

HUMAN RIGHTS YEARBOOK 1997-98



BURMA

**Violations against the dignity
livelihood and fundamental rights of
people in Burma perpetrated by the
military dictatorship of Rangoon**

This book is dedicated to the countless citizens of Burma who have sacrificed their homes, their freedom, and their lives to lifting the veil of terror that shrouds the truth in Burma today.

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**Views expressed in this book are not necessarily those of the
National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma.**

PREFACE

By

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Prime Minister

National Coalition Government of
the Union of Burma

The root cause of human misery under a dictatorial system stems from the mistaken belief by the wielders of state power that they alone know what is good for the country. Any opinion that diverges from their vision, however good it may be, is usually dismissed offhandedly and the people who espouse a different view to theirs are treated as enemies of the state.

This holds true for the military junta in Burma too. The fear by the generals that the country will break up without a strong centralized control by the military is in fact causing the nation to fall apart today.

The generals are obsessed with a wish to install a government under strict military control. Nothing else matters. Their vision of a "national unity" in a multi-ethnic country like Burma is make all ethnic nationalities adopt a single national identity. To realize this ambition, the generals ordered the launching of brutal offensives against the ethnic forces to crush the struggles for equal rights and destroy the will of the ethnic people. Hundreds of cases of murder, summary execution, rape, looting, destruction of villages, etc., recorded in this

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book are a willful and well thought out campaign by the military to achieve that end.

Reports on brutal persecution and attacks on the National League for Democracy leaders/members, and the systematic harassment of politicians and activists -- many of the cases of which are documented in this book -- are also designed to weaken the determination of the people fighting for democracy and human rights.

Once the will is broken, the generals intend to introduce, what is known as "disciplined democracy," or a government that is disciplined to dance to the tune of the military.

Despite the growth in the number of troops (about 400,000 today) the generals have failed to break the will of the ethnic people and the democracy movement. At the border, ethnic forces, including those forces which have signed cease-fire agreements with the Burmese military, continue to demand for freedom and equal rights. Inside the country, the National League for Democracy, in consultation with the other ethnic and non-ethnic organizations, has continued to remain active and is determined in its efforts to restore democracy and human rights.

Without the full support of the people further attempts to overwhelm the democracy and ethnic movements will also fail again. It's about time the generals give up their absurd dream to impose military rule and think of the alternatives offered by the democracy movement.

Perhaps, then, the need to publish a Human Rights Year Book will not longer be there.

Acknowledgement

Having freed itself from the yoke of British colonialism, Burma has been able to celebrate the 50th anniversary of its independence.

Unfortunately, fifty years after independence, Burma under the military dictatorship today has obviously earned notoriety as being one of the countries with the worst human rights records, one of the countries that produces the most opium and one of the least developed countries in the world.

On January 4, 1948 - the day Burma regained her independence and sovereignty – the Burmese people had envisaged a Burma of freedom, justice, equality and prosperity.

On February 12, 1947, General Aung San and ethnic leaders met at Panlong, Shan State, and signed the historic Panlong Agreement laying the foundation for understanding, unity, mutual respect and national solidarity. Independence and national solidarity had been one and inseparable.

March 27, 1945 is a historic day in Burmese history. It marks the day the whole people of Burma, under the leadership of General Aung San, united, and rose up in resistance to free the country and themselves of fascism. Independence, therefore, is the fruit of sacrifices by the whole people of Burma and not just by the army as the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) or the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) would want us and the world to believe.

However, it is very sad for the people of Burma to see that on the 50th anniversary of Burma's independence, the essence of independence and expectations that had emanated from hard-won national unity and untold sacrifices have all but dissipated.

Burma, a country with a population of 47 million, is rich in natural resources. It is blessed with a most favorable climate. In spite of these, the country has economically fallen to the lowest level. The main cause obviously is the military dictatorship which began with the coup de'tat in 1962. Democracy has, since then, disappeared from Burma. With democracy, ethnic nationalities' rights and all forms of human rights have also disappeared.

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The August 1988 popular uprising took place after the Burmese people had been subjected for almost three decades to cruel and abominable military dictatorship's one party rule. Thousands of people were butchered in the streets and hundreds have died in jails. Following the uprising, the military renamed itself State Law and Order Restoration Council and continued to forcibly cling to power.

Under the military dictatorship, ethnic nationalities' rights and demand for equal opportunities continue to be suppressed. Indigenous and non-Burman ethnic lands are being invaded and occupied, the peoples uprooted and forcefully relocated en mass. Hundreds have been killed in the process. Racial amalgamation and assimilation are systematically carried out, rape being one of the vehicles to implement these. The result has been the exodus of thousands of ethnic refugees into neighbouring countries. Some incidents relating to atrocities by the SLORC/SPDC troops against the non-Burman ethnic nationalities in 1997 are documented in this book. Readers, sadly, will also find that 600 plus Shan nationals in Shan State were inhumanely murdered by the SLORC/SPDC troops.

Although SLORC had held general elections on May 27, 1990, it refuses to recognize the results following the landslide victory by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD) party. On the other hand, Members of Parliament elect who had won the elections are being, for one reason or another, unlawfully arrested, jailed or forced to resign. The military is brazenly antagonizing the wish of the people.

Although SLORC has changed its name to SPDC on November 15, 1997, barbarity, atrocities and suppression of human rights continue unabated. Aung San Suu Kyi, the Noble Peace Laureate and leader of the NLD herself had been physically attacked by the SPDC-sponsored mobs. This year book has also recorded the situation of the citizens and Members of Parliament who are being harassed, arrested and tortured for their belief and struggle to restore democracy in Burma.

This is the fourth book that the Human Rights Documentation Unit (HRDU) has compiled in connection with human rights situation in Burma. Unlike other books or publications, it had been very hard this year to bring it out. There had been a time when the HRDU had to, all of a sudden, stop its work altogether. However, the desire for the world to know the truth about gross human rights abuses that are taking place in Burma, had pushed the HRDU to continue despite innumerable hardship. Portraying human rights

abuses in Burma is high-lighting to the world that wherever it might be, under an authoritarian regime that does not respect human dignity and a government that allows no room for rule of law, what happens in Burma will definitely happen there too.

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the members of the Norwegian Burma Council for their unwavering support in making this Report possible. In addition, I would like to thank all the ethnic organizations and the many individuals who supported this project. Sincere thanks also to all those people who helped prepare this book for publication, and many individuals whose names cannot be mentioned but whose contribution cannot go unnoticed. The very existence of the Human Rights Documentation Unit (HRDU) would not have been possible without the assistance of these friends of Burma. The emergence of the HRDU has given me a greatly satisfying opportunity to work closely with organizations that are noble and just and have a profound sympathy for the people of Burma. I wish to put on record my profound gratitude to the KHRG, KIC, HRFOM, MIS, SHRF, SHAN, CHRO, ABSDF, Burma Issue, Images Asia, and the Burma Relief Center for their enthusiastic assistance and cooperation for the publication of this book. I also would like to express my gratitude to the Foreign Ministry of the Royal Danish Government which generously assisted the publication of this book.

May the world continue to take heed that the people of Burma, fifty years after independence, are still living in stark fear under a military dictatorship because there is no rule of law and because gross human rights violations are being committed nationwide everyday. We feel that it is time the United Nations implemented the resolutions it has adopted in connection with Burma for several years in a row at the United Nations General Assembly.

Thein Oo
Minister for Justice (NCGUB) and
Coordinator
Human Rights Documentation Unit

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS, TERMS, AND MEASUREMENTS

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABSDF:	All Burma Students' Democratic Front
ABSDF/WB:	All Burma Students' Democratic Front - Western Burma
ABSL:	All Burma Students' League
ABYMU:	All Burma Young Monks Union
aka:	also known as
ALP:	Arakan Liberation Party
approx:	approximately
ASC:	Arakanese Students' Congress
BAD:	Border Area Development Program
B.E.:	Burmese Era
Brig :	Brigadier
BI:	Burma Issues
BIG:	Burma Information Group
Bn:	Battalion
BPP:	Border Patrol Police (Thailand)
BRC:	Burmese Relief Center
BSPP:	Burma Socialist Program Party
Capt:	Captain
CEC:	Central Executive Committee (NLD)
CHRO:	Chin Human Rights Organization
CNF:	Chin National Front
Comdr:	Commander
Col:	Colonel
Coy:	Company
Cpl:	Corporal
CPPSM:	Campaign for the Publicity of the People's Struggle in Monland
DDSI:	Directorate of Defense Services Intelligence
DKBA:	Democratic Kayin (Karen) Buddhist Association
DPA:	Democratic Patriotic Army
Dta Baw:	The Yellow Ones (the common Karen names for DKBA)
DVB:	Democratic Voice of Burma

FEC:	Foreign Exchange Certificate (See “Measurements”)
ft:	feet
FTUB:	Federation of Trade Unions, Burma
Gen:	General
HRDU:	Human Rights Documentation Unit
HRV:	Human Rights Violations
HURFOM:	Human Rights Foundation of Monland
IA:	Images Asia
IB:	Infantry Battalion
IDC:	Immigration Detention Center (Thailand)
ILO:	International Labor Organization
Ind:	Independent
Lt:	Lieutenant
kg:	Kilogram
KHRG:	Karen Human Rights Group
KIA	Kachin Independence Army (Military wing of KIO)
KIC:	Karen Information Center
KIO	Kachin Independence Organization
KNLA:	Karen National Liberation Army (military wing of KNU)
KNPP:	Karenni National Progressive Party
KNU:	Karen National Union
Ko Per Baw:	The Yellow Headbands (the common Karen names for DKBA)
Ko Per Kit:	The Striped Headbands (usually red-and-white headbands) A relatively small group which has allied itself with DKBA.
Ko Per Wah:	The White Headbands which was recently formed. Formed by a monk who then allied himself with DKBA chief U Thuzana
LIB:	Light Infantry Battalion
LID:	Light Infantry Division
LORC:	Law and Order Restoration Council (on the ward, township, state, and division levels)
MAMD:	Mon Army, Mergui District
Maj:	Major
Ma Wa Ta:	Township-level SLORC authorities
MIS:	Military Intelligence Services (aka DDSI)
MIS:	Mon Information Service (Bangkok)
mm:	millimeter
MNRC:	Mon National Relief Committee
MOGE:	Myanmar Oil & Gas Enterprise

MOI:	Ministry of Interior (Thailand)
MSC:	Military Strategic Command
MTA:	Mong Tai Army (led by Khun Sa)
n.a.:	[not available]
Na Wa Ta:	State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC)
NBC:	Norwegian Burma Council
NCGUB:	National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma
NCO:	Non-commissioned officer
NGO:	Non-governmental organization
NLD:	National League for Democracy
NLD (LA):	National League for Democracy (Liberated Area)
NLM:	The New Light of Myanmar (SLORC-controlled newspaper)
NMSP:	New Mon State Party
Pa Wa Ta:	State-level SLORC authorities
Pali:	Pali, the Prakrit language of the Buddhist Scriptures
Pvt:	Private
pyi:	eight-condensed-milk tin
RFA:	Radio Free Asia
SAIN:	Southeast Asia Information Network
Sd.:	Signed with signature
Sgt:	Sergeant
Shwedagon:	The Great Pagoda in Rangoon
SHRF:	Shan Human Rights Foundation
S.H.A.N.:	Shan Herald Agency for News
SLORC:	State Law and Order Restoration Council
sq:	square
SSA:	Shan State Army
SSIA:	Shan State Independence Army
SUA:	Shan United Army (now-defunct when MTA exits)
SURA:	Shan United Revolutionary Army
Ta Wa Ta:	Division-level SLORC authorities
TOC:	Tactical Operations Command
TRC:	Thailand Revolutionary Council
UN:	United Nations
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
USDA:	Union Solidarity and Development Association

Ya Wa Ta:	Town-quarter-level or Village-level SLORC authorities
Baht:	monetary unit of Thailand (see “Measurements”).
Black Areas:	areas fully under the control of anti-government forces.
Bo:	military commander.
Brown Areas:	areas partially under the control of anti-government forces
Daw:	an honorific used to address an adult female
furlong:	(see “Measurements”)
Jaggery:	a hard brown crystallized substance which is obtained from boiling sugarcane juice and sap from toddy palm stems; used as brown sugar or syrup
Kawthoolei:	Karen name for the Karen nation.
Khun:	polite form of address in the Thai language
Ko:	Burmese form of address to a young male
kyat:	monetary unit in Burma
longyi:	Burmese word for sarong
Ma:	Burmese form of address to a young female
Mahn:	Burmese form of address to a Karen male
Maung:	Burmese form of address to a young male
Mehm/Min:	form of address to a young Mon male
Mi:	form of address to a Mon female
Movement :	the SLORC appoints a village “headman” (not the same as the Paper real headman), usually against his will, and this man is then authorized to issue movement papers to his villagers, verifying who they are.
Na Ka Sa:	Burmese abbreviation for paramilitary border patrol on Burma’s Bangladeshi border
Nai:	Burmese form of address to an adult Mon male
Naw:	Burmese form of address to a Karen female
plah:	Karen measurement of distance, from elbow to fingertip (1 plah is under 2 feet)
pya:	100 pyas = 1 kyats
ringworm:	derogatory SLORC reference to KNLA soldiers
Sai:	Burmese form of address to a young Shan male
Sangha:	Buddhist order of monks
Sao:	male of Shan royal descent
Saw:	form of address to a Karen male
Sayadaw:	presiding monk of a Buddhist monastery
Tatmadaw:	Burmese Army

Thakin:	master; lord (used to address the British colonial rulers; later politicized by the Burmese independence movement in the 1930s)
tickle:	(see “Measurements”)
tin:	(see “Measurements”)
tract (village):	area consisting of 4-6 villages
U:	an honorific used to address an adult male in Burma
viss:	(see “Measurements”)
White Areas:	area fully under the control of the Tatmadaw

MEASUREMENTS

acre:	1 acre = 4,840 sq. yards = 0.407 hectare 2.471 acres = 11,960 sq. yards = 1 hectare 640 acres = 1 sq. mile = 2.590 sq. kilometers
baht:	1 baht = 100 satang = US\$ 0.023 42 baht = US\$ 1
FEC:	1 FEC = US\$1 = kyat 6.5 (official) 1 FEC = Kyats 330 - 332 (unofficial)
furlong:	1 furlong = 220 yards (1/8) mile = 201 meters
kyat:	1 kyat (ks) = US\$ 0.15 (official) 1 kyat = US\$ 0.0035 (unofficial)
lakh:	1 lakh = 100,000
tickle:	1 tickle = 0.576 ounces = 16.33 gram
tin:	1 tin (rice/condensed milk) = approx 250 ml
viss:	1 viss = 3.6 lbs = 1.633 kg 622.22 viss = 1 long ton (2,240 lbs) = 1.016 metric tons

NOTE ABOUT SPELLINGS:

Since there are no standardized transcriptions in the Roman alphabet for Burmese, Mon, and other ethnic languages, words are spelled variously, according to different spelling conventions or by how they sound (the spelling of Halockhani refugee camp is a classic example of this, by Westerners as well as Thais and locals). In addition, spellings have further been confused by the ruling junta's official Burmanization of well-known English spellings (e.g. Myanmar for Burma).

In order to avoid confusion and politicization, this report will restrict its use of language to the established and more widely-accepted anglicized spellings, since this report was written in English.

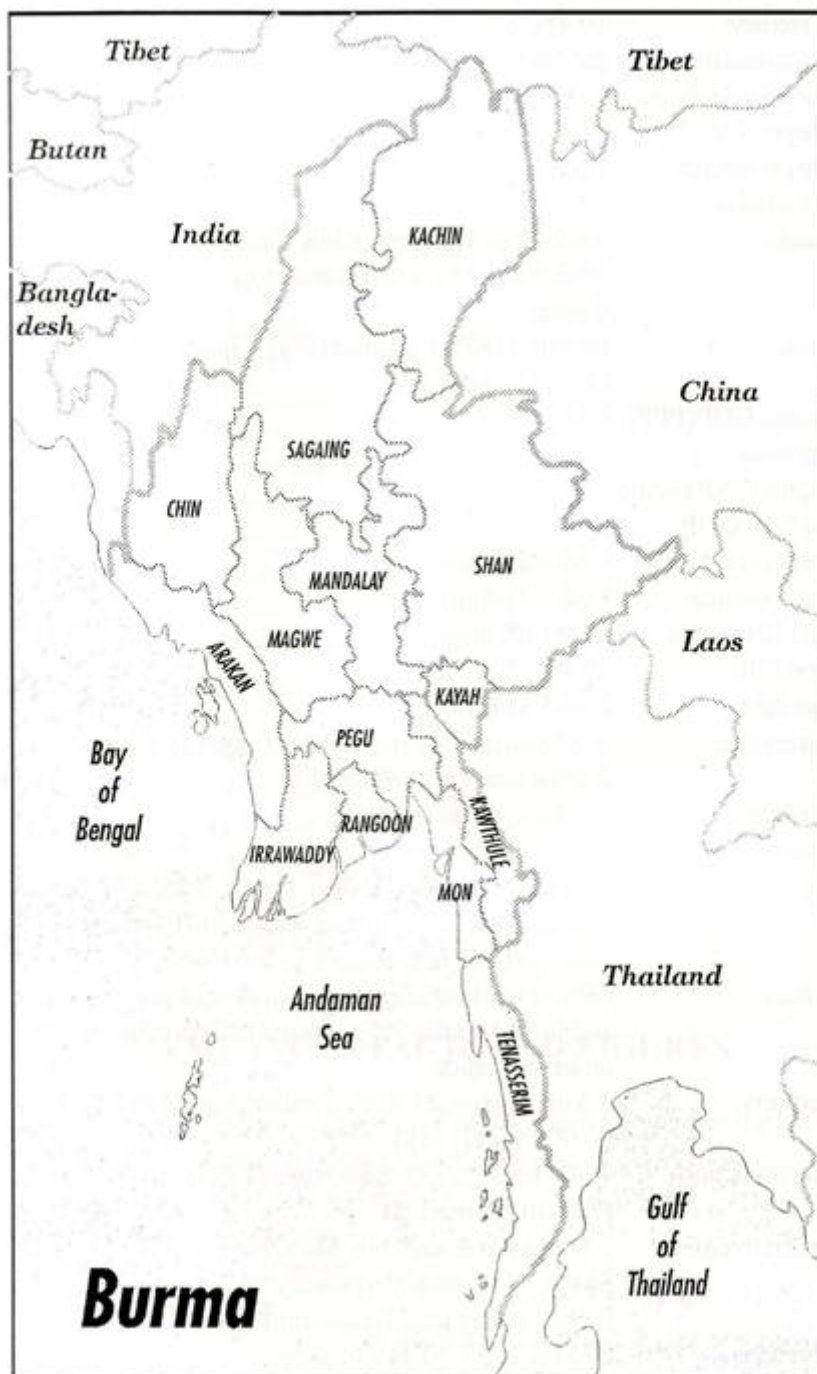
A list of alternative spellings from various sources are provided as follows:

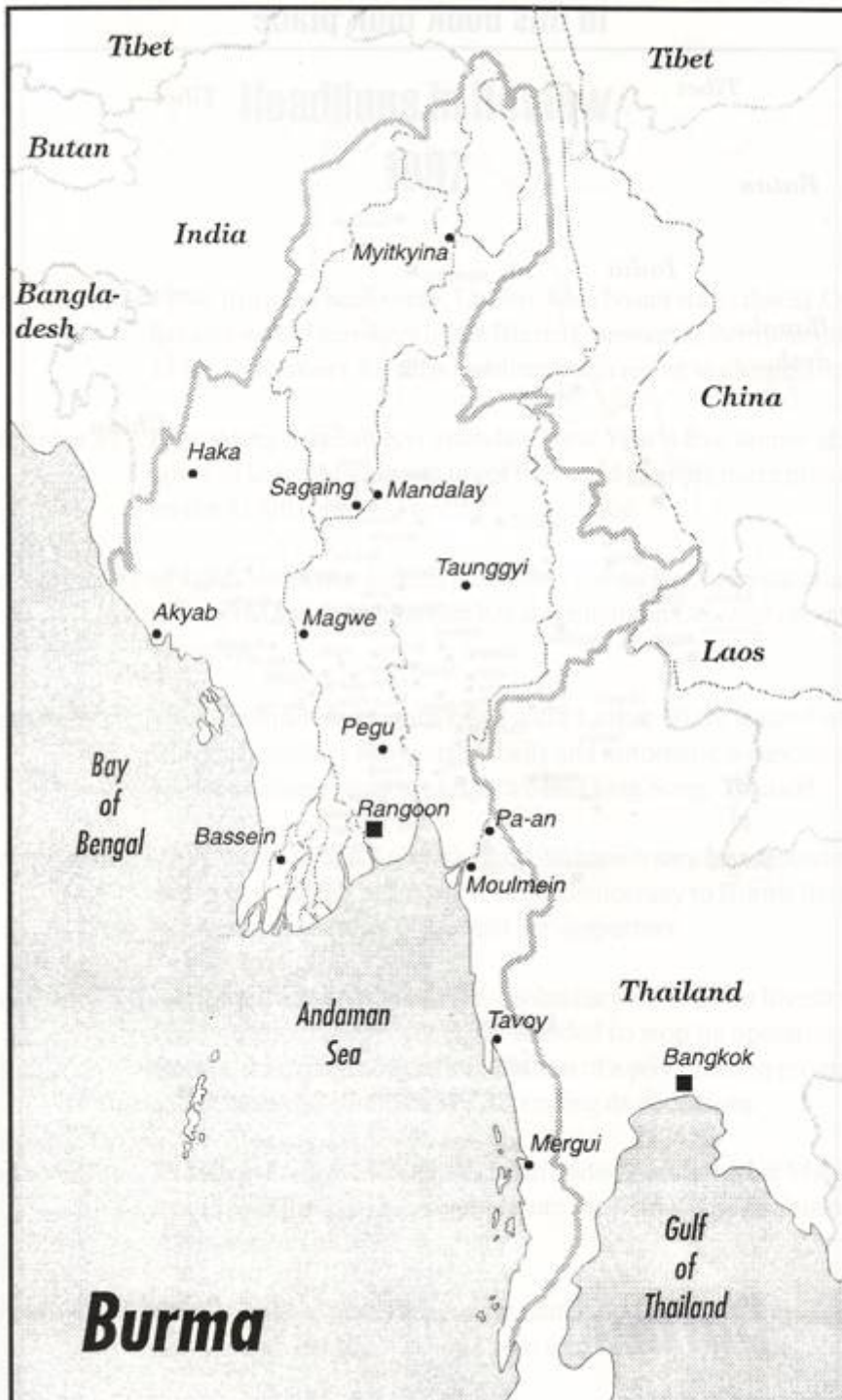
Ayeyarwady:	Irrawaddy
Bagan:	Pagan
Bago:	Pegu
Bamar:	Burman
Dawei:	Tavoy
Hinthada:	Henzada
Hpa-an:	Pa-an
Kayah:	Karenni
Kayin:	Karen
Kyaing Don:	Kengtung
Magway:	Magwe
Mawlamyine:	Moulmein
Muang Tai:	Mong Tai
Myeit:	Mergui
Myanmar:	Burma
Patheingyi:	Bassein
Pyaw:	Prome
Sittoung:	Sittaung
Sittwe, Sittway:	Akyab
Tanintharyi:	Tenasserim
Thandwai:	Sandoway
Thanlwin:	Salween River
Taunggyin:	Moei River
Toungoo:	Taungoo
Yangon:	Rangoon

BURMA AT A GLANCE: FACTS AND FIGURES

Country name:	Union of Burma (1948); Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma (1974); Union of Myanmar (1989)
Area:	261,000 sq miles
Coastline:	1,600 miles
Population:	48.3 million
Urban population:	26%
Refugees:	approximately 300,000 in Thailand; 20,000 in China and India; 21,000 in Bangladesh
Internally displaced:	approximately two million people
Birth rate:	2.1%

Life expectancy:	59 years
Adult literacy:	19.4%
School attendance:	26.7%
People per telephone:	265.5
People per TV:	22.0
People per doctor:	12,500
Infant mortality:	79
Languages:	Arakanese, Burmese, Chin, Kachin, Karen, Karenni, Mon, Shan, Wa, English and more than 100 minority dialects
Religions:	Buddhist (85%), Animist (5%), Christian (4.5%), Muslim (4%), Hindu (1.5%)
Per-capita GDP(PPP):	US\$ 753
GDP growth:	6.0%
Per capital GNP (nom):	US\$ 765
Saving % of GDP:	12%
Reserves excl. gold:	US\$ 0.2 billion
Cur acct. balance:	US\$ 0.3 billion
Exports 12 months:	US\$ 1.0 billion
Inflation CPI:	25.7%
Foreign debt:	US\$ 5.3 billion
GDP spending:	3.1 % on military (non-SLORC figures: over 50%), 2.2% education, 0.8% health.
Wage earners:	6 million (rough estimate)
LDC status:	since 1987
Natural resources:	tin, plutonium, zinc, copper, cobalt, gold, rubies, jade, teak (80% of world's reserves), fish (704 metric ton/year), gas, oil, rice, sesame, groundnuts
Agriculture:	68% of workforce employed in agriculture; 15% of arable land; under 50% of potentially productive land under cultivation
Rice exports:	3.5 million tons (1,930); 2 million tons (1962); 20,000 tons (1988)
Opium production:	1,300 tons (1988), 2,800 tons (1997) (70% of US market)
Administrative areas:	7 States (Arakan, Chin, Mon, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Shan); 7 Divisions (Irrawaddy, Magwe, Mandalay, Pegu, Rangoon, Sagaing, Tenasserim)
Last election:	27 May 1990; NLD won more than 82% of legislative seats

Map of Burma showing State and Division Borders

Map of Burma showing Cities of States and Divisions

Townships where Human Rights Violations in this book took place



Headlines in Review 1997

- December 31: 1996:** In a press conference, Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt states that SLORC has arrested 47 members of the Burma Communist Party, including 13 NLD members, for their involvement in recent student unrest.
- December 31: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi attends a New Year's Eve dinner at the home of U Kyi Maung and urges the world to apply more pressure on the SLORC in 1997 to allow democracy.
- January 2: 97** SLORC states that foreign journalists will no longer be allowed to meet with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at her home in University Avenue, Rangoon.
- January 3: Two Karenni refugees are killed and a further 10 are injured when Burmese soldiers fire mortar shells and automatic weapons into Karenni refugee camp in northern Mae Hong Song, Thailand.
- January 4: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi marks the 49th anniversary of independence with a vow to step up efforts to bring democracy to Burma despite increasing restrictions on her and her supporters.
- January 4: Peregrine Capital Myanmar Ltd, a subsidiary of Peregrine Investment Holdings Ltd, announces it has decided to stop its operations in Burma, due to the non-materialisation of a privatization program, and widespread controversy surrounding its operations.
- January 7: Malaysian Foreign Minister, Abdullah Badawi, confirms that Malaysia would like Burma to be integrated into the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in 1997.
- January 8: SLORC official media announces that Saw U Reh, a former elected representative of the NLD, has been sentenced to 17 years in prison.
- January 11: Riot police prevent supporters of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from gathering in Rangoon amid tight security linked to the opening of a national sports festival.

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- January 14: Delegates from 14 ethnic groups in Burma condemn the ruling military junta and voices support for the NLD, at the closing ceremony of Ethnic Nationalities Seminar held in Karen-held territory.
- January 16: The United Nations Committee on Children's Rights recommends that the SLORC take specific action to eradicate child labor, the recruitment of minors into the army, and child prostitution.
- January 17: Canadian Prime Minister, Jean Chretien, urges the ASEAN to pressure the ruling junta in Burma into holding talks with the opposition.
- January 18: SLORC announces that 20 people, including six members of the NLD have been jailed for seven years for their role in the December 1996 student unrest.
- January 18: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi confirms that 20 people jailed by the SLORC were denied access to legal counsel and must be presumed innocent.
- January 19: SLORC claims that supporters of NLD are being blocked from gathering to hear her speeches because of public complaints.
- January 22: China agrees to boost military cooperation with Burma, including training and exchange of intelligence.
- January 26: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi receives an honorary Doctor of Law degree at the American University and urges Americans to boycott companies doing business with Burma's military regime.
- January 28: Cambodia co-Premier Hun Sen arrives Burma and holds talks with senior members of Burma's regime.
- January 28: Pepsi Co Inc. confirms that its relationship with a local Burmese bottler had been 'completely severed' on January 15, and that all production and distribution of Pepsi products will cease by May 31.
- January 28: SLORC announces that 14 people, including five members of the NLD, have been found guilty of provoking students and throwing rocks at security personnel during protests in December. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi says the sentences are a sham since the trials are not made public.
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- January 29: DKBA troops burn down the Mae La, Ban Huay Kalok and Huay Bong refugee camps and leave 10,000 homeless. They also kill two people, including a Thai man, as well as seriously wounding two refugee children.
- January 30: SLORC hits back at the US State Department's Annual Human Rights Practices Report for its accusations of human rights abuses in Burma, saying they are 'nonsense' and part of a conspiracy against SLORC.
- February 1: The SLORC announces it has uncovered a plot by exiled students and 'subversives' to create unrest in the country.
- February 1: SLORC Foreign Minister, U Ohn Gyaw, repeats in a SLORC press conference that it has no plans to extradite wanted former druglord, Khun Sa, to the United States in the absence of legal requirements to do so.
- February 3: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi says during her news conference that a SLORC minister has encouraged junta supporters to murder her.
- February 4: Thai Foreign Ministry summons Burmese Ambassador, U Hla Maung, and lodges a strong diplomatic protest against recent attack on three refugee camps in Thailand by pro-Rangoon DKBA troops.
- February 5: Unocal Corp, states that the best way to promote democracy in Burma is for firms like fast food giant McDonalds to commence operations there.
- February 6: Thailand Foreign Minister Prachuab Chaiyasan says that Western nations should ask Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to 'tone down' her stance in order to reach a compromise with the SLORC leaders.
- February 10: The pro-Rangoon DKBA vows to keep attacking ethnic Karen refugees sheltering in camps along the Burma-Thai border. Captain Htu Wa, the DKBA's commander-in-chief, in a statement made to reporters at his camp on the Burmese side of the Moei River.
- February 10: SLORC Lt-General Khin Nyunt says that the SLORC wants to make peace with ethnic-insurgent group, the Karen National Union, but that the offer has been rejected by the KNU.
- February 11: Amnesty International calls for 'a constructive and open discussion on human rights issue' when Asian and European foreign ministers meet in Singapore on February 13, 1997.
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- February 12: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi celebrates Union Day in Burma with her supporters, despite military efforts to blockade the approaches to her compound. Hundreds of people are turned away by armed riot police as they try to gain access to her home.
- February 12: The Thai government approves a venture between Thai petroleum company, PTT and its Burmese counterpart, MOGE, as well as the Texaco, Premier and Nippon oil companies, to develop, produce and transmit natural gas from three exploration tracts in the Yetagun offshore gas field and from two other tracts nearby in which PTT is already taking part.
- February 12: The SLORC troops launch a major offensive against key KNU strongholds along the Thai-Burma border, driving thousands of refugees into Thailand.
- February 13: Asean and the EU compromise on the controversy surrounding Burma's participation in Asean by agreeing to mention it without comment in the joint declaration.
- February 15: Thailand Foreign Minister Prachuab Chaiyasarn urges the EU and Asean to share responsibility in bringing positive change to Burma.
- February 17: Frances Vendrell, director the Political Affairs Department and representatives of the UN General Secretary arrives Rangoon and will meet leaders and officials of the SLORC.
- February 21: Indonesia's President Suharto arrives Burma for a landmark visit aims at promoting bilateral ties as well as assessing Burma's readiness for full membership in Asean.
- February 24: Visiting UN representative, Frances Vendrell meets with Khun Htun Oo, a prominent Shan opposition leader, as well as Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.
- February 24: An initial group of 618 Karen refugees from Ban Thi Pho in Umphang district, Thailand are relocated to a site near Ban Nu Pho, Umphang district. It is announced that all 7,000-8,000 refugees in the area will be moved to the new site at a later date.
- February 25: The Thai Army, notorious 9th Division in Kanchanburi province separates refugee men, aged 15 years and older, from their families in a temporary refugee site and forcibly returns them to Burma.
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- February 25: SLORC Army Chief, Maung Aye, and his Thai counterpart, Gen. Chetta Thanajaro, meet at Tachilek, a Burmese border town, to discuss escalating border problems between the two countries.
- February 26: Around 3,000 women and children from Ban Bong Ti pass in Kanchanaburi province are repatriated to Taw Ma Pwu village in Burma.
- February 27: Thai paratroopers and Burmese forces clash briefly near the Thai border of Pu Nam Rawn where over 2,300 Karen refugees are taking refuge.
- February 28: The USA condemns Burma, Afghanistan and four others countries for failing to cooperate fully in the fight against drug trafficking.
- March 2: The KNU vows to keep fighting unless the ruling junta resumes peace talks, amid a massive offensive against them by SLORC troops which has displaced thousands of civilians.
- March 2: The Thai army issues an announcement, dismissing allegations that Thai troops have forced thousands of Karen refugees in Kanchanaburi back to war zones in Burma.
- March 4: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi alleges that members of her NLD party are the targets of fresh persecution with 'unprecedented severity'.
- March 4: Refugees from Phu Nam Rawn are relocated to Phu Muang in Muang district of Kanchanburi.
- March 5: An Environmental Impact Assessment report (EIA) relevant to the construction of the Yadana gas pipeline project is re-submitted to the Thai Office of Environmental Policy and Planning (OEPP).
- March 6: The South African President, currently in Singapore, urges deeper engagement between South Africa and Southeast Asia, saying alleged human rights abuses in Burma will not effect future ties with the booming region.
- March 7: Thailand Army Chief, Gen. Chetta Thanajaro, states that the UNHCR will not be allowed to provide assistance to ethnic Karen refugees.

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- March 8: Thai National Security Council deputy chief, Kachadpai Buruspattana, comments that the international community should refrain from criticizing Thailand over its handling of Karen refugees, and instead appreciate its effort to care for refugees over the past 13 years.
- March 9: 1,500 Karen civilians who have taken sanctuary in the Thung Yai Naresuan wildlife reserve in Kanchanaburi, are sent back across the border into Burma.
- March 10: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi urges compassion and help for ethnic Karen refugees who have fled to Thailand in the face of attacks by SLORC, in a video-taped message.
- March 10: A group of 1,800 Karen refugees in Thong Pha Phum are pushed back into Burma by Thai authorities.
- March 11: A NSC meeting in Thailand, chaired by Thai PM, Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, adopts a resolution that Thailand will push back more than 100,000 ethnic refugees to Burma as soon as fighting in the country subsides.
- March 12: Thai Army Chief, Gen. Chetta Thanajaro, and his Burmese counterpart, Gen. Maung Aye, meet halfway across the Thai-Burma friendship bridge in Myawaddy and negotiate the resumption of the bridge's construction.
- March 13: A 30-year agreement for Thailand to buy natural gas from Burma's offshore Yetagun gas field is signed by PTT governor and representatives of the Yetagun developing group led by US Oil giant, Texaco.
- March 18: SLORC announces that US and Burmese drug officials have completed a four-day joint survey of opium poppy fields to determine the yield of the drug in the current growing season.
- March 19: SLORC has placed five cities on a security alert after religious unrest involving Buddhists and Muslims in Mandalay.

- March 21: The US State Department warns its citizens against travel to Burma without 'a compelling reason', amid unrest in Rangoon and Mandalay.
- March 22: The Karen Refugee Committee urges the Thai government to allow the UNHCR to provide aid and assistance to around 90,000 Karen refugees.
- March 24: Thailand's National Environment Board (NEB), approves a PTTconducted environmental impact assessment, amid criticism from environmental and human rights groups.
- March 24: The EU strips Burma of special trading privileges in reaction to reports that it has used forced labor to help boost exports.
- March 25: Thai Army Chief, Gen. Chetta Thanajaro, re-states that Thailand has no policy of allowing UNHCR to provide humanitarian aid to Karen refugees in Thailand.
- March 26: SLORC denies reports that it is sheltering Li Yun-chuang, an alleged drug trafficker, wanted in connection with the seizure of the largest shipment of heroin.
- March 27: SLORC celebrates Army Day with a parade of thousands of soldiers, held amid tight security following a spate of communal unrest in Rangoon.
- April 1: A Connecticut-based legislative committee approves a bill that will prohibit the state from purchasing goods and services from companies doing business in Burma.
- April 6: SLORC warns Burmese citizens to refrain from political agitation and unrest during the upcoming New Year festival and tells official to maintain a high security alert.
- April 6: A bomb explodes at SLORC leader, Lt-Gen. Tin Oo's house, killing his eldest daughter.

- April 9: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi urges the 53rd session of the UN Convention on Human Rights in Geneva to adopt a strong resolution condemning the ruling military regime in Burma, in a video-taped message.
- April 10: A United Nations special human rights rapporteur to Burma expresses 'profound regret' that there has been no change in the human rights situation in Burma over the past year.
- April 14: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi urges 600 supporters during the Buddhist New Year's celebration, not to forget their countrymen jailed for advocating democracy.
- April 16: The UN Commission on Human Rights passes a strongly-worded resolution condemning the SLORC for its poor human rights record.
- April 22: American Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, announces a ban on new investment by Americans in Burma, under a 1996 law allowing such a measure if human rights abuses in the country worsened.
- April 23: The Australian government states that it will not join a US move to impose economic sanctions on Burma over human rights abuses by its military regime.
- April 24: SLORC Lt-Col. Hla Min states that recently imposed sanctions are part of a broader US strategy aimed at preventing Burma from entering the protective fold of ASEAN memberships.
- April 24: Malaysian PM, Mahathir Mohammed, states that he disagrees with US sanctions and that the measures would only hurt the Burma's people, and not its government.
- April 25: The US again notes its opposition to Burma joining ASEAN, but states that it welcomes the memberships of Laos and Cambodia.
- April 27: A group of 30 armed DKBA troops open fire and burn down part of the Hta Per Pu camp in Umphang district, Thailand, killing one refugee man.
- April 28: SLORC Foreign, Minister U Ohn Gyaw, states that Burma has no plans to retaliate against the US for economic sanctions.

- April 28: Two Mon villages with around 300 makeshift shelters are set alight after SLORC troops overrun a Mon military base at Tab Guncha.
- April 29: SLORC Secretary-2, Lt-Gen. Tin Oo, states that traitors within the country are turning into 'terrorists' with the aid of foreign backing.
- May 1: A Colorado Senate Resolution is passed against doing business with Burma.
- May 4: A SLORC-sponsored USDA mass rally at Thuwanna Sports Stadium issues a threat to 'punish' Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and USA.
- May 9: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi holds a two-hour meeting with Alavaro de Soto, UN Assistant Secretary-General for political affairs, at the home of a UN representative in Burma.
- May 14: SLORC makes a statement to Thai reporters accompanying Thai Prime Minister to Rangoon, to avoid contact with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The restriction is set out in a formal letter sent to the Thai Foreign Ministry.
- May 14: The New York City Council votes to stop doing business with companies involved in business in Burma, in a move to use city funds 'to do good and not to encourage evil'.
- May 16: Thai PM, Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, leaves on a two-day official visit to Burma. Both leaders from two countries agree to clear up remaining border problems and boost trade and investment ties.
- May 16: John Imle, President of Unocal Corp., meets Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at her home and talks for several hours.
- May 17: Burma hands-over heroin trafficking suspect, Li Yun-chun, to Thai authorities after having denied that he had fled to Burma.
- May 21: NLD source says SLORC has arrested at least 50 senior members of the party ahead of the May 27th election anniversary.
- May 25: NLD source says SLORC has detained at least 350 supporters of the party, but announces to go ahead with a party meeting on May 27.

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- May 26: SLORC announces it has sentenced U Myo Khin, NLD secretary for Yankin township to four years in jail on a charge of falsifying documents.
- May 27: Ralph Zacklin, interim UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, expresses concern over Burma's recent detention and arrest of opposition party members.
- May 27: Hundreds of armed riot police stop supporters of NLD from meeting at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's home for a party congress.
- May 29: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi appeals in a smuggled video-taped message for Asean to begin talking with her party.
- May 30: About 100 armed DKBA burns two refugee camps in Tak province, killing two people and leaving at least 11,000 people homeless.
- May 31: ASEAN decides to formally admit a further three members- Burma, Cambodia and Laos- as early as July.
- June 2: Canadian ambassador to Thailand says Canada will uphold its 'critical engagement' policy toward Burma, despite its scheduled admission into ASEAN.
- June 3: NLD sources confirm that SLORC has started releasing most NLD members who had been detained in May.
- June 8: U Tin Shwe, a 67-year-old NLD organizer, dies of heart failure at Rangoon General Hospital, according to SLORC.
- June 10: Malaysia Foreign Minister, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, arrives in Rangoon to formally notify Burma of its admission to ASEAN in July.
- June 12: Burmese officials close all border crossing sites opposite Mae Sod in Tak district, resulting in a significant disruption of cross-border trade.
- June 12: Japanese envoy, Hiroshi Hirabayashi, arrives in Rangoon for talks with Burma's leaders, to underscore Japan's concern over the crackdown on the democratic movement in Burma.

- June 16: Thailand begin to relocate Karen refugees from Phu Muang in Kanchanaburi province to Tham Hin camp in Ratchaburi province.
- June 19: Police prevent about a hundred of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's supporters from visiting her Rangoon home to celebrate her 52nd birthday. Only 20 of her relatives and close aides are allowed inside the compound.
- June 24: Rockets are fired into Myawaddy, causing a fire but no injuries.
- June 27: SLORC Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt, condemns United States government funding agencies for supporting the Burmese pro-democracy movement, saying that funds have been used to finance terrorist activities by exile opposition groups.
- July 1: Ethnic Shan groups accuse SLORC troops of massacring 58 civilians in Shan State in June.
- July 4: Thailand and Burma sign a memorandum to buy up to 1,500 megawatts of electricity from Burma by the year 2010.
- July 10: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi states that repression has increased and that the political and economic situation in Burma has worsened in the two years since she was released from house arrest.
- July 13: A six-member delegation of Chinese anti-narcotics officials arrives in Rangoon for meetings with the Burmese officials on the control of illegal drugs.
- July 17: Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt meets the chairman of the NLD U Aung Shwe and two other senior members, but the meeting did not signal the start of a political dialogue between the two, say SLORC and NLD officials.
- July 19: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi attends an official Martyrs' Day wreathlaying ceremony, commemorating the 50th anniversary of her father's assassination.
- July 22: Bangladeshi authorities delay the planned repatriation of about 200 Burmese Muslim refugees from No-a Pa Ra camp amid fresh tensions.

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- July 23: Lt-Gen Mya Thin recommends that prisons be tapped as a valuable source of labor and that prisoners should be fully utilized to develop the country.
- July 24: Senior General Saw Maung, former head of the SLORC, dies of a heart attack.
- July 27: US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright calls for cooperation from ASEAN to ensure political reforms in Burma and a dialogue between the ruling junta and the NLD.
- July 28: European Union foreign ministers tell their ASEAN counterparts that the EU will not allow new member Burma to join ASEAN-EU meeting if such talks are held in Europe.
- August 4: SLORC authorities in Myawaddy, a border town with Thailand, refuse to take back some 280 Muslim refugees, saying they are aliens and not Burmese nationals. They are among the 499 Burmese arrested and sent back to Burma by Thai authorities.
- August 5: A letter signed by 23 venerable politicians urges SLORC to hold dialogue with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's NLD party.
- August 12: SLORC reopens nearly 39,000 high schools two months later, but keeps closed some 30 universities and colleges suspected of being linked to student unrest.
- August 15: Thailand and Burma officially open the Thai-Burma friendship Bridge which crosses Myawaddy of Burma and Mae Sod of Thailand.
- August 17: SLORC announces a special court has sentenced three cousins of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and one other supporter for alleged involvement in US-funded terrorist conspiracy.
- August 19: Thailand and Burma sign an agreement for a comprehensive approach to settle boundary problems by agreeing to jointly demarcate the entire border between the two countries.
- August 28: A helicopter belonging to the Naresuan Task Forces of Thailand goes missing near the Thai-Burma border.
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- September 1: British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook rules out Burma's participation in an Asian-Europe summit in London in April 1998.
- September 9: Burmese dissidents in Thailand say a Thai missing helicopter was shot down by a Burmese infantry division stationed across the border.
- September 14: A Japanese embassy statement says that a UN disaster management team has reported serious flooding and loss of life in Burma.
- September 15: Thai authorities raid the Burmese exile government office and arrest 13 people, including three ministers.
- September 17: NLD issues a statement saying that it turned down talks with the SLORC because any dialogue would have to include its leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.
- September 23: Former strongman, Ne Win, arrives Indonesia at the invitation of President Suharto.
- September 24: NLD vows to go ahead with plans to hold a two-day special meeting to mark the ninth anniversary of its founding.
- September 27: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi calls for dialogue with the SLORC as the NLD opens a two-day special meeting without incident.
- October 3: Diplomats say that the European Union's sanctions on Burma will be extended for six months from the end of October.
- October 4: Singapore's Trade and Industry Minister, Lee Yock Suab, calling for adequate transparency and protection of investment in Burma, cites the shortage of hard currency and tight exchange controls as difficulties faced by investors there.
- October 15: Burma and the Philippines sign an agreement to fight international drug trafficking as well as a trade agreement, an agreement on technical cooperation in forestry and forest industries and an agreement establishing a joint commission for bilateral cooperation.

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- October 20: Kyaw Din, 58, a member of NLD, dies at the prison hospital of acute pulmonary edema while serving a two-year jail sentence, according to the statement released by the SLORC.
- October 21: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi goes to Thaketa township in Rangoon to organize the youth NLD wing and speak to supporters. This is her first trip outside the capital since being released from her house arrest.
- October 28: Riot police scuffle with a dozen NLD supporters and prevent a meeting between them and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in the Mayangone NLD office. Five members of the NLD, including an elected MP, are arrested.
- November 4: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi postpones a planned meeting of her party because of tight security measures by the SLORC. Dozens of riot police are deployed to stop the meeting.
- November 5: SLORC authorities bar Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from leaving her residence to attend the planned party meeting in Tamwe township NLD office.
- November 6: Thai army chief Gen. Chetta Thanajaro meets his Burmese counterpart Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt in Rangoon and agrees to ensure that Thai forces would prevent Burmese minority groups from using Thailand as bases for anti-SLORC activities.
- November 7: SLORC media accuse NLD of being a group of terrorists that create anarchy and demand changes in order to avoid a confrontation.
- November 9: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi attends the memorial service at the home of the family of U Maung Ko, a member of her party who died seven years ago in prison.
- November 11: A Group of 98 Thais, including three women, are released from Burmese jails and return home on a military aircraft.
- November 13: Riot police put up barbed wire and spikes outside the Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's home to stop her from going to an NLD meeting in Hlaing township, Rangoon.

- November 14: Two refugees are killed by the Thai border task forces in Ban Kui Lortor in Umphang district while trying to repatriate some 1,000 Karen refugees.
- November 15: 21-member SLORC is replaced with 19-member groups called the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC).
- November 16: The United Nations criticises Burma's record on human rights and the absence of steps towards a democratic government.
- November 18: More than 2,000 Karen refugees in Ban Ale Tongku, Ban Kui Lortor and Ban Tee Jorchee are forcibly sent back to Burma by the Thai authorities.
- November 20: The UNHCR spokeswoman says that the UNHCR has protested to Thailand about the forced relocation of 1,100 Burmese refugees to an unsafe place straddling the border.
- November 25: NLD's statement accuses the SLORC of harassing party members in order to prevent them from attending the gathering on the 77th anniversary of the National Day.
- December 7: Thailand and Burma agree to form a working group aimed at tackling the dual problem of illegal Burmese labor and overflowing refugee camps along the Thai side of the border.
- December 10: SPDC (formerly SLORC) announces that it has dissolved its 14-member Advisory Group, formed less than a month ago, in a government shake-up.
- December 12: SPDC says U Kyi Maung, vice-chairman of the NLD, has resigned from the party, but a senior party official denies the claim.
- December 13: Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammed meets Senior General Than Swe, head of SPDC, and conveys concern over the situation in Burma.
- December 16: UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan meets Senior General Than Shwe in Kuala Lumpur and says he would send a special envoy to Burma to meet leaders of the SPDC.

- December 18: SPDC tells the NLD to stop holding mass gatherings or to risk losing meaningful dialogue between the SPDC Home affairs Minister Colonel Tin Hlaing and five central executive committee members of the NLD.
- December 21: SPDC announces that the military leadership has reshuffled eight key cabinet positions, reorganizing the civilian wings.

Historical Background

Constitutional Period (1947-62)

On January 4, 1947, Burma gained its independence from the British who, in the 19th century, had fought three wars against the Burman Empire and finally displaced it in 1886. On the eve of the second World War, the Japanese secretly promised to help Burma recover its freedom by training 30 Burmese youth led by Aung San who then formed the nucleus of a national army. During the war, the Japanese drove the British out of Burma and governed the country directly under military authority until August 1, 1943, when it was granted independence under its protection.

The Burmese army, on March 27, 1945, revolted against the Japanese and joined the Allies. Also during the war period, the leaders of the new Burmese army, together with an underground civilian group, formed a broad anti-Japanese coalition, “the Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League” (AFPFL). The AFPFL and the army were led by General Aung San. On July 19, 1947, General Aung San and some of his colleagues were assassinated while the assembly for writing a new constitution was in recess. U Nu, a civilian, was able to lead Burma to gain its independence on January 4, 1948. A Parliamentary federal union system was practiced after independence.

Independence did not bring peace and progress to Burma. Within three months of independence, the Communists revolted, taking two army battalions with them. In January 1949, following growing hostility between the Karens and Burmans, the Karens also revolted. Several other ethnic and political groups also took up arms against the state. The multiple insurgencies nearly caused the Union to collapse. Prime Minister U Nu managed to keep the government in power; it gradually recovered control of the people and territories, though it was unable to bring the wars to an end.

During this tumultuous period, democracy took root and began to grow. However, in 1958, unity among the leaders of the ruling AFPFL dissolved. Prime Minister U Nu proposed that the parliament decide which group should govern the country. U Nu won by such a small margin that within a few months he resigned and recommended that General Ne Win, the army head, replace him and conduct new elections.

General Ne Win's Caretaker Government, comprising of senior military officers, was short-lived; it lasted only 16 months. When the promised elections were held, a U Nu-led faction won. After he resumed leadership, U Nu called a meeting for February 1962; he planned to charge all minority leaders to find a solution to their grievances through peaceful and frank discussions. However, before U Nu could announce his own recommendations for peace, the military, led by General Ne Win, seized power on March 2, 1962. General Ne Win established a Revolutionary Council comprised of 17 senior officers, effectively ending the constitutional period.

Military Rule (1962-74)

The Revolutionary Council established a military dictatorship, replacing the parliamentary federal system of the past constitution. In July 1962, the Revolutionary Council created its own party, the "Burma Socialist Program Party" (BSPP), after having failed to win the backing of the established political parties. The Revolutionary Council published its first ideological statement entitled, "The Burmese Way to Socialism," at the end of April 1962. A year later, it moved to a period of rapid nationalization of policy and assumed direct control of the economy. In 1971, the BSPP transformed itself into a civilian government, though it retained the same military rulers, many of whom had retired from the armed forces. In 1974, a new Constitution was adopted which additionally centralized powers and further entrenched BSPP's position as the only legal political party in the country.

Military Rule (1974-1988)

The second constitution of independent Burma differed markedly from its predecessor. The highest level of government was the *Pyithu Hluttaw* or People's Assembly, a single chamber legislature. Under the new laws, U Ne Win was chosen President of the country and head of the BSPP. During this period of military rule, the government faced popular unrest with workers staging violent strikes in 1974 and 1975. Students also protested throughout this period; the most serious protest, in 1974, resulted over a struggle between the students and the government over the proper burial of the remains of U Thant, the third Secretary General of the United Nations. Civil wars continued with the military launching regular campaigns against the forces of the ethnic minorities and the Burma Communist Party. Freedom of association, press, and assembly were severely repressed under this one-party government. In 1981, Ne Win abdicated the presidency, but continued to head BSPP.

In 1987, Ne Win suddenly began criticizing government reporting and management and called for economic reforms. A few weeks later, the government, without warning, demonetized three bank-notes of currency and offered no replacement. Nearly 70% of the currency in circulation became worthless.

In March 1988, students and local people were involved in a fracas at a tea shop; a major brawl ensued. The intervention of riot police led to the death of a student from the Rangoon Institute of Technology. RIT students began protesting daily. The protest spread to other universities. After twelve days of violent conflicts with police, causing many deaths, the government closed the universities and promised to investigate the student deaths. When the students returned to the universities in June, they demanded an account of the still-missing students and called for the arrest of those responsible for student deaths and injuries. Again, the police and military responded to the student protests with force, killing at least 20 students and arresting hundreds of others. And once again, the universities were closed. The wave of social unrest spread; the resistance movement became stronger as the people called for political change. The military declared martial law.

On July 23, 1988, the BSPP appointed General Sein Lwin as the new party head and later President. A general strike took place on August 8, 1988 and in response to it, the police and army attacked the demonstrators, killing an unknown number, estimated in the thousands.

On August 12, 1988, U Sein Lwin resigned and was replaced by a civilian lawyer, Dr. Maung Maung. During this period, the jails were opened and criminals released, causing fear as crime rose. Rumors also were spread by government agents that the water supply was poisoned and that other villainous acts were being committed. Peaceful student-led demonstrations were snuffed out on September 18, 1988, as the military staged a bloody coup and established a new dictatorship under martial law, called the "State Law and Order Restoration Council" (SLORC). It brutally put down the popular movement resulting in thousands of deaths and arrests. Many students left the city and their homes and fled to border areas. The SLORC suspended the 1974 Constitution.

SLORC's Military Rule (1988-Present)

On September 23, 1988, having established himself as Burma's leader, General Saw Maung, head of the SLORC, assured the public that the sole aim of his military intervention was to restore law and order, improve the economic condition of the people, and organize multiparty elections as soon as possible. He insisted that it was not his intention to "cling to State power for long."

Within months, parties began to register while a new election law was drawn up. The National League for Democracy (NLD) quickly emerged as the leading opposition party led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of national hero General Aung San. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi traveled widely and attracted large crowds, despite the SLORC decrees that public gatherings be limited to four persons. As she gained an ever wider following, the military tried to discredit her as not having “pure” motives, being the wife of a European. SLORC announced that she was being manipulated by Communist members in her party, and that she considered herself above the law when she called meetings in violation of the SLORC decree against public gatherings. Indeed, on July 1989, SLORC placed Daw Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest and disqualified her from participating in the elections. In spite of these tactics, the NLD achieved a stunning victory in the elections, held on May 27, 1990, winning 392 of the 485 seats contested.

Having been rejected at the elections, SLORC began systematically to eliminate its opposition. It refused to allow the Pyithu Hluttaw to convene; it then said that the actual purpose of the election was to form a constituent assembly. On July 27, 1990, SLORC promulgated Declaration 1/90 which said, among other things, that “[the SLORC] is not an organization that observes any constitution; it is an organization that is governing the nation by Martial Law.” Following this announcement, SLORC began to arrest and intimidate NLD members as well as members of other opposition parties.

Meanwhile, SLORC continued waging war against the minorities. Having won Thailand’s support by granting timber and fishing concessions in the border area and the along the Tenasserim coast, SLORC was able to mount a major campaign against the Karens and Mons with new weapons purchased from Singapore, China, and Pakistan. The SLORC even crossed the river frontier and launched attacks from Thai territory. During the offensive, the army forced innocent villagers to serve as porters in the war zones and killed many who fell from exhaustion or injury.

In 1989, the army achieved an unplanned victory of sorts in the north, along the Burma-China border. A minority cadre turned against the Burma Communist Party (BCP), driving its leaders across the border and declaring themselves free and independent of their former BCP leaders. The SLORC quickly entered into agreements with the leaders of the minority BCP cadres in Kokang and the Wa State, promising to allow their former enemies to keep their weapons, retain power in their traditional areas, and pursue local trade (mostly opium) in exchange for ending their wars against the SLORC and even fighting on SLORC’s side against other minorities.

As time progressed, the SLORC persistently refused to allow the newly elected NLD-led Parliament to assemble. Some elected MPs fled to liberated areas on the Thai-Burma border. In December 1990, the Parliament met secretly and elected the

“National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma” (NCGUB) with the support of all major ethnic groups struggling to assert themselves within Burma.

On April 24, 1992, two years after the elections, SLORC issued Order No. 11/92 entitled “Convening of a National Convention.” It indicated that a National Convention would be convened “in order to lay down basic principles to draft a firm constitution.” In January 1993, the Convention finally assembled with 702 delegates, of whom only 106 were elected representatives. The remaining delegates were either handpicked by the SLORC to “represent” workers, peasants, intellectuals, national races, and service personnel or were “specially invited persons.” The SLORC stated that the Convention would only be drawing up the “principles” of a new constitution, and the final draft would still be written, as promised, by the elected representatives.

Moreover, SLORC stated, the principles discussed by the delegates had to conform with the “objectives” of the Convention, as defined by SLORC, which included the “participation of the *Tatmadaw* (armed forces) in the national political leadership role of the State in the future.” Despite repeated calls in UN resolutions for the SLORC to give a timetable for the Convention, there is no sign that the Convention is near conclusion.

On July 10, 1995, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was released from her almost six-years under house arrest. Although her release initially raised hopes for an improvement in the human rights situation in Burma, nothing has changed. Indeed, the pace of political arrests and persecution has accelerated dramatically since November 1995 when the NLD withdrew from the SLORC-controlled National Convention due to the undemocratic process. SLORC responded to the NLD withdrawal by expelling the NLD permanently from the Convention. A call from the NLD to begin a dialogue with the SLORC in order to start a process of national reconciliation has been refused by the SLORC.

Political turmoil in Burma has increased significantly since the NLD announced that it would hold a meeting in late May 1996 to commemorate the sixth anniversary of their 1990 election victory. The SLORC reacted by arresting hundreds of NLD MPs and other supporters in an effort to prevent the meeting. In addition, on June 7, 1996, SLORC issued Law No. 5/96, the sweeping provisions of which allow for up to 20 years imprisonment for anyone who expresses their political views publicly. On November 9, 1996, a group of about 200 young men attacked Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s motorcade with iron bars and sticks. The men were thought to be members of the “Union Solidarity Development Association” (USDA), a SLORC sponsored group. In December

1996, more than 2,000 people, including hundreds of students, involved in peaceful student demonstrations were arrested for calling for human rights reforms. Public gatherings on weekends in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s home have been

banned since the end of 1996. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is repeatedly refused permission to leave her compound, and has been effectively confined to her house for long periods.

Since 1989, the SLORC has sought a military cease-fire with some of the ethnic forces, bringing a kind of peace to the areas under their control. In December 1994, a renewed offensive against the Karen National Union (KNU) was launched following a split within the KNU and the formation of the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA), which was supported by the SLORC. In February 1995, the KNU retreated from its headquarters in Manerplaw. Since then the offensive has taken a new turn as DKBA and SLORC troops launched the first of several raids into refugee camps in Thailand. DKBA and SLORC troops have had easy access to refugees in Thailand. The raids, which were intended to terrify the refugees into returning to Burma, have continued. The KNU has made several offers to the SLORC to engage in cease-fire talks. However, while there have been meetings between the two sides, there is no sign of any progress.

In the Karenni State, the Karenni Nationalities Progressive Party (KNPP) signed a cease-fire agreement at a ceremony in Loikaw in March 1995. In June, the KNPP issued a statement claiming that the SLORC had broken the terms of the agreement. Intermittent fighting continues between the SLORC troops and the KNPP in Karenni State. SLORC undertook massive relocation operations in Karenni State, Shan State, and Tenasserim division during 1995 and 1996, causing a mass influx of refugees into Thailand.

In mid-February 1997, SLORC launched two new major offensives against the KNU. SLORC's 1997 offensive against the KNU has resulted in more than 7,000 new refugees entering Thailand.

In November 1997, the SLORC was renamed as the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). Although the three most senior members of the regime retained their posts in the SPDC, 14 former members – all senior military officers – were moved to 4-member advisory group. In late November three members of this advisory group were placed under house arrest. The three were former tourism minister, Lieutenant-General Kyaw Ba; the ex-commerce minister, Lieutenant-General Tun Kyi; and the former agriculture minister, Lieutenant-General Myint Aung. A number of their aides and staff at other ministries were also placed under investigation.

Following the detention, the advisory group was dissolved on December 10, 1997, less than one month after its formation. Officials said the members of the advisory group no longer held their military posts. The change did not stop there. On December 20, there was an unexpected reshuffle of the second tier of the military regime, the cabinet. Another eight posts in the cabinet were reshuffled and one new member was added to the cabinet.

Although the main impetus behind recent changes has been to improve the regime's image, many see the moves as cosmetic attempts to quell international criticism.

On December 12, five members of the NLD Central Executive Committee met the SLORC Minister for Home Affairs, Colonel Tin Hlaing, at the invitation of the regime. The delegation did not include Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, or the NLD chairman U Aung Shwe. Colonel Tin Hlaing asked the NLD to stop issuing statements and to discontinue party organizational activities, such as efforts by Aung San Suu Kyi to attend party meetings in order to reorganize the youth wing of the party. Later, the official press of the regime reported that, unless these demands were met, moves towards a dialogue would slow even further. In a statement issued after the meeting, the NLD said that, as a legal political party, it was entitled to continue with such activities.

Written by U Tin U
Chairman of the Central Legal Committee
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National League for Democracy

Rule of Law in Burma under SLORC

Rule of Law is amongst the foremost political objectives proclaimed by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (henceforth referred to as SLORC). However, in matters concerning members, supporters and sympathizers of the National League for Democracy (NLD), the authorities habitually take arbitrary action which does not accord with the law of the land.

In section 2(a) of SLORC's law no. 2/88, "the Judiciary Law", it is said that "justice will be administered independently according to law". However in cases concerning members of the NLD, judgment is passed as required by the authorities and dictated by various state intelligence organs, regardless of the provisions of the law. Although section 2(e) of the above mentioned law provides that "Justice shall be dispensed in open court unless otherwise prohibited by law," trials are held in prison precincts. Without the permission of the intelligence organs, judges cannot even let the family and counsel of the accused know what sentence has been passed. In many cases the accused are kept in ignorance of the section of the law under which they are charged. There have been instances when the Military Intelligence passed sentences orally at the time of arrest, before any trial had taken place.

Section 2(f) of SLORC law no. 2/88 gives the accused the right of defence and the right of appeal under the law. Moreover, section 340(1) of The Code of Criminal Procedure (act V of 1898) provides that "any person accused of an offense before a Criminal Court, or against whom proceedings are instituted under this code, in any such court, may of right be defended by a pleader" (i.e. by a lawyer). This was reiterated in para. 455(1) of the Burma (now Myanmar) Courts manual, as follows: "Every person accused may of right be defended by a pleader". In the majority of cases where the accused are members of the NLD, access to and defense by a lawyer are denied in flagrant violation of SLORC's own laws and proclamations.

Maximum prison sentences are meted out to members of the NLD even when the evidence against them is inadequate or even impermissible under the law.

In cases of appeal or revision to a higher court, the convicted person is required to put his or her signature to a form giving power of attorney to a lawyer to file the memorandum of Appeal or Revision within the prescribed period of time. However, when the relevant forms are submitted to the prison authorities, the forms are filled in and returned only with the consent of the Military Intelligence.

In cases prosecuted under section 5 (j) of the notorious Emergency Act of 1950, the accused are detained for long periods under the pretext of awaiting the sanction of the authorities concerned. When sanction is not received, instead of closing the case, the accused are sent up to be prosecuted under section 505 (b) (statements conducive to public mischief) and sentenced to imprisonment.

Fundamental Legal Rights Denied

Bail is often denied to cases which are bailable under section 496 of the Criminal Procedure Code by classifying such cases as “Si-Man-Chet,” or “Planned.” In such cases the accused may not have infringed the law but the judges are obliged to give them compulsory sentences, usually a term in jail. In such cases the higher appellate courts usually take the line of least resistance and do not rectify or interfere with the orders and sentences of the lower courts. The appeal or revision is dismissed. Consequently the Pillar of Justice is no longer a pillar of strength and refuge for the oppressed but is like a reed quivering in the wind.

Sub-Judice Speeches

In special cases, the Judge personally convenes a meeting of his subordinates and explains in a speech the reason why a certain person or persons are deemed or to be deemed guilty of the offense with which he/she or they are charged. When such a meeting is convened by the highest judicial authority and the explanation is also delivered by him, it is more than a sub-judice act; it virtually amounts to a conviction before and without a trial.

Retrospective Laws

On 10 July 1991, the SLORC promulgated law no. 10/91, amending the Hluttaw Election Law. On the same day, SLORC issued order no. 4/91 which enumerated offenses affecting elected representatives. Both the law and the order were to have retrospective effect, thus violating fundamental and sacred principles of law.

The Judiciary Under Military Dictatorship

The military government of Burma has not abided by its own municipal laws nor by international norms of justice. As it is neither an elected government accountable to the people nor a popular government ruling under a constitution accepted by the people but a government that has usurped power by military force, there can be no rule of law and the independence of the judiciary is a mere scrap of paper, a mockery of the system.

Arbitrarily arresting members, supporters and sympathizers of the NLD who are simply working for democracy out of true belief and convicting them under laws meant for common criminals contradicts internationally accepted principles and norms of justice.

Members, supporters and sympathizers of the NLD who are jailed are frequently transferred to prisons far away from their homes. As a consequence, some imprisoned NLD members are unable to see their families for months and thus deprived of important moral support as well as the essential supplement to their diet and the medicines necessary for survival in the penal system under SLORC.

Some prisoners of conscience who have completed their jail terms are not released.

Pyithu Hluttaw or Parliament

The Pyithu Hluttaw (Parliament) Election Law defines the word Hluttaw as the Pyithu Hluttaw and section 3 decrees that the Hluttaw shall be formed with the elected representatives of the various constituencies in accordance with the law. However, the Hluttaw has not yet been called or convened although elections were held way back in 1990. This is in stark contrast to the procedure in working democracies where Parliament is convened within weeks of the elections. The failure to call the Hluttaw is tantamount to a refusal to respect the mandate of the people.

Suppression of the Right Activities of Political Parties and Persecution of Members of the LND

Under section 2(b) of the SLORC law no. 6/88, the law relating to the formation of political parties, a political party is defined as a party which has a political belief upon which its activities are based. Yet members of the NLD are not allowed to engage in legitimate political activities.

Such occasions as the commemoration of the anniversary of the founding of the NLD and the anniversary of the resounding victory won by the NLD in the elections of 1990, are normal functions for a legally registered party. However, the authorities habitually subject the NLD to severe harassment on these occasions. Delegates to the commemorative conventions are detained, those who have to come from the districts are denied bus and train tickets, wives of delegates who manage to get away for the conventions are detained, access to the venue of the conventions is blocked, delegates arriving for the conventions are forcibly turned away or taken away by car to a distant suburb. NLD delegates who are detained are charged under various sections of the law such as section 5(j) of the infamous 1950 Emergency Provision Act (the Law Protecting the State from Destructive Elements); section 505(b) of the Penal Code, designed against statements conducive to public mischief; and section 5(1)(f)(g) of the Habitual Offenders Restriction Act, better known as HORA, which is intended for habitual criminals and thieves, vagabonds, and those who do not have an ostensible means of livelihood.

In some police stations detained members of the NLD were kept like common criminals and in some instances were subjected to inhuman treatment. Women members of the NLD were put in the same cells as prostitutes and criminals, on occasion even kept together with male detainees.

The authorities subjected elected Hluttaw representatives of the NLD who were detained to threats and intimidation, and used various unlawful means to compel them to resign as the elected representatives of their Hluttaw constituencies.

The authorities constantly interfere in the internal matters of the NLD and restrict its activities such as the formation of organizational committees, the delegation or suspension of duties and responsibilities. Recruitment of new members is prohibited, party meetings are prevented or restricted.

The opening of NLD offices and the putting up of NLD signboards are not allowed. Signboards that were legally put up with the permission of the Elections Commission have been forcibly removed by the authorities. The lawful flag of the NLD was not allowed to be flown at various NLD offices and forcibly removed. Owners of the premises where NLD offices are located are threatened and coerced to withdraw their leases.

The NLD is not allowed to print, publish or distribute any papers. Documents that were seized during raids on NLD offices are not returned. Legally published directives and documents laying out the policies of the NLD are seized as exhibits and those in possession of such papers are prosecuted. The distribution of video recordings of conventions and commemorative ceremonies held by the NLD are prohibited. A law was promulgated in 1996 to make the distribution of such videos an offense carrying a stiff prison sentence.

The wearing of the (unofficial) uniform of the NLD by an organizational committee in the Irrawaddy division was deemed to constitute incitement to unrest and disturbance of the peace and tranquility of the country. All the members of the committee were prosecuted and sentenced to imprisonment. The chairman of the committee has since died in Myaungmya prison from lack of adequate medical care.

The authorities place difficulties in the way of business and social activities of members of the NLD. Matters relating to tax and revenue, transport and communications are subjected to close scrutiny and the slightest mistake results in prosecution and prison sentences.

Members of the NLD are unjustly evicted from state owned apartments. In some instances, house owners are prevented from taking in members of the NLD as tenants. There have also been cases where guest houses were ordered not to rent rooms to members of the NLD.

Civil servants related to members of the NLD have been arbitrarily transferred to remote areas. NLD members who are medical practitioners have had their licenses to practice medicine withdrawn. NLD lawyers have also had their licenses suspended and some have been struck off the roll of lawyers.

Instigation or Perpetration of Violence against Members of the NLD

On 9 November 1996, a convoy of cars carrying U Tin U, U Kyi Maung, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and some elected representatives was attacked by about 200 people with miscellaneous weapons in broad daylight.

A first information report was lodged with the Bahan Township Police Station but in spite of the fact that some security officers were present around the scene at the time of the attack, not a single person has been known to have been arrested in connection with the incident. Eleven months have now passed but the police have not yet sent up any persons for trial.

The NLD with a view to bringing out the truth and preventing any similar incidents from taking place in future, proposed to the authorities that an independent enquiry panel comprised of respectable and trustworthy citizens be formed and that their findings be published for the benefit of the general public but the authorities have not made any response.

A Minister of the SLORC government who is also a secretary of the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), openly called for the “elimination” of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. He specifically explained that to eliminate meant to kill. The government has turned a blind eye to such a gross offense under the criminal law in spite of an official request by the NLD to the chairman of the SLORC asking that appropriate action be taken. (It is worth noting here that the USDA was formed under a notification that enables members of the civil services to join the association. Thus, a notification has been allowed to override a law, no.6/88 promulgated by SLORC, which prohibits all public servants, including military personnel, government servants, the police and all those receiving salaries from public coffers, from joining associations.)

The chairman of the Mandalay Division organization committee of the NLD who is also an elected Pyithu Hluttaw representative was attacked and robbed on the Mandalay-Rangoon Express on 22 November 1996. Although the incident was duly reported to the police; no action was taken.

Local authorities have made threats against the life and security of members of the NLD living under their jurisdiction. Members of the NLD have been conscripted as porters for the armed forces and four members to date have lost their lives as a consequence.

Forced Labour

Forced labour is a daily occurrence in all parts of Burma. Action is taken under section 12 of the Village Act against those who refuse to supply “Voluntary” labour to build roads, railways, bridges, dams and other constructions when ordered to do so by the authorities.

Sometimes rigorous terms of imprisonment are meted out. It is often difficult for households to supply the labour required of them without economic loss. During the hot season and during the rains, the health of labourers suffer from the weather and from lack of clean drinking water. In many instances neither adequate food nor shelter is provided. Lives have been lost due to ill health and to snake bites in some areas.

Labourers are treated harshly and often made to provide food and shelter at their own expense. At the completion of the work quota, labourers sometimes have to bribe the authorities so that they would be released to return home. The ILO should take steps to ensure that such a misuse of labour contrary to the spirit and letter of the ILO conventions is discontinued as soon as possible.

General

There is no freedom of thought, expression or association in Burma under SLORC. The laws and notifications brought out by SLORC are sometimes contradictory, as has been illustrated in some of the cases above. Law no. 5/96 represents another contradiction. After declaring openly that it was the duty of all citizens to participate in the drawing up of the state constitution, the law prohibits the drawing up of a constitution by anybody outside the National Convention convened by SLORC.

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1. Extra-judicial Killing, Summary, and Arbitrary Executions

1.1. Background

Extra-judicial executions violate the right to life, as guaranteed in Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states: “Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.” Extra-judicial executions are not justifiable killings that the security forces carry out in self-defense; they are not deaths that result from the use of reasonable force in law enforcement; nor are they legally decided death sentence. Extra-judicial executions often result when law enforcement officials use force that is disproportionate to the threat posed, although authorities may claim that such use of force was legitimate.

In Burma, the Tatmadaw (armed force) has unlawfully killed members of ethnic minorities for allegedly supporting the armed ethnic groups. SLORC/SPDC has justified killing civilians under charges of “counter-insurgency” on a regular basis since at least 1986. When troops approach a village, civilians that attempt to flee are often shot to death due to what appears to be a de facto shoot-to-kill policy effecting anyone who runs from the Tatmadaw. Civilians that are suspected of supporting armed ethnic groups may also be summarily killed. The SLORC/SPDC army has engaged in other seemingly random killings in an effort to terrorize villagers into severing their often alleged connections with armed ethnic forces.

To break civilian ties with or support for armed ethnic groups, the SLORC/SPDC army has also begun a program of forced relocations of ethnic civilian villages in rural areas. The SLORC/SPDC sends threatening letters to village leaders that sometimes contain a bullet, chili, and charcoal. These enclosures are interpreted as being symbolic of the future that awaits residents who do not cooperate with the terms of relocation (a bullet represents death, the chili means life will be unpleasant, and the charcoal signifies the burning down of villages). In fact, civilians that have failed to heed the SLORC/SPDC orders to relocate have been subjected to extrajudicial killings.

People have also been shot to death while serving as forced porters for the military, after being arrested, or as a result of clearly disproportionate use of force to prevent people from fleeing security forces. Often villagers are shot to death when the military merely accuse them of providing ethnic minority groups

with food, shelter, and information about the Tatmadaw's movements. Others have been killed for being unable to perform portering duties satisfactorily, or while attempting to escape. During the major offensive against the KNU's 6th and 4th brigade areas in early 1997, the SLORC/SPDC army killed hundreds of civilians.

Many civilians killed by the army offered no resistance and were found to be unarmed, making the army's use of force entirely unjustified. For example, from mid-June to mid-July 1997, at least 400 local people in the areas of Sai Kao, Kaeng Lom, Jeang Kham, and Kho Lam in Kunhing Township, Shan State, were killed by the SLORC/SPDC during its military campaign against the civilian population. Most of them were villagers who had been forcibly moved to relocation sites along the motor roads. The SLORC/SPDC restricts villagers' movements to within relocation sites, allowing them a range of not more than three miles to the north and one mile to the south of the road. As a result, villagers got food for their families at the risk of being shot.

While people caught outside the relocation sites are often massacred, the safety of villagers inside them is not guaranteed. In 1997, The SLORC/SPDC troops have actually fired shells into some relocation sites in Shan State. For example, on February 21, 1997, at about 9:00p.m, two Shan families, including three young children, were blown up by the SLORC/SPDC troops while sheltering near their home at Kho Lam relocation site in Nam Zarng Township, Shan State. A Shan armed ethnic group was responsible for a raid in the area before this incident and the troops retaliated by firing shells into the site.

1.2. Death in Custody

In 1997, the Human Rights Documentation Unit (HRDU) compiled comprehensive lists documenting the numbers of people who had been taken into custody and subsequently died, as well as numbers of those who suffer from ill-health as a result of their detention, a common problem for political prisoners. The Burmese prisons are notorious for their abominable conditions and prisoners receive, at best, inadequate medical attention. The condition of prisons remains extremely harsh. Prisoners lack exercise, mosquito nets, reading material, proper nutrition, medical care, and are frequently subjected to solitary confinement.

U Tin Shwe (Monywa), a former NLD Central Executive Committee Member, died in Insein Prison on June 8, 1997. A founding member of the NLD, U Tin Shwe was arrested in 1990 and was serving his 18-year sentence when he had a heart attack.

After receiving cardiac treatment at Insein Hospital in April, his family asked that authorities allow U Tin Shwe to see outside specialists. The family's request was denied. U Tin Shwe's health continued to deteriorate until he died in custody, at the age of 68. He was the sixth NLD member to die in prison since 1988.

1.3. Massacres in Shan State

The worst development over the past year has been the sharp increase in extrajudicial killings of villagers at relocation areas in Shan State. The SLORC/SPDC troops often kill those trying to return to their former homes for food. In 1997 alone, 664 extrajudicial killings of people from Shan State have been documented. However, this figure only reflects confirmed cases. Since most people are killed out in the jungle, it is impossible to know the real number, which is undoubtedly higher.

After a group of unidentified Shan rebels shot 25 civilian Burmese nationals to death on June 1, 1997, at Pha Larng, Kunhing Township, Shan State, SLORC/SPDC troops stepped up their military campaign against the civilian population. From mid-June to mid-July, they have killed at least 400 people in the areas of Sai Kao, Kaeng Lom, Kaeng Kham, and Kho Lam in Kunhing Township. Most of those murdered were villagers who had been forcibly moved to relocation sites along the motor roads. They were shot to death just for being outside of the relocation site while they were trying to find food. Villagers are not allowed to go farther than three miles north and one mile south of the road. As a result, they risk their lives just getting food.

Extrajudicial killing in Shan State includes a double massacre committed by the SLORC/SPDC on June 16, 1997. On that day, two groups of villagers that had been relocated to the town of Kun Hing were permitted to return to their former villages to collect rice. They left in two separate convoys of oxcarts. On the way back, both groups were stopped on by the SLORC/SPDC troops and were massacred.

In the first assault, thirty villagers who had been forcibly relocated to Kunhing town, returned to their old village of Wan Sar Lar in Kaeng Lom village tract, Shan State, to retrieve food and other supplies. Coming back, they met SLORC/SPDC troops at a waterfall called Tard Pha Ho. The villagers were assembled in a long line of bullock carts. Although the SLORC/SPDC had issued passes for rice retrieval in the first place, the villagers showed their passes and ID cards in vain. The troops forced them to squat in a line and shot them. In all, 27 were murdered. The SLORC/SPDC proceeded to set fire to the oxcarts and their contents, pushing them into the water as they burned. Then they slaughtered the oxen for meat. Only three people escaped with their lives to tell others.

On the same day, twenty-nine villagers were killed returning from Sai Khao village, Kaeng Lham village tract, Kunhing Township, Shan State, where they had collected rice. When they were discovered by the SLORC/SPDC troops, they were detained for the evening, tied up, and then shot to death near a forest north of Sai Khao village.

On July 11, 1997, SSA members coming by car from Murngpaeng and Kaengtung through Kunhing looked along the road that branched off from the main road to Kaeng Lom and saw the corpses of 26 villagers. The bodies were lined up with the heads cut off and placed beside them. On July 12, 1997, another 17 corpses were seen along the road between Kaeng Lom and Kaeng Tawng, aligned in the same manner.

1 . 4 . List of Incidents

- 1.4.1. In the first week of February, 1997, six privates from SLORC LIB. 273, deserted the army and fled to the Thai border. However, all of them were captured by SLORC soldiers and executed near Eindayaza village, Tenasserim Division. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 1.4.2. On February 12, 1997, at about 9:00 p.m, two Shan families were blasted to death in a dugout by SLORC troops at Kho Lam relocation site, Namzang township. On that evening, some SURA (Shan United Revolutionary Army) members had come into the site, shot a few times at the police station and left. Hearing the gunfire, SLORC troops assumed the rebels were still in the village and fired many mortar shells. During the shelling, two families — altogether eight people — had gone into a dugout hole close to their houses to hide. The SLORC dropped a bomb into the dugout and instantly killed them all. They were (1) Ka Ling, 47 (2) Ai Pi, 4 (3) Za Ling Ta, 28 (4) Nang Nu, 28 (5) Nang Myint, 7 and (6) Nang Zang, 5. Other twos -- Nai Leng , 35 and Ai Lu, 15 -- were wounded. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.3. On February 21, 1997, SLORC Commander of IB. 35, Lieutenant-Colonel Kyaw Zwa, forced Maung Htun Nwe, age 73, headman of Section 20, Taungoo town, to accompany him to the front line as a guide. On February 23, when Maung Htun Nwe could no longer walk, the Commander beat him to death at a village called Klaw Mee Der. (*Source: KIC*)

- 1.4.4. On March 9, 1997, SLORC troops fired 79-mm mortar shells into the village of Kun Hong, Laikha township, Shan State, killing Nang Seng and Loong Zum as well as wounding three others. Earlier that day, SPDC troops from Laikha forced the villagers to move. However, five of the villagers had to spend the night in the village because of the shortage of carts in which to carry them. Patrolling troops had fired mortar shells into the village when they heard a dog barking. (*Source: UN report*)
- 1.4.5. On March 17, 1997, Hussain Johar, 26 years old son of Anu Mia, from Kanbyin village of Buthidaung township, Arakan State, was arrested by some SLORC soldiers from 10-mile headquarters for unknown reason. He was brutally tortured and killed. (*Source: RSO*)
- 1.4.6. On March 29, 1997, SLORC troops from Kho Lam, Shan State, under the command of Maj-Gen. Khin Maung, arrested a villager named Sai Phit, 35, of Nawng Kwai village, Hai Lai village tract, Namzarng township, Shan State at his house. He was tied up with rope and taken to a place near a white bridge in the village. He was later beaten there while being interrogated and finally shot dead. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.7. On March 30, 1997, three villagers of Sarm Kyawng village, Hai Lai village tract, Namzarng township, Shan State, were shot dead by SLORC troops while fishing on the bank of Nam Mawng stream, not very far from Kho Lam. They were Sai Mart, 28; Saw Nan Ti, 26; and another unknown villager (*Source: SHRF*).
- 1.4.8. On April 3, 1997, villagers from Hai Lai village, Namzarng township, Shan State were killed while serving as porters at the SLORC Division 55. They were Ai Mark, 30, (2) Pan Zig Ta, 24, and (3) Ai Ti, 25. They were seized for porters while they were fishing and were beaten to death near Wan Sai Khao. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.9. On April 4, 1997, SLORC troops under the Division 55 killed the following civilians. (1) Sai Mon, 25, from Narng Parng village, Murng Yarng tract (2) Sai Wa Ling, 23 (3) Ai Tark Ngo, 22, from Nawng Parng village, Murng Yarng tract (4) Ai Mon, 25, from Murng Yawng village, Murng Nawng (5) Pi Lern, 40, from Murng Yawng village and (6) Loong Kham Leng, 70, from Kung Kawk village, Murng Yarng tract, Shan State. They were accused of being SURA members and killed. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.10. On April 4, 1997, SLORC troops fired M 79 grenades into the Tard Mawk relocation site. Three villagers died and another three were wounded. (*Source: UN report*)

- 1.4.11. On April 7, 1997, three women from Kung Yung village, Laikha township, Shan State were collecting vegetable in a nearby forest. One woman was on a tree cutting down branches for the other two under the tree. The SLORC troops arrived at the scene and called out something in Burmese which women did not understand. Being extremely scared, the two women under the tree ran away, leaving their friend alone on the tree. When the troops got nearer and saw the women on the tree, they shot her down right away. After the woman fell from the tree, the soldiers covered her with 3-4 sheets of old roofing thatch and set fire to her. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.12. On April 8, 1997, a 25 years old Muslim boy from Kharankhari village of Buthidaung township, Arakan State, who was sleeping in his cow-shed at night, was rounded up by the five soldiers from SLORC LIB. 354. The soldiers looted his gold and cashes from his house. Then he was dragged away to the nearby field and slaughtered. The case was reported to the police and the dead body was submitted to the township medical officers by the relatives. The relatives were warned to keep silent on the matter. (Source: RSO)
- 1.4.13. On April 16, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 515 dragged three men who were tied with ropes to a place near Lao Ai bridge, north of Loi Lam village, Wan Long tract, Murngkerng township, Shan State, and beat them to death. They then piled up the bodies together with some dry twigs and branches and set fire to them. When the villagers went to look at them, after the soldiers had left, the corpses were found to be unrecognizable. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.14. On April 18, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 378, one Captain and three soldiers went to Znawng Hai village, Kho Lam tract, Kunhing township, Shan State and arrested a man named Khing Sarng at a farm nearby. They beat him and asked about SURA movements in the area. When he could not answer their questions, they stabbed him in the chest, belly and neck, and killed him near Wan Sai Khao. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.15. On April 22, 1997, Sai Nge of Lon Pu quarter, Kaesee township, Shan State, was shot dead by SLORC troops from LIB. 523 near Pang Po village. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.16. On April 29, 1997, SLORC troops killed Nan Zing, 28, from Wan Pa Mai, Nar Poi tract, Laikha township, Shan State. (Source: SHRF)

- 1.4.17. In April 1997, people from Wan Nang village who had been moved to Kho Lam, Namzarng township, Shan State, came back to look for their cattle and their household property. They were shot by SLORC troops stationed at Nar Law village at the time. They were (1) Sai Thark Awn, 40, from Wan Nang (2) Sai Zik Ta Awn, 35, from Wan Nang (3) Sai Hurng, 30, from Wan Nang (4) Sai La, 33, from Wan Nang (5) Khat Ta Ya, 30, from Kho Ood village and (6) Nang Sai, 16. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.18. In mid-April, 1997, four villagers from Mark Hark village, Hai Lai tract, Namzarng township, Shan State, were netting fish in Nam Waeng stream when SLORC troops from Kho Lam found them. The soldiers called them out of the water and shot them dead on the bank. The soldiers took away all fish. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.19. On May 4, 1997, Sai Nya Mon who had been moved to Nam Mo in Klo Lam, Namzarng township, Shan State, was permitted by SLORC troops to go and work on his farm at his old village of Kun Sai. While he was driving his old bullock-cart towards Kun Sai, SLORC troops from Nam Mo went after him and shot him dead in a field near Kun Sai. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.20. On May 5, 1997, Sai Mu Ling, 32, a villager from Pa Moi village, Nar Poi tract, Namzarng township, Shan State was arrested at his house by SLORC troops. He was beaten and shot dead in the forest near the deserted village of Wan Paeng. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.21. On May 11, 1997, 15 Palawng villagers of Pha Ngarb village, Hai Lai tract, Namzarng township -- men, women and children of all ages, including an elderly man of 75 -- went back to their old village from new relocated site at Kho Lam to gather their things left behind. On their way back, they all were shot dead by SLORC troops near the old bridge of Nawng Kwai. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.22. On May 11, 1997, Sai Nan Ti, 30, a villager from Pa Mai village, Nar Poi tract, Namzarng township, Shan State, was arrested at his house by SLORC troops. He was beaten and shot dead in the forest near the deserted village of Wan Paeng. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.23. On May 11, 1997, Sai Ar Ta Pa, 35, and his two younger brothers, from Kho Lam quarter 4, Namzarng township were shot by SLORC troops on their way back to their homes. Ar Ta Pa and one of his brothers died instantly while another managed to escape. (Source: *SHRF*)

- 1.4.24. On May 14, 1997, Sai Nan Ta, 27, and his brother, of Wan Nag village, Kho Ood tract, Namzarng township, Shan State, went back to clean up the irrigation ditches in their rice field at their farms. SLORC troops saw them while they were working and arrested them. One of the brothers ran and jumped onto Nam Mawng stream, but was chased and shot dead in the water. The other was tied up and beaten to death on the head with a heavy stick on the bank of Nam Mawng stream. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.25. On May 18, 1997, SLORC Major Aye Thant and his troops killed Sai Vi, Sai Vilarsa and Sai Saw Ta in Wan Mawk Zali village, Murngton township, Shan State. The three men were arrested, accused of being soldiers of the SURA, tied up, beaten, put into sacks and submerged in water several times before they were killed. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.26. On May 20, 1997, SLORC Major Kyi Aung and his troops from Murng Tar village, Shan State came into Wan Huay Aw village and arrested the following villagers. (1) Loong Tan, 45 (2) Loong Than Ou, 50 (3) Loong Su, 47 (4) Sai Aw Ta, 27 (5) Sai Vi Zing Tar, 25 (6) Nang Kham, 31. SLORC troops accused these men of giving food and information to the Shan resistance group. They beat them up and after two days they killed them (Source: SHRF).
- 1.4.27. On May 20, 1997, SLORC Major Aye Thant and his troops killed Sai Ti Mar and Sai Thun in the village of Mawk Zali, Murngton township, Shan State. The two men were arrested, accused of being the soldiers of the SURA, tied up, beaten, put into sacks and submerged in water several times before they were killed. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.28. On May 22, 1997, eight villagers of Ter Zerng village, Nar Poi tract, Namzarng township, Shan State, who had been relocated, went back to their old village of Ter Zerng to get their belongings. On their way back, they met the SLORC soldiers from Namzarng at their old village. They all ran but only four of them managed to escape. The other four were captured, tied up two by two and killed. Their bodies were thrown into an old dugout in Loi Waeng village. They were (1) Loong Kaw Yao (2) Nang Nu, wife (3) Sai Ka Wing, son and (4) an unknown person. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.29. On May 22, 1997, SLORC Major Kyi Aung and his troops from Murng Tar township, Shan State, killed Loong Tan, Loong Than Ou, Loong Su, Sai Aw Ta, Sai Vi Zing Tar and Nang Kham in Wan Huay Aw. The six villagers were arrested two days earlier and accused of providing the SURA with food and news. (Source: SHRF)

- 1.4.30.** On May 23, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 515 came into the old village of Zik Ta, Murng Lerm tract, Namzarng township, Shan State, and shot dead five villagers. Later they searched for rice which the villagers had hidden in the forest and took it away. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.31.** On May 27, 1997, SLORC troops of LIB. 515 from Laikha, led by Major Soe Phyu, came to Ter Leng village, Laikha township, Shan State, and arrested two villagers named Sai Tu, 22 and Pan Zik Ta, 25. They were accused of being SURA members. The troops tied them up, beat and tortured while interrogating them until both of them died. They then forced their families to move to Laikha immediately and burnt down their two houses. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.32.** On May 30, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 520 from Murngpan township, Shan State, shot dead the following villagers. (1) Su Nan Ta, 35, from Ton Hoong village tract, Murngnai township (2) Ai kaw, 27, from Kung Mong village, Kaeng Kham tract, Kunghing township (3) Kung Mala, 35, of Kunhing township (4) Ai Lot, 25, from Kunghing township (*Source: SHRF*).
- 1.4.33.** On May 30, 1997, Nai Li, 60, woman villager from Wan Kung Ho Yard village, Kaeng Kham village tract, Kunghin township, Shan State, went to collect bamboo-shoots in the forest. SLORC troops from Kunghing-based IB. 246 blasted her to death with a hand grenade. Her body was left lying in a bamboo grove. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.34.** On June 4, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 515 shot dead two villagers at Nar Kaeng village, Murng Lerm tract, Kaesee township, Shan State. They were Mu Ling, 32, and Win Ling, 41 (*Source: SHRF*).
- 1.4.35.** On June 6, 1997, some villagers with some bullock-carts went back to get rice and paddy from their old village of Pha Lang, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township, Shan State. They returned with several cart-loads of paddy and they met some SLORC troops from IB. 246 and LIB. 332 led by Major Nyunt Oo. SLORC troops arrested them, tied them up with ropes and shot them dead without asking any questions. They also took away their belongings, carts and paddy. The following is the list of the 26 villagers shot by the troops. (1) Pu Loi Kaw, 60 (2) Nai Loi Poi, female, 40 (3) Lai Zern Yong, 45 (4) Nai Zing, 40 (5) Su Nan Ta, 35 (6) Nam Kham, female, 35 (7) Sang Aw, 38 (8) Khat Nya, 30 (9) Wi Ling, 50 (10) Mu Ling, 45 (11) Kaw Ling, 45 (12) Su Ping Nya, 42 (13) Khing Tu, 39 (14) Khing Min, 37 (15) Sai Wong, 38 (16) Loong Man, 40 (17) Ae Nang, female, 20 (18) Kaw Ya, 50 (19) Su Ling, 20 (20) Loong Saw, 49 (21) Nang Lao, female, 45 (22) Nang Mart, female, 43 (23) Nang Seng Zing,

female, 38 (24) Ook Tama, 35 (25) Na Ling, 46 and (26) Sin Na Ta, 29. (Source: SHRF)

- 1.4.36. On June 7, 1997, three villagers of Wan Kyawng, Murngpan township, Shan State, were beaten to death by the troops from SLORC LIB. 332 from Murngpan. They were (1) Loong Za Lim 40, (2) Loong Nan Ta, 45 and (3) Sai Ta, 37. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.37. On June 7, 1997, six villagers of Pa Karng village, Namzarng township, Shan State went to get honey in the forest. All of them were shot dead by the SLORC troops. The six villagers killed were (1) Ai Nu (2) Ai Sa (3) Zara (4) Kaw Ling (5) Mae Tha and (6) Wala (Source: SHRF).
- 1.4.38. On June 10, 1997, SLORC troops from Kunhing-based LIB. 524 shot dead six villagers who were going to work on their farm, a few kilometers west of the town (Source: SHRF).
- 1.4.39. On June 10, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 515, led by Major Soe Myint, forced some villagers at Wan Sang village, Laikha township, Shan State, to serve as porters. They shot dead one porter at Nawng Leng village and three other porters on the mountain of Loi Taeng. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.40. On June 11, 1997, a patrol of SLORC troops from LIB. 524 met ten villagers who were gathering rice paddy in the deserted village of Wan Phai, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township, Shan State. Without saying anything, the SLORC troops shot all of them dead on the spot. They were all from Wan Phai village. They were: (1) Loong Zarn, 50 (2) Pan Ti, 22 (3) Sai Suay, 20 (4) Sai Ekka, 27 (5) Su Zing, 29 (6) Kaw Na, 39 (7) Khing Khong, 51 (8) Wa Ling Ta, 36 (9) Khing Ung, 42 and (10) Pan Ta, 45. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.41. On June 13, 1997, five villagers of different villages in Murngpan township, Shan State were beaten to death by troops from SLORC LIB. 332 from Murngpan township, Shan State. They were (1) Pannya, 35, from Nam Maw Mon village (2) Loong Pae, 50, from Nawng Harn village (3) Pa Kao, 50, from Wan Kung village (4) Su Nan Ta, 40, from Loi Noi village and (5) Su Na Ta, from Long Kaeng village. (Source: SHRF)
- 1.4.42. On June 16, 1997, 27 villagers with several bullock-carts who had been forcibly relocated to Kunhing returned to their old village of Wan Sar Lar in Kaeng Lom tract, Shan State to get their paddy and other belongings which they had not been able to take when they were forced to move. On their way back to the town, they met some SLORC soldiers at a place

called Tard Pha Ho. The SLORC troops massacred all the villagers and all the oxen. Nine of the villagers killed were (1) Loong Kaw Zan Ta, 58-year-old villager from Sar Lar village, Kaeng Lom tract (2) Nai Poi, 50-year-old villager from Sar Lar village, Kaeng Lom tract (3) Loong Yo, 40-year-old villager from Sar Lar village, Kaeng Lom tract (4) Khing Zaw Ta, 42-year-old villager from Sar Lar village, Kaeng Lom tract (5) Khing Man, 37-year-old villagers from Nar Sai village, Kaeng Kham tract (6) Khing Tae Wing, 47-year-old villager from Nar Sai village, Kaeng Kham tract (7) Sang Pae Ti, 41-year-old villager from Kun Kyawng village, Kaeng Kham tract (8) Sang Khae Ming, 35-year-old villager from Nar La village, Kaeng Kham tract (9) Sang Kaw Ling, 35-year-old villager from Paeng Kham village. The names of the rest were unknown. (Source: *SHRF*)

- 1.4.43. On June 16, 1997, under the command of Lt-Col. Thein Soe, commander of Strategic Command (1) of Eastern Command, Captain Kamu of IB. 513 led his troops to guard the road near Sai Khao old village, Kaeng Kham district, Kunhing township, Shan State. They found some villagers who had come back to get their rice paddy in the deserted village. The troops arrested them, tied them up together, three in a bunch, and shot them dead. They all came from Quarter (3) of Kunhing town when they had been relocated. The 22 villagers killed were: (1) Ping Nya, 42 (2) Kaw Win Ta, 28 (3) Zin Ta, 50 (4) Pan Ta, 45 (5) Zing Ta, 38 (6) Nan Ti, 30 (7) Naing Harn, female, 27 (8) Wa Ling Ta, 42 (9) Nang Zern, 29 (10) Loong Man, 44 (11) Sai La, 40 (12) Su Nan Ta, 38 (13) Sai Nya Na, 29 (14) Pi Nu, 48 (15) Ai Sai, 20 (16) Khing Ta, 32 (17) Nang Zarm, female, 40 (18) Loong Ma, 40 (19) Kaw Ling, 25 (20) Zan Ta La, 30 (21) Ai Ti, 32 and (22) Khing Wa Ling, 40. These villagers were all shot dead near the forest north of Sai Khao. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.44. On June 17, 1997, SLORC troops and members of people's militia shot dead four of the villagers who were working at a remote farm in the forest near Wan Tong village, Ho Nar village tract, Murngkerng township. The four were (1) Lai Seng Mu, 48 (2) Sai Thun, 20 (3) Pa Mi, 60 (4) Nang Lu, 15. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.45. On June 26, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 515 shot dead seven villagers at Huay Aw village, Wan Tong village tract, Kaesee township. All the victims were women and their children. They were (1) Ae Pu, 28, and her 11 year-old son (2) Ae Purng, 25, and her three-month old baby (3) Ae Zing, 27, and her five month-old baby, and (4) Ae Kham. (Source: *SHRF*)

- 1.4.46.** On June 27, 1997, SLORC troops of Maungpan-based LIB. 332 led by Captain Thein Htut arrested the following twelve villagers in Kaeng Tawng area, Murngnai township, Shan State. They were (1) Sai Nan Ta, headman of Ton Hoong village, Ton Hoong tract (2) Pu Karng Parn, headman of Nam Tum Tai village, Nawng Hee tract (3) Pu Karng Thawn, headman of Nawng Phar village, Nawng Hee tract (4) Awng La, headman of Waeng Kao village, Nawng Hee tract (5) Saw Ya, headman of Kun Mong village, Kun Mong tract (6) Pu Lai sai, headman of Kun Kawk village, Kun Mong tract (7) Pu Karng Larn, headman of Phak Lurn village, Kun Mong tract (8) Pu Karng Mawng, headman of Long Kawng village, Ton Hoong tract (9) Mu Ling, headman of Nawng Phar village, Nawng Hee tract, (10) Pu Karng Mon, headman of Kung Sa village, Tin Hoong tract and three unknown villagers. These twelve people, most of whom were village and tract headmen, were accused of supporting Shan soldiers. The SLORC troops brought them to a military base, and after torturing and questioning them for three days, killed all of them on June 30, 1997. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.47.** On the night of June 30, 1997, three people escaped from the regimental lock-up of Falam-based IB. 268 after removing the iron bar of a ventilation window in the cell. All of them were soldiers from IB. 268. Sergeant Tun Lin was put into the lock-up due to the misuse of money collected from cow smuggling dealers as tax. Two other riflemen, Soe Myint and Ko Oo were put into regimental lock-up because they tried to run away from their regiment. A platoon of IB. 268 started the search operation to arrest the deserters in the same night. When the platoon reached Zaothe village on July 2, 1997 its commander threatened the village chief and villagers that the village would be burnt down and all male villagers would be exterminated unless they disclosed the place where the deserters were hiding. So the villagers disclosed the place of hiding. The army surrounded the hut in the hillside cultivation field near Zaothe village, where the deserters were hiding the afternoon of the same day. At that time, three deserters and Ms. Van Lai Pal, a local woman were in the hut.

