military election sentiment.

The other residents of these Thanbyuzayat villages were forced to support the individuals selected to be “observers” during their military training. The majority of the villages in the area under MOMC No. 19's control contain an average of 2,000 villagers each, and during the 2 weeks of militia training, each household in the area was required to contribute between 3,000 and 5,000 kyat to pay for food, uniforms, and other supplies. HURFOM's reporters also learned that village headmen have used the battalion's presence in the area as an opportunity for self-gain; many village headmen used the military training taxes as an opportunity

### Methodology

For this report, HURFOM field reporters gathered interviews from Ye, Mudon and Thanbyuzayat Townships in Mon State. Due to increased security risks as government has mounted pressure on communities, reporters relied largely on networks of their own individual contacts for information; many of these individuals within the reporter’s network were responsible for gaining contacts and conducting interviews with village leaders and government staff members. While these accounts are gathered based on opportunity as they occurred to reporters and their network, HURFOM believes these interviews provide a fair account of personal opinion amongst villagers within the townships targeted, and areas within which SPDC forces have conducted 2010 election preparations and perpetrated abuses in relation the election.

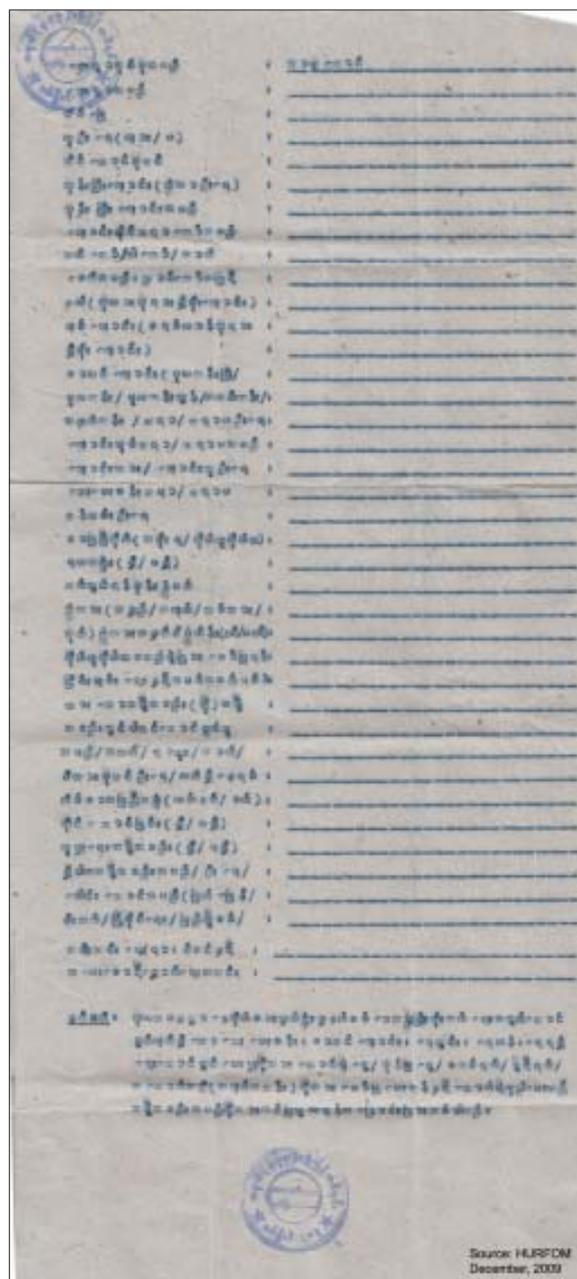
### Census-gathering

Continuing since October 2009, the SPDC has carried out an aggressive and detailed form of census taking, targeting different elements of civilian communities throughout Mon state. This campaign to gather information about the state’s civilian population has transformed over the past four months, as efforts by the SPDC towards securing community support have evolved.

According to HURFOM’s field reporters, near the close of 2009, the Burmese government issued identification cards to Burmese citizens not yet in possession of identification. The government’s Department of Immigration, in conjunction with the Burmese military, lead the issuance of identification cards, and then conducted censuses of the voting population in each village in Mon State, which were ordered to be concluded by the 31st of December. Such measures will provide the Burmese government with exact figures of expected voter turnouts in these regions.

In first week of December 2009, The Burmese military government ordered the local administrators in Ye and Thanbyuzayat Townships to conduct censuses in the areas under their control, as a means of establishing the numbers of potential voters before the upcoming 2010 elections. The orders were issued directly to local battalions, Township Peace and Development Council (TPDC) chairmen and Village Peace and Development Council (VPDC) chairmen. The village chairmen were ordered to initiate the censuses in their individual villages. The SPDC first demanded village names, and then asked about the number of households located in each village, and the total population of each village.