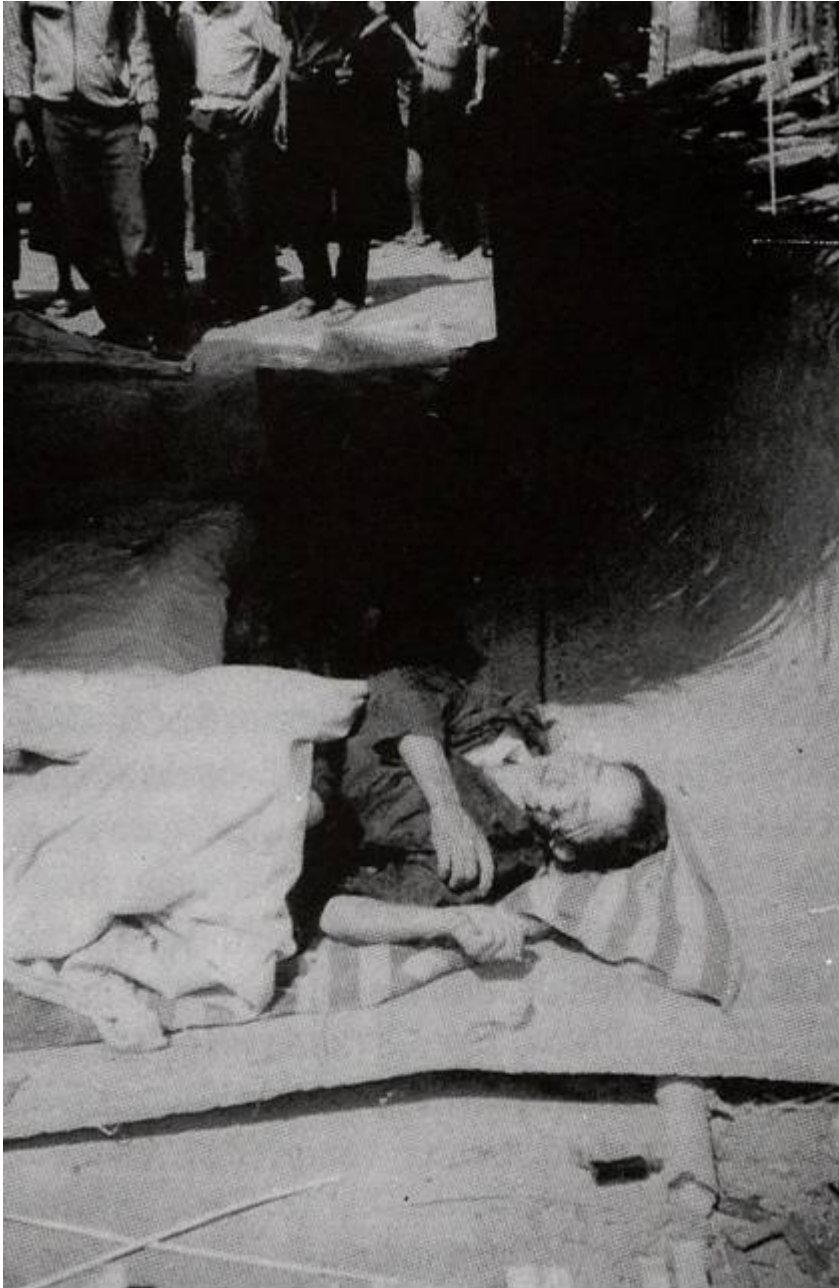
Although they tried to escape, the army apprehended all of them except rifleman Ko Oo. Three arrested people were interrogated the whole day in that hut. Ms. Van Lai Pal confessed that she had agreed to send the deserters to anti-SLORC revolutionary forces staying at Indo-Burma border. Colonel Ohn Thwin, Commander of Military Tactical Command No (1), North-West Command ordered Major Khin Maung Wai, Deputy Commander of IB. 268 to terminate all the deserters including the woman and then to report as death in an encounter. Tun Lin, Soe Myint and Ms. Van Lai Pal were killed on the night of July 2, 1997 in the same hut. (*Source: ABSL*)

- 1.4.48.** On July 1, 1997, SLORC troops of LIB. 524 led by Major Htun Mya ransacked Kaeng Lom area, Kunhing township, Shan State, and arrested villagers who had come back to collect their possessions left behind at their old villages. Altogether 96 men and women were arrested from Waeng Kham, Kun Mi, Wo Long, Nar taw, Wan Parng, Ho Ha, Nar Poi, Karng Nar, Nar Yao, Son Sarng, Nar Khar Awn and Nar Khar Long. These 96 villagers were all gathered together at the village of Kun Mi. They were beaten, tortured and accused of being supporters who provided food and information for the Shan soldiers. On July 3-4, 1997, the troops put plastic bags over their heads, wrapped them up round their necks until they suffocated to death and threw their bodies into the Nam Parng River. All the women were also raped several times during the 3-4 days and nights before they were killed. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.49.** On July 11, 1997, on the road that branches out from the main road to Kaen Lom, Shan State, the corpses of 26 villagers were lined up with their heads laid beside their bodies. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.50.** On July 12, 1997, on the road between Kaeng Lom and Kaeng Tawng, 17 corpses were lined up with their heads laid beside their bodies. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.51.** On July 12, 1997, the Ler-der-poo villager, Karen State, Saw Bla Daya was arrested and executed by a SLORC military column led by Khin Maung Win. The following day, the column arrested and executed Hseet-ku villagers Saw Ko Sher, Saw Ba Nee, Saw Pee Ler, Saw Ba Shwe and Saw Wah Ler. (*Source: UN report*)
- 1.4.52.** On July 20, 1997, SLORC troops of LIB. 376, led by Major Ko Ko Lay made a search in the area of Kaeng Lom, Kunhing township, Shan State. While searching Nam Pa Man village, they arrested a villager named Sai Rae Wa Ta, 35, son of Loong Kawn Kya. They accused him of being a SURA spy and shot him dead in the forest near Mai Hen Lao. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.53.** On July 24, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 439 opened fire on the village of Maw-law village in Papun District, Karen State wounding villager Saw Tu Lu, 32. (*Source: KIC*)
- 1.4.54.** On July 25, 1997, the column arrested Pyi Cha villagers, Saw Kway Poe, Saw Tun Hla and Saw Par Er in Tavoy-Mergui District and then executed them without reason. It killed and ate three of the villagers' cattle. Again, on July 26, the column came to Pyi Cha and burnt down five houses and a pandal. (*Source: KIC*)

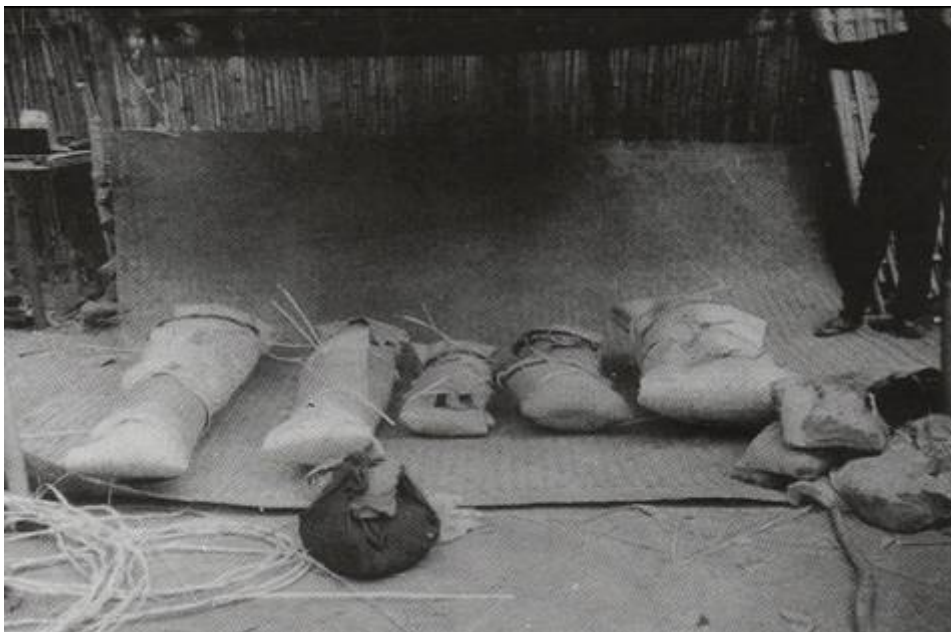
- 1.4.55. On July 25-26, 1997, about 200 SLORC troops of LIB. 248 rummaged around the area of Kaeng Lom, Kunhing township, Shan State. The troops arrested a villager named Sai La Oo, 18, son of Zan Da and Nai Nang Oo Keng Lom village. They killed him near Kam Pi village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.56. On August 14, 1997, the SLORC unit killed six villagers from Seik Ku village in Tenasserim Division. The killings were carried out as a threat to the other forced laborers. The SLORC complained that the six slain villagers killed did not work hard enough and were lazy. (Source: *KIC*)
- 1.4.57. On July 29, 1997, troops from SLORC LIB. 709 indiscriminately shot at the villagers of Thway-doe village in Papun District, Karen State, wounding a villager. The troops stayed at the village for a day and killed all the chickens and pigs found and ate them. (Source: *KIC*)
- 1.4.58. In July, 1997, 80 SLORC troops of LIB. 525 arrived at Hart Mai village, Larngkhur township, Shan State, and camped in the village. In the evening, when the villagers who had gone to work outside the village returned home, SLORC troops shot them without asking anything, killing four villagers. They were (1) Ai Zing, 35 (2) Nan Ti, 20 (3) Zan Ti Ma, 22 (4) Ing Ta, 30. SLORC troops accused them of being rebels. When the village headman said they were his villagers, the soldiers arrested him, questioned him for a while and eventually killed him as well. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.59. On August 7, 1997, 150 SLORC troops of LIB. 516 from Namzarng, Shan State, led by Major Myint Maung, made a search in the area of Wan Lao village tract, Kunhing township and shot dead two villagers. They were Nang Mai, 25, daughter of Loong Zong and Pa Awng of Wan Lao village and Ping Nya, 30, son of Loong Wawd and Nan Mart of Wan Lao village. (Source: *SHRF*)
- 1.4.60. On August 10, 1997, 80 SLORC troops from IB. 246 led by Major Htoo Nyein, arrested six villages in Kho Lam area, Manzarng township, Shan State. They were (1) Sai Wi Ya, 40, (2) Sai Harn, 38 (3) Sai Parn, 37 (4) Nang Poi, 36 (5) Nang Htoo, 32 and (6) Sai Kaw Ya, 29. These people were accused of supporting the SURA troops with food and were taken to the army base at Kho Lam. The men were beaten and tortured while being interrogated and finally killed by suffocation, with plastic bags put over their heads and faces. (Source: *SHRF*)

- 1.4.61. On August 23, 1997, husband Saw Kalo, 58 years old, and wife Naw Moo, 50 years old, were arrested in Lo Po village of No. (2) District by the SLORC troops of LB.102 under the command of Sein Hlaing (unknown position). The troops killed the husband. The wife Naw Moo died after being repeatedly raped by the troops. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 1.4.62. On August 27, 1997, 23-year-old, Saw Jelley, Kho Baw Deh village was killed by Captain Min Ko Oo of Battalion No. 531 of SLORC while he went to Mawchee town to buy salt and fish paste. Saw Jelley was stopped and searched while he was on his way to Mawchee. The Captain accused him of Karenni intelligence when the Captain found on him 10,500 kyats (Burmese Currency) and shot him dead. This incidence reached the Commander of the Unit who covered the truth and explained to the public that Saw Jelley was killed because he was trying to escape while he was being questioned. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 1.4.63. On November 6, 1997, SLORC battalion commander Khin Maung Win arrested Saw Kai of Ta Peet Lay village, Tavoy district, Tenasserim Division, without any reason and brutally killed him. (*Source: KIC*)
- 1.4.64. On November 18, 1997, SLORC Lt-Col. Thein Maung and LIB. 708 battalion commander Win Tun arbitrarily shot the following villagers who were hiding in the jungle around Shoo-kee village, Htantapin township, Karen State. They were Saw Maw Rae (60), Saw Law Ba-kay (35), Saw Maw Lay (40), Naw Kai Mai(30), Saw Khu Say Doe(6) and Naw Posie(2). (*Source: KHRG*)
- 1.4.65. On November 19, 1997, troop from SLORC LIB. 708 shot the villagers of Tha-aye-kee village in Htantapin township, Karen State. They killed four people, a man, a woman and two children. (*Source: KIC*)
- 1.4.66. From November 26 to December 3, 1997, SLORC column led by Lt-Col. Kyaw Sein from LIB. 36 stayed in Kyaukdaung village, Papun township, Karen State and committed various forms of abuses. The troops forcibly collected 80,000 kyats from the villagers as porter fees for three months and killed villager U Ohn, aged 33. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 1.4.67. On November 27, 1997, SLORC LB. 48 arrested and brutally killed U Pa Nya, Min Min Latt and Thein Pu of Aung Chan Tha village in Mooe township, Shan State. (*Source: KIC*)
- 1.4.68. On November 29, 1997, SLORC soldiers from LIB. 704 arrested May Saw Kyay (age 30), who lived in Pa-La-lar village, Karen State and brutally killed him. (*Source: KIC*)

- 1.4.69.** On December 12, 1997, SLORC military column from LIB. 38 led by Captain Win Naing entered Htee Thelay village in Papun township, Karen State and killed a whole family. The victims were U Phar Hope, 40-year-old teacher, Daw Matwe, 25-year-old wife, Saw Nelwe, 16-year-old son and Saw Nisay, 7-year-old son. The column took 5,200 kyats and other belonging of the family. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 1.4.70.** On December 19, 1997, a company from SLORC IB.12, based in Lolem and led by Captain Tin Win ransacked the areas along the Nam Taeng river in Laikha township, Shan State. They met three villagers in two bullockcarts near Wan Huay village who were returning from Parng Phone village relocation site after selling consumer goods there. After asking a few questions, the SPDC troops shot dead all the villagers. The three victims were (1) Sai Naw, 30, (2) Nang Yaw, 30, and (3) Pa Nang Ee. All of them were from No.2 quarter of Laikha town. The soldiers also killed the four oxen for meat and burnt the two bullock-carts. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 1.4.71.** On December 2-3, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 517 ransacked the area of Murng Khun village tract, Murng Kerng township, Shan State. They arrested four villagers and killed them. They were (1) Sang Wi, 18 from Nam Tao village, Murng Khun tract, (2) Sang Ui, 18, from Nam Tao village, (3) Nang Non Zing, 35, from Nam Tao village and (4) Nang, 18, female from Kung Pek village. She was also raped by the SPDC troops before being killed. The soldiers also killed two villagers at Wan Kyawng village. They were Tiya and Ai Long, both of them from No.4 quarter of Murng Kerng town. (*Source: SHRF*)
- (Also see under “personal Accounts,” interviews 3, 8, 9, 13, 14, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 32, 38, 42, 45, 50, 52, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 72, 73, 77, 79, 97, 98, 99, 100 and 102)



Za Ling Ta, 28, killed in the February 21 incident in Kho Lam relocation site with his wife and two daughters. (Photo by SHRF)



Bodies of two Shan refugee families prepared for burial. They were blasted to death by the SLORC troops in Kho Lam relocation site in Shan State on February 21, 1997. (Photo by SHRF)



Ka Ling's four-year-old son in the February 21 incident in Kho Lam relocation site. (Photo by SHRF)



Ka Ling, 47, killed in the February 21 incident in Kho Lam relocation site with his family and other relatives. (Photo by SHRF)



Nang Nu, 28, Za Ling Ta's wife, killed in the February 21 incident in Kho Lam relocation site. (Photo by SHRF)



Saw Lah Po, Karen, aged 42, single. He was killed in front of his house in Papun district by a passing SLORC patrol on June 30 1997. (Photo by Independent Karen Source)

Pah Dah, Karen Christian, aged 45 was shot dead on sight in the forest by a SLORC patrol on June 26, 1997. His body was left where he was shot. The grave in the photo was dug by the villagers. (Photo by KHRG)





Elderly Karen villager who was badly burned when his house was burned by SPDC troops in late 1997. He managed to escape the village but fell and died alone in the bush. By the time he was found part of his body had been devoured by animals. (photo by Saw TGH)



This elderly Karen woman was found like this after struggling to live alone in this field hut. She apparently starved to the point where she collapsed into the fire she had lit for warmth, and died there. (Photo by Saw TGH)

**EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS IN
THE FORCED RELOCATION
AREAS
IN SHAN STATE
DURING 1997**

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Store/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	23.01.97	Mae-tha (m)	57	Wan Hae village, Nar Loi tract, Murngnai township	LJB 518	in the bush outside Wan Hae village	beaten dead
1	28.01.97	Na Ling (m)	20	Long Maw village, Wan Lao tract, Kunhing township	LJB 332	in Long Maw village	beaten dead
1	"	Thark Khe (m)	40	"	"	"	"
1	30.01.97	Loong Sa (m)	40	Khai Yern village, Wan Keng tract, Murngkerng township	-	at a stream near Khai Yern village	shot dead
1	10.02.97	Loong Aing(m)	38	Sai-mung Wan Long village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	IB 43	in Sai-mung Wan Long village	beaten dead
1	"	Khur Harn (m)	56	"	"	"	"
1	21.02.97	Ka Ling (m)	47	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzarng township	IB 246	in relocation site	killed by mortar shell
1	"	Ai Pi (m)	4	"	"	"	"
1	"	Za-ling-ta (m)	28	"	"	"	"

No. Killed	Date	Name/Sex of victim	Age	Village of origin	killed by Slore/SPDC troop no.	Site of killing	Note
1	"	Nang Nu (f)	28	"	"	"	Za Ling Ta's wife killed by mortar shell
1	"	Nang Myint(f)	7	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Zang (f)	5	"	"	"	"
1	22.02.97	Loong Su (m)	30	Kho Lam relocation	IB 246	in relocation site	shot dead
1	"	Nang Nu (f)	42	"	"	"	Loong Su's wife
1	"	Hla Soe (f)	30	"	"	"	shot dead
4	"	name unknown (children)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	Loong Su's nephew
1	03.03.97	Seng-tar (m)	-	Wan Phung village, Kho Lam tract, Nam-zang township	IB 99	in Wan Phung village	shot dead
1	"	Pa Noom (f)	-	"	"	"	Seng-tar's wife

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slore/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Sai Kham (m)	-	Wan Phui village, Kho Lam tract, Nam-zarng township	"	in Sai Kham's house	shot dead
1	08.03.97	Ai Per (f)	43	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzarng	IB 246	in Kho Lam	shot dead
1	09.03.97	Nang Sefing(f)	-	Kun Hoong village, Tard Mawkt tract, Laikha township	LIB 515	in Kun Hoong village	killed by motar shell
1	"	Loong Zum (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	20.03.97	name unknown (m)	18	Nam Ha village, Nawng Kaw tract, Laikha township	LIB 515	at a stream near Wan Kawng, Hai Seng tract, Laikha	beaten and burnt to death
1	28.03.97	Ven. Ein Taga	32	Kyawng Long monastery, Khp Lam tract, Namzarng township	LIB 524	in Kho Lam Slore military base	"
1	28.03.97	Sai Long (m)	40	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzarng township	IB 246	on the way to the old village of Wan Phui	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Storc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Yawt Kham (m)	45	"	"	"	"
1	"	Par Hla (m)	47	"	"	"	"
1	"	Loong Thi (m)	42	"	"	"	"
1	"	Hla Kyi (m)	32	"	"	"	"
1	"	Tee Ya (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Kham (m)	29	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Nu (m)	28	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Myo (m)	22	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Laeng (m)	20	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ar-lee-ya (m)	29	"	"	"	"
1	"	Vi-sing-tar (m)	22	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kar Vi (m)	21	"	"	"	"
1	"	Vi-mar-lar (m)	19	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Pong (f)	18	"	"	"	raped and killed
1	"	Nang Aye (f)	19	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Pool (f)	24	"	"	"	"
1	"	Khan Arm (f)	23	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Pong(f)	20	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Soi (f)	30	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by SLORC/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	29.03.97	Sai Phit (m)	35	Wan Phui quarter, Kho Lam relocation site, Namzang	LIB 378	near a white bridge in Wan Phui quarter	shot dead
2	30.03.97	name unknown (f)	-	Nawng Kaw village, Laikha township	IB 246	near Nawng Kaw village	raped and killed
1	30.03.97	name unknown (f)	12	Ho Pung village, Nawng Kaw tract, Laikha township	"	in a rice field near Nawng Kaw village	shot dead
1	30.03.97	Koong Mard (m)	45	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzang	"	at a stream near Kho Lam relocation site	"
1	"	Ai Shwe (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ai Sum (m)	42	"	"	"	"
1	31.03.97	Sai Lao (m)	18	Wan Parng village, Wan Heng tract, Laikha township	"	in onion farm near the temple of Wan Parng village	"
3	"	name unknown (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	late Mar	Ven. Yan Na	-	Kaeng Kham village temple, kunhing township	IB 246	near a stream outside Kaeng Kham village	tied up in sack and drowned

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	late Mar	name unknown (m)	-	Mark Kawk village, Wan Zae tract, Laikha township	Slorc troops from Loi Bo Ma-1	in a rice farm near Mark Kawk village	beaten dead
1	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed
6	late Mar	name unknown	-	Kho Lam, Namzarn	IB 246	near a rice mill, close to Nam Taeng river	beaten dead
1	early April	Kan Na (m)	36	Ton Hoong village, Ton Hoong tract, Namzarn township	LIB 378	in a forest 5-6 miles west of Ton Hoong village	shot dead
1	"	Thark Awn (m)	45	Wan Nang village, Kho Ood tract, Namzarn township	"	in a forest west of the old village of Ho Nar	"
1	"	Zit-ta Awn (m)	34	Nar Law village, Kho Ood tract, Namzarn	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Ying (f)	16	"	"	"	"
1	"	name unknown (m)		"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	early Apr.	Loong Aw (m)	40	Ho Phai Mawk Zarm village, Murgpan township	Slorc troops from Loi Bo Ma -1	on the way to the rice field	beaten dead
1	"	Ping-nya (m)	40	Kan Kan village, Murgpan township	"	near Pho Ti monastery, Kan Kan village	"
3	early Apr.	name unknown	-	Kunhing township	IB 246	near Nam Parng river, 3 miles north of Kunhing	shot dead
1	01.04.97	Sai Mon (m)	25	Nawng Parng village, Murg Yarnng tract, Kaesee township	Div. 55	near Murg Nawng town, Kaesee	beaten dead
1	"	Wa Ling (m)	23	"	"	"	"
1	"	Thark Nyo (m)	22	Kung Kawk village, Murg Yarnng tract	"	"	"
1	"	Ai Mon (m)	25	"	"	"	"
1	"	Pi Lern (m)	40	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kham Leng (m)	70	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Store/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	03.04.97	Ai Mart (m)	30	Kung Sarm Kyawng village, Hai Lai tract Namzang township	Div.55	near Wan Sai Khao village, Hai Lai tract	beaten dead
1	"	Pan Zik Ta (m)	24	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ai Ti (m)	25	"	"	"	"
3	03.04.97	name unknown (f)	-	Kho Lam, Namzang	IB 246	near Kho Lam relocation site	shot dead
5	04.04.97	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	"
7	04.04.97	name unknown (m)	-	"	"	at the old village of Par Son, Kho Lam	"
3	04.04.97	name unknown	-	Tard Mawk relocation site, Laikha	LJB 515	Tard Mawk	killed by grenades
1	07.04.97	name unknown (f)	-	Kung Yung village, Laikha township	LJB 515	in a forest near Kung Yung village	shot dead
4	09.04.97	name unknown (a mother and her daughters)	-	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzang	IB 246	at the old village of Kung Yom, Hai Lai tract, Namzang	shot dead
2	10.04.97	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	at Wan Lin village, Kho Lam tract	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	10.04.97	Aw Ta (m)	22	Ter Zarng village, Nar Poi tract, Namzarng township	Div. 55	a place about a quarter mile north of Ter Zarng village	"
1	"	Moo Ling (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	mid- Apr.	Sai Nawng (m)	38	Ho Lin village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	IB 246	at Nar Nam Parng, 1 mile north of Ho Lin village	"
1	mid April	Thark Awn (m)	40	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzarng township	IB 246	on the way to the old village of Wan Nang, Kho Ood tract	shot dead
1	"	Zik Ta Awn (m)	35	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Hurng (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai La (m)	33	"	"	"	"
1	"	Khat Ti Ya (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Sai (f)	16	"	"	"	"
1	14.04.97	name unknown (f)	-	Laikha township	LIB 515	near Wan Wam village, Laikha	raped and killed

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by SLORC/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	14.04.97	name unknown (f)	10	Kung Nam Tawng Lur, Kho Lam relocation site, Namzarnag	IB 246	at Nam Naeng stream, east of Kho Lam	raped and killed
1	"	name unknown (f)	12	"	"	"	"
3	16.04.97	name unknown (m)	-	Loi Lam village, Wan Long tract, Mungkerng township	LJB 515	at Loi Ai bridge, near Loi Lam village	beaten dead
6	17.04.97	name unknown	-	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzarnag township	IB 246	near the old village of Wan Phui Nawng Kai, Kho Lam tract	shot dead
1	18.04.97	Khing Sarnag (m)	-	Nawng Hai village, Kho Lam tract, Namzarnag township	LJB 378	at a farm near Nawng Hai village	beaten dead
2	19.04.97	name unknown (f)	-	Kung Kyawng village, Kho Lam tract, Namzarnag township	IB 246	at a farm south of Kho Lam	raped and killed by 7 soldiers

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	22.04.97	Sai Nge (m)	-	Long Pu quarter, Kaesee township	LIB523	Near Pang Po village on the road between Pang Ke Tu and Kaesee	shot dead
4	mid April	name unknown	-	Mark Hard village, Hai Lai tract, Namzang township	IB 246	on the bank of Nam Mawng stream	shot dead
1	24.04.97	name unknown (m)	-	Ho Kho village, Kung Sa tract, Laikha	LIB 515	near Ho Kho village, east of Pa Lai village	shot dead
1	29.04.97	Nang Zing (f)	28	Pa Mai village, Nar Poi tract, Namzang township	"	near Pa Mai village	"
1	04.05.97	Nya Mon (m)	-	Nam Mo quarter, Kho Lam relocation site, Namzang township	IB 246	near the old village of Kun Sai, Kho Lam tract	"
1	05.05.97	Mu Ling (m)	32	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzang	IB 246	near the old village of Pa Moi, Nar Poi tract, Namzang township	beaten dead

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	08.05.97	Kung Ma (m)	32	Kunhing relocation site	Div.55	near the old village of Nar Mark Khaw, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	shot dead
1	"	Zing Ta (m)	90	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sang Long (m)	45	"	"	"	"
5	08.05.97	name unknown	-	Nawng Kwai village, Kho Lam tract, Namzarng township	IB 246	in Nawng Kwai village	shot dead
1	10.05.97	Nang Seng (f)	26	"	IB 246	at a farm near Nam Kawk Suk Mer village, Kho Lam	shot dead
1	11.05.97	Nan Ti (m)	30	"	"	near the old village of Pa Mai, Nar Poi tract Namzarng township	"
1	11.05.97	Ar Ta Pa (m)	35	Quarter 4, Kho Lam tract, Namzarng	IB 246	near the old village of Nawng Kwai	shot dead
1	"	name unknown (m)	-	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Storc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
15	"	name unknown	-	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzarn	IB 66	"	"
1	13.05.97	Nang Sep(f)	16	Kunhing relocation site	IB 44	on the way to the old village of Woe Long, Kaeng Khem tract, Kunhing township	raped and killed
1	14.05.97	Nan Ta (m)	27	Kung Nam Tawng Lur, Kho Lam relocation site, Namzarn	IB 246	at the old village of Wan Nang, 5 miles south of Kho Lam	beaten dead
1	"	Nan Ta's brother	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Zik Ta Awn (m)	35	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzarn	"	Ho Nar village	"
1	"	Thark Awn (m)	40	"	"	"	"
5	"	name unknown (m)	-	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slore/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	22.05.97	Kaw Yao (m)	-	Ter Zarng village, Nar Poi tract, Namzarng township	IB 246	at the old village of Loi Waeng, Nar Poi tract	beaten dead
1	"	Nai Nu (f)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kar Wing (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	name unknown (m)	-	"	"	"	"
5	23.05.97	name unknown	-	Zit Ta village, Murng Lern tract, Namzarng	LJB 515	in Zit Ta village	shot dead
1	27.05.97	Sai Tu (m)	22	Ter Leng village, Hai Seng tract, Laikha township	LJB 515	in Ter Leng village	beaten dead
1	"	Pan Zik Ta (m)	25	"	"	"	"
1	30.05.97	Su Nan Ta (m)	35	Ton Hoong tract, Murngnai township	LJB 520	in Ton Hoong village	shot dead
1	"	Ai Kaw (m)	27	Kung Mong village, Kaeng Kham tract, Kunhing township	"	"	"
1	"	Kung Ma-la (m)	35	Quarter 3, Kunhing township	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by SLORC/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Ai Lot (m)	25	"	"	"	"
1	30.05.97	Nai Li (f)	60	Wan Kung Ho Yard village, Kaeng Kham tract, Kunhing	IB 246	in the forest near Wan Kung Ho Yard village	"
1	May 97	Loong Kham (m)	-	Mark Larng relocation site, Laikha township	LJB 515	on the way to the old village of Wan Mawn, Laikha township	stabbed
1	"	Sarng La (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	03.06.97	Nang Zing (f)	28	Ter Leng village, Laikha township	LJB 424	Ter Leng village	raped and killed
1	"	Nang Parng(f)	40	"	"	"	"
1	04.06.97	Moo Ling (m)	32	Nar Keng village, Murg Lerm tract, Kaese township	LJB 515	in Nar Keng village	beaten dead
1	"	Wi Ling (m)	41	"	"	"	"
1	07.06.97	Ai Nu (m)	27	Nar Kham quarter, Kho Lam relocation site, Namzang	LJB 378	in the forest 3 miles north of Kho Lam	shot dead
1	"	Ai Sa (m)	25	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by SLORC/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	11.06.97	Loong Zarm (m)	50	Kunhing township	LIB 524	at the old village of Wan Phai, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing	shot dead
1	"	Pan Ti (m)	22	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Suay (m)	20	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Ekka (m)	27	"	"	"	"
1	"	Su Zing (m)	29	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kaw Na (m)	39	"	"	"	"
1	"	Khing Khong (m)	51	"	"	"	"
1	"	Wa Ling Ta (m)	36	"	"	"	"
1	"	Khing Ung (m)	42	"	"	"	"
1	"	Pan Ta(m)	45	"	"	"	"
1	13.06.97	Loong Awng (m)	38	Nam Tum Nur village Nawng Hee tract, Kaesee township	LIB 520	in a farm near Nam Tum Nur village	shot dead
1	"	Ti Ya (m)	42	"	"	"	"
1	13.06.97	Sai Lae (m)	35	Pung Khin village, Nar Ing tract, Murgpan township	LIB 332	in a farm 4 miles west of Pung Khin village	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Sloc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Zara (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kaw Ling (m)	32	"	"	"	"
1	"	Mae Tha (m)	29	"	"	"	"
1	"	Wa La (m)	39	"	"	"	"
1	07.06.97	name unknown (f)	12	"	LJB 378	in a field of one and a half mile west of Kho Lam	raped to death
1	07.06.97	Zar Li (m)	40	Wan Kyawng village, Mungpan township	LJB 332	near Wan Kyawng village	beaten dead
1	"	Nan Ta (m)	45	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Ta (m)	37	"	"	"	"
1	08.06.97	Kang Nya (m)	52	Ton Hoong relocation site, Mungnai township	LJB 520	in Mungpan Slore military base	beaten dead
6	10.06.97	name unknown	-	Kunhing township	LJB 524	at a farm west of Kunhing town	"
1	"	name unknown (m)	-	Wan Sang village, Laikha township	LJB 515	at Nawng Leng village, Laikha	"
3	"	name unknown (m)	-	"	"	on the mountain of Loi Taeng, Laikha	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Store/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	name unknown (m)	-	Paeng tawng village Murrignai township	"	"	"
1	13.06.97	Pannya (m)	35	Nam Maw Mon village, Namzarnag township	LJB 332	west of Murgpan village	beaten dead
1	"	Loong Pae (m)	50	Nawng Harn village, Murgpan township	"	"	"
1	"	Pa Kao (m)	50	Wan Kung village Murgpan township	"	"	"
1	"	Su Nan Ta (m)	40	Loi Noi village, Murgpan township	"	"	"
1	"	Su Na Ta (m)	-	Long Kaeng village, Murgpan township	"	"	"
1	16.06.97	Kaw Nanda (m)	45	Kunhing relocation site	IB 246	at a place called Tart Fah Ho, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	shot dead
1	"	Loi Poi (f)	40	"	"	"	"
1	"	Wi Ling (m)	45	"	"	"	"
1	"	Moo Liong (m)	40	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Storc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Kaw-ling-ta (m)	45	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Man (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kaw Ling (m)	27	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ping Ya (m)	27	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kaw Ya (m)	45	"	"	"	"
1	"	Su-ping-ya (m)	40	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Toon (m)	35	"	"	"	"
1	"	Su Zing (m)	35	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Kham(f)	32	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sang Or (m)	25	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nai Yo (f)	40	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Koo (f)	35	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Mo (f)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Pe Tin (m)	20	"	"	"	"
1	"	Tak Lam (m)	20	"	"	"	"
1	"	Seng Zing (f)	37	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Mart (f)	25	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Lao (f)	25	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Loong maha(m)	40	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nai Loo (f)	37	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ka Ling (m)	40	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sa Ling (m)	38	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ae Nang (f)	20	"	"	"	"
1	16.06.97	Ping Nya (m)	42	Quarter 3, Kunhing township	LIB 513	on the way to the old village of Sai Khao, Kaeng Kham tract, Kunhing township	shot dead
1	"	Kaw Win Ta (m)	28	"	"	"	"
1	"	Zing Ta (m)	50	"	"	"	"
1	"	Pan Ta (m)	38	"	"	"	"
1	"	Zing Ta (m)	38	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nan Ti (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Harn (f)	27	"	"	"	"
1	"	Wa Ling Ta (m)	42	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Zern (f)	29	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Loong Man (m)	44	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai La (m)	40	"	"	"	"
1	"	Su Nan Ta (m)	38	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Nya Na (m)	29	"	"	"	"
1	"	Pi Nu (m)	48	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ai Sai (m)	20	"	"	"	"
1	"	Khing Ta (m)	32	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Zarm (f)	40	"	"	"	"
1	"	Loong Ma (m)	40	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kaw Ling (m)	25	"	"	"	"
1	"	Zan Ta La (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ai Ti (m)	32	"	"	"	"
1	"	Wa Ling (m)	40	"	"	"	"
7	"	name unknown	-	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Sloce/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	17.06.97	Lai-seng-mu (m)	48	Wan Tong village, Ho Nar tract, Murgkeng township	Sloce troops and militia	at a farm near Wan Tong village	"
1	"	Sai Htun (m)	20	"	"	"	"
1	"	Pa Mi (f)	60	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Nu (f)	15	"	"	"	"
3	21.06.97	name unknown	-	Kawng Kham village Kunhing township	LJB 520	near Kaeng Tawng village, Murngnai	beaten dead
1	26.06.97	Ae Pu (f)	28	Huay Aw village, Wan Tong tract, Kaesee township	LJB 515	in Huay Aw village	shot dead
1	"	name unknown (a boy)	11	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ae Purng (f)	25	"	"	"	"
1	"	name unknown (3 months old)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ae Zing (f)	27	"	"	"	"
1	"	name unknown (5 months old)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ae Kham (f)	24	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	name unknown (a boy)	11	"	"	"	"
16	28.06.97	name unknown (m)	-	Hi Thi village, Pamg Sarm tract, Laikha township	LJB 515	in a forest near Pamg Sarm village	shot dead
1	"	Za Law (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Wi La Sa (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	30.06.97	Nan Ta (m)	-	Ton Hoong village, Ton Hoong tract, Murngnai township	LJB 332	in Slorc military base	beaten dead
1	"	Kamg Pamg (m)	-	Nam Tum Tai village, Nawng Hee tract, Murngnai township	"	"	"
1	"	Kamg Hawn (m)	-	Nawng Phar village, Nawng Hee tract, Murngnai township	"	"	"
1	"	Awng La (m)	-	Waeng Kao village, Nawng Hee tract, Murngnai township	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by SLORC/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Saw Ya (m)	-	Kun Mong village, Kun Mong tract, Murngnai township	"	"	"
1	"	Lai Sai (m)	-	Kun Kawk village, Kun Mong tract, Murngnai township	"	"	"
1	"	Karng Larn (m)	-	Phak Lurn village, Kun Mong tract, Murngnai township	"	"	"
1	"	Karng Mawng (m)	-	Long Kawng village, Ton Hoong tract, Murng nai township	"	"	"
1	"	Moo Ling (m)	-	Nawng Phar village, Nawng Hee tract, Murngnai township	"	"	"
1	"	Karng Mon (m)	-	kung Sa village, Ton Hoong tract, Murngnai township	"	"	"
2	"	name unknown (m)	-	Kaeng Tawng area, Murngnai township	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Storc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
9	June'97	name unknown	-	Wan Pung Murg Yang village, Laikha township	LIB 515	in the monastery of Nawng Kar village, township	beheaded
2	3-4.7.97	name unknown (m)	-	Waeng Kham village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	LIB 524	at Kun Mi village, Kaeng Lom tract	beaten dead
1	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed
4	"	name unknown (m)	-	Kun Mi village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	beaten dead
3	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed
5	"	name unknown (m)	-	Woe Long village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	beaten dead
2	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed
5	"	name unknown (m)	-	Nar Taw village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	beaten dead

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by SLORC/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
4	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed
3	"	name unknown (m)	-	Wan Parng village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	beaten dead
4	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed
5	"	name unknown (m)	-	Ho Ha village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing	"	"	beaten dead
6	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed
4	"	name unknown (f)	-	Nar Poi village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	beaten dead
7	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed
3	"	name unknown (m)	-	Karng Nar village, Kaefng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	beaten dead
2	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by SLORC/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
2	"	name unknown (m)	-	Nar Yao village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	beaten dead
3	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed
5	"	name unknown (m)	-	Son Sarng village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	beaten dead
4	"	name unknown (f)	"	"	"	"	raped and killed
7	"	name unknown (m)	-	Nar Khar Awn village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	beaten dead
4	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed
8	"	name unknown (m)	-	Nar Khar Long village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	beaten dead
3	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	raped and killed

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	06.07.97	Ai Wi (m)	20	Kiu Kang village, Kaeng Kham tract, Kunhing township	LJB 516	in Kun Ho Haw village, Kaeng Kham tract	shot dead
1	"	Nya Yawng (m)	45	Nar Kawng village, Kaeng Kham tract, Kunhing township	"	"	"
1	"	War Lik Ta (m)	43	Nar Pawk village, Kaeng Kham tract, Kunhing township	"	"	"
1	"	Wi Ya (m)	25	"	"	"	"
26	11.07.97	name unknown	-	-	-	on kunhing-Kaeng Lom road	beheaded
17	12.07.97	name unknown	-	-	-	on Kaeng Lom- Kaeng Tawng road	"
1	20.07.97	Rae-wa-ta (m)	35	Nawng Pa Man village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing	LJB 376	near Mai Hen Lao village, Kaeng Lom tract	shot dead
1	mid-July	Ai Zing (m)	35	Hart Mai village, Larnghur township	LJB 525	in Hart Mai village	shot dead
1	"	Nan Ti (m)	20	"	"	"	"
1	"	Zan-ti-ma (m)	22	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by SLORC/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Tng Ta (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	name unknown (headman)	-	"	"	"	"
1	24.07.97	Wing Ta (m)	30	Pang Khar village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	LJB 524	in Sai Mung area, Kunhing	shot dead
1	"	Moo Ning (m)	25	Wan Kyawng village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Khing(f)	19	Nam Kin village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	"
1	"	Pan Ta Na (m)	23	Wan Lon village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	"	"
1	26.07.97	Sai La Oo (m)	18	Kaeng Lom village, Kunhing township	IB 248	near Kam Pi village, Kaeng Lom tract	beaten dead
1	28.07.97	Nang Mai (f)	30	Nar Kun village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	LJB 516	in the forest near Nar Kun village	raped and killed

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	04.08.97	Mar Lar (m)	32	Ho Lin village, Ho Lin tract, Murgpan township	LJB 332	in Mar Lar's house	stabbed
1	"	Zing Na (m)	36	Loi Noi village, Murgpan township	"	in Zing Na's house	"
1	"	Moo Ling (m)	38	Kung Kaeng village, Murgpan township	"	in Moo Ling's house	"
1	06.08.97	Loong Ta (m)	45	Sai Murg village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	LJB 524	in Sai Murg area Kunhing	shot dead
1	"	Wi Zing Ta (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	07.08.97	Nang Mai (f)	25	Wan Lao village, Namzarn township	LJB 516	near Wan Lao village	shot dead
1	"	Ping Nya (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	10.08.97	Wi Ya (m)	40	Kho Lam relocation site, Namzarn	IB 246	near Kho Lam	beaten dead
1	"	Sai Harn (m)	38	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Pam (m)	37	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kaw Ya (m)	29	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Storc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	mid- Aug.	Sai Nyar (m)	20	Nar Mon village, Kunhing township	IB 44	in Nar Mon village	shot dead
1	"	Nang Mai (f)	25	"	"	"	"
1	18.08.97	Sai Noi (m)	-	Quarter 4, Kunhing township	LJB 516	dead in Storc's jail	
1	18.08.97	Nang Li (f)	20	Kung Sar Huay Phar Larng village, Wan Lao tract, Kunhing	LJB 516	near Kung Sar Huay Phar Larng village	shot dead
1	"	Nang Nu (f)	18	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Mon (f)	16	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ai La (m)	45	"	"	"	beaten dead
1	19.08.97	War Ling (m)	25	Kung Sar village, Wan Lao tract, Kunhing township	LJB 516	in Kung Sar village	shot dead
1	20.08.97	Ar-zing-na (m)	30	Wan Mai village, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township	"	at his farm near Wan Mai village	"
1	"	Seng Zing (f)	20	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Store/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	02.09.97	Saw San (m)	29	Luk Long village, Wan Tong-kaeng tract, Kunhing	LJB 442	in Luk Long village village	shot dead
2	09.09.97	name unknown (f)	-	Mung Yung village, Namzang township	IB 66	near Mung Yung village	raped and killed
1	13.09.97	Mae Htao Par (f)	-	Woe Lai village, Wan Htam tract, Mungpan township	LJB 331	in Woe Lai village	burnt with her house
1	14.09.97	Aw-pae-ta (m)	38	Wan Htam village, Mungpan township	"	in Wan Htam village	shot dead
1	"	Wi-ling-ta (m)	31	"	"	"	"
1	"	Moo Ling (m)	29	"	"	"	"
1	"	Khat-ti-ya (m)	37	"	"	"	"
1	"	Pan La (m)	48	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kham Leng (m)	51	"	"	"	"
1	03.10.97	Aw-zing-na (m)	-	Nar Mark Zaw village, Mung Khun tract, Mungkerng	LJB 515	in Nar Mark Zaw village	shot dead
1	"	Sai Lu (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Oo (m)	-	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	05.10.97	Loong Moo (m)	-	Nam Maw Ngern relocation site, Kali tract, Kunhing	LIB 524 & IB 44	at the old village of Sai Leng, Kali tract, Kunhing township	shot dead
1	"	Loong La (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Long (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Awng Sar (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Loi Kham (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Parn La (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Awng Mya (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Kham Leng (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Loong Mung (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Loong Loo (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Ta Naw (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Awng Htun (m)	-	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sai Harn (m)	-	"	"	"	"
49	"	name unknown	-	"	"	"	"
9	08.10.97	name unknown (m)	-	Wan Sar Lar village, Mumngpan township	LIB 332	at their farms near Nam Pang Kham stream, Mumngpan	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
5	"	name unknown (f)	-	"	"	"	"
1	17.10.97	Kae Lar (m)	47	Wan Nai village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaesee township	LJB 424	at Slorc military base, Mung Nawng	electric shock and beaten dead
1	"	Parn La (m)	51	Wan Kyawng village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaesee township	"	"	"
1	"	Ya-zing-ta (m)	53	Kung Khaet village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaesee township	"	"	"
1	"	Saw-zing- na(m)	41	Wan Zing Awn village Mung Nawng tract, Kaesee township	"	"	"
1	"	Aw-pae-ta(m)	39	Phuay Hur village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaesee township	"	"	"
1	"	Wa-lik-ta(m)	29	Pang Zong village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaesee township	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by SLOR/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Nya Na (m)	30	Wan Khol village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaese township	"	"	"
1	"	Phaw Ka (m)	35	Kung Karng village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaese township	"	"	"
1	"	Kaw Ling (m)	54	Nar Taed village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaese township	"	"	"
1	"	Wi-mar-lar (m)	33	Hai Lai village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaese township	"	"	"
1	"	Suay Harn (f)	33	Nawng Ek village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaese township	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Man (f)	45	Nawng Paring village Mung Nawng tract, Kaese township	"	"	"
1	"	Mar Lar (m)	32	Kung Kharn village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaese township	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Zai Too (m)	29	Kung Mong village, Mung Nawng tract, Kaese township	"	"	"
1	13.11.97	Zan-ti-ma (m)	38	Murmgton township	Slorc troops from Taunggyi	at the old village of Nawng Long, Kaeng Tawng area, Murngnai	shot dead
1	"	Taeng Ham (m)	40	Murmgpan township	"	"	"
1	"	Zi Na (m)	27	Murmgton township	"	"	"
1	18.11.97	Wa-ling-ta (m)	-	Kawng-Ke village, Kaeng Lom tract Kunhing township	Div.55	near Kawng-Ke village	shot dead
<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	18.11.97	Sai La (m)	45	Kung Sa village, Kunhing township	IB 246 & LIB 524	at Kung Sa village	shot dead
1	"	Wa-ling (m)	28	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Lu (f)	18	"	"	"	raped and killed

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Nang Mon (f)	12	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Li (f)	26	"	"	"	"
1	23.11.97	name unknown (f)	-	Pang Long town, Loilem township	LIB 513	at a place called Mai Hoong Sarm Ton near Hai Nang village, Pang Long town	raped and killed
1	28.11.97	Sai Lu (m)	47	Wan Parn, Nawng Nawng Yarn tract, Kaese township	LIB 524	near Wan Parn	shot dead
1	"	Suay-La (m)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Suay Khin (f)	19	"	"	"	"
1	"	Sarm-Tao(m)	51	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Lek (f)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Aw-wa-da (m)	32	"	"	"	"
1	"	Wi-Zik-ta (m)	25	"	"	"	"
1	"	Suay Yunt (f)	20	"	"	"	"
1	"	Mar-lar (m)	52	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nan-ti-ya (m)	32	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Phawng (f)	18	"	"	"	"

<i>No. Killed</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name/Sex of victim</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village of origin</i>	<i>killed by Slorc/SPDC troop no.</i>	<i>Site of killing</i>	<i>Note</i>
1	"	Khin Suay (f)	19	"	"	"	"
1	03.12.97	Sang Wi (m)	18	Nam Tao village, Mung Khun tract, Mungkerng township	LIB 517	in Mung Khun area, Mungkerng	shot dead
1	"	Sang Ui (m)	18	Kung Sai village, Mung Khun tract, Mungkerng township	"	"	"
1	"	Non Zing (f)	35	Nam Tao village, Mung Khun tract, Mungkerng township	"	at her rice field near Nam Tao village	"
1	"	Nang Htwe (f)	18	Kung Pek village, Mung Khun tract,	"	in Mung Khun area, Mungkerng	raped and killed
1	"	Ti Ya (m)	-	Wan Kyawng village, Mungkerng township	"	"	shot dead
1	"	Ai Long (m)	-	Quarter 4, Mungkerng	"	"	"
1	19.12.97	Sai Naw (m)	30	Pang Phone village, Laikha township	IB 12	near Wan Huay village, Laikha	shot dead
1	"	Nang Yaw (f)	30	"	"	"	"
1	"	Nang Ee (f)	-	"	"	"	"

Total number killed = 664 people

2. Arbitrary Detention and Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

2.1. Background

In 1997 the SLORC/SPDC continued to use short term arrests as a tactic to intimidate political activists, a tactic employed since their seizure of power in 1988. Arrest of individuals who oppose the policies and practices of the military regime in Burma are continuing throughout Burma. Hundreds of political activists, most of them members of the National League for Democracy (NLD), the largest legal opposition political party, were arrested in the first six months of 1997. But the majority of these people were held for brief periods. At least 57 others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Renewed NLD activity since the release of party leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in 1995, has been matched by increasing repression of party members by Military Intelligence (MI). These methods of short-term detention and long sentences of imprisonment methods are to repress peaceful political activities in Burma. In spite of the fact that from 1992-1995, the authorities released over 2,000 political prisoners, there are well over 1,200 political prisoners currently held throughout the country. Their numbers were growing in 1996. Ninety-three of these are prisoners of conscience and hundreds more are possible prisoners of conscience according to the Amnesty International.

Across the country, many civilians particularly those belonging to ethnic minority groups are subject to arbitrary detention and enforced labor or many disappeared after being accused of being sympathizers or supporters of the ethnic armed groups and sometimes without any solid proof or evidence. The period of detention is varied and sometimes leads to the involuntary disappearance. In the course of arrest and detention, persons are subject to harsh treatment and torture while being denied access to virtually any form of judicial process.

The army, Tatmadaw, is responsible for arbitrary arrests and detention of civilians in rural or remote areas. Large numbers of security checkpoints are placed in and around the towns and cities of the region. Military patrols move in and out of the border areas arresting civilians when they are so inclined. The inhabitants of areas close to the mobilizing ethnic armed groups, are suspected of being supporters or sympathizers of armed groups and are subjected to indiscriminate arbitrary arrest and mistreatment.

2 . 2 . Human Rights and SLORC/SPDC's Laws

SLORC/SPDC's use of its laws to quash the principles of basic human rights in Burma is long standing and well established. The SPDC has enforced laws curtailing civil and political freedom and utilized laws that allow it to crush any political opposition. SLORC/SPDC's laws and regulations hamper and even criminalize freedom of thought, information dissemination, association and assembly.

The most common employed laws banning the demonstration of civil and political rights have been the 1923 Governments' Official Secrets Act, the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act, the 1957 Unlawful Association Act, the 1962 Printers' and Publishers' Registration Law, the 1975 State Protection Law (Law to safeguard the State Against the Dangers of Those Desiring to Cause Subversive Acts), Law No.5/96- (Law Protecting the Peaceful and Systematic Transfer of State Responsibility and the Successful Performance of the Functions of the National Convention against Disturbance and Oppositions). These laws and orders have restricted the civil and political rights of Burmese citizens for years; now, with technological advances available across the globe, new laws have been enacted in order to provide the SPDC authorities additional legal bases to curtail freedom of expression and the exchange of information. A description of some of the most widely-cited laws appears below:

The 1950 Emergency Provisions Act allows up to seven years imprisonment for any person who "infringes upon the integrity, health, conduct, and respect of State military organizations and government employees, spreads false news about the government, or disrupts the morality or the behavior of a group of people." This law is widely used by the SPDC to sentence political detainees to long terms of imprisonment. The law also makes it an offense, punishable with life in prison, to "intend to or to cause sabotage or hinder the successful functioning of the State military organizations and criminal investigative organization."

Under the 1975 Law to Safeguard the State Against the Dangers of Those Desiring to Cause Subversive Acts (amended in 1991), the Council of Ministers is authorized under Section 7 of the Law to "pass an order, as may be necessary, restricting any fundamental right of a person if there are reasons to believe that any citizen has committed or is about to commit any act which infringes upon the sovereignty and security of the State or public peace and tranquility." The law also stipulates in Sections 13 and 14, the possibility to continue imposing restraint for "a period not exceeding one year at a time up to a total of five years." This State protection law has been applied extensively to suppress

peaceful political dissidents: it was used to detain Daw Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest between July 1989 and July 1995.

The 1957 Unlawful Associations Act permits up to five years imprisonment for any person who has been a member of, contributes to, or receives or solicits any contribution towards any association which “encourages or aids persons to commit an act of violence or intimidation or in which the members habitually commit such acts; or which has been declared unlawful by the President of the Union.” Moreover, anyone managing or assisting in the management of an unlawful association, or promoting or assisting in promoting a meeting of such an association can be subjected to similar punishment. A number of organizations, including political parties, student unions, professional groups, religious associations, as well as armed opposition groups, have been declared unlawful under this Act. This Act falls far short of international human rights standards; its incompatibility with international standards is underlined by the arbitrary, indiscriminate, and heavy-handed manner in which it is applied, usually to suppress peaceful dissent.

A law issued on June 7, 1996, No.5/96, allows prison sentences up to 20 years for anyone who expresses political views publicly. This law, entitled, Protection of the Stable, Peaceful, and Systematic Transfer of State Responsibility and the Successful Implementation of National Convention Tasks, Free From Disruption and Opposition, prohibits, inter alia, the preparation or dissemination of speeches or statements that undermine the stability of the State or are critical of the SPDC, and prescribes up to 20 years imprisonment for persons violating the law; organizations taking part in such activities can be banned and have their funds and property confiscated. Harassment of NLD members and supporters was further stepped up with the law.

Under the 1985 Video Law, all videos must be submitted to the Video Censorship Board, controlled by the SPDC, for scrutiny. Any person involved in the production, duplication, or distribution of videos are threatened with prison terms of up to three years under this law.

The new Television and Video Act, issued on July 31, 1996, requires that: a) foreign diplomat missions and United Nations agencies obtain permits to show imported videos at “public exhibitions.” Government video censorship boards will have the right to ban, censor, or restrict the showing; b) private video operators obtain licenses from the Video Business Supervisory Committee which will be formed in all States and Divisions in the Union of Myanmar; and c) all videos both imported and locally produced, be approved by the Video Censorship Board. Violators of these provisions are subject up to three years in prison and/or a fine of up to 100,000 kyats. The new law also forbids private

transmitters that are not authorized by the government, prescribing up to five-year prison terms for offenders.

Another law entitled “The Computer Science Development Law”, issued on September 27, 1996, makes the unauthorized import, possession, and use of certain types of computer equipment illegal. For example, the unauthorized use of computers with networking capability is punishable with sentence of between 7 and 15 years in prison and/or a fine. A “Myanmar Computer Science Council” will be established to decide which computer equipment should be restricted or banned. According to the government-controlled newspaper The New Light of Myanmar, the punishment will be prescribed for anyone establishing links with a computer network without prior permission or who uses computer networks or information technology for undermining State security, law and order, national unity, the national economy, national culture, or who obtains or transmits State secrets. Members of unauthorized computer clubs may, according to reports, be sentenced to a minimum prison term of three years. A punishment of between 5 and 10 years in prison is prescribed for anyone who imports or exports computer software or information banned by the Myanmar Computer Science Council.

2 . 3 . Denial of Fair Public Trial

Throughout 1997, the SLORC/SPDC continues to rule by decree and is not bound by any constitutional provisions providing for fair public trials or any other rights. Not only have the people charged under the various law and military decrees been consistently denied fair trials and the due process of law, but also the judicial system itself has been emasculated over the years.

Some basic due process rights, including the right to a public trial and to be represented by a defense attorney are generally respected, except in political cases that authorities deem especially sensitive. Defendants with political charges are given little chance to speak during the trial, let alone present a proper defense. Even where they manage to make a statement, the judges pay no heed to it. Prior to being charged, detainees rarely have access to legal counsel or their families and political detainees have no opportunity to obtain release on bail. In most political cases, trials are held in courtrooms on prison compounds and are not open to the public. In these instances, defense counsel appears to serve no purpose other than to provide moral support, since reliable reports indicate that verdicts are dictated by higher authorities. Political detainees are held incommunicado for long periods. Even after being charged, detainees rarely have benefit of counsel.

Political prisoners are denied the right to hire lawyers for their defense in most cases. Eight NLD party members, who were arrested in November 1987, in connection with NLD leader Aung San Suu Kyi’s organizational trips to some townships, were not allowed to defend themselves in hearings. As it was learnt that the case would be heard on December 2, 1997, respective lawyers and family members of the detainees from Myayagon township NLD, went to the Insein

Prison. But prison officials did not permit the lawyers to defend the NLD members nor allow the family members to see the detainees. The decision was made in an order by “higher authorities”(Source: *Inside*).

2 . 4 . Arrest of NLD members and supporters

2.4.1. February 12 Union Day celebration arrest

On February 12, 1997, the NLD held Union Day celebrations at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s house, although a military barricade prevented at least half of the guests from attending. In the days that followed, thirteen NLD members who had played a prominent role at the celebrations were arrested, including Dr. Than Nyein, an NLD organizer and coincidentally the brother-in-law of the SPDC’s Secretary-1 Gen. Khin Nyunt. Dr. Than Nyein was later released, but his medical license was revoked. About 80 NLD members and supporters from Pegu Division were arrested on their way to Rangoon. Eleven men and six women members of NLD from Prome were arrested in Tharawaddy train station on their way to attend the Union Day celebration. Seven NLD members from Prome and Kama, Pegu Division were arrested in Tharawaddy in the car heading for Rangoon for the Union day. Fifty eight members from Paungde, Paukkaung, Letpadan, Gyobingauk, Thonse, Prome, Shwedaung, Nattalin and Okapi township, Pegu Division were also arrested on their way to Rangoon to attend the celebration, total number reached 65. Also arrested on their way to attend were four NLD members of Tahitian township, Mon State.

2.4.2. May 1990 election anniversary arrest

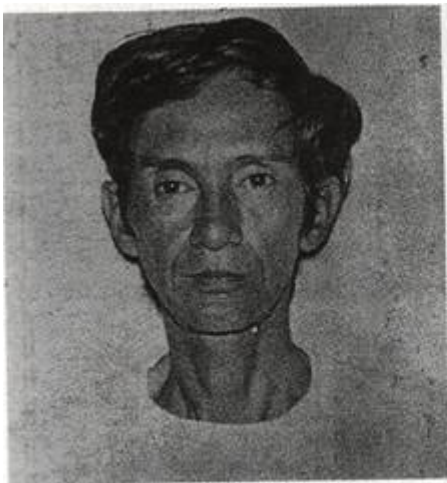
NLD planned to celebrate their election victory on May 27, 1990 at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s compound. Two hundred MP-elect and 100 party organizers were invited to the meeting. According to the NLD source, in total 316 people, including 50 MPs elect, were detained in advance of the meeting. They were detained as they made their way from their homes around the country. Other party leaders from outside Rangoon were warned not to attempt to travel to the meeting, although they were apparently not arrested if they complied with the SPDC demand. By June 6, 1997, all of those who had been detained were released.

More than 300 NLD members were arrested in September 1997, as a preemptive attempt by the authorities to prevent a party congress commemorating the seventh anniversary of the NLD victory in the 1990 election. Those arrested included at least 60 elected MP and senior party members. Many of the arrests took place in Mandalay and Sagaing Divisions as the NLD members were preparing to travel to Rangoon to attend the congress. In other parts of the country, such as Irrawaddy Division and Shan State, Mon State and Karen State, dozens of others were detained

in their homes and were told that they would be arrested if they attempted to go to Rangoon. (*Source: Inside*)

2.4.3. Case of U Cho Aung Than and others

On June 13, 1997, five NLD activists including a cousin and assistant of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were arrested. They were U Ohn Myint, an eighty-year-old NLD party advisor, Sonny, a photographer, U Cho Aung Than, a cousin and assistant of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, his sister Daw Nge Ma Ma Than, and her husband U Myint Swe. U Ohn Myint was released after questioning, but on the same day, trade unionists U Myo Aung Thant, U Khin Kyaw and his wife, all members of the exiled Free Trade Unions of Burma (FTUB), were also arrested at Rangoon airport on arrival from Thailand. The FTUB is not legally recognized in Burma, where independent trade union activity is completely prohibited. It was founded in 1991 by trade union members who were dismissed from their jobs and harassed by the SPDC because of their trade union activities. According to the FTUB source, the two detained trade unionists had been documenting economic and social hardships, including the widespread use of forced labor in Burma and passing the information to the international trade union movement.



U Cho Aung Than



Daw Nge Ma Ma Than

**Myo Aung Thant**

In a press conference on June 27, Lt-Gen. Myint Swe accused the group of collaborating with government advocates of the country” to for the NLD

**Myint Swe****Khin Kyaw**

conference on Khin Nyunt of having “overseas anti-activists and destruction within bring in the money from overseas, and

to smuggle out Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s video message to outside. Myo Aung Thant and Khin Kyaw were also accused of smuggling in explosives in a rice cooker. On August 15, 1997, a court inside Insein prison sentenced U Cho Aung Than, Daw Nge Ma Ma Than, and U Myint Swe to ten years under the Unlawful Associations Act and the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act, section 5(e), which allows for seven years of imprisonment for anyone who “causes or intends to spread false news, knowing beforehand it is untrue.” Myo Aung Thant was sentenced to life imprisonment for treason.

2.4.4. Arrest of Mayangone NLD members

On the morning of October 28, the NLD attempted to hold a meeting at its Mayangone township office on the outskirts of Rangoon. However, the security forces set up barricades and blocked Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s supporters from

meeting with her. This meeting had been planned in order to reorganize the Mayangone township’s NLD youth wing. A number of them were rounded up and trucked several miles away where they were then released.

While attending a meeting, on the night of October 28, Daw May Win Myint, NLD Divisional Organizer and Member of Parliament elect from Mayangone township, was arrested by Military Intelligence officers after they had taken documents from her. Also at 10pm, Khin Maung Myint, NLD Central Youth member and Secretary

of Latha township, was arrested by a combined force of Military Intelligence and other security personnel. Daw San San, the NLD Seikkan township MP elect and Divisional Vice-chairperson and NLD women's leader, was arrested at midnight after documents were taken from her. At the same time, Win Win Htay, a member of the Rangoon NLD Youth Division, was arrested after security forces seized documents from her. U Soe Myint, the Chairman of the Thaketa township NLD, was arrested at 1am on October 29. One and half hours later, Dr. Than Nyein, an MP-elect from Kyauktan township, was arrested after a combined group of Military Intelligence and other security forces has confiscated documents from his home. U Win Thaung, the Chairman of the Mayangon NLD, was arrested sometime later on the evening of October 28 or in the early hours of October 29. U Mya Thaung, who is the landlord of the Mayangon NLD office, was also arrested at around the same time.

No information is given to the relatives or the head office about the whereabouts or health of these people that were arrested. The SPDC authorities gave no information to the NLD as to why these persons were arrested or where and when they would be sent to trial. Their family members along with the lawyers were denied admission to the court on December 10, 1997. Dr. May Win Myint, Dr. Than Nyein, Win Win Htay, U Soe Myint, U Win Thaung and U Mya Thaung were sentenced to six years' imprisonment. U Khin Maung Myint was sentenced to eight years of both Section 5 (J) and Section 16 (A) of the 1986 Gambling Act. The authorities did not inform the relatives or their lawyers of the sentence they had passed. Daw San San was detained under Section 10(a) of the Law to safeguard the country from people who intend to disrupt and destroy it. Confirmed sources say she was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment in early 1998 and now she is in Insein Prison (*Source: Inside*).

2.4.5. Arrest of Tamwe township NLD members

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi planned to hold a meeting with the NLD youth wing in Tamwe township in Rangoon Division on November 5, 1997. However, she was barred from leaving her Rangoon residence to attend a planned party meeting. Armed security forces were deployed around and riot police and plain-clothes military intelligence men were manning entries to the NLD's office in Tamwe township. About 50 members of township NLD women branch and youth wing, Tamwe township who were present at the NLD office were arrested. They were temporarily detained and released later.

MPs Currently Under Detention (all NLD)*			
Name	State/ Division	Date of Imprisonment	Prison Sentence and Remarks
U Ohn Kyaing	Mandalay	7.9.1990	17 years
U Win Hlaing	Mandalay	24.10.1990	10 years, dismissed as Mp
U Naing Naing	Rangoon	25.10.1990	10 years, dismissed as Mp
U Mya Win	Irrawaddy	-.10.1990	25 years, dismissed as Mp
Dr. Zaw Myint	Irrawaddy	-.10.1990	25 years, dismissed as Mp
U Hla Tun	Rangoon	-.10.1990	25 years, dismissed as Mp
Dr. Myint Naing	Sagaing	-.10.1990	25 years, dismissed as Mp
U Tin Aung Aung	Mandalay	-.11.1990	25 years, dismissed as Mp
Dr. Zaw Myint Aung	Mandalay	-.11.1990	32 years, dismissed as Mp
U Saw Win	Magwe	1991	11 years, dismissed as Mp
U Sein Hla Oo	Rangoon	1.5.1992	7 years, dismissed as Mp
U Khin Maung Swe	Rangoon	1.5.1992	7 years, dismissed as Mp
U Kyi Myint	Rangoon	11.8.1993	20 years, dismissed as Mp
U Kyaw Min	Irrawaddy	21.5.1996	Not sentenced, dismissed as MP
U Soe Thein (aka Maung Wuntha)	Pegu	21.5.1996	Not sentenced, dismissed as MP
U Do Htaung	Sagaing	-.5.1996	7 years
U Khun Myint Tun	Mon	-.5.1996	7 years
U Kyaw Khin	Shan	3.6.1996	10 years
Dr. Aung Khin Sint	Rangoon	23.7.1996	12 years
U Hla Min	Tenasserim	19.11.1996	7 years
U Saw Oo Reh	Kayah	29.11.1996	10 years
Dr. Than Aung	Rangoon	21.2.1997	-
U Thein Zan	Magwe	24.2.1997	Not sentenced, dismissed as Mp
U Nyunt Hlaing	Magwe	24.2.1997	Not sentenced
U Saw Lwin	Irrawaddy	-.2.1997	2 years
Dr. Hla Win	Irrawaddy	-.2.1997	-

Name	State/ Division	Date of Imprisonment	Prison Sentence and Remarks
Daw San San	Rangoon	28.10.1997	25 years
Dr. Than Nyein	Rangoon	10.12.1997	7 years
Dr. May Win Myint	Rangoon	10.12.1997	7 years
Daw Nan Khin Htwe Myint	Karen	10.2.1998	3 years
Dr. Myo Nyunt	Irrawaddy	-	7 years
U Hla Myint	Irrawaddy	-	-
U Min Swe	Irrawaddy	-	3 years
U Hsan Myint	Irrawaddy	-	-
U Tin Aung	Irrawaddy	-	-
Dr. Tin Min Htut	Irrawaddy	-	-
U Kyaw Myint	Irrawaddy	-	-
U Kyin Thein	Karen	-	7 years
U Chit Htwe	Magwe	-	Dismissed as MP
U Kyaw Tin	Magwe	-	-
Dr. Aye Zan	Mon	-	-
U Maung Maung Latt (aka Dr. Hlaing Ni)	Rangoon	-	-

Source: ABSDF

* The table includes only those MPs who are still under detention. It does not include those who have been detained and subsequently released.

2.5. Announcement of sentence commutation and remission

On December 1, 1997, the SPDC issued an order No. 1/97 regarding Commutation and Remission of Sentences. According to the Order, "In respect of citizen prisoners undergoing death sentence, imprisonment or a term of an unlimited period, transportation for life or imprisonment for a term exceeding 10 years under order passed by a civil court, military court or military tribunal, the respective sentences which they are undergoing shall be commuted and remitted." The order said prisoners undergoing the death sentence would be commuted to transportation (imprisonment for a term of 20 years); prisoners undergoing sentences ranging from a term exceeding 20 years to imprisonment for a term of an unlimited period to imprisonment for a term of 15 years; prisoners undergoing sentences of transportation or life to imprisonment for a term of 10 years and prisoners undergoing sentences ranging from a term exceeding 10 years of a term of 20 years according to each offence to imprisonment for a term of 10 years.

However, prisoners who are now serving prison sentences of 10 years or under, are not affected by this commutation and remission of sentences, and they are still being treated unjustly and brutally by the authorities.

All of the political prisoners in the following list were arrested on June 18, 1989, and sentenced by various courts on November 6, 1989. Some were originally sentenced to 7 years/ 10 years imprisonment respectively. Some of them were given remission of sentences and commutation to 10 years' imprisonment according to the Order No (11/92) and Order No. (1/93). They had been told they would be released on March 23, 1997, but are still being kept under detention. They were given extended sentence by the prison law in jail. Though their sentences are over, they are still being kept in prisons without any proper reason. All of them are political prisoners and some including a 70-year-old woman have been suffering from tuberculosis, caught in prisons. On the day of their release, as informed by the prison authorities, their families and relatives waited for them at the gate of each jail, but were ordered to go back by authorities without being given any reason. Since they were arrested, these political prisoners have not been given any legal right to defend themselves, and they have been kept under unlawful detention without any legal protection (*Source:DPNS*).

1. Ko Thein Zaw	Tharawaddy Jail
2. Ko Thet Khaing	Insein Jail
3. Ko Kyaw Oo Nyo	Tharawaddy Jail
4. Ko Zaw Zaw Aung	Tharawaddy Jail
5. Ko Win Ko Ko	Tharawaddy Jail
6. Ko Shwe Aung Than	Tharawaddy Jail
7. U Aung Pe Thu	Tharawaddy Jail
8. U Aung Than	Tharawaddy Jail
9. U Ye Win	Tharawaddy Jail
10. U Bo Sein	Mandalay Jail
11. U Khin Maung Yin	Tharawaddy Jail
12. Ko Aung Chit	Mandalay Jail
13. Ko Aung Myint Tun	Insein Jail
14. Ko Myo Kyi	Tharawaddy Jail
15. U Tin Aung	Insein Jail
16. Ko Moe Win	Insein Jail
17. U Win Kyi	Tharawaddy Jail
18. Daw Kyi Kyi	Insein Jail
19. Ma Khin Hnin Ye	Insein Jail
20. Ma Don	Insein Jail

The following are all political prisoners whose sentences are already over according to the Order No (11/92) and Order No (1/93) and normal remissions under the prison act but are still being kept under detention in various jails in Burma. According to the prison act, there are, normally, 3 classes of remission for any prisoner. These are A class (twice a year and 41 days for one time), B class (twice a year and 32 days for one time) and C class (twice a year and 23 days for one time). Unless a prisoner violates any prison rule, he/she has a right to be granted the normal remission from his / her original sentence as follows:

- in the first year of sentence, B class two times and C class two times (totally 110 days).
- in the following years, A class two times per year (82 days).

In Tharawaddy Jail

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Ko Ye Win | 22. Khaing Pyi Soe |
| 2. Ko Thein Zaw | 23. U Than Kyaw |
| 3. Ko Myo Kyi | 24. Ko Kyaw Dun |
| 4. Ko Zaw Zaw Aung | 25. U Pyu Maung |
| 5. KO Kyaw Oo Nyo | 26. U Kaung Kyaw Zan |
| 6. Ko Win Ko Ko | 27. U Kyaw San Maung |
| 7. U Win Kyi | 28. Ko Kyaw Minn Yu
(aka Jimmy) |
| 8. U Aung Than | 29. Ko Min Naing Tun |
| 9. U Aung Pe Thu | 30. Ko Kyaw Oo |
| 10. Ko Kyaw Swe | 31. Ko Aung Moe |
| 11. Ko Khin Maung Lay | 32. Ko San Myint Aye |
| 12. Ko Htay Kywe | 33. Ko Zaw Linn Aung |
| 13. Ko Shwe Aung Than | 34. Ko Aung Kyaw Moe |
| 14. Ko Aung Kyaw Sein | 35. Ko Aung Than |
| 15. Ko Khin Zaw Oo | 36. Ko Moe Kyaw Thu |
| 16. Ko Mya Win | 37. Ko Maung Maung Thin |
| 17. U Saw Win | 38. Ko Khin Zaw |
| 18. U Tin Aung Aung | 39. U Ohn Than |
| 19. U Pite Ko | 40. Ko Zay Ya |
| 20. U Tin Aye | 41. Ko Myint Sein |
| 21. Ko Thar Dun Aung | |

Insein prison

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Ko Ricky Than | 9. Daw Kyi Kyi |
| 2. Ko Richard | 10. Ko Thet Khaing |

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| 3. Ko Than Myint Shwe | 11. U Tin Aung |
| 4. U Khaing Soe | 12. U Maung Lay |
| 5. U Tun Win | 13. U Win Tin |
| 6. Ko Moe Win | 14. Ko Paw Oo Tun |
| 7. Ko Phu Thit (aka Ko Aung Myint Tun) | 15. Ma Khin Hnin Ye |
| 8. Ma Don | |

Mandalay prison

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Ko Aung Chit | 3. Ko San Aung |
| 2. U Bo Sein | |

Taungoo prison

1. Ko Win Myint Naing

Myingyan prison

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Ko Bo Bo Oo | 3. Ko Khin Maung Yin |
| 2. Ko Thet Tun | |

Thayet prison

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Ko Ko Gyi | 5. Saw Thomas |
| 2. Ko Bo Kyi | 6. Bo Tha Khu |
| 3. Ko Nyo Tun | 7. Bo Tha Gaung |
| 4. Ko Nyein Chan (aka Nyi Pu Lay) | |

2 . 6 . List of NLD members arrested

- 2.6.1.** On January 18, it was announced that twenty people, including 14 NLD members, had also been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment (*Source:AI*).
- 2.6.2.** In January the SPDC announced that 14 people, including five NLD members, were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for involvement in student-led protest in December 1996. They were sentenced on January 27 at the Insein Township Court under the provisions of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act after being “ found guilty of agitation and throwing rocks at security personnel during the student unrest last December.” (*Source: AI*)

- 2.6.3. On February 11, 1997, eleven male and six female NLD members left Prome by train to attend the NLD Union Day in Rangoon. When the train stopped at Tharawaddy station, soldiers and policemen, arrested fifteen of the NLD members: two women were not arrested. The group was taken by car to the quarters of the 35th Regiment. The four women arrested were Daw Myint Myint Khin, Daw Tin Hlaing, Daw Than Than Nu, and Daw Aye Mya San. The men were Aung Myint, U Myo Thein, U Aung Myo Myint, U Shwe Thein, U Myint Than, U Paik Tin, U Myint Htwe, U Chit Tin, U Win Naing, U Aung Thein Win, and U Thein Zaw. (*Source: SAIN*)
- 2.6.4. Seven people who had come from Prome and Kama by car to attend the NLD Union Day on February 12, 1997, were also arrested in Tharawaddy. (*Source: SAIN*)
- 2.6.5. Fifty eight others were arrested on their way to attend the NLD Union Day including, U Aye Than and U Ohn Naing, NLD Members of Parliamentelect for Paungde; U Khin Maung Myint, Secretary of Paukaung township; U Min Aung of Letpadan, NLD members; U Tin Myint, Deputy Chairman of Gyobingauk township; U Ohn, Thonze NLD members; Soe Tin Oo, Prome NLD youth members; Daw Tin Tin Hla, Daw San Yee and Daw San San Myint, members of Shwedaung NLD front; Daw Sein Sein, Ma Tin Than Oo, and Ma Tin Than Aye from Natalin; Daw Khin Kyu and Ma Sye Aye Mar from Oakpho. (*Source: SAIN*)
- 2.6.6. In the second week of February 1997, U Soe Hlaing, Chairman of the NLD organizing Committee of Thanatpin, Pegu Division; U Tin Tun, Secretary, and U Soe Nyunt, Joint Secretary were arrested because they attended the NLD Union Day celebration in Rangoon. U Tin Tun was released but the others were charged under section 5 (e) and sent to Pegu prison. (*Source: SAIN*)
- 2.6.7. Also arrested on their way to attend the NLD Union Day celebrations were U Khin Maung, U Chit Than, U Pe Win, and U Thein Han, all members of Thaton township NLD, Mon State. (*Source: SAIN*)
- 2.6.8. U Win Naing and U Maung Than, farmers from Kywete village were charged under section 5(e) and sent to Pegu prison because they had complained to the NLD that the local authorities had taken cuts out of money due to them for the paddy sold. (*Source: SAIN*)
- 2.6.9. On the night of February 21, 1997, all the members of the Taungoo township Organizing Committee were arrested in their homes. Other NLD members reported that military officers, police and Military Intelligence Service (MIS) personnel carried out the raids. One of the detainees was U

Aung Soe Myint, an elected representative of the NLD. The authorities also detained Daw Kyin Sein, Daw Phwa Sein, Daw Htay Htay Win and Daw Khin Than, all of whom were women, but they were released on the next day. U Aung Soe Myint managed to get away by jumping off the car. All males including U Myat Thu, chairman of the Taungoo township NLD Organizing Committee, U Saw Tun Nwe, Vice-chairman of Taungoo NLD Organizing Committee, U Maung Maung, Vice-chairman of the Taungoo NLD Organizing Committee, U Tin Maung Win, Joint-secretary, township Organizing Committee, U Myint Thein, Finance Director, U Thet Tun, U Kyaw Win, U Tin Thaug, U Kyaw Myint, U Tun Tin, U Tin Soe, U Pe Win and U Kyaw Kyaw Win, U Tin Win Ko, U Tin Myint Htwe, U Kyaw Kyaw Lwin, U Min Thu and Ko Moe Makha were taken by army vehicles to Thandaung. Similarly, eleven people from Oaktwin township and one from Yedashe township in Pegu division, were also taken away. It was thought that these people were taken away to act as porters in the latest military action against the KNU. U Saw Htun New, a 75-year-old Karen national died of fatigue as a result of his age. His dead body was found on the roadside later. (*Source: Inside*)

- 2.6.10.** Dr. Hla Win, NLD MP-elect of Kyaungon (2), Mahn Tin Win, interim chairman of the NLD organizing committee of Kyaungon township, and NLD organizing committee chairman of villages within the township, U Wa Toke, U San Shein and U Thein Han, came to attend the Union Day ceremony. On February 15, back in Kyaungon township, a meeting was held. While the meeting was in progress, two carloads of policemen and military intelligence officers arrived and marched into the NLD office. Win Myint, an MI officer, shouted obscenities and punched and kicked Mahn Tin Win, U Wa Toke, U Thein Han, U Myint Maung, and U Saw Lwin, MP-elect of Kyaungon (1). Dr. Hla Win and U Saw Lwin were handcuffed and were taken away to the police station with fourteen other members of the NLD organizing committee. Many papers were confiscated by the SLORC/SPDC officials, including a certificate from the NLD office honoring U Thein Han, who was serving a sentence in Bassein prison and chairman of the organizing committee (this is not the same man as U Thein Han mentioned above and below), minutes of the organizing committee meetings and other items. All sixteen men were held at the Kyaungon police station until February 17, when all except Dr. Hla Win, U Saw Lwin, U Thein Han, Mahn Tin Win, U Wa Toke, and U San Shein were released. (*Source: SAIN*)

- 2.6.11. On February 19, 1997, Dr. Than Nyein, Vice-chairman of the NLD's Rangoon Division and an elected NLD MP for Kyaunktan-1, was arrested and his medical license was revoked by the Health Ministry for "Breaching medical professional ethics." He was released from custody on April 2, 1997 after paying 1,000 kyats. (*Source: Inside*)
- 2.6.12. On February 19, 1997, Dr. Tin Min Htut, an elected representative of the NLD from Pantanaw, was arrested. The Pantanaw Township LORC summoned officials from all departments of the town and asked them if Dr. Tin Min Htut had violated any law. The Township LORC asked them if he had regularly paid his bills for water, electricity, sanitation, radio, post and telegram, and his taxes for his cassette player, land and income. When the LORC could not find fault with him the town's police chief ordered a search of Dr. Tin Min Htut's house. He ordered his men to find anything that could incriminate the NLD representative. The police could not find any substantial evidence of wrongdoing. However, they found two Singaporean coins in a small toy cup Dr. Tin Min Htut's son was playing with. Dr. Tin Min Htut was then arrested for illegal possession of a foreign currency. This arrest is a clear case of illegal entrapment by the authorities. (*Source: Inside*)
- 2.6.13. Dr. Than Aung, an elected MP of the NLD for Mingla Taungnyunt-2, was arrested on February 21, 1997 for allegedly causing the death of a patient through negligence at his medical clinic. He was sentenced to four years in prison on April 12, 1997, at Insein jail and charged under Section 304(a) of the Penal Code, which pertains to causing a person's death through negligence. According to sources inside Burma, he treated a man who was suffering from advanced tuberculosis and then sent him to the emergency room of Rangoon General Hospital. The person died on his way to the hospital. Although he was convicted of criminal offences, his arrest and persecution motivated solely because of his leadership roles in the NLD and not for any recognizable criminal act or commission. (*Source: Inside*)
- 2.6.14. U Thein Zan, elected MP of the Constituency-1, Myehte township, Magwe Division was arrested on February 24, 1997 along with other NLD leaders U Nyunt Hlaing, U Tin Htoo Kyaw, U Than Htun, U Htun Kyi and U Aye Kyaw. All of them were sentenced to five years' imprisonment under Section 5(j) of the Emergency Provision Act and put in Thayet prison. In addition to these arrests, U Aye Myint, U Tin Win and U Mya Shwe, all of whom are officials from the Myehte township Organizing Committee, were detained. (*Source: ABSDF*)

- 2.6.15.** On February 25, 1997, U Aye Myint, U Tin Win and U Mya Shwe, all Myehte township NLD members were arrested. All of them were sentenced to five years' imprisonment under Section 5(j) of the Emergency Provision Act and put in Thayet prison. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 2.6.16.** In the wake of community unrest in Mandalay, SLORC detained ten NLD members, including U Htin Kyaw (alias) U Tin Nyunt, an elected MP for Mandalay south-east-1 from Mandalay Division, Other detainees included U Maung Maung Win Shwe, U Aung Tint, Ko Aung Ko, U Kyi Maung, U Ko Gyi, U Tun Win, Daw Khin Win, Ko Aung Myint Ko (NLD-Youth), and one unknown member. They were all arrested on March 18, 1997. The unknown member was later released. (*Source: Inside*)
- 2.6.17.** U Tin Pe, chairman of the Mudon township NLD Organizing committee, U Than Aung, secretary of the committee, U Sabalone, NLD member, U Hlaing Htun, member, Ko Zaw Zaw, member and other unknown NLD office staff were arrested after the merit making ceremony of the 50th anniversary of Martyr Day on March 27 in Mudon. They were arrested for hanging the NLD flag with the SLORC flag at the same level on the wall during the ceremony. All of them were sentenced to 8-months imprisonment and put in Moulmein prison. No visitors were allowed. They were released on January 3, 1998. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 2.6.18.** Two musicians, Ko Min Maw and Ko Zaw Win from "Shwe Than Zin", a musical band, were arrested by the SLORC MI and sentenced to seven years in jail for performing two democracy songs in March 1997. The two musicians recorded these two democracy songs in May studio in Rangoon and sent the songs to the Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) based in Oslo, Norway for broadcasting. The two songs were broadcast on March 3, 10, and 17 during DVB's "Songs in the sky" program. May studio was also raided and the owner of the studio was investigated by the SLORC MI. According to sources in Rangoon, U Hla Min, a NLD MP-elect from Kawthaung (Victoria Point) Constituency, Tenasserim Division was arrested by the SLOC MI for having connections with the two musicians. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 2.6.19.** On May 23, 1997, U Myo Khin, a 39 year old NLD Yankin township secretary in Rangoon Division, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment by the Yankin Township Court after his arrest on May 12. According to the SPDC, he "had made fraudulent alterations on his family registration list and the citizen registration card." In Burma, these two official documents are used by the SPDC to control the movement of the population. Although he was convicted of criminal offences, his arrest and persecution was motivated solely by his leadership roles in the NLD and not for any recognizable criminal act or commission. (*Source: AI*)

- 2.6.20.** Cho Aung Than, a cousin of the Nobel Peace laureate, was picked up for interrogation on June 13, 1997, while his sister Daw Khin Ma Than, also known as Nge Ma Ma Than and her husband, U Shwe Myint Aung were arrested a few days later on the same charge. They were sentenced to three years' imprisonment on August 17 at a court inside Insein Prison, for "breaching" the 1908 Unlawful Association Act and given a seven year sentence under the Emergency Provisions Act. The broadly-worded provisions of these two laws are often used by the military authorities to hand down long terms of imprisonment for peaceful political activity. In a press briefing in June, Intelligence Chief, Gen. Khin Nyunt, accused the three of accepting money from two foreign activists, Phillip Robertson and John Osolnick, and handing it over to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Robertson allegedly gave them US\$80,000 and Osolnick about \$4,000. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has denied receiving the money.
- 2.6.21.** Khin Maung Win also known as Sunny, photographer for the NLD and U Ohn Myint, an aging politician who is related to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, were arrested on June 18, 1997. U Ohn Myint was released after one month of questioning. (*Source: Inside*)
- 2.6.22.** U Myo Aung Thant, a member of the Federation of Trade Unions of Burma, an underground labor group, was arrested on his return from Bangkok on June 13, 1997, at Mingladon airport, by officers of the National Intelligence Bureau (NIB). His wife and children were also detained. Later that day, NIB officials arrested U Khin Kyaw and his wife at their home. U Khin Kyaw is an official of the Seamen's Union of Burma, a member of FTUB and an ITF affiliate of the Internal Transport Workers' Federation (ITWF). Myo Aung Thant was "sentenced to Transportation for life for committing High Treason, three years' imprisonment for breaching the Unlawful Associations Act and another seven years under the Emergency Provisions Act" at Insein Special Court. Article 57 of Chapter III of the 1957 Burmese Penal Code defines transportation for life as: "equivalent to transportation for twenty years. He was accused by the authorities of attempting to bring explosives into Myanmar from Thailand. There is no further information about the status or whereabouts of Khin Maung Win alias Ko Sonny and U Khin Kyaw. (*Source: FTUB*)

- 2.6.23. U Kyi Lwin, the chairman of the Moulmein Township Organizing Committee for the NLD party was sentenced to six years imprisonment with hard labor on October 17, 1997 for allegedly violating the Publishing and Printing Act. U Kyi Lwin, 52, had been detained since July 1997 without being charged. Military Intelligence officers came to his printing shop located on Main Lower Road in Moulmein in July and took him away. He was sentenced in Moulmein Township court after five court appearances. (Source: ABSDF)
- 2.6.24. U Toe and U Shwe Win, NLD leaders from Belin township Mon State were arrested on July 30, 1997, for holding a merit making ceremony for the 50th anniversary of Martyr Day without permission from the SLORC authorities. (Source: ABSDF)
- 2.6.25. U Win Shwe, an NLD member of the Belin Township Organizing Committee, was detained and put under house arrest in September, 1997. He was charged under the Section 5(j) of the Emergency Provision Act at the end of October. (Source: ABSDF)
- 2.6.26. Soe Tun, Thein Myint, Moe Kyaw, Khin Maung Win, Myo Yan Naung Thein and two other unknown people were arrested in the first week of September for an alleged connection with the 1996 December student uprising. Their “New View” library in Zeyathiri road, Kamayut township was also sealed off by the authorities. (Source: Inside)
- 2.6.27. Daw May Win Myint, NLD Divisional Organizer and MP-elect from Mayangone, was arrested by MI officers on October 28, 1997 after they had taken documents from her. Also at 10 p.m., U Khin Maung Myint, NLD Central Youth member and Secretary of Latha township, was arrested by a combined force of MI and other security personnel. Daw San San, the NLD Seikkan township MP-elect and Divisional Vice-Chairperson and NLD Women’s leader, was arrested at mid-night after documents were taken from her. At the same time, Ma Win Win Htay, a member of the Rangoon NLD Youth Division was arrested after security forces seized documents from her. (Source: Inside)
- 2.6.28. U Soe Myint, the chairman of the Thaketa NLD, was arrested at 1 a.m. on October 29, 1997. One and a half hours later, Dr. Than Nyein, a MP-elect from Kyauktan township, Rangoon Division, was arrested after a combined group of MI and other security forces had confiscated documents from his home. U Win Thauung, the Chairman of the Mayangone NLD, was arrested later on that day. (Source: Inside)

- 2.6.29.** U Nyan Thaung, owner of the NLD office in Mayangone township, Rangoon Division, was arrested on October 29, 1997 and sentenced to seven years imprisonment in December 1997. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 2.6.30.** 50 members of the NLD were rounded up at the party's branch office in Tamwe in eastern Rangoon on November 5, 1997. On the previous day, police placed barricades on roads leading to the NLD office in Tamwe to prevent Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from attending a political gathering. (*Source: Inside*)
- 2.6.31.** Dr. Min Soe Lin, an elected member of parliament of the Ye township constituency (1), Mon State and General Secretary of the banned Mon National League for Democracy (MNLD) was arrested and detained on November 6, 1997 by the SLORC under Article 5(j) of the Emergency Provision Act in Mudon, Mon State. It is believed that Dr. Min Soe Lin, 40, was arrested for his role in organizing celebrations for the 1997 50th Anniversary of Mon National Day on February 23, which the SLORC had refused to allow to go ahead. He was elected by various Mon organizations as general secretary of the Mon State Commission for the Golden Jubilee Celebration of Mon National Day. In this role, he reportedly sought permission to hold the celebration in Moulmein, the capital of Mon State. However, the Military Intelligence Service (5) based in Moulmein, refused to give its consent for the celebration, although permission had been granted in previous years. Finally, after canceling the arrangements in Moulmein, the celebration was held near Kanni at the source of the Ye River in an area under the control of the New Mon State Party (NMSP). However, the military considered this an act of defiance and it was widely known that Dr. Min Soe Lin was subsequently placed on the military's most wanted list. He was released in early January, 1998. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 2.6.32.** U Thaung Aye, owner of a building in the South Okkalapa township in Rangoon who agreed to rent an office to NLD, was arrested on November 19, 1997 along with U Chit Khin, Chairman of the Okkalapa branch of the NLD.

2.7. Life in Prisons

Prison conditions in Burma are characterized by overcrowding and lack of proper food, sanitation, and medical care. The condition in prisons across the country remains extremely harsh with no exercise, a lack of mosquito nets and reading materials for some prisoners, poor nutrition, inadequate medical care, and the use of solitary confinement and "doggie cells" as punishment. Unhealthy conditions and delayed medical care have led to the deaths of some political prisoners. It is

estimated that there are 4,800 prisoners in Insein prison, most of whom are without adequate medical attention. Conditions for political prisoners are reported to be much harsher at some upcountry locations than in Rangoon; Thayet, Tharawaddy, Myitkyina and Myingyan prisons are cited most often in this regard. There are no prison doctors and medication is in short supply in Myitkyina prison, Kachin State. Prisoners often suffer from anemia and are not protected against the cold weather. Also of concern is the denial of medical care for those imprisoned or forced to act as porters for army troops in border areas. Civilians have been repeatedly maimed or killed by land mines placed by the military.

Both political and criminal prisoners being subjected to harsh treatment, and torture during initial interrogation is common. After political prisoners have been sentenced they are normally allowed to see their families every two weeks, who can provide them with additional food and medicine during 15-minute visits. However, there are reports that guards demand bribes for that privilege. If prisoners have no family or if they are in a prison which is located far away from their homes, they often do not receive anything to supplement their meagre diet. Political prisoners are also subjected to severe physical punishment if they break arbitrary prison rules, such as prohibition of all reading materials.

2.7.1. Situation in Loikaw Prison

Many ex-prisoners from Loikaw prison in Karenni State told of their experience behind bars. Burmese Military Intelligence officers in Loikaw prison beat prisoners, use various forms of torture, sexually abuse female prisoners and force women to give birth in their cells. Sources estimate there are about 800 prisoners including a considerable number of political prisoners in Loikaw prison. Most of them are in prison for political offences such as association with an illegal political organization and breaching internal security laws. Ex-prisoners told that prisoners are beaten with batons, forced to kneel on broken glass and to look at a glaring high-voltage bulbs for long periods as part of punishment or during interrogations. HIV/AIDS is spreading in the prison due to the repeated use of dirty needles at the hospital. Those who can afford to bribe the prison official are the only prisoners exempt from abuse and are allowed clean needles.

Many male prisoners are recruited as porters for the military. With a shortage of under 5-year term prisoners who are usually used as porters the military has now begun using prisoners sentenced between 5 and 10 years. Porters are forced to carry heavy loads, brutally beaten, underfed and not given medical care. Those who cannot walk or carry the supplies are often killed or left to die in the jungle. (*Source: ABSDF*)

2.7.2. The Medical Care System and HIV/AIDS situation in Insein Prison

There is only one 100 bed hospital in Insein Prison for ten thousand prisoners. The hospital is governed by Dr. Soe Kyi, the officer in-charge of the prison hospital and two assistant surgeons, Dr. Tun Tun and Dr. Aung Than Myint, who are under his supervision. Dr. Soe Kyi was honored by the military junta with the title of Kyaw Thura for his approval signature on the death certificate of (41) demonstrators who suffocated to death in a prison van on the way to the prison in March, 1988. The prison hospital is governed directly by the prison department of the Home Ministry.

The out-patient clinic is only open one a day for the prisoners in each prison hall (different days for different halls). The procedure to get a medical check up is lengthy because of the bureaucratic red tape system inside the prison. The ill prisoner must present himself first to the *A Khan Lu Gyi* (the head prisoner of the cell who is selected by the warden to monitor regulations), then if he approves the need for a medical check up, he must next present himself to Tan Si (a long-term serving head prisoner who is selected to monitor the prison regulations for a whole building- 8 cells or 16 cells). Then another approval from the assistant warden and the warden is needed for registration on the list of out-patients, who have the right to receive medical check up on the assigned day of the week. Most of the prisoners fail to receive proper medical treatment during the lengthy process of the prison system. Usually the out-patients only receive drugs like Aspirin, Paracetamol, Buspro, and Sodamint without being properly treated for their underlying illness. The prison doctors give prescriptions and medics usually follow with injections and medications later. Most of the medics do not have background medical knowledge and are selected and appointed from the criminals who are jailed for drug abuse. They have tacit license to keep a syringe.

Four-fifths of the in-patients who are admitted to the jail hospital are not really ill patients, but they bribe the medical officers so as to enjoy special favors granted by the authorities and to be free from having to do hard labor. Some drug-addicted criminals pay money to the prison doctors to stay in the hospitals so that they can have access to needles and syringes and use drugs freely.

The medics use the same needle to inject several patients. Blood transfusions in a jail hospital are rare though minor surgery for boils and skin infections are common but the practice is very risky due to the transmission of HIV because the same instruments are used without being disinfected properly.

In the cell blocks, prison halls, and prison hospital, drug use is rampant. Drugs can be found in the halls for detainees who are under trial and in the halls for prisoners who have been sentenced, especially hall #5. It is easy to buy heroin, sedatives, marijuana, and opium in Insein Prison.

There are three ways to smuggle drugs into Insein: first with the warders, second prisoners who go to trial and come back can carry drugs with them, and third hidden in the food sent by visitors.

The drugs which are smuggled into Insein are then used by the recipients or sold to other prisoners. The prisoners who have been imprisoned for drug abuse always continue to use drugs. These prisoners bribe the doctor in the prison hospital so that they are able to stay in the prison hospital. They try to get needles and syringes in the hospital. Some prisoners sell these needles and syringes to prisoners in other cell blocks and halls. Sometimes they make their own syringes. If the needle points get dull, they sharpen them on the floor and use them again, up to 70 times.

In Insein Prison, some criminal prisoners try to rape other prisoners by using force and threats. Many senior prisoners in each cell or hall try to persuade or threaten young and good-looking prisoners to have homosexual relations with them. This includes children under 14. The cell leaders even dare to rape other men in the daytime. Since condoms are illegal in prison, homosexual rape is one of the reasons for spread of HIV/AIDS in the prison.

No education about sexually transmitted diseases including AIDS, and the negligence of the prison authorities has caused HIV infection in Insein Prison to become widespread. Tattooing, having limited access to shaving materials, and genital reshaping (inserting metal balls) by illegal minor surgery are also common causes for HIV transmission. (*Source: DPNS*)

2.7.3. Suffering of Thai inmates in Burmese prisons

Many of the Thai prisoners freed from Burmese jails are suffering from skin diseases, malnutrition or tuberculosis, while some may be HIV-positive, according to the Thai Deputy Permanent Secretary for Public Health Winai Wiriyakittji. Most of them were arrested for illegal fishing in Burma waters and put in Insein jail. Most of the prisoners were found to be suffering from a range of illnesses due to malnutrition, poor living conditions and sub-standard care.

“Whenever they came to vaccinate us, four or five people would sit at their desks with injections and we had to line up in rows. They injected us with the same needles one after another,” said Mr. Berm, one of the Thai inmates released from Insein prison. The Ministry of Public Health said of 98 prisoners released, only 28 were in good health. The others had tuberculosis, skin infections, high blood pressure and some had HIV.

2.8. Death in Prison

Monywa U Tin Shwe

Monywa Tin Shwe (aka) U Tin Shwe (Monywa) (High Court Lawyer and National League for Democracy founding member) died on June 8, 1997, while he was serving his term in Insein Prison. U Tin Shwe was arrested on November 29, 1990 by the authorities, tried under Section 5(a), (e), and (j) of Emergency Provisions Act and sentenced to serve 18 years imprisonment. On April 23, 1997, upon learning that the health of U Tin Shwe was greatly deteriorating, the Chairman of the NLD sent a letter requesting him to be treated with proper food and given admission to a hospital in order to receive proper treatment.

He suffered from heart disease and was admitted to the hospital inside the jail in April 1997. On April 21, 1997, his family made an appeal to the authorities for permission to allow him to have treatment with physicians and specialists outside the jail. The appeal was in vain. On the same day he was sent back from the in-jail hospital to the cell where he had been kept. On April 30, 1997, due to his worsening health condition, he was admitted to the Insein prison hospital again on June 3, 1997, he was discharged and sent back to his cell. On the morning of June 8, 1997, his roommate found that he had collapsed in his cell while he was meditating. It was reported that he died on the way to in-jail hospital while he was being carried by the prison authorities. When he was taken from there to the Rangoon General Hospital, the doctor-on-duty reportedly stated that he had already died.

The facts clearly confirm that the health situation of U Tin Shwe was worsening. He died because the concerned authorities were responsible for denying him treatment with physicians and specialists outside the jail after his family had appealed for the necessary treatment.

U Kyaw Din

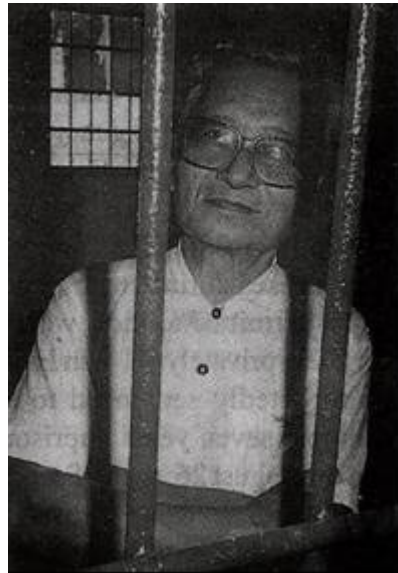
U Kyaw Din, 58, of NLD Wakema township, Irrawaddy Division died on October 20, 1997, in a prison hospital of acute pulmonary edema. He was serving a two year jail sentence since July 24, 1997 for violation of Burma Criminal Act section 505(b). Statement issued by the SPDC said he was also suffering from renal failure and “malignant hypertension.” His family requested to the authorities that funeral

service be held three days later as is traditionally required. The request was turned down and Myaungmya Prison Department cremated him on October 21, 1997. Furthermore, the authorities did not even allow the family to take his ashes home. As soon as the cremation was over the whole family was sent back to Wakema. (Source: Inside)

2.9. Prisoners in poor health

U Win Tin

U Win Tin, sixty-seven years old, was seriously ill and transferred to Rangoon General Hospital in October 1997. He was apparently transferred from Myingyan prison, known to be one of the worst in Burma. U Win Tin, a journalist and founder of the national League for Democracy, was imprisoned in October 1989 and accused of being a member of the banned Communist Party of Burma. He was sentenced to fourteen years by a military tribunal in Rangoon's notorious Insein prison and sometime in early 1996 was transferred to Myingyan, a town about 150 miles north of Rangoon. The transfer meant that relatives and supporters could no longer visit him or send him food and medicines.



U Win Tin took a prominent part in a hunger strike in Insein prison in September 1990 and was reported to have been badly beaten. In 1993 and 1994 he was one of four political prisoners to meet with Congressman Bill Richardson from the US Congress. In photographs taken during the meetings, U Win Tin was seen to be wearing a surgical collar. He told the congressman he suffered from spondylitis (degeneration of the spine).

In mid-1995, U Win Tin was one of a group of eight prisoners accused of sending letters to the United Nations detailing conditions within Insein prison. He was reportedly beaten and kept in solitary confinement in the prison's "dog cells" (formerly the kennels for the prison guard dogs). It was learnt that he was sentenced to an additional five years under prison regulations banning the possession of writing materials.

Dr. Aung Khin Sint

Dr. Aung Khin Sint, a medical doctor, NLD member of parliament-elect is in poor health. He had been awarded a literacy award in 1972 and received the World Health Fellowship three times. He has been hospitalized since June 11, 1997, suffering from heart problems, diabetes, and high blood pressure. The SPDC responded that his condition was not critical when the human rights organization issued an urgent appeal to them. He was arrested on Aug. 4, 1993, for distributing leaflets that opposed restrictions imposed on the National Convention. He was released on February 4, 1995, rearrested on July 23, 1996, and is still in prison. No sentence has been given, nor are family visits allowed. (*Source: Inside*)

U Cho Aung Than

U Cho Aung Than was in Rangoon General Hospital on October 9, 1997 to receive a medical care. The prison doctors decided to hospitalize him on September 26 for high blood pressure but the SPDC authorities denied that his condition was serious. U Cho Aung Than, first cousin of Dawn Aung San Suu Kyi and assistant, was arrested on June 13, 1997, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for "breaching" the 1908 Unlawful Associations Act and 1950 Emergency Provisions Acts (*Source: Inside*).

Saw U Reh

The health of 70-year-old U Saw U Reh, an elected NLD representative imprisoned in Loikaw in Karenni State, is worsening according to his son-in-law who fled to the Thai-Burma border in October 1997. He was hospitalized in the first week of July 1997, after suffering from serious diabetes and kidney problems. Although already in shackles, he was tied to his hospital bed. Although he is back in Loikaw prison, his health has not improved. (*Source: Inside*)

U saw U Reh was arrested and sentenced to 17 years' imprisonment on December 18, 1996, for violating Article 71(1) of the Association With Illegal Organizations Act and violating the 1962 Printing and Publishing Act. The SLORC claimed that he was contributing financially to the outlawed Karenni National Progressive party (KNPP). They found a book he had written entitled "The Crisis of Kayah State and Causes of Civil War in Burma" when they searched his home. U Saw U Reh is a Second World War veteran who fought against the Japanese in a parachutist unit known as "the Spiders". He joined the NLD after the 1988 pro-democracy uprising and became a member of the Karenni State NLD Organizing Committee. He was one of the NLD delegates for the National Convention until the NLD boycotted the Convention in December 1995. U Saw U Reh was forced by the SLORC to resign from the NLD on November 28, 1996, and was arrested soon after his resignation. (*Source: ABSDF*)

U Tin Aung

U Tin Aung, elected NLD representatives who has been in jail for a year, received emergency medical treatment in September 1997 due to a neck tumor. U Tin Aung, who is 53 and a lawyer, was detained on December 13, 1996 under the Emergency Provision Act. He was sentenced to two years imprisonment and has been held in Myaungmya Prison, Irrawaddy Division. (Source: ABSDF)

2.10. Transfer of political prisoners

In April and May, 1997, the authorities transferred approximately 150 prisoners -- including 59 NLD members -- from Insein to up country prisons during the transferal, named "Operation Crow." These prisons are: Mandalay and Myingyan Prisons, Mandalay Division; Myitkyina and Machanbaw Prisons, Kachin State; Thrawaddy, Thayet and Taungoo Prisons, Pegu Division; and Myaungmya and Bassein Prisons, Irrawaddy Division. The inevitable consequence for most prisoners of the transfer from Rangoon is additional hardship in the form of reduced access to family support, food, medicine, and clothing.

Among those transferred from Insein to Myitkyina prison was Khin Zaw Win alias Kelvin, arrested in 1994 for attempting to pass information to the UN Special Rapporteur on Burma. He was one of the 29 prisoners placed in military dog cells for extended periods of time. He was badly tortured in early 1996 and his health has subsequently deteriorated.

Another is U Win Htein, a former army officer and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's press secretary who was arrested in May 1996. He was transferred from Insein to Myingyan prison, Mandalay Division. He is also believed to be in poor health.

The authorities again transferred 120 political prisoners on November 14, 1997, from Insein Attached Jail (Special Jail) in Rangoon to Thayawaddy, Thayet and Mandalay prisons. The Special Jail at Insein previously housed about 120 political prisoners and about 70 former government officials including ex-army officers sentenced for various offenses. The former government officials were not included in the transfer. Among the political prisoners were U Tin Tun and U Myo Myint Nyein, who were both sent to Thayawaddy Prison in central Burma. The others were U Han Sein, U Lwin Oo, U Kyaw San (NLD), Ma Thida and two of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's former bodyguards - Bo Lay (aka) Aung Naing Oo and Thet Oo. These prisoners were all detained under the Publishing and Printing Act in July 1993 for possessing a copy of the Khit Pyaing (New Era) Journal. U Tin Tun and U Han Sein bought a copy of Khit Pyaing, a banned political publication, for the price of 3,000 Kyat, according to a close relative of U Tin Tun. The two were sentenced to 20 years imprisonment under two different charges of violating the Emergency Provision Act and the Printing and Publishing Act. (Source: ABSDF)

The transfer aims to make difficult for relatives and supporters of the prisoners to come and bring them food and medicines. Also it means to make things difficult for the prisoners to disseminate information regarding the situation inside the prisons.

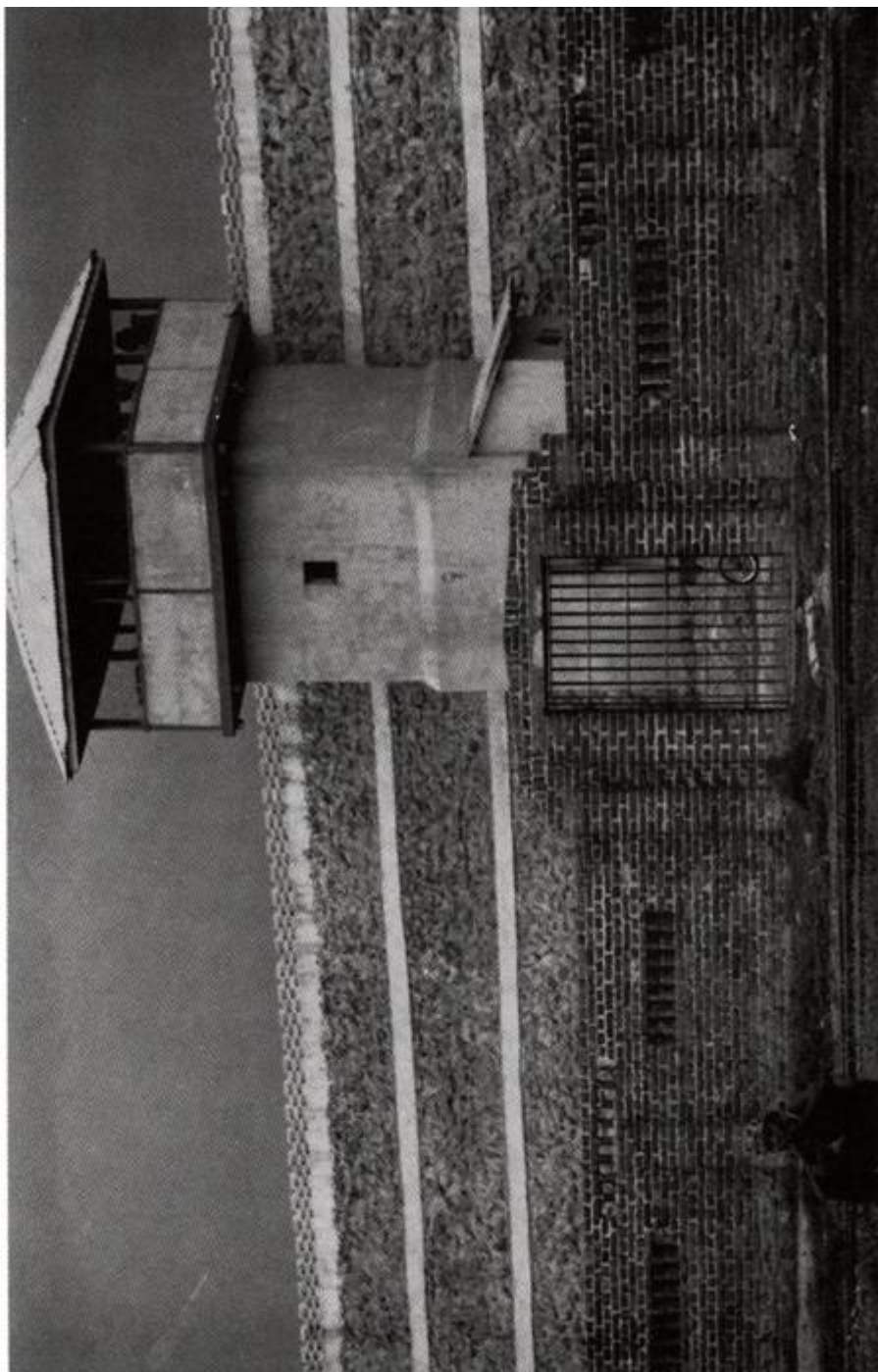
2.11. Lists of Incidents

- 2.11.1. On January 6, 1997, Daw Ni, 60 years old and unable to provide either labor or money for a forced labor project of Bassein-Thalatgwa-Morton Point motor road, was arrested and sent to Bassein prison on January 8, 1997. (*Source: UN report*)
- 2.11.2. On January 12, the Baptist pastor of Zah Di Win village in Tenasserim Division, was arrested because people in village had not moved to their relocation site, even though he and his family had moved. He was detained at a camp of SLORC IB. 17. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 2.11.3. On January 15, 1997, 13 people, including two women, were arrested because they refused to take part in a forced labor project to build a road from Bassein to Thalatgwa to Morton Point in Tenseim Division. (*Source: UN report*)
- 2.11.4. U Thein Zan, elected MP of the Constituency-1, Myehte township, Magwe Division was arrested on February 24, 1997 along with other NLD leaders U Myint Hlaing, U Tin Htoo Kyaw, U Than Htun, U Htun Kyi and U Aye Kyaw. Among them, U Nyunt Hlaing, Finance In-charge of the Magwe Division NLD was sentenced to five years imprisonment under the Section 5(j) of the Emergency Provision Act. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 2.11.5. On February 25, 1997, U Aye Myint, U Tin Win and U Mya Shwe, all Myehte township NLD members were arrested and sent to Thayet prison. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 2.11.6. On March 21, 1997, about 40-50 soldiers from LIB. 44 led by Major Hla Khin came to Wan Pan Hook village, Wan Lao circle, Kunhing township, Shan State. They summoned and village headman and accused him for having supported the SURA troops. Major Hla Khin detained the headman and demanded 20,000 kyats from Sai Saw Na and ten other villagers in exchange for the headman. After receiving ransom, the headman was released. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)

- 2.11.7.** In late April, SLORC troops arrested 14 villagers, including four women, at the old village of Wan Phai, Kaeng Lom tract, Kunhing township. The villagers had gone back to their old village to look for their stray cattle. After the arrest, they were brought and kept at the military outpost at Kaeng Lom, close to the Keng Lom temple, and the women were raped every night. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 2.11.8.** On August 23, 1997, husband Saw Kalo, 58 years old, and wife Naw Moo, 50 years old, were arrested in Lo Po village of No. (2) District by a SLORC troops of LB. 102 under the command of Sein Hlaing (unknown position). The troops killed the husband. The wife Naw Moo died after being repeatedly raped by the troops. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 2.11.9.** On September 1, 1997, Captain Myo Myint Oo and his troops from Kunghing-based SLORC IB. 246 arrested 12 villagers from quarters 3, in Kunghing township, Shan State. They were locked up for going to work in their rice fields and farms without permission, and their rice and other crops were destroyed by SLORC soldiers under the order of the Tactical Command Commander. The SLORC troops demanded 1200 kyats for the release of each of them. The 12 villagers were (1) Pan Ta (2) Su Pawk (3) Su Yao (4) Su La (5) Loong Zai (6) Ai Su (7) Ing Taka (8) Ark Long (9) Nang Parng (10) Zan Tar (11) Ai Mard (12) In Tar. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 2.11.10.** On October 17, 1997, 30 SLORC troops led by Captain Hla Aye, under the command of Commander Tin Latt of LIB. 424, arrested the following villagers in the area of Murn Nawng, Kaesee township, Shan State. (1) Kae Lar, 47, male from Wan Nai village (2) Parn La, 51, male from Wan Kyawng village (3) Ya Zing Ta, 53, male from Kung Khaet village (4) Zaa Saw Zing Na, 41, male from Wan Zing Awn village (5) Aw Pae Ta, 39, male from Phuay Hur village (6) Wa Lik Ta, 29, male from Parng Zong village (7) Nya Na, 30, male from Wan Khok village (8) Phaw Ka, 35, male from Kung Karng village (9) Kaw Ling, 54, male from Nar Taed village (10) Wi Mar Lar, 33, male from Hai Lai village (11) Nang Suay Han, 40, female from Nawng Ek village (12) Nang Man, 45, female from Nawng Parng village (13) Zai Mar Lar, 32, male from Kung Kharn village and (14) Zai Too, 29, male from Kung Mong village. All the villagers were forced to move to Murng Nawng during the months of May and June 1997. The villagers were locked up for three days after which they were accused of having supported the SURA by providing food and information. The soldiers beat and tortured them with electric shocks while interrogating them until they passed out several times, and eventually 2-3 persons died each day for several days, until all of them died. (*Source: SHRF*)

- 2.11.11. From November 26 to December 3, 1997, a column led by Lt-Col. Kyaw Sein from LIB. 36 stayed in Kyaukdaung village, Papun township, Karen State and committed various forms of abuses. The troop forcibly collected 80,000 kyats from the villagers as porter fees for three months and killed villager U Ohn, aged 33. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 2.11.12. On December 12, 1997, a military column from LIB.38 led by Captain Win Naing entered Htee Thelay village in Papun township, Karen State. The troops arrested and killed one whole family. The victims were U Phar Hope, 40-year-old teacher, Daw Matwe, 25-year-old wife, Saw Nelwe, 16-year-old son and Saw Nisay, 7-year-old son. The column took 5,200 kyats and other belongings of the family. (*Source: ABSDF*)

(See also under “personal Accounts” interviews 3, 5, 23,29, 35, 36, 38, 44, 48, 56, 59, 60, 66, 67 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75,77,79, 81, 83, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 97, 98, 100 and 104)



Mandalay Prison where many political prisoners are being held. Conditions in prison constitute cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. (Photo by N. Dunlop)

3. Rights of the Child

3.1. Background

Burma ratified to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (the Children's Convention) on August 15, 1991 after acceding to the Convention on July 16, 1991. However, there has been little progress towards the implementation of the convention, and the fundamental problems which impede implementation have not changed. These include a total lack of the rule of law and accountability of relevant authorities, as well as removal of draconian restrictions on freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly. Such restrictions prevent local reporting and monitoring of the human rights situation of children.

SLORC/SPDC promulgated its new Child Law on July 14, 1993 in order to 'implement the rights of the child recognized in the Convention on the Rights of Child'. Chapter V, Section 8 of the SLORC/SPDC Child Law states that 'the state recognizes that every child has the right to survival, development, protection and care, and to achieve active participation within the community'. In order to ensure full implementation of the law, SLORC established of a National Committee on the Rights of the Child, chaired by the minister of social welfare, relief and resettlement. This Child Law was seen as a positive sign within the international community, temporarily improving SLORC/SPDC's image; but the law is a farce. The actual treatment of children in Burma is contrary to the objectives and stated purpose of the Convention and the law itself. In light of the abhorrent and often inhumane conditions faced by Burmese children in their everyday lives, largely due to SLORC/SPDC policies, SLORC/SPDC's efforts to win international respect ring hollow and insincere.

The situation of children in Burma and the daily practices used by the military regime including the abuses of international humanitarian law in ethnic minority areas; the use of children as porters for the army and the forcible relocation of tens of thousands of civilians; the recruitment of children under the age of sixteen into the armed forces, often forcibly; arbitrary arrest and detention, often without charge or trial; the routine abuse of children as unpaid laborers on government construction projects; the arrest of high school students for writing or distributing leaflets, or simply calling out slogans; and the use of forced labor; have been well-documented by the human rights groups.

3.2. Social and Health situation of Children in Burma

Burma is one of the world's least developed countries with per capita gross national product of about US\$220 million. The population is estimated to be 45 million, with approximately three quarters living in the seven more advanced divisions of the country, and the remaining one quarter living in the seven less developed ethnic minority states, according to the 1997 UNICEF report.

The unfavorable economic conditions in Burma have adversely affected the situation of its citizens. The most vulnerable groups within society, children suffer the most. The declining economic situation often forces children out of school and into the workplace- families need all the free hands they can get to survive these difficult economic conditions. In urban areas some families send their smallest children into the streets to beg, while many families in rural areas are handing their children over to procurers in return for down-payments of 5,000 kyats or more. Sometimes children flee the country to escape such hardships, with or without their families. Child prostitution among young females, especially those from the ethnic minority areas, who are sent or lured to Thailand, continues to be a major problem. The rising incidence of HIV infection has increased the demand for these supposedly 'safer' young sex workers.

Currently, around 65 percent of the Burmese population have access to basic health services, which explains the poor national health indicators. The national infant mortality rate in Burma was, in 1995, 105 for every 1,000 live births, with wide regional variations. This compares with 34 in Vietnam, 27 in Thailand and 11 in Malaysia. According to UNICEF, in 1997 as many as 37 per cent of young children suffer from protein-energy malnutrition, with 11 per cent being severely malnourished. Many diets are deficient in vitamin A, iron and iodine.

UNICEF reports that maternal mortality rates for 1990 were an astronomically high 580 per 100,000 live births, compared with 80 in Malaysia and 10 in Singapore. Most maternal deaths in Burma are due to induced abortions, largely conducted clandestinely, and to unsanitary conditions. In addition, there is a widespread lack of essential medications, which contributes to the poor health status of the population.

The situation of children in Burma has worsened under the present military regime. The clumsy change to an open market economy has meant economic disruption for many families. In order to attract foreign investment and tourism, the regime has launched ambitious road building and other infrastructure construction projects which have involved massive use of forced labor, including child labor.

3.3. Education of Children in Burma

Education and other social services for children in Burma have been grossly neglected since the regime has directed immense resources toward doubling the size of the military. While the SLORC/SPDC claims that the education standard in Burma is being upgraded and that they have allocated extra expenditures for the education sector, the fact is that students are not staying in school. According to a recent UNICEF report, thirty-nine per cent of Burmese children are never enrolled in school, despite a widespread primary school network, and only a paltry 25 per cent ever complete the first five years of school. The overall rate of school drop-outs in Burma, especially among children under ten years of age, has drastically increased during the 1996-97 academic year.

Many Burmese children enjoy no childhood at all; they are simply put straight to work. The sky-rocketing costs of living often render working people in Burma incapable of providing their children with an education, and thus a future. One working family member is no longer able to secure enough food for the whole family, forcing other family members, including school-aged children, into the work place.

If a family is fortunate enough to spare a school child from working, it must face the high cost of sending their children to school. Although free, basic education is available in Burma, many compulsory fees force families to forgo schooling for their children. At the beginning of the academic term, parents are required to pay many initial fees, including 200 kyats for a school registration fee, 200 kyats for school fund raising, 35 kyats for school sport fees, 200 kyats for renovations, and 200 kyats for a computer lab fee. In each township, many other fees are required throughout the academic school year depending on the school's particular needs. Children who remain in school are faced with impediments beyond the numerous fees, including insufficient school supplies. Often, students are compelled to buy their text books on the black market at extremely high prices. These fees have forced many working parents, especially those who have many children in school, to keep their children at home.

SLORC/ SPDC uses the school system as a means of imposing discipline and control over the general population. Many people in remote villages are afraid to send their children far away to a SLORC/ SPDC-run school. If villagers try to establish their own school, the authorities, invariably, shut it down. Existing schools that teach ethnic languages are often near conflict-zones and are thus prime targets for attack from SLORC/SPDC troops. Even government-run schools near conflict areas are often shut down because teachers flee the school when government military columns come near for fear they will be taken as porters. Since middle and high schools an easy source for young porters, SLORC/ SPDC soldiers often surround the school and forcibly recruit porters there. As an additional method of

controlling school children, teachers and parents must sign forms promising to keep their children from doing or saying anything against the State; if the child does anything objectionable to SLORC/ SPDC, the parents and teachers are then subject to arrest.

The money SLORC/SPDC claims it uses to build and renovate schools has been extorted from the local population. The SLORC/ SPDC will often extort two to three times the amount they truly need for the school to ensure that they can turn a profit. In SLORC/ SPDC schools, all teaching must be in Burmese; not other languages may be taught or spoken. Ethnic children grow up illiterate in their own languages and ignorant of their own literature and culture.

Publicly, SLORC/ SPDC maintains they support different nationalities. Paragraph 118(b) of SLORC/ SPDC's 1996 report to the UN Committee for Child's Rights states, 'although there is no written curriculum in their languages, the nationalities have the right to pursue their own literature'. In reality, publishing literature or periodicals in non-Burmese languages is virtually impossible in Burma.

All school teachers in Burma must periodically attend government-run 'refresher courses', where they are issued uniforms and military boots, and are forced to do military parade drills, shout slogans, and sit through SPDC lectures. Anyone who 'fails' the course loses his or her teaching job.

State high schools have been closed for several times as the regime seeks to prevent student protests from erupting. All universities and colleges remain closed throughout the entire year of 1997.

3.4. Child soldiers

The Convention on the Right of Child states in Article 38(2) that 'States Parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not attained the age of fifteen years do not take a direct part in hostilities', and that, (3) 'State Parties shall refrain from recruiting any person who had not attained the age of fifteen years into their armed forces'. There is no similar prohibition in the Child Law, but Burma's armed forces regulations prohibit the recruitment of boys under the age of sixteen.

There are no statistical or other data about the recruitment of children. However, since 1988, the size of the armed forces has doubled from 180,000 to around 400,000, and anecdotal evidence suggests that in part this increase has been facilitated by the recruitment of boys aged thirteen to fifteen years old. Often this recruitment is forced, with whole villages or sections of towns being ordered to 'give' a number of boys to the army or face heavy fines. In other cases the coercion

is less explicit but just as compelling. Often boys aged 14 to 16 are drawn in the village quota lotteries. Once drawn, unless their family can pay a huge sum of bribe money, boys have no choice but to join the army. The family is often further coerced into cooperating by being told they will be free of forced labor duties if the army 'gets their son'. Army officers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) are offered cash rewards of 500 kyats for any recruits they bring in; they usually target the youngest possible boys, about 13 to 14, because these boys are the easiest to coerce. Many young deserters have described how they were approached in the market or on the way home from school when they were 13 to 14 years-old by soldiers or NCOs and offered the chance of adventure, a happy-go-lucky life, a snappy uniform, a gun, and the high-sounding sum of 750 kyats per month. All the boys had to do to get the trappings was to follow the soldiers to the recruiting center. Usually the boys are also told to lie and say that they are 18 when asked by the recruiting officer. It is obvious by looking at most of these boys that they are well under 18, but the recruiting officers never verify the age of the recruits. At this point, the army has become desperate for recruits- it will take anyone, regardless of age. In most cases, the boys' families often do not know what has happened to their son for a year or more. In many cases, the boy and/ or his parents are illiterate, so he cannot even write to them, and once at the front line, rank-and-file soldiers do not get home-leave.

Under the orders of the Coastal Region Command, all the local infantry battalions have seriously been conscripting youth from the many villages across the region for compulsory service in the army. The Coastal Region Command requires each local battalion to get five recruits per month, a total of 60 recruits per year in 1996; and three recruits per month, a total of 36 recruits per year in 1997. In pushing its own local battalions into taking an all-out effort to obtain as many recruits as possible, the Coastal Region Command has used a method of 'fine or reward'- setting a fine of 25,000 kyats for every one less recruit than the quota and a reward of the same amount for every one extra recruit over the quota. As a result, all the local battalions have very seriously been hunting for men in the many villages across the region- not sparing even teenage boys. As a result, numerous youth and teenage boys from across the region have fled into neighboring Thailand to escape being conscripted; and those remaining in the region have all been staying in hiding, in constant fear of being conscripted.

3.4.1. Army Volunteers

Despite the widespread fear of the army, some young boys still volunteer for various reasons: being a soldier is the only job opportunity for most poor people in Burma today, and the only way the boys think they can help support their family instead of being a burden; the attraction of the soldierly life; the promise that his family will be free from further forced labor; or, in many cases, because a family member has been beaten, tortured or arrested by SLORC/ SPDC the boy hopes if he becomes a soldier it will not happen again. However, once in the army, the boy's dreams are

dashed and his childhood stolen. Most of their pay is stolen by their officers every month. Their families are still required to perform forced labor, and they must endure physical abuses and harm. Officers further exploit young boys by stealing and reselling food rations and medical supplies; boys have to go into villages and beg or loot for their own food. Officers order young soldiers to round-up villagers for forced labor or face beatings and other punishments if they fail to return without the specified number of laborers. Out of fear for their safety and the safety of their families, the boys begin to physically abuse civilians in surrounding villages, forcibly removing them from their families and homes. Boys are not permitted any pleasurable distractions. No newspapers or short-wave radios are permitted and letters to/ from home are scrutinized carefully. If a boy writes home, complaining about the army, he is beaten with a cane or tied to a post in the hot sun all day without water. Leave is refused even with good reason, and when his enlistment time is up after five years, the boy is generally told he cannot leave and automatically re-enlisted. In battle situations, boy soldiers are often forced by the officers to drink alcohol or take drugs such as amphetamines or 'myin say' (a powerful combination of amphetamines, caffeine, and opiates), which makes them mindless, sleepless, and aggressive.

3.5. Child Forced Labor

SLORC/ SPDC continues to force citizens- including women and children- to work as porters, which leads to mistreatment, illness, and sometimes death in military operations against armed ethnic groups. The SLORC/ SPDC does not specifically prohibit forced and bonded labor by children. While bonded labor is practiced, forced labor occurs in military portage and in situations in which a family or household is required to contribute labor to a particular project, and the children are called upon by parents to help fulfil that obligation, without opposition by the authorities. Often, a family's sole breadwinner can ill afford to spend time working on forced labor projects because they lose valuable working time and wages. Subsequently, many children from rural villages substitute for their parents or siblings and work on forced labor projects. In many cases, as soon as child is strong enough to carry a basket or split rocks, he or she must perform forced labor alongside the adults. Children are effected by forced labor both directly, when they have to work alongside their parents, and indirectly when the work takes their parents away from them for long periods, leaving them vulnerable to a myriad of abuse.

SLORC/ SPDC army routinely uses civilians as unpaid porters to carry ammunition and food supplies to front-line positions or while on patrol in ethnic minority areas. Many children are extrajudicially or accidentally killed while working as porters, and all are subject to cruel, inhumane and degrading treatment. Boys as young as fourteen years old have been taken to work as porters, particularly during major

military offensives. Routinely, though, young boys are forced to carry supplies for one day at a time, while the army is on patrol. Many boys had died as a result of the treatment they received while working as porters.

As well as working as porters, civilians, including children, also have to guard militarily strategic roads and railways. Usually, women and girls are chosen for this work, and those with small children have no option but to take them along. For the children, this can be very abusive. 'Guard duty' lasts from twenty-four hours to ten days, and the women sit under trees along the road or at the edge of railway embankments in an attempt to keep out of the hot sun or to shelter from the monsoon rains. The women have to take whatever food and cooking utensils they can carry and are not given additional food by the army. In some cases the children fall ill, but there is no medical treatment for them and the women cannot leave their positions for fear of being shot. They are frequently checked by soldiers in vehicles throughout the day and night to ensure that they have not fallen asleep. Those who fall asleep or who leave their posts even briefly are beaten and verbally abused.

3.6. Child Sex Workers

Child prostitution of young females due to the economic hardship is increasing in Burma. However, the SLORC/SPDC Child Law does not sufficiently protect children from sexual abuses and exploitation. While it is aimed at punishing the abusers, rather than the child, it does not prohibit child prostitution or using children in pornographic films. Violators of this law are given only a light sentence of two years imprisonment and/ or a fine of 10,000 kyats (about 100 US\$); the law applies to those persons 'neglecting knowing that a girl (leaving boys totally unprotected) under his guardianship, who has not attained the age of sixteen, is earning a living by prostitution,' or, 'using the child in pornographic cinema, video, television or photography.'

The Child Law is also inadequate with regard to the trafficking of children into sexual or other slavery in foreign countries mostly in Thailand. In fact, there is no mention of any penalty for trafficking children, despite the fact that there are at least 50,000 Burmese girls and women working in Thailand as sex workers at any one time. When a fear of HIV infection, brothels have increased the turnover of girls, and increasingly younger girls are sought by clients, who believe they are less likely to be infected. The reality is that for younger girls, especially for virgins, the risk of HIV infection during sexual activities is greater than for older women, and many girls become infected immediately.

When the girls and women from Burma once arrive in Thailand, the abuses of these trafficked girls are extreme. They are forced to have as many as fifty clients a day. In most cases, the young girls are prevented from leaving the brothels. When they do manage to escape, the girls are often too ashamed to return home. By that time,

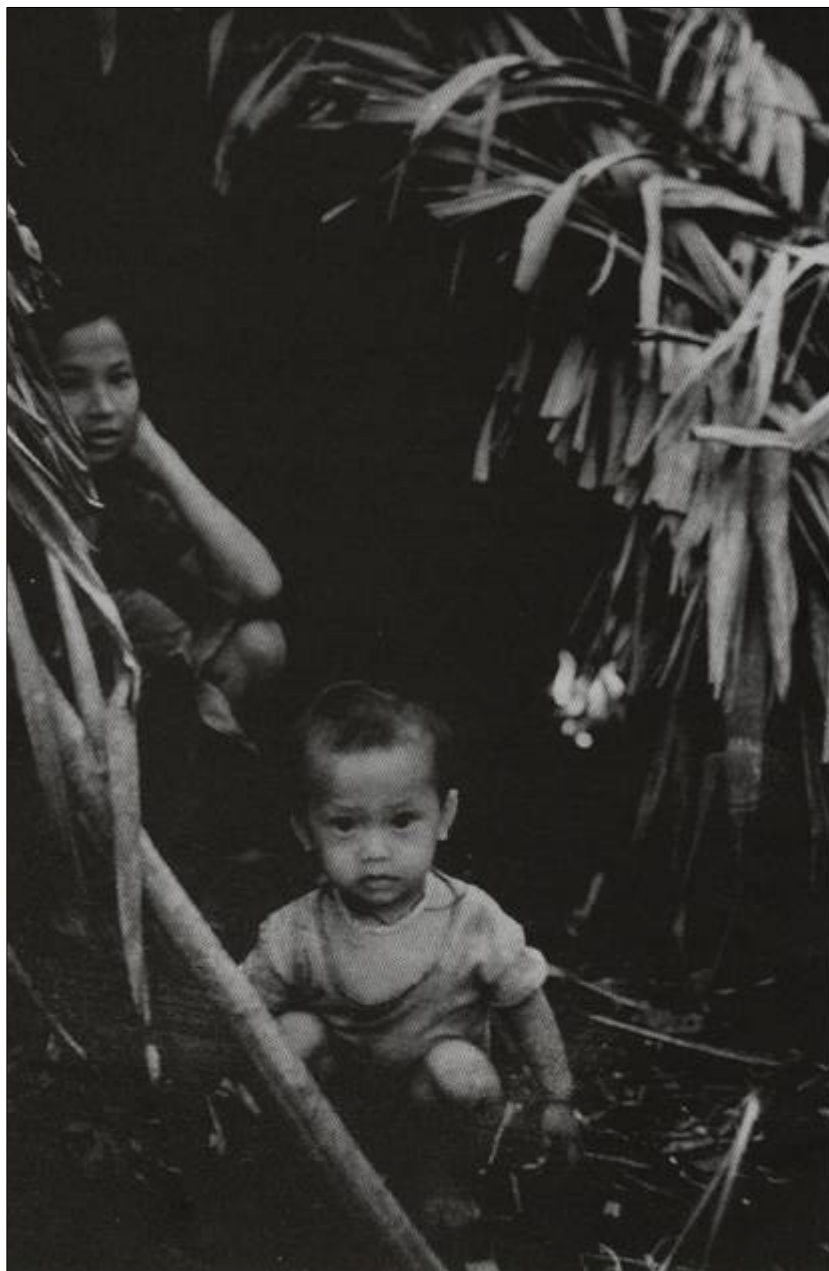
many are found to be HIV positive. Those that are 'rescued' in Thai police raids are detained by the Thai authorities on immigration charges and are held for months in detention centers where they face further abuses. From there they are deported to Burma, where again they face arrest under immigration laws for having left the country illegally. SLORC/ SPDC has taken some steps to work in coordination with Thai authorities to prevent the trafficking of women and children, and has also signed, although not yet ratified, the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Person and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. But much more needs to be done by the Burmese authorities to ensure that future generations of young girls and boys are not sold into sexual slavery, beginning with the swift prosecution of traffickers, and an education program for the most vulnerable children and their parents.

3.7. Life as an Illegal Immigrant Child from Burma

Political and economic hardships in Burma force many children, with or without their families, to seek refuge in Thailand or other neighboring countries. Fleeing forced labor and other, numerous abusive situations, many children end up in foreign countries where they are generally considered illegal immigrants and are subject to arrest, imprisonment, deportation, and sometimes forced repatriation; they are afforded almost no protection from international agencies.

Many unaccompanied children from Burma come to Bangkok and other cities in Thailand. Once there, they must beg or drift on the streets; they will consider any work that enables them to survive. Even the children who fled to the cities with their parents, who may find odd jobs, must often find jobs themselves. Many of these 'drifting' children end up in low-paid or unpaid construction jobs, or are sold into bonded labor in Thai brothels or factory sweatshops. Burmese children are working in the provinces all along the Thai-Burma border in towns such as Tak and Ranong at construction sites, gas stations, restaurants, and on fishing boats. Due to their illegal status and their lack of Thai language skills, most children are afraid to seek help. When these 'illegal alien' children are arrested in Thailand, they are held at Immigration Detention Centers until their cases are processed. Often this takes from six months to one year. At the center, children are crammed together with other adult detainees in small, dark rooms where they wait to be sent back to Burma and an uncertain future.

(See also under "personal Accounts," interview 1, 4, 8, 12, 18, 21, 27, 31, 38, 47, 49, 52, 56, 61, 68, 72, 74, 76, 80, 94, 96, 98, 100 and 104)



A child tried to play outside a shelter. The children of many rural areas now have no choice of a school education, many have already died due to lack of food and medicine. (Photo by KHRG)



Refugee children in the refugee camp in Ratchaburi province, Thailand. SLORC launched a mass offensive against KNU-controlled regions in February 1997. Thousands of new refugees including these children streamed across the Thai border.



Children are waiting for the food distribution in Huay Kaloke refugee camp after their camp was burned down by the DKBA. (Photo by NLD [LA-Youth])



A family fleeing for Thailand because a SLORC patrol burned their village in Karen State.



Child labor in Mandalay. (Photo by N. Dunlop)

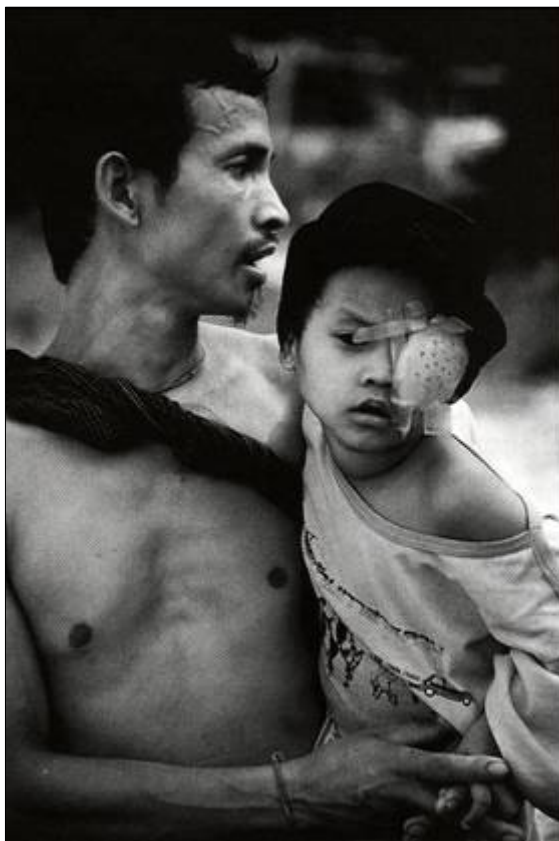


*Child workers
at pottery
industry in
Mandalay.
(Photo by
HRDU)*



*A child working at a
tea shop in Monwya,
Sagaing Division.
(Photo by HRDU)*

Father holding a wounded child after an attack to Hyay Kaloke refugee camp in early 1997. (Photo by Images Asia)



Refugee children taking shelter in the refugee camp on Thai-Burma border. (photo by Images Asia)



4. Forced Portering and Labor

4.1. Background

Forced labor is reportedly also taking place in all parts of Burma, including those areas where a cease-fire has been agreed upon. Forced portering and forced labor as practiced in Burma are in contravention of international standards on forced labor. The 1930 Convention concerning forced labor (ILO Convention NO.29) requires the suppression of the use of forced labor or compulsory labor in all its forms. The Convention defines forced or compulsory labor as “all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily”.

Burma has been a party to ILO Convention since 1955, but still continues to use forced labor. Since 1964, ILO Committee of Experts for the Application of Conventions and Recommendations has addressed the practice of forced labor in Burma. Following the lodging of a representation by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in January 1993, the ILO Governing Body had urged the SLORC/SPDC, in November 1994, to ensure that the relevant legislation, in particular the Village Act and the Towns Act, would be brought into line with the Forced Labor Convention, as had already been requested by the Committee of Experts, to ensure that the formal repeal of power to impose compulsory labor be followed up in practice and to ensure that those resorting to coercion in the recruitment of labor be punished. At the International Labor Conference in June 1996, the Committee on the Application of Standards noted the persistent failure of Burma to implement the Convention and 25 worker-delegates lodged a complaint against Burma under Article 26 of the ILO Constitution. On March 27, 1997, the ILO established a Commission of Inquiry chaired by Sir William Douglas (Barbados), to investigate a complaint brought by workers' delegates to the 1996 ILO Conference. The complaint addressed SLORC/SPDC's continued and active use of forced labor in Burma and its apparent unwillingness to repeal legislation allowing the use of forced labor. The commission's mandate is to consider whether, and to what extent, the alleged violations exist or existed and to make any recommendations it deems appropriate. The Commission held its first meeting in June 1997 to establish its rules of procedure. In September 1996, following an investigation of the forced labor practices in Burma, the European Union Commission revoked benefits under the Generalized System Preferences. Laws which permitted the use of forced labor were promulgated by the colonial rulers. To date, neither of the two most prominent forced labor laws has been repealed.

Following independence in 1948, successive Burmese governments have continued the practice of forced labor, citing legal authority the “Village Act of 1908” and the “Towns Act of 1907.” The two law require that laborers be a) otherwise not employed, b) physically fit, and c) paid a reasonable fixed wage that is agreed upon beforehand.

4 . 2 . Portering

The most notorious form is front-line portering, whereby the army raids villages and towns for porters to carry its supply and ammunition for offensives in the border regions.

Given the lack of good roads and other infrastructure throughout Burma and the ruggedness of much of the terrain, the Tatmadaw, very often moves its troops and supplies on foot. Civilian forced labor is always used to do this. Even in many cases where mules or trucks could be used, SLORC/SPDC troops are in the habit of using civilians because it saves trouble and expense. Porters are conscripted in a variety of ways depending on the circumstances. The best known form is ‘operations portering’, which occurs whenever SLORC/SPDC mounts a major military operation. These operations involve up to 20,000 troops at a time, and on average two to five porters are required for each soldier in order to carry all the required ammunition, rations, heavy weaponry and other supplies. To capture the required number of civilians, SLORC/SPDC troops, police, local authorities and sometimes even the fire department begin surrounding public places, such as crowded markets, railway stations and video cinemas, rounding up all able-bodied men and piling them on trucks to be taken to holding cells in local police and Army jails, from where they are combined with other captured groups and sent on to frontline units. Local town authorities swoop on houses in the middle of the night using any excuse, such as an unpaid local tax or an unregistered houseguest, to arrest all the occupants and send them off as porters. Troops surround rural villages and storm them to capture anyone who will be able to carry a load. People are often sent to be porters halfway across the country from where they were captured. Families of those captured are not notified in any way. Local authorities are assigned a numeric quota of how many porters they have to round up, and in their desperation to get the number they often take women, small children and people as old as 70. They often take 2 or 3 times as many people as required, then make money by accepting bribes to release all those they don’t need.

Once at the frontline, operations porters are assigned to units and given a load to carry over the mountains. The soldiers generally carry nothing except their personal weapon and a small personal kitbag, while each porter is forced to carry 30 to 50 kilogram loads in woven bamboo baskets which rip the flesh off of their shoulders and backs. They generally have only the clothing in which they were captured. They are given little or no food, often just one or two handfuls of rice per day, and are

often forbidden to drink water en route because the soldiers say it will slow them down. They are not paid in any way. They are often sent in front of the column as human minesweepers and used as human shields; in some cases they are even forced to switch clothing with the soldiers in order to draw enemy fire. In battle, they are forced to stay with the soldiers, and many are wounded or killed. Those who are wounded or fall sick are generally not treated but simply left behind. Medicines are reserved for the soldiers. While carrying loads, if porters are slow they are usually kicked, prodded with bayonets or beaten to keep them moving, and if they collapse and cannot continue they are left behind, often after being beaten unconscious. In especially sensitive areas, they will be executed by cutting their throats, kicking them down a mountainside or tying them and throwing them in a river in order to prevent them from giving information if found by resistance groups. Soldiers open fire on any porters trying to escape, and if captured after escaping they are tortured or executed in front of the others as an example. They are usually kept as porters for the duration of the operation, which can be three months or longer. Many escaped operations porters testify that by the time they escaped, half of the original porters had died. Even if the operation ends, they are just told they are free to go and given no assistance to get home, even if it is halfway across the country. They generally have no money for the trip, and even if they go they face the possibility of re-arrest along the way for having no travel papers, so many end up as internally displaced people far from home or as refugees.

4 . 3 . Other Military Forced Labor

Villagers must also do what is known as ‘permanent portering’; their village must provide a certain number of porters to each local Tatmadaw unit at all times on a rotating basis. For example, if a village has 50 households and is located within an hour’s walk of three Army camps, they will have to send about five porters to each of these camps. These porters are not paid, must take all their own food, and are kept at the camp for five to seven days, after which they must be replaced by rotation. This form of portering occurs in both conflict and non-conflict areas. When not busy carrying supplies for the troops, these villagers are used for other camp labor. Troops on the move or on patrol will also capture villagers seen on the path or in their fields and use them as porters, even if it is only to carry their personal bags. In towns, being arrested and sent to be a porter is often used as a punishment by local authorities, whether for non-payment of a tax, having an unregistered house guest, or simply because the local ward chief has a personal grudge against the civilians.

There are many forms of military forced labour besides portering, and all of these forms are on the increase as SLORC/SPDC expands its Army and establishes new Army camps throughout the country in both conflict and non-conflict areas. Many townships which used to have three Army Battalions now have ten or more, and many villages which used to be within walking distance of one small Army camp

now have to do forced labour at three or four camps at once. Whenever a new Battalion moves into an area, the nearby villages are forced to collect and provide most of the building materials for the camp, then at least one person per household (sometimes more) is forced to go to do forced labour building the barracks and bunkers, digging trenches and erecting fences. Once the camp is established the villagers must go on rotating shifts to constantly maintain the Camp buildings and defenses; usually one person per ten households must go for five days, then replacements must be sent by rotation. They are not paid and must take their own food. When additional labour is required on an ad hoc basis, written orders are issued to the village and the entire village must drop all their work and attend. Villagers must also stay at the Camp on standby to carry messages to other Army units and to carry written orders to nearby village leaders.

In many areas rotating labor must also be sent as Army camp servants; women are often specifically demanded for this labor cooking, cleaning, doing laundry, carrying water, cutting firewood, sewing, etc. The women doing this labor in the camps live in constant fear of rape, and are often forced to massage or sing to the Army officer before being raped at gunpoint. They are then threatened that they will be killed if they tell anyone.

In areas where there is any possibility of conflict, villagers must do sentry duty at Army camps; often most or all of the soldiers sleep, leaving only unarmed villagers as sentries with orders to wake them up if anything happens. Villagers must also clear roadsides of scrub and trees for anywhere from five to 100 meters on each side of military supply roads in order to decrease the chance of ambush. In such areas, villagers must stand sentry along roads and railways, with two to four villagers posted every 200 meters along the route. If anyone is seen on the road, they are supposed to send a signal up the line by beating on bamboo sticks. If they do so, the troops come and usually beat them - either for sending a "false" signal, or for sending a "true" signal but not capturing the intruder. In the morning in and near conflict areas, village women and children are often specifically forced to sweep roads with branches to detect landmines. Once this is done, men are sometimes forced to drive bullock carts, weighted either with stones or with women and children, over the road in case there are still mines. If a mine explodes, the village is then punished for allowing the mine to be laid.

In areas where bullock carts are the main form of transport, a specified number of bullock cart owners must be on standby at all times for immediate use if required by the local Army unit. In areas where boats are used, boat owners must be on standby. In areas where there are motor vehicles, these and their drivers can be commandeered at any time for military use without compensation. Once taken, the car, cart or boat is often not returned or returned seriously damaged. (Source: *KHRG*)

4 . 4 . Military Commercial Interests

Another form of forced labor is work on commercial projects for the army such as rice farms, paddy, fishpond and tree-planting operations, which the local farmers have to build up and maintain. The required land is reportedly confiscated from local people.

In many areas, particularly where there is no conflict, the main activity of local and regional military units is making money for themselves. This is done mainly through direct extortion of the local population, but also through forced labor. One means is by extorting 'fees' from villagers to avoid forced labor (though often after collecting 'porter fees' the Army still takes the villagers as porters), and other means involve setting up commercial projects and then using the villagers as forced unpaid labor on them. Many Army units confiscate all the best farmland around their camp, then force the local villagers to do forced labor growing rice or cash crops for them. The villagers usually have to provide or pay for the seed, then do all the labor involved in farming, then after the harvest the crop is simply taken by the Army officers and disappears. The villagers receive nothing. In some cases these crops appear to have been sold on the local market for personal profit of the local Army officers, while in other cases they are handed over to SLORC/SPDC authorities at higher levels, apparently to meet export demands. In forested areas, villagers are also regularly ordered to cut and haul prime quality hardwood logs to local Army camps or sawmills, where other villagers or sawmill owners are then forced to cut the logs into timber without compensation. The timber then disappears to market with all profit going to local military officers, while orders are issued forbidding the villagers to cut any trees for their own use. Many military officers nationwide have also established brick-baking kilns at Battalion camps. The villagers are forced to cut and deliver all the wood required to bake the bricks, while the rank-and-file soldiers are forced to bake bricks for 8 or 10 hours a day in addition to their normal military duties. The officers then sell the bricks on the market for five *kyats* each and pay no compensation to anyone.

Other similar projects have included large-scale fish farming, sugarcane and rubber plantations. In these cases, thousands of acres of land are confiscated at a time, and then villagers are forced to do labour over several years digging fishponds or clearing land and planting rubber trees. These large scale projects are generally coordinated by SLORC/SPDC authorities at the State or national level, and the produce may largely be intended for export, particularly as 'counter-trade' goods ('counter-trade' is the process whereby foreign companies buy agricultural goods from SLORC/SPDC agencies in order to convert their Burmese currency profits into exportable agricultural produce). Ironically, many of these forced-labour farming and other projects have been showcased in the SLORC/SPDC-controlled media and to international agencies as 'community income generation projects'.

4 . 5 . Infrastructure Development and Maintenance

Forced labor also occurs on infrastructure and “development” projects such as construction and maintenance of roads, railways, bridges, airports, hydroelectric schemes and tourists-oriented projects. During 1996, the SLORC/SPDC introduced an initiative to use military personnel for infrastructure. This initiative and the increasing use of heavy construction equipment resulted in a decline during 1996-1997 in the use of unpaid labor in physical infrastructure projects, especially for irrigation projects and railway building. Nonetheless, there were credible reports that the use of forced labor remained widespread throughout the country. The military regime has claimed that the infrastructure projects in the remote regions is part of their Border Areas Development Program and that it will improve access to markets, schools, and health care. However, there has been little indication that road construction has facilitated social development, and the existing schools and hospitals in the region remain woefully understaffed and under-equipped. The regime frequently claims that these projects are being undertaken for the villagers’ benefit, admonishing villagers to uphold their responsibilities to their district and the nation by participating in them. In fact, as these infrastructure projects are implemented almost entirely with forced labor, rather than improving their living conditions, they cause greater hardship for local people. Villagers in the construction areas must not only contribute labor, but also provide most of the materials and support the costs of construction, under threat of retaliation should they fail to provide adequately. Moreover, children are often recruited for forced labor, or left behind when their parents are put to work. (*Source: KHRG*)

4 . 6 . Prison Labor

Convicts are regularly used for forced unpaid labour as porters, on major infrastructure projects, tourism development projects, and at rock quarries. They include both criminal and political prisoners, though most political prisoners are not used for forced labour because SLORC/SPDC is afraid they will escape from the work-site. Prisoners serving relatively short sentences are preferred to prisoners serving longer sentences because it is thought they will be less likely to attempt escape. Thus, those doing forced labour are often those who are in jail for ‘non-crimes’ such as curfew violations, selling goods without a SLORC/SPDC license, or cursing at a SLORC/SPDC soldier. In many cases when used as operations porters, convicts are held and continued to be used as porters well after the expiration of their prison sentences. Convicts doing forced labour are generally treated much more brutally than ordinary civilians and are routinely used in very dangerous work, such as blowing up rock faces or digging at cliff-sides, in which many of them are killed. They are beaten and otherwise abused on the slightest provocation, given far from adequate food, and medical treatment is virtually nonexistent for them should they fall ill.

SLORC/SPDC Home Minister, Lt-Gen. Mya Thin said in his meeting with the prison department in July 1997, “Convicts serving sentences are also members of the Burmese public and constitute a ‘considerable labor force’ that should be used effectively instead of being left idle”. He also thanked the prison department for “the participation in national projects therefore, constitutes a milestone in history” according to The Nation. July 24, 1997.

4.6.1. Labor camps for prisoners exist at the following sites:

- ◆ Kabaw Valley (Western Burma)
- ◆ Ywangan - Hanmyinmo Road (Sagaing Division)
- ◆ Taungzun/Moplin Quarry (Mon State)
- ◆ Pinlaung-Pyinmana Road (Shan State)
- ◆ Aungban - Loikaw road (Shan - Karenni State)
- ◆ Ngwetaung rock Quarry (Karenni State)
- ◆ Phasaung Rock Quarry (Karenni State)
- ◆ Shwenyaung- Namsan road (Shan State)
- ◆ Myitkyina Sumprabom road (Kachin State)
- ◆ Myitkyina- Shibwe Lawkhaung road (Kachin State)
- ◆ Rangoon - Mandalay Highway construction
- ◆ Yezin - Htonbo Quarry (South of Mandalay)
- ◆ Mergui - Kawthaung road (Tenasserim Division)
- ◆ Kawthaung Airport Extension (Tenasserim Division)
- ◆ 30-Miles camp, Ye-Tavoy Railway construction (Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division)
- ◆ Zimba camp, Ye-Tavoy Railway construction (Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division)
- ◆ Bokpyin camp, Tenasserim Division
- ◆ Lampi Island Marine Park, (Tenasserim Division)
- ◆ Tuntay camp (near Rangoon)
- ◆ Tuntay Piggery (near Rangoon)
- ◆ Phaunggyi Piggery (near Rangoon)

4.6.2. Situation in Kabaw Valley Prison labor camp

Kabaw Valley prison labor camp, situated in Sagaing Division near the Indo-Burma border is becoming notorious for harsh working condition and cruelty by the prison authorities.

Under the guise of Kabaw valley Development Project designate by the SLORC/SPDC, the prison labor force is being used in land reclamation, road building, prison labor camp construction and city planning.

There are more than 1,000 prison laborers in Yesagyo, Wetsu, Myothit and Tanan camps along the Kabaw valley. One more new prison labor camp has been under construction since 1996 between Mawleiklay and Indaing which is expected to be completed in 1999. In these camps in the valley, the main works are the building of a quarry and working in farmland and plantation.

Firstly, selected prisoners from all over the country are sent to Monywa prison in Sagaing Division. Among these, most aged between 20 and 30, are criminals and drug addicts. A few are over 50-60. They are sent to camps by riverboats to Kabaw valley. 200 persons in a batch, they are placed in rows and columns on the upper deck of the boat. They are not allowed to stand or to lie, overlapping thigh to thigh and hurting the rib bones of each other. Even worse, they are not allowed to go to the toilet, but given plastic instead. Two meals are served in a day, packed in a plastic bag.

At Kalaywa jetty, they embark and are put onto trucks, similarly in sitting position, The trucks have no roofing, sitting in ten rows, 50 persons per truck, then travel for two nights. They are not allowed to move nor get off for pain relief throughout the journey.

On getting to the camp, they are herded in. Anyone who could not move due to long and painful journey are beaten and forced to run. Then they are sent to respective work sites. One the next day, they have to start to work, ignoring poor health and handicap.

The prisoners are kept in two barracks in 500 x 500 yards surrounded by barbed wire guarded by armed security. 500 persons sleep in a row on a long double platform.

Health care is insufficient. Malaria, dysentery and diarrhea are rampant in the camps due to the unhygienic drinking water and lack of mosquito nets. Hospitalization in time is the exception and rare for prisoners. Very lucky prisoners are sent to Mintha and Tamu hospitals by cart. But many also die in hospital due to lack of medicine at the hospitals. From January to July, 1997, 48 prisoners died in Mintha hospital, of which, 13 prisoners died of AIDS.

4.6.3. Establishment of Win Saung - Porter Battalions

As a result of the increase in the prison population since SLORC/SPDC's coup d'état, and in order to cope with the shortage of prison facilities, SLORC/SPDC has established six new Win Saung battalions (porter battalions). These Win Saung battalions are mainly used to create a ready supply of porters in the frontiers; prisoners are kept ready for porter duties while working at the army battalions. According to eyewitnesses, the treatment of prisoners at prison battalions is barbaric, as one might expect. Only those prisoners who can afford to pay bribes (from 50,000- 70,000 *kyats*) can avoid going to these labor camps. Currently, one porter battalion has been established in Myitkyina, Loikaw, Thaton and Mergui townships, two have been established in Pa-an township. (*Source: ABSDF*)

4.7. The following is the partial list of 1997 forced labor projects:

Arakan State

Kyauktaw – Buthidaung motor road
Sittwe – Kyauktaw motor road

Chin State

Kale - Phalam motor road,
Haka - Than Tlang road
Haka - Matupi road
Matupi - Mindat road
Extension of football ground to Students' Sport Festival, Haka

Pegu Division

Buddhist temple in Kyaukkyi township,
Pa Thee Dam construction, Taungoo

Karen State

Pitakai-Papan motor road
Nabu-Daw Lun- Pa-an motor road
Daw Ku Lee motor road, Loikaw township
Kyaikdon - Kyar-ein-seik-kyi motor road
Kyaikdon - Kyone Doh - Kawkareik bullock-cart road renovation
Wah Lay - Kyo G'Lee - Tee K'Pler - Kyaikdon bullock-cart road renovation
Saw Hta - Htee Hta Baw road
Kyaikdon - Saw Hta - Lay Po Hta road

Tenasserim Division

Marine National Park on Lampi Island, Mergui township,
 Zawel- Sa Ku motor road, Tenasserim township
 Ye-Tavoy railway
 Tenasserim-Theintaw motor road, Tenasserim township
 Moe Taung- Lay Nya- Bokeyyin motor road, Tenasserim township
 Taung Thonlone- Seik Phyone motor road
 Tenasserim - Moe Taung new motor road
 Tavoy-Kanchaniburi motor road
 Huayphak - Chaungchi motor road
 Seik Mon - Murngtaing motor road
 Manawtone - Theinkhun - Tenasserim truck motor
 Phaungdaw - Pha Tha Yebyu motor road

Mon State

Khawza - Magyi road, Ye township,

Shan State

Murngsert- Murng Ton motor road
 Lankhur-Wan Hart motor road, Lankhur township
 Wan Hart- Zalawng motor road, Lankhur township
 Zalawng-Sop Taeng motor road, Lankhur township
 Wan Hart-Mawksmai road, Lankhur township
 Mawksmai-Sai Khao road, Lankhur township

 Marngpan-Kan Kan village motor road, Marngpan township
 Murngpan - Ta Sarng motor road, Murngpan township
 Murngsert-Keng Tong, Murngsert township
 Murngkai-Loilin motor road, Murngkai township
 Kunhing-Parkaw motor road, Kunhing township

Mon State

Ye- Tavoy railway construction
 Ye - Magyi truck road
 Kya-ein-seik-kyi - Yaungbaw truck road

Chin State

Haka - Gangaw motor road,
 Haka - Tan Tlang motor road
 Haka - Matupi motor road
 Matupi - Mindat road
 Stadium construction, Haka

Irrawaddy Division

Road along the Hgawun River
 Bassein-Thalatgwa-Morton Point motor road

Magwe Division

Kanthagyi-Kyaungdawya motor road

Sagaing Division

Airbase at the site of an old World War II airfield, Kalemmyo

4.8. Incidents of forced labor by region**4.8.1. Karen State****4.8.1.1. Kya-ein-seik-kyi - Taungbauk truck road**

This truck road is about 15 miles long and situated inside Karen State. It connects Kya-ein-seik-kyi and Taungbauk, Mon village. The construction was started before the end of 1996 and reached a standstill in May, 1997. In the whole process of construction, the villagers from many Mon villages were constantly conscripted as forced laborers to build the embankment of the road.

The whole construction project is monitored by IB. 32, based in Kya-ein-seik-kyi and Taungbauk village. The villagers from Taungbauk, Htipauklo, Weithalee, Pharkapo, Bokadaw, Lakepoke, Kalortort Chaung, Badargyi, West Weithalee, Tadarpyat, Kyaukpon, Kyaukpya and other villages were constantly forced to build the embankment of this road. The villages are around the construction area and some are situated on the bank of Zami river.

About 500 villagers were asked by the military construction work to participate every day in. The bigger villages such as Taungbauk and Weithalee had to provide at least 50 villagers per day to work in the construction. Due to the population numbers of a village, the village headmen had to arrange to send the villagers according to the instruction by the battalion. Even a small village with 40 households had to provide

about ten villagers every day. Hence, each men or women from each family had to work in the construction about ten days within one month.

The road passes through the rice-fields and rubber plantations owned by villagers from Taungbauk, Htipauklo, Weithalee and Bokadaw villages. Although the road runs along the former cart path, the embankment was extended and the land along the route was confiscated. Besides for the width of embankment, about ten feet of the land on each side of the route were also confiscated to get earth from these spaces and fill it on the embankment. All the land was confiscated by the military without compensation. The width of the embankment is about 15 feet and the height is about five feet at the highest place while about three feet at the lowest place. (Source: *HRFOM*)

4.8.1.2. Kawkareik - Myawaddy motor road

SPDC troops have constructed a compound at Thingan Nyinaung which is on the road between Myawaddy and Kawkareik in Karen State since November 1997. The compound is a big one surrounded by a tall fence of barbed wire and a minefield outside. This compound is to be the detention compound for the Burmese people repatriated from Thailand.

SPDC is building a new Kawkareik- Myawaddy road and more than 20,000 people are needed for its construction. So, it is planned to use the repatriated refugees from Thailand in that project as forced laborers before they are allowed to go back home. It is learnt that they will be allowed back home only after the construction is finished. (Source: *ABSDF*)

4.8.2. Tenasserim Division

4.8.2.1. Ye-Tavoy railway Construction in 1997

To counter the mounting international pressure against the use of forced labor in the Ye-Tavoy railway construction, SLORC/SPDC has claimed that civilians would no longer be used as unpaid laborers in the railway construction projects across the country. They replaced soldiers from local battalions to work with available payment. The battalions from LIB. 401 through 410 have received payment from SLORC/SPDC but at the same time, thousands of villagers have still been forced to work in the construction. From September through October, 1996, the villagers were conscripted again by these local military battalions. From October 1996 up to the beginning of 1997, the conscription of massive numbers of villagers were stopped for a while. However, villagers from some village tracts were also forced to do many jobs supporting the construction such as collecting materials to build camps for soldiers in the work-sites along the roads, gathering fire-wood and water, etc..

In February 1997, the conscription of forced labor resumed again. SLORC/SPDC had hurried to complete another section of construction from Ye to 9-Mile section, the end point of Mon State. This section of road was also built with prisoners' labor from mid 1996 to mid 1997. At the same time, the military tried to complete all bridges from Ye to Yebyu.

Besides building the embankment, the villagers from all village tracts along the road were forced to work cutting trees to get fire-woods in making bricks for bridge construction, to gather rail bed stones from the streams and forest and crush it to the required size and bring it to the embankment. And some were forced to cut hardwoods for rail sleepers.

Almost the construction of railway embankment was completed for the whole route, at the beginning of 1997, and as a next step SLORC/SPDC has planned to complete building of bridges along the road by the end of 1997. It is estimated that 26 bridges are being built across big rivers and small streams along the route. Local military troops are forcing the villagers to prepare work each bridge such as filling dirt and wood beside the stream or river banks and make it strong.

For each bridge, a lot of bricks are needed. A total of 26 bridges need many hundreds of tons of bricks and SLORC/SPDC local troops could not bring them from the brick-making factories far from the area. Thus the bricks kilns are built close to each bridge. In the process of making bricks, huge amounts of firewood are needed to be used to burn the earth to make good quality bricks. To get enough firewood, the villagers in Natkyizin and Yebyu village tracts have been forced to find it in forests since the beginning of 1997.

According to a village from Paukpingwin, in Natkyizin village tract, each family from this village tract has to provide at least four *kyins* of firewood per month. They were instructed to provide the firewood from February through May 1997. The villagers are to bring their firewood from forest to the railway and put it beside the road. At the same time, about ten oxen-carts of each village were asked by the military to transport the firewood to the designated area. If one person of a family has to get one *kyin* of firewood and bring it to the designated places, he may have to spend at least seven days. Thus, all family members have to hurry to get the set quota of firewood or they will have to face punishment. For the villagers who could not provide firewood have to hire substitute workers or buy it from other villagers. One *kyin* of firewood costs about 1,000 *kyats*.

While some villagers from the same village track are finding firewood, some villagers from another village tract are making rail sleepers. The villagers from Yapu village tract who do not have to find firewood are forced to provide rail sleepers. The military need high quality hardwood to make sleepers. These villagers are instructed to bring total of about 2,5000 pieces of sleepers. A sleeper measures six inches by six inches and six feet long.

At the same time, the villagers from both village tracts were forced to collect stones for rail beds without any payment. In April 1997, the military conscripted the villagers to find rail bed stones in the area. Every morning, the villagers had to travel to stream and collect the big stones. Then they crashed it into the needed pieces and brought it to railroad embankment. Whole family members including mother, sons and daughters had no time to work in their farms, plantations and fishing. They have considerably no income for the whole dry season.

However, since November 1997, villagers from Kalong Hta, Oaktayan, Yange, Ayekani, Wonpho, Sanchi and Dudaung villages in Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division have been forced to work at the Ye-Tavoy railway construction. Between five persons to twenty persons from each village are conscripted for working 7-10 days at the construction sites. Most of the work is repairing the railway route, cleaning the wood along the railway route and replacing the decaying railway piles. Some are forced to dig rocks for the construction of the railway. When the local people are unable to go and work for the forced labor, they have to find substitutes at the cost of 300 *kyats* per day.

In the Eindayaza-Natkyizin section of the Ye-Tavoy railway construction, troops from LIB. 407 led by Battalion Commander Second Lt. Kan Win forced the local villagers from Sinku, Mintha, Kyatkettaw, Phaya Thonesu, and Natkyizin villages to provide forced labor.

Each forced laborer is required to work two days per week and has to provide one foot high and 10 feet wide pile of gravel or small rocks for making concrete. If one fails to provide the quota, he is not allowed to go back home. The troops from LIB. 407 collect the piles of gravel and small rocks provided by the laborers and then sell them to Total oil company. No money is given to the laborers. In addition to free labor, the troops also forcibly use the 50 bullock carts from the village every day without payment.

In 1997, the construction of this section was used with about 500 prison laborers. The prisoners with tackled iron chains are used to work to carry stones, crush them and lay on the embankment. (*Source: HRFOM and ABSDF*)

4.8.2.2. Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung Highway

On February 23, 1996, SLORC/SPDC Secretary-2, Lt-Gen. Tin Oo summoned local authorities and military commanders from Tenasserim Division and told them of the plan to construct a new highway from Tavoy to Kawthaung via Mergui. The project is in two sections- the first is between Mergui and Tavoy which involved the upgrading of an existing road which has already been completed. The second section from Mergui to Kawthaung is still being built in 1997 and no road has ever existed between these two towns. The highway is to be part of the planned development of the Rangoon-Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung Union Highway.

A 260-mile-long new motor road to link Mergui and Kawthaung was started in February 1994. SLORC/SPDC did not put the road's whole length under construction at the same time but divided the road into three main sections, and constructed one section after the other. The three sections are namely Section (1) from Mergui to Tenasserim, Section (2) from Tenasserim to Bokepyin and Section (3) from Bokepyin to Kawthaung. Of the ten townships in Tenasserim Division, six are required to provide labor for the Mergui-Kawthaung part which is still under construction. These six townships are Mergui, Palaw, Kyunsuu, Tenasserim, Bokepyin and Kawthaung.

Along the highway, each household is ordered to dig three earth ditches and three rock ditches during their two-week-long period at the work site. If a household cannot fulfil its quota, it is forced to pay 3,000 *kyats* to hire a substitute laborer or pay a fine of 6,000 *kyats* to the local authorities. Villagers must supply all of their own food and tools, except for concrete and nails which are provided by the military. Villagers living near the work-site are required to provide both "voluntary" labor as well as pay taxes for the construction of the road. Sometimes people located over 50 kilometers from their assigned work-site are forced to walk two days to perform their rotating shifts. The laborers work for periods of ten days hauling dirt, building embankments, breaking rocks and digging ditches.

In addition to the thousands of forced laborers conscripted from towns and villages in the region, SLORC/SPDC has constantly used hundreds of chain gangs to work on the motor road construction since November 1995 till present. At the construction site between Bokepyin and Thae-kwet village alone, there has been a chain gang of 1,200 people seen daily working as slave labor on the motor road construction. By June 1997, only 800 of the chain gangs were seen working on the motor road construction, whereas many of the 400 who also disappeared may have died from sickness without medical treatment or because of bad accidents under the inhumane and appalling working conditions or may have been subjected to arbitrary execution on their exhaustion or unsuccessful escape attempts from the labor camp. (Source:ABSDF, MIS)

4.8.2.3. Forced Labor in Marine Park

A villager who escaped from Burma said he was among 150 villagers rounded up each week by the Burmese military to work without food or pay at a marine national park on Lampi Island, off Burma's southern coast.

Civilians have been used as forced labor for the building of the Marine Park since May 1997. The construction was halted during July because of the heavy rain, but resumed since October 1997. About 400 Burmese prisoners are also used as forced labor in the project as well as villagers from 17 villages including East Aungba, Kyagyi All, Ma Bein, Kantaw, Theall, Mithwe Phaung, Salong and all villages in Aungba village tract, Kawthaung township, Tenasserim Division. Between five to fourteen villagers, depending on the size of villages, are demanded for the construction.

About 150 soldiers from LIB. 224 led by Major Htun Hla Aung are taking care of security on the island and forced labor. Three helipads have been constructed and the pier and some buildings are still under construction until the end of 1997.

The marine park is one of the two environmental projects the Burmese government is developing in the Mergui Archipelago, a chain of about 800 islands in the Andaman Sea. The other is the Myinmolekat Nature Reserve. 80,000 villagers from the islands have been forcibly relocated to make way for the parks. There are reports that villagers who protested were killed. Soldiers killed 40 villagers and arrested 200 on Lampi Island at the beginning of 1997. (Source: ABSDF)

4.8.2.4. Tenasserim - Moe Taung new motor road

SLORC/SPDC has constructed a new motor road to link Tenasserim town with Moe Taung on the Thai-Burma border to use it as a trade route with Thailand with the consistent use of unpaid forced labor and prison laborers since the dry season on 1994 till now. Civilians were conscripted in the whole year of 1997 from the towns and many villages in Tenasserim township. In this road construction, on a daily basis, at least about 500 villagers and prisoners are used to build the embankment, lay small crushed stones, crush rock and build bridges. Every village in Bokeyyin and Tenasserim township is asked by forces to provide at least three to five villagers to work in this construction. Sometimes, when the troops come into a village, they arrest the villagers suddenly and then send to the construction sites, without a demanding order. The villagers who are sent by a rotation basis by their village leaders have to provide manual labor for one or two weeks period and when other villagers come, they are able to return from the work-sites. The villagers who are arrested and sent to the construction are used in the construction for several weeks and when new substitute arrested villagers do not arrive, they can not return home. Some villagers have to work in this construction up to two months.

This road is estimated to be around 50 miles long. The construction of the rough route was reportedly completed in January 1996. SLORC/SPDC also required the local population to contribute and lay stones at a rate of two 100-cubit-feet *kyins* per household for the motor road construction. There are a total of more than 10,000 households in Tenasserim township. Those households that could not or did not contribute to work had to hire their own substitute labor paying 1,600 to 1,900 *kyats* per *kyin* of stone. The cost of buying stone is from 1,000 to 1,300 *kyats* per *kyin* but transportation cost 300 *kyats* and laying the stones costs 250 per *kyin*. So, each of the many households in Tenasserim township had to pay total 3,500 to 4,000 *kyats* for the gathering and laying stone alone. (Source: MIS and HURFOM)

4.8.2.5. Bokeyyin - Ban Saphan motor road

The construction of a motor road between Bokeyyin in Burma and Ban Saphan in Thailand started at the beginning of 1997. The construction is monitored by the Construction Corporation from Kawthaung and has forced the local people to work in the construction. Ten villagers from each village in Kawthaung township, Tenasserim Division have been conscripted to work in the construction. They are needed to stay one month in the site. If anyone fails to go and work there, he is required to pay 10,000 *kyats* to hire a substitute. Villages along the road such as Laynya, Pyigyí Matai, Nam Koke, Yadanapon and Mine Kalu villages are most effected by the forced labor demands. There are also about 500 prison laborers being used at the construction. The security for the construction was taken care of by the IB. 224 and 341. (Source: ABSDF)

4.8.2.6. Forced labor in military run-business projects

The SLORC/SPDC military in Tenasserim Division has normally conscripted and used many of the rural inhabitants as hard laborers on their private economic businesses without pay, with their own food, their own working tools and their own transportation. People are not given compensation for sickness, injury or death of any laborer. Any laborer who cannot come and work as required are subjected to a fine of 150 to 300 *kyats* per day. SLORC/SPDC local military units across Tenasserim Division, including all the ten LIBs from LIB. 401 to 410 and other battalions such as IB. 25, 265 and 280, have been making money from such economic businesses being run without investment but simply with the labor of those effectively subjugated and enslaved men, women and children living in their respective areas of control.

Agricultural projects

SLORC/SPDC's respective local battalions across Tenasserim Division have been running their own private agricultural business projects -- growing rubber, coconut, oil palm, rice and various other seasonal plantation amounting to thousands of acres. To get ground for such a plantation, the military has either forcibly seized the local farmland without giving compensation to the owners or taken the land and had it cleared by means of unpaid forced labor.

All the many agricultural business projects of the military, the forced laborers are made to do everything through the entire cultivation process. On the rice cultivation projects, the forced laborers have to do the entire work from ploughing the fields through cutting and gathering the crop. They are required to work in continually rotating turns for nearly all the year round. The military just receives the ready crops and sell them to make money. On the rubber, palm oil and coconut growing projects too, the forced laborers have to do the entire work from clearing the ground, turning over the earth planting the seedlings, building fences round the plantations with their own fencing materials, and serving as farmhands till the plantations are cultivated. The military has been selling the cultivated plantations and making new ones by similar means of unpaid forced labor. A cultivated rubber plantation of five to ten acres currently sells for more than 500,000 *kyats*. The local military, especially commanders and officers, have been making a fortune by selling those cultivated plantations at good prices.

The SLORC/SPDC LIB. 403, 404, and 405, the three battalions alone, own hundreds of acres of rubber, coconut, rice and other plantations in Tavoy and Thayet Chaung townships, all cultivated by means of unpaid forced labor conscripted from the many villages around. These three battalions jointly own a rubber plantation of some 180 acres in Taung Byauk and Winwa village tracts by taking over the land and cultivating it by similar means of unpaid forced labor since the last quarter of

1995. The two battalions 404 and 405 have jointly owned a rubber plantation of some 100 acres along the 4-mile-long truck road from Sonsin Hpyar village to Thea Chaunggyi village, cultivated with unpaid forced labor since 1993. The LIB. 405 also has a dry-season onion plantation at The Chaunggyi village in Thayet Chaung township, cultivated with unpaid forced labor. The LIB. 403 has a paddy field of some 100 acres between Saw Phyar and Kyauk Hlaykar villages, cultivated by similar means.

LIB. 404 conscripted and used more than 200 villagers living at the ten villages of Taung Byauk village tract in Thayet Chaung township to clear some 150 acres of land in May 1997 for its continuing rubber growing project. The forced laborers, mostly women and children, are made to work without payment, with their own food, working tools and transportation as always. Because of the appalling conditions of hard labor, many of the laborers suffered sickness, but had to provide their own medical treatment. Among the laborers, Ma Kyin Aye, a 19-year-old girl from Winkpaw village in Thayet Chaung township, Tenasserim died from a serious sickness when she was working at the rubber plantation projects by the SLORC/SPDC's LIB. 404 in Thayet Chaung township during May 1997. She was conscripted along with 200 villagers from Taung Byauk village tract to clear a large area of land for the plantation. Another girl, Ma Htoo Aye, a 13-year-old girl died of a poisonous snake bite while doing land clearing work there on May 14, 1997. No compensation was given for the death of these two forced laborers. (*Source: MIS*)

U Ba Khin, a 51-year-old man from Kyetyettwi village in Launglon township, Tenasserim Division died on June 12, 1997 of serious illness. He was conscripted together with 500 villagers to work on a private rice cultivation project of the SLORC/SPDC military. He was sick at the time of conscription, but was not exempted by the military. Due to his serious sickness, he quickly became exhausted and suddenly collapsed while working there and died. (*Source: MIS*)

In February 1997, SLORC/SPDC LIB. 104 confiscated more than 1,000 acres of rice fields on Pyingyi island in Launglon township, Tenasserim Division and more than 700 acres in Tabea and Ka Nyon Kyun villages in the same township, without giving any compensation to the more than 300 local farmers. The land was confiscated for an experimental modern-method rice cultivation project of the military in the region. The local battalions conscripted and used more than 500 local people from the Pyingyi island to work as unpaid hard laborers on this experimental project.

Charcoal and brick making projects

They have also been doing charcoal and brick-making businesses by means of unpaid forced labor. For this, the respective local battalions require many villages under their respective control to contribute a large amount of firewood regularly. So the villagers have to provide laborers to cut trees and carry the cut wood to those charcoal and brick kilns. Each village, based on its population, is required to contribute 10 to 50 *kyins* of firewood per month. (one *kyin* = a woodpile of 6 ft x 6 ft measurement) The villages in each township are estimated to have to contribute a total of more than 1,000 *kyins* of firewood per month. (Source: MIS)

In May 1997, 30 villagers from each village of Paukpin Kwin, Nat Kyi Sin, Three pagodas, Chattaw, Mintha, Kywethone Nyima and Sinku villages were ordered to work for the military-run brick making industry at the base of Military Command HQ.8 in Kanpauk, Tenasserim Division. (Source: ABSDF)

Timber project

The SLORC/SPDC military has also required many villages to contribute three to five tons of sawed wood per village regularly, but usually using the justification of collecting building materials for the construction or repairs of their encampments, local school building etc.. The villages have to provide laborers as well as oxcarts to fell trees and manually saw them into the prescribed sizes, and transport the finished pieces to the designated locations. The SLORC/SPDC just sells the readily sawed wood and makes money. A village in each township is estimated to have to contribute a total of more than 200 tons of readily sawed wood per month to the military. Out of 47 village tracts in Thayet Chaung township, Taung Byauk village tract alone, composed of ten small villages, is normally required to contribute more than 30 tons per months. The laborers have to work without payment, with their own food, working tools and transportation. They are not given any compensation when they are sick or injured. If and when they cannot come and work as required, they are subjected to fines or to ill-treatment by the military. (Source: MIS)

Forced laborers at military bases

The SLORC/SPDC military in Tenasserim Division has daily conscripted a total of more than 3000 people from the hundreds of villages in the ten townships to serve as general laborers at its many local encampments. These forced servants have to do whatever may be instructed at whim by the encampments' officers and soldiers.

From Thayet Chaung township alone, more than 600 people from a total of 47 village tracts are daily conscripted and used. Out of the 47 village tracts, Taung Byauk village tract alone, has to provide 20 people per day. In Yebyu township, each village tract has to provide 15 to 20 people per day. Out of some ten villages of Mintha village tract, Hsinku village alone has to provide two to three people per day. Any household which fails to serve accordingly is subjected to a fine of 200 to 300 *kyats* per day, or 2,000 to 5,000 *kyats* at a time.

The military has used these forced servants in their hands to do whatever it may instruct them at any moment. People from Yebyu township say they have to daily carry water, collect firewood, grow vegetables, catch fish, serve as messengers and so on for the several local encampments of the LIB. 40, 407, and 408 battalions. People from Thayet Chaung township say they are normally also given clothes to wash and often have to provide relaxing massage, run and get liquor for the local encampments of the LIB. 403, 404, and 405. They are even made to dance, sing, etc. by those encampment officers when drunk. Several village tracts in Tavoy township such as Khin Sheh, Yun Maw, Shanmatwin, Shinmuhti, Kahnaingda, Taung Thonlon, Pakarri, Myitta, Hamyingyi and Zalun as well as several village tracts in the Lunglon township, such as Kadetgyi, Yebyu, Kyettettwin, Thabye Shaung, Ya Bea, Kyauknimaw, Ahtet Kyaukwut, Ka Nyaw Byin, Ti Sit, Sit Pyea, Ka Nyon Kyun and Good Inn have been experiencing similar gross abuses of power by the local SLORC/SPDC military. (*Source: MIS*)

4.8.3. Chin State

Since taking power in the bloody military coup in 1988 in Burma, SLORC/SPDC has been carrying out its infamous “national development programs” which primarily include repairing bridges, building roads throughout the country. The programs are basically aimed at beautification of the out-look of the deteriorating conditions of the country. Through this cosmetic changes, SLORC/SPDC expects to attract tourists to Burma. However, the program is being implemented at the cost of local inhabitants.

The roads are being built and the bridges are being repaired with forced laborers. The materials required for the constructions were also forcibly collected from the people of projected sites. In addition, people are fined for being unable to contribute the labor. A person per household is ordered compulsory for unpaid labor. Ironically this has become an official rule in Burma under the SLORC/SPDC regime.

4.8.3.1. Kale - Phalam motor road

On 28 December 1996, U Khin Latt, President of Tun Zan township in Chin State of SLORC/SPDC came under the order of Phalam-based SLORC/SPDC regiment 268 and Tetain-based regiment 269, the order being to build 100 miles long road connecting Kale Town and Phalam Town. He then passed the order to the villages viz, Hai Tuu, Tui Ton, Tan Twon, Phon Tong and Phai Tun which happened to exist along the projected road to send a person per household for the construction.

The people who are living in Tun Zan township are also included in providing free labor for the same. Most of them are local ethnic Chin nationalities. Under the dead-cold weather severed by freezing winds at the mountainous site, inexperienced road builders are forced to carry rocks and dig the ground. Moreover, they have to work at their own expense. Some of them do not even have rice to eat. Therefore, they survive with boiled maize and work at the road construction site. The rocks are being collected from the three-hours-away Manipur Streams. Each household is ordered to dig six ditches of 10 x 10 x 1 foot big ditch. The construction is still going on till date. The completion of the project is scheduled in April. Therefore, people of that area are not even allowed to go to harvest their fields. A group of 300 people in six groups works for the construction in rotation. Students under 16 years of age, three female and two male teachers of No.8, No.9 and No. 10 of Tun Zan Township State High School are also ordered to provide free Labor for the construction. The question remains unanswered with regards to whom the road will benefit. According to the local inhabitants of the projected regions, the road surely will benefit the army for better communication which will help hunt down dissidents operating in the area. (*Source: ABSL*)

4.8.3.2. Haka - Gangaw motor road

This road is being upgraded to be ready for the Students' festival. The township LORC claimed that it allocated wages for the laborers on this project, but then decided on its own that all the villages would "donate" all these wages to the Students' Sport Festival fund. Most people believe the money is actually being pocketed by local authorities and that no one working on this road is paid. In January 1997, the villagers were ordered to provide 22,5000 *kyins* (one *kyin* = 10 x 10 x 1 feet) of crushed stones. Any household failing to provide their quota is fined 135 *kyats* per *kyin*.

4.8.3.3. Students' Sport Festival in Haka

The students' Sport Festival was scheduled to be held in Haka in December, 1997, but postponed to March 1998 due to delays in the preparation. This is the biggest students' Festival ever held in Chin State. People in Haka were forced to extend the football ground and to build a stadium and roads. Residents of Haka with homes along the main road leading to the Festival ground were ordered to repair and repaint their houses, and all buildings deemed to be in poor condition had to be removed. (Source: CHRO)

In each township of Chin State, students are also forcibly enlisted to take part in the sports competitions and undergo intensive training, which forces them to miss their regular class. The Matupi Township Education Department called students back to school on 1 June 1997. They selected some students and sent them to Haka to attend a sport training for the upcoming Festival to ensure their participation. Altogether 110 students from each township of Chin State were sent to Haka town in 1997. They had to attend gymnastics classes for the opening ceremony of the Festival. They were told that anyone who was absent, would not be allowed to take his or her examination and would be expelled from the school for three years. Students had to follow army discipline and had to attend the training until mid-day without any food and regular school classes. They had to practice "tinbauk" (a Burmese sport in which the participants use heavy clubs) training, as well as gymnastics and sword dancing (a traditional martial art). Twelve students from Ton Zan township escaped from the training and were expelled from their school. (Source: IA)

4.8.4. Arakan State

Two new battalions of SLORC/SPDC have been reinforced in Buthidaung township, Arakan State since October 1997. With the arrival of more armed forces in the region, the army has ordered all local village chairmen to supply increased forced labor as well as materials for household use including firewood. The village chairmen have to supply porter or forced labor for Military Intelligence, Police, local LORC, Riot Police and Special Branch police. (Source: RSO)

4.8.5. Irrawaddy Division

4.8.5.1. Forced labor in Thabaung township

For the joint services maneuvers of SLORC/SPDC Divisions 22, 33, 55 and 77 in the cold season of 1996-97, in all the village tracts within Thabaung township, villagers had to construct, at the own expense, temporary camps, barracks, stores, houses and furniture. The villagers also had to construct a road along the Hgawun River. To provide soil for the road, each household had to dig a pit of a specified

size. While they were engaged in work connected to the military maneuvers, the villagers were unable to carry out their own work, which resulted in a considerable drop in income for many of them. Because of lack of nutrition and the unhealthy conditions of the surrounding areas, many villagers engaged in the forced labor projects suffered from various diseases. In addition, whole villages had to move in order to make room for the military maneuvers. (*Source: UN report*)

4.8.5.2. Bassein-Thalatgwa-Morton Point motor road

Each household in 33 village tracts had to provide one and a half baskets of rock for the road building project from Bassein to Thalatgwa to Morton Point, Irrawaddy Division. A household that could not provide rock had to pay 2,000 *kyats* to the village LORC. The people who went to break rocks were not given any medical care and many came back from their forced labor sessions with various illnesses. Thirteen people, including two women, were arrested on January 15, 1997, because they refused to take part in a forced labor project. U Chit is reported to have fallen sick and died at the labor site. U Khin Maung Win, Maung Kyin Hoke and Maung Nyo also died while providing forced labor. Daw Ni, 60 years old and unable to provide with labor or money, was arrested on January 6, 1997 and sent to Bassein prison on January 8, 1997. (*Source: UN report*)

4.8.6. Karenni State

Human rights violations by the SLORC/SPDC troops of LB. 102, LB. 261 and LIB. 426 continued in Karenni State. Troops have been forcing hundreds of local people of Mawchee township and prisoners from different parts of Burma to act as porters without payment since the end of July 1997. About one hundred villagers of Dee Maw So town, Dee Maw So Township, were arrested and tied up, and then loaded to Phasaung town. Those who were seized were forced to carry supplies and ammunition from Phasaung town to the area, where they have been operating military offensive against innocent Karenni people. Many of those forced to act as porters have been subjected to torture and ill-treatment if they could not carry loads of supplies and ammunition. Others who were seized as porters have been extrajudicially killed if they attempted to escape or were unable to carry their loads. Those who were seriously sick were left to die beside roads.

Conditions of the porters are often harsh, in many cases amounting to cruel, inhuman treatment. The porters have been subjected to ill-treatment, receiving inadequate food. The Porters are receiving only one meal per day while they are forced to carry heavy loads. The porters are forced to walk through rocky areas and mountainous areas. Those who are sick are also forced to continue to carry their loads. So far about 50 porters have died of sickness, tiredness and starvation. Most of them were shot dead by the military (SLORC/SPDC) according to Zaw Win, private soldier of LIB. 102 and one sergeant (requested not to use his name) of LIB.

261, 27 years old who have recently surrendered to the Karenni Army and some porters who escaped to the Karenni controlled area. Prisoners Mg Sein, Thaung Htay, Win Kyaw, Than Naing and Maung Naing were among the dead. (Source: KNPP)

4.8.7. Magwe Division

4.8.7.1. Kanthagyi-Kyaungdawya road

Forced contributions towards road and bridge construction projects in Pwintbyu, Magwe Division began in early 1997. In Pwintbyu, landowners were made to contribute money towards the construction of the Man Bridge. The landowners were assessed at the rate of 200 *kyats* per acre owned. The whole township had to contribute to the construction of the Kanthagyi-Kyaungdawya road. The contribution were assessed 250 *kyats* per acre. All the households in the township, including the poorest, had to contribute 360 *kyats* each to the building of Slain road. Every household had to contribute between 45 and 70 *kyats* once every two weeks for years for the Natyegan road construction. Farmers were forced to sell two baskets of split beans per acre to the authorities at specific prices. Those who refused to sell were made to stay under the hot sun for hours as punishment. Those who complained about their treatment were beaten. (Source: HRDU)

4.8.8. Mon State

Besides the large infrastructure projects, under the instruction of SLORC/SPDC, SLORC/SPDC local authorities in Mon State have constructed or repaired shorter roads in each village or between villages by means of forced labor and forced monetary contributions from the local populace, but under the SLORC/SPDC-composed slogan of “Self-help” local areas development.

4.8.8.1. Ye-Magyi truck road

This road is divided into two sections. The first section is from Ye to Khawza village and the second is from Khawza to Magyi village, the edge of Mon State. This road runs along the sea coast area in the southern part of Ye town and passes through several Mon villages.

In 1995, under the supervision of IB. 61 and LIB. 304, the first section of the 10 mile-long truck road was completed by forcing the villagers nearby to contribute unpaid labor. In 1996, some part of the road was destroyed by flood and the local troops collected cash from the local villagers to repair it. When they had actually repaired it, the troops asked unpaid labor from the village again.

The remaining section is shorter than the first one and it is only five miles long. The construction of this section was started since mid 1996 and the military defined the route along an old cart-track. In enlarging the width of the road, the military confiscated many acres of rice farmland along the route without compensation.

Since early 1997, under the supervision of SLORC/SPDC local LIB. 304, several Mon villages such as Hangan, Khawza, Yinye, Yindein, Thabya, Kyonkanya, Mitawhlagyi, Mitawhlagale, Magyi, Taungkhon, Kyauktayan, etc., had been suffering from the consistent conscription of forced labor. Villagers were conscripted by the military to contribute unpaid labor. At least 30 to 50 villagers from each village had been working to build the embankment since January 1997. They had to work on the construction at least one week in a month. The main work-duty was to dig the earth from outside of the route and fill it in the defined embankment up to three feet in height. If they hired a substitute laborer, they had to pay 200 *kyats* per day.

The laborers were required to contribute and lay stones at a rate of two to three 100-cubit-feet *kyins* per household on a compulsory and unconditional basis. To get the stones, the laborers had to gather them from the forest or break them from the rocky hills miles away from their villages and the truck road. Those households that did not own an ox cart had to hire one at their own expense to transport the gathered stones onto the truck road and those households that could not meet their quotas themselves had to hire their own substitute laborer having to pay 550 to 600 *kyats* per *kyin* of stone.

At the end of 1997, almost the embankment of the whole road from Ye to Magyi was completed. (Source: *HRFOM*)

4.8.9. Sagaing Division

4.8.9.1. Airbase in Kalay Myo

SPDC is constructing an airbase at the site of an old World War II airfield, eight miles south of Kale Myo in Sagaing Division. The military has confiscated the poor local farmers' farmlands surrounding the old airfield and ordered the farmers to destroy their paddy fields.

The local people -- one member from each household -- are also forced to contribute volunteer labor for the airbase construction. In December 1997, the military forced over 3,500 villagers -- including 2,000 from Htaunkkyant Village, 500 from Kyarbin Village, and 400 from Thayargon Village -- to contribute volunteer labor in the airbase construction work.

Furthermore, over 100 inmates from the Ngwetaung and Phasaung rock quarry work camps, which were opened last year, are also recruited to work at the airbase, said the locals. (*Source; HRDU*)

4.8.10. Shan State

4.8.10.1. Forced Labor in Lankhur township

Since mid-November 1996, SLORC/SPDC IB. 99 and LIB. 525 had been forced people in Lankhur township, Shan State, to split stones for the construction of 18-mile-long Langkhur-Wan Hart motor road, 20-mile-long Wan Hart- Zalawng motor road, 20-mile-long Zalawng-Sop Taeng motor road, 15-mile-long Wan Hart-Mawkmai road and 20-mile-long Mawkmai-Sai Khao road, all in Lankhur township. Each person from every house in the four village tracts in Wan Hart area had to go and work every day. Any house which failed to provide a worker had to pay 200 *kyats* for one day as a fine.