According to a Ye Township resident, the census was conducted by a number of battalions based in both northern and southern Ye Township. These battalions include Light Infantry Battalion (LIB) No. 587, based in Kon Du Village; LIB No. 299, based in Marn Aung village, LIB No. 586 based in Myo Daw Oo village, and LIB No. 343 base in Aru Taung village. The battalions themselves registered identification numbers and tallied the number of residents in each village, also counting the numbers of villagers currently employed abroad. The remaining sections of the census demanded political and economic information that many township members felt exceeded the



An original copy of SPDC’s census form is seen, collected from eastern Ye Township, Mon

Source: HURFOM  
December, 2009

boundaries of a normal census, raising suspicions that the SPDC planned to use this information to manipulate voter populations during its 2010 election campaign.

U Khin Yee, a 45 year old villager and member of the Ye Township TPDC, detailed the questions included in the document for HURFOM's reporter:

The census they [the government] gave us was very detailed. It also included [questions on] religious leaders and staff who live in monasteries, churches, and mosques in the area. Other [details collected] are: the number of government staff in the area, the amount of property they own, and what organization they are working for in the area. The census form also asked for the amount of ceasefire-group members who are based in the area. They also wanted to know the number of clinics, libraries, small bridges, and large bridges that have been funded by the area's budget [taxes]. I think, they will try to use this information in their election campaign."

U Myo Thet, a 64 year old retired high school teacher from Ye Township, explained to HURFOM's reporter how he believes the censuses collected of government staff information will allow the SPDC to manipulate its voter levels:

The local government collected lists of the retired people in Ye Township. There are around 15 individuals who collected the census list. This group included members of Infantry Battalion (IB) no. 61, Military Operation Management Command (MOMC) No. 19, advanced trainers for the government's civil service, and the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA). I heard they would collect lists of all the retired government staff in Ye Town. The local authorities would not directly say that the list was for the 2010 elections. They claimed that they wanted to know the voters list in the area. As for me, I will vote properly for party that I believe in. I want the party that I prefer to get power and win in the election. I could not accept a government who forced the population to vote for them and intimidated the residents into supporting them in their election. If I believe that a party is not appropriate for the residents, and I do not agree with their ideas or systems, I will not vote for them. It is my decision. We must have freedom to vote [as we wish], and justice in our election. Now, the way they are collecting the retired government staff lists is a way of preparing them [the staff] to vote for the government's party. I think, by collecting the retired staff lists, the government will change our votes so that we vote for their controlling party. It's an unacceptable idea."

## **Movement Restriction Against Civilians During the Pre-election Period**

In a step beyond previous efforts to pressure civilian communities in to support of the SPDC in the coming election, military forces have now been documented actively restricting civilian movement. Restriction of movement is an abuse commonly practiced in brown and black 'free fire' areas where SPDC forces still face resistance from insurgent groups. The implementation of this tactic in relation the control of non-threatening civilian communities is an exceptional indicator of the SPDC's increased focus on pre-election preparations.

According to HURFOM's field reporter, in the beginning of January 2010 the military government in Naypyidaw ordered Brigadier General That Naing Win, chairman of the South East Command (SEC), to ensure that all Light Infantry Battalions (LIB) and Infantry Battalions (IB) in Mon State be ready to maintain security in preparation for the 2010 election. Among the security measures demanded by the Burmese government was the implementation of rigorous check-points, and increased travel restrictions on travelers moving around rural areas, or between rural area and urban sites.



**A Mon State policeman is on duty at a public ceremony, in Mudon Township, Mon State.**

Resultantly, since the start of January 2010, the residents of southern Mon State have encountered a

in travel restrictions and identification checkpoints. According to HURFOM's reporters, travel has become especially difficult for individuals from neighboring states and divisions, as government authorities have been ordered to subject outsiders to particularly intense questioning and identity checks. Individuals traveling between townships in Mon State itself have also experienced travel restrictions.

Kon Aye, a 29 year-old resident of Aru Taung village in Ye Township, told HURFOM's reporter that he feels that the travel restrictions in his region are an attempt to limit awareness of the human rights abuses occurring in Ye Township's "black areas":

In my opinion, the authorities in the township do not want people from other states and divisions to come into this area because they do not want news spread in other states and divisions about what they have done in this area. In the last few months, the local authorities have collected the numbers of people in different villages, including the villages of Aru Taung, Marn Aung, Kyaung Yaw, Kon Du, Myo Daw Oo and Hangan. The authorities were trying to get the number of people in each village in preparation for the election.