Wan Tang, Pha Long Nar Lin, Loi Sur and Kao Kong villages in Wan Taeng village tract; wan Hart, Mark Keng Mon, La Yoi, Kub Keng, Nam Mon, Ten Put, Ho Kun, Ho Ta and Sawng Ke villages from Wan Hart village tract; Na Kong, Lao Main Hung, Khum Oot, Keng Yai, Ter Niu, Nam Sai, Ho Nar Tai and Kun Kharn villages in Nar Kong village tract; Mark Oon Lao, Harng Long Mong, Nar Mot, Nar Wawn Wan Mong, Wan Ern, Ter Long, Hart Sai Long, Ter Ha Yurng, Parng Long and Mark Pin Warn villages in Mark Oon Lao village tracts, altogether about 2,500 people of Shan State were forced to work every day. Civilians from other region were also reportedly forced to provide labor for the construction projects in their region. Each house had to make 3-4 piles of gravel. Each pile was six feet square wide and one foot high. House with fewer family members had to work until they

finished at least three piles, and houses with more members with more people had to finish four piles a day. They had to provide their own food and many people from villages which were 7-8 miles away from the work sites, like Kun Kharn village, could not walk there every day, so they had to sleep near the sites under makeshift huts. SLORC/SPDC soldiers provided 400 *kyats* every ten persons to buy a three-pound hammer for use in splitting rocks, but such a hammer was nowhere to be found in the area. Thus people just had to bring their own axes and tools to work with.

Since January 1997, people in Larngkhur township, Shan State have been ordered to split rocks to pave the motor road to Wan Hart. Even the civil servants are not spared. Each person has to finish seven pitches (enough to pave a ten-foot-square area) and anyone who could not go had to pay 300 *kyats* for one pitch. People had to stay overnight and work at the site until they finish their quotas. Villagers of Wan Nawng Long had to provide two bicycles and a tape recorder to the troops overseeing the work sites. (Source: S.H.A.N)

4.8.10.2. Forced Labor in Murngpyak

Since the beginning of 1997, civilian population in all village tracts in Murngpyak has been forced to work for the SLORC/SPDC army without pay. They have to build military camps, dig trenches, build roads, make lamp post etc.,. The SLORC/SPDC troops issued an order that anyone who fails to perform his portion of work would be punished harshly. The people had almost no time to earn their living. (Source:SHRF)

4.8.10.3. Forced Labor in Kunhing

On July 4, 1997, SLORC/SPDC troops under the Division 44 led by Major Aung Zaw Htun forced the villagers who had been forced to relocate in Kunhing in 1997 to work for the army without any payment. The male villagers had to cut bamboo and build four layers of fences around the military camp and had to dig trenches, about two yards deep and one yard wide, between the layers of the fences. On the way to the gate of the camp, they were forced to build 2-3 checkpoints of which the outer ones were manned by People Militia and the inner one by the SLORC/SPDC troops. Every three hours, the villagers had to report the army about the armed Shan soldiers; even if there was no one, they still had to report about it, all day and all night. (Source: SHRF)

4.8.10.4. Forced Labor in Murngpan

Since March 1997, people in Murngpan township in Shan State have been working on road construction sites between Marnngpan and Kan Kan village. Villagers in the area have to take turns so that the work continues every day; anyone who fails to take his turn has to pay 500 *kyats* for each day. The work is mostly gathering rocks and stones to the roadsides. The villagers receive no wages for their labor and have to provide their own food.

Tolagyi- mini tractors with trailers — also have to take turns to serve at the two military base every day; two tolagyis at LIB. 332 base and two tolagyi at LIB. 520. During the daytime, they have to carry stones, sand, bathing water for the troops, and in the evening, they have to run the electric generators to provide electricity for the military bases. SLORC/SPDC troops give neither fuel nor money to the owner, but fine 5,000 *Kyats* from anyone who fails to provide the forcible service. (Source:SHRF)

4.8.10.5. Forced Labor in Larngkhur and Murngpan

Since October 1997, people in Larngkhur and Murngpan townships in Shan State have been forced to split rocks into gravel at a place between Murngpan and Ta Sarong, one of the Salween river crossing points, by the commander of SLORC/SPDC IB. 6. Thirty people from each township have to work together for five days at a time after which another group of 30 has to take their place and continue the work. They not only have to work without pay but also have to provide their own food and tools. The troops appoint some people to monitor the road construction. Though the troops have said that the gravel is to be used to pave the Murngpan-Ta Sarng road, but when there is enough gravel to be loaded on about five trucks, they take them down to some big cities in Burma (other than Shan State) to be sold, mostly to the Chinese who are building houses. It is said that cases like this are happening in several other townships like Murngnai, Namzarng, Kunhing, Loilem, Laikha and Murng Kerng. (Source: SHRF)

4.8.10.6. Forced to guard road near Thai border in Murngton

On May 5, 1997, SLORC/SPDC Major Shwe Myint from IB. 65 ordered the villagers in the Murngton and Murngsart area in Shan State to make huts at regular intervals along the road from Murngton to BP1 (the Thai border crossing point at Nawng Ook). Four people at a time had to take guard in each hut for a day and a night at a time. They had to report if they saw any SURA troops crossing the road or entering the area. If they failed to report this, they would be punished, SLORC/SPDC said. (Source: SHRF)

4.9. Individual Incidents in 1997

- ◆ Since mid-November 1996, SLORC IB. 99 and LIB. 525 had forced people in Lankhur township, Shan State, to split stones for the construction of 18-milelong Langkhur-Wan Hart motor road, 20-mile-long Wan Hart- Zalawng motor road, 20-mile-long Zalawng-Sop Taeng motor road, 15-mile-long Wan Hart-Mawmai road and 20-mile-long Mawmai-Sai Khao road, all in Lankhur township. Each person from every house in the four village tracts in Wan Hart area had to go and work every day. Any house which failed to provide a worker had to pay 200 *kyats* for one day as a fine.
- ◆ Wan Tang, Pha Long Nar Lin, Loi Sur and Kao Kong villages in Wan Taeng village tract; wan Hart, Mark Keng Mon, La Yoi, Kub Keng, Nam Mon, Ten Put, Ho Kun, Ho Ta and Sawng Ke villages from Wan Hart village tract; Na Kong, Lao Main Hung, Khum Oot, Keng Yai, Ter Niu, Nam Sai, Ho Nar Tai and Kun Kharn villages in Nar Kong village tract; Mark Oon Lao, Harng Long Mong, Nar Mot, Nar Wawn Wan Mong, Wan Ern, Ter Long, Hart Sai Long, Ter Ha Yurng, Parng Long and Mark Pin Warn villages in Mark Oon Lao village tracts, altogether about 2,500 people were forced to work every day. Civilians from other region were also reportedly forced to provide labor for the construction in their region. Each house had to make 3-4 piles of gravel. Each pile was six square feet wide and one foot high. Houses with fewer family members had to work until they finished at least three piles, and houses with more members had to finish four piles a day. They had to provide their own food and many people from villages which were 7-8 miles away from the work sites, like Kun Kharn village, could not walk there every day, so they had to sleep near the sites under makeshift huts. SLORC soldiers provided 400 *kyats* for every ten persons to buy a 3-lb. hammer to use for splitting rocks, but a hammer like that is nowhere to be found in the area. Thus people just had to bring their own axes and tools to work with.
- ◆ On 28 December 1996, U Khin Latt, President of Tun Zan township in Chin State of SLORC came under the order of Phalam-based SLORC regiment 268 and Tetain-based regiment 269, to build 100 miles long road Connecting Kale Town and Phalam Town. He then passed the order to the villages viz., Hai Tuu, Tui Ton, Tan Twon, Phon Tong and Phai Tun which happened to exist along the projected road to send a person per household for the construction. The people who are living in all the colonies of Tun Zan township are also included to provide free Labor for the same. Most of them are local ethnic Chin nationalities. Under the dead-cold weather severed by freezing winds at the mountainous site, inexperienced road builders are forced to carry rocks and dig the ground. Besides, they have to work at their own expenses. Some of them even do not have rice to eat. Therefore, they survive with boiled maize to work

at the road construction site. The rocks are being collected from the three-hours away Manipur Streams. Each household is ordered to dig six ditches of 10 x 10 x 1 foot big. The construction is still going on till date. The completion of the project is scheduled in April. Therefore, people of that area are not even allowed to go to harvest their fields. A group of 300 people in 6 groups works for the construction in rotation. Students under 16 years old, three female and two male teachers of No.8, No.9 and No.10 of Tun Zan Township State High School are also ordered to provide free Labor for the construction. The question remains unanswered with regards to whom the road will benefit. According to the local inhabitants of the projected regions, the road surely will benefit the army for better communication which will help hunt down dissidents who are operating in the area. (*Source:ABSL*)

- ◆ A villager who escaped from Burma said he was among 150 villagers rounded up each week by the Burmese military to work without food or pay at a marine national park on Lampi Island, off Burma's southern coast. About 400 Burmese prisoners also are used as forced labor in the project, The marine park is one of two environmental projects the Burmese government is developing in the Mergui Archipelago, a chain of about 800 islands in the Andaman Sea. The other is the Myinmolekat Nature Reserve. 80,000 villagers on the islands have been forcibly relocated to make way for the parks. There are reports that villagers who protested were killed. Soldiers killed 40 villagers and arrested 200 on Lampi Island at the beginning of 1997. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- ◆ Since January 1997, people in Larngkhur township, Shan State have been ordered to split rocks to pave the motor road to Wan Hart. Even civil servants are not spared. Each person has to finish seven pitches (enough to pave ten foot-square area) and anyone who cannot go has to pay 300 *kyats* for one pitch. People have to stay overnight and work at the site until they finish their quotas. Villagers of Wan Nawng Long have to provide two bicycles and a tape recorder to the troops overseeing the work sites. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)
- ◆ On February 1, 1997 Township Law and Order Restoration Council chairman of Leshi township, Sagaing division, Naga hill tract U Mya Han sent a letter to the commander of 222 Burma Regiment mobile column Major Aung Swe Oo to call civilian porters to carry ration for 1000 soldiers. Therefore Major Aung Swe Oo ordered the villagers from the following villages to come to Leshi town without failure.

Name of the village	Number of porters
1. Summra village	130
2. Kuki village	125
3. Phontharet village	85
4. Pansat village	115
5. Ngachan village	100
6. Kokailong village	108

- ◆ These porters have to carry ration from Leshi to the places where the soldiers are deployed inside Leshi township. But as there is no car road between Leshi and Summra and it takes two days to do the job. The villages were informed that they would not get any wages and for food they have to arrange by themselves from their homes. Villagers are busy at hill-side cultivation at the moment and due to that the village chiefs requested the army to reduce the number of porters. But Maj. Aung Swe Oo replied that if the villagers could not fulfill the number of porters that had been asked, the villagers would have to supply ration for 1000 soldiers. Thus they had to send their full quota of porters to the said place. Due to this forced portering the villagers from respective villages had to leave Summer season hillside cultivation. (*Source: ABSDF-WB*)
- ◆ In February, 1997, SLORC IB. 34 ordered four Karen villages of Shazzbo, Zeebyergon and Tawgoo in Pyinmana district, Karen State to send 25 men per month to serve as porters. In addition, the troops forcibly demanded 1,000 to 2,000 *kyats* from each household. (*Source: KIC*)
- ◆ On February 16, 1997, soldiers from LIB. 431 and IB. 104 drafted 30 villagers from Pyatha Chaung, Karen State as porters, 25 people whom were women, following a clash with KNU troops near the village. The porters were ordered to carry the soldiers' backpacks, and the women to wash the soldiers' clothes and cook for them during the fighting and marching. SLORC troop also draft another batch of porters between Pyatha Chaung and Phaungdaw village, comprising 10 women and a 60 years old Karen man. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- ◆ From March 15 to April 10, 1997, the operation command No.3 of the SLORC southern command had been sending ammunition and food supplies from Toungoo to Nor Soe, a front line camp every day. The troops seized more than 2,000 civilians, including children, women and the aged, from villages on the plains as well as in the hills, and forced them to carry ammunition and supplies to Nor Soe and other front-line camps. In addition to being used as beasts of burden, the civilians were also used as mine sweepers. (*Source: KIC*)

- ◆ In March, troops from Division 77 demanded 70 porters from each village in Shwekyin area of Nyaung Lay Bin district, Karen State. If a villager could not supply enough, they forcibly seized the villagers, including women and children. (Source: KIC)
- ◆ On March 17, 1997, SLORC IB. 35 seized several villagers, including women and children from Baw Gali village and Gaw Thedoe village in Toungoo district, Karen State. Troops forced them to serve as porters and min-sweepers. On March 18, a woman, Naw Kreh-kre, aged 29, of Gaw Thedoe village was seriously wounded by a land mine in Thakwe Soebu Hsakhi area. On March 25, 1997, SLORC IB. 26 seized and forcibly took away 105 villagers for portage from Mee Daing daw village, Nyaung Lay Bin district, Karen State. (Source: KIC)
- ◆ On March 30, 1997, troops from IB. 39 forcibly seized and took away 186 people, including four women, of Mae Daing Daw village, Nyaung Lay Be district, Karen State, for portage. (Source: KIC)
- ◆ During the first fortnight of May 1997, the SLORC Division 33 conscripted at random a total of more than 5,000 civilians from the towns and villages in Yebyu, Tavoy, Launglon and Thayet Chaung townships in Tenasserim Division as frontline porters for its over 2,000 troops from Division 33 to continue the offensive operation against the KNU and the ABSDF. (Source: MIS)
- ◆ On May 12, 1997, villages in Kyaukkyi township, Pegu Division were ordered to send forced laborers for work in military bases of IB. 60 and LIB. 351 in the township. Between 15 to 30 laborers, both male and female, depending on the size of village, were ordered to go and work at the military bases without pay. If a village failed to provide the laborer quota, it was required to pay 600 *kyats* per person. These people had to work three days with their own food and tools at the road construction, digging rock, and doing other animal husbandry agricultural projects of the military bases. (Source: HRDU)
- ◆ Between May 16-30, 1997, SLORC Division 66 recruited at random a total of more than 2,000 civilians from Tavoy, Tenasserim as porters. Out of the 2,000 recruited persons, only those who could pay a ransom of 8,000 to 12,000 *kyats* to the military were released. (Source: MIS)

- ◆ In May, 1997, SLORC IB. 45 and LIB. 333 ordered Ban Kong village group in Mung Hsat township, Shan State, to build roads and bridges going to all military camps stationed at the border. "Everybody is forced to give labor without fail," said the order. All the work was to be finished in August, 1997. Fearing the punishment, the villagers had to obey the order and did what the soldiers asked them to do. In doing the labor, no money or even food was given to them. They had to bring along food and working tools with them. (*Source: LPHRC*)
- ◆ Since May 1997, 4, the Township LORCs in Tavoy, Thayetchaung and Launglon have continuously been requiring more than 270 villages of the three townships to perform a round-the-clock duty of watching against armed group. Based on their population and number of households, the villages are required to provide 12 to 36 people each per day to be on duty. The villagers have to keep the SLORC constantly informed of the situation concerning the armed groups. To perform the duty, households in each village have to provide people in turns rotated continually. Any house which cannot provide people at its duty shift is subjected to a fine of 300 to 500 *kyats* per day, or to do other hard labor for three to five days. (*Source: MIS*)
- ◆ On June 8, 1997, SLORC troops from Murngpan-based LIB. 520, led by Major Than maung, arrested the following 17 villagers at Ter Hung village, Ton Hoong tract, Murngnai township. They were Loong Kang Kya, 52 (2) Sai Lao, 27, (3) Sai Pan, 22 (4) Sai Tong, 31 (5) Sai Kaw Li Ya, 37 (6) Sai Suzata, 24 (7) Sai Wa Ling, 32 (8) Sai Tae Za, 19 (9) Sai Nung, 20 (10) Sai Sawya, 17 (11) Nang Poi, 38 (12) Nang Hla Khin, 27 (13) Nang Seng Hawm, 22 (14) Nang Thun Nae, 21 (15) Nang Seng Zing, 19 (16) Nang Thuay, 18 (17) Nang Si Non, 17. They were forced to carry military things from Zkaeng Tawng area all the way to Murngpan. When they reached Murngpan, the soldiers let the nine male villagers go and sleep in the town while they detained the seven women and the headman Loong Kang Nya at their base. The women were gang-raped all night and told to return to their village and move to a new place. (*Source: SHRF*)
- ◆ In Tavoy district, Tenasserim Division, forced labor for military purpose is widely used by SLORC. From Taung Thone Lone, 24 men were ordered to porter for 10-day periods. Two people were required from each section. In Hein Da, 18 men were ordered for the same work, two men from each section. If the village cannot provide enough porters, it is fined 2000 *kyats* for each absent porter. This money is given to the LORC village chairman, which is then it is passed on to the SLORC army commander. In addition, porter fees are collected from each house in Taung Thone Lone and Hein Da. The fees range between 200 to 300 *kyats* and are paid to the LORC village chairman. Finally, on June 15, 1997, twenty-five KNU soldiers from the Fourth Brigade, Tenth Battalion, Second Company surrendered to the SLORC. On June 16, General Maung Aye

arrived to Taung Thone Lone village to preside over a welcoming ceremony. He gave the twenty-five soldiers a welcoming gift of 500,000 *kyats*. However, according to Taung Thone Lone villagers who later escaped to the Thai-Burma border, the money did not come from the treasury of the SLORC. Instead, it was collected from businessmen and ordinary villagers. (*Source: KNU*)

- ◆ Human rights violations by the SLORC troops of LB. 102, LB. 261 and LIB. 426 continued in Karenni State. Troops have been forcing hundreds of local people of Mawchee township, and prisoners from different parts of Burma to act as porters without payment since the end of July 1997. About one hundred villagers of Dee Maw So town, Dee Maw So Township, were arrested and tied up, and then trucked to Pasaung town. Those who were seized were forced to carry supplies and ammunition from Pasaung town to the area where they have been operating military offensive against innocent Karenni people. Many of those forced to act as porters have been subjected to torture and ill-treatment if they could not carry loads of supplies and ammunition. Others who were seized as porters were extrajudicially killed if they attempted to escape or were unable to carry their loads. Those who were seriously sick were left to die beside roads.
- ◆ On June 28, 1997, 17 villagers were seized by SLORC troops at the village of Ho Thi, Laikha township, Shan State. The villagers were forced to carry ammunition and other military equipment. (*Source: UN report*)
- ◆ On July 4, 1997, SLORC troops under Division 44 led by Major Aung Zaw Htun forced the villagers who had been forced to relocate in Kunhing township, Shan State in 1997, to work for the army without any payment. The male villagers had to cut bamboo and build four layers of fences around the military camp, as well as dig trenches between the layers of fences. (*Source: UN report*)
- ◆ On July 13, 1997, all the villagers from Huayphak and Chaungchi areas in Mon State were forced to build a road from Huayphak to Chaungchi. Some villagers from Chaungchi were also forced to build a road from Seik Mon to Murngtaing. (*Source: HRFOM*)
- ◆ On July 17, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 351 and IB. 60 came to Aung Soe Moe village in Kyaukkyi township, Pegu Division and arrested the villagers at random. All villagers arrested were taken to the military base and asked 6,000 *kyats* for their release by the troops. On July 21, the village had to pay 12,000 *kyats* as ransom for 20 mothers of children. (*Source: HRDU*)

- ◆ In July 1997, troops, led by Tint Lwin Oo, from SLORC IB. 55 came to Bergor-doe in Taungoo district, Karen State and ate as well as destroyed the villager's livestock and food supply. They seized all women in Kee-pla-doe and Corsay-ko villages, including young girls and nursing mothers, and forced them to carry supplies to Koe-mor-doe village on July 27, 1997. (*Source: KIC*)
- ◆ During early and mid-July, SLORC troops ordered the villagers who had been relocated along the road from Ka Li and around Kunhing town to cut thousands of bamboo, weave 100,000 sheets of thatch for roofing, cut hardwood to use as posts and build new military bases at Kunhing and Ka Li, Shan State. The villagers are not allowed to take any food with them to prevent them from giving food to members of the resistance. They were instead instructed to eat to their full before they went to work all day. All the rice and paddy which the villagers had managed to bring from their old villages were confiscated and kept at the military bases, and rationed back to them once a week, but not their good nutritious rice. The soldiers took the villagers' rice for themselves and rationed out poor quality rice from their supplies. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)
- ◆ On August 9, 1997, troops from LIB. 701 seized 90 villagers, including women and children, from Baw Galeet and Gor Theh Doe village in Toungoo district, Karen State, and forced them to carry supplies to Bu Has Kee village on the next day. (*Source: KIC*)
- ◆ One person from each household of every ward in Matupi township, Chin State were ordered to do unpaid labor in Matupi-Mintut motor road construction since August 1997. Every household that fails to provide the quota have to pay 500 kyats to the local SPDC. (*Source: FTUB*)
- ◆ In September 1997, villagers from Seikku, Hsar Mu Taw, Kyauk Twin and Par Tha Yaypyu were ordered to provide labor without any pay, to construct a motor road from Phaung Daw to Pha Thar Yebyu, Tenasserim Division. (*Source: KIC*)
- ◆ On September 21, 1997, Lt. Kyaw Zaw Lin from IB.25 stationed at Thuka border gate between Thom Pa Pun in Thailand and Taung Thonlon in Burma arrested the travelers at the gate including U San Thein and seven of his friends who were on their way back to Kanbauk, Tenasserim Division. About 30 civilians were arrested and taken as porters with the military column. U San Thein and other porters contracted malaria and could not carry on with the portage. Lt. Kyaw Zaw Lin beat them up and left two of them behind without medical assistance. Both were taken to a nearby village when the villagers found them, but U San Thein died later. (*Source: ABSDF*)

- ◆ Since October 12, 1997, SLORC troops led by Major Soe Phyu, commander of LIB. 515, have ordered the villagers who had been forced to move to the town of Laikha during the months of August-September to work without pay. Each day, 50 men between the age of 18 and 45 have to go and work along the Laikha-Murngkerng and Liakha-Pang Long motor roads. They have to cut and clear the shrubs on both sides of the roads. In addition, they also have to work at the military base in the town, clearing the compound, digging trenches and building three layers of fences around the base. The villagers have to provide wood and bamboo for the fences. Moreover, growing green vegetables, chilies, potatoes and Soya beans etc., without pay for the SLORC troops of LIB. 515, 442 and IB. 55 has become a routine job for the villagers in Laikha. (*Source: SHRF*)
- ◆ Since October 1997, Tactical Command (1) Commander Soe Thein has ordered the civilian population in the village tracts of Ho Parng and Ka Li, Kunghin township, Shan State, to repair the 26-mile-long motor roads between Kali-Kunghin-Pha Larng. In addition, the villagers have to cut and gather fire-wood for the army. Each village tract has to provide 1,000 Waa (Waa is pieces of about 2-feet-long firewood piled up properly into an armspan-wide and armspan-tall stack). The firewood is to be used in constructing a SLORC Pagoda in Kunhing. The site for the construction of the pagoda is in Quarter 2, and almost all the residences in the area have been demolished to make way for the site. (*Source: SHRF*)
- ◆ In October, 1997, to clear the KNU 4th brigade area and also to build the Bone Ti to Tavoy motor-road, the following troops that were under the command of Tactical Command 3 of LID. 66 were sent into the area. LIB. 5, LIB. 6, IB. 14 arrived Ka-htee-ha village on October 10, 1997. IB. 205 troops led by Lt Col. Win Htein arrived at Thukha border camp, IB. 104 troops led by Lt-Col. Thein Htay arrived at Minthamee, Ka-laud-don, Ahmoe border camps. Troops from LIB. 202 and IB. 280 under LID. 22 also arrived at that area. The total strength of these troops was about 1000 and were accompanied by about 500 forced porters. (*Source: KIC*)
- ◆ SPDC has claimed that civilians would be no long used as unpaid laborers in the railway construction projects across the country, and instead the military soldiers would be used. However, since November 1997, villagers from Kalong Hta, Oaktayan, Yange, Ayekani, Wonpho, Sanchi and Dudaung villages in Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division have been forced to work at the Ye-Tavoy railway construction. Between five to twenty persons from each village are conscripted to work 7-10 days at the construction sites. Most of the work is repairing the ruining railway route, cleaning the wood along the railway route and replacing the decaying railway piles. Some are forced to dig the rock for the construction of the railway. When the local people are unable to go and work as

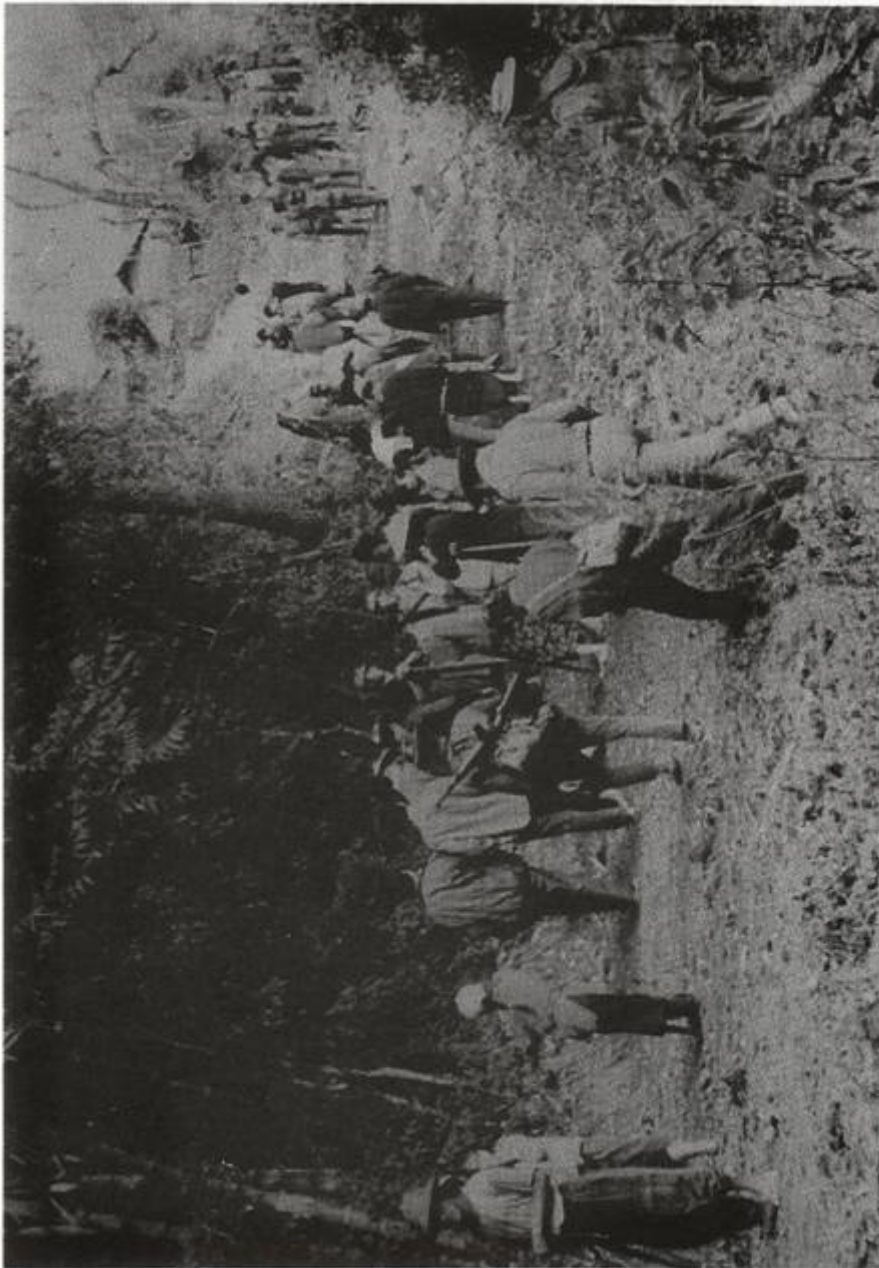
forced laborers, they have to find a substitute for 300 *kyats* per day. In the Eindayaza-Natkyizin section of the Ye-Tavoy railway construction, troops from LIB. 407 led by Battalion Commander Second Lt. Kan Win forced the local villagers from Sinku, Mintha, Kyatkettaw, Phaya Thonesu, and Natkyizin villages to provide forced labor. Each forced laborer is required to work two days per week and has to provide a one foot high and 10 ft wide pile of gravel or small rock for the concrete within to two. If a laborer fails to provide the quota, he is not allow to go back home. Troops from LIB. 407 collect the piles of gravel and small rock provided by the laborers to sell them to the Total oil company. No money is given to the laborers. In addition to the free labor, the troop also forcibly use the 50 bullock carts from the village every day without pay. (Source:ABSDF)

- ◆ SLORC troops have constructed a compound at Thingan Nyinaung which is on the road between Myawaddy and Kawkareik in Karen State since November 1997. The compound is a big one with a tall fence of barbed wire and a minefield outside. This compound is to be the detention compound for the Burmese people repatriated from Thailand. SLORC is building a new Kawkareik- Myawaddy road and more than 20,000 people are needed to construct it. So, it is planned to use the repatriated refugees from Thailand in that project as forced laborers before they are allowed to go back home. It is learnt that they will be allowed back home only after the construction is finished. (Source: ABSDF)
- ◆ In December 1997, people in Mai Sert in Shan State were ordered to pay 200-300 *kyats* per household for the repairment of the motor road between Mai Sert and Mai Pyin, according to the order by the township LORC. In addition, they had to provide one person for a week to work as unpaid laborers on the construction. People had to bring their own food and instruments. They were also ordered to provide meat for the military guarding the construction of the road. (Source: WPLHRC)

(See also under "Personal Accounts," interviews 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 19, 24, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102 and 103)



Prison labor- a prisoner working in prison labor site, outside Mandalay prison. (Photo by N. Dunlop)



Civilians seen at the forced labor site in Hopone township, Shan State. (Photo by KNPP)

Prisoners are used for a construction of a road along Mandalay Palace wall in Mandalay. (Photo by N. Dunlop)



Civilians working on the Rangoon-Mandalay Highway motor road in Pegu. (photo by N. Dunlop)

5. Forced Relocation and Internally Displaced Persons

5.1. Background

The policy of SLORC/SPDC, in the case of any form of armed resistance has amounted to “drain the ocean so the fish cannot swim”. In other words, they undermine civilian populations until they can no longer sustain themselves or carry out opposition movements. This is the fundamental idea behind the Four Cuts policy - to cut links of intelligence, food, money, and recruits between armed opposition groups and local civilians. The military uses forced relocations as a tool for primarily two purposes: 1) development projects, and 2) as part of its counter insurgency operations. Villagers are relocated to make way for development projects and also used as unpaid laborers on such projects. By moving villages, the SLORC/SPDC effectively deprives ethnic opposition groups of any local support. In the new sites, villagers are under complete military control and are used further as a rotating source of extortion money as well as forced labor in various projects.

People appear to be forcibly relocated in Burma on account of ethnic origin or based on what SLORC/SPDC perceives to be their political beliefs. Death threats, illtreatment and other forms of harassment and intimidation often accompany relocation. In addition, people are forced to survive under harsh life-threatening conditions in the relocation sites, including overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and unsafe drinking water. In June 1997, 28 victims of forced relocation died of dysentery in the Pa Long relocation camp in Loikaw Township, Karenni State. It is believed that the illness was transmitted from the Shadaw relocation camp where an unknown number of people died from the same illness. (*Source: KNPP*)

Countless numbers of people in some areas have been given no choice but to leave their homes. These people are victims of relocation brutally enforced by the army. In areas where there is suspected opposition, some or even all of the civilian population are forced at gunpoint to move into relocation sites and are told that they cannot return until opposition groups surrender. They are also threatened with death if they do not obey. Their homes, crops and livestock are often destroyed. Some 100 villages between the Pon and Salween rivers in Karenni State were ordered to move to relocation sites beside SLORC/SPDC army camps at Shadaw and Ywa Thit.

The order stated that anyone seen in or around these villages after June 7, 1996 would be “considered an enemy,” an official euphemism for shoot to kill on sight. Such forced relocation of civilians is just one of the many clear violations of humanitarian law, the law of armed conflict, which the Tatmadaw commits regularly. Similarly “scorched earth” campaigns have been conducted in central Shan State and Pupan district of Karen State.

Forced relocations occur not only as a result of the four-cut campaign against civilians, but also because SLORC/SPDC needs space to build its infamous “infrastructure projects”. From the time SLORC/SPDC came into power in 1988, it implemented several infrastructure projects aimed at attracting increased international investment. The regime claims that these “development projects” are designed for the long-term benefit of all, because they create the infrastructure necessary for improving the livelihood of the community as a whole. However, civilians in the regions have suffered the loss of their native land for these supposed “development” projects. Forced relocation and other forms of human rights violations by Tatmadaw most commonly occur along the border areas where the army is engaged in military operations or regional development projects. Sadly, even when human rights abuses committed by the regime are known to foreign businesses, the companies turn a blind eye to the suffering and continue to invest. Prime examples include the Yadana Gas Pipeline and the Ye-Tavoy Railway in Southern Burma. Both of these projects are enormously important economically to the military regime. As of November 1997, Unocal, a partner foreign oil company of the Yadana Gas Pipeline stated on the homepage of its Web that, “no villages in the vicinity of the pipeline route have been relocated for the benefit of this project. Unocal would oppose any such relocations”. However, a half-page advertisement placed in the Bangkok Post English Newspaper, on April 17, 1995, paid for by the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT), unequivocally confirmed that at least 11 villages had in fact been relocated to facilitate the pipeline project. It stated that, “Myanmar has recently cleared the way by relocating a total of 11 villages that would otherwise obstruct the passage of the Gas Resource Development Project.”

5.2. KAREN STATE

5.2.1. Papun district

In February and March 1997, SLORC/SPDC began a campaign to forcibly relocate or obliterate all villages in the hills of Papun district, northern Karen State, and eastern Nyaunglaybin district, straddling the border of Karen State and Pegu Division. The main region affected extends approximately 50 km (30 miles) to both the north and south of the town of Papuan in northern Karen State, and from the Salween River, 50 km (25 miles) east of Papun to Shwekyin townships, another 50-60 km (30-35 miles) west of Papun in Nyaunlaybin district of Pegu Division. This

makes the total area of the region close to 10,000 square kilometers. These remote hilly areas dotted with small Karen villages averaging 10-20 families each, have always been difficult if not impossible for the SLORC/SPDC to control because the villagers always manage to flee before they arrive. As a result, SLORC/SPDC has been carrying out a campaign to both forcibly relocate those villages already close to their bases, where they can easily round up the population, and to obliterate all other villages without warning, hunting and killing on sight any villagers they find there.

There have been three main waves of village destruction, the first in March/April 1997. During the second wave in June, new patrols were sent out to burn all signs of habitation and food supplies and to hunt villagers hiding in the forest, to effectively “smoke” them out and shoot them to death. After the end of the rainy season in November 1997, the third wave took place. The newly-renamed SPDC sent out patrols to drive off the hiding villagers again and to burn and destroy the meager rice crops that many of them had managed to plant or harvest. In the areas south and east of Papun, most of the villages have been ordered to move. All villages in the Ka Dtaing Dtee area south of Papun have reportedly been ordered to move to Ka Dtaing Dtee, and villages east of Papun have been ordered to move to SPDC camps at Pah Heh (Pa Haik) and Toh Thay Pu. The worst hit areas are those which lie north, northwest and west of Papun, comprising the Yunzalin and Bilin river watersheds as well as the hills of eastern Shewkyin township, which lie further west and northwest of Papun, particularly in the upper Bilin river area. In these areas, many villages which are easily reached have been ordered to move to SPDC-controlled villages such as Meh Way, or to the Shwekyin-Kyaukkyi motor road where they are almost certainly used as forced labor to maintain roads. At least five villages (Wah May Kyo, Htee Muh Hta, Saw Oo Po, Saw Theh Kee, and Bweh Si Kee), were ordered to move to one such site known as Than Seit Min Lang.

Meh Way, a village of an estimated 200 households in the Bilin River valley, is one of the major relocation sites because it is just at the southern edge of one of the regions hardest hit by this campaign. At least 36 villages have been ordered to move to Meh Way. In early 1997, SLORC LIB. 546 established three military camps surrounding the people of Meh Way. After several thousand people were forced to move there and build huts in between these camps, they were then used for forced labor along with Meh Way villagers. They built and maintained these camps and were used as porters as well as human minesweepers with the search and destroy columns that went out to burn the villages and hunt villagers. Soldiers allowed each family in the village two tines (about 33 kg/ 72 lbs.) of rice per month.

The majority of the villages in these areas have simply been shelled and burned without warning. The shelters where villagers are hiding have also been burnt whenever they are found.

In the beginning approximately six SLORC/SPDC battalions were involved in operation, and now under SPDC the number has increased to at least 10 battalions. The battalions are regularly rotated in and out, so that altogether at least 23 different battalions have been involved at one time or another. The following is an incomplete list of troops that have been involved: Light Infantry Division 44 and 77; IB 19, 39, 57 and 59; LIB. 20, 36, 106, 107, 340, 341, 349, 350, 356, 391, 434, 546, 547, 548, 701, 703, 704, 706 and 710. These Battalions enter the area from Shwekyin and Papun, and some also operate out of camps at Meh Way, Pwa Ghaw, Toh Thay Pu, Pah Heh, Kyauk Nyat, Maw Pu, Kler Kyo, Baw Kwaw, Ler Mu Plaw and other locations.

The columns of 100 to 300 men move from village to village. On arrival near a village, the troops first shell it with mortars from the adjacent hills, then enter firing at anything that moves, proceeding to burn every house, farm/field hut, or other shelter found in the area. Paddy storage barns are especially sought out and burned in order to destroy the villagers' food supply. Village schools and churches are particularly targeted for burning. By the time the SPDC are finished, all that remains of a village is a flat plain of black ash. Any villagers seen in the villages, forests, or fields are shot on sight without being questioned or warned. The villagers generally hear up to a day in advance that an SPDC column is coming, so they flee further into the hills. Once the troops have destroyed their village and passed on, they survive in leaf shelters or small huts that they build in the forest where they try to continue tending their fields. Rice from those paddy storage barns that have not been destroyed is generally shared. Most live on plain rice with some jungle leaf soup, as well as salt if they are lucky enough to have it. SPDC troops simply shoot and eat all livestock that has been left behind.

In the region, 105 villages were ordered to relocate, 18 villages were completely burned down, and 10 others were partially burned. The population of these villages average about 100. This list is by no means complete, and right now the SPDC military patrols continue to burn villages and shoot villagers in the area. While sixtytwo civilians were reportedly killed in the area, the true number is almost certainly twice that. Many more have also died of disease and hunger while in hiding. In 1997, at least 1,500 villagers from the area managed to escape to refugee camps in Thailand. This is a difficult and dangerous undertaking because of SPDC camps and patrols along the way as well as the landmines that are placed along many of the paths. (*Source: KHRG*)

5.2.2. Forced Relocation in Kya-ein-seik-kyi

Major Zaw Lin Htun from LIB. 356 called on the village headmen in Kya-ein-seikkyi Township and Ye Township on September 22, 1997, and ordered eleven Mon villages and another eleven Karen villages to relocate by October 15, 1997. These villages were part of the joint-controlled area of NMSP and KNU. Villagers were threatened with death if they failed to comply with the order. Villagers were told to move to Taungbauk and Wai Thali villages. The name of the villages ordered to relocate thus far are: Bo Kadaw, Wai Thali (West), Kyettuyway Taung, Baydari, Kayoke Hmaw, Tanta Pyet, Kyauk Kya, Pha Kapo, Kyaukpo, Ayoe Kalain, Kunthee Khan (all Mon villages) and Shwe Pohut, Htee Pa Htaw, Kyeik Taung, Thara Gon, Taung Kalay, Tavoy Pauk, Chee Naung Chee, Saw Maw Sakan, Agar, Yele, and Htee pale (all Karen villages). (*Source: Alert*)

5.2.3. Pa-an District

The situation in Pa-an District of central Karen State continues to worsen, particularly in the eastern parts of the district close to the Dawna mountains and the Thai border. By February 1997 the villages of Ta Ku Kraw, Kwih Pa Taw and Noh Law Bler (comprising a total of over 150 households), were forced to move, and Ta Ku Kraw was burned. Villagers were ordered to move to Naw Deh, where some went and now live in makeshift shelters with no way to survive. However, most of them fled into the forest where they are now hiding and struggling to barely survive. Then, in February and March 1997, SLORC/SPDC ordered the villages of Tee Hseh Ker, Naw Ter Kee, Bee T'Ka, Kaw Per Nweh Ko, Kwih Sgheh, Tee Baw Blaw, Ler Dah and possibly several more to move. Even though Bee T'Ka, the largest of these, has over 300 households it was given only three days to move to Taung Zone army camp, and the villagers were told that anyone seen there after March 6 would be shot on sight. The village was quickly abandoned as the villagers fled to the homes of relatives or to the forest. Later in March, the KNLA used the absence of the villagers as an opportunity to make a heavy attack against SLORC/SPDC troops near the village. SLORC/SPDC suffered significant casualties, and sent word out for the villagers to come back and act as a human shield around them. However, most villagers were frightened and ignored the call. They remain scattered throughout the area.

A similar situation exists slightly further north, where SLORC/SPDC troops ordered Noh Ray Tee Per and Ta Wih Koh villages to move to Dta Greh in March with an early April deadline. The troops also burned 16 houses and shot one villager dead in Tee Wah Klay village on March 21, 1997. Villages around Tee Wah Klay have yet to be given forced relocation orders. Most of the people from Tee Wah Klay, PerWay, Thay Mo Pah Kee, Day Law Pya, and Meh Pleh Wah Kee, as well as those from the relocated villages of Noh Ray Tee Per and Ta Wih Koh, have fled into the

forests. They fear that the SLORC/SPDC troops who regularly patrol there will hurt them. Most of the villagers live in hiding in the hills, and medics who have visited them report that many children have already died of stomach illnesses and malaria. As of April 1997, at least 16 children had died of illness just in the villages surrounding Noh Ray Tee Per.

Just south of Tee Wah Klay area in the western part of the Dawna Range, the eight villages of Naw Ter Kee, Pleh Wah Hta, Taw Ghoh Hta, Noh Kheh, Pa Wih Kee, Paw Tee Hta, Paw Tee Wah, and Kyaw Law Kloh have also been forced to move. Starting in November 1996 everyone in these villages was ordered to stay inside the village together with their livestock - an impossible demand to put on subsistence farmers - or be shot on sight. Then in January SLORC/SPDC began forcibly moving them to Thu K'Bee.

The situation for villagers in these areas of Dta Greh township is increasingly desperate and unstable. They have little or no food, no medicine, and face the constant threat of discovery and arrest by SPDC patrols. Many are in hiding in the hills of the Dawna Range. The KNLA has been using the range as a base area to launch attacks on SPDC units in the plains to the west. The KNLA has planted these hills heavily with landmines, making flight difficult and dangerous for the villagers. SLORC/SPDC military units responsible for the forced relocations and other abuses have included Light Infantry Battalions LIB. 547, 548, 549, 338 and 357, and Infantry Battalions IB. 28, 36 and 97. The troops are regularly rotated to prevent them from becoming too familiar or friendly with the villagers. For example, LIB. 547, 548 and 338 have now been redeployed elsewhere and IB. 28 has been replaced by troops from LID. 99. (*Source: KHRG*)

5.2.4. Forced relocation in newly SLORC/SPDC - occupied Dooplaya district

In February 1997, SLORC/SPDC mounted a mass military offensive against large areas of Dooplaya District which were strongly or partly controlled by the Karen National Union (KNU). Dooplaya District lies in central Karen State, from Kawkareik and Myawaddy in the north to Three Pagodas Pass in the south. Troops from six different Light Infantry Divisions were involved in the offensive, which led to the capture of most KNU-held areas and the flight of over 10,000 civilians to Thailand. Many more were trapped inside their villages and home areas by the rapid advance of the SLORC/SPDC troops.

SLORC/SPDC claimed to have brought “peace” to the area, however, SLORC/SPDC troops in the newly-occupied areas just 10 or more kilometers further inside were already restricting the movements of villagers, forcing them to work on military access roads, and looting villages. As part of the clampdown, an increasing number of villages throughout Dooplaya are now being forced to relocate. At first, small villages, particularly if they were in remote areas, and villages from which most of the population had fled were ordered to relocate to larger villages. Since then, people living on the outskirts of many villages have been ordered to move their houses into the center of the village. Now, since the beginning of the rainy season in May/June, SLORC/SPDC troops in southern Dooplaya have begun entering stable, established villages which are not close to Army camps and ordering them at gunpoint to move to SLORC/SPDC-controlled locations near Army camps or along main roads. Five of these relocation sites are Ku Du Gweh (a.k.a. Meh Pra), Taung Zone (a.k.a. Lay Noh), and Anand Gwin (a.k.a. Noh Chut Neh), which are along the Thanbyuzayat - Three Pagodas Pass road, and Kaneh Kamaw, and Beh Hla Mu (a.k.a. Ker), which are north of Ye near the Ye - Thanbyuzayat road. At least one village has been ordered to move to Three Pagodas Pass village at the Thai border.

The troops generally order the villagers at gunpoint to move within 3 to 6 days, and in some cases stay in the village to watch the villagers dismantle their houses to ensure that they move to the designated site. Once at the relocation sites, the villagers get no food or help from SLORC/SPDC, but they still have to give food and money to the troops. They are not allowed to work freely in their fields. They are only allowed to leave the relocation site in the morning and must return by evening, which makes it impossible to get any work done if fields are located any distance away. They are not allowed to sleep at their field huts, and even while working in their fields with valid movement passes some villagers have been arrested, beaten, or taken as porters. All of this is happening during the rainy season, which is the crucial ricegrowing season. The SLORC/SPDC restrictions have prevented most villagers from growing a crop sufficient to feed their families for the next year. Heavy rains have worsened the situation so that many crops have been damaged or wiped out. Since villagers cannot expect support from SLORC/SPDC, when their rice runs out they will starve or be forced to flee.

Villagers report that even villages that have not been ordered to move are disintegrating because so many people have fled fearing torture and other abuses. People particularly want to avoid repeated demands for guns, and the detention, beatings, and torture associated with this. One villager interviewed in this report fled his village after witnessing many of the villagers being severely beaten, only to find himself in a new village where he was used every day for forced labor building fences around an Army camp. He decided to return to his home village, where they were just receiving orders to relocate. He finally risked fleeing the area altogether. Many villagers in Dooplaya are facing this same situation. However, Thai authorities are currently denying new refugees asylum stating that refugees must go

back home because “there is no more fighting”. However, there is presently no possibility of refugees returning to Dooplaya District. Given that conditions are unsafe, residence suffer numerous indignities, and that current SLORC/SPDC activities in the region are only likely to increase, Thailand can expect a steady flow of refugees from Burma for the foreseeable future. (*Source: KHRG*)

5.3. Relocation in Karenni State

In 1996, a massive relocation in Karenni State took place. As many as 75,000 people have been affected by SLORC/SPDC’s mass relocation orders in Karenni State where the local population is between 200,000 and 300,000. The only areas that remain unaffected by the relocation orders are in southern and central Karenni, where the Karen Nationalities People’s Liberation Front (KNPLF) operates. The KNPLF signed a cease-fire agreement with SLORC/SPDC in 1994 that still holds. In other areas, civilians were ordered to move to various relocation sites. The primary intention of this mass relocation was to cut off all possibility of civilian support for the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP). SLORC/SPDC broke a cease-fire agreement with the KNPP in June 1995.

Some villagers were marched at gunpoint to relocation sites without warning but most were issued written orders to move within just seven days or be “considered enemies”, in other words, shot on sight without question. Thousands of villagers went to the relocation sites as ordered, others, particularly those far from SLORC/SPDC bases, fled into the forests surrounding their villages. Over 3,000 escaped to Karenni refugee camps in Thailand after several difficult and dangerous days, sometimes weeks, of walking during the 1996-97 rainy season.

Since relocations, SLORC/SPDC has still not allowed people to resettle in their home villages or provided them any assistance. The situation throughout Karenni State grows increasingly critical. Witnesses state that never before in history has the situation been so terrible in Karenni State as it is now. Even people from villages and towns who have not been ordered to move are facing severe restrictions. For example, in Shadaw, the villagers have been forced to build a fence around the entire town. Every town is now surrounded by checkpoints, many modes of transport have been cut and people are not allowed to go anywhere without military permission.

The SLORC/SPDC provides nothing whatsoever at the relocation sites, and villagers were only able to bring very little food with them when they arrived at the relocation sites. On arrival at most of the relocation sites, the villagers were to hand over whatever rice they had to the SLORC/SPDC. Rice was then rationed out to them at varying rates. For example, at Maw Chee, the villagers received eight milk-tines per

person per week (only 1/2 the amount required to feed the average adult). Even at this rate of distribution, the rice only lasted the first 1-2 months. In June 1996 at Shadaw and Ywathit relocation sites, SLORC/SPDC allowed many villagers one last chance to return to their villages for seven to ten days to collect food. Many villagers used this opportunity to escape into the forest. Then about one month after the June 1996 deadline for relocation, SLORC/SPDC troops launched an operation to tour the villages, burning and destroying all that remained of them. A similar operation was mounted again in January 1997. Some villages were totally burned down. For example, of the 98 villages between the Pon and Salween rivers that were ordered to move in 1996, sources reported that sixty to seventy were completely burned. In other villages the troops destroyed the best houses and rice barns and killed the villagers' livestock and cattle. Some villages were not destroyed but landmines were laid. In Baw Ghu Der Township, stepping on these mines later killed some villagers, both men and women.

At Nwa La Bo camp, SLORC/SPDC officials ordered each relocated family to grow three acres of beans, then harvest them and gather them in the camp to be distributed among the villagers. However, as soon as all the beans were gathered, the military loaded them onto trucks and took them away. At some of the camps, the Catholic Church tried to help the villagers with rice, medicines, blankets, etc. In almost every case, the SLORC/SPDC has confiscated or blocked all aid, demanding that rice and supplies be handed over to them for distribution. Of course, the materials never reach their intended destination.

When people first arrive in the relocation sites, nothing is prepared for them. They are the ones who must clear the area designated by the SLORC/SPDC in order to build houses. In Shadaw, after the villagers had finished clearing the site, troops decided that the area would be better used growing beans for the army, and ordered the people to clear and settle another place altogether.

Thousands of Karenni villagers are now living at SPDC-designated relocation sites including Shadaw, Ywathit, Daw Tama Gyi, Baw La Keh, Daw Tama, Tee Po Kloh, Kay Lia, Mar Kraw She, Maw Chee, Phasaung, and Nwa La Bo, in Karenni State.

In most of the relocation sites in Karenni State, many people are dying of diseases. The water supply is totally inadequate and usually contaminated. In late 1996 and early 1997, every day as many as three to four die, mostly children, mainly from malaria, dysentery and respiratory diseases. The sites have no clinics. Even where there are clinics, no medicines are available and people are prevented from going and buying them. In June 1997, 28 victims of forced relocation died in the Pa Long relocation camp in Loikaw Township, Karenni State, from dysentery. It is believed that the illness was transmitted from the Shadaw relocation camp where an unknown number of people died from the same illness. (*Source: KNPP*)

In most sites the SLORC/SPDC troops order the people to work for them. They have to cut bamboo and wooden posts to build barracks and fences. In Shadaw, Daw Tama Gyi and Tee Po Kloh sites, people are forced to do road construction work. They are also forced to build fences around some of the relocation camps, to dig trenches, and to do labor as sentries. The sites are concentration camps. People are like inmates and must get a pass at the sentry post in order to go in and out. Landmines have been laid around the camps. Military defenses are especially prevalent at Shadaw, Maw Chee and Ywathit sites, where SLORC/SPDC fears retaliation by the KNPP. SLORC/SPDC have built military posts inside the relocation sites and have arrested people staying there under suspicion of having had contact with opposition groups. (*Source: KNPP*)

5.4. Forced Relocation in Tenasserim Division

5.4.1. Yadana Gas Pipeline Project

The Yadana Pipeline Project is a joint-venture involving TOTAL, a Paris, Francebased Oil Company. Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE), is a company wholly owned and operated by SLORC/SPDC and UNOCAL Corporation, a California, USA-based Oil Company. The pipeline project involves the development and production of natural gas from the Yadana natural gas field located in the Andaman Sea, approximately 43-miles south of the Burmese shore. The pipeline is to run from the Yadana field to the Thai border. The joint venture project specifically includes a 251-mile pipeline offshore of the Union of Burma and a 39-mile onshore pipeline across Burma. Hundreds of thousands of villagers have been affected by the pipeline project by being relocated either to work directly on the project or on other infrastructure projects which will support the pipeline project including new roads and a railway line. SLORC/SPDC's LIB. 273, based in Kanbauk village is responsible for general pipeline security as well as security for the base camp itself.

Since construction began, many villages in the region have been relocated in order to continue laying pipeline into Thailand. In February 1997, SLORC/SPDC LIB. 273 relocated five villages in Kywe Thone Nyima village tract, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, including Mae Taw, Cha Bone, Chaung Phyar, Mae Yaung, and Mae Than Taung villages. These villages lie just ten to fifteen kilometers north of the Yadana Gas Pipeline. (*Source: ABSDF*)

5.4.2. Forced Relocation Between the Tavoy - Mergui-Kathaung Road and the Tenasserim River

Between September 1996 and January 1997, almost every village between the Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung road in the west and the Tenasserim River in the east, from Palauk in the north to Tenasserim town in the south has been ordered to relocate on one or more occasions. The area measures about 120 km north to south and 30 km east to west. At least 35 to 40 villages, ranging in size from 20 to 150 households each, have been affected by the SLORC/SPDC relocation orders. The affected area is almost entirely populated by Karen people, dotted with some Burman villages along the coastal reaches of main rivers. The majority of the villages ordered to relocate are Karen, however, several Burman villages have been ordered to move into the center of their village, rather than to the outskirts. Villagers are generally given between 24 hours and a few days to move. They are ordered to destroy their own homes by removing the floor, walls, and roof. If even one person fails to follow these orders, SLORC/SPDC soldiers burn down the entire village. Several villages have already been completely or partially burned, including Pyi Cha, May Way, Wah Tho, Ku The, Wa Thu Lo, Ka Weh, Wah Lo, Noh Aw, and Ta Po Kee. The troops have even been known to burn down previously SLORC/SPDC-run schools.

Villagers have been ordered to move along the roadside of the Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung road and the Boke-KapYaw-Kyay Nan Ding road or to Burman villages on the lower Tenasserim River. SLORC/SPDC does not compensate the relocated villagers for their losses. They do not receive land, building materials, or any other assistance.

5.4.3. Other relocations in Tenasserim Division

The SLORC/SPDC offensive against the Karen in the Mergui-Tavoy District began in February 1997. Thousands of villagers fled their homes for safety on the Thai-Burma border. However, some villagers chose not to leave their homes. As a result, the following four villages remain: 1) Seik Ku, 2) Hsar Mu Taw, 3) Kyauk Twin, and 4) Par Thar Yay Bu. Since the offensive began, SLORC/SPDC continues to order these villages to provide able bodied men and women to be used as porters and forced labor. In September 1997, the SLORC/SPDC sent forced relocation orders for all remaining villagers in the four villages to move to Thauung Thone Lone village. (Source: KNU)

An order of relocation was issued by Lt. Col. Win Htein, commander of IB.25 based in Tavoy, Tenasserim Division, on December 21, 1997. See Phylene, Myee Kanbaw, Kami, Nyaungdon, Hnin Payoke, Kyethaein, and Thabyu Chaung, Pynthadaw villages located on the east side of Gamong stream in the Myee Kanbaw village tract were ordered to move to the west side of Gamong stream. The commander called on the village SPDC leaders and issued an order of relocation. He warned the villagers to cooperate with the military and inform the activities of the KNU in the region, otherwise, the villagers would face another relocation order. An order was issued after the continued fighting between the SPDC troops and the KNU in the region.

Since early January 1997, SLORC/SPDC troops have increased their patrols into the relocation areas to hunt out and execute villagers in hiding, re-issue orders to move, and burn villages which have not cooperated. Battalions involved include Infantry Battalions 280, 101, 17, 103, 19 and 433. The overall operation seems to be aimed at clearing out the entire civilian population between the coastal plains and the Tenasserim River 50 km to the east, using newly displaced people to build military roads into these areas so SPDC can set up Army posts throughout the region. This makes it more difficult for Karen soldiers to operate in the area, and provides SPDC with positions that they can use as a springboard for attacks on the southern Tenasserim River valley in the future. According to villagers doing the labor, the SPDC is in a great hurry to finish these roads. Those still hiding in the area say that once the roads come, they will have to flee. Over 1,000 have already fled the villages and relocation sites to reach areas along the Tenasserim River to the east, which are under Karen National Union control. Many have scattered among existing villages and depend upon the charity of villagers who live along the river. Very few have made it to Thailand, but since there are no refugee camps for them in this part of Thailand anyway, they are likely to end up on construction sites, doing bonded labor or sweatshop labor. (*Source: KHRG*)

5.5. Relocation in Shan State

Forced relocation in Shan State is not new. All kinds of human rights abuses including massive forced relocations were committed by the Burmese Army under the pretext of driving away the Chinese Nationalist KMT in 1950. The situation worsened after the military seized power in 1960 as resistance forces sprang up all over Shan State. In their attempts to crush the forces of the opposition, the BSPP Army devised its strategy of "Four Cuts", aimed at cutting the food, funds, intelligence and recruits local civilians had been providing the resistance armies. These often involved forcing whole village tracts to move to strategic sites which could be closely guarded.

Throughout the past thirty years, large areas of Shan State have been repeatedly disrupted in this way. However, the massive forced relocations begun by the SLORC/SPDC in central Shan State in 1996 and 1997 was totally unprecedented in scale.

In early January 1996, the Shan Mong Tai Army (MTA) led by Khun Sa surrendered to the SLORC/SPDC military regime. However, large numbers of ex-MTA troops refused to surrender, and instead began moving north from the former MTA areas along the Thai-Burma border to join the other Shan resistance groups, the Shan State Army and the Shan State National Army, who had cease-fire agreements with SLORC/SPDC. These ex-MTA soldiers regrouped themselves into a new army (the Shan United Revolutionary Army -SURA). By late January 1996, these breakaway Shan troops had crossed to the north of the Salween River, and began heading further north to the area of Larng Kher. SLORC/SPDC attempted to block their passage. By February SURA troops had penetrated central Shan State, and began operating as a guerrilla force there. The SLORC/SPDC responded with drastic measures in early March, embarking upon a systematic program to relocate all villages in suspected rebel areas to towns or sites along main roads and near SLORC/SPDC army bases. SLORC/SPDC's aim was to prevent the villagers from providing any support to the rebels and thereby force the Shan soldiers to surrender.

Beginning in March, 1996, the SLORC/SPDC troops ordered village after village in eight townships — Larng Kher, Murng Nai, Nam Zarng, Lai Kha, Murng Kerng, Kun Hing, Kee See and Murng Su — to move, turning once thriving farming communities into depopulated “free-fire” zones. Altogether 21,993 households in 605 villages of eight townships were forcibly relocated during 1996. With an average household containing at least five people, it was estimated that well over 100,000 people were affected by these forced relocations in 1996. The area from which people were relocated covered approximately 5,000 square miles.

Most of the villagers are too afraid to disobey relocation orders and move to the relocation sites. Unless they have relatives in the area they can stay with, they must build their own huts, sometimes sharing them with other displaced families. In most cases, the land close to the relocation sites is too arid to plant, or is already claimed by other villagers living in the area. People survive by selling their possessions and finding work as day laborers for a cheap wage. Many of the children are seen begging on the street.

Some people decide to hide near their villages in the jungle. Those who choose the jungle do so because they are either afraid they are too poor to survive in the location sites, or, particularly with aging people, they simply feel too insecure to leave their homes. Thus, they stay close to their farms, secretly planting their old fields, or rely on stores of rice hidden nearby. Because they cannot stay in their old villages, they construct makeshift huts among clumps of trees, or in thick bush, where they are not easily visible.

Others who decide to seek food and shelter elsewhere because of both the difficulties of surviving in the relocation sites and their fear of SLORC/SPDC troops, move to other parts of Shan State. Sometimes they have relatives there or believe they can find work. However, most seek refuge in Thailand. Some of the relocated villagers travel straight to Thailand after receiving relocation orders without ever going to relocation sites. Others have come to Thailand desperate after trying to survive as long as a year or more in hiding near their villages or in a relocation site.

5.5.1. 1997 Relocation in Shan State

In March 1997, SLORC/SPDC began relocating previously untouched villages in seven out of eight townships already affected by the 1996 relocations. They also moved preexisting relocation sites closer to towns, to bring villagers under further control. The only exception was Murng Su Township. Relocations were not continued after 1996 because SURA troops were not operating there.

In May 1997, the SURA began operating further south-east, so the relocation program spread south-east to the township of Murng Pan. Then in December 1997, relocations began to the east of the Salween to Murng Paeng, and from January-February 1998, the area of relocation spread to western townships of Loi Lem and Ho Pong. The SPDC still does not provide for relocated villagers, and continues to use them for forced labor. SPDC uses them as porters for road-construction, and forces them to work on nearby army camps building barracks and fences. From these areas in Shan State, 33,964 households from 873 villages were relocated during 1997. With each household containing an average of five people, this means that some 169,820 people were affected by forced labor in 1997. The affected areas now total approximately 7,000 square miles.

5.5.2. Forced Relocation in Kunhing

In 1996, relocation began in March, with villages between the Nam Pang and Salween Rivers and south of the Kunhing -Murng Paeng road. Villagers were ordered to move to three main relocation sites. In May, most of the villages south of Kunhing and west of the Nam Pang were ordered to move into four main sites.

Between March and May 1997, SLORC/SPDC began clearing the area south of Kunhing. All of the relocation sites from 1996, as well as remaining villages that had not been relocated in 1996, were ordered to move north to the town of Kunhing, or just east of the town, on the Kunhing - Murng Paeng road.

Villagers in the Keng Kham area were ordered to move by May 9, 1997. They were given three days to do so. SLORC/SPDC used some of the villagers as porters during the move.

5.5.2.1. Conditions in Relocation Sites

In 1996, at the relocation sites of Wan Lao and Sai Khao, south of Kunhing, villagers were allowed to return for five days at a time to farm their fields. Following the March 1997 relocations to Kunhing, villagers were strictly forbidden to travel farther than three miles from their sites. However, during the rice-planting season beginning in August 1997, some farmers in areas closer to Kunhing were allowed to return to their fields for seven days at a time to plant and then harvest rice. Afraid they would be shot anyway, farmers reportedly harvested in haste, simply cutting the paddy and putting it in bags, not leaving it in the fields to thresh.

During 1997, villagers relocated around Kunhing were forced to cut thousands of pieces of bamboo, weave roofing, cut hardwood for posts and build bases for SLORC/SPDC troops at Kunhing and Kali. They also had to build fences around the bases, and man check-points along the main road.

5.5.3. Relocation in Murng Pan

In 1996, relocation began in mid-March in the tract of Nong Hee, carried out by troops from SLORC/SPDC LIB. 247. They moved villages from Nam Zarng and Murng Nai. Most of the villages north of the Nam Zarng - Kunhing road were forced down to sites along the road, or to sites near the army base at Ton Hoong Long.

In April 1996, SLORC/SPDC IB. 55 of Murng Pan, ordered villagers in Loi Lat tract southeast of Nam Zarng to move to Wan Nong Koong Mong. Villagers were given between 3-5 days to move.

In 1997, beginning in March, all the relocation sites north of the main Nam Zarng - Kunhing road were moved to existing sites along the road, such as Kho Lam and Hai Neng. The relocation site of Wan Nong Koong Mong was itself relocated to Nam Zarng.

5.5.3.1. Conditions in the Relocation Sites

In 1996, SLORC/SPDC provided nothing for those living in the relocation sites. In the Kho Lam site, it was reported that as many as 40 people had died of illness in the first month of relocation. Most of the time, villagers were forbidden to return to their fields. Villagers in Ton Hoong relocation site were forced to work for the SLORC/SPDC soldiers at the nearby army bases building barracks. At Kho Lam they were forced to clear forests and grow beans for the troops of LIB. 510 stationed nearby.

In 1997, villagers relocated to Kho Lam cleared the sides of roads, dug ditches, fetched water, and gathered firewood for troops at the nearby army base. Although permission was granted for villagers from nearby villages to return to farm their fields, the fact that even those with permission were shot on sight meant that few dared to farm openly.

5.5.4. Forced Relocation in Laikha

Relocation began in Laikha in March 1996. During 1996, 80 villages were moved to six main relocation sites, mostly along the Laikha - Murng Nawng road.

In March 1997, the SLORC/SPDC began relocating villagers staying in the relocation sites of Tard Mork (northeast of Laikha) down to relocation sites along the main Laikha - Murng Nawng road. On April 4, SLORC/SPDC troops fired shells into Tard Mork relocation site, killing three people and injuring another three. The villagers were then ordered to move again by April 8. On April 10, large sections of Tard Mork relocation site were burned down with some people being burned alive.

On June 27, 1997, SLORC/SPDC began ordering villagers in the relocation sites along the Laikha - Murng Nawng road to move to the town of Laikha itself. By July 3, all the villagers from the relocation site of Wan Thi had been moved to a site east of Laikha, and on July 7, all the villagers from Wan Sarng and Zalai Khum relocation sites were ordered to move to the same site.

By mid-July, all of the approximately 180 villages in the area east and northeast of the town, totaling about 40,000 people, had either been moved into the town or into the site of Parng Phone, where there is a large military base.

5.5.4.1. Conditions in the Relocation Sites

Following the mass re-relocation to Laikha in July 1997, eyewitnesses reported scenes of social chaos. Countless people were begging in the streets, camping in temples, and under trees by the roadsides.

SLORC/SPDC also forced those who were being relocated to work. Villagers had to stand guard at quarter-mile intervals along the Laikha - Murng Nawng road and watch for Shan soldiers. At each point, two people guarded together for a week at a time, both day and night.

After being relocated to Laikha, villagers who had fields close to the main Laikha-Murng Nawng road were charged 180 kyats in return for written permission to work their fields.

5.5.5. Forced Relocation in Kee See

In 1996, relocation in Kee See was carried out between March and July. Written relocation orders were sent to villages, instructing that they move within five days. Villages to the northeast of Kee See were relocated down to the Kee See – Murng Su road. Villages to the south of Kee See were relocated to sites close to the town or also along the Kee See-Murng Nawng road. Villagers around Murng Nawng were relocated to Murng Nawng itself or to sites along the Murng Nawng-Laikha road as well as the Murng Nawng - Kunhing road.

In March 1997, Wan Zing relocation site to the south of Murng Nawng was ordered to move to Laikha, and many of the houses in the site were burned down. In May, Parng Peng relocation site was moved to Laikha before being burned down. Other relocation sites around Murng Nawng, namely Nam Mong, Wiang Kao and Nong Aye, were also relocated to the town of Murng Nawng in May 1997.

5.5.5.1. Conditions in the Relocation Sites

In 1996, there were reports of villagers relocated to sites around Murng Nawng having to beg for food because they could not find work. Villagers in the relocation site in Murng Nang were forced to work for the nearby army camp. In Wang Zing relocation site, all the rice was confiscated from the villagers by the SLORC/SPDC and rationed out at the rate of two condensed milk cans per person.

In 1997, those relocated to existing relocation sites, such as villagers from Wan Zing who were relocated to the site of Parng Nim near Kho Lam, found it more difficult to survive due to the scarcity of land and food.

According to an order issued by SPDC commander of LIB. 242 on December 1, 1997, villagers relocated to Murng Nawng were not allowed to travel to farm their fields farther than within a radius three miles from the town. If they wanted to go farther they had to ask for a pass that was good for just seven days, and could only take enough food for that period. Villagers relocated to Kee See were also not permitted beyond three miles of the town. SPDC troops in the area of Wan Khem deliberately destroyed field fences so that stray animals could enter and trample the villagers' remaining crops.

Since December 1997, villagers relocated to Murng Nawng have been forced to split rocks in the jungle in five days' shifts to build a wall around the military base, as well as dig trenches. They also must guard the motor roads in the area at half-mile intervals, two people at each spot for five days at a time.

5.5.6. Forced Relocation in Murng Kerng

In April 1996, villages to the east of Nam Teng River were relocated by the SLORC/SPDC to sites along the main road north of Murng Kerng. Following the surrender of some SSNA troops in September 1996, some villagers were allowed to return home. However, in mid-November, when resistance activities by the SURA continued, the SLORC/SPDC once again ordered villagers to return to relocation sites.

In 1997, starting in April, SLORC/SPDC began ordering all the villages east of Murng Kerng that had not been relocated in 1996 to move to sites to the north and south of town. Several villages in Yang Loi tract several miles east of the town were burned to the ground. SLORC/SPDC troops also spread straw over the villagers' fields that were close to town and burned their rice seedlings. Village tracts to the very north of the township were also relocated in June to the town of Bang Kay Too on the main road.

On May 23, 1997, SLORC/SPDC troops of LIB.514 from Murng Kerng forced the people of several village tracts such as Wan Yab, Ton Pek, H Nar, Loi Yang, Nar Taed, Tong Zu, Ham Ngai and Ho Khai to move to Murng Kerng town. People in Wan Phen and Nar Phen also had to move to Kaesee town.

On June 1, 1997, Captain Naw Win, head of Murng Kerng Township LORC, issued a written order forcing all the people in the rural areas of Murng Kerng to move to the motor roads of the township. No one was permitted to cultivate his or her farms or fields. The relocation had to be completed within eight days beginning June 1, 1997. Any villages or houses that failed to move were burned down.

Following increased fighting between Shan and SLORC/SPDC troops in November 1997, and the defection of large numbers of local Shan militia to the Shan resistance, tracts to the west of Murng Kerng were also relocated to the town.

5.5.6.1. Conditions in the Relocation Sites

In 1996, villagers relocated to sites along the main road north of Murng Kerng were forced to build the road as they went. It was forbidden to transport rice along the road north of Murng Kerng. No one was allowed to purchase more than one Pyi of rice at a time, to prevent them from supplying the Shan resistance.

Since 1997, villagers relocated along the road north and south of Murng Kerng have been forbidden to go back to their fields if they are located outside of a five miles radius from the town.

5.5.7. Forced Relocation in Murngnai

In March 1996, soldiers from SLORC/SPDC IB.247 and IB.516 ordered villages in the area of Keng Tong (in the east of the township) to move to several relocation sites near military bases. Villages east of the Nam Teng river were ordered to move to three main sites; Wan Nong Koong Mong, Na Kan and Na Loi.

In early 1997, the relocation sites of Na Loi, east of Murng Nai, and all the villages in the area, were forced to move to the town of Murng Nai. In June, relocation sites around Keng Tong were also consolidated into two main sites. Villagers were given five days to move. In July 1997, the site of Wan Nong Koong Mong was moved to Murng Nai.

On July 28, 1997, Major Khin Than Aye of IB.64 ordered the leader of Mai Hai village tract, Shan State, to move all the villages, altogether 416 household, to Murngnai, Shan State. The movement was to be completed on July 31, 1997. On August 1, 1997, Major Khin Than Aye ordered Captain Maung Hla and 50 troops to take 30 laborers to go and finish dismantling the houses in Mai Hai village tract. The troops carried away the timber and corrugated iron sheets from the dismantled houses with 15 trucks to the base of IB.64. Later the materials were taken to be sold in Namzarng and Taunggyi.

5.5.7.1. Conditions in Relocation Sites

In 1996, rice was taken from the villagers in Keng Tong relocation site and rationed back in portions to last five days at a time. In 1997, rice was also confiscated from the relocated villagers in the Keng Tong area and given back at the rate of two tines per day.

5.5.8. Forced relocations in Larng Kher

In 1996, relocation began in March, and was carried out by SLORC/SPDC IB. 99 stationed at Larng Kher and IB. 55 from Murng Ban. Villagers were given between three and six days to the site of Nong Long, north-east of Larng Kher. SLORC/SPDC threatened to kill those that did not comply.

In 1997, ten more villages close to Larng Kher were ordered to move to Nong Long or Larng Kher itself.

5.5.8.1. Conditions in the Relocation Sites

At the relocation site, a barren patch of wasteland, nothing has been provided for villagers. Villagers must even build their own makeshift huts.

In 1996, villagers from fields up to two and a half hours' walk away were allowed to return to farm them for seven days at a time with written permission. Towards the end of the year as Shan resistance activity continued in the area, permission was denied.

During 1997, villagers with fields farther than about three miles from the relocation site were forbidden to go and tend them.

During 1997 and early 1998, large numbers of villagers in the Larng Kher area, including those who were forcibly relocated, have been ordered to work on the Larng Kher - Wan Hart road leading south from the town. To pave the road, villagers must split rocks. About 2,500 people are being forced to work this road each day.

5.5.9. Forced Relocation in Murng Su

Relocations were conducted in May 1996 by SLORC/SPDC troops from Kunhing and Murng Su. The relocation program was not continued in 1997 because SURA troops were no longer operating in the area.

5.5.9.1. Conditions in the Relocation Sites

The relocated villagers at Murng Zarng were allowed, if they asked and received permission to do so, to return to work in their fields for five days a week. One condition that SLORC/SPDC imposed was that they had to regularly present themselves to the military authorities to have their names checked. Similarly,

villagers relocated to Murng Ord were allowed to return to work their fields if they had a pass from the local military camp.

5.5.10. Forced Relocation in Murng Pan

There was no forced relocation in this area in 1997. However, when the SURA began operating in Murng Pan, the SLORC/SPDC responded by ordering outlying villages to relocate to the town and in along the main road. On May 26, 1997, SLORC/SPDC ordered 47 villages in Murngpan Township to move from their villages. Villagers were given 12 days to move without being given specific places to reside. The soldiers who gave the orders said that it was to prevent villagers from offering support to Shan resistance troops in the area. Village tracts that were ordered to move include Ta Tae, Nar Law, and Nawng Yarng. This relocation of 47 villages affected over 2,000 houses, totaling at least 10,000 people in the area. On July 8, 1997, a group of unidentified rebels attacked a police check-point at the western gate of Murngpan. As a result, all the villagers in the village tracts of Tong Zu, Huay Zoi, Nar Wawn, Nam Maw Kung, Nawng Lur, Nawng Kwai, Woe Lai and Mark Khur Zae, were forced to move to Murngpan, Shan State.

5.5.10.1. Conditions in the Relocation Sites

Nothing was provided for the villagers in the relocation areas. Since relocations began in May 1997, villagers have not been allowed to travel outside of a radius of three kilometers from Murng Pan to cultivate their fields. Some of the villagers who were relocated to the town ended up buying plots of land to the west of town that had been confiscated by the army earlier in 1996.

5.5.11. Forced Relocation in Murng Paeng

Many of the villages in the Murng Bu Long area were relocated by the SLORC/SPDC in 1993-94, when there was fighting between MTA and the local Lahu militia. However, the villages were later allowed to return to the area.

On December 22, 1997, following movement by Shan troops in the area, 24, villages, both Lahu and Shan, were ordered to move again to Murng Pu Long and Murng Leng. They were given only seven days to do so. (*Source: SHRF*)

5.6. Other Incidents of Forced Relocation

- At the beginning of 1997, the Coastal Region Military Command declared Pawa village tract, Mergui district as a free fire zone and ordered its troops to shoot on sight and kill anybody found living there. People in the whole village tract had to leave their villages. (*Source: MIS*)
- On January 20, 1997, 150 SLORC troops led by Major Aung Zaw Htun from IB. 44 from Khun Hing in Shan State arrived at Wam Oi village and told the village headman Loong Zai Long that all villagers must move immediately to Hai Pai village tract on the same day. The villagers were accused of being supporters of the armed ethnic group. The village headman requested to give them three days to move, but they were ordered to move within a day. All 57 houses consisting of 297 people, had to move to new place. On the next day, Major Aung Zaw Htun sent his troops to Wan Nam Oi village to catch all the livestock left behind and burned down all the houses in the village. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)
- On January 20, 1997, Some SLORC troops from the LIB. 406 came and displaced some 100 Mon families living at Mae Taw in Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division by burning down some houses and plundering, despite the cease-fire agreement between NMSP and SLORC (*Source: MIS*)
- On February 20, 1997, LIB. 406 ordered Chabon, Taungkhon, Chaun Phya, Danikyar, Mae Thantaung, Kyauktayan Deminzeik, altogether six villages in Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division, to vacate their villages and relocate in strategic hamlets by February 20, 1997. On the following weeks many of the people from these villages started to leave family by family for relocating or fleeing to refugee camps. (*Source: MIS*)
- From February 11 to July 31, 1997, 55 villages consisting of 1,926 families with the population of 19,649 were forced to relocate from their villages in Thaton district, Karen State. (*Source: KIC*)
- From February 11 to July 31, 1997, 57 villages of 2,761 houses with the population of 14,374 were forced to relocate from their villages in Taungoo district, Karen State. (*Source: KIC*)
- From February 11 to July 31, 1997, 227 families from three villages in Mone township, Nyaungglaybin district, Karen State were driven out from their villages. (*Source: KIC*)

- In February 1997, Takutayaw, Kwee Phet Htaw and No Lawba villages in Paan district, Karen State were ordered to move to Naw De village. Takutayaw village was burnt to ashes. (*Source: HRDU*)
- In February, 1997, troops from SLORC Infantry Division 66 arrived at the several Karen and Tavoyan villages in Ban Chaung area, Thayet Chaung township on an offensive against the KNU forces. They forced villages in Ban Chaung area to relocate in strategic hamlets immediately. (*Source: MIS*)
- In February 1997, five villages in Kywe Thon Nyima village tract of Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division were forced to move by the SLORC. The villages, Mae Taw, Chan Bone, Chaung Pya, Mae Yaung and Mae Than Taung lie just 10-15 km, north of the Yadana gas pipeline. (*Source: KHRG*)
- On March 9, 1997, SLORC troops from IB. 64 ordered villagers from Wan Nong Dee, Wan Thi village circle, Laikha township, to move immediately to Laikha. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)
- In March 1997, Htee Seekho, Naw Tekee, Bee Takut, Kaw Pa New Kho, Khwee Shell, Htee Baw Palaw, Ledah and others villages in Pa-an district, Karen State were ordered to move to the military bases in Thauung Zong. They were given only three days for relocation. Troop said after March, anyone found in the villages would be shoot without further inquiry (*Source: HRDU*)
- On April 16, 1997, operation command commander of LIB. 535 and IB. 28 in Toungoo district, Karen State held a meeting in Baw Gali village and told villagers of Peh Gaw Doe, Maw Koe Doe and Doeko villages to move to Baw Gali village by May 15. He instructed the villagers to give him a list of Gaw Theh Doe villagers who have contact with resistance, and threatened to burn down all the villages in the area if any gunfire was heard. (*Source: KIC*)
- On April 17, 1997, in Elin township of Thaton district, Karen State, the SLORC troops instructed Waw Kee, Ler Kaler and Near Poekee villages to move to Ta-ut-kee, and To-ter-kee and Htee-mor-kee to Galawta. SLORC LIB. 92 instructed Meh-nor-kee, Tort-poe-ta, Meh-wata, Paw-hgay-kee, Kaw-hteeta, Nort-keh and some other villages to move to Pa-let-no. People from these villages had no time to build their houses in new site as they were forced to build many tiers of fences for the SLORC military camps. Houses, huts, orchard farms and fields were destroyed by burning, and the people were subjected to arbitrary arrests, torture and forced labor. (*Source: KIC*)

- On April 20, SLORC troop from IB. 64 led by Major Khine Than Aye, came to Pa Lai village, Nar Kharn village tract, Marngnai township, Shan State. They arrested the village headman and raped his wife and daughter. After that, Major. Khine Than Aye ordered the village headman to tell his villagers to move to Nar Kharn on the next day. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On April 22, 1997, the SLORC troops forcibly moved villagers from Kaw Pote, He Poe Doe, Kyo Ko Doe, Poe Mu Doe, Nor Oo Lo and some other villages in Pa-pun district, Karen State to Haw Hsay Doe village area. (*Source: KIC*)
- In April 1997, seven villages of Wan Phar Wawng, Wan Nawng Kern, Wan Zalai Loi, Wan Ho Nam, Wan Nawng Wo, Wan Kung Parng and Wan Nam Maw Long, all in Laikha township, Shan State, were relocated and burned down by SLORC troops. (*Source: UN report*)
- In May 1997, villages in eastern, northern and western parts of Pa-pun district were ordered to move as mentioned below.
 - ◆ All villages in Mae Thu circle to Mae Waing village;
 - ◆ All villages in Mae Waing circle to Mae Waing village;
 - ◆ All villages in Malay Kyauk circle, and Kae-ko, Hsaw Meeta, Pwaypar, Pwa Wehta and Mae To Traw villages to Malay Kyauk village;
 - ◆ All villages in the western part of Mae Chota to Kwee Tama village;
 - ◆ All villages in the eastern part of Mae Chota to Mae Chota village;
 - ◆ Villages in the vicinity of Wawmu to Wawmu village;
 - ◆ All villages in Lay-koi-ti circle to Lay-kor-ti village;
 - ◆ All villages in Nat Kutta circle to Nat Kutta villages;
 - ◆ Taw-men-ta, Po Leh and Po Kay villages to Bler Bher village;
 - ◆ Teetha Bluta, Wa Thokla and Has Law Tet villages to Baw Thota village;
 - ◆ Ka Pee Kee, Nolar and some other villages to No Paw Tee village.

The SLORC troops burned down all the villages, rice barns and all other property of the villagers. (*Source: KIC*)

- On May 5, 1997, LIB. 547 forcibly moved villages near Meh Waing and Meh Thu villages in Pa-pun district, Karen State and banned the villagers from going out of the village limits. Then the troops burned the houses and the rice barns. (*Source: KIC*)

- During the month of June 1997, SLORC troops under the Division 44 led by Captain Aung Zaw Htun received an order from one of the tactical command commanders Tin Htut in Taunggyi, to move all the villagers in Kaeng Tawng, Murngnai township, Shan State, out of the area. People were ordered to bring all rice and paddy in their possession to the military bases before they were forced to move away. On July 7, 1997, Commander Tin Htut again issued an order to call back all the people of Kaeng Tawng to return to their villages. SLORC troops rationed out the paddy which they had confiscated earlier, to the villagers who came back, at the rate of one basket per person for ten days. By July 24, about 15 houses had returned to Kaeng Tawng. (*Source: SHRF*)
- Between June 27 to July 3, 1997, SLORC troops of LIB. 515, led by Major Than Htun, forced 17 villages consisted of 510 houses and over 2,550 people in Wan Ti village tract to move to a relocation site, east of Laikha town, Shan State. Five days were given for relocation, and houses and property of those who failed to move in time were burned. (*Source: SHRF*)
- From July 8 to 12, 1997 LIB. 515 led by Major Than Htun forced eleven villages comprising 350 houses and 1,750 people in Wan Sarng village tract to move to the relocation site, east of Laikha. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On July 15, 1997, Major Soe Win, commander of LIB. 706 ordered Ulo village, Kmulo village and Mahlataw villages in Mom township, Pegu Division to move to Thabwaynyunt camp. People had to leave all their farms and animals behind. (*Source: HRDU*)
- On July 25, 1997, a force of combined troops from SLORC LIB. 332 and LIB. 502 came and ordered the Lisaw village of Nawng Tao, 15 miles east of Murngpan town in Shan State, to move, accusing the village of allegedly being shelter for rebel troops. Villagers were ordered to move within three days. Due to the heavy rain, they could not carry much of their property and animals. Many were left by the end of three days. After three days, some Lisaw villagers tried to take some properties that they had left in the village. But the SLORC troops found out and arrested them, and raped five girls in the village. (*Source: SHRF*)
- In July 1997, 70 houses from Seikku, 40 houses from Hsar Mu Taw, and 70 houses from Kalit Kyi, Tavoy township, Tenasserim Division were ordered to move to Taung Thone Lone, then to Mitta village. (*Source: KIC*)

- On August 25, 1997, SLORC troops of LIB. 427 came to Tha Wa village in Karenni State and drove out the villagers. These villagers had been already forced to leave their village on 18 August 1997 but came back to their village at that time. This was a second time they were forced to leave their village. The villagers had to move to Mae Kyar village this time. (*Source: KNPP*)
- On August 25, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 261 under the command of Lt-Col. Khin Maung Htay burned down 25 houses including the church of Hu Muu Ka Lah village. (*Source: KNPP*)
- On August 26, 1997, SLORC troops of LIB. 102 under the command of Major Win Htwe burned down the church of Kwa Kee village and 54 houses of Htee Sar Beh Htee village in Karenni State. (*Source: KNPP*)
- On September 22, 1997, Major Zaw Lin Htun from LIB. 356 called on the village headmen at Wai Thali village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi township, Karen State and told them that eleven Mon villages and eleven Karen villages had to move by October 15, 1997. He warned anyone would be punished if they fail to comply with the order. All the villagers were ordered to relocate at Taung Pauk and Wai Thali villages. The names of the villages were Bo Kadaw, Wai Thali (west), Kyattuwya, Baydari, Kayoke Hmaw, Tanta Pyet, Kyaukkya, Phakapo, Kyauk Po, Ayoe Kalain, Kyunthee Khan, Shwe Pohut, Htee Pa Htaw, Kyauk Taung, Thra Gon, Taung Kalay, Tawei Pauk, Chee Naung Chee, Shwe Maw Sakan, Agar, Ye Le and Htee Parle villages. (*Source: Alert*)
- SLORC troops ordered Kawa, Kyon Wai, Paw Nan Mu, Don Plaung, Mae Sakit, Htee Pho Wai, Kyunchaung, Keekhaine, Law Wah Phalo, Mae Sali, Kyaukme, Yatheta, Htee Wah Doh and Thephyuchaung villages in Kyar-einseik-kyi township Karen State to relocate to Kyon Wai and Phaw Nan Nu villages by October 16, 1997. Villagers were threatened with death if they did not obey the forced relocation order. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- All the villages on the east side of motor road in Ye township, Mon State were ordered to move by October 16, 1997. Taung Kalay, Kyauk Kywe, Payo Kalo, Tanta Pya and Htee Nesakee villages were ordered to move to Pyar Pyat village while Wah pathe, Thutaw, Thaw Kyaw, Wut Taya, Htee Tae and Chaung Ngakwa were ordered to move to Bae Lamu village. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- In the first week of September 1997, Seik Pyone, Kalet Kee, Seik Ku and Samuhtaw villages in Mitta village tract, Tenasserim Division were ordered to relocate to Mitta village by the IB. 25. (*Source: ABSDF*)

- On October 10, 1997, the SLORC LIB. 707 and 708, led by tactical operation No. (2) commander Lt-Col. Thein Maung destroyed villages in Htantapin township, Karen State. The effected villages were Bu-kee, Ho-kee, Kee Dawkaw, Shooko, Thaythudai, Hatoe Pai and Tha Ayekee. The troops burned all the houses, churches and barns belonging to the villagers. They took away chicken, pigs, buffaloes, cows and shot at anybody on sight. They have also carried out the same method of atrocities in Thantaung township. (Source: KIC)

(Also see under “personal Accounts,” interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 38, 44, 56, 56, 57, 59, 64, 77, 82 and 85)

5.7. Villages Ordered to Move in Karen State

This is a partial list of villages which were ordered to move to relocation sites, according to villagers in the area and a written SLORC order document. Many of the villages listed were never formally notified of any order to move, and many included in the written order never even received a copy of it. Many of these villages also appear in the list of burned villages because they were subsequently burned and destroyed. This list is not complete. Sources are listed as: **“Order”** = SLORC written order included in this report; **“Int”** = Interviews included in this report; **“IS”** = Independent source apart from KHRG; **“FR”** = KNU Field Report.

No.	From	To	Source
Papun District			
1.	Baw Thay Hta	Papun	Order
2.	Meh Wah Der	May Ner Nweh	Order
3.	B’Naw Kleh	May Ner Nweh	Order
4.	Dweh Lo	May Ner Nweh	Order
5.	Kler Oo Der	May Ner Nweh	Order
6.	Paw Muh Der	May Ner Nweh	Order
7.	Meh Yeh Kee	B’Lu Kee	Order
8.	Maw Hta Kaw	Boke	Order
9.	Kay Hta Kaw	Boke	Order
10.	lower Baw T’Keh Kee	Kaw Boke	Order
11.	upper Baw T’Keh Kee	Kaw Boke	Order

No.	From	To	Source
12.	Pway Hta	Kaw Boke	Order
13.	lower Oo Tu Kloh	Kaw Boke	Order
14.	upper Oo Tu Kloh	Kaw Boke	Order
15.	Meh Taw Kee	S'Tah Lay	Order
16.	Kyo Ko Deh	S'Tah Lay	Order
17.	Lay Ain Zu	S'Tah Lay	Order
18.	Baw Th'Kee	S'Tah Lay	Order
19.	Saw Bweh Der	S'Tah Lay	Order
20.	Kyaw Mu Pu	Paw Hta	Order
21.	Pa Moh Hta	Paw Hta	Order
22.	Kyaw Mo Lay	Ko Paw Hta	Order
23.	Kyaw Nyo Hta	Paw Hta	Order
24.	Hteh Hta	Paw Hta	Order
25.	Baw Kee	Paw Hta	Order
26.	Du Wah Po Kaw	Paw Hta	Order
27.	T'Law Doh	Toh Nyo	Order
28.	Paw Dee Der	Toh Nyo	Order
29.	Law P'Lah Lay	Toh Nyo	Order
30.	Thay Ko Mu Der	Toh Nyo	Order
31.	Kyaw Law	Toh Nyoq	Order
32.	Bpa Tha	Meh Paw Mu Hta	Order
33.	T'Nya Kee	Meh Paw Mu Hta	Order
34.	Kaneh Lay	Meh Paw Mu Hta	Order
35.	Kaneh Khoh	Ma Mu Der	Order
36.	Pa Ee Kaun	M'Taw	Order
37.	Hsain Ta Mot	M'Taw	Order
38.	Wah Tho Klah	M'Taw	Order
39.	Pyi Ma	M'Taw	Order
40.	Myay Ta Pyay	M'Taw	Order
41.	Tha Mu Kyu Law	M'Taw	Order
42.	Tha Ko Law	M'Taw	Order
43.	Noh Pa Doh	Tha Ku Law	Order
44.	Noh Law Su	Ku Sit middle school	Order
45.	Bo Baw Ko	Ku Sit middle school	Order
46.	T'Ree Bpeh Ko	Ku Sit middle school	Order
47.	Ka Leh Hta	Nga Ain Zu	Order
48.	Maw Lu	Nga Ain Zu	Order
49.	Tee Baw Ka Hta	Nga Ain Zu	Order
50.	Tee Gaw Hta	Ner Ku Hta	Order
51.	Oo Reh Kee	Ner Ku Hta	Order

No.	From	To	Source
52.	Ka Wah Kee	Ner Ku Hta	Order
53.	Meh Kee	Ner Ku Hta	Order
54.	Ner Ku Kee	Ner Ku Hta	Order
55.	T'Kaw Kyo	Kyun Bpin	Order
56.	T'Pa Ko	Kyun Bpin	Order
57.	Der Kee	Kyauk Taung	Order
58.	Kyeh Ree Kyo	Kyauk Taung	Order
59.	Theh Hta	Kyauk Taung	Order
60.	Tee Baw Law	Kyauk Taung	Order
61.	Naw Wih Hta	Kyauk Taung	Order
62.	Bo Leh	Kyaun Ywa	Order
63.	Bo Leh Hta	Kyaun Ywa	Order
64.	Pah Kyat	Kyaun Ywa	Order

Bilin River area

65.	Meh Thu Kee	Meh Way	Int, IS
66.	Leh Wah Ko	Meh Way	Int, IS
67.	A'Meh Po Kee	Meh Way	Int, IS
68.	Kyaw Day	Meh Way	Int, IS
69.	Htoo Lay Ko	Meh Way	Int, IS
70.	Wah Law	Meh Way	Int, IS
71.	Noh Po Law	Meh Way	Int, IS
72.	Wah Tho Law	Meh Way	Int, IS
73.	Lah Kyaw Pa	Meh Way	Int, IS
74.	Kloh Kee	Meh Way	Int, IS
75.	Doh Meh Kee	Meh Way	Int, IS
76.	Du Baw	Meh Way	Int, IS
77.	Shwe Tee	Meh Way	Int, IS
78.	Meh T'Koh	Meh Way	Int, IS
79.	Meh Si Hta	Meh Way	Int, IS
80.	Meh Kaw Law	Meh Way	Int, IS
81.	Meh Gha Law	Meh Way	Int, IS
82.	Ker Kaw Law	Meh Way	Int, IS
83.	Ler Htoo Po	Meh Way	Int, IS
84.	Lay Hta	Meh Way*	Int
85.	Naw Po	Meh Way*	Int
86.	Baw Wah Der	Meh Way*	Int
87.	T'Kaw Hta	Meh Way*	Int

No.	From	To	Source
88.	Maw Thay Tha	Meh Way*	Int
89.	Dta Baw Kee	Meh Way*	Int
90.	Ko Reh Kee	Meh Way*	Int
91.	Nya Mu Kee	Meh Way	Int
92.	Po Kwa Saw Kee	Meh Way	Int
93.	Toh Ber Kee	Meh Way	Int
94.	Baw Law Kee	Meh Way	Int
95.	Toh Baw Saw Kee	Meh Way	Int
96.	Kaneh Der	Meh Way	IS
97.	Noh Lay	Meh Way	IS
98.	Wah Ka Der	Meh Way	IS
99.	Kay Mu Der	Meh Way	IS
100.	Ner Kee	Meh Way	IS

Shwegyin township

101.	Wah May Kyo	Than Seit Min Lang**	Int
102.	Htee Muh Hta	Than Seit Min Lang**	Int
103.	Deh Oo Po	Than Seit Min Lang**	Int
104.	Saw Theh Kee	Than Seit Min Lang**	Int
105.	Bweh Si Kee	Than Seit Min Lang**	Int

* first forced to move to a temporary Army post at Dta Baw Kee, then on to Meh Way

** a site along the Shwegyin - Kyauk Kyi motor road

Additionally:

All villages in Baw Thay Hta area were ordered to move to Papun. (*Independent source*)

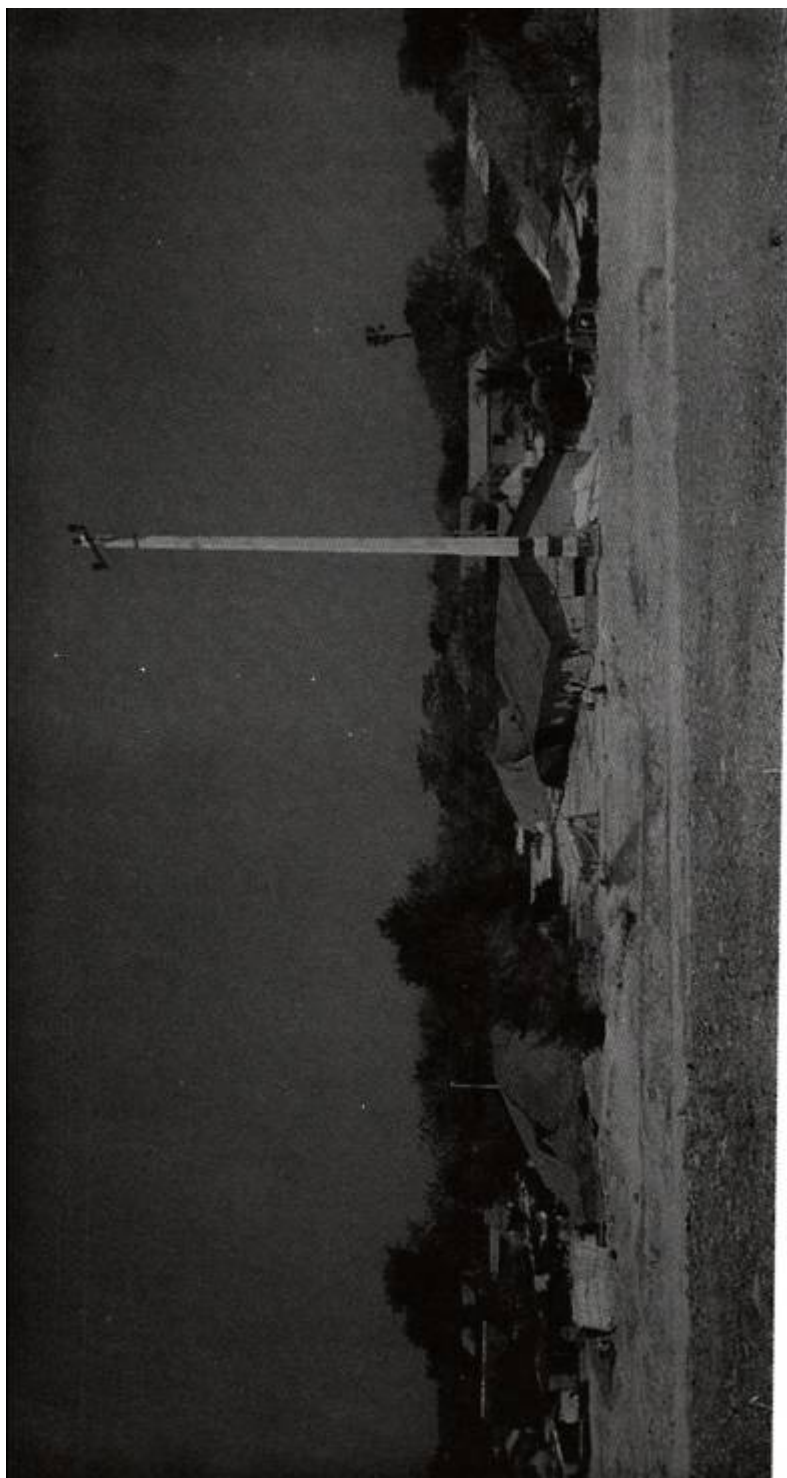
All villages in Kalaw Hta area were ordered to move to Kalaw Hta and Toh Pu (just west of Papun; there is an SPDC Army base at Toh Thay Pu) (*Independent source*). All villages in Ka Dtaing Dtee area of southern Papun District (Ka Dtaing Dtee is on the Yunzalin River south of Papun) were ordered to move to Ka Dtaing Dtee. (*Independent source*)

According to KNU Field Reports, all villages in the Meh Way river valley area are supposed to be forced to Meh Way village; other villages in the Bilin River valley area are to be forced to relocation sites at Nah Ko Hta, Lay Kaw Tee, Ko Thwee Hta, Meh Kyo, Mah Lay Ler, Kwih T'Ma, and Wah Mu; all villages in the Baw Kyo valley to relocation sites at Baler Per, Baw Tho Hta, Te Law Thu Hta, Noh Paw Tee,

and Baw Kyo Leh; all villages in the Yunzalin River valley to relocation sites at Way Mo, Way Sha, Ku Seik, Mat Taw, Meh Ku Hta, and Meh Mway Hta; and all villages in the Thee Roh valley to relocation sites at Paw Hta, Paw Mu Hta, and Meh Bpa.



A Child salvaging brick from a house after relocation in Mandalay.(Photo by N. Dunlop)



Forced relocation site outside of Mandalay. (Photo by HRDU)



Villagers from several destroyed villages in Karen State living in hiding in the forest.



Karen villagers hiding in the free-fire zones in Tenasserim Division rather than go to the relocation sites. (Photo by KHRG)



Houses burned and destroyed in Wah Thu Lo village as SLORC tried to force the villagers to move to Ka Pyaw relocation site. (Photo by KHRG)



A family hiding in free-fire zone in Tenasserim Division after the relocation order. (Photo by KHRG)

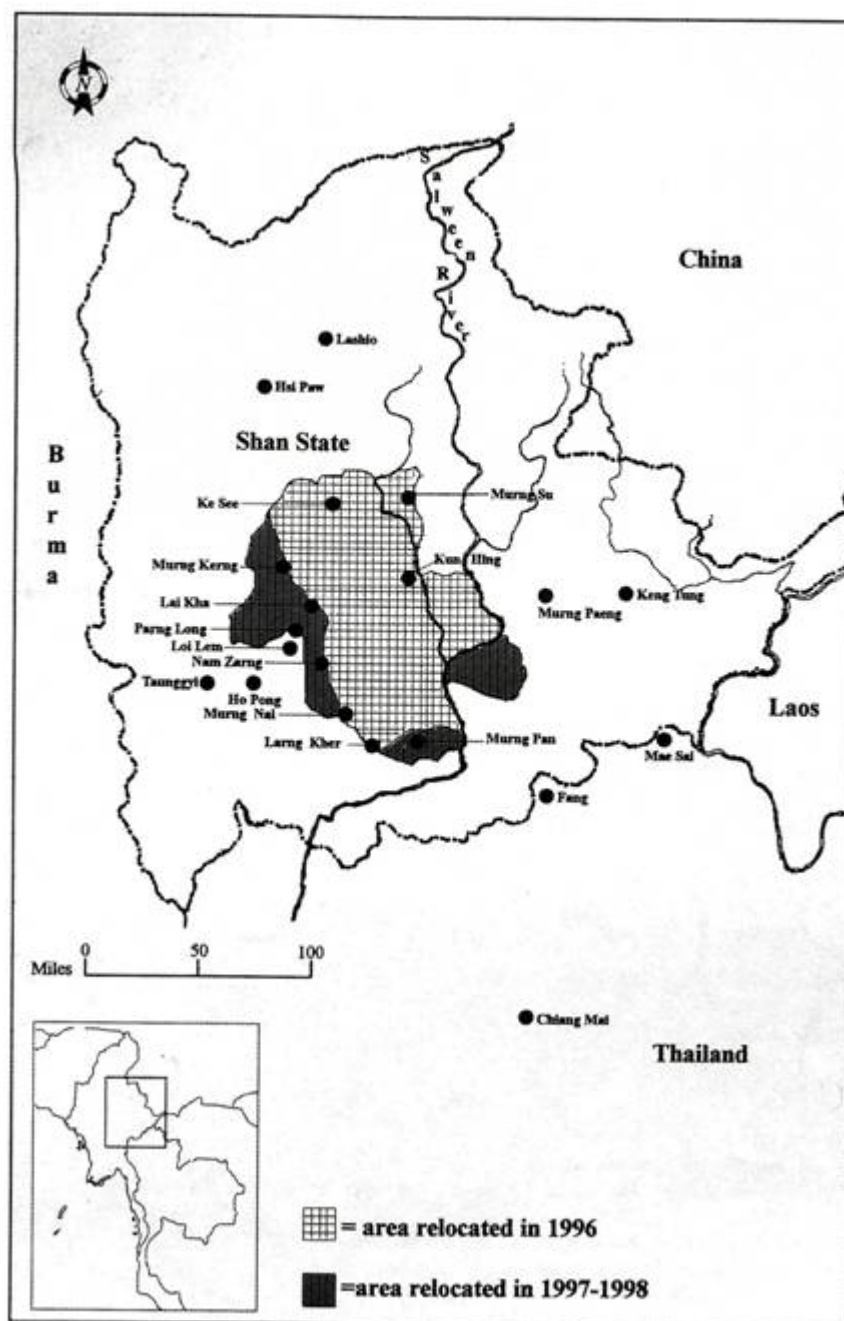


Lahu women in front of their house which had been ordered to relocate in Kunhing township, Shan State. (Photo by KNPP)

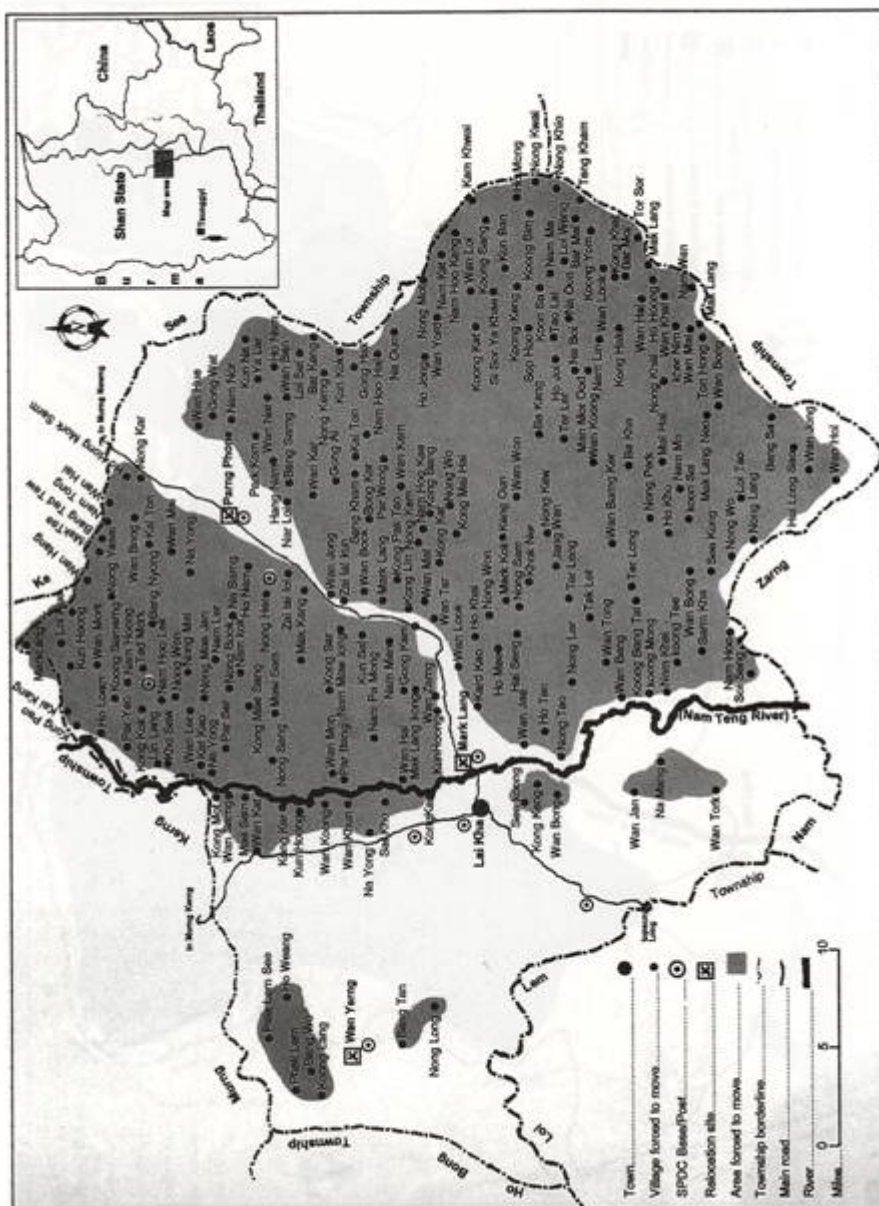


SLORC relocation site near Baw La Keh. The sign read in Burmese, "New Nam Peh Section, Baw La Keh District". (Photo by Karenni Source)

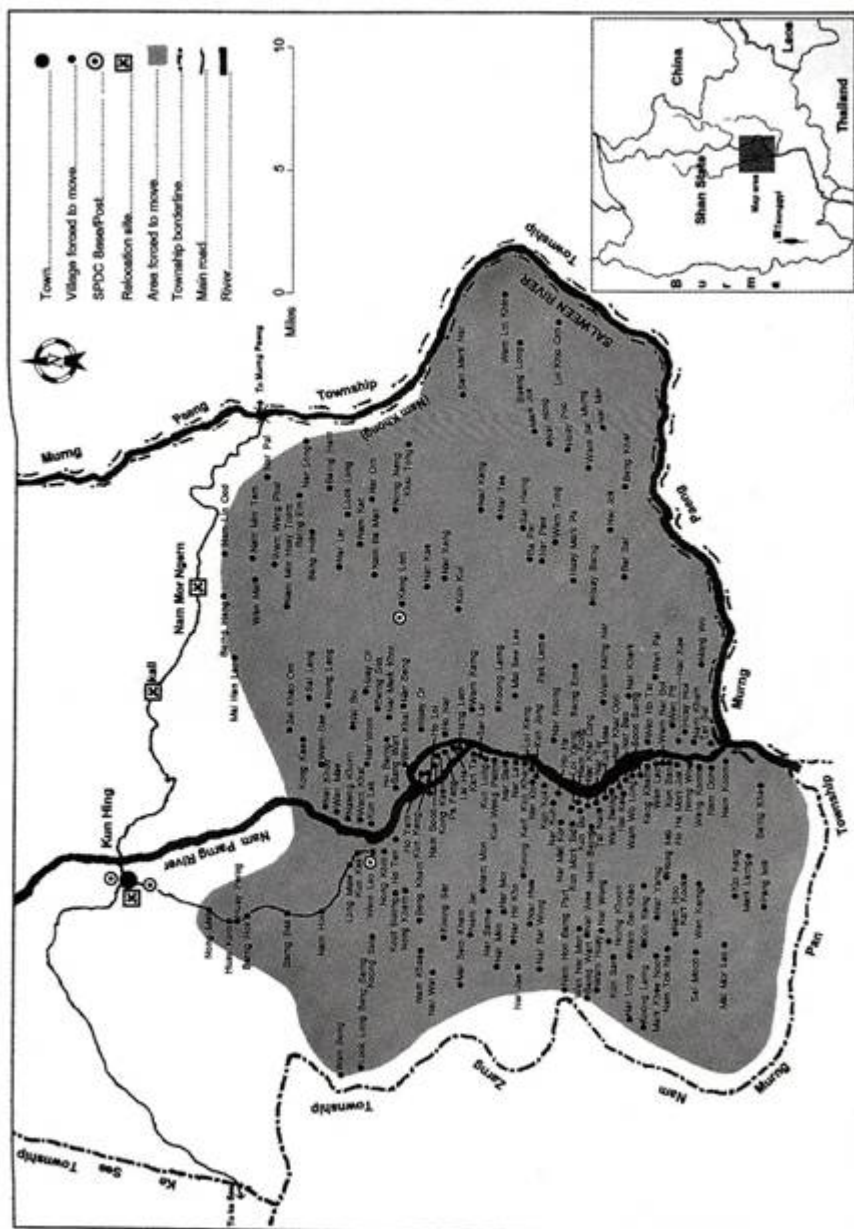
FORCED RELOCATION IN SHAN STATE 1996-1998



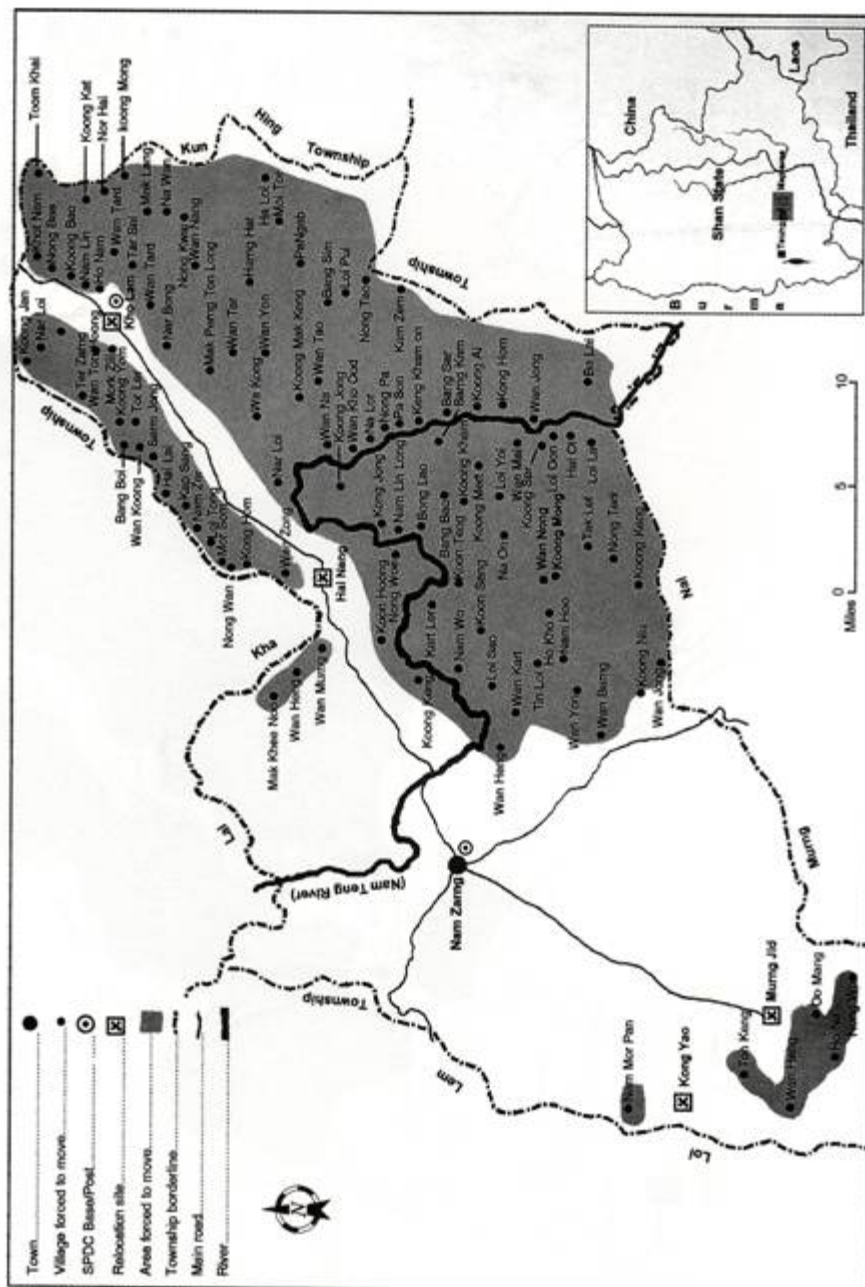
VILLAGES FORCIBLY RELOCATED IN LAIKHA TOWNSHIP (1996-1998)



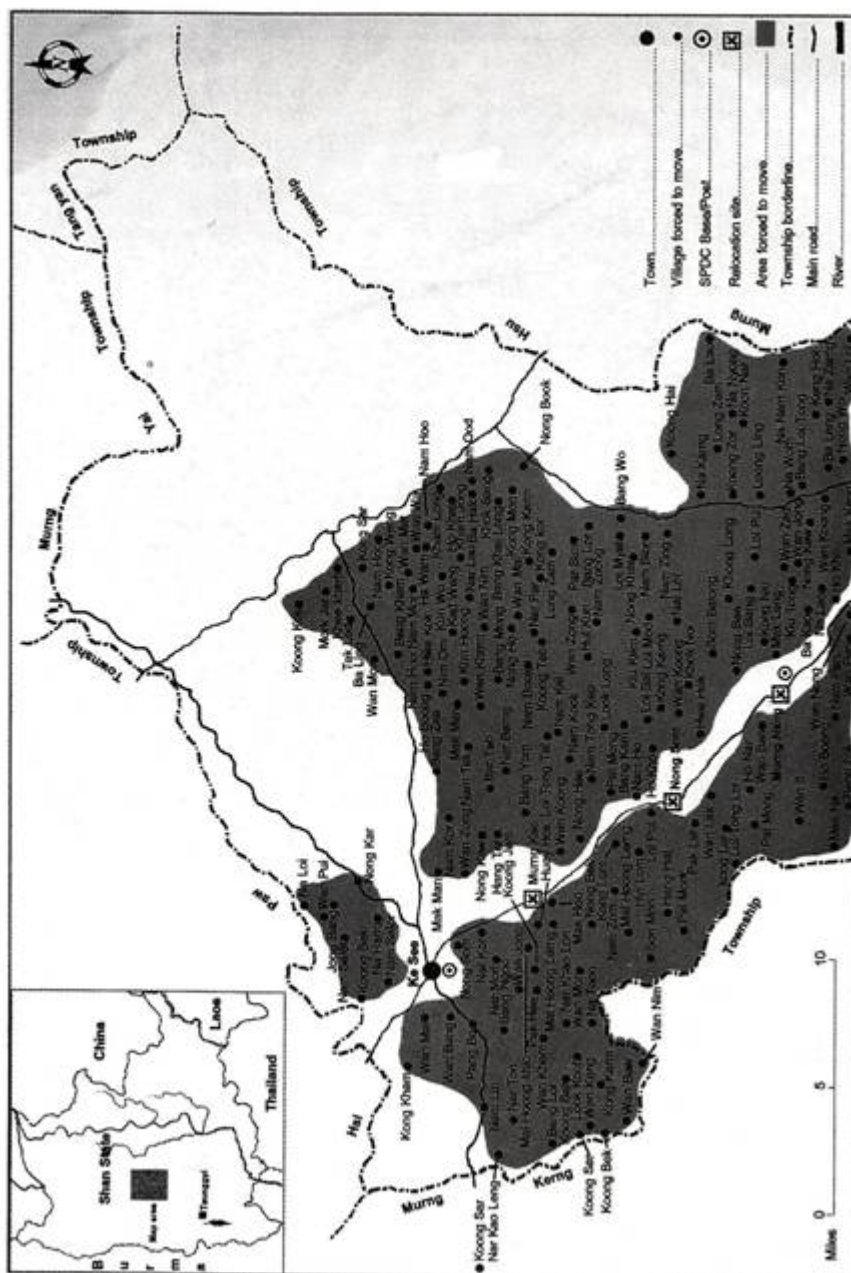
VILLAGES FORCIBLY RELOCATED IN KUN HING TOWNSHIP (1996-1998)



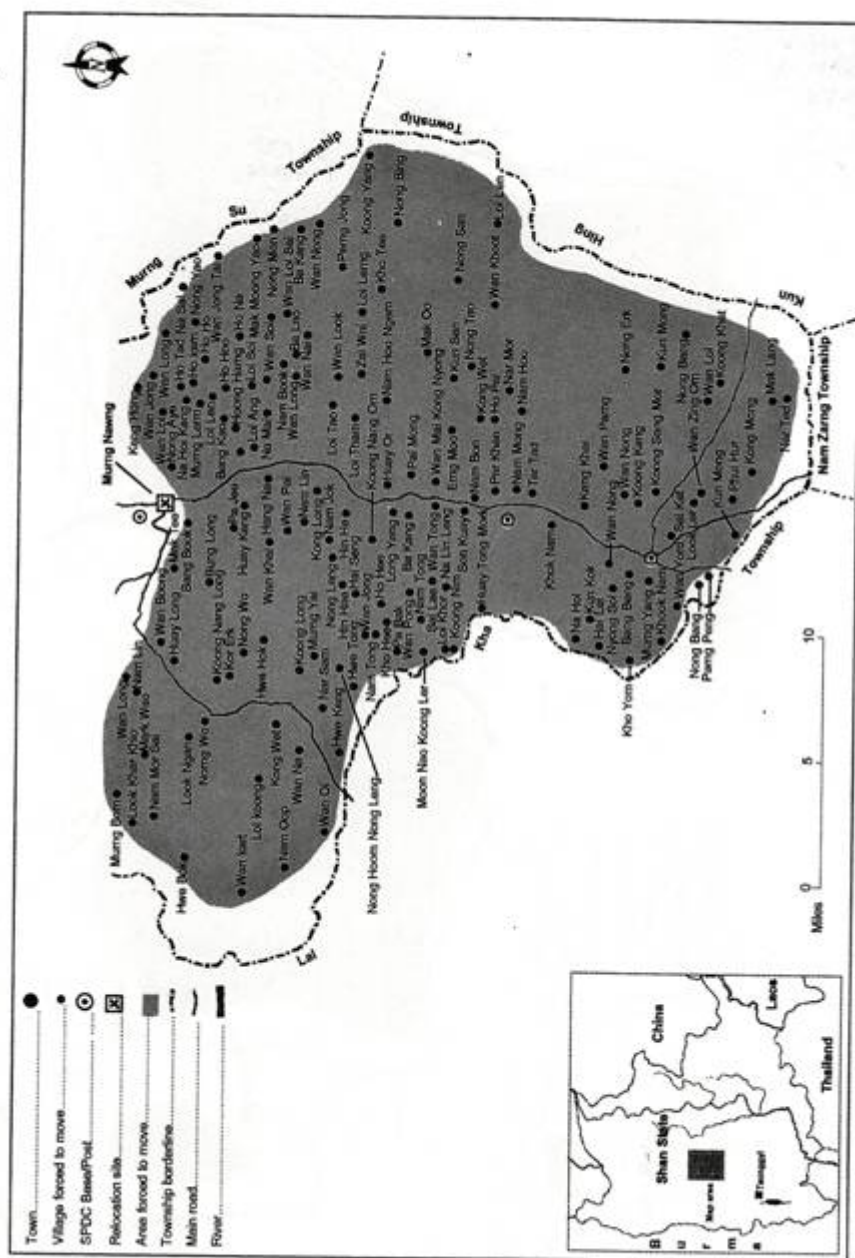
VILLAGES FORCIBLY RELOCATED IN NAM ZARNG TOWNSHIP (1996-1998)



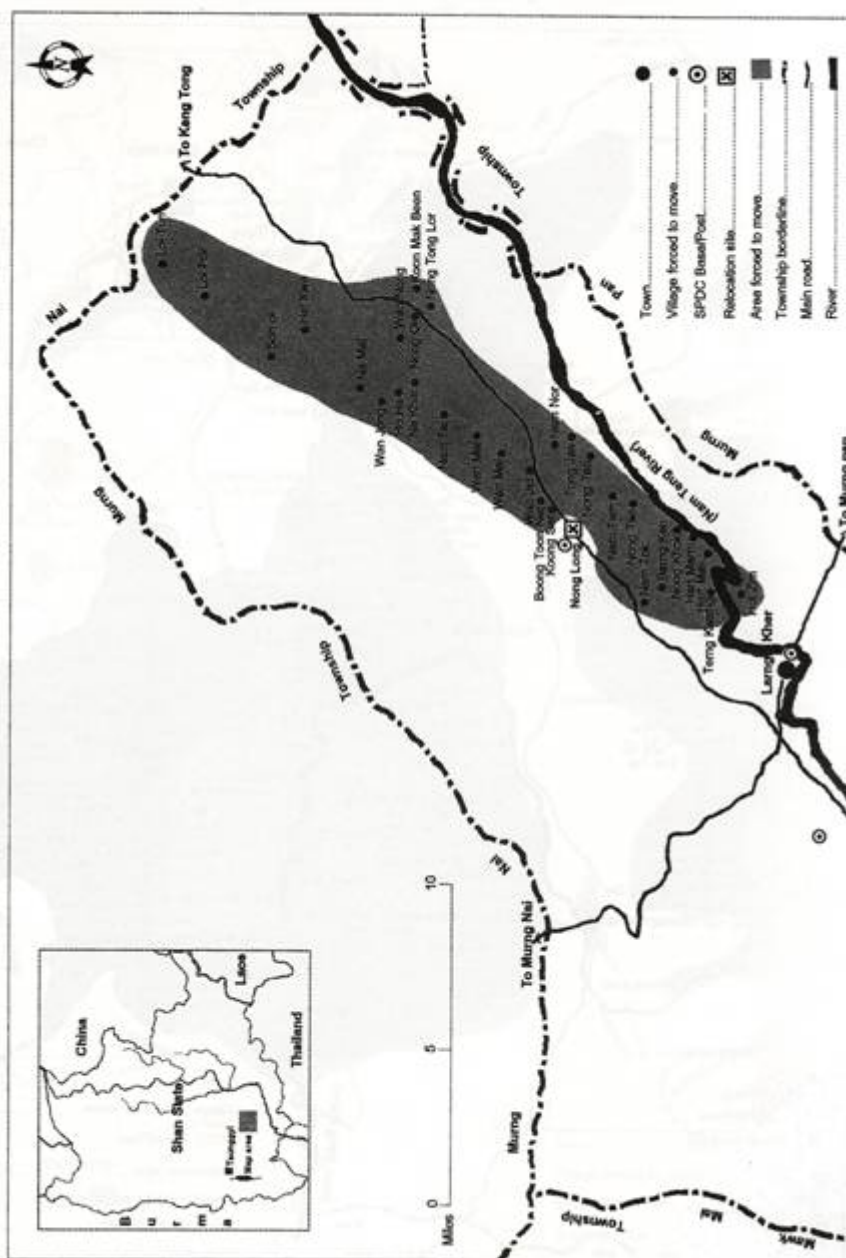
VILLAGES FORCIBLY RELOCATED IN NORTHERN KE SEE TOWNSHIP (1996-1998)



VILLAGES FORCIBLY RELOCATED IN SOUTHERN KE SEE TOWNSHIP (1996-1998)



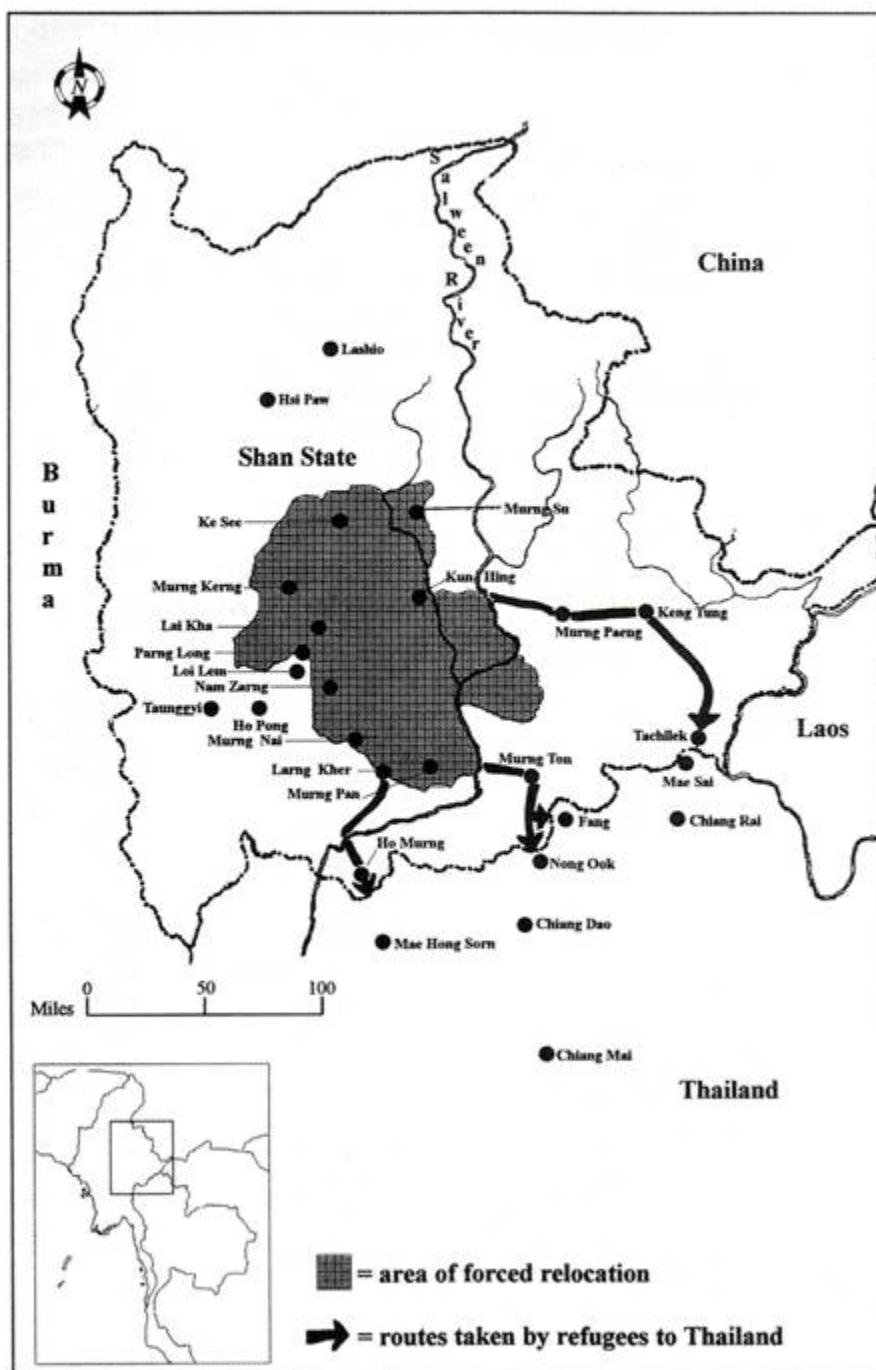
VILLAGES FORCIBLY RELOCATED IN LARNG KHER TOWNSHIP (1996-1998)



VILLAGES FORCIBLY RELOCATED IN HO PONG AND LOI LEM TOWNSHIPS (1998)



ROUTES OF EXODUS TO THAILAND



List of villages relocated in each township in Shan state, with approximate number of households in brackets.

KUN HING TOWNSHIP

(relocated 1996-1998)

Villages relocated: 185

Households relocated: 9,551

Keng Lom Tract

(relocated to Kali and Nam Mor Ngern)

Keng Lom	(220)
Nong Leng	(37)
Nar Keng	(45)
Nar Kae	(42)
Barng Sak	(52)
Koon Kui	(32)
Nam Ba Man	(46)
Sai Khao Orn	(23)
Nar Worn	(10)
Sai Leng	(15)
Nar Mark Khor	(35)
Nar Beng	(6)
Kong Kae	(16)
Bang Wart	(17)
Warn Khai	(8)
Huay Or	(12)
Nar Long	(30)
Barng Hang	(23)
Nam Lin Ood	(26)
Barng Ern	(40)
Barng Harn	(15)
Nam Mor Huay Toom	(17)
Mai Hen Lao	(36)
Warn Bae	(32)
Wan Mai	(20)
Huay Barng	(60)

Bar sar	(34)
Keng Kham Long	(180)
Nar Ler	(20)
Warn Ho Tar	(46)
Warn Karng Nar	(38)
Wan Kat	(20)
Nar Boi	(40)
Ho Bamg	(20)
Nong Wo	(55)
Wan Mat	(20)

Warn Lao Tract

(relocated to Kun Hing)

Warn Lao	(330)
Beng Kham	(220)
Koong Sar	(100)
Nam Jar	(80)
Koot Boong	(52)
Nar Sarn	(20)
Nar Mor	(15)
Hong Kep	(30)
Mai Sarn Kham	(120)
Barng Bek	(100)
Loong Mor	(150)
Nar Mon	(120)
Nam Khae	(50)
Koon Lek	(25)
Warn Khai	(18)
Nar Hoi	(20)
Koong Kart	(100)
Ho Ten	(20)
Koon Kek	(15)
Nong Khon	(20)
Barng Hok	(200)

Huay Perng	(30)
Huay Korn	(13)
Nam Hoi	(20)
Nam Mon	(100)
Nar Wai	(100)
Koong Sin	(50)
Nong Mai	(20)

Ho Yarn Tract
(relocated to Kun Hing)

Warn Ho Yarn	(160)
Koong Larng	(50)
Ho Nar	(20)
Ho Loi	(15)
Nam Boon	(100)
Sar Lar	(30)
Mai See Lee	(20)
Huay Or	(15)
Nawng Khom	(120)
Hang Lem	(20)
Nar Khoo	(85)
Warn Bae	(27)
Nar Khark	(38)
Bar Pang	(20)
Sar Harng	(27)
Nar Tee	(22)
Warn Tong	(220)
Keng Lom Orn	(180)
Lai Ha	(20)
Nam Men	(50)
Kat Da	(20)
Barng Ler	(180)
Koon Keng	(20)
Wan Pai	(25)
Barng Ern	(50)
Koon Weng Pyem	(20)

Koon Bu Tract
(relocated to Kun Hing)

Warn Koon Bu	(87)
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Barng Kha	(25)
Nam Kham	(45)
Pak Lern	(40)
Nar Kae	(55)
Kio King	(37)
Nam Koom	(29)
Nam Barng	(57)
Nar Jern	(32)
Mark Bit	(18)
Loi Yarn	(57)
Tai Nai	(38)

Loi Keng Tract
(relocated to Kun Hing)

Warn Loi Keng	(68)
Koon Jong	(38)
Koon Kae	(33)
Warn Karng	(52)
Ho Ha	(42)
Kart Kook	(87)
Nar Kio	(49)
Nar Lar	(37)
Nar Keng	(76)
Nar Koon	(51)
Koon Khar	(46)
Nar Kong	(36)
Nar Sai	(42)
Koon Long	(137)
Kio Keng	(40)

Nar Teng Tract
(relocated to Kun Hing)

Warn Wo Long	(87)
Nar Khar Long	(38)
Nar Tor	(47)
Warn Berng	(39)
Soon Sarng	(9)
Hai Ker	(47)
Nam Kong	(30)
Nar Bao	(50)

Nar Khar Orn (20)

**Nar Boi Tract
(relocated to Kun Hing)**

Warn Nar Boi (70)

Warn Lao (32)

Nong Wo (34)

Weng Koom (15)

Ho Ha Mark Jok (25)

Koon Ban (15)

Warn pit (40)

Huay Hok (15)

Nam Kham (40)

Tar Sai (15)

Nam Oon (12)

**Sai Khao Tract
(relocated to Kun Hing)**

Warn Sai Khao (80)

Sai Moon (32)

Koon Sar (18)

Koon Keng (10)

Pang Kok (40)

Mai Mor Lao (25)

Nar Yarng (40)

Mark Khee Noo (38)

Mark Larng (26)

Nam Hoo Barng Part (25)

Nam Tok (18)

Nar Wong (10)

Warn Huay (20)

Norng Khoon (20)

Nam Hoo (43)

Barng Wart (36)

Wan Kang (20)

**Weng Phui Tract
(relocated to Kun Hing)**

Warn Weng Phui (46)

Barng Hok (8)

Barng Ern (48)

Nar Pai (15)

Nar Long (40)

Nam Orn (18)

Nam Mor Tam (15)

**Sai Murng Tract
(relocated to Kali and Nam Mor
Ngern)**

Warn Sai Murng (100)

Beng Khar (15)

Huay Poo (20)

Nar Mor (14)

Bar Pa (20)

Nar Jok (16)

Huay Mark Pa (25)

Nar Bor (20)

**Loi Khio Tract
(relocated to Kali and Nam Mor
Ngern)**

Warn Loi Khio (200)

Mark Jok (40)

Nar Nong (32)

Look Long (30)

Loi Khio Orn (70)

Nong Neng (60)

Beng Long (80)

San Mark Nar (29)

Khio Tong (50)

**Nar Mon Tract
(relocated to Kun Hing)**

Warn Nar Mon (220)

Nar Jae (150)

Nar Bar Wong (100)

Nar Wee (80)

Nar Long	(75)
Nar Ho Kho	(150)
Koong Larng	(100)
Nong Kham	(20)

NAM ZARNG TOWNSHIP
(relocated 1996-1998)

Villages relocated: 181

Households relocated: 7,296

Nam Zarng Tract
(relocated to Nam Zarng)

Koong Jong	(20)
Kong Hong	(120)
Koon Keng	(80)

Murng Jid Tract
(relocated to Kong Yao and
Murng Jid)

Wan Heng	(60)
Don Keng	(40)
Ho Na	(30)
Oo Mang	(20)
Nong Wo	(10)
Nam Mor Pan	(20)

Wan Nong-Koong Mong Tract
(relocated to Nam Zarng)

Na Or	(30)
Wan Nong	(20)
Koong Mong	(20)
Wan Koong	(22)
Koong Sar	(40)
Nong Terk	(35)
Hai Oi	(37)
Nam Hoo	(15)
Koon Sang	(42)
Koon Teng	(18)

Ba Lai	(217)
Loi Oon	(25)
Koong Mert	(18)
Koong Niu	(12)
Wan Yon	(16)
Tak Let	(47)
Nong Wo	(53)
Wan Heng	(59)
Loi Pui	(46)
Pa Son	(80)

Nong Hee Tract
(relocated to Nam Zarng)

Nam Khai	(42)
Loi Seng	(30)
Sang Wan	(20)
Wan Bang	(70)
Nam Hoo	(50)
Nong Leng	(80)
Loi Tao	(33)
Wan Hoi	(39)
Loi Ngern Orn	(100)
Nam Warn	(35)
Nong Ing	(22)
Wan Bang	(25)
Koong Pang Tai	(35)
Bak Nam	(9)
Nam Wo	(120)

Nar Boi Tract
(relocated to Nam Zarng and Kho
Lam)

Nam Ma	(25)
Nar Oon	(30)
Loi Weng	(75)
Koong Sim	(32)
Hang Lin	(45)
Mak Lang Neo	(18)
Tao Lai	(23)
Nam Mor Ood	(39)

Sop Hoo	(28)
Nam Hoo Kang	(32)
Wan Khai	(41)
Nong Khai	(24)
Nam Kat	(30)
Ho Mong	(45)
Ho Jong	(30)
Wan Yord	(8)
Si Sor Ya Khae	(50)
Wan Koong	(10)
Wan Barng Kor	(28)
Nong Khio	(32)
Koong Sang	(24)
Ter Ler	(15)
Kam Khwai	(8)
Nong Mot	(16)
Wan Loi	(30)
Koong Kat	(40)
Wan Beng	(35)
Hui Long Sao	(20)
Bak Ha	(22)
Mai Hai	(40)
Kong Hak	(20)
Ho Joi	(21)
Teng Kham	(25)
Tor Soi	(17)
Nam Lin	(17)
Nong Wo	(67)
Nam Wan	(26)
(burned)	
Bang Sa	(65)
(burned)	
Nam Kwa	(25)
Nam Hoo	(16)
Koong Sa	(13)
Koong Keng	(47)
Bang Boi	(21)
Koong Jan	(16)
(burned)	

Ton Hoong Tract
(relocated to Kho Lam)

Wan Ton Hoong	(60)
Mork Zili	(20)
Koong Yom	(18)
Sarm Jong	(19)
Nam Zer	(22)
Wo Zong	(16)
Wan Mong	(10)
Mak Lang	(80)
Wan Mai	(75)
Wan Khai	(20)
Wan Beng	(27)
Kat Sa	(36)
Kap Sang	(30)
Wan Heng	(18)
Mak Khee Noo	(20)
Wan Mai Koong Sa	(23)
Mak Perng Tonlong	(40)
Nar Bong	(35)
Wan Koong	(25)
Ba Kang	(18)
Loi Tong	(32)
Kong Hom	(189)
Mor Som	(61)
(burned)	
Kang Khai	(14)
Nong Wan	(25)
Wan Murng	(32)
Wan Jong	(35)
Tor Ler	(45)
Nong Kwai	(40)

Hai Lai Tract
(relocated to Kho Lam)

Hai Lai	(25)
Hoi Her	(15)
Wan Koong	(20)
Kart Ler	(15)

(burned)		Ho Na	(20)
Nong Kwai	(20)	Ho Kho	(20)
Sam Jong	(20)	Wan Yon	(5)
Koong Yom	(25)	Nar Loi	(32)
(burned)		Wan Mai	(60)
Ton Hoong	(25)	Ho Loi	(23)
(burned)		Wan Tar	(20)
Loi La Tract		Wan Hang Hat	(23)
(relocated to Nam Zarng and Kho Lam)		Koong Mak Keng	(35)
		Wan Tao	(28)
Loi La	(120)	Loi Pui	(30)
Bong Lao	(40)	Bang Sim	(40)
Bang Sar	(40)	Nam Lin Long	(35)
Kam Zen	(25)	Nong Pa	(180)
Kong Hom	(120)	Na Lor	(65)
(Palaung)		Wan Kong	(10)
Keng Kham On	(42)	Wan Nang	(50)
Nong Tao	(30)	Wan Kart	(30)
Koong Ai	(58)	Nam Lin	(10)
Wan Jong	(15)	Pa Ngab	(200)
Koong Keng	(80)	(Palaung)	
Koong Lang	(32)	Moi Tor	(40)
Loi Yoi	(30)	(burned)	
Bang Bao	(60)	Ho Nong Tract	
Koong Kham	(30)	(relocated to Kho Lam)	
Barng Kham	(30)		
Mak Mong Mon Tract		Wan Tard	(45)
(relocated to Nam Zarng)		Na Wan	(30)
		Toom Khai	(25)
Loi Neng	(100)	Koong Mong	(20)
Loi Sao	(60)	Mak Lang	(15)
Tin Loi	(50)	Nong Kwai	(70)
Loi Ngern	(220)	Ho Nam	(40)
Wan Barng	(80)	Nam Lin	(36)
Kho Ood Tract		Nong Bae	(20)
(relocated to Hai Neng)		Koong Bao	(30)
		Khok Nam	(18)
Wan Kho Ood	(45)	Nor Hai	(36)
		Koong Kat	(45)
		Tar Sai	(20)

LAI KHA TOWNSHIP

(relocated 1996-1998)

Villages relocated: 201**Households relocated: 8,735****Parng Sarng Tract****(relocated to Parng Phone)**

Wan Ban	(50)
Ho Nam	(50)
Nar Loi	(30)
Nam Nor	(30)
Zang Kham	(20)
Wan Na	(20)
Phak Koom	(20)
Loi Sai	(32)
Pa Kang	(52)
Kong Hak	(48)
Nam Hoo Hai	(54)
Koon Kok	(24)
Wan Hui	(300)
(Palaung)	
Kong Ai	(16)
Khai Ton	(22)
Yala	(24)
(Palaung)	
Wan Khai	(25)
Harnng Nam	(7)
(Palaung)	
Nar Oon	(10)

Wan Heng Tract**(relocated to Parng Phone)**

Nong Yar Sai	(22)
Wan Heng	(52)
Nong Koong	(14)
Wan Mai	(16)
Ho Hong Mok Jam	(18)
Ho Nong	(33)
Na Yong	(67)
Wan Jong	(26)

Bang Tet Taew	(15)
Wan Bang	(150)

Wan Sarng Tract**(relocated to Mark Lang and Lai Kha)**

Ho Khai	(44)
Kho Zai Wan Sarng	(100)
Kong Kham	(42)
Ho Ten	(28)
Kong Hoong	(35)
Mak Lang Kong	(20)
Mak Keng	(20)
Wan Mon	(30)
Wan Hai	(45)
Nam Ba Mong	(20)
Koong Sar	(40)

Wan Ler Tract**(relocated to Parng Phone)**

Mor Sem	(22)
Koong Bao	(32)
Nam Mae Jan	(20)
Nam Hoo Lek	(16)
Nam Tong	(52)
Nong Mai	(26)
Loi Kook Nam Kok	(34)
Nong Seng	(32)
Bang Yong	(65)
Khai Kharn	(40)
Kart Yang	(25)
Khai Ton	(20)
Khai Tui	(20)

Nong Kaw Tract**(relocated to Mark Lang and Lai Kha)**

Wan Ta	(80)
Koong Kat	(40)

Wan Mai	(18)	Tak Let	(60)
Nong Ker	(25)	Nam Men	(25)
Koong Phak Tao	(45)	Ho Kho	(40)
Koong Keng	(35)	Ter Long	(30)
Wan Book	(22)	Nong Pherk	(50)
Wan Boong Ker	(20)	Nam Mo	(200)
Mak Lang	(33)	Sarm Kha	(20)
Koong Lin	(34)	Koong Tee	(30)
Wan Wan	(30)	Koon Sai	(70)
		Nong Ler	(20)
Wan Yerng Tract		Na Mang	(70)
(relocated to Lai Kha)		Wan Boong	(75)
		Wan Jan	(60)
Ho Weng	(10)	Khok Ner	(20)
Phak Lern	(15)	Ter Leng	(82)
Pala Lern See	(60)	Nong Kor	(100)
Bang Wo	(8)	Wan Boong	(15)
Koong Lang	(13)	Ton Hoong	(90)
Nong Leng	(20)	See Koong	(50)
Bang Tan	(15)	Nong Ler	(20)
		Ho Hoong	(45)
Na Mang Tract		Wan Hui	(30)
(relocated to Mark Lang and Lai Kha)		Ba Mai	(20)
		Ba Moi	(20)
		Wan Look	(30)
		Koon Ban	(45)
Wan Moong	(56)		
Hard Lee	(22)	Hai Seng Tract	
Bang Samoeng	(34)	(relocated to Lai Kha)	
See Koong	(21)		
Koong Jong	(29)	Wan Long Hai Seng	(50)
Wan Sarng	(11)	Wan Long Kat Kao	(35)
Koon Keng	(30)	Wan Look	(40)
Kher Nim	(40)	Kang Oon	(100)
Wan Tok	(37)	Nong Zem	(60)
Kho Hai	(22)	Kong Wet	(15)
Na Bang	(36)	Hai Seng Wan Mai	(25)
Nam Lin	(32)	Koon Nar	(20)
Wan Koong	(41)	Wan Tong	(100)
Wan Jae	(186)	Mak Kok	(20)
(Palaung)		Nong Tao	(30)
Wan Nam Toong	(22)	Nong Wan	(32)
Jang Wan	(80)		

Tard Mok Tract
(relocated to Parng Phone)

Tard Mork	(35)
Koon Hoong	(20)
Nong Long	(20)
Khai Ton	(30)
Nam Toon	(20)
Loi Koi	(31)
Mak Lang	(32)
Koong Bao	(45)
Khai Kharn	(39)
Ho Lom	(33)
Nong Mai	(30)
Nong Book	(31)
Nong Mae Jan	(82)
Goong Samerng	(20)
Ba Yen	(20)
Lin Leng	(209)
Na Yong	(21)
Kho Sor	(20)
Koong Kok	(22)
Nam Kok	(12)
Koong Mae Seng	(20)
Koong Mot	(34)
Na Sarn	(22)
Nam Ler	(29)
Mak Tee	(20)
Wan Hai	(75)
Nam Hoong	(60)
Wan Book	(20)

Wan Thi Tract
(relocated to Parng Phone)

Ho Mee	(48)
Ba La	(15)
Nam Oon	(47)
Nong Wo	(37)
Koong Ban	(45)
Wan Kherng	(32)

Pa Bong	(36)
Nong Kern	(50)
Sisor Yakhae	(57)
Salai Loi	(28)
Loi Tao	(32)
Bang Sa	(36)
Ho Nam Long Tor	(47)
Koong Pak Hee	(58)
Kook Nam Ho Khor	(37)
Zalai Khum	(47)
Mak Mong Sem	(38)
Wan Thi	(32)
Zalai Wan Lo	(40)
Khok Nam I Khae	(12)
Nong Ho	(32)
Ho Nam	(57)
Nam Ton	(22)
Nam Mor Long	(24)
Na Nai	(45)
Tong Hiu	(70)
Nong Kham	(63)
Nong Hoi	(25)
Nong Kern	(70)
Wan Boong	(15)
Wan Hui	(40)
Kong Wet	(60)
Koong Mai Hai	(30)
Nam Hoo Kae	(20)
Bang Sang	(80)

Nar Yorn Tract
(relocated to Mark Lang and L:
Kha)

Wan Sai Khao	(35)
Wan Boong	(37)
Wan Koong	(62)
Koon Hoong	(54)
Koong Ka	(24)
Pa Ser	(100)
Wan Mon	(150)

Na Yong	(80)
Na Sarn	(150)
Wan Mai	(110)
Wan Ler	(250)
Na Boi	(39)
Nong Ka	(24)

KE SEE TOWNSHIP**(relocated 1996-1998)****Villages relocated: 364****Households relocated: 11,663****Wan Khem Tract****(relocated to Ke See)**

Wan Mai	(15)
Wan Bang	(10)
Kong Kham	(30)
Pang Bo	(20)
Nar Mon	(15)
Nam Lin	(18)
Na Ton	(30)
Pak Hee	(8)
Wan Khem	(95)
Koong Sar	(15)
Wan Keng	(10)
Wan Bor	(20)
Wan Nim	(30)
Na Toon	(35)
Na Khao Lerng	(30)
Wan Jong	(30)
Bang Ngoo	(25)
Bang Lor	(15)
Nar Kor	(30)
Nong Som	(40)
Beng Sai	(3)
Mak Mer	(6)
Wan Mon	(2)

Khok Sang Tract**(relocated to Ke See)**

Nong Khar	(40)
Nam Lin	(25)
Bang Lor	(15)
Loong Zam	(15)
Nam Bio	(20)
Loi Myat	(20)
Bang Wo	(40)
Bang Khai Long	(20)
Kong Mon	(18)
Par Sim	(5)
Nam Book	(30)
Nam Oot	(40)
Khok Sang	(80)

Bang Zae Tract**(relocated to Ke See)**

Bang Zae	(40)
Nam Tek	(40)
Nam Khok	(40)
Bar Tep	(40)
Nam Kor	(50)
Hang Ter	(40)
Wan Zong	(60)
Mak Man	(50)
Nam Zalor	(40)
Nam Zaled	(40)
Ba Long	(40)
Koong Med	(15)
Loi Yoi	(25)
Ban Mai Kae	(30)
Kong Moo	(32)
Na Bang	(75)
Pa Som	(28)

**Nong Som Tract
(relocated to Ke See)**

Ho Kho	(20)
Loi Sai	(30)
Koong Kang	(20)
Kiu Kern	(12)
Loi Mod	(20)
Nai Loi	(20)
Som Balong	(40)
Nong See	(20)
Bang Khang	(25)
Look Long	(20)
Hui Koon	(16)
Nam Khai	(15)
Nam Zoong	(20)
Nam Kok	(20)
Wan Lak	(50)
Koong Ler	(30)
Khok Noi	(30)
Ho Nar	(20)
Pai Mong	(15)
Nam Ho	(15)
Loi Pui	(17)
Loi Tong Loi	(40)
(Palaung)	
Pak Ler	(45)
Pai Mork	(40)
Nam Tong Kep	(30)
Wan Koong	(30)
Loi Tong Tai	(40)
Huay Hok	(10)

**Murng Kao Tract
(relocated to Ke See)**

Mak Hoo	(60)
Nong Bek	(40)
Bang Yom	(30)
Nam Zom	(5)
Mai Hoong Lerng	(40)

Hang Hai	(40)
Wan Koong	(30)
Nong Hee	(30)
Koong Lom	(30)
Hin Lom	(30)
Son Mon	(40)
Mai Hoong Khio	(30)
Mai Hoong Lon	(70)
Kong Jam	(30)
Nar Khio Lerng	(40)
Nar Toon	(10)
Wan Mor	(10)
Look Koot	(30)
(Palaung)	
Huay Hok	(30)
Koong Bek	(15)

**Keng Lern Tract
(relocated to Ke See)**

Keng Lern	(50)
Nam Hoo	(40)
Wan Met	(30)
Khee Kar	(50)
Mork Jam	(20)
Koong Kok	(40)
Koong Sar	(10)
Tak Led	(20)
Ba Ling	(10)
Wan Mor	(20)
Bang Kham	(20)
Nam Hoo	(10)
Nam Hoo Nam Mor	(40)
Huay Kok	(40)

**Ha Warn Tract
(relocated to Ke See)**

Wan Nim	(40)
Ho Boong	(10)
Koon Hoong	(40)

Nong Ho	(20)
Na Par	(40)
Koon Kor	(40)
Nam Bok	(40)
Kard Weng	(20)
Koong Teb	(10)
Bang Mong	(20)
Wan Kharn	(10)
Nim Zom	(10)
Ha Warn	(50)
Wan Zon	(40)
Mak Man	(30)
Na Bang	(30)

Wan Pui Tract
(relocated to Ke See)

Na Loi	(30)
Na Harm	(40)
Nong Ka	(30)
Na Harm	(40)
Nong Ka	(30)
Jong Bang	(50)
Koong Bek	(10)

Wan Zed Tract
(relocated to Ke See)

Wan Zed	(30)
Wan Jong	(40)
Nong Kor	(15)
Kiu Tong	(20)
Koong Niu	(30)
Loi Sang	(30)
Loi Pui	(40)
Ba Kao	(15)
Na Lao	(20)
Ho Kho	(50)
Wan Koong	(40)
Mak Keng	(10)
Mak Lang	(15)

Khong Long	(40)
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Murng Nang Tract
(relocated to Murng Nawng)

Wan It	(63)
Wan Nar	(39)
Murng Porn	(26)
Norng Wo	(47)
Norng Tao	(33)
Wan Norng	(64)
Nam Maw Sai	(10)
Nam Lin	(36)
Nam Pan	(41)
Wan Long	(104)
Mark Na	(15)
Pa Lerng	(38)
Look Khar	(20)
Wan Ban	(45)
Wan Kard	(53)
Loi Hoon	(26)
Kong Wet	(30)
Mark Wao	(12)
Nam Oop	(15)
Wan Oi	(25)
Ho Bong	(20)
Bang Lok	(36)
Huay Bok	(8)
Kong Khar	(32)

Wan Wa Tract
(relocated to Murng Nawng)

Wan Wa (54)	
Koong Weng	(35)
Koon Wo	(20)
Kham Jong	(20)
Kham Long	(20)
Ho Khai	(60)
Nam Hoo	(40)
Ba Hak	(35)
Na Lao	(50)

Wan Mai	(43)	Loong Yan Tract	
Kong Kham	(20)	(relocated to Murng Nawng)	
Murng Nawng Tract			
(relocated to Murng Nawng)		Wan Jong	(25)
Na Karng	(65)	(burned)	
Koon Nar	(40)	Ba Kang	(10)
Na Nyong	(34)	Kher Nim	(15)
Na Nam Kon	(30)	Koong Tee	(16)
Bang Loi Tong	(80)	Ter Tad	(20)
Na Zarng	(40)	(burned)	
Nong Wo	(30)	Nam Mong	(7)
Na Lin Leng	(25)	(burned)	
Ba Leng	(38)	Nam Boon	(27)
Long Ling	(30)	(burned)	
Koong Zor	(60)	Bang Hoong	(30)
Wan Loi	(80)	Ho Werng	(14)
Keng Hio	(40)	Kong Wet	(30)
Nong Zae	(40)	(Palaung)	
Ba Lao	(50)	Loong Yan	(35)
Na Worn	(50)	Na Mor	(38)
Koong Hai	(30)	Na Yerng	(30)
Long Zam	(40)	Hin Tad	(20)
Nong Yao	(20)	Loi Noi	(25)
		Wan Sarn	(36)
		Kong Won	(48)
Wan Tong Tract		Nong Aye Tract	
(relocated to Murng Nawng)		(relocated to Murng Nawng)	
Wan Tong	(80)	Nong Aye	(18)
Pai Mong	(30)	Loi Sio	(36)
Nam Hoo Ngern	(20)	Wan Sio	(80)
Son Kuay	(45)	Loi Ang	(30)
Bek Sap	(12)	Ho Tad	(35) (Lahu)
Loi Kong (25)		Nam Mao	(42)
Huay Or	(8)	Nam Book	(28)
Nong Toon	(15)		
Wan Jong	(60)	Murng Yang Tract	
		(relocated to Murng Nawng)	
		Murng Yang	(60)
		Khook Nam	(46)

Nong Bang	(150)	Hang Na	(40)
Nar Ted	(36)	Bang Book	(40)
Wan Yord	(30)	Huay Keng	(40)
Look Ler	(40)	Wan Khai	(30)
Pang Peng	(80)	Ho Hee	(10)
Nyoung Soi	(30)	(Palaung)	
Na Hoi	(25)	Moo Nawng	(5) (Palaung)
Hai Lai	(15)	Nong Leng	(10)
Koon Kok	(30)	Koong Ler	(40)
Wan Nong	(15)	Nang Hoong	(10)
Kho Yom	(20)	Koong Ler	(40)
Kang Khai	(15)	Lin Bek	(20)
Koong Sang Mor	(10)	Huay Tong Merk	(20)
Koong Kharn	(15)	Nam Tong	(30)
Koon Mong	(10)	Wan Nam Jok	(50)
Koong Mong	(30)	Pa Jae	(40)
Mak Lang	(5)	Ba Khee	(15)
		Huay Keng	(10)
Mung Yai Tract		Nar Sarn	(13)
(relocated to Pang Phone)		Huay Tong	(10)
Mung Yai	(50)	Kho Hee	(8)
Nam Lin	(50)	Nam Tong	(30)
Koong Nang Long	(15)	Loi Khor	(15)
Wan Phai	(40)	Koong Nim	(10)
Huay Long	(15)	Sai Lae	(20)
Koong Nang Orn	(15)	Wan Pong	(20)
boong Long	(20)	Hin Hae	(15)
Mak Tee	(30)	Nong Hoon Nong Leng	(10)
Wan Boong	(20)	Moon Nao Koong Ler	(12)
Bang Hai	(10)		
Huay Hok	(20)	Nong Tao Tract	
Zarm Erk	(10)	(relocated to Mung Nawng)	
Huay Tong Kao	(10)	Nong Tao	(200)
Hin He	(40)	Kho Tee	(40)
Wan Jong	(20)	Koong Yang	(50)
Koong Lang	(30)	Mak Moong Yao	(30)
Kor Erk	(5) (Palaung)	Bang Kao	(25)
Nong Wo	(40)	Ho Hoo	(25)
Oo Man	(10)	Zai Wai	(50)
(Palaung)		(Palaung)	
Hai Seng	(50)	Loi Lerng	(30)

Koon Sor	(15)	Wan Nai	(70)
Wan Loi	(14)	Wan Parng	(150)
Keng Hong	(25)	(burned)	
Na Hoi Kong	(18)	Nam Hoo	(80)
Na Sai	(20)	Hoong Hamg	(20)
Nong San	(32)	Wan Loi Tham	(80)
Ho Karn	(34)	Wan Long	(30)
Ba Lao	(36)	Wan Jong	(25)
Wan Long	(56)	(burned)	
(burned)		Sai Ket	(25)
Wan Mai Koon Nyong	(16)	Koong Kang	(30)
Koong Mong	(25)	Wan Khook	(20)
Wan Mai Loi Nom	(16)	Ho Phai	(50)
(burned)		(burned)	
Murng Lerm Tract		Erng Moo	(30)
(Relocated to Murng Nawng)		Perng Joong	(30)
Murng Lerm	(150)	Wan Jong Tai	(30)
Loi Len	(50)	Wan Look	(40)
(Palaung)		Wan Narng	(50)
Ho Ho	(15)	Wan Zing Orn	(20)
Ho Na	(10)	Loi Tao	(80)
Mak O	(18)	(burned)	
Ba Kang	(30)	Nong Bing	(25)
Nong Mon	(14)	Loi Lom	(30)
Wan Jong	(30)	Loi Lem	(28)
Wan Long	(50)	Nong Bang	(50)
Lao Khok	(36)	Nong Ek	(20)
Nong Ba Look	(20)		
Hoong Khang	(20)		
Wan Nong Boo	(28)		
Wan Loi Sai	(20)		
Nong Ngern	(20)		
Wan Zing Tract		MURNG KERNG TOWNSI	
(relocated to Lai Kha)		(relocated 1996-1998)	
Phui Hur	(30)	Villages relocated: 186,	
Koong Khet	(80)	Households relocated: 8,681	
Wan Loi	(150)	Ham Ngai Tract	
		(relocated to Ham Ngai)	
		Hai Ngern	(160)
		Zam Bong	(200)
		Koong Yong	(140)
		Pa Sar	(60)
		Khai San	(65)

Loong Jam	(276)	Koong Mak Teng	(20)
Na Ler	(184)	Wan Po	(30)
Loi Sang	(164)	Mak Khee Noo	(35)
Ho Pai	(297)	Nam Hoo Zak	(25)
Koong San	(82)	Koong Nong	(20)
Koong Bek	(89)	Pak Pet	(20)
Wan Lerng	(127)	Koong Mak Tee	(18)
Ho Nong	(92)	Bang Mai Hoong	(16)
Nong Oon	(267)	Koong Wan	(15)
Wan Loi	(82)	Koong Sai	(20)
Koong Kham	(124)	Ta Salay	(18)
Nam Ood	(30)	Kong Moo Leng	(17)
Nam Mon	(20)	Wan Keng	(20)
Koong Leng	(20)	Bang Hui Moong	(20)
Wan Hae	(22)	Koong Bek	(17)
Wan Long	(50)	Tar Long	(25)
Loi Sai	(30)	Nam Tao	(30)
Nong Tao	(70)	Na Mak Wok	(15)
(Palaung)		Wan Bang	(28)
Nar Mon	(35)	Khee Khap	(30)
Pa Lam	(25)	Koong Salai	(28)
Bang Nong	(30)	Na Hui	(80)
Wang Merng	(100)	Mak Man	(20)
Ban Niu	(50)	Wan Loi	(20)
Wan Bek	(20)	Koong Nim	(55)
		Wan Bor	(30)
Murng Khun Tract		Wan Nim	(60)
(relocated to Murng Kerng)		Koong Samerng	(40)
Wod Yak	(45)	Khai Yerng	(20)
Koong Ler	(20)	Kham Perk	(70)
Na Boong	(20)	Na Pet	(28)
Koong Jong	(25)	Wan Mai	(20)
Wan Pa	(35)	Ho Tab	(50)
Na Kharng (20)		Wan Khom	(30)
Bang Lor (20)		Sarm Eb	(29)
Koong Mong	(36)	Bang Wo	(20)
Long Tang	(25)	Loi Lam	(35)
Wan Jong	(20)	Wan Jam	(32)
Nam Hoo Khae	(15)	Wan Tab	(20)
Ba Kang	(20)	Koong Ben	(20)

Nong Laew Tract
(relocated to Murng Kerng)

Nong Wo	(20)
Nong Boon	(18)
Koong Jong	(28)
Koon Yuam	(35)
Huay Yok	(50)
Wan Huay	(45)
Beng Sar	(40)
Kang Noo Pai	(35)
Bang Leng	(45)
Terng Yao	(20)
Loi Ham	(25)
Huay Sim	(48)
Wan Bang Ta Khong	(30)
Wan Koong	(10)
Wan Mong	(30)
Koong Kor	(35)
Kert Boo	(45)
Nong Mern	(30)
Wan Leng	(40)
Koon Kok	(35)
Wan Jong	(20)
Koon Bon	(25)
Khai Kharn	(20)
Koong Teng	(20)
Long Ling	(20)
Khee Khor	(30)
Nam Kerm	(20)

Ho Na Tract
(relocated to Murng Kerng)

Wan Jok	(42)
Nam Hoo	(28)
Bang Mai Hoong	(37)
Tor Niu	(29)
Nong Bing	(36)

Yang Loi Tract
(relocated to Murng Kerng)

Yang Loi	(267)
(burned)	
Loi Sang	(87)
Koon Ban	(180)
Nam Neb	(65)
Sam Boon	(48)
Hai Ngern	(169)
Loi Mee	(36)
(burned)	
Kong Kham	(26)
Kong Sar	(32)
Nam Hoo	(22)
Sar Dor	(18)
Nam Khoo	(22)
(burned)	
Bang Pet	(67)
(burned)	
Koong Ler	(20)
Loi Peng	(26)

Wan Pui Tract
(relocated to Kard Pui)

Wan Pui	(47)
Wan Heng	(20)
Wan Leng	(60)
Wan Na	(34)
Wan Na Boong	(60)
Nong Kham	(20)
Wan Ban	(42)
Murng Lang On	(20)
Bang Long	(30)
Son Mon	(29)
Ho Na	(20)
Hui Noi	(20)
Nai Lin	(50)
Nam Hoo	(25)
Nar Boong	(30)

Mung Lang	(100)
Mak Kon Wo	(30)
Wan Hang	(37)
Nam Ba Look	(17)
Kong Hai	(22)
Wan Jong	(36)
Ter Leng	(14)

Tong Lao Tract
(relocated to Tong Lao)

Ba Khar	(20)
Nam Mor Ben	(40)
Nan Ba Yang	(50)
Nam Ba Lob	(45)
Oom Tor	(20)
Look Ba Kang	(50)
Loi Lam	(140)
Wan Moong	(40)
Wan Huay	(25)
Wan Leng	(20)
Koon Kok	(70)

Kher Oong Oi Tract
(relocated to Kher Oong Oi)

Nam Khoom Long	(78)
Nam Khoom Orn	(37)
Bang Lor	(38)
Loi Nang	(42)
Nam Sim	(25)
Zong Lao	(22)
Nam Beng	(47)
Look Kang	(30)
Pa Leng	(28)
Loi Nam Tao	(27)
Nam Khai	(42)
Loi Koong Wannai	(28)

Naong Yang Tract
(relocated to Nong Yang)

Koong Kang	(47)
Wan Kuay	(38)

Loi Leng Tract
(relocated to Loi Leng)

Wan Loong Yon	(54)
Bang Long	(52)
Koong Lom	(37)
Ya Tor	(38)
Koong Sar	(44)
Weng Leng	(27)
Koong Jong	(22)

Mung Yon Tract
(relocated to Mung Yon)

Nam Koom	(67)
Ba Khar	(33)
Kong Hai	(49)
Huay Mor	(12)

MURNG NAI TOWNSHIP
(relocated 1996-1998)
Villages relocated : 99
Households relocated: 3870

Ton Hoong Tract
(relocated to Ton Hoong)

Nam Hoo	(20)
Tar Koon	(30)
Barng Khor	(12)
Nong Ook	(20)
Hwe Barng Kham	(15)
Hwe Met	(11)
Na Niu	(13)
Barng Terng	(7)
Nar Bor	(57)

Koong Hak	(38)
Nam Nerng	(13)
Ho Yen	(54)
Pak Ha	(12)
Nam Oon	(35)
Nam Tong	(43)
Hwe Keng	(17)
Koon Nar	(38)
Nong Term	(48)

Koon Long Tract
(relocated to Wiang Kao and Ton Hoong)

Nam Ma	(57)
Wan Kart	(86)
Terng Pak Hee	(25)
Hwe Koon	(40)
Na Wan Khong	(25)
Khook Nam	(5)
Nong Tao	(60)
Koong Khor	(20)
Nar Kihai	(20)
Nong Lao	(10)
Wan Nong Nerm	(26)
Hwe Mong	(54)

Nong Hee Tract
(relocated to Ton Hoong)

Nong Nerm	(154)
Ba Sar	(157)
Nong Par	(59)
Nam Toom Ner	(67)
Nam Toom	(40)
Nar Sarn	(15)
Nar Yok	(20)
Mork Pwe	(10)
Nong Hee	(15)
Ter Hong	(80)
Bang Park	(80)
Nam Kork	(40)

Ho Ta (60)

Koon Mong Tract
(relocated to Kong Mong and Ton Hoong)

Na Hae	(10)
Koong Lom	(18)
Nam Hoo	(30)
Loi Leng	(16)
Ba Teb	(10)
Tong Ing	(18)
Koong Kao	(20)
Koong Nyong	(16)
Ho Ha	(30)

Nong Meng Tract
(relocated to Murng Nai)

Koon Sai	(40)
Na Loi	(70)
Na Khar	(25)
Wan Mai	(43)
Koon Tong	(20)
Bang Sar	(32)
Loi Khwang	(14)
Bang Yong	(25)

Mai Hai Tract
(relocated to Murng Nai)

Ton Keng	(20)
Ho Pai	(27)
Hai Ker	(70)
Na Ban Pai	(4)
Mai Hai	(16)
Nam Hoi	(12)
Na Mak Zang	(17)
Jong Koong	(3)
Nam Salai	(60)

Hai Noi Tract
(relocated to Nar Kharn)

Loi Len (37)
Loi Sai (45)

Loi Khio Tract
(relocated to Murng Nai)

Koong Long (85)

Nar Kharn Tract
(relocated to Nar Kharn)

Jong Koong (46)
Nar Mak Zang (31)
Ton Keng (38)
Wan Mak Lang (47)
Wan Bong (40)
Wan Loi Toon (140)
Wan Ho Pai (60)
Nong Bae (35)
Loi Ai (150)
Nam Mor Khae (75)
Lin Poo (27)
Wan Kala (80)
Khai Tonggi (100)
Bang Pet (25)

Koong Long Tract
(relocated to Ton Hoong)

Ho Koon (50)
Wan Kok Nam (10)
Wan Kart (75)
Terng Pak Hee (20)
Na Wan Khong (35)
Nong Lao (20)
Na Wan Khong (35)
Nong Lao (20)
Wan Na Leng (60)
Nam Ma (50)

Nam Pat (10)
Huay Hok (30)
Ho Ha (10)
Barng Kham (15)
Nong Tao (80)

LARNG KHER TOWNSHIP
(relocated 1996-1998)

Villages relocated: 31

Households relocated: 1,157

Nong Long Tract
(relocated to Nong Long)

Terng Kwang (60)
Nam Tok (30)
Hart Mai (20)
Barng Ken (50)
Hart Marn (10)
Nong Tao (17)
Nong Khok (15)
Boong Toon Ner (50)
Tong Jae (20)
Nam Tern (50)
Hui Zim (75)

Wan Jid Tract
(relocated to Nong Long and
Larng Kher)

Nam Nor (60)
Na Khar (40)
Koong Sar (50)
Wan Mai (30)
Nong Tao (26)
Nong Tong Lor (22)
Wan Mai (30)
Wan Jid (80)
Nam Tai (40)
Wan Nong (10)
Nam Teng (15)

Son Oi Tract
(relocated to Nong Long and Larng Kher)

Son Oi	(58)
Ho Ha	(64)
Wan Jong	(68)
Loi Por	(27)
Na Mai	(13)
Nong Oi	(40)

Hai Kwe Tract
(relocated to Nong Long)

Hai Kwe	(57)
Koong Mark Bin	(10)
Loi Toon	(20)

MURNG SU TOWNSHIP
(relocated 1996)

Villages relocated: 28

Households relocated: 697

Murmg Zarng Tract
(relocated to Murmg Zarng)

Wan Mong	(20)
Wan Li	(15)

Hai Par Tract
(relocated to Hai Par)

Murmg Kharng	(35)
Nar Pae	(10)
Norng Khaet	(15)
Horng Lerk	(10)
Ta Sarm Poo	(30)
Koong Nim	(15)
(Palaung)	
Nam Par Moong	(20)
Paeng Thorn	(15)

Wan Zaw Tract
(relocated to Wan Zaw)

Look Niu	(22)
Wan Sarn	(30)
Nar New	(20)

Phar Ya Tract
(relocated to Phar Ya)

Som Khorn	(20)
Wan Hok	(18)
Wan Parnng	(20)
Nam Arng	(19)

Wan Loi Tract
(relocated to Wan Loi)

Huay Hae	(30)
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Norng EP & Kun Kyorng Tract
(relocated to Nnar Mon)

Wan Parnng Kongmu	(30)
Parnng Kharm Sai	(38)
Wan Kyong	(30)
Nam Yom	(28)
Loi Waeng	(30)
Norng Taw	(20)

Murmg Ord Tract
(relocated to Murmg Ord)

Torng Hew	(25)
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Loi Nai Tract
(relocated to Loi Nai)

Peng Oo	(48)
Nam Poon	(29)
Korng Hak	(35)

MURNG PAN**(relocated 1997 -1998)****Villages relocated: 61****Households relocated: 2,031****Nar Worn Tract****(relocated to Murng Pan)**

Nar Worn	(147)
Tong Ju	(77)
Hwe Joi	(43)
Nong Lom	(68)
La Nae	(42)
Boong Jan	(39)
Nong Ler	(27)
Ho Nong	(28)
Nong Heng	(51)
Nong Long / Nong	
Yang	(20)
Wan Jong	(30)
Wan Mai Bok	(20)

Koong Sar Tract**(relocated to Murng Pan)**

Nong Harn	(32)
Warn Khook	(24)
Nar Sen	(14)
Nar Khor	(25)
Kho Mern	(15)

Erng Weng Tract**(relocated to Murng Pan)**

Boong Ker	(104)
Nong Yarn	(67)
Nong Wo	(27)
Kan Kan	(35)

Nar Lor Tract**(relocated to Murng Pan)**

Koong Keng	(86)
Bang Toom	(24)
Kao Mork Leng	(33)
Nar Lor	(34)
Sao Wa	(18)
Nong Ba Mon	(21)
Nam Tong	(18)
Mark Kher Jae	(37)
Wo Lai	(29)
Wor Tong	(28)
Tong Mon	(25)
Wan Tham	(38)
Loi Mork	(15)
Wan Kot/ Loong Tong	(13)
Na Ing	(40)
Hwe Nor Tern Tao	(5)
Nyong Khong Khang	(50)
Nam Hoo Nar Jarn	(20)

Ho Pai Long Tract**(relocated to Murng Pan)**

Tong Koi Tai	(68)
Tong Koi Ner	(84)
Bar Khar	(17)
Hwe Mark Pery	(45)

Nam Terng Tract**(relocated to Murng Pan)**

Mai Niu	(30)
Koong Lin	(10)
Ho Lin	(15)
Murng Hong	(25)
Loi Noi	(80)
Kong Moo	(20)
Wan Koong	(10)

Karng Barn Tract
(relocated to Murng Pan)

Nar Karng Barn	(15)
Nam Ban Tai	(15)
Barng Wo	(10)
Beng Long	(17)
Barng Hong	(13)
Barng Mee	(25)
Kiu Kher Nim	(15)
Khin Heng	(8)
Nam Ban Ner	(10)
Wan Mai	(10)

TA Sang Tract
(relocated to Wan Sala)

Nar Baw	(20)
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MURNG PAENG TOWNSHIP
(relocated 1997-1998)
Villages relocated: 24
Households relocated : 285

Murng Boo Long Tract
(relocated to Murng Boo Long
and Murng Leng)

Jom Tong	(22)
Beng Sarng	(11)
Lon Keo	(8)
Na Lae	(7)
Keng Hin	(16)
Weng Kao	(22)
Koon Kok	(18)
Wan Tong	(6)
Weng Hong	(7)
Weng Jarn	(11)
Nam Hoo	(6)
Koong Sar	(12)
Beng Khar	(14)

Wan Mork	(21)
Bang Hin Gong	(9)
Wan Bang Hoo	(6)
See Bor	(17)
Wan Kong	(6)
Wan Pak Ha	(4)
Nar Bar Mai	(6)
Par Khao	(12)
Tar Boo	(14)
Tar Long	(22)

LOILEM TOWNSHIP
(relocated 1998)
Villages relocated: 129
Households relocated: 2,445

Sanen Tract
(relocated to Parn Long)

Warn Jarn	(15)
Warn Jong	(50)
Barng Boi Jar	(40)
Nen Hee	(60)
Warn Koong	(12)
Warn Kong	(65)
Warn Tok	(20)
Koong Long	(30)
Nin Moon	(50)
Sarm Boo	(7)
Kong Yao	(10)
Khong Kao	(20)
Koong Kat	(6)
Koong Barng	(30)
Huay Su	(40)
Beng Long	(35)
Pamg Beng	(20)
Koong Lao	(50)
San Bek	(15)
Wan Bang	(8)
Koong Hee	(7)

**Bang Hoo Tract
(relocated to Parng Long)**

Bang Hoo	(50)
Kao Long	(35)
Huay Long	(20)
Ha Lin	(14)
Bang Mon	(35)
Hai Hong Loi	(25)
Mak Hin Khokak	(6)
Look Bor Yon	(5)
Nai Ierng	(85)
San Bek	(35)
Khong Lang	(45)
Parng Nim	(14)
Nar Lao	(6)
Paktoo Murng	(15)
Kong Lai	(3)
Wor Lin Hom	(5)
Koong Ok	(18)
Koong Tok	(12)
Sam San	(50)
Bong Khing	(14)
Nam Wor Sao Pa	(8)
Mak Mon	(25)
Par Som	(8)
Khong Mai Hat	(25)
Pak Lern	(21)
Mai Joong Lao	(5)
Ban Nor	(10)
Mak Khee Noo	(10)
Huay Hio	(30)
Sam Kan	(20)
Loi Moo	(4)
Khum Niu	(10)
Ba Lam	(6)
Mak Khee Noo	(20)
Bang Yang	(7)
Look Koi	(4)
Huay Koot	(12)
Palaung Nong Leng	(15)

Khong Mak Not	(40)
Mak Hin Mon	(4)
Yan Heo	(5)
Nam Sai	(6)
Khong Son Dong	(10)
Loi Khoo	(55)
Khong Long	(6)
Erng Kop	(13)
Na Zern	(12)
Ho Na	(30)
Look Miok	(11)
Khoom Long	(15)
Huay Hom	(7)
Long Zarm	(3)
Look Meng Zerng	(20)
Kai Tern	(7)
Na Ted	(20)
Ho Terng	(8)
Koon Na	(4)

**Huay Wan Tract
(relocated to Parng Long)**

Huay Wan	(10)
Mai Khor	(10)
Koong Kao	(5)
Khai Mon	(30)
Koong Mong	(10)
Krk Jong	(32)
Jed Lok	(45)
Loi Weng	(15)
Loi Wor	(10)
Koong Tong	(3)
Huay Hip	(4)
Len Lin	(9)
Na Bok	(6)
Na Wit	(12)
Nong Nang	(8)
Son Khai	(8)
Nar Khee	(40)
Pak Lern	(8)

Na Wa	(15)
Koon Kha	(20)
Huay Yao	(15)
Nar Khee Orn	(5)

Pa Lai Tract
(relocated to Parng Long)

Pa Lai	(22)
Seng Kar	(10)
Tong Ha	(16)
Look Jang Kham	(33)
Ho Hoi	(6)
Nam Sai	(7)
Koong Mai Hok	(10)
Pa Khar Long	(20)
Khong Long	(8)
Wan Mai	(8)
Par Ser	(20)
Mak Mon	(30)
Ban Tan Nok	(15)
Nar Zang	(6)
Bang Ood	(45)
Koong Lom	(40)
Wan Pai	(15)
Tan Air	(20)
Koong Kha	(35)
Weng Kwai	(7)
Koong Pek	(30)
Koon Sai	(6)
Huay Koong	(8)
Boong Sop Hoo	(15)
Par Min	(12)
Bon Tai	(13)
Bon Ner	(14)
Som Khon	(50)
Nam Mor Long	(6)

HO PONG
(relocated 1998)
Villages relocated: 17
Households relocated: 243

Bang Hoo Tract
(relocated to Parng Long)

Huay Koot	(45)
Na Weng	(20)
Nong Zerng	(10)
Ho Lang	(7)
Bang Sang	(15)
Tam Mae	(15)
Khook Lao	(20)
Kho Tong	(10)
Loi Bor	(6)

Huay Wan Tract
(relocated to Parng Long)

Nar Koong On	(8)
Wan Mai	(15)
Phong Seng	(20)
Huay Yao	(10)
Wan Tok	(15)
Loi Lam	(35)
Huay Sai Yee	(7)
Loi Ood	(15)

6. Deprivation of Livelihood

6.1. Exploitation and Abuse of Rice Farmers

All rice farmers in Burma are legally required to pay an annual paddy tax to the authorities, under the military's country-wide program of paddy procurement. Farmers are forced to sell their paddy for amounts set by the authorities, often at unfair and remarkably low prices. Rice farmers who are not able to sell the required amount of paddy are liable to imprisonment or face hefty fines. Additionally, those rice farmers who have been arrested and detained for their inability to sell the required amount of paddy, are not released until they have sold the full amount required by the law. If farmers do not obtain an adequate crop of paddy from their paddy fields, they must buy additional paddy from surrounding market places to make up a full quota. Such farmers are forced to sell the paddy they have bought in these market places for at least one-fourth less than the market price.

Farmers in Irrawaddy and Pegu divisions have suffered the most under SLORC/SPDC's paddy procurement program. Rice production in these two divisions is traditionally among the highest in the country, but large amounts of paddy fields were destroyed in 1996 due to bad weather conditions. Farmers, therefore, could not provide the military — imposed rice quota. The SLORC/SPDC has also issued an order warning rice farmers that those owning more than five acres of paddy field, are subject to have what they view as their 'excess land', and confiscated by the State and 'redistributed'. According to a farmer who recently escaped to the Thai-Burma border, many farmers have, as a consequence, been forced to sell their extra paddy fields at unreasonably low prices before SLORC/SPDC could enforce their latest order. (*Source: ABSDF*)

Rice farmers from Mon State and Tenasserim Division have normally been required to sell ten to twelve baskets of paddy for every acre of their paddy fields each year to SLORC/SPDC authorities. They were required to sell their paddy-quota's to various authorities at the SLORC/SPDC-set price of 150 *kyats* in the 1996-1997 fiscal year, vis-a-vis the current market price of 500 *kyats* or more per basket. Many farmers were subsequently arrested for their inability to sell enough paddy to the authorities. Many have been kept in detention for indefinite periods of time, or at least until the required amount of paddy had been sold at the set prices. Such farmers were forced to buy paddy in the market-

place for more than 500 *kyats* per basket and then sold the same paddy to the authorities at the set price of 150 *kyats* per basket for their release. Many of these farmers were forced to sell off or mortgage their cattle or farm lands in order to meet the paddy quota. Many of these farmers have been forced to flee Burma with their families to seek better jobs and conditions in Thailand, being unable to face the hardships of ordinary life in Burma.

Additionally, farmers who have recently fled to Thailand have complained of being sent to forced labor camps by the SLORC/SPDC. Some farmers who have fled to the Thai-Burma border areas have told of facing arrest and transfer to forced labor camps. Upon their arrival on the border, many farmers told of how their remaining paddy fields were subsequently occupied by the SLORC/SPDC.

In early 1997, a large number of farmers were arrested for failing to provide a rice quota of 12 tins per acre to the SLORC/SPDC, 6 tins to the Union Development and Solidarity Association (USDA), and incidental amounts of rice to local SLORC/SPDC officials. Since SLORC/SPDC has begun to implement a policy of increased rice exports, farmers have been forced to sell rice to the SLORC/SPDC at a prices much lower than market rates. In 1997, the SLORC/SPDC set price was 70 *kyats* per tin, while the market price was over 250 *kyats* per tin.

6.2. Exploitation and Abuse of Rubber Farmers

In a fashion similar to rice farmers, rubber farmers are normally required to pay an annual 'rubber tax', by selling a certain amount of rubber at military set prices, to the local authorities. Likewise to the situation of rice farmers in Burma, rubber farmers who are not able to sell a quota of rubber at fixed prices are subject to imprisonment and/or fines. Rubber farmers from Tavoy township in Tenasserim Division have been required to sell such rubber quotas to the authorities at a rate of 2,000 pounds per 350 measures of rubber from their plantations.

6.3. Exploitation and Abuse of Fishermen

Fishermen in Tenasserim Division, many of whom are fully dependent on fishing for their survival, particularly those in Launglon township, have experienced great hardships resulting from the systematic deprivation of their rights to their own lives, a means of subsistence by the Burmese authorities. In the 10 long years since SLORC/SPDC came to power, it has sold a large number of fishing concessions in Tenasserim division to Thai fishing companies. As a result, the local fishing population have been banned from fishing in large areas of sea surrounding their home towns because foreign fishing companies have been granted fishing concessions to these areas. At the same time, SLORC/SPDC has opened several large sea fish buying centers in towns and villages across Tenasserim, including

Kyauk Ni Maw and Kan Yaw Byin villages in Launglon township, and normally require local fishermen to sell sea fish and prawns in specific amounts at set rates, significantly lower than the local market rates. Those local fishermen who are unable to sell a fixed amount of fish as required by the authorities, are subjected to arrest, detention and extortionate fines in a similar manner to the those imposed on rice and rubber farmers. Moreover, SLORC/SPDC authorities are increasingly imposing 'taxes' on local fishermen for fishing nets, boats, and engines.

In addition to the methods of extortion waged against fishermen and farmers, SLORC/SPDC or SPDC authorities impose significant fines on the general population of these communities for various items like 'emergency portering' or non-specific taxes such as the general 'monthly' fee. Such monies are procured for use by the local Law and Order Restoration Council. The poorer among these communities have found it impossible to continue living in their own homes and have been forced to flee to refugee camps along border areas.

6.4. Unfair Levies and Taxes

The entire population of Burma, particularly rural peoples, is normally subjected to a myriad of 'taxes' or 'fees' of both the official and unofficial kinds, predominantly levied by local authorities- civil and military- besides the 'monthly' and 'emergency portering' taxes and fees. Taxes and fees of the official kind are levied by the authorities under the guise of providing necessary support to officially-sanctioned 'community work' on government sites. In the levying of these 'official' taxes and fees, it is commonplace that local SLORC/SPDC authorities levy their own, 'unofficial' fees, making private benefits.

Even the more middle-classed merchants, which make up just a small fraction of the rural population, are barely able to meet the requirements of the taxes and fees. Consequently, the poverty-stricken rural majority experience unparalleled hardship under the constant and heavy burden of all these 'official' and 'unofficial' taxes and fees. Such people are forced to obey any order given to them by the local military and civil authorities and are forced to comply with any demand made by them. Whenever local SLORC/SPDC or SPDC authorities- whether they be civil or military make demands for contribution of labor, this population have no choice but to fulfil such demands, regardless of whether they are reasonably able to spare time and money in the process. Rampant corruption among government officials and civil servants, and the traditional misuse of their authority, have doubled the burdens of the rural population and have increased their suffering.

6.4.1. Labor Taxes

Where the authorities use forced labor on state-sanctioned infrastructure or development projects, we find an additional range of taxes and fines that are often imposed in the name of substituted labor-hiring fees or donations. Such 'donations' are forcibly collected from those towns, villages and households that cannot perform or contribute labor. The most part, if not all of this extorted money is just stolen from forced labourers by local SLORC/SPDC civil and military personnel who are entrusted with the implementation of projects and with the supervision of forced labor camps. Absolutely none of the forced labourers working on the many infrastructure or development projects in and around Burma have been officially recruited nor paid by the responsible authorities.

6.4.2. Porter Taxes

The SLORC/SPDC-controlled military normally levies a porter tax of both a 'regular' and 'emergency' kind from the rural population, making up at least two thirds of the entire population of Burma. This rural population, especially in ethnic nationality or non-Burman regions, has been far more seriously affected by such policies of extortion than ever before. A 'porter' fee or tax is not a tax paid by a porter, but a tax paid in lure of actually becoming a porter, in those rare occasions when civilians are given the freedom to choose. In theory, individuals, households or villages must pay a regular 'monthly' and 'emergency portering' tax merely to remain free from having themselves conscripted into the military as porters. In practice however, mere payment of all these 'monthly' and 'emergency portering' taxes does not mean that people remain free from portering or associated military abuse.

Members of the SLORC/SPDC army, especially those controlling rural areas, normally incur a great deal of private benefit by the levying of such taxes among the local populations. Such taxes can vary from as little as 500 *kyats* per household per month to as large an amount as 3,000 *kyats* or more. (*Source: MIS*)

6.5. Situation in newly SLORC/SPDC-occupied areas

Rural areas formerly under the control of the many ethnic resistance groups have now been occupied by SLORC/SPDC troops, where the last remaining traces of opposition are being eliminated using a 'cut, clear, and cleanse' strategy. This involves cutting areas off from food, information, and trade, clearing all inhabitants from large areas and relocating them to sites, usually adjacent to a military camp, and cleansing all insurgents and arms from the population by use of intimidation and torture. The SLORC/SPDC army continued to consolidate their hold over former ethnic opposition territories in their taken during 1997. The SLORC/SPDC's means

of ‘pacification’ is thorough and systematic. It has left almost an entire population completely impoverished. Many families are under direct orders to relocate, or are hiding in the jungles, or are on the move to Thailand, while others end up living at relocation sites under deplorable conditions.

Education and adequate health care remains still unavailable to the vast majority of Burmese people. Where social services exist, the systematic use of forced labor, arbitrarily imposed taxes, rampant corruption and poverty all work together to make people’s lives so difficult that many cannot afford medicines or school supplies. Another problem is that, due to sky-rocketing inflation and such excessive taxation regimes, a salary for a typical government employee in Burma is not even enough to adequately feed or clothe a family. While those people who resign from government positions face fines and other kinds of punishments, there are no rewards conferred to people who stay on. They continue to lack decent pay, resources, and the adequate training to serve Burma’s citizens to the full. Under such a civil and political system, everyone ends up with too little.

6.6. List of Incidents

- 6.6.1.** In early January 1997, SLORC Light Infantry Battalion (LIB) 549 troops, along with the DKBA, imposed fines of 2,500 Kyats each on three Wan Pu villagers, in Pa-an district, Karen State. The fines were imposed as a result of a small battle that took place between SLORC troops, which killed one and wounded another Tatmadaw soldier.