HURFOM's field reporters also learned that during the second week of January 2010, the government authorities in Moulmein, and those at checkpoints along the Thanbyuzayat to Moulmein highway, began particularly intense traveler investigations, checking identification cards and searching baggage. According to reports, the severity of these checks is only increasing.

## Targeting of Monastic Communities:

While traditionally seen as the religious and moral compass of the nation, the monastic population of Burma has come under increasing scrutiny and outright pressure from the SPDC. The nation's monk community carries significant respect from civilian groups, is wide spread, well organized, and fosters a high degree of education, and is for these reasons seen as a threat to the continued domination of the junta in Burmese politics.



**Buddhist Monks collecting alms are closely monitored by police, at the beginning of January in Mudon, Mon State.**

As the SPDC's 2010 election preparations have evolved, increasing amounts of military pressure have been placed on Mon state's monastic communities. Members of monasteries throughout Mudon, Thanbyuzayat, and Mudon townships reported increases in questioning, identification checks, and movement surveillance to HURFOM's field reporters.

According to a monk in Kon Du Village in Ye Township, LIB No. 587 commander Than Win not only gathered a census of the number of people in his village but also gathered the identification numbers of monks living in the area, despite the fact that monastic communities are not permitted to participate in the voting process. Reportedly, this commander also asked monks in the region to inform him when monks from neighboring villages arrived at the monastery. Than Win reportedly demanded that the Kon Du monastic community to also contact him immediately, should they hear rumors of other monks being involved in anti-election movements.

A 29 year-old monk from Kon Du temple described the investigation of his monastery by LIB No. 587's commander. The process included specific orders from the commander regarding appropriate monastic pre-election behavior:

The battalion commander came and questioned the abbot in the temple every week. Some weeks he came two three or times and questioned the abbot. It seen to be he came and checked the list of the monks' visitors in my temple. Every temple in Ye township was in the same situation. The battalion commander also warned the abbot not to get involved in movements against the election. If other monks get involved, we have to tell him about it. If someone gets involved in movements against the election, they must face severe punishment.

According to HURFOM's field reporter, military checkpoints at Thanbyuzayat, Mudon and Phaung Sein have placed particularly intense focus on students and monks, given the role both groups played in the 1988 and 2007 protests. Traveling students and monks who talked to HURFOM's reporters claimed that the rigorous treatment they faced at checkpoints made them extremely uncomfortable, and many feared being accused of inciting anti-government sentiment and being forced to pay bribes. Travelers reported that checkpoint authorities led rigorous baggage and personal searches, and held long, threatening interrogation sessions.

Particularly intense travel restrictions began in the northern and central areas of Mon State after an anti-government movement called the "no 2010 campaign" took place over New Years. Participants all over Mon State graffitied the words "No 2010" on various roads and buildings throughout the region; the protest prompted a state-wide frenzy among Burmese military forces based in Mon State. According to inside sources in the Thanbyuzayat monastic community, on January 7th, a monk heavily involved in the Mon Literacy and Culture Association was arrested in Thanbyuzayat in conjunction with the "No 2010" campaign. Security maintains extremely tight for travelers throughout Mon State, and travelers report that they now must show identification at every checkpoint.

## Community responses to SPDC manipulation

Despite the upsurge in security measures designed to ensure the SPDC's retention of power after the 2010 election, a large contingent of Mon State civilians, government workers, and monks interviewed by HURFOM's reporters continue to voice their own opposing political beliefs and desires. Many of the sources who spoke with HURFOM's field reporters used the opportunity to share their disapproval of the Burmese government.

HURFOM hopes to highlight that these interviews are an important indicator of community members' retention of their own political agency and will, despite the Burmese government's widespread efforts at coercion and repression of their capacity to act. Though unable to physically carry out openly confrontational forms of political resistance, these interviews illustrate a firm understanding and clear set of ideals and principles on which Mon State community members intend to act, regardless of SPDC repression.