Every day about thirty ox-carts were commanded to clear mines along the Ta Nay Cha-Kawkareik road. All the villages in Ta Nay Cha township were forced to provide ‘volunteer labor’ for SLORC troops five days a week. In a statement issued by SLORC LIB 549, it was made clear that; a) anybody who had made any kind of contact with resistance forces would be dealt with severely, and b) that if there were any explosions or shots fired in the vicinity of any village in the area, the village in question would be relocated immediately, and face a heavy fine. (*Source: KIC*)

- 6.6.2.** On January 4, 1997, Major Maha Aw (former head of the People’s Militia in Murng Muang who joined the MTA in 1993), with the help of SLORC troops, ordered Zai Auay Pa of Me Ken, the owner of a Toyota four-wheeldrive truck, to transport his family, belongings, and some of his followers, from Murng Sart to Murng Harng. Since early January he has forced around 50 villagers from Murng Harng to clear at least 30 acres of land, some of which was later recouped by the villagers. After villagers had cleared the land, Major Maha Aw paid them only 8,000 kyats for ten full days’ work. Thus far, 15 ex-MTA families have been re-settled, and

villagers have been used to clear and measure lands that have been seized by SLORC troops in Murng Harng, Murng Ton township, eastern Shan State. (Source: *SHRF*)

- 6.6.3. On January 20, 1997, SLORC LIB. 406 terrorised Mon villagers at Mae Taw in Yebyu township by burning down four houses and plundering village goods. All of the villagers fled in fear. (Source: *MIS*)
- 6.6.4. In February 1997, SLORC confiscated a total of 1,700 acres of land without compensation, two furlongs west of Mahazedi Pagoda in Pegu for the planned establishment of a satellite town. At the same time, SLORC confiscated a total of 1,000 acres of rubber, cashew nuts, banana, rice and other such plantations around Shwe Baw Gon, Shaun Gwa Gon, Kyeik Day Gon and Thek Kala villages north of Pegu, for the new military bases of Division 77 and 88. (Source: *MIS*)
- 6.6.5. Since the SLORC offensive against the KNU was stepped up in Mergui-Tavoy district in February 1997, SLORC troops have burned to the ground at least 6 villages; Myitta, Kwe Waw Wah, Kalat Kee, Ka Nal Pose, and other villages. (Source: *KIC*)
- 6.6.6. On February 8, 1997, SLORC LIB 219, commanded by Lt-Col. Aung Ko Ko, burned unmilled rice belonging to the following villagers in Mae Baw Kee village, Thaton district. 1) Saw Pah Er (75 baskets), 2) Maung Kya Ngay (60 baskets), and 3) Pa Baw (75 baskets). On the same day, SLORC soldiers killed and ate buffaloes belonging to Maw Loh Pha from the same village. (Source: *KIC*)
- 6.6.7. On February 9, 1997, SLORC LIB 25 set fire to 16 houses in Ka Let Kee village and executed an innocent villager named Saw Paw Na. (Source: *KIC*)
- 6.6.8. On February 10, 1997, two villages, namely Now Baw Kee and La Kyo Ko, were relocated to Htaw Klaw Kee village by SLORC LIB 63 which is also based at this village. The entire village was fenced and the villagers are now virtual prisoners. They are only allowed to leave the village as forced laborers to work on a road being built by SLORC troops in the region. (Source: *KIC*)
- 6.6.9. From February 11 to July 31, 1997, nine villages totaling 196 houses, were burnt down and destroyed and 882 villagers were rendered homeless in Thaton district, Karen State. (Source: *KIC*)

- 6.6.10.** From February 11 to July 31, 1997, 88 villages totaling 3,000 houses were destroyed. Over 369 rice barns with 60,000 baskets of paddy were burnt, along with four churches and 60 schools. As a result around 20,000 civilians became homeless in Pa-pun district, Karen State. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.11.** From February 11 to July 31, 1997, 14 villages totaling 350 houses, 14 churches and 12 schools were destroyed. 993 civilians became homeless, and 50 rice barns with 149 baskets of rice and 580 baskets of paddy were burnt to ashes in Taungoo district, Karen State. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.12.** From February 11 to July 31, 1997, 67 villages consisting of 669 houses were destroyed; 4,679 civilian became homeless, and 162 rice barns with 7,870 baskets of paddy were burnt in Naung Lay Bin district, Karen State. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.13.** During the second week of February 1997, Deputy Commander Aung Myint ordered Gaung Say Chaung, Ka Taung Ni, Ka Let Gyi and Karamon Chun villages, all on the east side of the Kan Chaung River, to move from their village to the west or face persecution. During the last week of February, troops from SLORC LIB 25 arrived at Gaung Say Chung village and looted the homes of U Phee Hla, U Pho Thalone, U Sue Naw, U Saw Dar, U Saw Tin Aye, U Saw Three, and U Khin Maung. The same troops also burned paddy barns in the villages. (*Source: FTUB*)
- 6.6.14.** On February 12, 1997, the same regiment burned to the ground five houses and a Christian church in Ka Nel Pose village. The commander also ordered the execution of seven ailing SLORC soldiers and 20 porters. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.15.** On February 16, 1997, SLORC IB. 273 burned down Ka Nel Hqae (Pyar Thar Chaung) village near the Paw Kin River, Ban Chaung village in the Paw Klao River valley, and Phaung Daw village, in Tenasserim Division. These villages had been suspected of supporting the KNU. All farms belonging to the villagers were torched, and farm animals confiscated by the troop. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.16.** On February 17, 1997, Ka Witt Hta village was burned to the ground, and villagers were forced to serve as porters for the SLORC's LIB. 17 and 101. The whole village population of this area has since fled (*Source: KIC*)

- 6.6.17.** On February 17, 1997, advancing SLORC troops also set fire to Ka Saw Wah and Ka Maw Htar villages, in Tenasserim Division. Htee Pho Law and Lo Ray villages were subsequently burned to the ground on February 18. Some plantations were also destroyed by the same troops. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.18.** On February 20, 1997, the SLORC reinforced its units stationed in the eastern part of Pyinmana district. Troops from IB 34 arrested Karen villagers from the villages in the eastern part of Tantabin township, Taungoo district, and forced them to carry food for their soldiers. They were released only upon payment of a 2,000 Kyats fine. SLORC IB 34 ordered four Karen villages, namely Shwe Zee Bo, Zee Byer Gon and Tawgoo, in Taungoo district, to send 25 men per month to serve the army as porters. In addition, troops demanded 1,000 and 2,000 Kyats payments from each village household. The same troops arbitrarily arrested villagers and demanded a further 2,000 Kyats for their release. At present, the SLORC's IB is still moving among Karen villages in the hills of the eastern of Tantabin township harassing Karen villagers. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.19.** On February 27, SLORC IB 51 entered Toe The Kee village and summoned villagers. They were ordered not to leave the village. Without reason, the same troops proceeded to arrest local men and women, the soldiers beating and torturing villagers by pouring boiling water over them, or by forcibly immersing their faces in water. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.20.** In February 1997, SLORC LIB. 104 confiscated more than 1,000 acres of rice fields on Pyingyi island in Launglon township, Tenasserim Division, and another more than 700 acres in Tabea and Ka Nyon Kyun villages in the same township. The more than 300 local farmers were given no compensation. The lands that were confiscated are the intended site of an experimental, modern-method rice cultivation project run by the military in the region. (*Source: MIS*)
- 6.6.21.** On March 2, 1997, SLORC IB. 230 and DKBA soldier, Maung Han Shwe, torched the house of Maung Chit Tu, a villager from Ta Maw Daw. All of his household belongings, worth in total around 35,000 kyats, were destroyed in the fire. They also confiscated a pair of earrings worth 5,000 kyats, ten baskets of rice worth 5,000 kyats, and a saw worth 1,000 kyats. The group demanded that 500 kyats be paid by each of the villagers who collected matured leaves for roof-building from the surrounding forests. They threatened villagers by saying that they would shoot them if they returned to the forest to collect leaves. They set the forest on fire so all the leaves were destroyed and the villages had no leaves with which to furnish their roof for this coming rainy season. (*Source: KIC*)

- 6.6.22.** On March 10, 1997, troops led by Commander Zaw Hlaing from LIB. 337 burnt down Buko village in Karenni State. As a result, 44 houses were gutted. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 6.6.23.** On March 12, 1997, the SLORC troops confiscated 25.6 acres of farmland in Buthidaung township to establish a Khumi and Morang village. Again, the same troops seized 64.8 acres of farmland in Area 4 of Bu Thi Daung township to construct a prison. (*Source: RSO*)
- 6.6.24.** On March 24, 1997, SLORC troops spent two nights in Leh Kee village, Papun district, Karen State. During this time, soldiers burned 27 houses including a Christian church and ate the villagers' livestock. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.25.** On March 28, 1997, SLORC troops entered and burnt much of Ku Day village, Papun district, Karen State, including 13 barns, and killed 28 buffaloes belonging to villagers. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.26.** On March 28, 1997, the Tactical Operation Command 772, under Division 77, attacked Day Kee village, Naunglebin district, Karen State and burned it to the ground. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.27.** On March 29, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 319 torched Ta Thoo Der village, Papun district, Karen State. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.28.** On April 1, 1997, SLORC troops burned down Hsaw Law village, Papun district, Karen State. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.29.** On April 2, 1997, SLORC troops burned down Peh Day village, Papun district, Karen State. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.30.** On April 3, 1997, troops from LIB. 391 shot civilians at Doh Heh Ser village, Papun district, Karen State, and a further two villagers were reported missing. Later that day, the same troops burned down the village. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.31.** On April 3, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 106 burned down K'Ngaw Mu Der village, Papun district, Karen State. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.32.** In the middle of April, 1997, soldiers from LIB. 429 destroyed the Gay Toe Moe (or spirit post) in Daw Klo Ku village, Pre Tho Leh township, Karenni State. (*Source: KNPP*)

- 6.6.33.** In April 1997, seven villages of Laikha township, in Shan State were relocated and burned to the ground by SLORC troops from IB. 246. The villages were 1) Wan Phar Wawng, 2) Wan Nawng Kern, 3) Wan Zalai Loi, 4) Wan Ho Nam, 5) Wan Nawng Wo, 6) Wan Kung Parng and 7) Wan Nam Maw Long (*Source: SHRF*)
- 6.6.34.** On May 11, 1997, SLORC IB. 429, led by Captain Myo Myint Aung, attended Daw Leh Doe village, Soe Moe township, Karenni State, and burnt down five houses and five paddy barns. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 6.6.35.** On May 12, 1997, Major Than Win from LIB. 439, under the command of the Southern Military Command, demanded that 35,000 *kyats* per village be collected from Kyauk Kyi and Mom townships, Pegu Division. In addition, villagers were only allowed to leave the village to cut and cart bamboo after paying a 1,000 *kyat* 'fee'. Villages affected include Tatgon, Ywa Haung, Ta Pu Taung, Thit Chat Seik, Ohn Chit Khin, Thah Tay Gon, Nga Laut Tat, Taipin, Pho Thaung Su, Nga Htwe Soke, Myat Yan and Well Gyi villages. (*Source: HRDU*)
- 6.6.36.** On May 29, 1997, soldiers from LIB. 730 in Kyauk Kyi township, Pegu Division, arrived in Nat Than Kwin village, in the same region. The soldiers conscripted villagers for portering at random and confiscated properties. Property such as gold jewellery valued at 150,000 *kyats* was confiscated by the military. (*Source: HRDU*)
- 6.6.37.** On June 11, 1997, 40 SLORC troops from IB. 265, led by Captain Aung Zin, accompanied by five militia-men from Thebyu Kyun village, led by U Soe Naing, arrived in Shan Pon village in Kyun Suu township, Tenasserim Division. They burnt down the village rendering all 40 families homeless. (*Source: MIS*)
- 6.6.38.** On June 25, 1997, a military column from LIB. 439, led by Major Than Win, under the command of Southern Military Command, attempted to arrest Naw Gar Hel from Kyaung Suu village, Mom township, Pegu State. When they could not arrest her, the troops took her belongings, valuables, and farm animals. (*Source: HRDU*)
- 6.6.39.** The project to renovate Kalay Myo airport commenced in June 1997. In order that the appropriate extensions of the runway be made, farm lands from Tada-U ward in Kalay Myo, near the southern side of airport, were confiscated. People living in Tada-U ward were ordered to get out of the way. No plans had been made for their relocation to a new area, nor was any compensation given to affected persons (*Source: FTUB*)

- 6.6.40.** Captain Nyi Nyi Naing and Sergeant Kyaw Phone Naing from LIB. 355 forcibly collected porter fees from villages such as Taung Ghun, Chauk Ba Lu, Wan Ka Na, Kha Lae Saw, Taung Ga Lay, and the Mon village, Taung Bauk, in Kya Ein Seik Kyi township, Karen State between June and September 1997. Each family was forced to pay from between 3,000 to 6,000 *Kyats* per month. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.41.** Since the end of June 1997, SLORC troops burnt to the ground around 265 houses in seven villages in No.2 district of Maw Chee area in Karenni State, as part of SLORC's relocation programme in the area. SLORC troops were ordered to kill anyone found in this area without questions, including children, women and the elderly. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 6.6.42.** On July 24, 1997, troops from SLORC LIB. 439 opened fire on Maw Law village in Papun district, Karen State, wounding one villager, Saw Tu Lu, 32.
- 6.6.43.** On July 24, 1997, troops led by Tint Lwin Oo from SLORC IB. 55, arrived in Ber Gor Doe village, Taungoo district, Karen State, confiscating and killing livestock, and destroyed the villagers' food supply. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.44.** On July 29, 1997, troops from SLORC LIB. 709 shot indiscriminately among the villagers of Thway-doe village, Papun district, Karen State, wounding one villager. The troops occupied the village for a day, and killed and ate the villagers' chickens and pigs. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.45.** On July 29, 1997, troops from SLORC IB. 55 arrived in Dek Ko village in Taungoo district, Karen State and stole two gold chains, three rings, a pair of earrings and 2,000 *Kyats* from a villager named Naw Koo Lu. The soldiers looted valuables from other households as well. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.46.** On August 9, 1997, a Sergeant from LIB. 549 shot into the audience of a video show at Aw Kaw village, Kaw Ke Yeik township, Karen State, killing Ma Than Htay, a 23 year old woman who was 6 months pregnant, Nyang Hlaing, a 13 year old boy. Maung Saw Oo, an 11 year old boy was wounded in the gun-fire. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.47.** On August 21 and 22, SLORC troops burnt down 70 houses in upper and lower Gay Loe village, Mawchee township, Karenni State, and destroyed 21 acres of planted rice paddy, as well as a substantial quantity of brown rice. (*Source: KNPP*)

- 6.6.48.** On August 24, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 102 under the command of Aung Myo Min (unknown position), burned 28 houses in Kaw Moo De village, in No. 2 district of Karenni State. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 6.6.49.** On August 25, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 426, under the authority of commander, Lt-Major Soe Nwe, and second commander, Major Win Soe, burnt to the ground 16 houses in Ywe Beh village and destroyed 35 acres of paddy plantation. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 6.6.50.** On August 25, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 261, under the command of Lt. Col Khin Maung Htay, torched 25 houses and a church in Hu Muu Ka Lah village, Karenni State. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 6.6.51.** On August 26, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 102, under the command of Major Win Htwe, burned to the ground a church in Kwa Kee village and 54 houses in Htee Sar Beh Htee village, Karenni State. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 6.6.52.** On August 27, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 261 burnt down 28 houses, including a church in Bwe Lay Kho village, Karenni State. (*Source: KNPP*)
- 6.6.53.** On August 30, 1997, a skirmish took place near Taung Ga Lay village, Kyar Ein Seik Kyi township, Karen State, between a military column from LIB. 355 and KNLA troops. After the incident, SLORC troops accused villagers of aiding the KNLA and severe repression followed. One villager died and two houses were burnt down. The whole villager later abandoned their homes and fled for their lives. (*Source: PDF*)
- 6.6.54.** In September, a group led by Sergeant Kyaw Phone Naing from LIB. 355 in Taung Bauk village Kyar Ein Seik Kyi township, Karen State, battered Let Wa Zeik villagers Aung Than, Mon Chan and Ah-Htain, and stole 2,000 *Kyats* from them. The group later robbed 8,000 *Kyats* from an underground lottery seller from Ka Gurn Zu village. (*Source: PDF*)
- 6.6.55.** Since September 1997, SLORC local IB. 106 has been levying a human tax on an estimated 15,000 Mon villagers living in approximately 30 villages between Ye township in Mon State, and Yebyu township in Tenasserim Division. Every person in each household, regardless of age or sex, is required to pay several different 'fees'. 10 *Kyats* per person from Khaw Za, Thabyu Gyi, Yin Dein and Yin Ye villages; 50 *Kyats* per person from Kyon Kan Ya village; 80 *Kyats* per person from Ma Gyi and Da Nik Yar villages; and 100 *Kyats* per person from Mi Ta Khla Gyi and Mi Taw Hla Ga Lay villages is levied per month. (*Source: MIS*)

- 6.6.56.** On October 10, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 707 and 708, led by Tactical Operation No. 2 Commander, Lt-Col. Thein Maung, ordered the destruction of villages in Htantabin township in Karen State, namely Bu Kee, Ho Kee, Kee Daw Kaw, Shoo Ko, Thay Thu Dai, Ha Toe Pai, Tha Aye Kee. All households and churches were later burnt. Soldiers confiscated chicken, pigs, buffaloes, cows and opened fire at people on sight. The same troops have also carried out similar atrocities in Tha Daung township. (*Source: KIC*)
- 6.6.57.** On November 31, 1997, SLORC troops set fire to 40 stacks of rice paddy which had been reaped and stored in rice fields near Kawng Wet village, Parng Sarng tract, Murng Kerng township. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 6.6.58.** On December 2, 1997, the SLORC troops burnt the rice paddy of the villagers of Wan Huay and Nawng Leo villages, Murng Khun tract, Murng Kerng township, Shan State. (*Source: SHRF*)
- 6.6.59.** On December 6, 1997, a military column from IB. 341, led by Major Aung Thein, arrived Naku Palaw village in Pa-pun township, Karen State, and burnt the whole village to the ground. The villagers began fleeing when the column first arrived at the village. Unfortunately, Khe Htoo Pee, a 70-year-old blind woman, was left behind. She was tied to her house and burnt alive by SLORC soldiers. The troops also confiscated approximately 1,000 baskets of rice and destroyed rice barns. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- 6.6.60.** On December 24, 1997, SLORC troops burnt rice fields at Tard Mawk, Wan Huay, Nawng Leo and Zarng Eb villages, in Murng Khun tract, Murng Kerng township, Shan State. (*Source: SHRF*)

(Also see under “personal Accounts,” interviews 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 27, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 45, 49, 50, 53, 65, 73, 74, 78, 80, 85, 92 and 94)

6.7. List of Burned Villages in Karen State

This is a partial list of villages confirmed as completely or partially burned by SLORC/SPDC troops during the operation between February 1997 and the present. Villages numbers (1) through (146) are listed from KHRG information sources, i.e. visit to villages and interviews with villagers. Numbers (147) through (186) are additional villages listed by independent monitors in the area, and numbers (187) through (192) are from KNU Field Reports.

* indicates villages which were partially burned; all other villages have been completely burned. This is not complete, and additional villages are still being burned by patrols.

KHRG Information

Northern

1. Ler Mu Plaw
2. Saw Mu Plaw
3. Naw Yo Hta *
4. Kay Pu *
5. Sho Per Ko
6. Lah Eh Der
7. Yah Plo Der
8. Ka Leh Der
9. Baw Peh
10. Bena Ay Per Ko *
11. Hser Hta *
12. Ker Ko Mu Der (>100 houses)
13. Kaw Say Der
14. Thu Kler
15. Lway Der
16. Naw Ku
17. Tee T'Kay Hta

Car road

18. Plah Ko

19. Saw Ee Der
20. Ku Day
21. Toh Kee
22. Lay Ghaw
23. Thay Baw
24. Toh Loh Kee

Between Yunzalin and Bilin Rivers

25. Kaw Weh Der
26. Bwo Mu Hta
27. Yeh Mu Plaw *
28. Thay Tho Der
29. Bo Kywe (Bo Dweh)
30. Kaw Mu Bwa Der
31. Dta Paw Der
32. Thay Ko Mu Der
33. Moh Kee
34. Ber Khaw
35. Tee Lay Hta
36. upper Lay Hta
37. Kwith Toh Kee
38. Kyaw Law

39. Kywe Day
40. Doh Heh Der *
41. Maw T'Kyaw
42. Haw Kee (upper and lower)
43. Bpeh Deh
44. Nyaw Mu Der
45. Ler Lah
46. Maw Lay Kaw
47. Tee Ler Ghaw Kee
48. Maw Thay Der
49. Toh Hta
50. Saw Ner Kee
51. Bwa Oo Bwa Der
52. Tee Thu Der
53. Bu Kyu Kee
54. B'Na Kwih Duh
55. Mu Kee Der
56. Ber Baw
57. K'Maw Kyaw
58. Haw Ko Theh (one part of two)
59. Paw Say *
60. Lay Nah Der *

Bilin River area

61. Dta Meh Der
62. Wah Kah Der
63. Lo Plah
64. Dta Leh Ghaw Der
65. Lay Po Kaw Tee
66. Lay Kaw Der
67. Htoo Ta Lu
68. Kheh Pa Hta
69. Baw Thu
70. Theh Hta
71. Kaneh Der *
72. Thwa Hta
73. Noh Lay
74. Kay Mu Der
75. Wah Kee Der
76. Ker Kaw Law

77. Tee Ku Hta
78. Thalay Wah Der
79. Ner Kee
80. Ler Htoo Po
81. Meh Gha Law
82. Meh Kaw Hta
83. Dta Kaw Hta
84. Bo Wah Der
85. Dta Baw Kee
86. Toh Kaw Saw Kee
87. Maw Day
88. Dta Kaw Der
89. Kaw Lay Der
90. Tay Mu Der
91. Ler Shu Ko
92. Maw Law Der
93. Yah Kyaw Der
94. Doh Daw Kee
95. Ku Theh Kee
96. Kheh Der
97. Mi Hta
98. Maw Ghu
99. Khaw Klah
100. Meh Si Hta
101. Maw Thay Tha
102. K'Wah Ler
103. Mu Ko Law
104. Ko Reh Kee
105. Ko Reh Hta
106. Lay Hta
107. Lay Kee
108. Baw Kwaw
109. shelters in hiding in
various places, including
Tee Kalaw near Lo Plah.

Eastern Papun District

110. Toh Thay Der
111. Kyaw Kee

Shwegyin township

- 112. Wah May Kyo
- 113. Htee Muh Hta
- 114. Deh Oo Po
- 115. Saw Theh Kee
- 116. Bweh Si Kee
- 117. Nay Mu Kwee
- 118. K'Saw Wah Kwih
- 119. Meh Law Lah
- 120. Poh Loh
- 121. Kyi Zone Gone
- 122. Du Baw
- 123. Ler Hta Kwih
- 124. Tee Sgheh Hta
- 125. Ler Wah
- 126. Tee Law Klay Kee
- 127. Po Kha Law
- 128. Maw Hta Mee Hser
- 129. Saw Theh Hta
- 130. Hsaw Oh Kee
- 131. Hsaw Oh Hta
- 132. Der Wih Ko
- 133. Tee Blah Kee
- 134. Tee Blah Hta
- 135. Bpray Maw Kee
- 136. B'Ta Hta
- 137. Wah Ko Law Dteh
- 138. Ko Pler Kee
- 139. Ko Pler Kee
- 140. Maw Kee
- 141. Dta Thay Der
- 142. Yan Aung
- 143. Meh Way Kee
- 144. Saw Roh Ko
- 145. Kaw Mu Der
- 146. Day Oo Koh

**Independent Monitor
(Papun District)**

- 147. Si Day (lower)

- 148. Baw Lay Der
- 149. Kleh Mu
- 150. Yo Po Loh
- 151. Leh Kee
- 152. Tee Meh Hta
- 153. Tee T'Blu Hta
- 154. Dta Thu Der
- 155. Khaw Kee
- 156. Pah Ko
- 157. Kweh Htoo Hta
- 158. Thay Pa Kee Der
- 159. Noh Lay
- 160. Oo Thaw Kee
- 161. Oo Thaw Hta
- 162. Nya Mu Hta
- 163. Meh Nyu Hta
- 164. Tee Ber Ka Hta
- 165. Day Law Pu
- 166. Klaw Loh Kloh Hta
- 167. Noh Law Hsu
- 168. Ta Hu Loh
- 169. Thay Ko Loh
- 170. Ko Kaw Der
- 171. Ko Tha Loh Der
- 172. Tee Ler Kee
- 173. Meh Ka Hta
- 174. Du Pa Leh
- 175. Thay Ko Pu
- 176. Wah Peh Kwee
- 177. Po Khay
- 178. Ta Koh Hta
- 179. Paw Wah Der
- 180. Maw Pu
- 181. Hser Ree Kyo
- 182. Tu Moh Hta
- 183. Poh Lah
- 184. Maw Ler Loh
- 185. Meh Ku Kee
- 186. Ler Klaw

**KNU Field Reports
(Papun District)**

187. Bler Ghaw *

188. Bo Plaw

189. Kaw Say

190. hidden shelters near

Kaw Say

191. Mi Hsah Po Der

192. Paw Mu



Advertisement of "Visit Myanmar Year 1996" was destroyed in Rangoon. A campaign to attract the foreign visitors was failed due to the political instability and human rights violations by the SLORC. (Photo by N. Dunlop)



A slum quarter outside Mandalay. Many people are living under this situation where there is no electricity and water. (Photo. N. Dunlop)



Villagers standing among the burned ruins of their village which fell when SLORC troops burned the village. (Photo by KHRG)



A Blind grand father and his grand son on their way to downtown Shwebo to earn their living by begging. (Photo by HRDU)



Public bus transportation in Rangoon. The high price of patrol and insufficient public services make the people's lives difficult.

7. Rights of Minorities

7.1. Background

Since Burma became independent from the United Kingdom in 1948, members of ethnic minority groups have engaged in insurgency activities against the central Burman Government in an effort to gain greater autonomy or complete independence. When the military reasserted power in September 1988 after suppressing the pro-democracy movement, they pursued heightened offensives against ethnic minority armed opposition groups. SLORC/SPDC has allowed its forces to commit widespread human rights violations against civilians during counter-insurgency operations against the country's armed opposition groups. Rather than attempting to negotiate a comprehensive settlement, the SLORC/SPDC has tried to pick off the groups one by one. Since 1989, the SLORC/SPDC has agreed to a cease-fire with 16 of the armed ethnic minority groups. However, cease-fires have sometimes been shortlived. In March 1995, a cease-fire agreement between the Karenni National Progress Party (KNPP) and the SLORC broke down after three months. In January 1996, the SLORC signed a cease-fire agreement with the Muang Tai Army (MTA) led by Khun Sa in Shan State. Nevertheless other Shan opposition groups have continued their armed struggle against the SLORC/SPDC.

The Karen National Union (KNU) remains the last major group not to have agreed to a cease-fire. At the end of January 1997, cease-fire talks between the SLORC and the KNU broke down for the fourth time. In early 1997, SLORC troops launched a large offensive against remaining KNU positions. In the meantime, the SLORC/SPDC army freely kills, maims, and terrorizes ethnic minority populations that happen to be in its path.

While the SLORC/SPDC constantly boasts of its successful cease-fire agreements, the dissatisfaction among ethnic groups is increasing especially with the recent restrictions being placed on Shan national groups. When these groups negotiated with the SLORC/SPDC, they were told that they would be allowed to continue wearing their military uniforms and keep their weapons. However, SLORC/SPDC has now decreed that group members participating in the cease fire may not wear military garb or retain their weapons.

Cease-fire groups are also unhappy with the implementation of SLORC/SPDC's so-called local development projects. SLORC/SPDC officials have redirected development project funds into their own pockets. As a result, the groups have had to finance the construction of schools and hospital facilities as well as provide the necessary infrastructure themselves. By doing this, the cease-fire groups have attempted to prove that they are able to carry out their own development projects efficiently and humanely. While SLORC/SPDC resorts to forced labor practices whenever they implement such projects, the cease-fire groups pay their laborers fair wages. (*Source: ABSDF*)

The Kayan New Land Party (KNLP) accuses SLORC of breaking their cease-fire agreement by forcing KNLP soldiers to lay down their arms. KNLP Commander-in-Chief Major General Than Palan made the accusation in a speech given on June 4, 1997 during a celebration of the 33rd anniversary of the KNLP that took place in Phel Khon township, Shan State. Major General Than Palan said SLORC Battalion No.336 used force when they ordered KNLP soldiers to lay down their arms. He added that when KNLP members travel from place to place they are searched by SLORC/SPDC troops, including KNLP leaders. Than Palan said that these kinds of acts by the SLORC/SPDC army violate the cease-fire agreement.

The KNLP signed a cease-fire agreement with the SLORC in July 1994, which allowed for the KNLP to retain their weapons. The KNLP, formed on June 4, 1964, has urged the SLORC/SPDC to begin a tripartite dialogue with ethnic forces and NLD party leader-elect, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Many observers have made note of the connection between the SLORC/SPDC's increased pressure on the KNLP and the organization's call for a tripartite dialogue. (*Source: ABSDF*)

The continuing armed conflicts in the Karen, Karenni, and Shan States have been accompanied by massive human rights violations. The SLORC/SPDC army routinely seizes civilians to work as porters, the majority of whom are members of Burma's ethnic minorities. These civilians are arbitrarily detained, tortured and ill-treated. They are severely punished especially when they are unable to perform all that is required of them. Further abuses of porters include being repeatedly beaten with bamboo sticks or rifle butts, being deprived of food, water, rest and medical treatment, and being killed.

Hundreds of thousands of others, including many ethnic Burmese, have been forced to work as unpaid laborers on new construction "development" projects in the past five years. No one is spared. Not the sick or the elderly. Not women or children. For many, this work is utterly degrading, causes cruel and inhuman suffering, and often results in death.

Countless other members of ethnic minorities have been removed from their homes to resettlement areas, where the conditions of their “resettlement” are brutally enforced by the army. In areas where the SLORC/SPDC suspects opposition, some or even all of the civilian population is forced at gunpoint to move into relocation camps where they are told that they cannot return home until the opposition groups among them surrender. If villagers do not obey, they are summarily executed. Their homes, crops and livestock are also destroyed. Such “scorched earth” campaigns have been conducted in Karenni State, Central Shan State, and the Papun District of Karen State.

In 1997, the SLORC/SPDC carried out widespread repression of ethnic minority civilians. Thousands of Rohingyas Muslims from the Arakan State headed for Bangladesh, fleeing Burma to escape degrading poverty, the indignity of forced relocation, and the horrors of forced labor. In Shan State, a forced relocation program early in 1997 caused tens of thousands of ethnic minorities to flee into Thailand. In February, SLORC launched a large offensive against the Karen National Union (KNU), the last major armed ethnic minority group refusing to agree to the terms of the cease-fire. As a result some 20,000 civilians fled to Thailand to avoid fighting and being subjected to further human rights violations.

7.2. Prohibition of Mon National Day

The SLORC/SPDC has harassed ethnic groups, even those that have reached a cease-fire agreement with the SLORC/SPDC. On February 21, 1997, the eve of the Golden Jubilee Mon National Day, SLORC intelligence and local authorities ordered towns in Mon State to cancel their already prepared celebrations. The No.5 Military Intelligence Unit based in Moulmein, Mon State, was responsible for issuing this order to the local authorities concerned. The Central Organizing Committee of Golden Jubilee Mon National Day was informed by the intelligence officers that the celebration was barred indefinitely. The authorities added that it was unnecessary to celebrate Mon National Day anyway because SLORC already celebrated Mon State Day on March 19, every year, for the Mon people.

The entire Mon populace was angered and vehemently disapproved of the SLORC policy against the celebration of Mon National Day. The Mon people had prepared for this day, this special occasion to celebrate the Golden Jubilee, nearly three months.

The authorities also cancelled celebrations in Mudon, Thanbyuzayat, Ye, and Paung, other towns in Mon State. (*Source: HRFOM*)

For additional information on the ethnic minorities situation in Burma see also the following chapters: Chapter 1, Extra-judicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions; Chapter 5, Forced Relocation and Internally Displaced Persons; Chapter 6, Deprivation of Livelihood; Chapter 11, Freedom of Movement; and Chapter 13, Abuse of Women.

8. Torture, and other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment and Punishment

Numerous reports of acts of torture and ill-treatment committed by the SLORC/SPDC security forces and soldiers continue in 1997. At least six departments of the SLORC/SPDC security forces have been implicated in torture and ill-treatment of former detainees, including political prisoners. The six departments are as follows: 1) SLORC/SPDC army or Pyithu Tatmadaw (people's Defense Forces); 2) the People's Police Force; 3) the Directorate of Defense Service Intelligence (DDSI); 4) the Special Investigations Department (SID); 5) the Criminal Investigation Department (CID); and The Bureau of Special Investigation (BSI). The activities of DDSI, SID, CID and BSI are coordinated by the national Intelligence Bureau (NIB), under the direct control of the SLORC/SPDC. The DDSI is also commonly known as the MIS or Military Intelligence Service; the MIS is most consistently identified as using torture as part of its interrogation.

Twenty primary detention centers, where brutal interrogation proceedings and other methods of torture take place, have been identified throughout Burma. The detention centers include the secret DDSI interrogation center at Ye Kyi Aing camp, right outside of Rangoon, and over fourteen other military intelligence centers located in Rangoon. These include the following: the DDSI and BSI headquarters; Insein Prison and its annex; Yankin township military registration camp; Sanchaung police station; Mingladon DDSI interrogation center; Kyaikasan old race course; Hmawbe Ye Nyunt training camp (all in Rangoon Division); Bassein township MIS office (Irrawaddy Division); Special Branch II office; Police station NO.8 and Mandalay prison (Mandalay Division); Tharawadddy and Pegu township prisons (Pegu Division); Regiment 3 Headquarters, Thanbyuzayat township and Moulmein MIS office (Mon State); Pa-an township MI-5 office (Karen State); Regiment 59 headquarters, Maw Chee township (Karenni State); Myitkyina central prison, No.8 (Northern Command) army headquarters; and Special Branch II office (Kachin State).

Political opposition activists often endure particularly severe treatment while in detention. These activists must endure both physical and mental torture during the often prolonged period of detention following arrest while they are isolated from public scrutiny and protection.

8.1. Torture in Detention

SLORC/SPDC's use of cruel and unusual torture techniques have been well documented by survivors of such techniques and human rights groups. SLORC/APDC's method of torture include beatings rigorous enough to cause permanent injury; shackling of the legs or arms, both in prison cells and in work place; burning victims with cigarettes; applying electric shocks to the victim's genitals, finger tips, toe, ear lobe, and elsewhere; suffocation; stabbing; rubbing of salt and chemical in open wounds; forcing victims to stand in unusual and uncomfortable positions for extended periods of time; including "riding the motorcycle," which entails standing with arms outstretched and legs bent and the "helicopter" in which the victim is suspended by the wrists or feet from a ceiling fixture and then spun around; deprivation of light and sleep; denial of medicine, food, exercise, and water for washing; employing the "iron road" in which iron or bamboo rods are rolled up and down the shins until the skin is lacerated; ordering solitary confinement with extremely small and unsanitary cells for prolonged periods; and using psychological torture, including threats of death and rape.

Prison punishment is often very similar to the cruel treatment endured during an interrogation period. Prisoners are severely beaten, placed in solitary confinement, transferred to other cell-blocks, and denied contact with the outside world. Political prisoners are often sent to police dog cells, intended for dogs, where they are subjected to beating and placed in leg-irons made of chain or of an iron rod thrust between the feet.

8.1.1. Solitary Confinement

An iron rod, about 1 ½ to 2 feet long is often placed horizontally between the shackled legs of prisoners in solitary confinement, forcing them to stand or lay with their legs astride. Prisoners are locked in tiny cells during their confinement. Normally, small chamber pots are placed in each cell. The pots are never emptied, so the smell becomes unbearable and the cell damp and wet. In the worst case of solitary confinement, prisoners are forced to stand with both arms tied above their head; they are forced to urinate and defecate while standing. Small daily food rations of soup made from rice, are slid through the iron bars from outside of the cell. No blankets or mats are provided; prisoners are forced to sleep on the concrete floor. Most days, prisoners are taken out of the cell, forced to stand in the standard position, with their legs splayed apart, and beaten. Solitary confinement usually lasts for at least one month and may continue for up to three months. In some cases, political prisoners are forced to remain in solitary confinement indefinitely.

8.1.2. Beatings

The SLORC/APDC uses many forms of beatings to intimidate and torture prisoners and detainees. Soldiers use typical as well as unusual implements to beat their victims, including their fists, combat boots, rifle butts, leather-coated pipes, wooden sticks, sticks made from three interlaced pieces of cane, solid bamboo sticks, about three to four feet in length, and hard plastic water pipes. Victims often sustain serious permanent injuries including paralysis and even death.

SLORC/SPDC beating are designed to physically harm and humiliate their victims. The following are a few of the typical types of beatings: the prisoner is beaten while he/she stands and embraces a post and both hands are held firmly by another person; the prisoner is beaten while laying prone on the ground; the prisoner is beaten while being forced to stand with both legs chained; the prisoners is beaten while being forced to crawl along the ground; the prisoner is shackled, a long iron bar is placed in between their legs, and they are forced to crawl while being beaten; prisoners are beaten while being forced to do continuous squat-jumps. Authorities do not hold back during these beatings; they strike victims in the face, chest, abdomen, and back; they also jump on the backs of prisoners while they are being forced to crawl on the ground. Prisoners are routinely seriously wounded; they suffer severe internal bleeding, fractured skulls, broken bones, and paralysis.

SLORC/SPDC uses various methods of psychological torture along with their beating. For example, a SLORC/APDC officer might ask his victim if he is afraid and forced the prisoners to reply in a demeaning manner. The prisoner is forced to reply: I am afraid of you, “Shint.” “Shint” is a Burmese suffix used for politeness by females; the term is not meant to be used by men. When a prison officer asks, “What is your name?” a prisoner must reply, “My name is ‘Ma’[name], shint.” Ma is a Burmese prefix for the names of younger women; it is never used by men. The use of these terms is meant to degrade the prisoners. Some prisoners, infuriated by what they are being forced to do, refuse to answer the officers in that way; they are severely beaten by the officers until they comply with the orders. Some prisoners are beaten until they fall unconscious, when they awake, they are beaten again. There have been reports that some prisoners, who can no longer stand the torture, knock their head against the stone wall to fracture their skulls and render themselves unconscious. When prisoners sustain fractured skulls or severe bleeding from the head, they are finally sent to the hospital. However, once at the hospital, the prisoners still do not receive adequate medical attention. If they cry out in pain, they are often beaten for being noisy. Prison officers are not charged with any crimes in these cases, even if a prisoners suffers permanent paralysis or gangrene; the SLORC/SPDC authorities protect their security forces at all costs. (*Source: ABSDF*)

8.2. Ill-treatment during Forced Portering and Labor

Reports indicate that SLORC army still uses torture and ill-treatment against ethnic minorities in Shan State, Mon State, Karenni State and Tenasserim Division. Members of ethnic minorities are forced to serve as porters for the army. Any person who cannot carry the required is beaten with bamboo sticks or rifle butts. Deprivation of food, water, rest and medical care is also a common method of punishment.

Local civilians arbitrarily seized by the military and forced to serve as porters during military offensives to carry heavy army equipment and supplies. Some porters are held in army custody for periods between a few days to a month or more. Porters who have managed to escape have given consistent and horrific accounts of extrajudicial executions, beatings, and lack of food and medicine. When porters become exhausted from being overworked, underfed, and sometimes beaten, they are subjected to torture and sometimes beaten to death and left in the jungle. Female porters, mostly ethnic women living in combat areas, are subjected to gang rape and other sexual crimes.

8.2.1. Other Ill-treatment During Forced Labor

The use of forced labor on SLORC/SPDC's infrastructure projects is widespread across Burma. During the past nine years, SLORC/SPDC has increasingly forced hundred of thousands of civilian laborers to build railway lines, airports, dams, quarries, and road without compensation. Conditions at work sites are often harsh, in many cases soldiers use inhuman and degrading treatment to keep laborers working; forced laborers are often shackled in chains and received inadequate food and medicine.

8.2.2. Ill-treatment in the Ethnic Area

Ethnic people living in areas of counter-insurgency operations are subjected to harassment, abuses, and ethnic persecution by SLORC/APDC troops. Troops systematically forced nearby civilian villagers to relocate in order to deprive ethnic armed forces of potential logistical support. Civilians found in their villages after relocation deadlines are shot on sight. Moreover, civilians are routinely tortured by SLORC/SPDC troops for allegedly having contact with ethnic armed groups or for being "sympathizers."

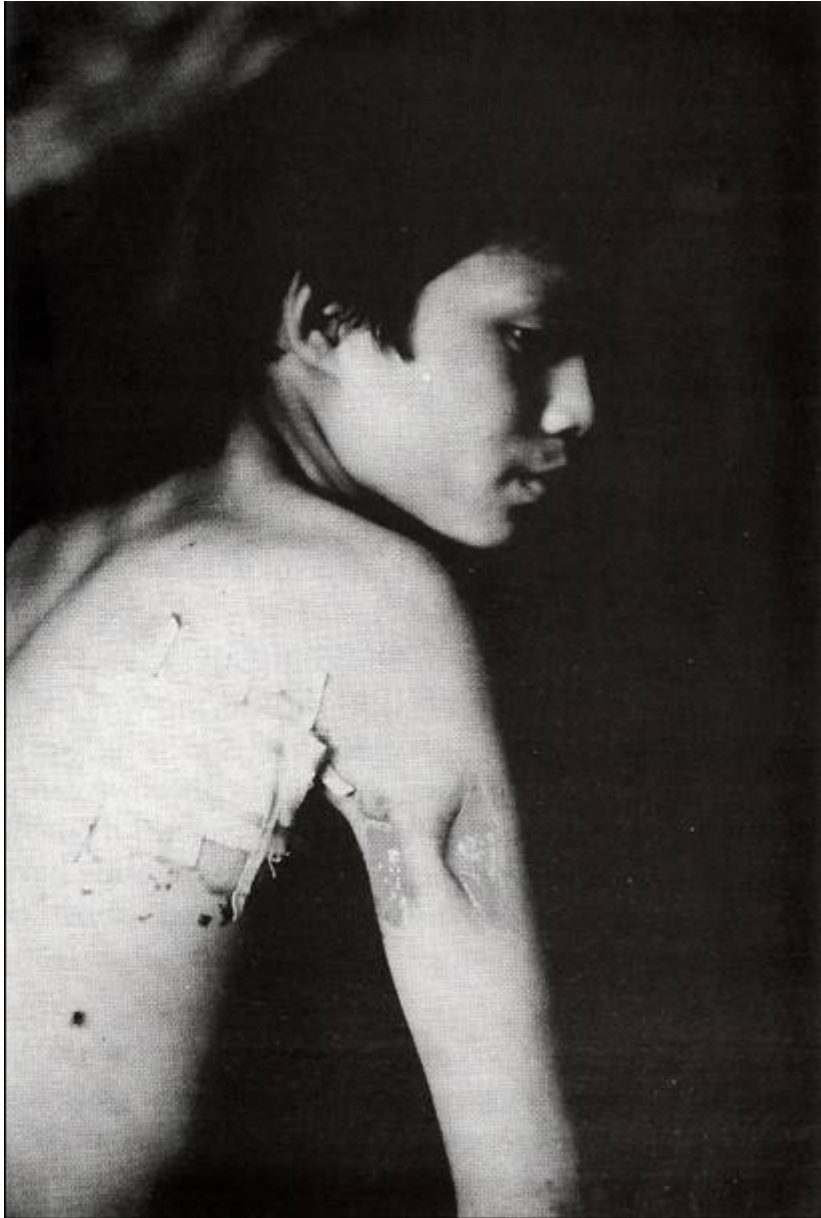
- At the beginning of February 1997, SLORC military troops arrived at Mae Taw village, Kywe Thon Nyima village tract, Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division and rounded up some villagers including women and village headman. The soldiers cut the village headman's body with a knife.

- On March 31, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 515 arrested four male villagers who were tending an onion farm near the temple of Wan Parng village in Wab Heng tract, Laikha township, Shan State. They accused the villagers of defying their orders by refusing to move away and of having connections with the Shan resistance. They tied them up with ropes, beat them and forced them to answer their questions. After a while, when the villagers could not tell them what they wanted to know, they tied hay to the body and arms of one villager, set fire to the hay and let him loose. They tied another villager to a post of a hut and burned him with the hut. While this was being done, they forced the other two villagers to watch and threatened to do the same to them if they did not tell what they knew. They beat the two men several more times and finally threw them into Nam Tawng stream east of Wan Parng. (Source: *SHRF*)
- At the end of February 1997, the soldiers from LIB. 273 arrested Nai Thein, village headman of Cha Bon village, Kywe Thon Nyima tract, Tenasserim Division. He was kept for fifteen days and tortured badly at Pauk Pin Gwin and Nat Kyi Zin military outposts. He was beaten up by the soldiers during his detention and the soldiers covered his face with plastic bags and held his head underwater. (Source: *KHRG*)
- On March 17, 1997, a 22-year-old villager from Dooplaya district, Karen State was arrested for allegedly having a gun with him. The SOLRC soldiers held him for three days. The soldiers punched him and they also poured water in his nose. He was tied to the betelnut tree and beaten the whole night. (Source: *KHRG*)
- On April 4, 1997, SLORC troops arrested seven villagers from K’Paw Baw Kyo Lu Koe village, Papun district, Karen State, including a woman with a 13 month old baby. The SLORC troops tied them, beat them and took them away from the village. On the same day, soldiers randomly shot at a house in the house and wounded two villagers in their legs. (Source: *KIC*)
- In early April 1997, Loong Pingnya, a villager of Kan Kan, Murngpan township, Shan State, was tortured by SPDC troops. His hands and feet were bound and he was stuffed into a gunny sack. The troops tied the mouth of the sack and submerged him in the water under a bridge near the Pho Ti temple, pulled him out after a few minutes and trampled on his chest until water gushed out of his mouth while interrogating him. Then the troops submerged him in the water again. The procedure continued until he died. (Source: *UN report*)
- On April 13, 1997, SLORC troops from Laikh-based LIB. 515 arrested Loong La, a 60-year-old villager from Pang Tet Teo, Wan Heng tract, Laikha township. He was arrested while he was tending a small plot of onions in his farm. The SLORC troops accused him of supporting the Shan resistance and tortured him. They tied him up, beat him, rolled a piece of bamboo on his shins and finally cut

off his lips. "Because of your stomachs and mouths, we have had no rest," they said. (Meaning that they blamed the villagers for going out to look for food, which meant they had to follow them) (*Source: SHRF*)

- On May 18, 1997, SLORC troops led by Major Aye Thant and his troops from IB. 277 in Murngton township, Shan State went to Wan Mawk Zali village in Mae Ken tract. They arrested three young men in the village. They were Sai Vi, 21, Sai Vilarsa, 24, and Sai Sawta, 25. The troops accused them of being SURA soldiers. They tied them up with rope, beat them, put them into sacks and submerged them in water several times before killing them. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On July 1, 1997, SLORC troop led by Major Htun Mya ransacked Keng Lom area and arrested 96 villagers of Waeng Kham, Kun Mi, Wo Long, nar Taw, Wan Parng, Ho Ha, Nar Poi, Karng Nar, Nar Yao, Son Sarng, Nar Khar Awn and Nar Khar Long villages. They were all gathered together at the village of Kun Mi and were beaten, tortured and questioned. On July 3-4, SLORC troops put plastic bags over the villagers' heads until they suffocated and threw the bodies into the Nam Parng River. The women were raped before being killed. (*Source: UN report*)
- On September 19, 1997, there was a skirmish between a column from LIB. 356 and KNLA troops near Ma-U village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi township, Karen State, resulting three SLORC soldiers wounded. After that, three villagers from the village were severely beaten and taken to the camp. (*Source: PDF*)

(Also see under "personal Accounts," interviews 3, 19, 27, 29, 30, 35, 36, 38, 39, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60, 62, 67, 68, 69, 70, 75, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89,90,91, 97, 98 and 100)



17-year-old boy who was shot on sight by a SLORC patrol while looking for vegetable in the forest a month after his village in Karen State was destroyed. (Photo by KHRG)



“Htun Win”, 28, a Muslim villager from Myawaddy township, Karen State, was taken as a frontline porter, kicked and beaten unconscious by the SLORC troops. He had a permanent corneal scar, a broken rib, serious damage to his arm, and the muscles of his thigh were so badly beaten that he will never walk properly again. (Photo by KHRG)



Villager who stayed in his village during the SLORC occupation, only to flee later, showing how he was beaten in his face by SLORC troops. (Photo by KHRG)

9. Freedom of Belief and Religious Discrimination

9.1. Background

Since its inception in 1988, the military regime in Burma has tried to present itself as the preserver and protector of Burmese culture, including Buddhism. The regime's propaganda, laws, and actions, however, make this pious façade a cruel mockery.

During the 1988 demonstration for democracy and human rights, many monks took active roles and were arrested for their prominent participation. An estimated 200 Buddhist monks are imprisoned at Insein alone. Many others are supposed to be held captive in prison labor camps.

On August 8, 1990, to commemorate the second anniversary of the democratic uprising, more than 7,000 monks and novices walked through the streets of Mandalay, solemnly and peacefully accepting alms from the people. Soldiers confronted them and opened fire, killing two monks, two students, and wounding seventeen others. Following this massacre, the Monk's Union, Sangha Sammagi of Mandalay, led by Ven. U Yewata, declared "pattam nikkujjana kamma" (overturning the bowl) against the military. This refusal to accept alms was used as a rebuke to lay-people.

This powerful religious boycott, which began in Mandalay, spread like wildfire across Burma, causing the SLORC/SPDC to panic. By October 1990, the religious sanctions against military families had reached Rangoon. Throughout the country, monks refused alms from military personnel and their families and would not attend religious services organized by the SLORC/SPDC. Although the purpose of the boycott was compassionate -- to help the evil doers repent for their deeds and give them an opportunity to forsake their ways and return to the true path -- military leaders felt reproached.

The SLORC/SPDC retaliated against the monks' boycott by massively clamping down on the Sangha. Monasteries were surrounded by armed troops with monks trapped inside. Electricity, water, and communication lines were cut. The monks were prevented from going on their daily alms rounds. After maintaining the blockade for one week, armed troops entered monasteries and arrested the leaders. More than 350 monasteries were raided and more than 3,000 monks and novices were arrested. Twenty monasteries were seized and expropriated.

After the monk's boycott in 1990 in Mandalay, the SLORC/SPDC banned all independent monks' associations. The only Sangha organizations recognized now are the Sangha Mahanayaka Committees. The senior monks are given the task of establishing rules to maintain discipline and generally oversee all Sangha affairs. In addition to the State Sangha Mahanayaka Committee, there are local Sangha Mahanaraka Committees. The members of the Sangha Mahanaraka Committees are all elderly and learned monks who should be highly respected and venerated. Since it is well known that the SLORC/SPDC controls the committees, the people no longer esteem these monks. The regime wishes to include as many senior monks as possible within the ranks of the committees. As a result, monks are pressured to join, despite being reluctant to do so. As an added coercion, monasteries are kept under strict surveillance until a monk agrees to join. In the process, monks are vilified by SLORC/SPDC propaganda that ostracizes them. Once a monk relents and joins the committee, the pressure eases. SLORC/SPDC showers the monastery with lavish gifts, while the monk loses his independence and the respect of the people. The regime has made special efforts to link itself with Buddhism as a means of asserting its own popular legitimacy. Photos of SLORC/SPDC officials paying homage or making donations at pagodas throughout the country appear regularly in the official newspapers.

SLORC has also infiltrated many monasteries in an attempt to monitor those that continue to dissent or resist. A monk from Masoyein, a famous monastery in Mandalay, reported that another monk had confessed to being a SLORC/SPDC agent. After graduating from the university, this monk agreed to become a monk in order to spy for the SLORC/SPDC. After the army massacred monks in 1990, however, he regretted his role and confessed to the other monk how he had collaborated with the SLORC/SPDC.

SLORC/SPDC has formed Sangha organizations in the villages, townships, and districts. All monks are required to obey the orders of the organization, whether or not they belong. Buddhist monks cannot do anything without the permission of the SLORC/SPDC. For example, only the township or district Sangha organization may authorize a monastery to build additions or renovate old buildings.

In September 1996, Lt. Gen. Myo Nyunt, former SLORC/SPDC Minister of Religion, sent a letter to the senior monks' committee demanding that all those who wished to be ordained receive approval from the SLORC/SPDC. Furthermore, in September 1996, official Myanmar reported that SLORC/SPDC was accusing the NLD of trying to divide the "loyalty of the Sangha" by sending its members to various monasteries to befriend the monks. The SLORC/SPDC also issued Order No. 85 that prevented any NLD member from becoming ordained. The Sangha Mahanaraka Committees were instructed to contact all levels of SLORC/SPDC offices if any NLD member sought ordination. The Order also restricted members of other political parties and their families from being ordained. (*Source: BRC*)

9.2. Buddhist monks in detention

Reliable sources report that monks have been tortured in prison for their political activities, and those who have been released report seeing hundreds of monk's robes stacked in the prison. Clearly monks are not only being detained, but also disrobed -- a serious affront to any Buddhist monk.

The monks have asked that they be permitted to wear robes in prison, but prison authorities have taken them anyway and forced the monks to wear white prison uniforms. In addition, the monks are not referred to by their ordained names. They may only use ordinary names.

In spite of being treated inhumanely, the monks remain patient. While in prison they maintain and follow all the traditional principles of being a Buddhist monk. They do not eat dinner (Buddhist monks are not allowed to eat after noon) and early morning meals are not provided. This means that they eat only one meal a day (lunch). The authorities forbid monks to preach the Buddhist Dhamma and other prisoners are not allowed to pay obeisance (palms raised together on the forehead) to them.

9.3. Death of Buddhist Monks in Detention

Since 1988, the following Burmese monks have died in custody, most of them as a result of the hard labor they performed while in the concentration camps:

- Ven. U Sandawara, Weyanbonthar Monastery, Secretary of the Sangha Samaggi, died in Swunpayabom concentration camp. (*Source: SAIN*)
- Ven. U Vimala, Masoeyein Monastery, Northern Mandalay, Member of the Sangha Samaggi, died in Sunpayabo concentration camp. (*Source: SAIN*)
- Ven. U Weyawdana, Hti Lin Monastery, Mandalay, died near Myittkyina in Kachin State. (*Source: SAIN*)
- Ven. U Okktama, Mandalay, Vice President of the Sangha Samaggi, died in Swunpayabom concentration camp. (*Source: SAIN*)
- Ven. U Teza from Saku Monastery, died in Mo Koung jail, Kachin State. (*Source: IA*)
- Ven. U Arthapa from Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni Monastery, Mandalay, died in Mandalay jail. (*Source: IA*)

- Ven. U Pyin Nyaingda from Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni Monastery, Mandalay, died in Mandalay jail. (*Source: IA*)
- Ven. U Tiloka from Masoeyein Monastery, Northern Mandalay, died in Par Kant Camp, Mokoung, Kachin State. (*Source: IA*)
- Ven. U Zawana from Eindawya monastery, Mandalay, died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. (*Source: IA*)
- Ven. U Pyinya Thiri, Myadaung Monastery, died in Katha jail, Mokaung, Kachin State. (*Source: IA*)
- Ven. U Zawtika from Anauk Htilin Monastery died in Katha jail, Mokoung, Kachin State. (*Source: IA*)
- Ven. U Dhamma Wara Thiri from an unknown monastery, died in Par Kant, Mokoung, Kachin State. (*Source: IA*)
- Sayadaw U Tiloka (Abbot) from Shwephonepwint Monastery, Rangoon, died in Insein prison. (*Source: IA*)
- Ashin Pyinnya Nanda from Maha Nandi The Na Monastery, Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni, died in Myitkyina labor camp. (*Source: IA*)
- Ashin Zawana Nanda from Maha Nandi The Na Monastery Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni, died in Myitkyina labor camp. (*Source: IA*)
- Ashin Teza from Eindawya Monastery, Mandalay, died in Mokaung jail, Kachin State. (*Source: IA*)
- Ashin Teza from Pagan Monastery, died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. (*Source:IA*)
- Ashin Rewata from Pagan Monastery, died in Myintkyina jail, Kachin State. (*Source: IA*)
- Ashin Kaw Wida from Pagan Monastery, died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. (*Source: IA*)

The following monks have been sentenced to life in prison:

- Ven. U Kawiya, Phayahyi Monastery, Mandalay -- member of Galonni (Galonni was originally an active Buddhist association opposed to British imperialism, which was reestablished in 1988 in Mandalay as an organization of monks and laypersons). Ven. U Kawiya is an extremely effective speaker and during the Democracy summer of 1988 he spoke almost every day at Maha Muni Pagoda. (*Source: SAIN*)
- Ven. U Kalyana, Mandalay, Member of Aung San Kyei Ni (Aung San Red Star) Association. (*Source: SAIN*)

9.3.1. Monks arrested and disrobed in Henzada

Eight Buddhist monks were forcibly disrobed and subsequently imprisoned in November in Henzada, a town located south-west of Rangoon, following a scuffle with local authorities. The incident occurred after local police arrested, questioned, and then released two Buddhist monks. The two monks were questioned by a police sergeant, San Nyunt at about 10 p.m. on November 14, 1997, and were interrogated for about an hour. Following their release, a group of monks, from the Boe Thein Tan Monastery, and students numbering about 20 approached the local Township Law and Order Restoration Council office demanding that they explain why the two monks had been detained. When the authorities failed to provide a proper explanation, a fight broke out between the group and local authorities.

Following the incident, eight monks -- U Teikka, U Seitta, U Sandaw, U Pandita, U Nyanidawbatha, U Panya, U Zanila and U Nandamala -- were forcibly disrobed and detained by the authorities. Three high school students were also arrested: Zaw Myo Aung, Maung Kyaw Thet, and Maung Thet Naint Oo. (*Source: ABSDF*)

9.3.2. Killing of Buddhist monks in Shan State

In late March 1997, SLORC/SPDC troops from LIB. 524 arrested a monk named Ven. Eindaka, 32, at Kyawng Long monastery in Kho Lam, Namzarng Township, Shan State. They took him to the abbot of Kyawng Kawng Moo monastery to disrobe him. However, the abbot there refused to do it because Ven. Eindaka was a senior monk. The SLORC/SPDC took Ven. Eindaka out of the monastery, tore off his robe, tied his hands, and dragged him to their Kho Lam military base. During their interrogation of him, they tortured and beat him until he died. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)

In late March 1997, SLORC/SPDC troops from LIB. 246 arrested Ven. Yanna, abbot of Kaeng Kham village temple, Kunhing Township, Shan State. The abbot was forcibly disrobed and taken from the monastery to the military base. While interrogating him about whether or not he had supported the armed ethnic group in the region, the soldiers bound his hands and legs. Then the abbot was put in a sack. The soldiers tied the mouth of the sack and submerged it in a stream. After a few minutes, they pulled him out and continued asking questions. They did this several times until he died. At this point, no one dared to intervene because initially when the monk was arrested, some relatives, other monks, and community leaders attempted to testify on behalf of his innocence and were beaten. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)

On March 20, 1997, Major Aung Kyaw Tun and 60 of his soldiers from IB. 44, based in Kunhing Township, went to Jong Saai Khao temple, at Saai Khao village, south of Kunhing, Shan State. When they searched the temple, they found a shortwave radio. Believing the radio belonged to SURA, they beat Vi Seng Tar, a 30-year-old monk, in the temple. Although the monk explained that he was in no way connected with the SURA, he was disrobed anyway and severely beaten unconscious. Then the troops took him to the south of Jong Saai Khao temple, which was about one mile away. As the soldiers prepared to kill the monk, he begged them to untie his hands so that he could grant them forgiveness before he was killed. When the soldiers untied him, he ran away. The soldiers shot after him but missed. The monk went back to Keng Tong village before fleeing to Thailand. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)

9.3.3. Destroying Buddhist monasteries

In early February 1997, SLORC/SPDC troops from LIB. 273 in Kanbauk, came to Mae Taw village, Kywe Thon Nyima tract, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division. They searched the entire monastery and stole 140,000 kyats, money that the monks had saved to buy wood and building materials to renovate their monastery. (*Source:KHRG*)

On March 19, 1997, SLORC/SPDC troops robbed “Srimigala” monastery at Nawng Khoo village, Murng Khun tract, Murngkerng Township, Shan State. Despite repeated protests from the abbot, the SLORC/SPDC took 48 visses of cooking oil, three baskets of rice, 12 baskets of paddy to feed their horses and 60 visses of groundnut. (*Source: SHRF*)

On June 4, 1997, 40 SLORC/SPDC troops from IB. 265, led by Captain Ohn Ngwe and accompanied by five militiamen led by U Than Myint from Yekan Or village, came to the monastery at Maing Thway village in Kyunsu Township, Tenassarim Division. The troops confiscated all monastery property, ranging from furniture to kitchen utensils, amounting to approximately 200,000 kyats. The troops also took a small generator from the monastery and threw it into a nearby river. (Source: MIS)

On June 9, 1997, SLORC/SPDC troops from IB. 64 and LIB. 515 burned down the monastery at Wan Pung village, Murng Yai tract, Kaesee Township, Shan State, and continued to search Kubg Pek and Nam Mawng villages. The troops shot Sai Pan Ta, a 17-year-old villager from Nam Mawng village in the stomach. (Source: SHRF)

9.4. SLORC/SPDC - Instigated Unrest between Buddhist Monks and the Muslim Community

The military regime in Burma has often tried to stir up religious and racial tensions in Burma in order to divide the population and divert attention away from other more pressing political and economic concerns. In 1988, the former government, BSPP, provoked anti-Muslim riots in Taunggyi and Prome during the spring democracy movement aimed to swift the people's will for political change. In May 1996, anti-Muslim literature, probably issued by the SLORC/SPDC, was widely distributed among four towns in Shan State. This material eventually led to violent incidents. In October 1996, anti-Muslim leaflets distributed in Rangoon and other cities urged Buddhists not to marry Muslims and to boycott Muslim shops. The leaflets accused Muslims of wanting to expand their territory, postulating that Burma would soon become like other Southeast Asian countries where Buddhism has been forsaken for Islam.

Buddhist monks in Mandalay accused the SLORC/SPDC of trying to find and steal sacred rubies believed to give the owner power to defeat any enemy. The rubies are rumored to be hidden in one of six monasteries, among them Maha Myatmuni, possibly inside the Maha Myatmuni Buddha statue itself. Because the exact location of the rubies is unknown, all of the six monasteries were broken into by the SLORC/SPDC. An investigation into the situation was ordered and the Maha Myatmuni Sayadaw (abbot), U Pyinnya Wuntham, was interrogated. As a result, monks took to the streets in Mandalay on March 16, 1997, burning mosques and harassing Muslims of Bengali origin. The SLORC/SPDC has been accused of instigating attacks against Muslims and exacerbating existing tensions between the Muslim and Buddhist communities in central Burma. Within a week, the trouble had spread to other cities, including Rangoon, Mandalay, Monywa, Moulmein, Kyaukpyu and Magwe division. Security increased around key Buddhist and Muslim sites in five cities. Curfews were imposed in Mandalay, Moulmein, and

other cities. Three Buddhist monks in Mandalay died of gunshot wounds and about 100 others were arrested during this latest wave of communal violence, according to the All Burma Young Monks Union. Exiled Burmese monks and political groups accused SLORC/SPDC of instigating the mid-March incidents as a pretext to crack down on dissidents and monks who have played an active role in Burmese politics. (Source: ABYMU)

9.5. List of Mosques Destroyed, Damaged, or Looted in Burma (February-March 1997)

Mandalay Area

1. Kaindan Mosque
2. Waukhan Mosque
3. Thanlan Mosque
4. Kyungyan Hlwa Daung
5. Jame Mosque, Amarapura
6. Another Mosque, name unknown, in Amarapura
7. Payagyi Mosque
8. Panset Mosque
9. Aledaung Mosque
10. Ashechore Mosque
11. Anauk Choke Mosque
12. Dunan Mosque
13. Seinpan Mosque
14. Panlathan Mosque

Pakokhu Area

1. Surti Mosque
2. Kharkahr Mosque
3. Shwekyarbin Mosque
4. Three Mosques damaged in Pegu, no name given

Rangoon Area

1. Yankin (Kanbe) Mosque
2. Pazungdaung Mosque
3. Eidgah Mosque
4. 48th Street Mosque & School
5. Myinigone Mosque
6. Sanchaung Mosque
7. Two Mosques in Kyimindaing
8. Ayethakar quarter Mospue in Ahlone Township
9. Wartan Street Mosque
10. Bangarlisu Mosque, Thein Pyu Road
11. No.7 Quarter Mosque, South Okkalapa Township
12. Muslim school at Tharketa Township (*Source: IA*)

9.6. Muslims targeted during the SLORC/SPDC's offensive against the KNU 6th Brigade

Muslims have lived in Karen State for over a century. The Muslim population in Karen State especially in KNU's 6th Brigade area, numbers in the thousands, with Muslims engaging in a range of professions from farming to shop-keeping. In February 1997, SLORC/SPDC offensive against the KNU in its 6th Brigade area, they targeted the Muslim community by burning Muslim schools, destroying Korans, and forcibly evicting Muslims from their villages. About 4,000 Muslims in Kyaikdon, Pa Klaw Nee, Mae Ha Htee Hta, and Sakhanthit villages in the KNU 6th Brigade, were forcibly relocated by SLORC troops to Patein in Kya-ein-seik-kyi district where they have virtually no access to utilities, including water. On March 3, 1997, SLORC/SPDC troops removed corrugated iron roofing from the mosque in Kyaik Don. Soldiers proceeded to scatter religious books on the ground, ripping them to pieces, and then burning them. Reports that SLORC/SPDC troops have killed Muslims have been confirmed. In Kyo Ta village, the SLORC/SPDC blindfolded two male Muslim villagers and then slit their throats. In To Dah Blu village, two Muslim villagers were also killed.

Burmese Muslim refugees encamped in Thailand are not permitted to return to Burma unless they convert to Buddhism. Burmese Muslims living in Karen refugee camps along the Thai-Burma border are also not welcome to return unless they convert. Only Muslims are effected by this action. Other religious faiths are not so restricted. According to the Muslim refugees from a refugee camp in Umphang district, Thailand, two Muslim families who returned to Burma in mid-1997 were forced by the regime to abandon their Islamic faith. The children were also forced to become Buddhist monks. (*Source: HRDU*)

9.6.1. List of Muslim Mosques destroyed during the offensive

- Kyaikdon, Dooplaya district: Inside of mosque and Muslim school destroyed
- Gaw Bay, Dooplaya district: Mosque destroyed
- Naw Bu, Dooplaya district: Mosque destroyed
- Day Nga Yin, Dooplaya district: Mosque destroyed
- Kyaung Don, Dooplaya district: Mosque destroyed
- Kaninbu, Dooplaya district: Mosque and Muslim school destroyed
- Pa Glaw Ni, Dooplaya district: Mosque valuables looted and placed in Buddhist temple; wooden mosque dismantled (*Source: IA*).

9.7. Religious discrimination against Christians

At least one-third of Burma's population -- about fifteen million people -- belong to ethnic minorities. The ethnic minorities tend to have large Christian or Muslim minorities within them. The degree of integration among ethnic minorities differs greatly, but in general depends on geographic location; those minorities based in remote highland areas are least integrated and mostly Christian. All of these differences, ethnicity, religion, and armed opposition, result in combined allegations of religious persecution and racial discrimination.

Religious persecution is a major concern in Chin State, Karenni State, Kachin State and some parts of Karen State and Sagaing Division, where the majority of people are Christian. In Chin State particularly, over the past few years, the military has been forcing Christian villagers to build Buddhist pagodas in their villages. An example of such a pagoda is the one located on the hill above Rih Lake near the Tiau River border-crossing. Soldiers have been desecrating churches and graveyards by turning them into army camps, disturbing religious ceremonies, and preventing evangelists from preaching.

At the beginning of 1997, three laymen and a column of SLORC/SPDC soldiers arrived in Zaung, the village in Htan Tlang Township, Chin State. The three laymen forced all the civilians in the village, mostly Christians, to participate in their Buddhist religious ceremony. The troops also forced them to practice meditation. Some Christian boys were forced to become monks to spare their families from conscription as porters in the region. (*Source: FTUB*)

The military has coerced people into converting to Buddhism by engaging in discriminatory practices against non-Buddhists. For example, Christians are used more frequently for forced labor. As a result, in Than Tlang Township, Chin State, as many as ten percent of villagers have converted to Buddhism to avoid portage or labor duties. People are also lured by certain economic incentives to convert: Buddhists can buy rice at a cheaper price.

The following examples further illustrate how people are threatened or enticed by certain economic advantages into converting to Buddhism. Some “Buddhist monks” are taken to local villages by military troops. They receive rice and curry from the army camp and are guarded in turns. The Christians are ordered to go to the Buddhist religious ceremony where these “monks” insult and blaspheme Christianity. Then the Christians are persuaded to convert to Buddhism with promises that they will be given 800 *kyats* for individuals and 1,200 *kyats* for whole families that convert.

Three Buddhist monks came to preach Buddhism in Te village, Than Tlang Township, Chin State, in January 1997. They were accompanied by a section of soldiers. The village LORC ordered everyone to attend. The monks requested that villagers become novices and follow Buddhist rules, threatening that they would be taken as porters if they refused. Similarly in Tiddim Township, Chin State, people from Long Si village who refused to convert were forced to carry rocks, while those who converted received extra supplies of sugar and milk, distributed on Sundays when Christians are attending church services. (*Source: FTUB*)

In Sagaing Division, religious discrimination against the Nagas as well as the Kukis and the Chin are reportedly taking place. Non-Buddhists in the Lahai Township of Naga Hills, Sagaing Division, are restricted in attending religious services and have had their churches and religious symbols destroyed. Christian pastors must obtain permission before performing religious rites. As in Chin State, the SLORC/SPDC is said to have provided benefits to those who convert to Buddhism, including free food and exemption from forced labor.

After escaping to India in 1997, Pu Van Bik, a Chin evangelist in his 30s from Kalaymyo Township, Sagaing Division, explained how the SLORC/SPDC increasingly restricted his ability to practice his religion:

My village has 300 houses and we are all Chin and all Christians. Being an evangelist, I want to do my religious work. Now I cannot conduct home crusades, camps, or counseling, as they(SLORC) don't allow me to preach. They didn't send a written order but they said, "If you do it, you will be shot." Since 1996, they announced it more strictly. The soldiers gave the order through the Village LORC. Usually, every church gets a permit from the Village LORC and recognition by the church is enough. But since the Village LORC members don't dare disobey their orders, they don't give the permit. They didn't allow me to preach but I used to do it secretly. (Source: IA)

9.7.1. Partial lists of the churches destroyed

- On July 17, 1997, a military column led by Captain Myint Shwe from SLORC LIB. 208 came to Pa-nweh-po-klo village in Tavoy-Mergui District, and burned down the village Christian church. (Source: KIC)
- On July 25, 1997, SLORC troops came to Ga-zer-der village in Tavoy-Mergui District and burned down the village's Christian church and house. (Source: KIC)
- On July 26, 1997, a military column led by Captain Myint Shwe, burned down five houses and the church in Pyicha village, Mergui-Tavoy district, Tenasserim Division. (Source: KIC)
- On August 20, 1997, SLORC troops, under the command of Win Htwe, burned down 25 buildings in Lwe Po village, Mawchee Township, Karenni State, including churches. (Source: KNPP)
- On August 25, 1997, SLORC troops of LIB. 261, under the command of Lt. Col. Khin Maung Htay, burned down 25 houses including the church of Hu Muu Ka Lah village, Karenni State. (Source: KNPP)
- On August 26, 1997, SLORC troops of LIB. 102, under the command of Major Win Htwe, burned down the church of Kwa Kee village and 54 houses of Htee Sar Beh Htee village, Karenni State. (Source: KNPP)

- On August 27, 1997, SLORC troops burned down 28 buildings in Bwe Lay Kho village, Mawchee Township, Karenni State, including the church. (*Source:KNPP*)

(Also see under “personal Accounts,” interviews 22, 23, 24, 27, 32, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 and 43)

10. Freedom of Opinion, Expression, and the Press

10.1. One of the Ten Enemies of the Press

Burma's Senior General Than Shwe is included in the 1997 top ten "enemies of the press" list released by the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists. In its statement, the SLORC leaders and other listed international leaders were condemned for their "relentless hostility to the very concept of a free and independent press in their own countries and around the world". The ten had "deliberately engaged in hundreds of press freedom violations ranging from censorship, harassment, and physical attack to imprisonment and even assassination," the statement said.

The SLORC/SPDC continue to impose severe restrictions on freedom of speech and of the press. The security services continues to harass and repress those attempting to express opposition political views, and many more refrained from speaking out for fear of arrest, interrogation, and other forms of intimidation. The weekend gathering in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house at which she and NLD leaders U Tin Oo and U Kyi Maung formerly responded to letters from the public and delivered speeches, have been prohibited since late 1996. Barriers blocking access to her house remains in place during the 1997, and her freedom to leave her compound or to receive visitors is severely restricted.

The SLORC/SPDC monopolizes television, written press, and radio. All forms of domestic public media are officially controlled or censored. The media continue to be subject to governmental censorship and are largely used as instruments to propagate governmental points of view. With the exception of reporting on some aspects of the National Convention, these official media do not report opposing views except to criticize them. While the English language daily New Light of Myanmar continues to include many heavily edited international wire service reports on foreign news, domestic news hewed strictly to and reinforced the SLORC/SPDC's policy.

Foreign radio broadcasts, such as British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Voice of America (VOA), Radio Free Asia (RFA) and Norway-based Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) remained prime sources of uncensored information, though the SLORC/SPDC attempts to jam or otherwise interfere with the reception of these broadcasts.

The SLORC/SPDC's power over the media has encouraged self-censorship on the part of writers and publishers in Burma. Private citizens are generally unable to subscribe directly to foreign publications, though a limited selection of foreign newspapers could be purchased in a few hotels in Rangoon. A limited supply of international news magazines and a sizable number of private publications on nonpolitical issues are available to the public, but censors frequently banned issues or deleted articles deemed unwelcome by the authorities.

University teachers and professors remained subject to the same restrictions on freedom of speech, political activities, and publications as other government employees. These includes warning against criticism of the SLORC; instruction not to discuss politics while at work; stricture against joining or supporting political parties; engaging in political activity; or meeting foreigners. Teachers continue to be held responsible for propagating SLORC/SPDC political goals among their students and for maintaining discipline and preventing students from engaging in any unauthorized political activities.

10.2. SLORC/SPDC's Laws Restricting Freedom of Expression

A series of totalitarian decrees issued by the SLORC/SPDC in 1996 designed to strengthen its control over all forms of political expression and citizens' access to information remained in force during 1997. The decrees are very difficult to reconcile with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The right to freedom of expression: this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." These laws affect not only freedom of expression but also access to information for the people.

Under the 1962 Printers' and Publishers' Registration Law, periodicals, magazines and films must be submitted to the "Press Scrutiny Board" prior to being printed or distributed. Authors, editors, publishers and distributors convicted for having transgressed its provisions face harsh penalties, which have been increased in June 1989 by SLORC Order 16/89 to a maximum of seven year's imprisonment and/or fines of 30,000 *kyats* for each infringement of the law.

Another law which restricts freedom of expression is the Myanmar Wireless Telegraph Act. This, which was amended on October 22, 1995 (Amendment Law No. 15/95), stipulated that whoever possesses any wireless telegraphy apparatus (including telephone and fax machine) without a license shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or a fine which may extend to 30,000 *kyats*, or both.

Another law, 1985 Video Law announces all videos must be submitted to the Video Censorship Board for scrutiny. Those involved in the making, copying, or distribution of videos have been threatened with prison terms of up to three years under the law. A new Television and Video Act, issued on July 31, 1996 requires that: foreign diplomatic missions and United Nations agencies obtain permits to show imported videos at "public exhibitions". Government video censorship boards will have the right to ban, censor, or restrict the audience for such showing.

The SLORC issued Order 5/96 which prohibited speeches or statement that "undermine national stability" as well as the drafting of a constitution in the National Convention. That law entitled, The Law Protecting the Peaceful and Systematic Transfer of State Responsibility and the Successful Performance of the Functions of the National Convention against Disturbances and Opposition, prohibits, inter alia, the preparation or dissemination of speeches or statements that undermine the stability of the State or are critical of the SLORC, and prescribes up to 20 years' imprisonment for persons violating the law, while organizations taking part in such activities can also be banned and have their funds and property confiscated.

A law entitled The Computer Science Development Law, issued on September 27, 1996, makes the unauthorized import, possession and use of certain types of computer equipment, for example computers with networking capacity -- punishable with sentences of seven to 15 years in prison and/or a fine. The punishment is prescribed for anyone setting up links with a computer network without prior permission or who use computer networks or information technology for undermining State security, law and order, national unity, the national economy or national culture or who obtains or transmit State secrets. Members of unauthorized computer clubs may be sentenced to prison terms of a minimum of three years. A punishment of five to ten years' imprisonment is prescribed for anyone who imports or exports computer software or information banned by the Myanmar Computer Science Council. The SLORC/SPDC bars most Internet services to citizens.

10.3. Visa restrictions and other Forms of Harassment of Journalists

More restriction on the granting of journalist visa has been imposed. Since June 1996 Burma's authorities has informed its embassies that all requests for journalists' visas had to be approved by the foreign minister. Lasting two weeks, they had to be used in the week after they were issued -- the previous limit had been three months. An air ticket showing the journalist's arrival and departure dates was also required. Some Burmese embassies, and especially the one in Bangkok, had already stopped granting visas to journalists.

Monthly press conferences that had begun in August 1996 were suspended by the authorities in April 1997. Prior to that time, most known foreign journalists, including television crews, had been able to obtain visas to visit and report on developments, although authorities sometimes monitored and restricted their movement. The SLORC/SPDC issued few visas to journalists after April 1997.

The freedom of foreign reporters and journalists are also restricted. Thai reporters accompanying the former Thai Prime Minister Chavalit's visit to Burma in May 1997 were told to avoid meeting with opposition leaders. The restriction was set out in a letter sent to the Thai Foreign Ministry through the embassy in Rangoon. The SLORC made clear its information Ministry would watch the movements of the 15 reporters accompanying Thai PM. According to the official, the regime said reporters should avoid going to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house and reporting on the opposition leader's activities. It also asked embassy staff to monitor the reporters.

10.4. Journalists, Writers, and Poets in Burma's Jail

U Win Tin: Imprisoned: July 4, 1989

Win Tin, former editor of *Hanthawaddy*, was arrested on 4 July 1989 and sentenced in October that year to three years' hard labor. The sentence was later extended to 11 years, then reduced to ten years under the January 1993 amnesty. Win Tin was arrested because of his political work for the NLD. The government accused him in particular of encouraging the league to opt for civil disobedience to resist the martial law imposed by the SPDC. Officially, Win Tin was found guilty of "harboring a criminal wanted for arrest" under article 216 of the penal code. The "criminal" in question was reportedly a young woman who had had an abortion, which is illegal in Burma. Win Tin is said to be suffering from inflammation of the spinal column.

Authorities extended U Win Tin's sentence by five more years on March 28, 1996, after they convicted him of smuggling letters describing conditions at Insein prison to Professor Yozo Yokota, the former U.N. Special Rapporteur for human rights in Burma.

In an October alert 1997, Human Rights Watch cited reports that U Win Tin was seriously ill and perhaps close to death in Rangoon General Hospital.

Ma Myat Mo Mo Tun: Imprisoned: 1994

The daughter of imprisoned dissident Daw San San Nwe, Ma Myat Mo Mo Tun, was arrested in 1994 and sentenced to seven years in prison for spreading information injurious to the state. She is alleged to have recorded "defamatory letters and documents," made contact with "illegal" groups and sent anti-government articles to a journal published by an expatriate group.

U Myo Myint Nyein, U Sein Hlaing: Imprisoned: September 1990

Sein Hlaing and Myo Myint Nyein, both of whom are close to the NLD, were arrested in September 1990 and sentenced to seven years in jail for publishing an "antigovernment propaganda". U Myo Myint Nyein and U Sein Hlaing were arrested for contributing to the preparation, planning, and publication of the satirical news magazine, What's Happening, which the government claims is anti-government propaganda. They too are being held at Insein prison. From mid-November 1995, Myo Myint Nyein, Win Tin and several of their fellow prisoners were interrogated about letters found in their possession and addressed to Professor Yozo Yokota, the United Nations' special rapporteur on human rights in Burma. The letters described the harsh conditions in which they were being held and the ill-treatment to which they had been subjected. For instance, they were forced to sleep on the concrete floor without mattresses or blankets, in tiny cells normally used as kennels for army dogs. Family visits, usually allowed once a fortnight, had been banned, which meant relatives were not able to bring them the food and medicine the prison authorities refused to provide. In March 1996, Win Tin was sentenced to another five years and Myo Myint Nyein to another seven years for passing on information to Professor Yokota. Sein Hlaing, who had also signed the letter, had his sentence extended by seven years. The hearing was held behind closed doors inside the prison and the journalists were not allowed lawyers or any form of legal assistance. Eighteen other prisoners received similar sentences for the same reasons. A United Nations resolution specifically forbids punishing someone for giving information to a representative of the organization.

U Ohn Kyaing: Imprisoned: 1990

U Ohn Kyaing has been in jail since 1990. Also known by the pen name of Aung Wint, he worked for the daily Botataung before joining Win Tin on Hanthawaddy. He became a member of the NLD central committee in 1988 and was elected to parliament in 1990. He was arrested in August 1990 for condemning the bloody repression of demonstrations staged by students and Buddhist monks, and on October 17, 1990 he was sentenced to seven years in jail for writing and distributing “seditious leaflets” and writing an “antigovernment report”. On 15 May 1991, he was sentenced to another ten years under article 5 of the emergency law.

U Maung Maung Lay Ngwe: Imprisoned: September 1990

U Maung Maung Lay Ngwe was arrested and charged with writing and distributing publications that “make people lose respect for the government.” The publications were titled, collectively, Pe-Tin-Tan.

Daw San San Nwe, U Sein Hla Oo: Imprisoned: August 5, 1994

Daw San San Nwe and journalist U Sein Hla Oo were arrested on charges of spreading information damaging to the state and contacting anti-government groups. San San Nwe and Sein Hla Oo were sentenced on October 6, 1994 to 10 years and seven years in prison, respectively. Three other dissidents, including a former UNICEF worker, were sentenced to between 7 and 15 years in prison on similar charges. Officials said the five had “fabricated and sent anti-government reports to some diplomats in foreign embassies, foreign radio stations, and visiting foreign journalists.” San San Nwe allegedly met two French reporters visiting Burma in April 1993 and appeared in a video they produced to spread propaganda about the government.

According to reports citing Burmese officials, authorities seized confidential Energy Ministry data, as well as documents and compact discs containing anti-government materials from one of the dissidents. Both U Sein Hla Oo and Daw San San Nwe were previously imprisoned for their involvement in the NLD. As of December 1994, all five were being held at the Insein Prison in Rangoon.

Ye Htut: Imprisoned: September 27, 1995

Ye Htut was arrested on charges of sending fabricated news abroad to Burmese dissidents and opposition media. Among the organizations to which Ye Htut allegedly confessed sending reports was the Thailand-based Burma Information Group (BIG), which publishes the human rights newsletter The Irrawaddy.

Burma's official media claimed that BIG had presented a false picture of the country to foreign governments and human rights organizations. He was sentenced to seven years in prison. In 1997, CPJ was unable to obtain new information on his status.

Saung Win Latt: Imprisoned: 1997

A famous short story writer detained since early 1997, Saung Win Latt is serving a seven-year jail term. He was accused of violating the press act. In reality, he made a joke about the junta during a literature talk.

Ma Thida [Sanchaung]: Imprisoned: August 1993

Ma Thida is a short story writer and physician who has worked with the NLD. She has been detained since August 1993. She was accused of printing and publishing materials which opposed the military's National Convention. In reality, she was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment for possession of a copy of the Khit Pyaing journal. She is in bad health.

Maung Hming: Imprisoned: December 1991

Maung Hming, a well-known poet, was arrested in December 1991 and is serving a fifteen-year jail term. He is a member of the All-Burma Federation of Student Unions. He joined a peaceful demonstration on the campus of Rangoon University on 10 December 1991. He distributed many poems written about Aung San Suu Kyi. He is now in Thayat prison. He is a student of Rangoon University.

Aung Gyan (Monywa): Imprisoned: December 1991

Aung Gyan is a well-known poet detained since December 1991. He is serving a fifteen-year jail term. He is a final year agricultural student and a member of ABFSU.

U Moe Thu: Imprisoned: May 1996

A writer and journalist who worked closely with Aung San Suu Kyi, U Moe Thu has been detained since May 1996. He was charged under Section 10(A) of the State Protection Law of 1975. He was arrested before the sixth anniversary of the 1990 election. In 1989 he was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment. His translation of Exodus is among his more well-known works.

Dr. Aung Khin Sint: Imprisoned: 1996

A senior NLD leader, Dr. Aung Khin Sint contributed health, education and general knowledge articles to numerous magazines and journals. He has been detained since 1996. This is his third prison term under the junta.

Nyi Pu Lay: Imprisoned: November 1990

Nyi Pu Lay is a well-known short story writer who has been detained since November 1990. He is serving a ten-year jail term. His parents are well-respected writers Lu Du U Hla and Ludu Daw Amar. According to the jail manual rules, he should have been released at the end of 1997.

Kyi Tin Oo: Imprisoned: 1993

Kyi Tin Oo is a short story writer and poet detained since 1993. Accused of publishing documents against the junta, he is serving a twelve-year jail term. He is now suffering from heart disease. During the junta's March crackdown, Kyaw Zaw Oo, his son, was arrested and given 14 years.

Aung Zin Min; Imprisoned: 1997

Aung Zin Min is a well-known poet and writer detained since early 1997.

Myat Hlaing: Imprisoned: December 1991

Myat Hlaing is a well-known poet and NLD Youth member detained since December 1991. He is serving a 15-year jail term. He participated in a peaceful demonstration on the campus of Rangoon University on December 10, 1991, when Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He is now in Myingyan prison. He was a chemistry student in his final year.

Maung Thar Manya (or) Khin Maung Soe: Imprisoned: January 1993

Maung Thar Manya is a short story writer and philosopher detained since January 1993. Accused of violating the Press Act, he is serving a seven-year jail term.

Zarni: Imprisoned: August 1992

Zarni is a poet and former member of the Burmese Students' Union. He has been detained since August 1992 and is serving a ten-year jail term. He was accused of publishing documents opposed to the military's National Convention. He is now in Myingyan prison. He is a student of Rangoon University.

Maung Wuntha: Imprisoned: 1996

Detained since 1996, Maung Wuntha was charged under Section (A) of the State Protection Law of 1975. This is his second prison term under the SPDC. He was arrested in November 1990 and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in April 1991. In April 1992, he was released from prison under the limited amnesty order 11/92. He has written several books, including a translation of Watergate. He was forced to resign as editor of the Botataung daily after the 1988 uprising.

Nay Min: Imprisoned: October 1988

Nay Min, a journalist and lawyer jailed since October 21, 1988, is reported to have been released in November 1998, five years before the end of his sentence. Accused of "giving false information to the BBC" and "possessing antigovernment books," he was sentenced to 14 years' hard labor on 5 October 1989. According to various sources, he was tortured and is seriously ill. No explanation has been given for his release. (Source: *Committee to protect Journalists, BIG*)

11. Freedom of Assembly and Association

11.1. Mounting Pressure on Pro-democracy Opposition

During 1997, restrictions on basic rights of assembly and association has intensified. The authorities have restricted unauthorized outdoor assemblies of more than five people. Legal political parties are required to request permission from the authorities to hold internal meetings with their members.

The weekend public gatherings in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house have been banned since September 1996. The authorities permitted several public gatherings of NLD members and supporter on various occasions with little or much interference. While the authorities allowed the celebrations to take place in Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's compound, police or riot police restricted the size of the gatherings. NLD members and their sympathizers were prevented from attending the gatherings. They are methodically arrested either on their way to such meetings or after attending the gatherings. The NLD held four celebratory gatherings during 1997.

11.1.1. Independence Day Celebration

On January 4, Burmese Independence Day, some 1,000 party members and guests marked the forty-ninth anniversary of Burma's independence at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's residence. The authorities made no disturbance or harassment to the participants.

11.1.2. Union Day Celebration

However, the SLORC/SPDC permitted the party to hold a ceremony on February 12, 1997, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Union Day, when the Panglong Agreement was signed by ethnic minorities. Scores of NLD members who had either attempted to make their way to Rangoon to attend the ceremony at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's compound, or those who had actually attended the event were arrested by the authorities. At least half the guests were prevented from attending the celebration. Some of these people were detained for a short time, for example, a performance group of Pa-O from Thaton township, Mon State were intercepted and detained on their way to the celebration. They were temporarily detained in Thaton

MI compound and released after the Union Day. However, others received prison sentences of up to two years. In the days that followed, thirteen NLD members who had played a prominent role in the celebration were arrested, including Dr. Than Nyein, an NLD organizer. He was released later but his medical license was revoked.

11.1.3. May 27 Election Victory Celebration and NLD Party Conference

On May 21, 1997, the NLD announced that some 50 senior members of their party had been arrested in the run-up to a party meeting on May 27 to celebrate their election victory. Members of parliament-elect and other party members were detained as they made their way from their homes around the country to Rangoon. Other party leaders from outside Rangoon were warned not to attempt to travel to the meeting, although they were apparently not arrested if they complied with the demand. Two hundred MP-elect and 100 party organizers had been invited to the meeting, some of whom managed to arrive at the compound of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi before being arrested. On May 22, 1997, the SLORC/SPDC made a public statement about the arrest, saying: "it is a very obvious political movement by the NLD to create unnecessary problems in the country and also by forcing the government to take strong measures against them so that the anti-government propaganda can be played in their favor." The next day the SLORC/SPDC denied that arrests had been made.

The meeting took place as scheduled on May 27, although only 10 NLD executive committee members were allowed into Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's compound. Other NLD members, diplomats and journalists who were invited to the opening ceremony were turned away by a large group of security forces in the area. The authorities also blocked the entrances to the NLD headquarters in Rangoon as well as the homes of senior NLD leaders U Tin Oo and U Kyi Maung. SLORC/SPDC officials claimed that the NLD had not sought permission from them to hold the meeting and was deliberately provoking the arrests. The NLD issued a statement repeating its call for dialogue with the SLORC/SPDC. NLD sources said that in total 316 people, including 50 MPs elect, were detained in advance of the meeting. By June 6, all of those who had been detained were released.

11.1.4. September 27 Ninth Anniversary of NLD Founding and Party Conference

On September 12, 1997, the NLD announced that they would be holding a large party congress on 27-28 September to mark the ninth anniversary of its founding. The NLD formally applied to the authorities for permission to hold the meeting,

which was granted by the Rangoon Division PDC Chairman. The Chairman told the NLD that only 300 participants could attend and that the meeting must be conducted in a “peaceful and orderly manner.” In spite of widespread fear that the SLORC/SPDC would arrest NLD members who attempted to attend the meeting, as they had done on three previous occasions, no arrests were known to have taken place. However, on September 28, some 30 NLD members in the vicinity of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s compound, the meeting’s venue, were forced by the 12-shield-carrying riot police, to walk down an industrial road of University Avenue, and were loaded onto a commandeered truck. The 30 detained delegates, including elderly men and three elected MPs, asked authorities to allow one member into the congress to report what was happening, but this was denied. They were driven an hour outside the capital and dropped off at the roadside in groups of two or three to find their own way back. One group of people was dropped at Hlawga, outside Rangoon, second group was at Yeway cemetery, and the third group was at Ywathagyi, Thingangyun township. Several hundred other NLD members were turned away by Military Intelligence personnel and riot police from the gates of the compound. According to sources, there was also a large presence of Union Solidarity Development Association (USDA- a SLORC/SPDC –organized group) members. Nevertheless over 700 people attended the meeting, which Daw Aung San Suu Kyi hailed as the most successful in the NLD’s history. She also thanked the SLORC/SPDC for allowing the meeting to take place. However, this good sign was only temporary, as authorities blocked subsequent meetings.

1 1 . 2 . Freedom of Association

On September 30, 1988, the SLORC/SPDC issued an Order NO. 6/88 that prohibits the freedom of peaceful assembly, the right to organize and the formation of associations and organizations. Its law, Chapter, dealing with “Associations or organizations that are not allowed to be formed” said: “.... The following associations and organizations shall not be allowed to be formed or if they are already formed, they will not be allowed to operate or continue to exist. (A) Associations or organizations that are not allowed to register under the 1988 Political Parties Registration Law or associations or organizations that can be registered, but have had their registration revoked by the Commission for Holding Multi-party General Elections. (B) Associations or organizations that attempt, incite, encourage or assist in undermining the prevalence of law and order, local peace and security, and smooth and secure the operation of transport and communications. (C) Associations or organizations that attempt, incite, encourage or assist in undermining or stopping the operation of state administrative machinery. (D) Association or organizations composed of members of the state administration machinery -- for example, members of defense operations, such as members of the People’s Defense Forces and the People’s Police Force, public service organizations, state boards and corporations, or personnel earning a monthly salary from the state,

and who accept the influence of a political organization or has contact with a political organizations.”

Overview of the Current Situation of Burma's MPs				
Situation of the Members of Parliament (MPs)	National League for Democracy (NLD)	Other Opposition Parties & Independents	National Unity Party (NUP)*	Total
MPs dismissed by the Election Commission	66	0	0	66
MPs forced to resign from Parliament	46	0	0	46
MPs whose party has been banned	0	48	0	48
MPs whose election win has been overturned	0	3	0	3
MPs in exile	11	9	0	20
MPs currently under detention	42	0	0	42
MPs who have died	16	4	0	20

* SLORC - backed party *Source: ABSDF*

11.2.1. Pressure on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

Access to the compound of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi continues to be extremely limited. Military barricades set up in late 1996 on the road leading to her residence were remained until May 1997. Those few who are allowed to enter are made to register with Military Intelligence personnel at the gate. Army checkpoints remain in place near her residence, which is also the unofficial headquarters of the NLD, and at times of high tension, the barricades reappear. For most of the year, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is under virtual house arrest, having to ask for permission to leave her home in order to meet local and international media. Her phone line is frequently cut.

11.2.2. Pressure on the NLD

Although the SLORC/SPDC recognizes the main opposition political party, National League for Democracy (NLD), as a legal entity, the political activities of the NLD remain severely restricted. The authorities have continued to harass, defame and detain the members and leadership of the NLD through various means under the assumption that the NLD opposes the objectives of peace, law and order, and reconciliation. Newspapers are used as a way to crush the NLD. The SLORC/SPDC prevents the party from conducting normal day-to-day political activities. The authorities have closed many party offices throughout the country with no apparent legal justification. The authorities have refused to recognize the legal political status of key NLD party leaders, such as its General Secretary Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the two party co-chairmen, and it severely constrains their activities through security measures and threats.

NLD members, elected members of parliament and supporters have faced harassment and arrest from late 1996 throughout 1997. The authorities in some areas have also continued to force NLD members and elected representatives to constantly report their whereabouts and to seek permission to travel out of town. All had reportedly received threats that if they did not resign, their family members would suffer reprisals ranging from arrest to permanent dismissal from public sector jobs.

The SLORC/SPDC authorities have also forced some NLD representatives to resign as members of parliament by using threats and other types of coercion. In some cases, the authorities have told NLD representatives that they would gradually stamp out the NLD. These coercive attempts to force resignations of NLD representatives have continued unabated. Over twenty NLD MPs were forced to resign their seats. The authorities put many restrictions on the NLD members and their family members in education, medical care, and the religious sector, too. NLD members are banned from becoming monks and from buying railway, airplane and bus tickets. When NLD members failed to go to unpaid labor in their community, they were detained for breaching 1950 Emergency Protection Act, article 5 (j). NLD members who are medical doctors also face the threat of having their medical license revoked. People are threatened not to buy from the shops owned by NLD members. The authorities have still not issued political clearance certification to the NLD for its publications as it has done with other political organizations. They also have not renewed the registration of the NLD printing machine.

U Aung Shwe, the Chairman the NLD has sent letters detailing tactics including fabrication of evidence, forced resignations, loss of livelihood, imprisonment, the inciting of mob violence, and forced portage and execution, all of which have been used by the SLORC/SPDC to systematically destroy the NLD as an opposition voice.

11.2.2.1. Forced Resignation of the NLD MPs

The SLORC/SPDC has repeatedly summoned elected representatives and members of the NLD to court where they are threatened or detained. If the authorities have sufficient evidence to charge them with a criminal offence, they are charged under Section 5(j) of the 1950 Emergency Provision Acts. This type of action is aimed at forcing elected NLD representatives to resign from Parliament, and NLD members to resign from the party.

The SLORC/SPDC is also plotting to destroy the NLD by undermining its grassroots membership and support. These include plotting to destroy branch offices, keeping members of township committees and elected members of parliament in detention, and treating ordinary members with contempt.

- The following NLD MPs have resigned since the beginning of 1997: U Aung Tin, from Shadaw, and U Boe Thin, from Loikaw, Kayah State on January 13; U Thaung Ye from Danubyu, Irrawaddy Division on January 21; U Maw Ni from Yesagyo, Magwe Division on February 11; Daw Sein Tin from Shwegu, Kachin State on February 23; Dr. Thaung Tin from Wundwin, Mandalay on February 25; U Saw Htun Lwin from Hlaingbwe, Karen State on March 5; U Pu Htwe from Bhamo, Kachin State, on March 17; U Tin Ohn from Padaung, Pegu on March 21; U Kyaw Win from Htigyang, Sagaing Division, on May 8; and U Than Kywe from Hlaingthaya, Rangoon Division resigned on June 18, 1997.
- The 19 persons from Myitkyina township, Kachin State were also forced to resign from the NLD party membership on December 12, 1997. They are U Sai San Tun, U Tin Hla, U Lar Lay, U Win Maung, U Maung Maung Than, Ma Khin Nhaung, U Sein Tun, U Tin Win, U Kywe, U Hla Win, U Aye Maung, U Zaw Lun Aung, Ma Htay Win, U Maung Maung, U Ba Myin, U Than Win, U Myo Myint Than, U Tun Sein and U Ye Myint. "They give too much harassment to our members, particularly among the ethnic groups, and they are forced to resign," said the official, a close associate of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi regarding the forced resignation. The members have faced persecution from the authorities, the official said, adding their families had also suffered, being denied schooling and health care because they were relatives of party members.
- On February 6, 1997, at 12 noon, Major Tint Lwin Oo, rear Commander of Infantry 56, and Captain Myint Htun forced Shwegu township NLD organizing Committee Chairman U Yee, Vice-chairman U Htun Win, General Secretary U Mya Thein and members U Thein Zaw and U Tin Tun to accompany them to their base in Bamaw. They told the NLD officials that they were acting under orders from their superiors. The chairman of the Shwegu

township LORC, U Zarli Phong Naing, his secretary and Police chief U Kyaw Nyein followed the officers to the base. At the base the Commander of Infantry 56, Lt-Col. Ko Ko, met each of the NLD members individually and forced them to resign from the party. He used various threats to intimidate the members into resigning.

In one of the threat he said, “You must resign from the NLD, otherwise your life may be in danger.” He also told them, “Don’t get involved in politics now. We’ll allow any political party to carry out their work after the Convention is resumed and its resolutions are approved.” He was referring to the Nation Convention and the approval of the Constitution. The Lt-Col. continued to threaten the NLD members in a rude manner, telling them that their families would not be allowed to seek medical treatment from government hospitals and their children would be barred from school if they did not resign from the party.

He told them, “You are our prey. We are making noises because we don’t want to waste our time hiding in wait. All we’ve got to do is shoot. You’ll only get one chance to decide, not two. You must realize that the army is ruling the country. You must do what you are told to do. We are determined to weed out any obstacles.”

In addition to this death-threat, he reportedly told the members that all NLD branches would be destroyed in March 1997. Township Committee member U Tin Tun asked Lt-Col. Ko Ko if he was going to disband the party. The Lt-Col. did not deny having made such a threat, but did not answer further.

On February 9, 1997, Colonel Nyunt Hlaing arrived in Shwegu and told the same thing to the Township Organizing Committee. He told the NLD members, “Time is running out for you, resign now. It is dangerous if you do not resign now. We must do what our superiors order us to do. We are determined to weed out any obstacles. Politicians don’t love the country as much as we in the military do.”

The chairman of the Shwegu Organizing Committee replied, “The NLD is still a legal political party in accordance with Order 4/88. We also won the election, and as long as the party exists, we as members will support it. We have never created any disturbances.”

The members of the Organizing Committee who were taken to Bamaw eventually resigned from the NLD against their will due to tremendous pressure from the authorities. They signed prepared forms, acknowledging their resignation from the party.