A VPDC chairman (name and location concealed for security purposes), who attended a Township-level administrative meeting in his district on December 2nd and 3rd, 2009, expressed to HURFOM his extreme reluctance to implement the Burmese government's orders given to tactical commander, battalion commanders, and TPDC officials:

The authorities commanded us to work a certain way. First, they ordered us to campaign for the government. They do not care if I and the residents are interested or not, the resident must be forced to vote for the government's party. Voters are their [the government's] target, if they don't vote they are the government's enemy. They force us to continue forcing the residents [to support the Burmese military government]. They know that if we [village leaders] force our residents then we will get into conflicts with our people. Second, they ordered us to force the residents to vote for them by forcing them and intimidating them. Not only this meeting did they order this, but also in a meeting we attended before. They ordered the same thing. This way [forced participation] means that people will lose their freedom of expression through voting.

Just as government officials seemed increasingly reluctant to participate in the invasive pre-election procedures demanded by the SPDC, so too did civilian sources interviewed by HURFOM. Many Mon State citizens indicated that they had begun to chafe at the increasingly stringent movement restrictions implemented by the SPDC.

According to a Mon State truck driver, who regularly drives from Ye to Moulmein on the Moulmein to Ye highway, in the past travelers were not required to stop at every checkpoint along the route. Following the events of the “No 2010” protest, this truck driver complained to HURFOM that travelers must not only show their cards at every checkpoint, they also must walk through the stations. Truck drivers making the trip between Rangoon and Tavoy report even higher rates of checkpoints, and rates of travelers along road have steadily declined, as travelers grow more discouraged by the length of time it takes to make a journey along Mon State’s major highways. Drivers reported that they must pay increasingly high bribes to get through checkpoints; the truck driver interviewed by HURFOM complained that between checkpoints and the cost of gas, he is left totally devoid of income.

A TPDC member (name concealed for security purposes) detailed some of the preparations already made by the Burmese government for its pre-election campaign:

As for me, I had been attending meetings every single week. Most the government orders are directly from Naypyidaw to the State’s or District’s Administrative Department. In the meetings, they mainly focus on how to get every department involved in 2010 election. In our Township, the MOMC will role for the security in coming election. As you know, the Election Commission (EC) has not declared the election laws yet. We also don’t know about the policies for forming a political party, or a constituency. In contrast, the military battalions have been providing fireman and militia trainings in the local areas. In addition, they have also educated the USDA about the election and what they can do in election. After they finish what they have do to prepare for their party, the election laws will be declared. I heard they would declare them in March. After that campaign, the government will start forcing and intimidating people to vote for them.

According HURFOM’s field reporters, the Burmese immigration department began compiling lists of both retired and currently employed government staff, and their family members, in Ye, Thanbyuzayat, and Mudon Townships, in early January 2010. Three of HURFOM’s field reporters interviewed 20 retired government personnel, and 8 currently employed government staff members throughout the three Townships.

Overwhelmingly the government staff members interviewed by HURFOM’s reporters offered dissenting opinions on the election preparations. A former land surveyor named U Soe Thar, aged 62 from Ye Town, said:

This election must be the transition from a military government to a democratic government. For over 40 to 50 years, our population has been struggling under the military government’s control. Now is one of the opportunities that have been appearing throughout our history, to reform our country’s political system. If we vote for the military government, we can’t change and reform the security and country situation. It’s our opportunity to select our future leader. Even though I was a government staff, I must be vote for the party that I believe in.

U Thin, a 62 year-old retired government staff member from Mudon Township gave his explanation for the Burmese government’s delay in announcing electoral law:

My perception is clear. Certainly the government will lie in their election processes to continue holding on to their power. It is an unfair action that they also have not declared the election laws yet. They know that if they declare them late, other parties will not have time for their campaigns. Now they [the Burmese government] are already prepared for the pre-election process.

A Thanbyuzayat education staff member, who insisted that his name be withheld for security purposes, pointed to the role of the 2008 constitutional referendum in the SPDC’s control of the country:

As for my opinion, if the National League for Democracy (NLD) does not participate in the election, the election will not make sense. It’s not fair, the government has been starting its campaign, giving trainings and educating their key members to be ready for the election. They [the government] have already registered their retired employees on their voter lists. And then, the most important thing is the election laws. They have not come out yet. So, we can see that it will not be a fair election. They must play by the rules to win if the election happens. I think our country will not be freed from the military’s control again. In the 2008 constitution, we can review that the military government already takes 25% [of seats in parliament] in the administrative system. Furthermore, if there should be a revolution in parliament, the Ministry of defense can lead a military coup. It was clearly described in the 2008 constitution that every

## Information on HURFOM and Invitation for Feedbacks from Readers

Dear Readers,

Human Rights Foundation of Monland (HURFOM) was founded in 1995, by a group of young Mon people. The main objectives of HURFOM are:

- Monitoring the human rights situation in Mon territory and other areas in southern Burma
- Protecting and promoting internationally recognized human rights in Burma,

In order to implement these objectives, HURFOM produces the monthly "Mon Forum" newsletters. If publication is delayed it is because we are waiting to confirm information, and it comes with our heartfelt apologies.

We encourage you to write to us if you have feedback or if you know someone who you think would like to receive the newsletter. Please email or mail a name and address to:

HURFOM, P. O. Box 2237, General Post Office  
Bangkok 10501, THAILAND  
E-mail: [hurformcontact@yahoo.com](mailto:hurfomcontact@yahoo.com)  
Website: <http://www.rehmonnya.org>

With regards,

Director  
Human Rights Foundation of Monland

department in the government, such as administrative systems, judges, and the law are controlled by the military. It's a question of who can accept this idea. As for me, if the election happens, I will vote for the political party that I prefer.

HURFOM's field reporters interviewed 10 educators and former students living throughout Mon State, in the townships of Ye, Thanbyuzayat, and Mudon. Many of the individuals interviewed were united in the opinion that without a proper understanding of the electoral process, and a thorough education on the nation's political system, many Burmese citizens would be swayed by the SPDC's pre-election efforts.

Mehm Paing Chan, a 28 year- old graduate with a B.A in law, from Thanbyuzayat Township pointed to the importance of both education and free will in the 2010 electoral process:

The election is the top priority in the country, it's life for our country. It's a time that we give a good leader and political party the opportunity to have a power in the country. I mean that we will give our future to the party that we believe in. If we don't know the background of the government's party, we will vote for them. That is similar to you killing yourself. Now we do not see that the government is preparing for the election like they would in a democratic system. All of their [the government's] history is just abuse from their guns and their power. We saw in the 2008 constitutional referendum, how the government forced the residents to vote for its constitution. Nothing from our free wills was included in the constitution. We knew the constitution was not fair, but they forced us to agree with their constitution. If this time they force us to vote for their party again, we will have lost twice.

An educator and member of the National League for Democracy in Thanbyuzayat Town told HURFOM's reporter that he believes the government's delay in announcing election laws is a ploy to keep both the Burmese people, and the international world, uneducated about Burma's political situation:

We can't just say that the election will be in 2010. Before the election period, we should educate the population and provide knowledge about issues that are related to the election. Also, the election laws should appear very early, and there should be freedom to form political parties. The government should also give opportunities to other parties to use the radio and television for their own campaigns. Now, the election laws have not appeared yet. The population does not have any idea what the election is about. Also, other political parties have not started their campaigns yet. I think, the government did not give much time to other political parties for their campaigns. As a result, the population will get less knowledge and less experience with other parties. So, the entire body of these uneducated votes is just for the military government's party. In addition, the government will force people to vote and finally they will point guns to the people's heads to get their votes. The resident will be afraid and they certainly will vote

for the military. This is the government's strategy for the coming election. We have to try to educate the residents. And monitor what kind of human rights abuses will be caused by the coming election. We need to express to the international community that it needs to know that the government is abusing human rights in their election process. It's necessary that the international community know that the election will not be fair and free.



The words "No 2010" seen on the Moulmein to Tavoy motor road at the beginning of January, 2010.

## Conclusion

The climate in which HURFOM continues to publish this series of reports on SPDC election preparations is one of increasing tension, as all forms of Burmese civil society find themselves under the ever-increasing influence of government pressure. After exploring what these abuses against civilian communities entail during the previous 2 months, this report has explored 3 primary invasive techniques designed to limit Mon States communities' capacity for active political participation.

Census gathering, with the issuing of identification cards, continues to be a baseline effort by administrative bodies to gather detailed information on communities prior to promulgating the election law. These censuses infringe on the rights to privacy of the civilians in Mon state. By restricting the movements of civilian groups, SPDC authorities are targeting one of the most basic elements of personal freedom – the right to move freely from one place to another. By targeting monks, the spiritual keys to Mon State communities, the SPDC hopes to curtail an entity possessing the potential to catalyze real political resistance.

However, civilian response to the current series of preparatory measures highlight a heartening reaction in which Mon State's residents are able to retain their own personal sense of agency. In particular, given the significance the SPDC has assigned to controlling Mon State's civilian population, community voice and the potential of divergent political opinion is perceived by the Burmese government as a very real threat. Thus, HURFOM hopes to underline that even in the midst of ongoing abuses, the retention of personal agency and opinion carries a great potential for action amongst Mon State citizens, into a period of increasing uncertainty as the 2010 election approaches.

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