- Another NLD official, U Inchedwelar, resigned from the NLD after receiving threats from Major Tin Oo Lwin and the chairman of the Shwegu Township LORC. They told him, “You are a Kachin and also a Christian. It won’t do you any good to be an official of the NLD, you have nothing to gain from being a member.” They also told him to resign from the party, threatening that if he chose not to, he would be considered an enemy.
- Other NLD members from Shwegu township who have resigned due to intense pressure from the authorities include Daw San Yee, Ma Than Than Aye and Daw Sein Tin, who was an elected representative of the party. (*Source: Inside*)

MPs Forced to resign from Parliament (all NLD)			
Name	State/ Division	Date of Resignation	Remarks
U Than Tun	Sagaing	28.2.1992	
U Hla Saw Oo	Mandalay	7.6.1996	
U Yu Gan	Rangoon	7.6.1996	
U Chit Khin	Shan	7.6.1996	
Dr. Aung Bo	Sagaing	7.6.1996	
Dr.. Sit Tin	Irrawaddy	9.6.1996	
U Seinn Maung	Mandalay	11.6.1996	
U Han Tha Myint	Sagaing	11.6.1996	
U Tint Lwin	Mandalay	12.6.1996	
U Tint Lwin	Pegu	13.6.1996	
U Ne Oo	Rangoon	13.6.1996	
U Myo Myint	Mandalay	16.6.1996	
Dr. Aung Khin	Sagaing	21.6.1996	
U Soe Maung	Pegu	24.6.1996	
Dr. Kyin Thein	Mon	1.7.1996	
U Sai Aung Than	Shan	1.7.1996	
U Than Maung	Mon	5.7.1996	

U Khin Maung Than	Magwe	9.7.1996	Under detention
U Kyee Maung	Sagaing	18.7.1996	
U Chit Khaing	Sagaing	27.8.1996	
Dr. U Hlaing	Shan	13.9.1996	
U Ngin Thang	Chin	30.9.1996	
Dr. Zaw Win	Sagaing	30.9.1996	
U Tha Soe	Irrawaddy	28.10.1996	
Dr. Sein Myint	Irrawaddy	4.11.1996	
U Saw Oo Reh	Kayah	28.11.1996	
U Win Kyaing	Irrawaddy	12.12.1996	
U Aung Tin	Kayah	13.1.1997	
U Boe Thin	Kayah	13.1.1997	
U Thaung Yi	Irrawaddy	21.1.1997	
U Maw Ni	Magwe	11.2.1997	
Daw Sein Tin	Kachin	22.2.1997	
Dr. Thaung Tin	Mandalay	25.2.1997	
U Saw Tun Lwin	Karen	5.3.1997	
U Pu Htwe	Kachin	17.3.1997	
U Tin Ohn	Pegu	21.3.1997	
U Kyaw Win	Sagaing	8.5.1997	
U Than Kywe	Rangoon	18.6.1997	
U Nay Win	Arakan	24.7.1997	
U Tin Gyi	Arakan	5.8.1997	
U Maung Maung Myint	Mandalay	14.8.1997	
U Ba Nyein	Sagaing	20.8.1997	Under detention
U Tun Yi	Arakan	22.8.1997	
Dr. Khin Maung Swe	Sagaing	25.8.1997	
U Thein Zan	Magwe	7.1.1998	
U Aung Htoo	Magwe	15.2.1998	

Source: ABSDF

MPs Dismissed from Parliament by the Election Commission (all NLD)			
Name	State/ Division	Dismissal Date	Remarks
U Hla Pe	Mandalay	26.12.1990	Died in Thailand, former NCGUB Minister
U Bo Hla Tint	Mandalay	26.12.1990	NCGUB Minister
U Thein Oo	Mandalay	26.12.1990	NCGUB Minister
U Tun Oo	Pegu	26.12.1990	Former NCGUB Minister
U Than Kywe	Pegu	26.12.1990	Former NCGUB Minister, returned to Burma
U Win Ko	Sagaing	26.12.1990	Died in China, former NCGUB Minister
U Khin Maung Thein	Sagaing	18.1.1991	
U Maung Maung Aye	Mandalay	21.2.1991	NCGUB Minister
U Than Sein	Sagaing	21.2.1991	Works for NCGUB
Dr. Tint Swe	Sagaing	21.2.1991	NCGUB Minister
U Myint Maung	Irrawaddy	30.4.1991	Former NCGUB Minister, returned to Burma
U Hla Oo	Pegu	30.4.1991	Former NCGUB Minister
Dr. Maung Maung Kyaw	Rangoon	14.8.1991	
U David Hla Myint	Irrawaddy	16.8.1991	
U Mahn Myaing Aye	Karen	25.11.1991	
Daw San May (aka Shwe Ku May Hinn)	Rangoon	25.11.1991	
U Ohn Kyaing	Mandalay	2.12.1991	Under detention
U Kyaw Min	Irrawaddy	10.12.1991	Under detention
U Mya Win	Irrawaddy	10.12.1991	Under detention
U Saw Win (aka U Kyaw Zaw Lin)	Magwe	10.12.1991	Under detention
U Soe Thein (aka Maung Wuntha)	Pegu	10.12.1991	Under detention
U Kyi Maung	Rangoon	10.12.1991	

U Maung Maung Latt	Rangoon	10.12.1991	Under detention
U Hla Than	Rangoon	10.12.1991	
U Bo Maung	Sagaing	10.12.1991	
U Myo Aung	Tenessarim	10.12.1991	
U Chit Tin	Magwe	18.12.1991	Under detention
Daw Khin San Hlaing	Sagaing	18.12.1991	
U Kyaw Thwin	Rangoon	18.12.1991	
U Khin Maung Swe	Rangoon	18.12.1991	
U Tin Htut	Irrawaddy	20.12.1991	In Australia
U Win Hlaing	Mandalay	20.12.1991	
U Chan Aye(aka Maung Susan)	Mon	20.12.1991	
	Rangoon	20.12.1991	
U Soe Nyunt	Mandalay	23.12.1991	Under detention
Dr. Soe Lin	Rangoon	23.12.1991	
U Sein Hla Oo	Rangoon	23.12.1991	
Daw San San	Rangoon	23.12.1991	
Daw San San Win	Sagaing	23.12.1991	Under detention
U Saw Hlaing	Karen	25.12.1991	
U Saw Victor Clyde	Irrawaddy	27.12.1991	
Dr. Zaw Myint	Mandalay	27.12.1991	
Dr. Zaw Myint Maung	Mandalay	27.12.1991	Under detention
U Tin Aung Aung	Mandalay	30.12.1991	
U Ba Bwa	Pegu	30.12.1991	
U Tun Aung	Pegu	30.12.1991	
U Ye Htut	Rangoon	30.12.1991	Under detention
U Naing Naing	Rangoon	2.1.1992	
U Hla Tun	Rangoon	2.1.1992	
U Tha Saing	Sagaing	2.1.1992	
U Myint Kyi	Sagaing	2.1.1992	Under detention
Dr. Myint Naing	Magwe	6.1.1992	
U Aung San Myint	Mandalay	6.1.1992	
Daw Ohn Kyi	Pegu	6.1.1992	
U Thein Tun	Sagaing	6.1.1992	
U Thaung Myint	Mandalay	8.1.1992	
U Maung Maung Myint	Mon	8.1.1992	
	Karen	9.1.1992	
U Aung Kyi Nyunt	Magwe	9.1.1992	
U Saw Chit Than	Mandalay	9.4.1992	
U Khin Maung Kyi	Rangoon	9.4.1992	
U Tin Aye	Tenessarim	9.4.1992	
U Khin Maung Tun			
U Hla Pe			

U Maung Maung	Irrawaddy	11.4.1992	
U Khin Maung Win	Pegu	11.4.1992	
Col. Thiha Thuya Soe Thein (Rtd)	Sagaing	11.4.1992	
U Ohn Maung	Shan	11.4.1992	

Source: ABSDF

11.2.2.2. Harassment of NLD members

On January 26, 1997, officials from the Danubyu township LORC arrived at “Tawwin” guest house where U Hla Pe, a Central Executive Committee member and Chairman of the Irrawaddy Division NLD, and U Zeya, Chairman of Myaungmya township NLD Organizing Committee, were staying. The authorities searched the NLD officials and treated them rudely, as if they were their enemies. The LORC officials confiscated official NLD documents and recorded them in their list of “evidence”, and also took the NLD officials’ national identification cards. On the next day, the two NLD officials were summoned to Danubyu township LORC and were accused of plotting to create unrest. They were questioned in a rude manner. The NLD officials replied politely that they, as officials of a legal political party, had come to town to see members of the Wakema township NLD Organizing Committee who were to appear in court the following day. The Township chairman threatened the NLD officials in a very rude manner and then told them to return to their guesthouse. The chairman told them that they would be called in again for questioning if the need arose. U Hla Pe and U Zeya were summoned again at 5:00pm by the authorities. They told the NLD officials that the members of Wakema township Organizing Committees would not appear in court. He ordered them to return to Rangoon that evening. The LORC chairman had even arranged for their trip back to Rangoon. The NLD officials were forced to sign a document in which they agreed to return to Rangoon, and the confiscated materials and ID cards were returned only after they had signed the paper. The authorities then turned up at the ferry and waited to see if the NLD members actually left on the boat for Rangoon. (*Source: Inside*)

11.2.2.3. Torture of the NLD leaders

Kyin Swan Khan alias Par Khan, Chairman of the NLD Tamu branch, Sagaing Division, was tortured by Military Intelligence and lost his eyesight after both eyes were injured. Kyi Swan Khan and five NLD members were arrested on December 18, 1996. They were accused of holding a party meeting without the knowledge of the Township LORC and possessing anti-government literature. Kyi Swan Khan was tortured while he was being detained at the Tamu police station. (*Source: Inside*)

11.2.2.4. Arrest and attempt to use NLD members as porters in Frontline

Pegu Division

The NLD held a ceremony commemorating Union Day on February 12, 1997, as a symbol of national unity. Representatives from all nationalities along with members of the NLD were scheduled to attend the celebration at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house.

On February 11, 1997, 65 representatives traveled to Rangoon to participate in the celebration. There were 23 representatives from Prome township, nine from Shwedaung and Nattalin, seven from Oakpho, four from Latpadan, three from Zeegone, two from Paungte and one from Gybingyauk, Thonesee and Paukkaung townships. However, in the Tharawaddy district, the authorities detained those travelling by bus near the village of Nga Lay Phyu and those travelling by train at Tharawaddy train station. All the representatives were sent to an Army battalion located near the village of Pa Shwe Kyaw. The authorities questioned them all night and the following day, which was Union Day. Among those detained were elected representatives of the NLD and members of Township Organizing Committees.

At midnight on February 13, the army unit drove 47 of the detainees to Pegu, leaving 18 male and female members at the base. In Pegu, the authorities left five elected members of parliament and a member of a Township Organizing Committee at an army base there. They then took the remaining 41 detainees to a jail located at the headquarters of Infantry Regiment 60 in Kuaukkyi on the eastern side of the Sittaung River.

When the detained NLD members were forced into the jail, the guard shouted, "The buffaloes have arrived", "buffalo" meaning a laborer or porter.

The room the NLD members were forced into was too small for 41 people. Consequently, one member asked a young officer to move some of them from the cell. The prisoners felt slightly less uncomfortable when some of them were moved to different cells. However, the army only gave the NLD members smelly rice of the lowest quality and rotten fish paste to eat. The prisoners were held until February 16, when they were questioned and released.

Before they were released an officer arrived and delivered a speech on behalf of the Pegu Division Military Commander. He said, "Our commander is very patriotic. We intended to send you to the frontline in the Pyakawpu area but we were releasing you now because we don't want any political repercussions. If you try to attend any NLD function to commemorate anything we'll kill you or send you to the Pyakawpu area as porters, which would be a severe punishment."

Some NLD members asked the young officer where Pyakawpu was located. He replied that it was the frontline of a battle zone and that whoever was sent there as a porter would have their limbs blown off and be forced to live as an invalid, if they were not killed in the fighting.

At about 9:00pm, the detained NLD members were taken back to Penwegone by car. They arrived there at 11:00pm and the army released them, ordering them to return to their homes at their own expense. It is believed that the army is intending to use members of the NLD as porters. (*Source: Inside*)

Taungoo District, Pegu Division

On the night of February 21, 1997, all the members of the Taungoo township Organizing Committee were arrested in their homes. Other NLD members reported that military officers, police and Military Intelligence Service (MIS) personnel carried out the raids. One of the detainees was U Aung Soe Myint, an elected representative of the NLD. The authorities also detained Daw Kyin Sein, Daw Phwa Sein, Daw Htay Htay Win and Daw Khin Than, all of whom were women. They were released on the next day. U Aung Soe Myint managed to get away by jumping from the car. All males including U Myat Thu, chairman of the Taungoo township NLD Organizing Committee, U Saw Tun Nwe, Vice-chairman of Taungoo NLD Organizing Committee, U Maung Maung, Vice-chairman of the Taungoo NLD Organizing Committee, U Tin Maung Win, Joint-secretary, township Organizing Committee, U Myint Thein, Finance Director, U Thet Tun, U Kyaw Win, U Tin Thaug, U Kyaw Myint, U Tun Tin, U Tin Soe, U Pe Win and U Kyaw Kyaw Win, U Tin Win Ko, U Tin Myint Htwe, U Kyaw Kyaw Lwin, U Min Thu and Ko Moe Makha. were taken by army vehicles to Thandaung. Similarly, eleven people from Oaktwin township including U Maung Maung San and U Ko Lay from Yedashe township in Pegu division, were also taken away. It is thought that these people have been taken away to act as porters in the latest military action against the KNU. U Saw Htun Nwe, a 75-year-old Karen national died of fatigue as a result of his age. His dead body was found on the roadside later. Later it was learnt that U Min Thu, U Maung Maung San and U Ko Lay also died during portage. (*Source: Inside*)

11.2.2.5. Singling out and Revoking medical license for being a NLD member

Kyauktan township, Rangoon Division

At about 7:00pm on February 21, 1997, police from Thaketa township detained Dr. Than Nyein, an elected representative of the NLD from Kyauktan Constituency-1. Dr. Than Nyein has been charged with violating Article 9(1) C of the 1972 Burma Health Act.

On January 20, 1997, Dr. Than Nyein, Vice-Chairman of the Rangoon Division Organizing Committee and leader of the Kyauktan Township Organizing Committee, paid a registration fee of 200 *kyats* to open a private clinic as required by government regulations. His clinic was at 38 Zeya Mingla Road, Thaketa township and he was opening it to earn money to support his family.

On February 16, the Thaketa township police chief and town health authorities went to his clinic when he was out and placed a lock on his cupboard where he stored his medicines. The same officials returned to his clinic the following day with about 15 people while Dr. Than Nyein was not there. They opened the clinic with duplicated keys and confiscated his medicines and medical equipment. At 7:00pm on February 21, the authorities arrested Dr. Than Nyein at his home and held him at Thaketa police station. That morning a meeting had been held at the office of the Township LORC in Thanlyin regarding the registration of private clinics. The Thanlyin District Medical Chief told all the prospective operators of new clinics that the decision to allow them to open their clinics had not been given to doctors to open the clinics yet, even though they had all paid their registration fees.

Because the doctors had already opened their clinics without official permission, it is clear that they were operating illegally. It is also clear that Dr. Than Nyein was singled out and wrongfully charged by the authorities while the other doctors were left alone. (*Source: Inside*)

Mingla Taungnyunt township, Rangoon Division

On February 21, 1997, Dr. Than Aung, elected representative of the NLD from Mingla Taungnyunt township, Rangoon Division, was arrested at his home by the authorities. He was charged with violating Article 304(a) for allegedly causing the death of a patient. Dr. Than Aung is a medical doctor and a professional who knows his practice well.

At about 7:00pm on February 17, 1997, he treated a seriously ill patient who was suffering from tuberculosis and asthma. He gave the patient Cardamide, a “lifesaving medicine” as it is locally known, and told his family to take him to the hospital’s emergency unit. When the patient suffered another attack and returned to the clinic, Dr. Than Aung again instructed the family to take him to the hospital.

The following day the patient was taken to Rangoon General Hospital, but unfortunately, the hospital was not accepting any patients that day. The patient was then taken to the new Rangoon General Hospital, known locally as the Japanese Hospital. However, the taxi which was taking him had a flat tyre and at approximately 9:00 p.m. the patient died, never having reached the hospital.

The local LORC and USDA officials informed the local military unit of the incident and the police arrested Dr. Than Aung for causing the death of the man. He was pursued because he is an elected representative of the NLD. (*Source: Inside*)

11.2.2.6. Forced Removal of NLD party Signboard

The NLD signboard has been a matter of contention since the founding of the Party in 1988. When NLD offices, with their distinctive signboards, spread across the country after the party was registered in September 1988, a SLORC/SPDC regulation was promulgated forbidding village party offices from erecting signboards. After a discussion between leaders of the NLD and the Multi-party Elections Committee in January 1989, it was agreed that signboards could be retained in village offices where they had already been erected or where applications were already been made to the relevant authorities to establish an office and erect a signboard. In spite of this agreement, SLORC/SPDC authorities have continued to harass the NLD over the signboards, as it is seen as a strong symbol of public support for the party and of defiance in the face of intense persecution. A concerted effort was made by local authorities to remove all NLD signboards from their offices.

Lashio, Shan State

The NLD sign which had been temporarily taken down from the previous NLD office on Kyar Nyo Road in Quarter-3, Lashio, Shan State, was reinstalled at the new NLD office at U Sai Myint Maung’s house, (U Sai Myint Maung is one of the elected representatives of the NLD from Lashio). This was done after the monthly meeting of the Lashio township NLD Organizing Committee.

On February 20, 1997, NLD officials told the town authorities that they were constructing a sin, and informed the branches of the Shan State Election Commission and the Lashio Township Election commission. Having done this, the NLD installed the sign for the Shan State Organizing Committee at 5:00 a.m., on

February 22, 1997. However, the sign was destroyed later that same day. The NLD members told the party leadership the following details regarding the matter.

U Ba Aye, chairman of the Quarter LORC arrived at the house of U Sai Myint Maung at 10:00am and demanded that the NLD sign be dismantled. He told the NLD officials that the sign had been installed without informing the Quarter LORC. He went on to say that he did not want to see the sign, and nor did the people in the quarter, and that the sign should be dismantled until higher authorities permitted its installation. Finally, he made it clear that he would not be responsible if people in the area did something to the sign. He came to the NLD office a total of four times and on each occasion he was accompanied by the members of the Quarter LORC.

U Sai Myint Maung replied to U Ba Aye that in accordance with instructions from NLD headquarters, U Sai Myint Maung had informed the authorities about the reinstallation of the NLD sign at his house, which was to be used as the new NLD office. He also read the letter to the LORC officials out loud.

He then asked U Ba Aye if he had the power to give him permission to reinstall the sign. U Sai Myint Maung wanted to know who had the authority to give him permission. When the LORC chairman could not grant permission to reinstall the sign, U Sai Myint Maung asked him to get in touch with higher authorities who would be able to do so.

He told the LORC official that he wanted to see proof that he was not allowed to install the sign. He asked the LORC official to read him a letter of authorization stating that he could not reinstall the sign, and said that he would comply with such an order if it existed. He then stated that he would even go and see the LORC chairman to discuss the matter.

The LORC chairman told U Sai Myint Maung that he had no authority over the matter, and that he did not know who had the necessary authority. He told them that the sign had to be taken down right away and reinstalled only when his superiors permitted it.

U Ba Aye returned to the NLD office at 11:15am with 15 other people. Yelling and screaming, they destroyed the sign by hurling rocks at it. Then they brought bamboo poles from near the Quarter LORC's office and took down what remained of the sign. Although the NLD officials phoned the local MIS unit, the special branch and the police about the destruction of the sign, no authorities came to help. (*Source:Inside*)

11.2.2.7. Verbal and physical abuses to the NLD members

Kyaunggone, Irrawaddy Division

The Kyaunggone Township Organizing Committee of the NLD held a meeting on February 15, 1997. Chairmen from the NLD Village Organizing Committee also attended the meeting. While it was in process, at about 2:30pm, a member of the MIS officer named Ko Win Myint shouted, “Mother fuckers” and hit U San Shein, one of the chairmen of the Village Organizing Committee. When Dr. Hla Win, an elected representative of the NLD, tried to intervene, MIS officer Win Myint shouted at him, “Shut the fuck up” and punched him in the face. The other officers then kicked and beat him after he fell to the floor.

The police and MIS officers then repeatedly beat other elected representatives U Saw Lwin, U Mahn Tin Win, Chairman of the Township Organizing Committee, U Wa Tote, and U Thein Han and U Myint Aung, Chairman of the Village Organizing Committee. Subsequently, two elected representatives of the NLD were handcuffed and taken to the Kyaunggon police station along with 14 other NLD officials.

At approximately 10:00 a.m. on February 17, ten NLD officials were released after signing papers, while the police continued to detain the remaining six officials. These detainees were the two elected representatives and U Mahn Tin Win, U San Shein, U Wa Toke and U Thein Han. (*Source: Inside*)

11.2.2.8. Extra-judicial arrest of NLD MP

Pantanaw, Irrawaddy Division

On February 19, 1997, Dr. Tin Min Htut, an elected representative of the NLD from Pantanaw, was arrested. The Pantanaw Township LORC summoned officials from all departments of the town and asked them if Dr. Tin Min Htut had violated any law. The Township LORC asked them if he had regularly paid his bills for water, electricity, sanitation, radio, post and telegram, and his taxes for his cassette player, land and income. When the LORC could not find fault with him the town’s police chief ordered a search of Dr. Tin Min Htut’s house. He ordered his men to find anything that could incriminate the NLD representative. The police could not find any substantial evidence of wrongdoing. However, they found two Singaporean coins in a small toy cup Dr. Tin Min Htut’s son was playing with. Dr. Tin Min Htut was then arrested for illegal possession of a foreign currency. Although he was detained for over one month and later released, this arrest is a clear case of illegal entrapment by the authorities. (*Source: Inside*)

11.2.2.9. Harassment on the Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's meetings with NLD youth

As the NLD Central Executive Committee assigned the task of organizing the Youth Affairs Wing of the NLD to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, she has arranged to organize the meetings with the NLD Youth wings in townships in Rangoon since late 1997.

Her first meeting was on October 21, 1997, with the NLD Youth in Thaketa township, Rangoon Division. She traveled to Thaketa in order to meet the NLD youth members. The authorities did not prevent her from holding the meeting at Thaketa, but the following planned meetings were prevented. Many NLD members who helped arrange the meetings were detained. The meeting on October 28, 1997 in Mayangon NLD township was blocked with barricades and armed police. Similarly on November 5, 1997, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was barred from leaving her Rangoon residence to attend a planned party meeting in Tamwe township NLD office. About 50 NLD members in the office were also arrested.

Meeting with Myayangon NLD members

On the morning of October 28, the NLD attempted to hold a meeting at its Mayangone township office on the outskirts of Rangoon. However, the security forces set up barricades and blocked Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's supporters from meeting with her. This meeting had been planned in order to reorganize the Mayangon township's NLD youth wing.

On the morning, before NLD leaders including the Chairman, Deputy Chairmen and General Secretary together with the responsible persons arrived at the Mayangon NLD office, they were prevented from proceeding by the authorities. The group then dispersed into smaller groups. The first group comprising the Chairman, Deputy Chairman U Tin Oo, the General Secretary, and Youth members were at the corner of Kaba-aye road and Gandama road, half a kilometer from the office. The second group, comprising U Kyi Maung, Deputy Chairman, U Soe Myint, Chairman of Rangoon Division, Dr. Than Nyunt, Deputy Chairman, Dr. May Win Myint, member of Central Women's Affairs, and members of the Youth Wing were harshly reprimanded and made to board vehicles that were standing by and driven to Shweta-kaw in Hlaing township, which is a burial ground. The group then returned to their respective homes having made their own arrangements. The third group comprised members of the youth wing from Mayangon NLD who had arrived at the office prior to the blockade. This group was forced on to buses arranged by the authorities and driven to the following destinations: the roadside of Rangoon-Nyaungdon motor road in Htantabin township, Kyunkalay village in Hlegu township and Pale Myothit, Kantala village in Mingladon township. Without any protest or demonstration, these people peacefully returned to their homes making their own arrangements.

On the night of October 28, Daw May Win Myint, NLD Divisional Organizer and also a Member of Parliament elect from Mayangone township, was arrested by Military Intelligence officers after they had taken documents from her. Also at 10pm, Khin Maung Myint, NLD Central Youth member and Secretary of Latha township, was arrested by a combined force of Military Intelligence and other security personnel. Daw San San, the NLD Seikkan township MP elect and Divisional Vice-chairperson and NLD womens' leader, was arrested at midnight after document were taken from her. At the same time, Win Win Htay, a member of the Rangoon NLD Youth Division, was arrested after security forces seized documents from her. U Soe Myint, the Chairman of the Taketa township NLD, was arrested at 1am on October 29. One and half hours later, Dr. Than Nyein, an MP-elect from Kyauktan township, was arrested after a combined group of Military Intelligence and other security forces confiscated documents from his home. U Win Thauung, Chairman of the Mayangon NLD, was arrested sometime later in the evening of October 28 or in the early hours of October 29. U Mya Thauung, who is the landlord of the Mayangon NLD office, was also arrested at around the same time.

No information is given to the relatives or the head office about the whereabouts or health of these people who were arrested. The SLORC/SPDC authorities gave no information to the NLD as to why these persons were arrested or where and when they would be sent up to trial. Their family members along with the lawyers were denied admission to the court. Six of them except Khin Maung Myint and Daw San San. Khin Maung Myint was sentenced to seven years of both Section 5 (J) and Section 16 (A) of the 1986 Gambling Act. The authorities did not inform the relatives or their lawyers of the sentence they had passed. It was later learnt that Daw San San was being detained under Section 10(a) of the Law to safeguard the country from people who intend to disrupt and destroy it. (*Source: Inside*)

Meeting with Tamwe township NLD members

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi planned to hold a meeting with the NLD youth wing in Tamwe township in Rangoon Division on November 5, 1997. However, she was barred from leaving her Rangoon residence to attend a planned party meeting. Armed security forces were deployed around and riot police and plain-clothes military intelligence were manning entries to the NLD's office in Tamwe township. About 50 members of Tamwe township NLD Women Branch and Youth Wing who were present at the NLD office were arrested. They were temporarily detained and released later.

11.2.3. No Free and Independent Trade Unions

Since 1962 when General Ne Win staged a coup, all democratic rights including freedom of association were denied. Unions were no longer considered legal entities. All independent labor unions were replaced with government-controlled worker associations.

Workers do not have the right to organize and bargain collectively to set wages and benefits. The SLORC/SPDC's Central Arbitration Board, which theoretically provides a means for settling major labor disputes, continues to exist on paper but in practice is dormant. The regime unilaterally set wages in the public sector. In the private sector, market forces set wages. The regime put pressure to joint ventures not to pay salaries more than those employed by ministries or other high-level government employees. The minimum wage is insufficient to provide a decent standard of living for a worker and family. In particular, the low level of remuneration of public employment fosters widespread corruption.

In 1955, Burma freely ratified ILO Convention No.87 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize. However, workers in Burma do not enjoy the right to join organizations outside SLORC/SPDC's existing structure. Furthermore, no Burmese organizations are permitted to join international federations or to affiliate with international organizations without SLORC/SPDC's permission. The free trade unions are not allowed to function in the country, and workers identified with the exile Free Trade Unions of Burma were under constant surveillance by the police and the Military Intelligence in permanent fear of arrest and torture.

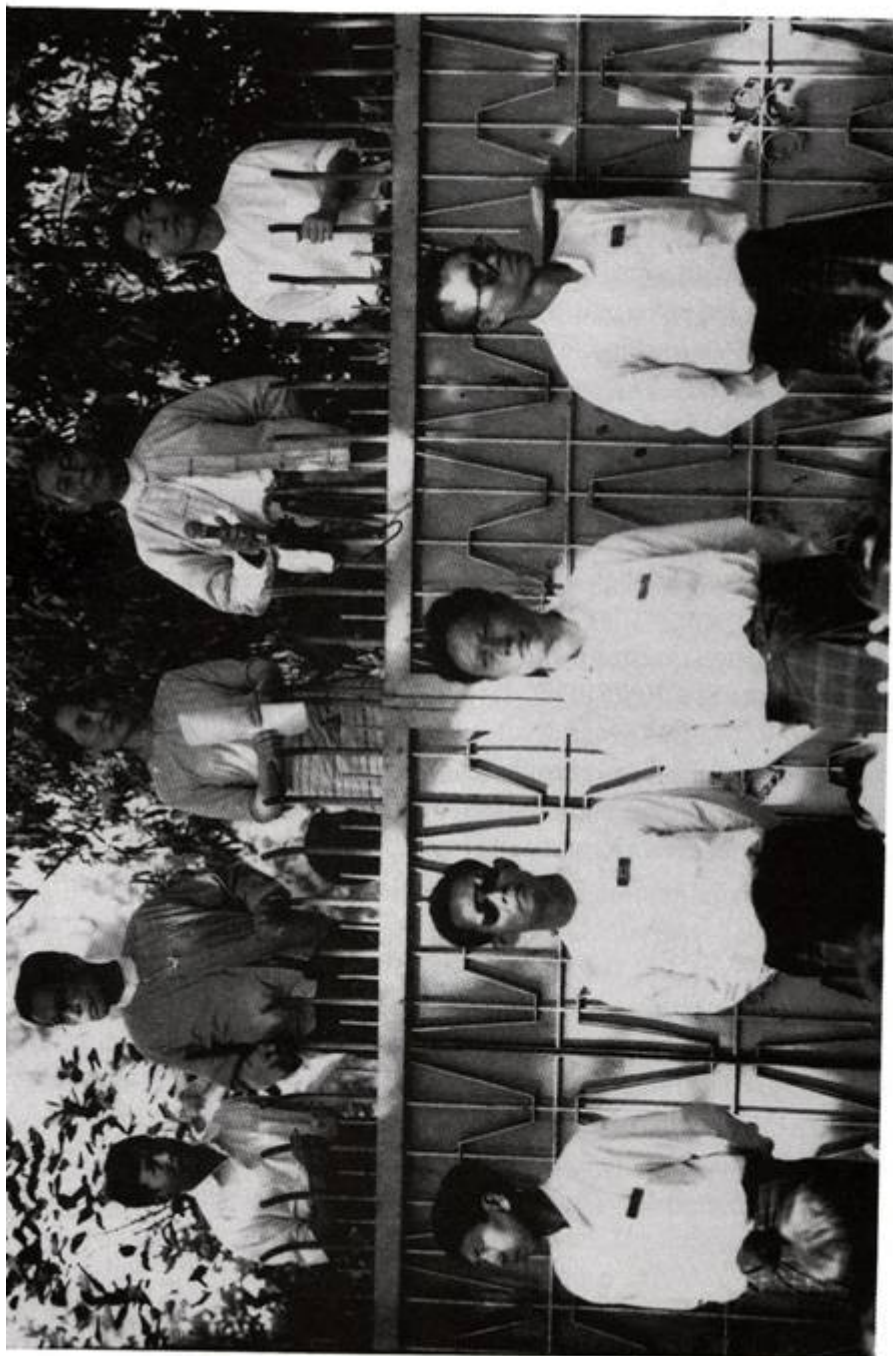
The situation in Burma was examined by the ILO committee the Application of Standards at the eighty-fifth session of the ILO Conference held in July 1997 at Geneva. Regarding the application by Burma of ILO Convention No.87, the Committee took note of the statement of the Burmese authority representative indicating the SLORC/SPDC's commitment to harmonize law and practice with the Convention in promoting and protecting the legitimate rights of all workers. In March 1997, the Governing Body of the ILO decided to refer the complaint to a Commission of Inquiry chaired by Sir William Douglas (Barbados). The Commission's mandate is to consider whether, and to what extent, the alleged violations exist or existed and to make any recommendations it deems appropriate. The Commission held its first meeting in June 1997 to establish its rules of procedure.

11.2.4. SLORC/SPDC-run NGOs in Burma

Founded in 1949, Burma's oldest non-governmental organization (NGO), the Myanmar Medical Association (MMA), began as a professional association. It currently boasts over 6,000 members, with 50 branches at the township or state/divisional levels. Consisting of physicians from both the public and private sectors, the MMA was pulled into the government's orbit when senior BSPP officials in the Ministry of Health took up key leadership posts in its governing hierarchy. Today, many health workers feel that the MMA has yet to reestablish its independence under the present PSDC authorities.

The other NGOs, the Myanmar Red Cross (MRC) and the Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association (MMCWA) have closer links with the government and Ministry of Health. With over 180,000 volunteer members, the MRC is supported by public donations and government funds and is supposed to have branches in each of the country's 319 townships. The independence of MRC is in question when SLORC/SPDC Secretary-2 Gen. Tin Oo Gen. Tin U spoke of the aim of Red Cross to carry out relief tasks for the victims of natural disasters, and noted that one of the seven future tasks of Red Cross is to train the members to be ready to discharge duties as auxiliary forces for maintenance of peace and tranquillity of the nation in addition to their primary duty of providing health care services, at the first aid kits donation ceremony on October 27, 1997.

Similarly, critics often questions the MMCWA's NGO status given its intimate association with the SLORC/SPDC. Its joint General-Secretary (a doctor) is the wife of the SLORC/SPDC Secretary-1, Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt; the President is the wife of Col. Pe Thein, the former health minister; and the Vice-President is the sister of the late Dr. Maung Maung, a leading BSPP functionary and, originally, one of the Ne Win's chosen successors as party chairman.



This "People's Forum" where Burmese people briefly enjoyed their freedom of opinion and expression, has now been banned. (Photo by N. Dunlop)

12. Freedom of Movement

12.1. Background

Citizens could travel freely within the country except for limitations in areas of ethnic armed activities, but have to notify local authorities of their whereabouts. All citizens are required to inform the authorities of their movement within the country. The authorities closely monitor the travel and activities of many citizens, particularly those known to be politically active. The names of overnight guests must be reported to and registered with the local authorities. Authorities sometimes enter homes during night hours to check registration documents of occupants as a form of monitoring personal movements.

Leaving the country (legally) requires the possession of specific government authorization, which it is extremely difficult to obtain. The SLORC/SPDC carefully scrutinizes prospective travel abroad. This produces rampant corruption as many applicants are forced to pay large bribes to obtain passports to which they are otherwise entitled. The official board that reviews passport applications denies in some cases apparently on political ground. All college and higher education graduates who obtain passport (except for certain government employees) are required to pay a special education clearance fee to reimburse the Government. The authorities on occasion restrict the issuance of passports to young female applicants seeking work abroad, reportedly to prevent young women from being enticed to travel abroad for jobs that are in fact in the commercial sex industry. Each time Burmese citizens come back to the country, they are required to return their passports to the authorities; a passport application must be submitted each time they want to travel outside the country.

Restrictions on foreign travelers have been eased as part of an effort to promote tourism. Burmese embassies issue tourist visas, valid for one month, within 24 hours of application. However, select categories of applicants, such as foreign human rights advocates, journalists and political figures, continue to be denied entry visas unless traveling under the aegis of a sponsor acceptable to the SLORC/SPDC, and for purpose approved by the authorities. Although some areas of the country remain closed to foreigners for security reasons, the authorities permit travel to most other destinations. Rangoon-based diplomats generally must apply ten days in advance for travel outside the capital.

12.2. Restriction on the Movement of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

Since late 1996, the authorities have prohibited the weekend gatherings in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's residence at which she and other NLD leaders formerly responded to letters from the public and delivered speeches. Military barricades set up in late 1996 on the road leading to her house maintained until May 1997. After that army checkpoints remains in place near her house, and at a times of high tension the barricades reappear. Her freedom to leave her compound or to receive visitors is severely restricted. For most of the year, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remains under virtual house arrest, having to ask for permission to leave her home in order to meet local and international media.

In 1997, NLD was allowed to hold some celebratory gatherings, but with harassment to the participants by the security personnel. On January 4, some 1,000 NLD party members and guest marked the forty-ninth anniversary of Burma's Independence. On February 12, the NLD held Union Day celebrations at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house, although a military barricade prevented at least half of the guests from attending. On the next day, some NLD members who played a prominent role at the celebrations were arrested. In April, the NLD held New Year celebrations attended by some 600 supporters. All of whom had to register at the military checkpoint outside of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house.

On May 27, NLD attempted to hold a party congress as an anniversary of the May 1990 election victory. Some 316 NLD members were prevented from attending the gathering, though few were actually detained. Those few were held in government guest houses for up to two weeks, while others were placed under temporary house arrest or otherwise warned not to go to Rangoon.

On September 28, the NLD was permitted to hold a ceremony marking the ninth anniversary of the founding of the party. While the SLORC/SPDC gave express permission to allow 300 members to attend, some 700 were reported to have arrived at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house. All those attending had to give their personal details to military intelligence officers at the house, and some thirty NLD activists were denied permission to attend and were removed from the area.

On October 21, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, accompanied by NLD Chairman U Tin Oo, Central Executive Committee member U Soe Myint and some elected NLD representatives, went to Thakata Township to organize the NLD Youth wing. This was her first trip outside the capital since being released from her house arrest. Her second organizing trip on October 28 was disturbed by the authorities. On the morning of October 28, the NLD attempted to hold a meeting at its Mayangone

township office on the outskirts of Rangoon. However, the security forces set up barricades and blocked Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's supporters from meeting with her. This meeting had been planned in order to reorganize the Mayangon township's NLD youth wing. A number of them were rounded up and trucked several miles away where they were then released. Riot police scuffled with a dozen of NLD supporters and prevented them from meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was barred by the authorities from leaving her residence to attend the planned party meeting in Tamwe township NLD office on November 5. In the statement of the SLORC, it said "In order to prevent any unnecessary incidents from taking place the NLD Tamwe Township representatives have been informed by the relevant authorities to refrain from holding unauthorized outdoor political rallies in the township on November 5. It is also learnt that Daw Su Kyi's effort to attend the Tamwe Township NLD rally has been prevented from realization."

Riot police put up barbed wire and spikes outside the Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's home to stop her from going to an NLD meeting in Hlaing township, Rangoon on November 13. Witnesses and party members said senior NLD members were also not allowed to pass through the barbed wire -- put up by traffic police -- to enter Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's home.

NLD protested strongly to SLORC for barring her way. But SLORC said in a statement that it stopped her from leaving her residence because the NLD intended to damage peace and stability by driving around in procession in downtown Rangoon. "Close and careful observation of the movement's activities clearly revealed the underlying ulterior motive and plan to proceed with a huge crowd in a convoy of cars to disrupt the peace and tranquillity of the city," the SLORC said. "Such a situation cannot be tolerated or condoned. Thus to prevent further aggravation of the problem, University Avenue had been sealed off and Daw Suu Kyi requested not to proceed to the NLD office," it added.

12.3. Restriction on the Movement of Rohingya

It is virtually impossible for Muslims to move within Arakan State or to other parts of Burma from Arakan State. Rohingya (Bengali-speaking Muslims) who would like to travel outside their villages must apply to the local LORC, which passes the request on to the nearest administrative base. The Immigration and Manpower Department, police, riot police, military intelligence, and customs department all have to agree to the individual request. In most cases, passes are only granted for a twelve-hour period; only on a rare occasion are Muslims permitted to stay outside their villages overnight. To travel further -- for instance to the township capitals at Maungdaw or Buthidaung or the state capital at Sittwe -- is virtually impossible.

The SLORC has issued a new restrictive rules for the Muslims. According to a new travel regulation enforced since September 15, 1997, a Muslim traveler must obtain -- 1) a travel recommendation from concerned village chairman citing the reason of his travel; 2) a residency certificate on that document signed by the local immigration official; 3) an additional recommendation to be obtained from the township LORC and finally 4) a travel permit from the district LORC chairman who would issue it after examining whether No.1,2,3 have been properly followed.

A Muslim has to spend 1,500 *kyats* as lubricant to obtain a travel pass. Besides Border Police at the Buthidaung jetty takes 250 *kyats* as unofficial embarkation fee while the immigration at Akyab jetty demand 200 *kyats* per head as disembarkation fee. Due to the enforcement of the new rule, the number of Muslim passengers from Arakan north has drastically fallen. (*Source: RSO*)

13. Abuse of Women

13.1. Background

Burma's military regime violates the human rights of both men and women indiscriminately. However, Burmese women are violated by the regime in a number of ways that are gender specific. In addition to the kinds of human rights abuses that both men and women in Burma face, the following will pay special attention to the particular abuses of women's rights.

Burma ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in Burma on August 21, 1997. However, discrimination against women has continued throughout 1997. Gender discrimination in Burma severely restricts women's rights to express their legitimate interest in social and political affairs. Ethnic women -- are particularly vulnerable under the SLORC/SPDC regime.

According to UNICEF's "1995 Children and Women in Myanmar" report, although "the comparatively high status of women is codified in Burmese Buddhist customary law . . . male predominance is widely accepted in most walks of life." There are many indicators of male dominance and female subordination throughout Burmese society. Women and girls are educated less frequently, leading to a higher literacy rate for men than women. Women also have less access to power and a decreased ability to make and implement policy, as evidenced by the fact that relatively few women serve in important government positions. Almost every high government official is a former or current military officer, and all of these are men. The military regime masculinist ideology prevents women's participation at the highest levels of power in Burma. Women are frequently exploited sexually and economically, demonstrated by a growing sex industry in Burma. Highly restrictive access to contraception and abortion means that women lack control over their reproductive health. Additionally, women are either excluded from the official workforce or relegated to low-paying, unskilled jobs in the national economy, as indicated by official statistics.

In the National Report to the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, SLORC/SPDC highlighted four specific laws ensuring women's well-being: 1) the 1954 Buddhist Women's Special Marriage and Inheritance Act; 2) the 1949 Suppression of Prostitution Act, which claims to "protect women from being ordered or coerced into prostitution;" 3) the Maternal and Child Welfare Association Law, which "provides protection and support in social and health care for mothers, children, and the family;" 4) and the Nursing and Midwifery Law, providing for

licensing and training. Unfortunately, these laws are largely ineffective. The sex industry, rather than shrinking, has increased. The general health of children has declined drastically, infant mortality rates have skyrocketed, and adult life expectancy rates have decreased. If the laws were truly enforced, some of the basic conditions of women's lives might be improved.

13.2. Women in Politics

Like men, Burmese women who become politically active are harassed and arbitrarily arrested especially those who belong to parties or movements in opposition to the regime. Moreover, those who directly confront SLORC/SPDC's political system by demanding certain freedoms are arrested and brutally treated. The situation of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the most prominent leader of democracy in Burma, illustrates the discrimination that political women must endure. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is severely restricted in her ability to move freely. The military regime routinely slanders her. By harassing and restricting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in these ways, the SLORC/SPDC clearly violates the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women."

Despite ratifying the Women's Rights Convention, a number of well-known women political prisoners remain in detention and more women politicians have been arrested and sentenced to long term imprisonment this year. The treatment and health conditions of women political prisoners are of great concern because many abuses against women prisoners take place and health problems are common in Burma's prisons. Female prisoners in Burma are usually mistreated and their health ignored. Testimony from former women prisoners states that a number of them were forced to give birth in their cells without medical assistance.

13.3. Women Political Prisoners Behind Bars

Dr. Ma Thida and ten other NLD members were arrested in July 1993 and held incommunicado before being brought to trial on October 15, 1993. They were charged with "endangering public tranquility" under Section 5(j) of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act, "having contact with unlawful associations" under Section 17 (1) of the 1908 Unlawful Associations Act, and "distributing unlawful literature" under Sections 17 and 20 of the 1962 Printers and Publishers Registration Act. Dr. Ma Thida and her colleagues were sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Dr. Ma Thida was a former campaign assistant for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. At the time of her arrest she was working at the Muslim Free Hospital in Rangoon. She is an accomplished writer. Her body of work includes a number of short stories and several novels, none of which have been published in Burma. Although she was

recently given official permission to publish her latest novel, she has been prevented from doing so.

Dr. Ma Thida is currently being held in solitary confinement in Insein prison with no access to reading or writing materials. She has suffered from failing health since the beginning of her detention; her maladies include digestive problems, tuberculosis, and ovarian tumors that may require surgery. The medical treatment in Insein prison is negligible. Although she reportedly has recovered from tuberculosis, she is still not receiving appropriate medical care for her other ailments.

Daw San San Nwe, a 51-year-old NLD member and well-known journalist, was arrested in Rangoon on August 4 or 5, 1994. A widow with four children, she, her daughter, Myat Mo Mo Htun, and two other political leaders, were arrested. According to the military regime, the four were detained for passing information “critical of the government” to foreign journalists and diplomats in order to make foreign governments “misunderstand the SLORC government.” They were also accused of sending information to the UN Special Rapporteur on Burma.

On October 6, 1994, Daw San San Nwe was sentenced to seven years in prison under Section 59(E) of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act for spreading false information, and three years in prison under Section 17(1) of the Unlawful Associations Act for membership or contact with illegal organizations. She had already been arrested in July 1989 during one of SLORC’s nationwide crackdowns on political opposition. Her writing has been banned in Burma since the beginning of the 1988 democracy movement.

13.4. 1997 Arrests of Female Activists

During 1997, many women political activists including women elected-MP were arrested, detained, and sentenced to long term imprisonment for their political activities and support of the NLD.

- On February 11, 1997, eleven men and six women left Prome, Burma, were travelling by train, to attend the NLD Union Day in Rangoon. Soldiers and policemen boarded the train at Tharawaddy station and arrested fifteen of the NLD members (two of the women were not arrested). The prisoners were taken to the headquarters of the 35th Regiment. The arrested women were Daw Myint Myint Khin, Daw Tin Hlaing, Daw Than Than Nu, and Daw Aye Mya San. (source: SAIN)

- On June 13, 1997, five NLD activists including a cousin and assistant of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were arrested. They were U Ohn Myint, an eighty-year-old NLD party advisor, Khin Maung Win (also known as Sonny), a photographer, U Cho Aung Than, a cousin and assistant of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, his sister Daw Nge Ma Ma Than, and her husband U Myint Swe. In a press conference on June 27, Lt. Gen. Khin Nyunt accused the group of collaborating with “overseas anti-government activists and advocates of destruction within the country” to bring in money for the NLD, and to smuggle Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s video message out of the country. On August 15, 1997, a court inside Insein prison sentenced U Cho Aung Than, Daw Nge Ma Ma Than, and U Myint Swe to ten years under the Unlawful Associations Act and the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act, section 5(e), which allows for seven years of imprisonment. (*Source: Inside*)
- On the night of October 28, 1997, Daw May Win Myint, NLD Divisional Organizer and Member of Parliament elect from Mayangone Township, was arrested by Military Intelligence officers after they had taken documents from her. She was sentenced to seven years on December 2, 1997.
- On the night of October 28, 1997, Win Win Htay, a member of the Rangoon NLD Youth Division, was arrested after security forces seized documents from her. She was also sentenced to seven years imprisonment on December 2, 1997.
- On October 28, 1997, Daw San San, the NLD Seikkan Township MP elect and Divisional Vice-chairperson and NLD women’s leader was arrested at midnight after documents were taken from her. Daw San San is an NLD member and is the elected MP from Seikkan Township, Rangoon Division. She was first arrested in November 1990 and was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment under Penal Code Section 122, for “high treason.” She was, however, released on May 1, 1992 due to an amnesty. During her first detention, the military regime dismissed her as a Member of Parliament and banned her from running in any future elections. The regime arrested and detained Daw San San under Section 10(a) of the 1975 State Protection Act in November 1997, but in April this year she was charged under the 1923 Official Secrets Act. Daw San San was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for being accused of distributing false information domestically and internationally, but the term was increased to 25 years when she refused to pledge that she would refrain from further political activities. No one has been allowed to see her since her sentencing.

13.5. Women and Forced Labor

Women, children and the elderly are used extensively for all forms of forced labor. Increasing numbers of women, including young girls and the elderly, have been forced to work on infrastructure projects and to act as porters in war zones. Such uncompensated forced labor continues despite Burma's ratification of ILO Convention No.29 Concerning Forced or Compulsory Labor. For the various development and infrastructure projects, women are recruited by force, even when they are pregnant or nursing their infants. Those who are too weak for the strenuous work have to hire another person or face fines. While away, the women cannot work their farms, which results in a food shortage for their families. On the work-site, women, like men, risk exhaustion, increased accidents, and lack medical treatment. They are also victims of many other serious human rights violations, such as beating, rape, and murder.

When SLORC/SPDC troops descend upon a village or market to obtain porters, they tend to prefer able-bodied men (SLORC/SPDC generally considers men ages 15 to 65 to be "able-bodied"), but if there are not enough, they will take whomever they can catch, ranging in age from 12 to 70. In many villages in or near conflict areas, the village men go into hiding to avoid random torture or arrest as porters by SLORC/SPDC troops. With the men gone, the women, children, and elderly stay in the village to protect their homes and belongings from the looting soldiers. When troops storm a village looking for porters and only find women, they become angry and generally arrest the women accusing them of being "wives of rebels." When this happens, they physically abuse them and/or take them as porters. Furthermore, some battalions deliberately take women as porters during military operations where they are forced to carry heavy loads, are beaten at will, and are kept separately from the men to be raped at gunpoint by any soldier who desires them.

- On February 16, 1997, SLORC soldiers from LIB. 431 and IB. 104 drafted 30 porters from Pyatha Chaung, Karen State, 25 of which were women, following a clash with KNU troops near the village. The porters were ordered to carry the soldiers' back-packs, and the women had to wash the soldiers' clothes and cook for them during the fighting and marching. SLORC troop also drafted another batch of porters between Pyatha Chaung and Phaungdaw villages, comprising of 10 women and a 60-year-old Karen man. (*Source: ABSDF*)

- On July 24, 1997, troops, led by Tint Lwin Oo, from SLORC IB. 55 came to Ber-gor-doe village in Taungoo district, Karen State, and ate as well as destroyed the villagers' live-stock and food supply. They seized all of the women in Keepla-doe and Cor-say-ko villages, including young girls and nursing mothers, and forced them to carry supplies to Koe-mor-doe village on July 27, 1997. While in Koe-mor-doe, the troops held the women in the village church building and then forced them to relieve themselves, thereby desecrating the holy site. This was extremely distressing to all of the villagers. (*Source: KIC*)
- On March 27, 1997, approximately 150 SLORC soldiers from LIB. 548 and the DKBA arrived at Thwahta to round up villagers to use as porters. A pregnant woman was beaten for failing to bring her husband Saw Pulaw Pho, a former member of the KNU, to the soldiers. Naw Pulaw, the wife of village leader Saw Maung Kyaing, was forced to strip naked in front of the remaining female villagers while a soldier poked her genitals with the barrel of his gun. When they left the following day, the SLORC and DKBA troops took the pregnant women and several other young Karen women from the village to be used as porters. The women were forced to carry heavy loads of supplies, were beaten if they staggered or could not walk, and were abandoned in the jungle when the beatings they received or exhaustion rendered them unconscious. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- From July 7 to August 1, 1997, in Kyauk-kyi Township, SLORC troops from IB. 60 and LIB. 351 seized 20 women and held them ransom at the rate of 600 *kyats* per person. Ma-lad-daw villagers were forced to relocate to Tha-beayneant and then were charged 10 *kyats* per person per day, to return and look after their plantations and orchards. (*Source: KIC*)
- At midnight on September 4, 1997, Daw Pain (45), wife of a KNLA soldier, her daughter Naw Par Mi (17), and her son Maung Tin Shwe (20), of Kway-toezeit village tract, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi Township, Karen State, were taken hostage by the soldiers from IB. 30 based at Than-byu-za-yart. Maung Tin Shwe was kicked in the face. (*Source: PDF*)
- On December 6, 1997, a military column from IB. 341 led by Major Aung Thein arrived at Naku Palaw village in Papun Township, Karen State, and burned it down. When the column first entered, all of the villagers fled, except Khe Htoo Pee, a 70-year-old blind woman who was left behind. The soldiers tied her to her house and burned her alive. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- On December 7, 1997, a military column from IB. 341 led by Major Aung Thein arrived at Law Mu Hta village, Papun Township, Karen State. The soldiers forcibly took five Karen girls, one of whom was a woman, 33-year-old Naw

Phawra, while they were working their farms outside of the village. The five were gang-raped and then killed by the soldiers. Their dead bodies were found on a hill. (*Source: ABSDF*)

For Army Camp labor, most units will take either men or women to help build bunkers and erect fences, but women are often specifically used for servant labor such as cooking, cleaning, and sewing. They are generally forced to stay at the camp during their multi-day shifts and many are raped or otherwise sexually abused and harassed. SLORC soldiers tend to prefer to use young unmarried women as porters and for camp labor. These women are afraid to tell anyone when they have been raped because they fear that it will destroy their chances for marriage. Those who become pregnant from rape during forced labor often die or permanently injure themselves trying to induce or give themselves abortions.

13.6. Rape and Sexual Violence by the Military

Inside Burma, and particularly along its borders, the military rapes women under a variety of circumstances. Women are raped both in their villages and during flight. They are subjected to rape and other sexual abuses as they engage in forced labor or serve as porters for the SLORC/SPDC army. They are lured into army camps under assorted pretexts, raped, and sometimes released. They are coerced into marrying military soldiers and forced to provide sexual services under the guise of a so-called legitimate marriage. Under various legal theories, the rape of women in Burma can be characterized as torture, violation of international labor law, enslavement, forced prostitution, forced impregnation, and forced marriage.

Ethnic women are frequently raped while being detained by the military for forced labor or portering. Females are required to stay overnight in a separate location from the males also held captive for purposes of providing forced labor. During detention, women are wholly under the control of the army and are sexually abused by soldiers and officers.

Police and intelligence officers use rape and sexual harassment to torture women when they detain and interrogate them. For example, on October 16, 1987, a female political prisoner who was recently released from Loikaw prison in Karenni State gave an account of how military intelligence officers stationed there used various forms of torture, including raping and sexually abusing female prisoners, to extract information from them.

13.6.1. Incidents of Rape and Sexual Assault

- Nong Non, daughter of Loong Su and Pa Zing from Kho Lam village, Shan State, arrived at a border village in Fang district, Chiang Mai Province, Thailand on January 11, 1997. There were three men and ten women including Nong Non who had been moved to relocation sites near Kho Lam, which was near the motor road between Nam Zarng and Kun Hing. According to them, they fled because the SLORC forced them to work all the time without pay, leaving them virtually no time to work for themselves and their families. Clearing the sides of roads, digging ditches, cutting wood, making fences, fetching water and gathering firewood for the soldiers, was routine work. If men were not available, the soldiers took women instead. They would often order women they found attractive to work at remote locations and then rape them. Nong Non said she was raped twice. The first time occurred when she was forced to clear roadside bushes east of Kho Lam in late November 1996, by Sergeant Sein Win from IB. 66 based in Nam Zarng. The sergeant ordered Nang Non and three other women to go and work at a location where the other villagers could not see them. He then sent three of the women to work in yet another place, leaving Nang Non alone. Sergeant Sein Win ordered Nang Non to work near a thick bush and then dragged her into it, raping her at gunpoint. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)
- On December 20, 1996, at 6 a.m., Nang Zing Nu, 25, daughter of Loong Hurng, 40, from Panglong, Loilem Township, Shan State, drove a bullock-cart to get hay from their farm. A few hundred yards from town, a group of SLORC soldiers stopped Nang Zing and said that their captain wanted to use the cart for a while. Then they drove her and the cart into the forest and gang-raped her. When some people in the neighborhood heard her cries they rushed to intervene. The soldiers stopped them, held them at gunpoint, arrested three of them along with Nang Zing Nu, and took them to the military base. The soldiers released them only after the woman's father and village leaders paid a ransom for them. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)
- On December 21, 1996, 80 SLORC soldiers led by Major Kyaw Kaung, deputy commander of the IB. 64, inspected the abandoned village of Hai Seng, Murng Nai Township, Shan State, after residents had been relocated. The troops found four women villagers there who had returned to retrieve property and rice that had been left behind. The four women were Narng Kya, 17, daughter of Loong Aw and Pa My, Narng Thun, 18, daughter of Loong Saw and Pa Ae, Narng Seng Awn, 20, daughter of Loong Ta and Pa Aung, and Narng Yun, 22, daughter of Loong Taw Ya and Pa Kham. Major Kyaw Kaung took Narng Kya for himself and raped her, leaving the other three to be raped by his sergeants and soldiers. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)

- On December 29, 1996, twenty-five soldiers from Larngkhur Base IB. 99, led by Captain Aung Zaw, came to Kun Khoi village, west of Ton Hoong in the Kentung area, Shan State. He deliberately entered the house of Nang Swe La, 22, daughter of Loong Tan and Pa Sai. When Captain Aung Zaw realized that she was alone, he ordered his soldiers to stand guard and then went upstairs and raped her. Though some of the neighbors heard her screams, no one dared to come and help. After that, the soldiers left the village. When her parents returned and she told them about it, they called the village leaders who went with them to the army base to complain. The commander told them that Captain Aung Zaw had gone to see Nang Swe La's parents to buy chickens and that the other soldiers would corroborate this story. Instead of receiving justice, Nang Swe La's parents and village leaders were accused of lying to defame the army. The commander slapped the head leader once and ordered them to bring one cow, one pig and 3,000 kyats as a fine. (Source: S.H.A.N)
- On December 31, 1996, SLORC IB. 64 commander Khun Than Aye from Murng Nai Township, Shan State, led 100 troops to ransack the abandoned village of Nawng Khem where they found and detained two women who had returned in search of their oxen cart. The two women were Narng Mya, 16, daughter of Loong Taw and Pa La, and Narng Khawng, 17, daughter of Zai Aw and Narng Ing. Before releasing the women, the commander raped both of them while his soldiers killed and ate their oxen. (Source: S.H.A.N)
- On January 18, 1997, Nam Zarng-based SLORC Division 99 deputy commander Captain Than Tun arrived in Wan Phui village in Nam Zarng township, Shan State, where he found a young woman, Narng Ae, 18, in her house. He ordered his soldiers to take Narng Ae's father, Loong Mu Ling, away and then proceeded to rape her in the house for an hour. (Source: S.H.A.N)
- On February 15, 1997, troops from SLORC Infantry Division 66 arrived at Pyar Thar Chaung village, Ban Chaung area, Thayet Chaung Township, Tenasserim Division. There they seized five girls whom they came across on their way and gang-raped them. Of these five girls, four were unmarried and all were from Launglon Township's Minyat village where they were working for a local privately owned betel-nut farm in the Ban Chaung area. (Source: MIS)
- In February 1997, after the fighting between SLORC troops and the KNU in Ler Muh village, the KNU 4th Brigade area, SLORC captured twelve women from Kaneh Khon village and raped them. Naw Sei Phaw, 25, was raped in front of her husband and family by three soldiers and then executed her with a knife. (Source: ABSDF)

- In February 1997, SLORC troops entered Phaungdaw village in Ain Ka Set Do Township in Karen State and arrested male villagers to work as porters. One woman was gang-raped while her husband and father were forced to watch, hands tied behind their backs. The soldiers continued to rape the woman until she lost consciousness. She later died. After being forced to watch the gangrape the soldiers then beat the two men to death. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- In February 1997, at least ten young women from Ka Nel Khaw village were arrested by SLORC troops and brought to a military outpost in Ta Mae Hta. Nine of the women were gang-raped at the outpost, while one woman managed to escape. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- In February 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 431, based at Kawthaung in Tenasserim Division, raped a young Karen woman when they arrived at Pyatha Chaung in the Karen area. Army officers from LIB. 431 and IB. 104 also raped six young Karen women porters. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- On March 9, 1997, troops from IB. 26, in the process of seizing villagers to be used for porters at Nyaungbin Gon village, Nyaung Lay Bin district, Karen State, raped two women and there, Naw Ywa Mu and her younger sister. (*Source: KIC*)
- On March 20, 1997, Sergeant Htwe Nge and a private from the LIB. 208, under the command of Major Htay Aung, raped Naw Paw Lweh, 15, of Pu-yay village near Kyeik Don village in Kyar Ein Seik Kyi Township, Karen State. The crime took place at 8 a.m. on the upper floor of her house. The two men also threatened to kill Naw Paw Lweh's aunt if she tried to report the incident. (*Source: KIC*)
- On March 23, 1997, Company-1 commander from LIB. 205, Captain Thein Aung and his whole company of soldiers gang-raped Naw Aye Win, 35, and her sister Ma Thein Za, 17, from Gar Lay Kee village of Kyar Ein Seik Kyi Township and then shot them to death. Their naked bodies were left at the edge of a forest. (*Source: KIC*)
- On March 28, 1997, about one hundred soldiers from IB. 246 led by Major Saw Win came to Wan Phui, Kho Lam village circle, Nam Zarng Township, Shan State. The area was declared a cease-fire zone and all the villagers had been moved to a relocation site there. When the soldiers found 200 people moving their belongings to Kho Lam village, Major Saw Win accused them of being SURA soldiers and opened fire killing 14 men and six women. The six women were Nang Pong, 18, Nang Aye, 19, Nang Pool, 24, Nang Kham Arm, 23, Nang Parng, 20 and Nang Soi, 30. Major Saw Win and his soldiers raped all of the

women before accusing and killing them for allegedly being wives of SURA soldiers. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)

- On March 30, 1997, two women with a two-year-old child were driving an oxcart carrying rice paddy to sell at Palawng village. When they reached Nawng Kaw village, Nawng Kaw tract, Laikha Township, Shan State, they were stopped by 15 SLORC troops from Kho Lam. The SLORC troops raped the two women and then shot them to death. The child and cart were left alone in the forest. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On March 30, 1997, a 12-year-old girl from Hon Pung village, Nawng Kaw tract, Laikha Township, Shan State, was shot to death by SLORC troops from Kho La. When the troops shot her, she was on a hay stack taking down hay to feed cattle in the field. Her relatives heard gunfire and they came to help her but were stopped by the soldiers. The army would not even permit them to bury her body, saying, "She must be kept like this as an example for you people of Shan State to see. If you bury her, you must die with her." Later it was discovered that she had also been raped. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On April 1, 1997, a column from LIB. 424 led by Major Maung Kyaw Tun arrived at Wan Beang Khan village, Wan Lao village circle, Kunhing Township in Shan State. Major Maung Kyaw Tun went to the house of Nang Than, a 16-year-old Shan girl. He gave her father 50 *kyats* to go buy a hen and told her mother to take some vegetables to another house. With her parents gone, the major told Nang Than that he thought there were some illegal things inside the house and that he wanted to look around. She showed him in and he proceeded to rape her there. Afterward, she ran and told the village leaders what had happened. Accompanied by many villagers, the leaders went to confront Major Maung Kyaw Tun. He claimed that Nang Than was lying and then beat her unconscious. When the girl's parents returned, the major demanded that they pay 10,000 *kyats* to compensate him for being "falsely" accused by their daughter. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)
- On April 2, 1997, four women from Nong Khan village, Ho Yarn village tract, Kunhing Township, Shan State, left the relocation site and returned to their former village to collect some of their belongings. The four women were Nang Hla, 16, Nang Sai, 18, Nang Bok, 22, and Nang Tun, 25. The village had been abandoned since the relocation order the previous year. Unfortunately, they were discovered by a group of 26 soldiers from LIB. 424 led by Major Myint Lwin. At the site of the old village, Major Myint Lwin raped the women and ordered his 26 soldiers to rape them also. The troops then burned down 35 houses in the village. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)

- On April 6, 1997, SLORC troops from IB. 45, stationed at Murngsart, led by Major Aung Lwin, arrived at Waeng Nur village. Major Aung Lwin went to the house of Nang Zarm, an 18-year-old Shan girl. He ordered her parents to go and get him something to eat. While they were away, he had his men wait downstairs while he raped Nang Zarm. When her parents returned, Nang Zarm told them about being raped. However, Major Aung Lwin denied the charge and slapped her until her face was badly swollen, saying that she had falsely accused him. (*Source: S.H.A.N*)
- On April 14, 1997, two girls, 10 and 12 years old, from Kung Zarn village, Hai Lai tract, Namzarng township, Shan State, were raped and killed by twelve SLORC soldiers from Kho Lam at Nam Naeng stream, just one and a half miles east of Kho Lam. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On April 18, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 378, a captain, and three soldiers, raped two women named Nang Sa and Nang Sarm at Nawng Hai village, Kho Lam tract, Kunhing Township, Shan State. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On April 19, 1997, two women from Kung Kyawng village, Kho Lam tract, Namzarng Township, went to tend their farm south of Kho Lam. Before reaching their farm, seven SLORC soldiers raped and killed them near the road. (*Source:SHRF*)
- On April 19, 1997, two women from Kung Kyawng village, Namzarng Township, Shan State, were raped and killed by seven SLORC troops south of Kho Lam, Shan State. The two women had gone to tend their farm. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On April 20, 1997, about 50 soldiers from SLORC IB. 64, based in Laikha, Shan State, led by major Khin Than Ay, came to Pa Lai village, Nar Kharn tract, Murngnai Township, and arrested the village leader Loong Awng La at his house. They beat him unconscious and then took him to another house where they tied him up. Then the major ordered Sergeant Hla Phyu and two or three of his soldiers to rape Pa Leng, Loong Awng La's wife, while he proceeded to rape their daughter Nang Nu Harn in the house. (*Source: SHRF*)
- In April 1997, the notorious SLORC officer nick-named "Bo Mae Lone" by local people in Kyar Ein Seik Kyi Township, Karen State, raped the wife of KNLA soldier, Kyaw Nge. The woman was so traumatized by being raped by this officer, just 20 days after she had given birth to a child, that she now suffers from a severe mental disorder. (*Source: PDF*)

- In April 1997, under the pretence of conscripting porters, the local SLORC military at random seized a total of 40 girls and women from the small Karen villages around Pyarhet Chaung in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division. The soldiers took the girls to their military encampment and gang-raped them. In an attempt to prevent information regarding the condition of the 40 girls they held captive, the military created a temporary blockade of the roads to the encampment. It is still not known whether these girls have been released or not. (Source: MIS)
- On May 10, 1997, SLORC Major Than Oo and 50 troops from Kunhing IB. 44 came to On Woe Long village, Kaeng Kham tract, Kunhing Township, Shan State. The major ordered that the village be moved to the town. On May 16, Loong In Ta and his daughter Nang Sep, age 16, returned to the village to retrieve some of their belongings and were discovered by Major Than Oo and his troops. Major Than Oo then ordered his troops to tie up Loong In Ta outside while he took Nang Sep inside a house and raped her. The troops left Loong In Ta tied up, where he remained for an entire day and night, until at dawn he was able to free himself. When he went into the house, he found the body of his daughter, who had been raped and killed. (Source: SHRF)
- May 10, 1997, two sisters, Nang Pu, 24, and Nang Seng, 26, of Wan Luk Loi Waeng, Nar Poi tract, Namzarng Township, Shan State, went to sell some goods to Palawng villagers of Nam Kawk Suk Mer village. On the way they met SLORC troops who shouted and shot at them on sight. The younger sister was hit and wounded, but somehow managed to escape. The older sister, Nang Seng, was captured alive and taken away with her hands tied. The troops later raped her and shot her to death at a place two miles north-west of Kho Lam. (Source: SHRF)
- On May 13, 1997, soldiers from IB. 277 met Nam Khan, a 13-year-old girl from Mai Khe village, Murngton Township, Shan State, while patrolling the area. The soldiers forcibly took her into the forest, gang-raped her, and then killed her. (Source: WPLHRC)
- On May 16, 1997, Nang Aw, age 22 from Huay Aw village, Murngpan township, Shan State, went to cut some wood at a site just outside of her village. SLORC Major Aye Thike and his troops captured, raped, and killed her. (Source: LWPHRC)

- On May 27, 1997, about 120 soldiers from LIB. 403 and IB 25, led by Major Zaw Tun, arrived at Taung Byauk village in Thayet Chaung Township and stayed there over-night. Sergeant Aung Mya forced Ma Aye Mya, a 41-year-old mother of five children from the village, to meet him and later raped her. (*Source: MIS*)
- On June 3, 1997, two women, Nang Zing, 28, and Nang Pang, 40, sneaked into Ter Leng village, Laikha tract, Shan State, to collect gold that they had buried at the head of their beds. They were discovered and held by troops from LIB. 424, led by Major Myint Than who were stationed there. The troops raped and killed the two women. (*Source: SHRF*)
- During the first two weeks of May 1997, the local police stationed at Winwa village in Thayet Chaung Township, Tenasserim Division, took Ma Mi Nge, a married woman, from her home in Mindat village. The policemen took her under the pretence that they wanted to interrogate her about her husband who was a member of an armed ethnic group. However, the policemen just gang-raped her at the police station. When she arrived back at her home, she committed suicide by swallowing poison. (*Source: MIS*)
- On June 6, 1997, Loong Su, 54, and his two daughters, Nang Thun and Nang Kham, 29, from Murng Kerng tract, Shan State, were arrested near the military base on LIB. 519 in Wan Nar village, Murngton Township. With his hands tied up behind him, Loong Su was beaten in the head until he died. His two daughters were raped and killed on June 8th. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On June 10, 1997, Captain Thein Lwin Moe from IB. 101 raped a 17-year-old girl and eight grade school-aged girls from Yegoychaung village of Sonsin village, Thayetchaung Township, Tenasserim Division. After raping them, the captain threatened to kill them if they reported the incident to anyone. (*Source: MIS*)
- On June 23, 1997, Mi Tin San, a 15-year old Mon girl who lives in Mi Chaung Hlaung Village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, was raped by three foreign TOTAL Employees. The incident took place when the three foreigners who worked for the French oil giant TOTAL kidnapped and raped her after buying vegetables and fruits from her farm. (*Source: PDF*)
- On July 19, 1997, 80 SLORC troops of LIB. 525 arrived at Hart Mai village, Larngkhur Township, Shan State. Some of the troops went to a nearby farm outside of the village to gather firewood and raped the women they found working there. The five victims were Nang Phyu, 15, Nang Ni, 14, Nang

Sawn, 18, Nang Thu, 18, and Nang Nawng, 25. When the women returned to their village, they got the village deputy leader and went to report the incident to the commander of the troops. The commander said nothing to condemn his troops' behavior. Instead, he slapped the deputy leader, Loong Thawn, three times on the face and beat him five times with a stick, saying, "if you let this news spread out to other places, your village will surely go up in flames. Make sure all of your villagers understand that." (*Source: SHRF*)

- On July 25, 1997, a force of combined troops from SLORC LIB. 332 and LIB. 502 came and ordered the Lisaw village of Nawng Tao, 15 miles east of Murngpan town in Shan State, to move, claiming that the village was a place frequented by rebel troops. The villagers were ordered to move within three days, and because of the rain, could not carry much of their property and animals. After three days had passed, some Lisaw villagers still tried to collect what they had left in the village. When the SLORC troops found out, they arrested them, and raped five girls in the village. The women raped were Ee Ser, 14, Ee Sa, 13, Ee Nawng Long, 13, Ee Lu, 16, and Ee Oi, 13. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On August 23, 1997, husband Saw Kalo, 58, and wife Naw Moo, 50, were arrested in Lo Po village of No. 2 District in Karenni State by SLORC troops of LB. 102 under the command of Sein Hlaing (position unknown). The troops killed the husband whose wife Naw Moo also died after being repeatedly raped by the troops. (*Source: KNPP*)
- In September, Capain Shwe Myo Aung arrived in Kyon Wai village, Kawkeyeik Township, Karen State, and raped Naw Gay Wah, 26-year-old mother of two. She had given birth to her son only one month prior to being raped. Her rapist beat her with a torch-light when she refused to cooperate with him. (*Source:ABSDF*)
- On October 1, 1997, about 80 SLORC troops led by commander Maung Maung Htwe of LIB. 515 ordered the villages of Nam Tao, Nar Mark Zaw, Wan Tab, Wan Nar Huay and Wan Mark Man in the village tract of Murng Khun, Murngkerng Township, Shan State, to relocate within three days. On October 3, before all of the villagers had a chance to move, the soldiers started to burn down some of the houses. After a while, the same troops led by Maung Maung Htwe arrested some villagers who had returned looking for their belongings left behind at their former villages. The villagers arrested were four women and three men including Nang Kham Non, female, Nang Ae, female, Nang Kham Lu, female, Nang Awang Zang, female, Aw Zing Na, male, Sai Lu, male, and Sai Oo, male. The men were shot to death and the women were gang-raped for three days and two nights before being released. After that, the soldiers burned down the villages. The first village to be burned was Nar Mark Zaw, which had 57 houses. (*Source: SHRF*)

- On October 12, 1997, SLORC troops from LIB. 277 led by Major Aye Thant searched Mai Heo Lao village, Ho Phai Long tract, Murngpan Township, Shan State. The villagers had been forced to relocate August 20, 1997. While searching, the troops found five women villagers and arrested them. These women, originally from this village, had returned to search for food and green vegetables. The five women were Nang Seng Zing, 20, wife of Sai Awng Zang, Nang Nyunt, 18, Nang Mawn, 19, Nang Suay Kya, 17, and Nang Mawn, 25, wife of Wi Zing Ta. The women were accused of being SURA soldiers' wives and were shut up in a deserted house in Mai Heo Lao for three days and three nights during which Major Aye Thant took them to another place and raped them one by one. His closest aides also took turns raping the women. After three days, the women were taken to Murngpan. The major knew all along that the women were not wives of the SURA soldiers, but still forced their parents and husbands to pay 2,000 kyat each for their release. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On October 22, 1997, SLORC soldiers named Zaw Lin, Htay Maung, and Kub Kwa from LIB. 240, raped three women, who lived in Nwa Laboe village, Karenni State. The three women, Beh Meh, 50, father's name Ree Reh, Boe Meh, 29, father's name Lee Reh, and Toe Meh, 35, father's name Seh Reh, were raped when they returned to the village after cultivating their hill-side plots. (*Source: KNPP*)
- On November 23, 1997, SPDC troops from Pang Long base LIB. 513 gangraped a Shan woman in Mai Hoong Sarm Ton, near Hai Narng village in Pang Long area, Loilem Township, Shan State. In order to prevent the news from spreading, Major Kooma and his troops killed the unidentified woman. The next day, the troops called the police and the people in the area to come and look at the corpse, saying that they had found the body of the dead woman, and took photographs. (*Source: SHRF*)
- On November 28, 1997, medic Thein Win, Hla Aung, Kyi Aye, and Htun Myint from LIB. 333 medical battalion, raped Ma Aye, a 12-year-old from Kanna village in Murngsert Township, Eastern Shan State. The villagers later hospitalized her. (*Source: WPLHRC*)

13.7. Refugee Women

Refugees from Burma have fled to neighboring countries in order to escape forced labor, being used as porters, and starvation. The situation of nursing mothers or women with young children is particularly harsh. Women refugees, particularly those on their own, are more susceptible than men to being exploited and deprived of rights at every stage of their flight. Women are particularly discriminated against and have their human rights violated both living in Burma and as refugees.

Refugees from Burma number around 161,000 in Thailand and 200,000 in Bangladesh. Large numbers of refugees can also be found along the Chinese and Indian borders. Internally, an estimated one million people are displaced. Of this numbers, more than eighty percent are women and children. Those who have escaped the human rights violations inside their country by fleeing to Thailand face further persecution and human rights violations there. In violation of the common international standards set out in the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, to which Thailand is not a party, no person entering Thailand illegally from Burma is permitted to apply for asylum. As a result, no permanent international presence exists within the refugee camps along the border, leaving refugees, especially women, vulnerable to physical abuses by the SLORC/SPDC and DKBA who cross the border and attack refugee camps. On January 3, 1997, over 40 heavily armed troops attacked refugees in Cher Le camp near Mae Hong Son province in northern Thailand. Shelling continued for over 20 minutes during which Ei Pyin, a 19 year old refugee and mother of two children, was killed. In January 1997, the DKBA, an SLORC/SPDC sponsored militia group, carried out a number of attacks on Huay Kaloke, Huay Bon, and Mae La camps in Thailand in which a number of women refugees were killed and hundreds more were injured.

Reports of rape and sexual assault of refugee women in refugee camps inside Thailand have been increasing as women of all ethnic, cultural and social backgrounds find the courage to speak out about their suffering.

13.8. Burmese Women Migrant Workers in Thailand

During 1995 and 1996, dramatic increases in human rights abuses forced many young men and women to leave Burma in search of a better life. Originally, Burmese people saw Thailand simply as a place of refuge, but the booming economy in Thailand also attracted them for potential employment.

Burmese women who migrate to Thailand, much like other people migrating all over the world, move from their homes and families in search of job opportunities in more prosperous areas. Human rights violations in Burma often cause economic hardship. However, determining whether people leave Burma due to the hardships

they suffer as a result of human rights violations is not always easy to distinguish from purely economic difficulty. Some migrants have stated that they left Burma solely because of economic hardship. However, many others flee because of serious human rights violations. Many who have fled do not have enough to eat because unpaid forced labor under harsh conditions prevents them from earning a living. The distinction between economic hardship and violations of civil and political rights is not necessarily a clear one; many of these people have been unable to make a living due to continuing unpaid forced labor and forced relocation from their homes. For these reasons, cases are difficult to assess and must be dealt with individually instead of being lumped together and over generalized.

With little knowledge of the country to which they are moving, its language and its laws, women migrating from Burma are in a vulnerable position. The degree to which others can exploit this vulnerability depends to a large extent on the power and information that migrants have to protect themselves. The ability to protect oneself depends partly on understanding immigration laws, the labor laws, and if separate, as is the case in Thailand, the laws regarding prostitution.

13.9. Burmese Women Sex Workers in Thailand

Trafficking of foreign girls and women in Thailand's sex industry is not a recent phenomenon. However, many aspects of the trade have changed dramatically in recent years. Increasing numbers of migrants enter Thailand each year and the Thai government has acknowledged that at least 700,000 illegal migrants presently work in the country. This figure does not include the girls and women working in the sex industry. Often their work is not officially recognized, so remains hidden with the numbers unknown. However, the unabated demand for foreign girls and women in Thailand's sex industry has continued.

In an effort to escape the dire economic and social situation in Burma, many young girls and women flee to Thailand for jobs. Many women have been forced or lured into working as prostitutes in Thailand. The numbers of young women who have been induced or coerced into working as prostitutes is unknown, but an estimated 50,000 Burmese girls and women work in Thailand as prostitutes at any given time. Most of the girls trafficked in Thailand are from poor rural families and were lured from Burma with promises of jobs in factories or as domestic workers. The girls travel to the border, accompanied by a relative or companion, and meet a Thai agent who pays the relative/companion between \$400 and \$800. From there the girls are taken to brothels and are effectively indebted to the brothel owner, and must work until they pay off both the price paid for them as well as the agent's cut, plus interest.

These foreign girls and women working in the sex industry in Thailand are violated in a number of ways, regardless of how they were recruited. Traffickers, clients, and Thai government officials abuse them physically, verbally, and sexually. These women are subjected to debt bondage, illegal confinement, and risk HIV infection.

The girls are generally prevented from leaving the brothels. If they do manage to escape, they are often too ashamed to return home and are HIV positive. Before entering Thailand, many of the girls have not heard of AIDS and are not aware that the use of condoms prevents the spread of HIV. Language barriers exacerbate the problem. If they manage to return home, they have few real options, and as a result often re-enter the profession by opening or working in brothels in Burma.

Burmese sex workers who are “rescued” in police raids are often detained by Thai authorities on immigration charges and are held for months in detention centers where they face further abuses. From detention, they are deported to Burma, where again they face arrest under Burma’s immigration laws for having left the country illegally and risk being held at Rangoon’s infamous Insein prison.

Burmese and Thai authorities have attempted to coordinate their efforts to prevent the trafficking of women and children. One such measure has been to deny single, women visas to neighboring countries. However, this is discriminatory and fairly ineffective anyway because most women are able to cross the border without interference. So far, Burma has signed but not ratified the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others.

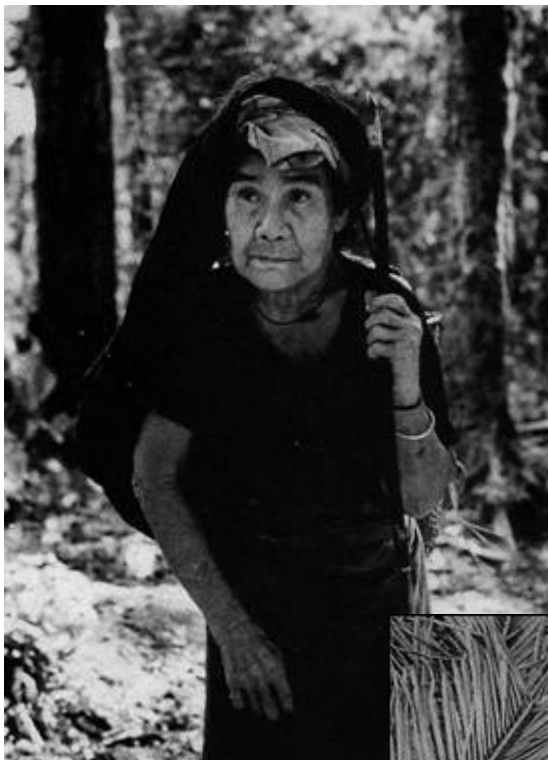
13.10. Burmese Women and HIV/AIDS

While the number of HIV-infected individuals continues to rise in Burma, the general public remains woefully uninformed about its risks, with women suffering greatly from the lack of public education. Prostitution and the risk of HIV are widespread, yet the SLORC/SPDC-controlled media does not supply adequate public health information to the populace in any systematic way. SLORC/SPDC has widely restricted the media, freedom of expression, and the right of the community to participate in public policy, causing major obstacles that Burmese must overcome to acquire information on even the most basic health care questions. The traditional mores in this conservative Buddhist country combined with SLORC/SPDC’s repressive nature, prevent prostitution and the sex trade from being publicly acknowledged, which contributes to the spread of HIV and AIDS.

Obviously, stopping the spread of HIV/AIDS and other sexually-transmitted diseases is closely linked with curbing prostitution and the allure of the sex trade. However, even when women are well-informed of the effects and prevalence of HIV they are still not discouraged from entering the sex trade or having a career as a prostitute. Economic upheaval and ethnic warfare in Burma create a powerful incentive for women, even young girls, to enter prostitution to earn money to support their families.

The large number of Burmese women working as prostitutes in Thailand and Burma continues to rise. While the number of active commercial sex workers has increased dramatically in response to social and economic upheavals since 1988, it is nearly impossible to estimate accurately the number of young women involved. Some young women and girls are forced to enter prostitution to support their families, while others have taken it up trying to make a living on the streets. However, much of the sex trade is covert and therefore difficult to analyze; girls as young as 12, under the control of pimps, frequently move among different houses to work or are brought directly to a "client's" home at night. Health officials estimate that women constitute at least one-third of all cases of HIV-infection in Burma (over 175,000 individuals), according to the Southeast Asian Information Network's report that cites survey data collected since 1992. Other reasons for the high incidence of HIV among the Burmese women are the country's poor medical facilities, including unhygienic injections, and the frequent need for blood transfusions after childbirth due to anemia or poor prenatal care.

(Also see under "personal Accounts," interviews 1, 9, 12, 23,27, 30, 37, 38, 47, 50, 61, 62, 64, 66, 68, 74, 76, 80, 86, 87, 95 and 99)



60-year-old woman on her flight to the Thai-Burma border in February 1997. She had been walking alone all seven days to reach to refugee camp in Thailand.

Old woman who has fled her village, destroyed by the military, standing at a temporary site on the Thai-Burma border in early 1997. (Photo by HRDU)



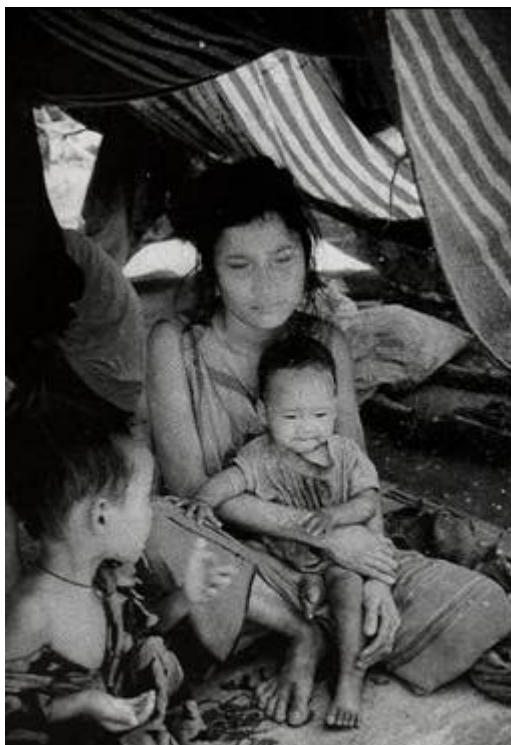
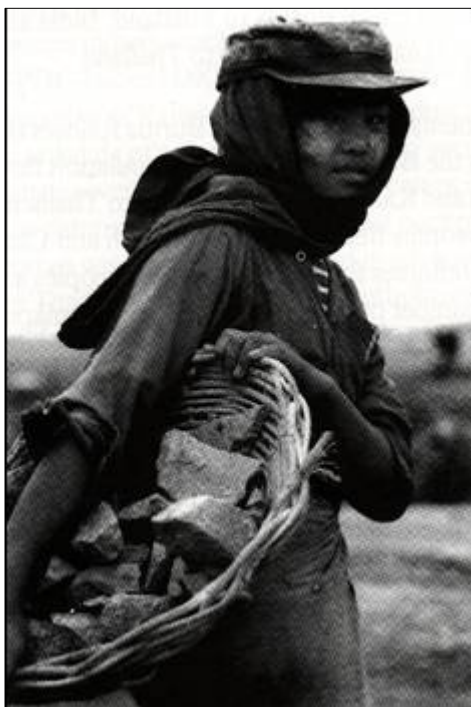


Woman who had just crossed the border into Thailand in early 1997 after crossing the mountains and hiding in the forest for several days after the SLORC offensive. She gave birth to this baby girl two days earlier while hiding in the forest. (Photo by KHRG)

Woman and her baby resting in the forest on their way to refugee camp, not knowing where to go next. (Photo by KHRG)



A Karen mother and her children in temporary site on the Thai-Burma border, after fleeing from the SLORC's major offensive against the KNU in February 1997. (Photo by HRDU)



Young girl seen on road construction project outside Pegu. (Photoby N. Dunlop)

14. The Refugee Situation and Forced Repatriation

14.1. Background

Ethnic nationalities make up around a third of Burma's total population and live mainly in the mountainous areas bordering Bangladesh, China, India, Laos and Thailand. They have suffered from persistent and flagrant human rights violations at the hands of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) or State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) army during their attempts to forcibly 'unify' the country, to open up rural areas for economic development, and to crush ethnic-based resistance seeking greater autonomy from the ethnic Burman-dominated central administration. However, the appalling plight of the country's ethnic minorities has been often overshadowed by the Burmese military regime's suppression of the central, Burman-based pro-democracy movement. In 1988-89, such suppression resulted in the flight of thousands of ethnic Burmans from central Burma to Thailand, India and Bangladesh, and of Tavoyan peoples from Tenasserim Division to Thailand.

The sudden and often large-scale movements of refugees from Burma follows the militarization of ethnic minority areas by the Burmese army. One population flow moves eastwards- the Karen, Mon, Shan and Karenni refugees fleeing to Thailand, and a second is westwards- Rohingya peoples fleeing into Bangladesh and Chin peoples into India. Tens of thousands of refugees from Burma's ethnic peoples are in these three countries alone. A larger number of families are internally displaced inside Burma.

Rampant and systematic human rights abuses have driven at least a million people from Burma away from the security of their homes. Their flight, however, does not guarantee their safety. Many refugees risk terrible dangers on their journey towards the border, or when crossing the border itself, and they later face further human rights violations, such as forcible return from the country where they have sought asylum. Refugees from Burma are in double jeopardy: at home, and as refugees abroad.

doubt that those fleeing the country need and deserve international protection. Yet all too often refugees from Burma are further abused or forcibly returned home whilst seeking international protection. Moreover, they endure the devastating effects of cross-border assaults in the many Burmese refugee camps in Thailand, often by DKBA troops who attempt to force the 100,000 refugees back into Karen State under DKBA or SLORC/SPDC control. The DKBA raided refugee camps in Thailand several times during 1997 to steal supplies and money.

The fate of refugees from Burma highlights the double dangers faced by the people of Burma, particularly the ethnic nationalities. As targets for abuse and repression at home, and as people whose lives are further threatened when seeking asylum in neighboring countries, there has never been a time when the people of Burma have been more in need of the protection of the international community. Refugees from Burma should not be returned to their homes until the human rights situation in Burma has undergone fundamental and lasting change.

14.2. The DKBA and Thai-Burma Border Incursions

The Democratic Karen Buddhist Association (DKBA), which was formed in 1994 by a breakaway Buddhist group of the KNU, attacked several times the Karen refugees in Thailand in 1997. The DKBA operates primarily in small, localized groups loosely attached to SLORC/SPDC army units in the same areas. The SLORC/SPDC-backed DKBA, itself responsible for widespread abuses in Burma, attacked a number of Karen refugee camps, abducting and killing several refugees, and burning thousands of refugee shelters. Thai security forces along the border did nothing whatsoever to defend the refugee camps inside Thailand and in fact, withdrew from the camps well before the attacks occurred. This indicated that the Thai security forces were probably informed in advance and colluded in these flagrant violations of Thai sovereignty. The Thai authorities on the border responded by moving some of the some refugee camps further inside Thailand and by consolidating several smaller camps into larger ones. However, cross-border assaults and threats continue to be made against the refugees in an effort to coerce them to return to Burma. The border refugee camps are still vulnerable to cross border attacks.

The DKBA's interest in attacking the camps is to attempt to terrorize the refugees into returning to Burma, thus forming a strong civilian support base for them. But SLORC/SPDC's interest lies not only in their wider campaign of terror against ethnic Burmese, but also to create an excuse for the Thai government to conduct forced repatriations and 'to protect Thai national security'. This, in effect, removes refugees from Burma as an international source of embarrassment to SLORC/SPDC,

simultaneously providing SLORC/SPDC with a captive population for forced labor and extortion in the region.

14.2.1. January Attack on Huay Kaloke Refugee Camp

Around 10:15 p.m. on January 28, 1997, an estimated 150-200 DKBA soldiers attacked Huay Kaloke refugee camp which has a population of 6,576 (as at Feb 1997) and is located approximately 10 km north of the Thai town of Mae Sot on flat open land surrounded by rice fields and Thai villages. The armed soldiers arrived on foot from Kaw Moo Ra, a former Karen National Union (KNU) position which was captured by SLORC/SPDC in February 1995. Kaw Moo Ra is 3 kilometers to the west of Huay Kaloke on the opposite bank of the Moei River which forms the border between Thailand and Burma in this area.

The armed force entered the camp in two main groups, one comprising of 30-40 troops, entering through Section 7 of the camp into Section 5, and another group of 100 arrived from rice fields into a market section of the camp (this part of the camp is highly populated by refugees who do not receive relief supplies because they operate shops). The group entering the market then split up, some of them heading for the main part of the camp while others forcing their way through the market into houses and shops where they stole goods and money. The group who arrived in the main part of the camp went first to the clinic and demanded the microscope (in every attack on refugee camps, the troops are clearly under direct orders to obtain such items for their own clinics at DKBA headquarters in Myaing Gyi Ngu). After obtaining a microscope, they then set the clinic on fire. Other soldiers went to the camp leader's house, the school, and other houses and set them all on fire.

The entire camp consists of bamboo huts with leaf or thatch roofing, packed closely together, and the fires swept through the camp at high speed. People fled their houses, most refugees trying to get their children out and having no time to save their belongings. Some refugees claim that when the attackers saw them pulling belongings out of their houses, they ordered them to put them back and let them burn. In the market, a woman shopkeeper who was stopped by a DKBA soldier who searched her body found gold. Troops fired into the air throughout the camp in an attempt to terrorize the refugees. After they had finished looting the market-place they set it on fire.

The attackers were all dressed in all-black or in camouflage. According to the refugees, many appeared to be high on 'yah ma' (also known as 'myin say' or 'horse medicine' - a strong opiate/amphetamine combination). All had blackened faces making it difficult for the refugees to identify them. According to some refugees,

those in black appeared to be SLORC/SPDC soldiers and were armed with G3 and G4 assault rifles, common SLORC/SPDC weapons, while those in camouflage were DKBA soldiers with an assortment of M16 and AK47 assault rifles. Witnesses estimated that there were only 20-40 DKBA and that the rest were all SLORC/SPDC soldiers. Some attackers spoke to the refugees in Karen, while others spoke in Burmese. Generally, those speaking Karen requested that shopkeepers open their doors, while those speaking Burmese just smashed them down. Traces such as boot marks, found in the following days, suggest that a larger force of entirely SLORC/SPDC soldiers was waiting in the surrounding fields for reinforcement.

The attackers moved around the camp with complete impunity for at least one or two hours. As bamboo burns very quickly, by midnight the fires were starting to diminish and people were starting to return to the ashes of their homes and belongings. Approximately 70 to 80 per cent of the camp was completely destroyed, leaving just a hot open plain of dust and ashes. Contrary to propaganda reports in the Thai media, there was no assistance from Thai firefighters in Mae Sot. Around 11 p.m., refugees saw two large fire-fighting trucks and another, smaller vehicle approached the camp with bright lights and sirens, but the trucks stopped at the main entrance to the camp, probably to have photos and video taken for the Thai media, and a few minutes later returned to Mae Sot.

There was no attempt made by the Thai military to defend the camp, the surrounding Thai villages, or Thai sovereignty. Nine hours before the attack the Thai Commando unit stationed at the main entrance of the camp had already evacuated with foreknowledge of the attack. Only one or two soldiers remained, continuing to extort the usual ten Baht, from each refugee who wishes to leave the camp. Later, refugees who rushed to the post to notify these soldiers when the attack began found it abandoned.

Astonishingly, only one casualty was reported- a woman who fell ill due to high blood pressure. However, almost everyone lost everything they had and for a long time afterwards no one dared stay in the camp at night. The Thai Army returned after several days. (*Source: KHRG*)

14.2.2. January Attack on Huay Bon Refugee Camp

Around 10:15 p.m. on January 28, 1997, a force estimated at over 100 soldiers attacked Huay Bone refugee camp, which has a population of 3,678 (Feb 1997) and is located 20 kilometers north of the Thai town of Mae Sot, on sloping open land surrounded by miles of open rice fields. The force arrived on foot from the other side of the Moei River.

The attackers surrounded the camp, much smaller than Huay Kaloke, at about 9:45 p.m. Refugees heard a single shot fired, before soldiers stormed the camp in two groups. One group of 30 DKBA soldiers headed for the clinic. Witnesses say they appeared to be on drugs. Although a medic offered them medicine, they stated that they wanted a microscope. After obtaining this they set the clinic on fire and commenced burning surrounding houses. A larger group headed for the market section of the camp and began looting. Upon realizing what was happening, a Thai merchant who was spending the night in the camp ran to his truck and tried to drive out of the camp. The soldiers blocking the truck, ordered him to stop, but he attempted to defy them by driving past them and was shot.

Troops fired into the air and set much of the camp on fire. As in Huay Kaloke, the houses were bamboo huts with leaf roof tightly packed together, and the fire spread quickly. Around 95 per cent of the camp was destroyed. As Huay Bone was burning, some refugees in the camp saw the glow in the sky coming from the burning of Huay Kaloke, 10km to the south, not realizing what it was.

Witnesses identified many of the attackers as SLORC/SPDC soldiers. The DKBA soldiers in the camp spoke in Karen, while the Burmese soldiers kept quiet, though they were heard speaking in Burmese outside the camp. While houses were burning, troops were threatening the refugees. However, all the refugees fled the fire to the surrounding fields, carrying their children. The attackers stayed in the camp for several hours until almost the entire camp was gone, before leaving for the border.

No Thai security was present. As at Huay Kaloke, the Thai soldiers who operated the camp checkpoint had abandoned their post earlier in the day. According to the refugees, they always do this when they think an attack may be imminent. For over a month after the attack, the refugees lived in makeshift shelters in surrounding fields. Many families fled to Beh Klaw (or Mae La) refugee camp 40 kilometers to the north, which had also been attacked, but which they perceived as being relatively less dangerous. Even more fled to Beh Klaw after the Thai Army announced that they would be forcibly relocated to Huay Kaloke. Between March 10-12, 1997, Thai authorities forced overseas NGOs to transport remaining refugees to Huay Kaloke, decreeing that any refugees henceforth found around Huay Bone would be arrested and deported. Three hundred families were transported to Huay Kaloke, where they were allocated only the plot of ground which used to be the Huay Kaloke football field on which to build their houses. (*Source: KHRG*)

14.2.3. January Attack on Beh Klaw (Mae La) Refugee Camp

Beh Klaw refugee camp has a population of 25,596 (Feb 1997) and is located 62

kilometers north of the Thai town of Mae Sot, sprawling over several kilometers of undulating land surrounded by forested hills, with the north-south Mae Sariang- Mae Sot highway passing along its eastern side. Many of the refugees arrived there after other camps such as Baw Noh were attacked and destroyed in 1995. At about 6:30 a.m. on January 29, 1997, a force of at least 30-40 soldiers attacked the camp from the north western corner near the camp's Bible School. They were backed up by a larger force which remained outside the camp near the border. The force came on foot from the other side of the border a few kilometers away and was supported by SLORC/SPDC shelling from the Burmese side of the border. At least 35 shells were fired into the camp, the attackers using assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenades and M79 grenade launchers. A rocket-propelled grenade killed one elderly woman trying to flee the attack.

As soldiers moved into the camp setting it on fire, they encountered camp security forces who fought back and were later joined by Thai troops. The attackers, most of whom were DKBA, were driven back, eventually being forced to retreat to the border, leaving 3 dead and taking an unknown number of wounded. They managed to burn down 15 houses in the course of the attack. Over the next several days, some of them remained in Thailand between the camp and the border until the security forces gradually harassed them back into Burma.

The refugees fled the camp, and for a long time no one dared sleep in the camp at night and many people lived in hiding in the surrounding hills and forests. The people of Beh Klaw considered themselves fortunate to have escaped the total destruction which Huay Kaloke and Huay Bone suffered, and even took up collections of clothing and other supplies among themselves to send to the refugees who had lost everything. However, most refugees feel it is essential to be moved to a safer location. (*Source: KHRG*)

14.2.4. January Attack on Shoklo Refugee Camp

Shoklo refugee camp has a population of 6,836 (Feb 1997) and is located 110 kilometers north of Mae Sot, along the sides of an east-west river valley with the north-south Mae Sariang-Mae Sot highway to the west. The Moei River lies just 1km west of the camp. At about 4:30 p.m. on January 4, 1997, the camp was shelled with mortars fired from Baw Pa Hta, a former KNU trading gateway now occupied by SLORC/SPDC and DKBA. Five or six 21/2" mortar shells were fired into the middle of the camp, 4 of which exploded. Saw Pay, aged 33, leader of Section 3 of the camp was wounded in the neck and the body by shrapnel and died on February 12, 1997 in Mae Sot hospital as a result of his wounds. At least two other refugees were wounded. The shelling lasted for 5 or 10 minutes, during which

most refugees ran to foxholes or bunkers they dug by their houses after the previous shelling of the camp in June 1996.

As in the other camps, refugees feel there is no security in Shoklo, but they do not want to go back to Burma. (*Source: KHRG*)

14.2.5. Lists of Incidents

- January 3, 1997: Around 2:30 a.m., 25 Burmese soldiers fired motor shells and automatic weapons into adjoining Karenni refugee camp in Mae Hong Son, about four miles inside Thailand. The attack killed two refugees and wounded ten others. Those killed were 19-year-old Ai Pyin and 35-year-old Aik Phone. Nearly 6,000 Karenni refugees immediately fled deeper into Thailand.
- January 4, 1997: At about 4:30 p.m., Shoklo refugee camp was shelled with mortars fired from Baw Pa Hta, a former KNU trading gateway now occupied by SLORC/SPDC and DKBA troops just across the Moei River. Five or Six 2.5 mm mortar shells were fired into the middle of the camp, four of which exploded. The leader of Section 3 of the camp (Saw Pay, aged 33) was wounded in the neck and the body by shrapnel; he died of his wounds on February 12 in Mae Sot hospital. At least two other refugees were wounded. The shells exploded in the market, at the monastery, at the church, and in front of Saw Pay's house.
- January 8, 1997: DKBA soldiers crossed into Thai territory in pursuit of former KNU members who had attacked a sawmill owned by DKBA and Thai businessmen. They fired several rounds of 60 mm motors at the fleeing KNU soldiers.
- January 10, 1997: Approximately 40 DKBA troops slipped into the Karen refugee camp in Ban Nang Nam Khoo inside Thailand with the help of three Karen monks. They first seized a Burmese man who was guarding a nearby plantation and forced him to lead them into the camp. There they kidnapped six Karens, one of whom was identified as Sa Taw, aged 37, a former missionary.
- January 25, 1997: Shells were fired from Burma side into Huay Bon refugee camp.
- January 28, 1997: A force estimated at over 100 DKBA and SLORC/SPDC

soldiers attacked Huay Bon refugee camp. The force came on foot from the other side of the Moei River. They looted medicines and microscopes from the camp's medical clinic and other belongings from the refugees. They burned down the camps to the ground, leaving 8,000-10,000 refugees homeless and killing one Thai shopkeeper as he fled the scene.

- January 28, 1997: At about 10:15pm, a force estimated at 150 to 200 SLORC/SPDC soldiers attacked Huay Kaloke refugee camp. The group went first to the medical clinic and demanded a microscope. Upon obtaining one microscope, they smashed the other and then set the entire clinic on fire. Other soldiers went to the camp leader's house, the school, and other houses and set them all on fire. Witnesses estimate that there were 20 to 40 Karens and the rest were all SLORC/SPDC soldiers.
- January 29, 1997: A force of at least 30 to 40 DKBA and SLORC/SPDC soldiers attacked the Mae La camp from the north western corner near the camp's Bible school. They were backed up by a larger force which remained outside the camp, between the camp and the border. The force came on foot from the other side of the border a few kilometers away and was supported by SLORC/SPDC shelling from the Burma side. At least 35 shells were fired into the camp, and the attackers used assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, and M-79 grenade launchers. A rocket-propelled grenade killed one elderly woman trying to flee the attack. The Burmese soldiers managed to burn down 15 houses in the course of attack. As the attackers moved into the camp, firing into houses and then setting them on fire, they encountered camp security forces who fought back and were later joined by Thai military troops. The attackers were eventually forced to retreat to the border, leaving behind two or three dead and taking along with them an unknown number of wounded.
- January 30, 1997: A Thai military plane flying on a reconnaissance mission over northern Tak province was fired on by DKBA soldiers. The attack prompted the OV-10 Bronco aircraft, which narrowly avoided being hit, and Thai ground forces to return fire.
- January 31, 1997: A combined force of 400 DKBA and Burmese army soldiers in two units crossed the Moei River border around Mae La, where about 30 Border Patrol Police were stationed close to the camp to provide security. The southern unit was predominantly DKBA while the northern unit consisted of SLORC/SPDC army soldiers from LIB. 259. While entering Thailand, the southern group clashed with Thai soldiers, but the Thai soldiers pulled back.

Security troops were reinforced in Tak after DKBA threatened to attack Tha Son Yang town and Mae La refugee camp. Army armored cars were dispatched to the border in Tha Son Yang, and air force OV-10 spotter planes were moved to Mae Sot air base from Chiang Mai to monitor movements of DKBA and SLORC/SPDC troops. Military sources said Gen. Chetta had given field troops approval to retaliate against intruders.

- February 1, 1997: At 9:30 p.m., the DKBA shelled Shoklo camp. Thai Rangers were recalled to positions near Shoklo and Mae Tan. Around 10:00 p.m., between 40 and 100 DKBA troops along with a number of Buddhist monks crossed the border to the village of Huay Nam Khun, Mae Sot district. They stole cash and property including two motorcycles, radios, gold necklaces, worth up to 100,000 Baht. They also abducted eight villagers. Before returning to their Pha Lu camp, they fired into the air to frighten the other villagers. On the next day, six of the eight abducted were released. One villager was injured.
- February 2, 1997: Thai paramilitary forces fought a gun battle with the DKBA, which had crossed the border into Tak province in Thailand in a bid to launch an attack on a Karen refugee camp.
- February 3, 1997: DKBA and SLORC/SPDC soldiers were pushed back across the Salween from Sob Moei district after a clash with a Thai military Police unit. 30 armed DKBA tried to cross the Moei at Ban Mae Ork Pha Ru, Tha Son Yang district. Thai BPP fired five rounds of 81 mm mortars shells. 40 DKBA crossed the border to Mae La refugee camp and clashed with Thai BPP for one hour. Some DKBA sustained injuries, and five automatic guns and two walkie talkies were seized. Two Karen refugees were injured in the cross fire, but there were no report of BPP injured.
- February 6, 1997: DKBA positioned 107 mm artillery pieces, 81 mm mortars and rockets launchers opposite Mae Kong Kha camp. After boatloads of DKBA were seen in the river nearby, over 4000 refugees began to move out of Mae Kong Kha camp for fear of a DKBA attack.
- February 7, 1997: DKBA threatened to renew their offensive on the refugee camp before February 17. Thai 4th Regiment soldiers were deployed along the border following the massive January attacks. Two officers from BPP 344 and two Thai villagers stepped on mines in Kaw Ma Lay Ko, Tambon Mae Tan.
- February 12, 1997: DKBA and SLORC/SPDC troops attacked Noh Pa Htaw

Wah, Umphang district. People were evacuated to Kalaw Htaw (Mae Chan) village. The Thai authorities forced the people to move to a new transit camp after DKBA threatened to attack Mae Chan.

- February 17, 1997: A DKBA soldier carried a hand grenade across the border into Ban Mai Wang Pha, Mae Sot was arrested. The grenade was later confiscated by a Thai police officer. The DKBA man claimed he was in charge of the local cross-border logging trade, and alleged that the Thai officer, who refused to testify, was also heavily involved.
- February 19, 1997: Five DKBA were killed by Thai landmines while 50 of them attempted to cross into Thailand at Ban Huay Bon, Mae Ramat district, where they were attempting to raze the 90 houses still left in the Huay Bon camp following their last arson attack. At about 1:10 a.m., about 50 troops clashed with Thai Rangers 3503 troops as they attempted to cross the Moei river towards Shoklo. Three helicopter gun ships opened fire on unidentified armed troops crossing the Moei river, Umphang district.
- February 21, 1997: SLORC/SPDC troops and Thai patrols clashed on Thai soil in Umphang area.
- February 25, 1997: All buildings except the hilltop pagoda in a Thai village, 500 meters east of Mae Tha Raw Khee refugee camp, were burnt down. The attack was thought to have been carried out by the SLORC/SPDC army. DKBA threatened to burn two camps in Mae Sariang district unless KNU members living there returned to Burma by February 27. The Thai 4th Infantry sent troops to all areas in the province, especially those with camps.
- February 26, 1997: A Thai custom official was shot and killed by Burmese intruders in Mae Sot district.
- March 6, 1997: Thai 4th Infantry Regiment and BPP Company 3504 clashed with ten DKBA soldiers who crossed border on Tha Son Yang's Mae Sariang highway. The DKBA retreated into Burma after a 2-hour battle.
- March 7, 1997: At about 8:30 a.m., eight stray mortar rounds landed in Ban Nong Luang, Umphang district from fighting in Burma. About 50 Thai BPP on patrol near Ban Nong Luang, about 2km. from the border, were forced to withdraw from the area.

- March 18, 1997: Four Thai and two Burmese were injured in a dynamite explosion on the Thai side of the Moei river. Thai authorities believed it to be business related, but admitted that it could have been KNU/DKBA related.
- March 21, 1997: More than 200 armed troops from the Burmese 13th Battalion's 88th Division, led by Lt-Col. Than Kyi, circled Ban Kor Tor village in Umphang district. Some of the troops enter a villager's house and abducted two former KNU soldiers- Cha Wa and Kyaw Kyaw - both of whom had sought shelter there. Before retreating to Burma, the troops threatened that they would attack any Thai villagers who provided shelter to former KNU men.
- March 22, 1997: SLORC/SPDC army attacked Hti Lai Pa temporary site in Kanchanaburi, where the refugees had fled in advance of the attack. Seven Karens were captured by the SLORC/SPDC troops, although the Thai Army persuaded them to release all but one. Two Karens were killed during the attack.
- April 4, 1997: Some 80 heavily armed men, whose identity was not clear, crossed the border at Ban Huay Nam Nak, Tambon Chong Khaeb in Phop Phra, Tak province. At about 5:00 a.m. the soldiers fired warning shots at the shelters of Karen refugees who were living in Thai Karen villages and asked them to return to Burma. Two refugees, Ar Ngae, female, aged 37, and No Boe, female, aged 30, fled the scene in fear. The Burmese armed men fired at them, shooting Ar Ngae in the back, killing her instantly, and seriously injuring Na Boe. Forty other refugees were forced by the troops to return to Burma.
- April 27, 1997: SLORC/SPDC and DKBA troops attacked Ta Per Poo camp in Umphang, Thailand. The intruders looted goods and cash worth 150,000 Baht and set fire to 19 houses and shop stalls. They killed one refugee and took eight refugees hostage (all of whom were later released). Thai civilian militia fought with the armed group, killing one of the Karen fighters who had invaded the camp. Ta Per Poo camp was to be moved to Noh Po shortly thereafter.
- May 10, 1997: More than 100 Burmese troops from IB 106 led by Major San Lwin stormed into an area near to Holockani Mon refugee camp, 60 kilometers south west of Sangklaburi. The refugees were extremely frightened by the sudden arrival of troops of the SLORC/SPDC IB. 106.
- May 20, 1997: SLORC/SPDC soldiers believed to be from a nearby SLORC/SPDC base entered Karenni Camp 3 near Nai Soi firing shotguns and mortars,

wounding the 50-year-old Karenni minister of religion and seriously injuring his 12-year-old daughter. At about 2:00 a.m., about 20 heavily armed DKBA penetrated 15 km into Thailand to Ban Tu Ter, Mae Sot district. They forced their way into the headman's house while he and his family fled. They robbed villagers of about 30,000 Baht in cash, a motorcycle, two video players, gold jewelry, a watch and two tape recorders, a total value of approximately 100,000 Baht. They appeared to be looking for a former KNU officer, thought to be taking refuge at the house. BPP rushed to the scene, but failed to locate the intruders who had fled back across the border.

- May 31, 1997: Huay Kaloke and Huay Bon, two refugee camps in Tak province, Thailand, were set on fire by SLORC/SPDC-backed DKBA. Shops were looted before being set on fire. 8,000 people in Huay Kaloke and 3,000 people in Huay Bone were left homeless.
- June 11, 1997: About 15 fully-armed DKBA soldiers, on their way to Mae Chan subdistrict, Umphang district, blockaded the house of a villager and rained bullets on his house. Two of his children aged 11 and 10 were seriously injured.
- September 20, 1997: At about 11:00 am, seven DKBA soldiers crossed the Salween into Mae Sam Laep, Sop Moei district. When a Thai BPP unit attempted to search them, they opened fire, but no casualties were reported.
- September 23, 1997: DKBA blocked the Salween river and seized 10 Thai villagers on board five boats. The villagers were later released, unharmed. Prior to this, a Thai BPP team seized 300 pieces of processed teak wood along the Salween river prompting the DKBA to fire on Thai villages in revenge.

(Source: HRDU, ABSDF, NCUB, HRFOM and KHRG)

14.3. The SLORC/SPDC 1997 Offensive against the KNU and the Renewed Refugee Crisis

In January 1997, the SLORC/SPDC intensified its military campaign against the general population of Karen State. SLORC/SPDC launched two major offensives against the KNU. Both were in areas formerly under the firm control of the KNU and the KNLA. During January and February, the SLORC/SPDC commenced their attacks on KNU-held areas along the upper Tenasserim and Paw Khlo Rivers

in Tenasserim Division, also known as KNLA 4th Brigade area. On February 12, they attacked the Doooplaya District of central Karen State, formerly controlled by the KNLA 6th Brigade and home to KNU Headquarters.

Karen villagers were subjected to forced portage, torture, rape and summary executions. To date around 20,000 Karen civilians have fled into Thailand due to this latest offensive. It has resulted in the flight of between 15,000 and 20,000 Karen civilians to Thailand. Refugees streamed into Umphang district, Tak province, and into Ratchaburi and Kanchanaburi provinces in western Thailand, joining thousands of others who had fled previous onslaughts. The refugee populations on the Thai-Burma border has now risen to an estimated 120,000.

Newly-occupied areas are typically pacified using a 'Cut, clear and cleanse' strategy, where villagers are first cut off from contact with ethnic armed groups, cleared from their villages and forcibly relocated to one centralized area, usually adjacent to an army camp, and the population is cleansed of weapons and ethnic armed groups by use of intimidation and torture. 'Pacification' is thorough and systematic, leaving entire populations completely impoverished, with many families under orders to relocate, hiding out in the jungles or on the move, while others end up living at relocation sites under conditions of such scarcity that their primary concern is simply survival. Other typical abuses faced in newly-occupied areas include forced labor on access roads and other projects, forced portering, extortion/excessive taxation and extortion, confiscation and/or destruction of food and other property, and religious and cultural persecution.

14.3.1. The Tenasserim Region Offensive Against KNU 4th Brigade

Following the forced relocation of thousands of villagers into areas under their control, the SLORC/SPDC launched a major offensive at the beginning of 1997 against KNU and ABSDF bases in a final attempt to eliminate all armed opposition and gain absolute security for investment projects in the region. The offensive was launched against the KNU 4th Brigade (Mergui-Tavoy Region) and ABSDF camps.

On January 7, 1997, more than 4,000 SLORC/SPDC troops launched an offensive, called 'Operation Thura', against the KNU 4th Brigade area. SLORC/SPDC's command post in Tavoy was led by the notorious Maj-Gen. Thiha Thura Sit Maung. The Deputy-Chief Strategic Commander was Brig-Gen. Thura Maung Ni, and Lt-Col. Thein Win, Lt-Col. Saw Hla Min and an unknown officer were the field commanders. SLORC/SPDC LIB's 25, 101, 104, 224, 262, 265, 267 and 273, and IB's 431, 432 and Division 66 were all involved in the offensive.

SLORC/SPDC's troops, supported by supplies carried in by civilians porters, engaged troops of the KNU at the villages of Myitta on the upper reaches of the Tenasserim River in the KNU 4th Brigade area. The attacking force then split into three groups, one pushing southward up the Paw Kloh River, and one to the north east toward Thu Kha on the Thai border. The third and largest force continued eastward and to the south along the Tenasserim River. The force proceeded quickly, occupying new villages on almost a daily basis. The headquarters of the KNU 4th Brigade and ABSDF's Minthamee camp fell into SLORC/SPDC troops on February 26, 1997.

The SLORC/SPDC's treatment of civilians during the offensive was severe. SLORC/SPDC forcibly recruited civilians as front-line porters, both on the road and in the villages between Tavoy and Palaw townships. Their job was to carry military supplies and to act as human mine-sweepers. In early February, SLORC/SPDC troops were already conducting mass round-ups of civilians along the Andaman seaboard, from Moulmein, the capital of Mon State, southward to Ye, Tavoy and beyond. The South Eastern Region Military Command, based in Moulmein, had ordered that all ten townships in Mon State each need to recruit 400 porters for the current military offensive. Troops rounded up all adult men by encircling market places, including Moulmein central market, and grabbing men on their way out of video halls and other places. They even set up checkpoints along the main north-south road between Ye and Tavoy in order to stop passenger vehicles and seized all able-bodied men. Due to the recent massive recruitment of porters and forced laborers from Tenasserim Division and Mon State, many villagers have become internally displaced and have fled to the Thai border in order to avoid continual recruitment as porters and forced laborers, and the accompanying ill-treatment and human rights abuses perpetrated by the SLORC/SPDC.

About 4,000 civilians were used as porters during the offensive against the KNU 4th Brigade along with 600 prisoners from Tavoy and Mergui prisons. Prisoners were sent to front-line by the authorities and forced to carry a bag of rice weighing about 20 kilograms each for the soldiers or to carry ammunition. SLORC/SPDC troops forced porters to walk in front of them in order to make it difficult for the KNU to launch guerrilla attacks on the SLORC/SPDC columns. Many were tortured or beaten to death by the soldiers when they could not perform their duties, with many of them left to die on the roadside. The exact number of porters killed during the offensive is not known. Reports of ill-treatment of the porters also include the failure to provide adequate food and medical care during the offensive. As in previous offensive, the porters were provided with insufficient food, the amount of which was barely enough to survive.

Many extra-judicial killings of civilians were committed during the Thura offensive.

Villagers who were caught outside their villages faced possible execution, or at least conscription as porters. In Myitta village, two villagers were reportedly shot dead merely because they did not follow the military's order to assemble. During the offensive, SLORC/SPDC troops from IB. 431 fought with the KNU near Pya Tha Chaung village. After the clash, the SLORC/SPDC troops rounded up 25 Karen women and five Karen men from the village. According to an escaped porter from Nat Seik village, they were forced to act of porters for the Burmese military.

Large numbers of villages along the offensive route were destroyed by SLORC/SPDC troops. Upon capturing each village, SLORC/SPDC troops would burn down all or part of the village if there was any resistance encountered. Often in these cases villagers would be brutally tortured or executed. They troops were reportedly under orders not to destroy villages if there was no resistance encountered, but they often did so anyway.

Women and the elderly were also taken by soldiers along the way and reportedly used as porters. Women porters were also subjected to rape and sexual harassment. Women are particularly vulnerable as SLORC/SPDC soldiers moved through villages in 'mopping-up' operations. After the fighting in Ler Muh village between SLORC/SPDC troops and the KNU, SLORC/SPDC captured twelve women from Kaneh Khon village and raped them. Naw Sei Phaw, 25, was raped in front of her husband and family by three soldiers and then executed with a knife. In February, SLORC/SPDC troops entered Phaung Daw village in Ain Ka Set Doe township and arrested male villagers to work as porters. One woman was gang-raped and her husband and father were forced to watch with their hands tied behind their backs. The soldiers continued to rape the woman until she lost consciousness. She later died. After being forced to watch the gang-rape the two men were beaten to death by the soldiers. In the same month, at least ten young women from Ka Nel Khaw village were arrested by SLORC/SPDC troops and brought to a military outpost in Ta Mae Hta. Nine of them were gang-raped at the outpost, while one woman managed to escape.

14.3.1.1. The Refugee Influx from Tenasserim Region to Thailand

Only those fortunate enough to evade SLORC/SPDC troops managed to make their way to Thailand. Exact numbers of refugees from Tenasserim Division are difficult to ascertain, but it is estimated that approximately 14,000 have come from this region. A great many more people remain displaced inside Burma near the Thai border and face difficult circumstances. However, even the luck of the refugees who successfully arrived in Thailand appears to be running out. When they began their

mass influx into Thailand, Thai authorities stepped up their efforts to prevent further entry by turning many back. Several human rights and relief organizations working with Burmese refugees have claimed the Thai army forcibly repatriated refugees fleeing from the latest SLORC/SPDC offensive and refused to grant refuge to civilians seeking to cross the border in February and March 1997.

In one instance, on February 25, 1997, the Thai army refused entry to 500 Karen men fleeing fighting and sent around 100 men, some as young as 10, back to a war zone. The army told the men and boys to continue fighting and urged them to defend their homes. Obvious non-combatants including sick and elderly men, priests and male children were among the group denied entry. As evidence of their folly, on the morning of February 25, the Thai army also refused to allow US embassy officials to pass through the Pu Nam Rawn checkpoint.

On February 26, some 3,000 mostly women and children refugees who had sought refuge at Ban Bon Ti were forcibly returned to the border and eventually made their way to Htaw Ma Phyo Hta, five kilometers inside Burma where there was an active fighting and heavy shelling. They were loaded aboard trucks belonging to a Thai logging company and forcibly relocated to Suan Phuang district, Ratchaburi, Thailand. From Suan Phuang, they were forcibly repatriated to Htaw Ma Phyo Hta village in Burma. Fortunately, international pressure appears to have put a temporary stop to such actions.

However, repatriation reportedly resumed in March as around 2,000 Karen men, women and children were pushed back into Burma from Thuka camp in Kanchanaburi's Thong Pha Phum district. Another 1,500 Karen civilians who had taken sanctuary in the Thung Yai Naresuan wildlife reserve in Kanchanaburi province were also sent back. Again the Thai military officials denied charges that they were forcing the refugees back into Burma, saying they had disarmed fighters, asked them to return voluntarily and had ensured civilian families shelter by housing them away from the fighting at the border. Thailand's army commander in chief, General Chetta Tanajarno, and other top military officials insisted that the refugees, 'volunteered to return to a safe area in Burma'. They denied that any refugees had been involuntarily repatriated, but ordered an immediate halt to all movement of Karen refugees. Former Thai Foreign Minister, Prachuab Chaiyasan, rebuked those who accused Thailand of forcibly repatriating refugees, saying his ministry sent a letter clarifying the government's policy on refugees to all Thai embassies.

On two separate occasions in June 1997, the Thai authorities repatriated a total of 1,700 refugees from Huay Satu in Prachuap Khiri Khan province.

The Thai Army 9th Division designated the end of June 1997 as the final date when refugees from Burma could cross the border. They asserted that by then the fighting had stopped and it was therefore safe for the refugees to remain in Burma. However, the mere fact that the armed conflict had subsided did not in any way guarantee that the SLORC/SPDC army would stop ill-treating or killing members of ethnic minorities.

In Kanchanaburi and Ratchaburi province in Thailand, refugees have often faced relocation from one camp to another by the Thai authorities since March 1997. Because there had never been camps in the south of Thailand before, the authorities decided to set up new "temporary sites" to relocate refugees to that region. About 5,000 refugees from Hway Sot and Ban Baw Wi in Ratchaburi province were relocated to a new "temporary site" at Tham Him in Suan Phung in May, 1997. Refugees from Phu Muang were consolidated into this site in June 1997 and the number of residents in this camp reached to over 8,000 at the end of 1997.

Similarly, in April, refugees from Htee Lai Pa and Thuka across the border from Kanchanaburi were relocated to a new site named Ban Don Yan near Holockani Mon refugee camp opposite Thai Sangklaburi and now the number of refugees in the camp is over 1,500. Another group of some 3,500 Karen refugees has been stranded at Htee Wah Do village on Burma side since February 1997. This area is adjacent to Holockani, a Mon refugee camp also entirely inside Burma. Both Tam Hin and Ban Don Yang are recognized as the temporary site for the new refugees arrived in 1997, but Htee Wah Do is not recognized as the temporarily site for refugees. These new arrivals have come from the villages along the Three Pagodas Pass - Thanpyuzeyat motor road and villages in Kya-ein-seik-kyi township.

In a separate incident, about 60 people were rounded up at Huay Nam Rawn, a border mine near Kanchanaburi, by the Thai border police on December 13, 1997. They were not provided any food for the whole day of detention. On the next day, they were deported to Holockani refugee camp near Sangklaburi. (Source: HRDU)

14.3.2. The SLORC/SPDC Offensive in Dooطلا Region against KNU 6th Brigade

The offensive against Dooطلا district, Central Karen State was launched on February 12, 1997, with over 20,000 SLORC/SPDC troops from at least six different Light Infantry Divisions 22, 44, 55, 77, 88 and 101- each Division contributed several, but not all, of its 10 battalions- and other non-Divisional battalions moving in rapidly from several directions at once. One force consisting largely of troops from Division 88 and 101 sped down the Thai border from Thingan Nyi Naung/ Myawaddy towards Kyo G'Lee and Sakanthit (Dta Law Thaw), with part of the force coming south

from the Kyone Doh/Kawkaik was joined by a third force from Kya-In-Seik-Kyi in the west. This combined force of Divisions 22 and 44 then swept south-eastward through the fertile and heavily-populated Han Thayaw River plain, taking control of Kyaikdon, Saw Hta (Azin), Kwih Kler, and pushing on to the Thai border at Lay Po Hta/ Ber Kler. Another force, mainly SLORC/SPDC Divisions 55 and 77, headed up along the border from Three pagodas Pass in the south. The clear objective was to race for the Thai border, take control of the area, and then work back in, consolidating control over the civilians trapped inside.

The civilians population of the newly-occupied region is at least 50,000. Most villagers in the northern and north western areas (Kawkaik and Kyi In townships) could only stay in their villages or briefly flee to the forests as SLORC/SPDC troops passed through with Karen forces already on the retreat; for these people there was almost nowhere to run, as the Thai border is several days' walk away. In the central parts of the district and in areas closer to the border, all previously KNU-controlled, almost all of the villagers tried to flee to the forests and hills, but because the advance was so fast, they often found their escape already cut off by SLORC/SPDC troops.

In many villages people only learned of the offensive when they heard shooting or when SLORC/SPDC troops arrived at a point a half-hour's walk from their village. Many farmers, working in their fields, were surprised by a SLORC/SPDC column; when they tried to run, they were shot on sight. The troops opened fire on any villager seen running.

Upon occupying the villages, the first action of the SLORC/SPDC troops was to capture any villagers they could find in the area, round them up, and send some of them out with orders to bring back other villagers- sometimes holding their family members as a guarantee. The troops then arrested, tortured, and in some cases, executed any villagers they felt looked like KNU sympathizers, and any villagers who had been pointed out to them (usually by other villagers under torture) as having any knowledge of KNU activities in the area or the location of KNLA arms caches.

In each village, the troops then began systematically looting the houses, shooting the livestock for food, and stripping the fruit and coconut trees. They said that anyone who had fled must be KNU, so they looted everything from any house that was abandoned. They took as much rice as they wanted, and if there was excess rice, they poured it in the streams or spread it on the ground and walked all over it. The troops stole valuables, clothing, and other items to keep or to send to their families in the cities. Whatever they did not want, they destroyed or threw away in the forest, including cooking pots and sleeping mats. The troops even stripped the houses of useful building materials to be sent to their camps. In many cases, the abandoned

houses were then burned. Where the entire village was abandoned, such as in Mae Tharoh Kee, every house in the village was burned. After the torture and the looting, the troops began forcing villagers, who had remained or had returned, to stand by with their bullock carts to haul the loot to new SLORC/SPDC camps, particularly to the new SLORC/SPDC army camp being built at Saw Hta (Azin).

Villagers, usually men, are taken as porters whenever needed by the troops. Thousands of people, including convicts, had previously been rounded up in Moulmein and other coastal towns and brought as porters for the offensive. At one point, Moulmein market was surrounded by SLORC/SPDC soldiers and all able-bodied men were taken. However, many porters had died during the offensive and when the fighting was over, many of the non-convicts were released to find their own way home. As a result, the troops needed new porters to carry the supplies and loot they had taken from the villagers.

The villagers are also forced to do shifts of labor building barracks, bunkers, trenches, and fences to establish new army camps in the area. The principal village of Saw Hta (known by the Burmese as Azin) is turned into a military base. The high school grounds have been turned into a helicopter pad, and movement is restricted even within the village. Other key posts have been established at Lay Po Hta and Sakanthit (known in Karen as Dta Law Thaw or Tee Hoh Kee), both adjacent to the Thai border, and at Kyun Chaung in the southern part of Dooplaya. Independent observers from Thailand have witnessed large groups of porters, including women, being herded at gunpoint as they haul loot from Lay Po Hta back to Kwit Kler and Saw Hta.

In most of the newly-occupied villages, everyone has been forced to hand over their entire rice supply to the local SLORC/SPDC army camp. Then the villagers are only permitted a small ration of rice per family- the SLORC/SPDC soldiers take as much rice as they need, leaving the villagers with extremely small rations. Villagers who need to go to their farm fields must obtain a movement pass from the army, valid for only 1 to 3 days. In many villages, people are allowed to go out in the morning but must return by sunset. If someone must cross areas controlled by several army units to reach his/her field, the he/she needs a pass from each and every unit. One villager said, 'to go work your field you need one pass, and to search for your cattle you need another pass. If we go to search for our cattle in 22 Division's area (very close by) we have to go and get a pass from them, one from 44 and another from 22.' The penalty for exceeding the limits of a pass or not having one is being shot on sight or arrested and beaten on return. (Source: KHRG)

14.3.2.1. The Refugee Influx from Dooplaya Region to Thailand

During SLORC/SPDC's offensive against the region, over 10,000 villagers from the Dooplaya region crossed the Thai border, often after spending a week or more hiding in the forest, dodging SLORC/SPDC columns. However, the vast majority of villagers in this region were trapped in the newly-occupied areas, rounded up in their villages, or remain in hiding either in remote farm fields or in the forest.

As soon as SLORC/SPDC began occupying villages in mid-February, refugees began flooding across the border into Thailand. At least eight to ten thousand refugees crossed the border within the first ten days, at Tee K'Pler, Sakanthit, Htee Sgaw Sghi, Lay Po Hta Meh Tharoh Kee, Kwih Law Der/ Lay Taw Ko, Tee Hta Baw, and many other crossing points covering a stretch of border at least 100 kilometers long. Most of these first arrivals managed to get out of their villages before the SLORC/SPDC arrived and fled either directly to the border or into the forest, gradually making their way to the border. Some died on the way, shot by SLORC/SPDC patrols or stepping in Karen landmines which were laid in futile attempt to slow the SLORC/SPDC troops. Many arrived at the border not knowing where their family members were after the sudden flight. Some had left children or parents behind, while others had given birth in the forest on the way, some newborns and others died on the difficult journey over the mountains.

The treatment received by these groups from Thai authorities has varied. At Tee K'Pler and Sakanthit, the refugees were allowed to stay in Thailand but were pushed back to sites within easy range of SLORC/SPDC mortars. Over 1,000 refugees from the Sakanthit area were placed in a farm-field with no decent water. The bulk of the refugees, who had crossed in the Lay Po Hta/ Tee Sgaw Sghi area, were allowed to stay along the roadsides at Ka Hee Pa Leh, which is a safe distance from the border, but they were forced to stay on the ground in the dirt and gravel and in the rain gutters right along the edges of dusty heavily-traveled road for over a month. Over 1,000 Muslims were separated from the group of refugees and moved one kilometer up the road toward the Burma border because the Thai authorities believe, in their words, that 'Muslims are troublemakers'. (*Source: KHRG, IA, NCUB*)

In marked contrast to the experiences of these refugees, No Pho refugee camp in Umphang district, Tak province was officially opened on March 7, 1997 as a refuge for Burmese people escaping the Dooplaya offensive. Thai officials from Tak district attended the opening ceremony and have been monitoring the situation and ensuring that the basic necessities of the refugees are being met. New refugees continue to arrive at the camp from other camps in Umphang district which are located close to the border and in danger of attack. Refugees from other camps such as Lay Pho

Hta, No Pa Law Wah and No Pado have been moved to No Pho. At the site, each family has been allocated 25 by 30 foot lots for the construction of their homes.

From the beginning of June 1997, Thai authorities refused to allow new refugees from Burma to enter Thailand. They claimed that there were no more fighting in the areas where they were coming from. The Thai authorities failed to acknowledge the human rights violations committed by the SLORC/SPDC troops against the ethnic people. Civilians have been subjected to forced porter, forced labor and forced relocations. Many were killed for allegedly being the supporters of the KNU. Ethnic people have fled to Thailand to take refuge from the human rights abuses, but they were denied to cross the border. Thai authorities claimed that they were illegal immigrants, but not refugees fleeing from the war. As a result, thousands of people are massing on the Burma side of the border and staying vulnerable to attack. Many of them who could manage to cross the border were rounded up upon their arrival to Thailand and sent back to Burma.

The Thai army sent 24 Burmese refugees including six children back cross the border in mid-June, 1997 from Nopo camp in Tak province, Thailand. The refugees were villagers from the area under the control of KNU Brigade No.6. They arrived at Nopo camp on June 12 and asked the Thai Army to let them into the camp. They were brought to Umphang the same day and were then sent back to Burma the following day. (*Source: ABSDF*)

The new arrivals in Umphang district, Thailand, in November 1997, numbering approximately 2,000, mainly from villages including Nyaung Tako, Naung Ta Marn, Winlon villages in Kawkaik townships and others from Kyar-ein-sek-kyi townships in Karen State, cited forced labor, forced portering, harsh taxation, village relocation and consolidation, and instances of arbitrary arrests and summary executions as reason for their flight to Thailand. Ironically, Thai military authorities insisted that these new arrivals were 'illegal immigrants' since 'there is no fighting' in the area they came from, and denied them entry into nearby Noh Pho, refugee camp, an established camp where more than 10,500 refugees are currently sheltered. The group was instead allowed to stay near three points close to the border: Thay Phu Law Su, Htee Saw Shee and Kwee Ler Taw. Food and medical supplies were received from NGOs. Thai military authorities repeatedly insisted that the refugees return to Burma. On November 13, 1997, Thai officials came to the temporary sites and told the refugees to move to Baw Ner Hta new site by November 14. If they did not go, he said, the Thai military would make them do and that if someone was injured then the Thai military would not be responsible.

Around 5 am on November 15, troops of the Thai Army 3rd Division went to Thay

Phu Law Su, where around 1,000 people were taking shelter, and fired shots in the air for about 20 minutes. M16 assault rifles and M79 rocket launchers were used. A 3-day-old baby died, dropped by his mother and trampled on the ensuing confusion and panic. Three elder people suffered shrapnel wounds and a 45-year-old man who was shot in the abdomen, died on the next day. The soldiers, who were described as wearing dark uniforms, face covered with red scarves returned again at 9:00 am, and intimidated the population by dragging people out of their shelters, beating them, and setting fire to shelters along with the possession inside. Three leaders who passively resisted the orders of the troops to move were tied up, beaten and kicked in front of the people. The group was then physically moved by armed guards to a location near the border, and then they were pushed across to the Burma side, to a site called Baw Ner Htah.

After forcibly removing the refugees from Thay Phu Law Su, Thai Lt. Narochar of the 4th Battalion of the Third Army along with 100 soldiers arrived at Kwee Ler Taw temporary site. The refugees were immediately ordered to pack their belongings. Some refugees were physically abused by fists and feet. Those who attempted to escape were tied up. The temporary structures erected by the refugees were burnt down. The soldiers then fired their weapons into the air. The refugees were divided into three groups, each group was separately herded by the Thai soldiers to Baw Ner Ta later.

The Thai military maintained a presence at the new site, which was within 300-400 yards of a Burma Army camp- close enough for the residents to hear the sound of the voice of the Burmese soldiers. Night is the time when people feel most vulnerable to attack. However, the people believed the Thai soldiers were not interested in taking care of their security as each day, the soldiers moved around among the residents, withdrawing to their campsite each night as evening fell. Members of the group began fleeing from this location into the jungle at night, and by November 20, five days later, the site was completely deserted.

Following reports of the incident, the UNHCR conducted their own fact-finding mission in the area and confirmed that some 1,100 refugees had been forcibly relocated to an unsafe place straddling the border. By November 24, Thai military had acknowledged that a repatriation did take place and had given assurances that this type of incident 'will never happen again'. However, they have continued to restrict access to the area where the repatriation occurred. (*Source: Burma Issues*)

Ironically, on November 18, the 800 residents of Htee Saw Shee temporary site were ordered by local Thai authorities to return to Burma within three days or face the same treatment as those at Thay Phu Law Su. They people were afraid, and the

entire group fled into the jungle. The Thai military permitted only few of the seriously ill who were unable to walk, to move to Noh Pho camp, along with one caretaker each- about 30 people in total. Those who fled to the jungle have been left without food besides what they were able to carry themselves, or any medical support. There have been reports of serious illnesses and deaths of those hiding in the jungle, resulting from low resistance to diseases such as malaria, cholera and diarrhea/dysentery.

The Thai soldiers searched for people in the jungle, but the refugees fled deeper each time the soldiers approached. Finally, Thai military authorities notified the Noh Pho camp committee that they would give permission for the refugees to wait in the area between Kwee Ler Taw and Kwee Tat villages, about a one-hour walk apart, quite close to the original Thay Phu Law Su camp site until a final decision was made about where they would be sent. The camp committee members were able to meet with members of the refugee group hiding out in the jungle to tell them of this arrangement. With guarantees for their security given by the Noh Pho camp committee, some members of the group made their way back to the designated area between Kwee Ler Taw and Kwee Tat. As of the beginning of January 1998, around 830 people from this location (out of original group of around 2,000) have been allowed entry to Noh Poh. They are presently living in barracks-style conditions, awaiting permission to build proper shelters. (*Source: Burma Issues*)

14.4. The Situation of Mon Refugees along the Thai-Burma Border

Since the Mon army, Mergui District (MAMD) split from the NMSP and took control of the Mergui district area where the Mon and other ethnic refugees were taking refuge, the war in the area has resumed. The SLORC/SPDC troops began an intensive offensive again in the third week of April 1997 in an effort to occupy the whole region. The SLORC/SPDC troops arrested and used several civilian porters during their march through the area. The operation was organized by Coastal Region Military Command, based in Mergui, and utilized SLORC/SPDC's LIB. 62, 358, 432 and 224 to conduct the offensive. Over 800 SLORC/SPDC troops arrested a total of 300 villagers from Mergui, Tavoy and Yebyu townships to be front-line porters. The porters were forced to carry ammunition and other supplies for the military; as in other areas, the soldiers also used them as human shields and mine-sweepers when they advanced across battlefields. Following the military attacks in the Mergui region from April 13 to 27, 1997, more than 2,500 Mon people, including 21 Buddhist monks, have become homeless- scattered throughout the jungle where they faced severe food shortages. Two Mon villages with about 300 makeshift shelters were set ablaze after Burmese forces overran a Mon military base at Tab Guncha on April

27, 1997. As a result, some 800 Mon refugees from Ban Chong Chi and Ban Tan Guncha villages created makeshift shelters at the border police checkpoint in Thai territory called Non Gya Plong and many other are living in the jungle in Burma as internally displaced persons.

Due to the intensive military offensive by SLORC/SPDC and the precarious situation of ethnic defense, the MAMD troops surrendered to the SLORC/SPDC. On May 25, the SLORC/SPDC held a ceremony marking the surrender for MAMD, and the MAMD troops agreed to give many hundreds of arms to SLORC/SPDC. Then the SLORC/SPDC officials ordered MAMD leaders to organize the refugees inside Thai territory to return to their former villages for another ceremony to show that the villagers in the border area also welcomed the surrender of MAMD. SLORC/SPDC officials also promised villagers that they would help in developing this border area, providing profits to the poorer villagers. Soon after the surrender, the SLORC/SPDC troops took bases in all former villages of the displaced persons and began building military camps. All refugees were afraid of repatriation. The Thai authorities told them they would be returned to Burma because the situation inside Burmese territory was now safe and free from fighting. On May 29, some MAMD officials arrived at the temporary camp and organized the refugees to return to their former homes. In the meeting, the refugees insisted that they would not return to their former villages because SLORC/SPDC troops were setting up bases. On May 30, Maj-Gen. Sit Maung officially met with Thai military officials from 9th Division, agreeing to send those refugees back. On the following days, the SLORC/SPDC and Thai military official made many visits to the temporary site and put more pressure for a return to Burma side.

On June 6, spontaneous repatriation was conducted by Thai authorities. They also invited Bangkok UNHCR to participate in a low profile monitoring of the repatriation but did not allow the UNHCR to inquire in detail about the situation in their homes and the real desire of the refugees to return home. While the repatriation was being conducted, about 200 refugees disappeared and fled into deep inside Thai territories. The remaining four hundred refugees were sent back to Chaungchi. They were transported in trucks by the 9th Division and handed them over directly to Burmese army officers.

After the refugees returned and stayed in their former villages, they were ill-treated and were blocked by the army from moving into Thailand again. All village entrances were transformed into check-points by the SLORC/SPDC so the villagers could not leave. The SLORC/SPDC also conscripted forced labor from whole villages to build their military encampments. In each village within the Chaungchi area, SLORC/SPDC had planned to build military bases and soon after the arrival of the villagers

on Burmese territory, they were forced to work for the military. The SLORC/SPDC officials ordered village headmen to take responsibility for bringing the villagers to work-sites. The villagers were forced to work on a daily basis and if they refused, were severely punished. The daily work in the military camps consisted of clearing grass, digging earth, making fences and building barracks. Every able-bodied person in these villages, including women and children, was forced to work. The SLORC/SPDC promised to provide six months worth of rice to the refugees, but only a small amount of one weeks' worth of rice was provided at the end of June 1997. The returned refugees did not have any opportunity to re-build their houses and make farms necessary for their survival because they were too busy working for the military. If the villagers disagreed with the military, they faced severe punishment.

At the beginning of July 1997, numerous villagers were arrested and SLORC/SPDC attempted to force them to work as front-line porters in their offensives against the KNU bases situated nearby. About 15 men from Huay Phak, and ten men from Chaungchi, were arrested and forced to work as front-line porters, carrying ammunitions and supplies for the military operations.

After refugees were repatriated in June, there was no follow-up monitoring conducted by Thai authorities who took responsibility for sending them back, or UNHCR. Despite no community reconstruction assistance being provided, the refugees were inhumanely treated by the military. Due to consistent forced labor among other abuses, the villagers tried to flee again into Thailand.

From July 12, 1997, villagers from Chaungchi who had been recently repatriated, fled into Thai territory group by group. About 400 refugees reached a former campsite in Thailand known as Non Gya Plong during the period of July 12 through to July 20. When they reached the Thai border area, the Thai authorities did not allow them to regroup. They were accused of being illegal immigrants and faced further repatriation. Many of them had fled seeking sanctuary deeper inside Thailand, because of the fear and intimidation created by the Thai authorities. On July 23, when an official from UNHCR visited the area, only 20 families of over 80 population remained. Thai border officials misinformed the UNHCR official by saying that the refugees were not recent returnees to Chaungchi area and were illegal immigrants who had come from the deep inside Burma to seek jobs. After the visit from UNHCR, Thai authorities, including the army from 9th Division and border patrol police, met with the refugees and gave them three days to voluntarily return to Burma. All of them refused to return and fled deeper into Thai territory.

In another incident, on November 16, 1997, a group of retired Mon Soldiers in Huay Phak area, under the leadership of Major Sein Hla, broke away from MAMD.

All soldiers in the Huay Phak area joined this breakaway group and moved on to another place. After the coup, the situation of the villagers in the area became critical. Around 300 villagers, including women and children, fled into Thailand before the SLORC/SPDC troops launched an attack on the region. When they reached Thailand, they were arrested and sent back to Holockani camp by the soldiers from 9th Division on November 21, 1997.

14.5. Conditions in Refugee Camps

Conditions in Burmese refugee camps vary from one region to another, dependent upon the Thai authority administering the camp in terms of size and accessibility. Generally, living conditions are best in the older, more established camps, while many of the newer ones are located in remote areas, isolated and are severely restricted. During 1997, Thai authorities imposed new restrictions in previously established, consistently denying refugees permission to build shelters in newly established camps, and failed to provide adequate security.

Of particular notoriety are the conditions for refugees at Tham Hin camp in Ratchaburi province, and Ban Don Yang camp in Sangklaburi. Both camps were established in early 1997 Thailand, an area controlled by the Thai 9th Infantry Division. When the first 5,000 residents settled at Tham Hin in May, 1997, they were not permitted to build bamboo sleeping platforms above the ground; their shelters were composed almost completely of donated plastic sheeting. Despite the onset of the rainy season two months later, the refugees were still not permitted to build platforms. Families had been permitted to construct very basic platforms, but they continued to be denied permission to build thatched roofs to reduce the heat which would become intense during the hot season. Crowded conditions at Tham Hin have continued for nearly a year now in spite of persistent complaints by residents and camp officials, NGOs, diplomats, and the Thai and international media. The shelters are very close together. According to local NGOs, the spaces between shelters in both these camps are well below World Health Organization (WHO) standards. With houses crowded together in a denuded valley, the heat and dust are inescapable. The plastic sheeting traps and magnifies the sun's heat; there are no trees or other sources of shade. Sanitation facilities are also inadequate.

Conditions are also changing at established camps, with increased restrictions on building schools and repairing houses, the construction of new fences around some of the camps, the closure of some markets and shops, increased rents, imposition of curfews, and restrictions of movement in and out of most camps. On July 9, 1997, Thailand 9th Division arrested 10 ABSDF members at Tham Hin refugee camp,

after they had been released from the Ratchaburi police station. The ten ABSDF members were among a group of 22 who had been arrested by the Thai authorities on April 12, 1997 for entering Thailand illegally. On July 9, 1997, they were released and set free near Tham Hin refugee camp. A few hours later, the army arrested them within the camp.

In 1997, there was also an increase in reported incidences of harassment by Thai soldiers. The reports made by the camp members are confidential due to fear of reprisals by the authorities. It has been reported that people who do not abide by or are unaware of camp restrictions, face abuse by Thai units stationed at the camps. Restrictions and their enforcement often change abruptly, as the Thai army units are regularly relocated. Confusion about 'the rules' has sometimes led to heated incidents. In one instance, Thai soldiers stationed at Mawker interfered with a New Year's celebration by breaking a guitar and physically assaulting a camp section leader. Camp members had allegedly asked the previous army unit stationed there for permission to have the celebration, but the new unit had not been informed.

At the Thai checkpoint on the road to Mae La camp, a bamboo structure had been constructed to detain people who were caught outside the camp without appropriate documentation. Previously, people detained sat in an area close to the checkpoint waiting for transportation to take them back to the camp. There have been reports that inside this structure, Thai authorities intimidate refugees into saying that they wish to return to Burma. Later, the detainees are taken to the border and dropped in DKBA territory, necessitating a harrowing journey back to their camp. (*Source: Burma Issues*)

In other camps, for example, residents of Ban Don Yan refugee camp, live in deplorable conditions. This camp is a new temporary site for recently arrived Karen refugees who fled to Thailand during 1997 after the SLORC/SPDC offensive against KNU 6th and 4th Brigades. It was established on May 20, 1997 near Holockani Mon refugee camp. Around 700 refugees from Htee Lo Pa refugee camp in 6th Brigade area, and 800 refugees from former Thuka camp, were moved to this new site.

Refugees are living under plastic sheeting as roofs, and the space allocated to them by the Thai authorities is not suitable for a whole family. Refugees are being kept under tight security by the local Thai security forces, ORSOD. They are not allowed to go out even to go to buy groceries at Holockani refugee camp nearby. No cutting wood around the site is permitted, making it difficult for refugees to collect firewood.

Maltreatment by Thai security forces to refugees is commonplace. Most notably, incidents of sexual harassment are committed against women. Thai security forces

commonly request two single, beautiful young girls from each of the camps' quarters to prepare food at the outpost for them. They are normally allowed to go back home after 9:00pm every day. On June 16, 1997, about two hundred Karen refugees left the camp due to threats made by Thai security forces. Because of the unbearable shortage of food in the site, some refugees went secretly to Holockani to buy groceries. When the incident was discovered, soldiers arrested five elderly men from the site, forcing them to squat before kicking them with their heavy military boots. The soldiers then pointed pistols at their heads, threatening them to leave the camp. The next day, about 200 refugees fled the camp in fear of further mistreatment. (*Source: ABSDF*)

14.5.1. SLORC/SPDC Intrusions into Holockani Mon Refugee Camp

Holockani camp is situated directly opposite to Thailand's Kanchanaburi province on the western border. On May 10, 1997, around one hundred of SLORC/SPDC troops from IB. 106, led by Major Sann Lwin, entered Holockani camp and stayed for five days. The troops were originally from Three Pagodas Pass and were said to be checking the border area with the Thai authorities, under orders from the South-east Military Command. On May 11, the two national authorities checked the border area but no agreement was reached on the exact demarcation. The SLORC/SPDC troops, however, stayed on in the camp. During their stay, the New Mon State Party (NMSP), the major Mon cease-fire group complained to the SLORC/SPDC requesting them to withdraw their troops from the camp.

Soon after reaching the camp, the soldiers asked for several kinds of materials to be provided by refugees for use by the commander, such as sleeping mats and chickens for daily meals. When one camp section leader could not find an appropriate sleeping mat, he was shouted at by the commander. The refugees were also asked to provide vegetables and other foodstuffs to the soldiers who stayed in their houses. As in other border areas, soon after reaching the camp, SLORC/SPDC soldiers opened two sub-checkpoints to collect tax from the villagers and traders. The first checkpoint was stationed at the entrance of the camp, while the second was stationed in the middle of the camp. The soldiers collected 50 baht per person from the villagers who passed through these areas, regardless of whether they were refugees or traders. These same troops also established bases atop of the mountains surrounding the camp, and tensions between the MNLA and SLORC/SPDC troops increased daily. Mon troops established their own bases in good fighting positions atop other mountains. The refugees were caught between the two troops. After the NMSP's request, SLORC/SPDC troops finally withdrew from the camp on May 15, 1997.

14.6. The Situation of Shan Refugees along the Thai-Burma border

In January 1996, SLORC/SPDC agreed to a cease-fire with the Shan Muang Tai Army (MTA), led by drug warlord Khun Sa. Since the cease-fire, thousands of MTA troops have surrendered their arms to the SLORC/SPDC military. However, others who did not agree with the cease-fire have continued to retain their weapons, along with other Shan nationalist armed opposition groups. The SLORC/SPDC reacted to continue Shan resistance by forcibly relocating hundreds of thousands of villagers in an apparent attempt to sever any civilian links or support for these Shan armed opposition groups. Driven to desperation by a lack of food and security, it is estimated that over 20,000 Shan, including young children and elderly, have fled to Thailand. Last year, tens of thousands of people from Shan State fled to Thailand to escape extrajudicial killings, ill-treatment, forcible relocation and labor in the context of fighting between the SLORC/SPDC troops and Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA), a Shan armed opposition group. In retaliation to the SURA's attack on SLORC/SPDC column, SLORC/SPDC troops reportedly killed at least 400 ethnic minority people in Kunhing township, Shan State from mid-June to Mid-July.

Unlike the Karen, Karenni, and Mon refugees from Burma, current Thai policy has denied these Shans fleeing to Thailand for safe refuge and the right to receive humanitarian assistance. At this point, there has been no official Thai acknowledgement concerning this huge influx of Shan and other ethnic groups from Shan State in Burma. Shan refugees, therefore, have been forced to survive as illegal migrants, seeking temporary shelter and food at construction sites or on farms. The refugees have ended up mostly on farms on Chiang Mai or Mae Hong Son provinces, or construction sites in Chiang Mai or Bangkok. Their precarious status in Thailand has made it difficult for the Shan refugees to survive in Thailand. (*Source: SHRF*)

Some refugees were forcibly sent back to Shan State by the Thai authorities with claim that there was no longer any fighting in Shan State. Some 430 refugees belonging to Pa-O ethnic minority were forcibly sent back immediately to Burma as they arrived in the villages of Mai Kai Luang, Mai Kai On, Pangyon and Luang Chik villages in Pang Mapha district, Mae Hong Son in Thailand. The repatriation was carried out by a combined force of 150 armed Border Patrol Police and Thai Rangers on May 29, 1997. Mae Hong Son provincial official sent them back because they claimed there was no longer any fighting in their home villages near Ho Mong, the former headquarters of the Muang Tai Army (MTA) in the Shan State. The group had fled in March 1997 after having been beaten and forcibly seized by SLORC/SPDC troops for porter duties. They said that SLORC/SPDC troops had entered their villages, accused them of harboring ex-MTA soldiers, beaten several of them, taken

others to be porters, and then stole the village livestock.

The group, which consisted of mainly elderly women and children, settled in four areas near existing Pa-O villages in Pang Met Pha district, Mae Hong Son province, north-west Thailand. They lived for two months in this area until provincial authorities decided to send them back across the border.

14.7. Thai Policy on Refugees from Burma

From 1984 to the mid-1990s, Thai authorities allowed wave after wave of Karen refugees fleeing Burma to stay in camps along Thailand's western border. Since early 1995, however, Karen refugees have increasingly found that they have no place to hide. In January 1995, 10,000 Karen civilians fled into Thailand after the SLORC/SPDC army took control of former KNU territory. In 1996 and in early 1997, two major SLORC/SPDC offensives against the KNU in Tenasserim Division and in the Dooplaya Region cause a renewed and massive influx of refugees into Thailand. This mass exodus of villagers comes at a time when the SLORC/SPDC is attempting to gain international legitimacy. In order to terrorize refugees into returning to Burma where they will not provide physical evidence of SLORC/SPDC human rights abuses, the SLORC/SPDC has undertaken a continuous string of joint SLORC/SPDC/DKBA attacks across the Thai border. Moreover, SLORC/SPDC's policies of forced relocation, especially in Shan State and Tenasserim Division, forced labor and portering, religious persecution, and excessive taxation have caused an almost continuous flow of refugees including Shan, Chin, Karen, Karenni and Mons.

Despite the fact that the country is not party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 Protocol, Thailand is a member of the inter-governmental Executive Committee of the Program of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR Excom). This body, which meets once a year in Geneva, oversees the work of the UNHCR and adopts conclusions regarding issues of refugee protection and assistance. It is the only international forum where refugee issues are discussed in a comprehensive manner, and its conclusions represent an authoritative international consensus regarding standards of refugee protection. Ironically, all refugees who are present in Thailand without authorization are branded as 'illegal immigrants' and are at risk of refoulement to their country of origin at any time. UNHCR's visits to the border refugee camps is sometimes permitted but Thai authorities maintain it would allow only local organizations to care for the refugees. However, Thailand allows the UNHCR to maintain a limited presence in the country. In a response to the request by the Karen Refugee Committee to allow UNHCR to protect the refugees, the Thai government insisted that NGOs were capable of handling

the current situation, and that the refugees had not fled the kind of warfare that might be a condition for the presence of the UNHCR. Thai military commander-in-chief Gen. Chetta said the government considered the latest influx of refugees as 'victims of fighting inside Burma and not victims of warfare', and the UNHCR's presence would complicate the border situation and cause misunderstandings with Burma. Thailand has made it clear that the refugees along the Thai-Burma border will be repatriated eventually. What remains obscure is how- whether repatriation will follow a clear humanitarian plan, or merely result from a mixture of applied pressure and persuasion.

Thailand has in the past 'tolerated' the presence of large numbers of Burmese refugees. However, there were some indications in 1997 that its policy might be changing. In February and March 1997, more than 4,000 refugees were forcibly repatriated to Burma by the Ninth Infantry Division of Thailand's First Army. It was unclear why these refugees were singled out for return to Burma, while thousands of others in Tak province and elsewhere were allowed to remain. On February 25-26, 1997, around 900 mostly women and children Karen refugees who had sought refuge at ban Bon Ti in Thailand were forcibly returned to an area around Htaw Ma Pyo Hta, five kilometers inside Burma. The repatriations were widely criticized by human rights organizations, as well as the UNHCR. However, on 9 and 10 March, 1997, some 3,300 Karen refugees who had recently arrived in Kanchanburi province were returned to Burma by the Thai army.

In November, 1997, a change of government in Thailand and the new administration promised that it would conduct its foreign policy in accordance with the principles of human rights. However, new refugees trying to enter Thailand found that Thai authorities were reluctant to recognize their claim of asylum. Thai authorities declared that Thailand could provide asylum only to those 'fleeing fighting'. On the ground this was clearly being interpreted as those 'fleeing immediate armed combat' and since the ethnic armies were deemed to have been defeated almost no new arrivals were considered to fit the asylum criteria. This resulted in a de facto 'no new refugees policy' in many camps. New refugees continued to cross the border and entered the camps near northern Karen State with many human rights abuses stories. Few new arrivals were being allowed into the some camps. For example: over 800 were allowed to move into Nu Po camp in Umphang district; over 500 were transferred from the border at Bo Wi in Kanchanaburi to Tham Him camp in Ratchaburi province; and 75 or so were moved from Bong Ti on the border to Ban Don Yang camp near Holockani Mon refugee camp. In several areas, newly arrived refugees had to stay on the border area and were not allowed into the camps. Yet many new arrivals still remained outside the camps and as yet there is no clear policy for their future.

Such a change in Thai policy threatens the security of more than 100,000 Karen refugees alone. Many of these refugees are already in danger of attack by the SLORC/SPDC army and the DKBA. It is therefore crucial that the Thai Government does everything in its power to ensure that these refugees are offered adequate protection.

Refugees from the Shan State community who have fled to Thailand have not been permitted to establish camps though they have also suffered the human rights abuses by the SLORC/SPDC troops. Instead, they struggle to survive by finding work on construction sites in Thailand and living where they can.

As Thai authorities battle the effects of an economic recession, official terminology being applied to the refugee population indicates that they are still very much at risk. Burmese nationals living along the border and new arrivals in Thailand are increasingly being referred to as 'illegal immigrants' by Thai authorities and as potential 'illegal immigrant workers', thus providing a rationale for repatriation. At the beginning of December, Thai Government announced that it would launch a crackdown on illegal alien workers in Thailand. Estimates of their numbers vary but go as high as one million. The Thai Government has chosen to discontinue the temporary allocation of work permits to foreign labor as part of a campaign to find jobs for Thais.

14.8. Thai Policy on Burmese Migrant Workers

Estimates of the number of Burmese migrant workers range from 500,000 to one million. The number increased dramatically during 1995 and 1996, as human rights abuses forced many young men and women to leave Burma in search of a better life. Originally, Burmese people saw Thailand simply as a place of refuge, but the booming economy in Thailand has also been an attraction for Burmese migrants.

It is impossible to make a simple distinction between the economic hardships faced by the Burmese population and the human rights violations suffered throughout the country. Many people from Burma who have fled to Thailand do not have enough to eat, due in part to the widespread practice of forced labor. Such people work under conditions so harsh that they are prevented from earning a living. Their situation has often resulted in people drawing of purely 'economic' assessments of the reasons for their migration, but such assessments are not easy to make when they are based upon sweeping generalizations. Many migrant workers themselves state that they have left Burma because of economic hardships. But in reality, many have fled from serious human rights violations. The distinction between the economic abuses suffered by the Burmese population and the serious violations of their civil and political rights is not necessarily a clear one; many of migrant Burmese in Thailand have been unable

to make a living in their homeland because of forced labor and forced relocations.

Similar to the situations of migrant laborers all over the world, the Burmese have provided Thailand with a cheap form of unskilled labor that has become crucial to the country's economy. Burmese laborers work under conditions known as the 'three Ds'- the dirty, dangerous, and difficult work, in areas where Thai people, when given the choice, refuse to work.

Thai Government considers all Burmese asylum seekers 'illegal immigrants' and makes no distinction between them and other migrants. Thai police arrest and detain refugees and asylum-seekers, particularly Burmese nationals, on a regular basis in and around Bangkok and other cities. Such detainees are not given an opportunity to challenge the legality of their detention as required by international standards. Burmese asylum-seekers convicted of illegal entry are fined and imprisoned in immigration detention centers before being taken to the border between Thailand and Burma. Even those asylum-seekers who are under the protection of UNHCR in Thailand are often detained and harassed by the Thai authorities, to the point that many of them are forced to abandon their efforts to seek asylum.

Thai policies on Burmese in Thailand have resulted in creating more difficulties for asylum seekers who wish to remain, protected in Thailand. The Thai government is currently discussing extensive plans to deport the thousands of illegal immigrant workers from Burma, and as such, new refugee arrivals are being denied admission into existing refugee camps; increased restrictions are making the camps less habitable; and major camp consolidation programs will result in a 'loss' of camp residents. These policies can be interpreted as 'push' factors, forcing Burmese refugees to leave camps in Thailand. Under such conditions, decisions that are made by refugees cannot be accurately be described as voluntary decisions.

To solve its unskilled-labor shortage problems and in a effort to document the illegal immigrant population in Thailand, significant resolutions concerning foreign laborers were passed between June 25 and August 27, 1996 during the administration of former Thai Prime Minister, Banharn Silpa Archa. The Thai cabinet approved a NSC proposal for the Thai government to impose controls on foreign laborers on June 25, 1997. In accordance with Thai Immigration Act (1979), illegal foreign workers were viewed as immigrants awaiting deportation. The resolutions allowed select illegal immigrant worker groups to work in 43 of Thailand's 72 provinces under a variety of conditions.

According to the resolution, the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare granted a temporary work permit, valid for two years, to foreign laborers in 43 provinces out

of a total 73. Under the scheme, Thai firms were required to register their workers every three months. The workers could only perform unskilled jobs in the fishing industry and the manufacturing sectors. As of March 1997, 340,819 foreign people had been registered by their employers.

However, at the beginning of November 1997, the Thai Government announced that it would launch a crackdown on 'illegal alien workers' in Thailand. The crackdown came amid the depths of Thailand's worst economic crisis in decades, which threatened to send the number of unemployed soaring from around one million to 2.8 million in 1998. The Thai Government chose to discontinue the temporary allocation of work permits to foreign laborers as part of their campaign to find new jobs for Thais. This action aimed to prevent illegal migrant workers seeking low-paid unskilled jobs in Thailand, a need that the government agreed Thai workers could fulfil. Chairman of the Thai House Labor and Social Welfare Committee said that the committee had decided to push non-registered alien workers back home to help jobless Thais because, "...the influx of alien workers has posed a threat to national security as well as to Thai workers who could lose their jobs to these immigrants. If they are not sent back home, Thai workers will suffer."

Several raids and massive arrests of illegal immigrants from Burma have been taken place since this time. A total of 49 illegal Burmese immigrants and Karen refugees were arrested on November 19, 1997 in three separate raids. In the first swoop, a combined border patrol and local police team surrounded a forest reserve in Tambon Khanecheu, Mae Ramat district where they found 105 'illegal Burmese immigrants' living in 30 makeshift shelters. The Burmese, including men, women and children, were caught and sent to the immigration office before being deported. During the search, the team found three sets of dynamite at the shelter of a Burmese man, Naing Di, who also faced another charge of possessing explosives.

In a second raid, a further 70 Karen refugees living in Ban Khanecheu near a Thai forest reserve were caught. The Karens, who had escaped from Mae La refugee camp in Tha Song Yang district to earn their living, were sent back to the camp. In the third raid, the same team arrested 320 Karen refugees along the Mae Sot-Mae Sariang route. They were sent back to Mae La refugee camp. (*Source: HRDU*)

On November 20, 1997, at 5:00p.m, Thai police and Immigration police raided the ward in Mae Sot where most of the illegal Muslims from Burma were living. Over 100 people including children and women were caught on the street and at their homes. They were detained at the immigration detention center in Mae Sot and later sent back to Burma. (*Source: HRDU*)

On November 22, 1997, a squad of 300 immigration, military and border patrol police launched a pre-dawn raid in Mae Sot. Around 365 illegal laborers were arrested and sent back to Burma. In the month of November in Mae Sot alone, 3,095 Burmese were rounded up and deported back to Burma.

On January 7, 1998, Thai police and border police arrested about 700 people from Burma in areas around Mae Sot market places and in areas concentrated with Muslim communities, conducting house to house searches. Those arrested from houses could take only a few of their possessions with them. It was alleged that the Thai police confiscated many of the arrestees' belongings. The Thai authorities are now taking more drastic measures against those who try to flee arrest and deportation. A young Burmese woman was seen being beaten by Thai police on this same morning for attempting to flee the raid. Burmese who are arrested are taken to the local immigration office for registration and then to a half-way point on the Thai-Burma Friendship Bridge. Those who return to the other side of Burma are normally refused entry by the Burmese soldiers manning the check-point and, as a result, most of them have to sneak back into Thai territory. (*Source: NCUB*)

Thailand's Immigration Bureau Commissioner, Pol-Lt-Gen. Chidchai Vanasatidya, stated that 93,172 illegal workers had been repatriated throughout Thailand between January and October, 1997. The number had increased from 25,358 in 1996. Due to the bureau's limited budget and lack of detention areas, the bureau was forced to push people back across the border into Burma as quickly as possible. Many of these people quickly returned to Thailand.

The Immigration Bureau Commissioner stated that immigration problems were being exacerbated by the failures of the governments of neighboring countries to co-operate, saying, "they can't even survive themselves, so how can they help their people? Worse still, some even don't count the people as their own."

Conditions in immigration detention centers and other detention points continue to be a cause for concern. In June, 1997, Mahachai police station reportedly held up to 400 Burmese in severely overcrowded and unsanitary conditions. Officials reportedly accepted bribes to transfer detainees to Bangkok's Immigration Detention Center (IDC) where conditions are somewhat better, but even there conditions were still harsh, with serious overcrowding problems. (*Source: TACDB*)

The Immigration Bureau's IDC at Soi Suan Plu experienced a serious overcrowding problem at the end of 1997 due to the massive crackdown on the illegal immigrants. Designed for a maximum of 1,200 people, it now houses 1,758, according to deputy commissioner Pol. Maj-Gen. Chalermdej Jombunud. The detainees- Burmese,

Khmers and 58 other nationalities- scarcely have enough room to sleep or even sit, he said. The bureau must provide food to the value of 30 baht per head per day, a total of 50,000 baht a day. To tackle the overcrowding, the bureau aims to discharge aliens as soon as investigative and legal procedures are completed.

14.8.1. Exploitation of Burmese Workers: The National Stadium Project in Bangkok

Over 80 Burmese migrant workers were discovered starving in September 1997, at the site of the forthcoming Asia Games Stadium in Bangkok's district of Ramkhamhaeng. The group of workers, originally from Mon and Karen States in Burma, had not received wages for months and could no longer afford to feed themselves. The National Stadium project is a Thai government-funded project, that had been contracted out to STNC Construction Company. Workers were under the supervision of a further sub-contractor named Pi Chankaphan, and had been working on building the foundations for a five-floor building behind the actual stadium since July 1997. Burmese workers had refused to continue the work because of the contractor's inability to pay them. By September, at least 30 Burmese workers had been forced to leave the work-site to find alternative employment, without receiving the wages already owed to them. Workers stated that they would not return home to Burma unless they were forced to. One worker stated that, "... there is nothing to do for our survival in Burma, it is better for us to stay in Thailand." He went on to say that "... we come from an area of Burma where there are very serious military operations being carried out... hunger is better for us than torture and death." Residents of Ramkhamhaeng kindly donated food to the workers who have still not been paid. (*Source: TACDB*)

Another well-documented case of migrant worker exploitation occurred at IC Towel Factory in Tak province, near Mae Sot. Over 2,000 Burmese workers were being paid 70 baht per day by the factory manager. During a surprise factory check by the owner in August 1997, it became known that the factory owner had been recording that workers were paid 100 baht per day. The factory manager had been extorting 30 baht per worker per day from the migrants. Workers demanded that their wages be paid in full and to reduce the working hours from 12 hours a day. The manager failed to listen to the demands by the Burmese workers, instead closed down the factory. Thai police officers also came to the factory and threatened Burmese workers with arrest or deportation. All the workers were later laid off by the manager. (*Source: HRDU*)

14.9. Arrest and Harassment of Burmese Opposition Groups in Thailand

In 1997, offices run by Burmese student dissidents and other opposition groups were raided by the Thai police. Office staff were detained and large amounts of property were confiscated in these raids. Additionally, a number of Burmese students were arrested and detained by Thai intelligence officials for organizing and participating in peaceful demonstrations in Bangkok, despite having recognition as persons of concern to UNHCR.

On January 9, 1997, Thai plain-clothes police officers raided the ABSDF supply office and arrested three persons, taking away a large number of documents. After negotiations, three Burmese students were released from detention. On January 17, two plain clothes police officers raided the ABSDF foreign affairs office in Bangkok. A payment of 20,000 baht was made to avoid arrest. The officers searched the office and cut the telephone lines before leaving. Shortly after the ABSDF raid, two police officers visited the office of NCGUB but left without doing anything. In the afternoon, two plain clothes officers again raided the ABSDF supply office and demanded a payment of 10,000 baht. Since no funds were available, the policemen confiscated a Macintosh computer that was in the office. (*Source: ABSDF*)

In May 1997, four Burmese students, all 'persons of concern' to UNHCR were detained by Thai intelligence officials for holding a peaceful demonstration outside the Malaysian embassy in Bangkok, demanding that Burma not be admitted into ASEAN.

On September 1997, 13 people, including three Ministers from the Burmese government-in-exile, were arrested after a Thai police raid on their office in Bangkok. Two women and one child were later released, but the rest were taken to Mae Sot and released. The three arrested Ministers were U Teddy Buri, NCGUB Minister for Asia-Pacific Affairs, Dr. San Aung, Minister for Labor, and U Thein Oo, Minister for Justice.

On November 24, 1997, 17 activists belonging to the ABSDF, DPNS, Karen Historical Research Society, Mergui-Tavoy United Front and People's Democratic Front were arrested in their offices in Sangklaburi. Among those detained were three boys- 8, 9 and 10 years old - who had been attending an English class at the office. After their arrest, the detainees were taken to Sangklaburi District Office and then transferred to a Thai Border Patrol Police unit. At the time of arrest, Thai police confiscated statements, files, photos, and a printing machine. The names of the people arrested were Kyaw Htet (PDF), Shwe Thway (PDF), Lu Maw (PDF),

Aung Htoo (PDF), Charlie (DPNS), Win Naing (DPNS), Nyi Nyi (DPNS), Kyaw Naing (DPNS), Paw Tun Aung (NLD-LA), Aung San Nyunt (NLD-LA), U Shein (MDUF), Than Htike (MDUF), Maung Tun Sein (12 years old), Maung Letwae Tun (8 years old), Maung Nyi Nyi Lwin (10 years old), Htet Khaung (Karen Research) and Myint Win.

It was believed that the arrests were due to pressure applied upon local Thai authorities by the SLORC/SPDC. Sergeant Kyaw Zaw from SLORC/SPDC Military Intelligence No.5 at Three Pagodas Pass oversaw their arrest at the immigration office in Sangklaburi. All of the activists were later transferred to Kanchanaburi IDC and released at the deportation site near Holockani Mon refugee camp.

On December 14, 1997, a soldier from Thailand's 9th Division Army, searched farms in Hua Hin, where members of ABSDF had been taking refuge, arresting 13 people including women and children. The farm owner had been told that the soldiers wanted to search for the illegal Burmese migrant, but only the farm where ABSDF members had been staying was searched. The 13 people were sent to Prachub police station and later charged with illegal entry into Thailand. (*Source: ABSDF*)

14.10. The Situation of Burmese Student Dissidents in Thailand

The UNHCR office in Thailand has provided financial and medical assistance to refugees recognized as 'persons of concern' since late 1988. As operations of UNHCR are strictly limited by the Thai Government, the full range of measures for the protection of refugees and asylum-seekers which the UNHCR can offer in many countries cannot be properly implemented in Thailand. Though many Burmese students have been recognized by the UNHCR as 'persons of concern', their registration with the UNHCR does not provide adequate protection against detention or harassment in Thailand. The asylum seekers and refugees from Burma have no legal recognition of their special status in Thailand. Thus, many of them are persecuted and detained under Thai law for 'illegal immigration'. In some cases, they are forcibly returned to the country they have left.

In 1991, a camp called the 'Burmese Students Center' was established in Ratchaburi province by the Thai Interior Ministry, in accordance with the section 17 of the Ministry of Interior 1979 Immigration Act and a Cabinet resolution on September 24, 1991. Burmese students under the protection of UNHCR were pressured to enter the camp. UNHCR was then asked by the Thai Government to sever all material assistance to Burmese students to force them to enter the camp.

Since the establishment of what is commonly known as the 'Safe Area', many incidents of violence have taken place between Burmese student residents and the camp authorities, sometimes these incidents involve the local Thai community. On October 3, 1997, at around 9:00 p.m., a group of villagers with arms, including Ministry of Interior employees from the camp, assaulted a group of Burmese exiles for 'making a loud noise'. The camp commander later admitted to assaulting this group of camp residents. It has been alleged that series of attacks on camp residents by the villagers of Ban Maneeloi, the closest village to the camp, have been actively encouraged by the camp commander, who has offered alcohol and gifts of money to some villagers in return for acts of harassment and intimidation.

Students have held numerous demonstrations against the abuses and extra-judicial actions of the camp commander. A number of students were arrested for taking part in demonstrations or other political activities in Bangkok, and leaving the camp without an authorized pass issued by the proper authorities. Usually, residents of the 'Safe Area' can leave the camp for one week out of every month for any destination in Thailand, but they are restricted from travelling to Bangkok on key political dates. Passes are withheld by camp authorities to limit the political activities such as demonstrations in front of the Burmese Embassy in Bangkok. Students are not allowed to involve in political activities and some students who are politically active are restricted from leaving the camp at all. A number of students have been arrested and detained at Bangkok's Special Detention Center (SDC) in Bangkok, a jail for political prisoners in Thailand. Most of these students face indefinite periods of detention.

As of December 1997, eight Burmese exiles, former students, are still being arbitrarily detained at SDC. All of these former student activists have completed the term of detention required by the laws under which they were initially detained.

14.10.1. List of Burmese Students Under Detention in SDC

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Thant Zin Oo | (UNHCR N.I. 6229) |
| 2. Tayza Thura | (UNHCR N.I. 1235) |
| 3. Aung Zaw | (UNHCR N.I. 5850) |
| 4. Shwe Oo | (UNHCR N.I. 1372) |

These students were arrested on November 26, 1996 during US President Bill Clinton's visit to Thailand in 1996. A group of students staged a demonstration and tried to hand an open letter to Mr. Clinton. They were allegedly charged for leaving camp without proper passes. They have been incarcerated in SDC since this time.

5. Shwe Hla (UNHCR N.I.1359)

Shwe Hla was detained in April, 1997 after being arrested outside of the Malaysian embassy in Bangkok for peacefully demonstrating against Asean's acceptance of Burma. He was first detained in IDC and then transferred to SDC on June 16, 1997 and has been incarcerated since this time. Shwe Hla has just recently been released from Bangkok's Central Police Hospital where he received treatment for severe asthma and respiratory problems. According to reports, he has fully recovered from his time in hospital, but is a long term sufferer of asthma, so some concern remains over his future health and well-being while under detention.

In addition to Shwe Hla, a further 3 Burmese dissidents were arrested after the demonstration. One of these students had an official out-pass from the Safe Area and was later released and sent back to the camp. The other two students, Nyein Moe and Ye Chan, both under the protection of UNHCR, were detained in IDC for 1 month before being deported to Mae Sot. Such actions by the Thai authorities place dissidents lives in grave danger. The two later returned clandestinely to Bangkok where they continue to demonstrate.

6. Win Myint (UNHCR NI. 2093)

Win Myint was arrested on June 27, 1994 and has been detained for three years. He was arrested in the safe area for allegedly fighting with other Burmese. It is widely understood in the camp that Win Myint suffers from a psychological impairment, needing medical attention. He has been known for displays of aggression inside the camp. Other Burmese students in the camp understand his condition and are concerned for his well-being. He receives no specialist medical attention in SDC. The Prison is keen on releasing Win Myint but the 'Safe Area' camp commander has stated that he will not accept him back, although not having the full authority to make such decisions. There appears to be nothing in the provincial rules governing the 'Safe Area' that restrict him from reentering.

7. Sanshar Oo (UNHCR NI. 4274)

Sanshar Oo was arrested on February 9, 1995 and has been detained almost two years.

8. Saw Joseph (UNHCR NI. 2068)

He was arrested in February 1996 for allegedly violating camp rules.

14.11. Rohingya Muslim Refugees in Bangladesh

At least 300,000 Rohingya refugees arrived in Bangladesh during 1991 and 1992 due to the massive human rights violations occurring in Arakan State, including extrajudicial executions, torture, forced labor and portering. The Rohingyas are Bengali-speaking Muslim people from Burma. Some Rohingya refugees describe stories of rapes, killings and acts of religious discrimination in Arakan state. The range and extent of these abuses constitutes widespread repression of the Rohingyas by the SLORC/SPDC security forces, resulting in unprecedented numbers of refugees fleeing the country.

A UN-brokered agreement between Burma and Bangladesh for the 'safe and voluntary return of Rohingya refugees was reached on April 28, 1992, but contained no provisions for impartial screening of the refugees before they went back or for monitoring their well-being afterwards.

In the first repatriation exercise, between September 1992 and the end of 1993, UNHCR was not present in Burma and had no agreement with the Burmese authorities about providing assistance to refugees to return. Later, when UNHCR was present in Bangladesh, it was unable to stop concerted efforts by the Bangladeshi authorities to force refugees to return home. Among the methods used were beating and the withdrawal of food rations. The vast majority of the 50,000 refugees who returned to Burma did so involuntarily, and it took well over a year before they received any assistance from the UNHCR.

In 1994, during the second repatriation of Rohingyas, UNHCR did establish a presence in Arakan State and promoted mass repatriation on the grounds that it was safe for refugees to return home. In one month alone, September 1994, nearly 14,000 refugees were repatriated. However, the UNHCR failed to interview each refugee individually to ensure that she or he was returning voluntarily. In 1996, approximately 23,000 of the Rohingya Muslims who fled to Bangladesh in 1992 returned to Burma, bringing the total number of returnees to about 220,000.

However, the flight of Rohingyas was not over. Some 10,000 to 15,000 new asylum seekers entered Bangladesh since the end of February 1996. Most of them who described increased forced labor, heavy taxation of Muslims and some stances of rape arrived in the first half of 1997. Local Bangladeshi authorities reported in June 1997 that there was an influx of at least 5,000 Rohingyas in one month alone, stating that 500 of them had been sent back across the border over a two week period. UNHCR and International NGOs are not formally permitted to have access to the new refugees. Those who have relatives or close friends in the refugees camps

sometimes try and live in the camp. However, the Bangladeshi authorities in the camps root out new arrivals from the camp and had them charged with illegal entry. Those who do not enter the camps have hidden in jungle areas or in slums around Cox's Bazaar.

14.11.1. Discrimination Against the Rohingya in Burma

Notwithstanding the UNHCR's claims of success, returning Rohingya refugees continue to face discrimination and persecution by the SLORC/SPDC because of their ethnicity. The pattern of repression occurs in the context of the SLORC/SPDC's denial of citizenship rights to the Rohingya. Under the 1982 Citizenship Law, which was promulgated shortly after Rohingya refugees returned from the 1978 exodus to Bangladesh and was designed specifically to deny citizenship to the Rohingya. Under this Law, a person in order to become a full citizen must prove the residency in Burma of all his or her ancestors back to 1823, the year before the British government annexed Arakan.

Under this Law, there are three categories of citizenship, 'citizens', 'associate citizens', and 'naturalized citizens'. Full citizenship was limited to 'nationals such as Kachin, Karen, Chin, Burman, Mon, Rakhine or Shan and ethnic groups as have settled in any of the territories included within the State as their permanent home from a period prior to 1185 B.E. or 1823 A.D'. If a person cannot give proof of residence of all ancestors prior to this date, he or she can be classified as an associate citizen if one grandparent, or pre-1823 ancestor, was a citizen of another country. Those persons whose had qualified for citizenship under the 1948 law, but who would no longer qualify under this 1982 law, were also considered associate citizens if they have applied for citizenship in 1948. However, under the new law, applications for associate citizenship had to be made within one year of the promulgation of the law, since then, all former foreigners or stateless persons can only apply for naturalization. A naturalized citizen, according to law, is one who has a parent who was a full citizen and one who was an associate citizen (or is so qualified for citizenship under the 1948 law). But a naturalized citizen must also 'speak well one of the national languages', 'be of good character', and 'be of sound mind'. According to the terms of the law, only full and naturalized citizens are entitled to enjoy the rights of a citizen under the law, with the exception from time to time of the rights stipulated by the State.

Under the new law, few Rohingyas could qualify for full citizenship, and many would not be entitled to either associate or naturalized citizenship, due not only to their individual histories but also to the difficulty of providing legal evidence. Thus, most Rohingyas are only recognized as foreign residents.

Following the promulgation of the 1982 law, all residents in Burma had to reapply for citizenship, exchanging their old identity documents for new ones. In 1989, a further change was made and all residents had to apply for new Citizenship Scrutiny Cards, (in Burmese 'naing-ngan-tha si-sit-ye kat-pya') rather than the old Identity Cards (in Burmese 'hmat-pon-tin'). The new cards are color-coded for easy identification of the citizenship status of the bearer. Pink cards are given to full citizens; blue is for associate citizens and green for naturalized citizens. Foreigners Registration Cards (FRC) are white. The cards are used to control the movement of people internally and to ensure that associate and naturalized citizens and foreigners do not receive benefits to which they are legally entitled. ID cards have to be shown in Burma for the smallest of transaction, and at each of these the card number is noted down, often in triplicate to be sent to the relevant ministries and government departments. This includes buying a bus, boat, train or plane tickets, applying for a place in school; visiting a friend outside one's ward; or applying for any government job.

Although the arrangement between Bangladesh and Burma and between Burma and the UNHCR was that returnees would be granted 'appropriate identification papers', the yellow cards that were provided to the Rohingya returnees simply gave the SLORC/SPDC further justification to mistreat this Muslim minority. The repatriation process agreed to by the UNHCR required that lists of people willing to repatriate, the names of the villages they had left in Burma, and any other identifying information be sent to Burma's Immigration and Manpower Department (IMPD) for verification. After checking with the village LORC, where lists of all householders are maintained, the person or family was then accepted or rejected as a resident of Burma. In some cases, this verification process was very lengthy, especially if the person married while in Bangladesh or if families had become separated while in the camps. When they arrived back in Burma, the returnees - were photographed in a reception center where their village of origin, number of family members, and other details were verified. For a fee of fifty *kyats*, the returnees received a yellow card identifying them as having returned from another country, but giving them no legal status in Burma. As non-citizens, the SLORC/SPDC can now more legitimately restrict their ability to travel freely within the country and deny them access to government-sponsored health care services and education, and even to employment.

Moreover, extensive recruitment for compulsory labor is one of the main reasons for the influx of refugees in the first half of 1997. Although UNHCR has focused on this issue and has repeatedly intervened with regard to returnees being called for compulsory labor, the SLORC/SPDC authorities agreed to exempt the returnees only for the first two months after their arrival and to limit compulsory labor for the entire population in the area. Rohingyas and other ethnic minorities including the Arakanese and Mro, were forced to work on roads and bridges by the SLORC/

SPDC in December 1996 and during the first half of 1997. Local populations in Arakan State are forced to provide physical labor for 7 to 10 days a month without pay. Prisoners in chains and villagers were forced to work on roads from Kyauktaw to Buthidaung and from Sittwe to Kyauktaw in 1997. Because civilians are forced to perform labor for substantial amounts of time, they are often unable to provide for their families. People are subject to compulsory labor ordered by different authorities. The border patrol administration in Arakan State, known as 'Na Sa Ka', were reportedly one of the security forces responsible for seizing laborers.

Confiscation of land and property of the Rohingyas is another violation in the region. In many parts of Maungdaw, Buthidaung and Kyauktaw townships in Arakan State, the military has confiscated land to build roads, military barracks, hydro-electric stations, prawn farms and other commercial activities. In case where land is taken, there is no compensation for the owner and no recourse to law. The authorities in the region ordered the Muslim to move outside of Maungdaw and Buthidaung and move Burmese or Arakanese families into 'model villages' in the wealthiest parts of Maungdaw and Buthidaung.

In addition to these abuses, Rohingyas have also been subject to increasing many forms of taxation since 1992. Every family in northern Arakan State has to pay a chilli tax, regardless of whether they actually grow chilies. As a result, many Rohingyas are forced to buy chilies at the market rate of 500 *kyats*, and sell them to the Nakasa at the government rate of 100 *kyats*. The Rohingya also report that they had to pay a fee when going on to the river to fish and when going to forest to cut bamboo. New arrivals in 1997 said that the taxes had been extended to farm animals; the owners of a cow must pay 80 *kyats* a year, while a goat is assessed at 30 *kyats* a year. Also, the Rohingyas have to pay for permits to travel from their village to the next, or to the market village to sell whatever produce they may have.

14.11.2. The Situation of Newly-arrived Rohingya Refugees Throughout 1997

Because of the continued human rights violations in the region, some 10,000 Rohingyas entered Bangladesh in 1996, but they were not welcomed by the Bangladeshi authorities. Many of them were sent back to Burma. On April 20, 1996, fifteen Rohingyas, part of a group of 150 who were seeking asylum in Bangladesh, drowned in the Naf River as they were being towed back to Burma by the Bangladesh Border Rifles. All fifteen were women and young children. This incident brought much-needed attention to the plight of new asylum-seekers in 1996.

The events of the first six months of 1996 repeated in the first six months of 1997

when some 10,000 to 15,000 new Rohingyas arrived to Bangladesh. Because these new arrivals tend not to enter refugee camps and instead stay in local villages, it is difficult to get the precise numbers. Similarly, they were stopped by the Bangladeshi authorities from entering into Bangladesh. Lt-Col. Khaled Reza, a commander of Bangladesh's border security force, who stated that, "...if caught, we are pushing the infiltrators back or sending them to jails." In July 1997, Cox's Bazaar Police Superintendent, Matiur Rahman, stated that more than 2,000 newly-arrived Rohingyas had been sent back to Burma within the previous few months.

Although the repatriation process was scheduled to be completed by mid-1997, delays in the repatriation process have made 21,800 Rohingya refugees remain in the two camps- Nayapara camp and Kutu Palong camp- at the end of June 1997. The SLORC/SPDC delayed the process until July 15, 1997, when they agreed to receive only those of the 21,800 refugees who had been cleared by them by the August 15 deadline. The SLORC/SPDC has agreed to accept only 7,500 of the remaining 21,800 Rohingyas in the camps. UNHCR has requested the Bangladeshi authorities to allow the remaining 14,300 Rohingyas to settle in Bangladesh. However, with local hostility towards the refugees increasing, and with Islamic fundamentalist elements actively working within the refugee camps, the Bangladesh government refused the offer of increased assistance and resettlement packages to 21,400 caseload of Rohingyas.

Instead, the Bangladeshi government began forced repatriation in 1997. On July 19, 1997, the Bangladeshi security forces entered Nayapara refugee camp in Cox's Bazaar district intending to arrest refugees cleared by Burma for repatriation. Apparently no one volunteered for repatriation, so the authorities picked mostly women and children to be sent back. The refugees resisted, with some throwing stones, and tear gas was used to quell the protests. 111 refugees, mainly women and children, were held in the camp office overnight and on the next morning, these people along with 76 other refugees were driven in buses to a repatriation point and forced onto boats to be taken to Burma. A partly paralyzed man and a heavily pregnant woman were among those taken.

After the refugees from Nayapara Camp were taken by bus to the river, a group in that camp attacked security forces with canes, iron rods, and bows and arrows, who responded by firing shots and lobbing tear gas canisters. As a result, 15-20 people were reportedly injured, including several policemen. A group of refugees was arrested at the time.

The second forcible return took place in July 22, 1997 in Kutapalong camp. There was no resistance by the refugees at that time, but UNHCR was not allowed access

to the refugees. Some 212 refugees were returned on this occasion.

14.12. The Situation of Refugees from Burma in India

The militarization of Chin State and Sagaing Divisions has created untenable burdens for the people of the region. Thousands of locals from these areas have fled to India to escape the ongoing brutality of the military regime. It is estimated that there are about 40,000 refugees in India, mostly in India's Manipur, Mizoram States and few activists in New Delhi.

In Manipur and Mizoram, refugees are Chins who receive no aid and are subject to increasing harassment and forced repatriation by Indian forces. There are also about 2,000 Rakhine refugees from Arakan in Mizoram who receive no aid too.

India is not a signatory to the 1950 Convention on the Status of Refugees, nor to the 1967 protocol, and it does not recognize the many asylum-seekers from Burma as refugees. No refugee camps exist in India at this time, and no assistance is available for those who enter from Burma, so villagers fleeing to India must look for jobs to support themselves and their families back in their villages. Some try to survive by practicing slash and burn farming in the remote border areas, while others move into towns to look for wage labor. Many of them find manual work in hand-loom factories, or on road construction and building sites.

(Also see under "personal Accounts," interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 44, 45, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 76, 77 and 81)



Burning Huay Kaloke refugee camp on the night of January 28, 1997. Fire spread so quickly through the tightly-packed bamboo huts that most could escape with nothing more than their children. (Photo by KHRG)



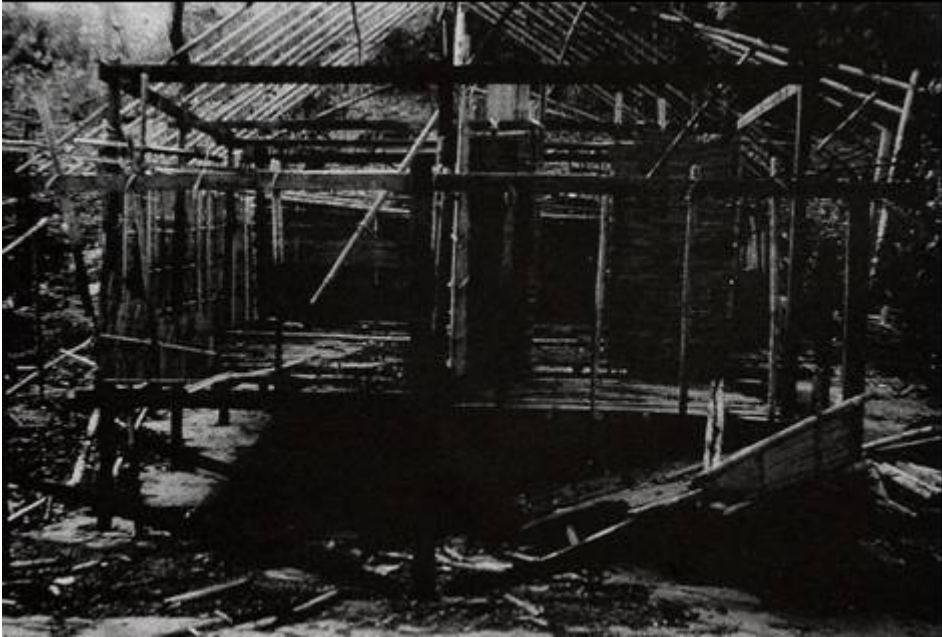
*After an attack by the DKBA in Huay Bon refugee camp on January 28, 1997.
(Photo by KNU)*



Refugees at Baw Wi temporary site in Ratchaburi province. They were forcibly repatriated by the Thai army earlier. They fled to Thailand again when SLORC approached to their area. (Photo by KHRG)



Some of the Karen refugees who had just been forcibly repatriated by the Thai Army setting up at Htaw Ma Pyo Hta in early March 1997. Thai Army forced all boys and men aged 10 and above back across the border on February 26, 1997 and ten women were trucked and pushed back across the border. (Photo by KHRG)



The remains of Meh Tharoh Kee village, which also served as a refugee camp in early 1997 though it is not in Thailand. SLORC troop occupied the village and burned all of it to the ground before withdrawing. (Photo by KHRG)



Refugees on the Thai-Burma border once again on the move to new place. (Photo by HRDU)



A family fleeing further into the hills because a SLORC troop was approaching near their hidden shelter, which they had built after their village was destroyed. (Photo by KHRG)

A family from Meh Way village, Karen State, fleeing for Thailand. Their village is being used as a relocation site, and they said the burden of forced labour there has become unbearable. (Photo by KHRG)



Karen refugees moving to new site inside Thailand from Pu Nam Rawn on March 4, 1997.



Refugee from the KNU 4th Brigade area preparing to take refuge inside Thailand when the SLORC launched a major offensive to the region. (Photo by HRDU)



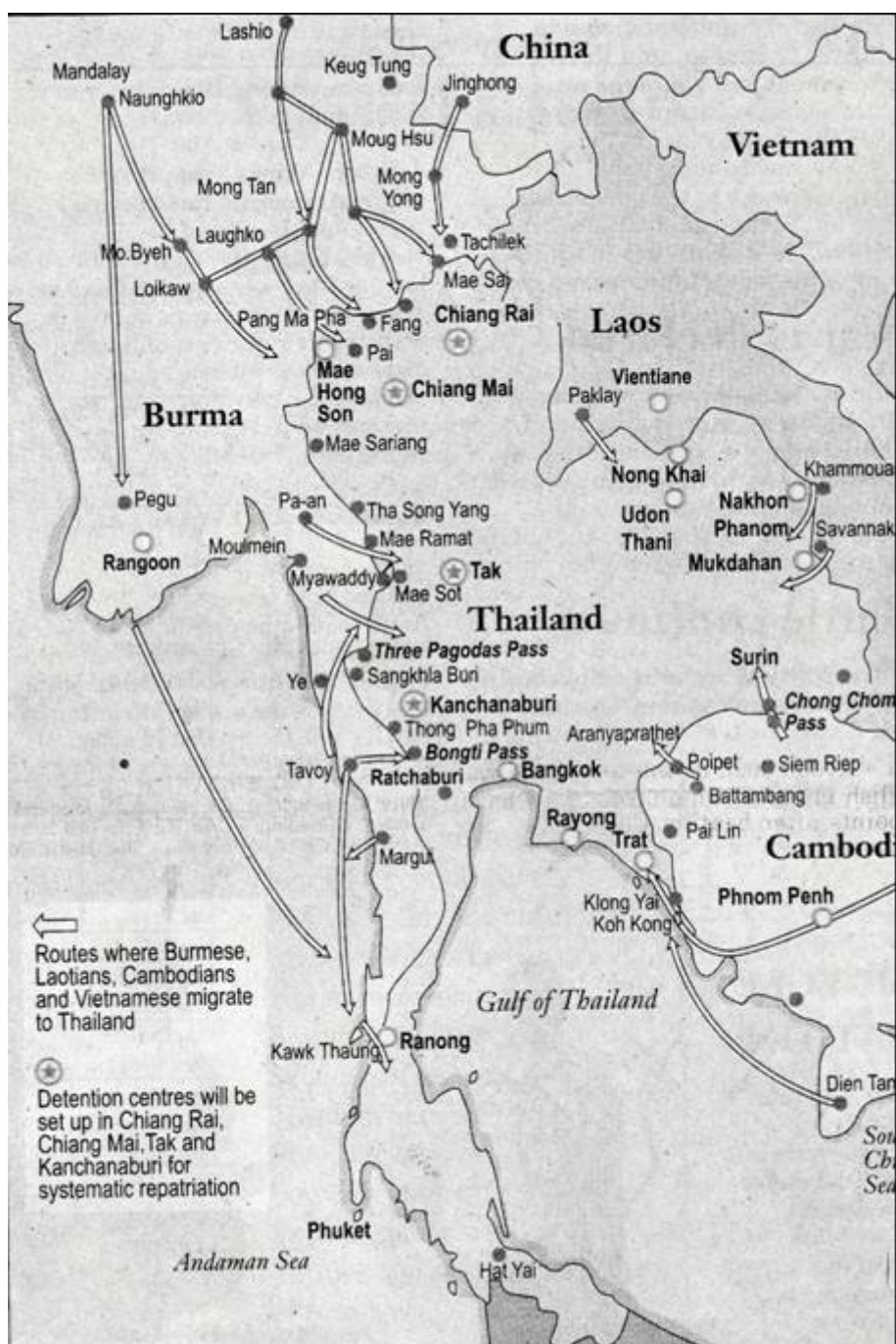
Refugees taking bath in their temporary site in Kanchanaburi province. (Photo by HRDU)



Burmese illegal immigrants on the repatriation trucks to the border. (Photo by MRC)



Burmese illegal immigrants waiting for deportation at the Immigration Detention Center, Bangkok. (Photo by The Nation)



Map showing the routes where Burmese, Laotians, Cambodians and Vietnamese migrate to Thailand and places where new detention centers will be set up. Official estimation says there are nearly one million illegal alien workers sheltering in the country.

BURMESE BORDER CAMP LOCATIONS WITH POPULATION FIGURES

February 1998



PERSONAL ACCOUNTS

Notes: Names of people and places have, in some cases, been withheld or changed when deemed necessary to protect the victims, their families, or our information sources; however, the original source documentation contains complete and accurate information. Most of the events described took place in 1997, however, some events occurred in early 1998.

The following keywords describing human rights violations (HRV) have been used to index and cross-reference the report; the keywords appear at the beginning of each interview.

Assembly:	Freedom of assembly and association
Child:	Rights of child
Detention:	Arbitrary detention and enforced or involuntary disappearances
Displacement:	Internally displaced persons
Execution, Killing:	Extra-judicial, summary, or arbitrary executions
Expression:	Freedom of opinion and expression
Forced labor:	Forced labor and slavery
Judicial:	Judicial system and unfair trial
Livelihood:	Rights of livelihood (i.e., pillaging, extortion)
Minorities:	Protection of minorities
Movement:	Freedom of movement
Refugee:	Situation of refugees
Religion:	Freedom of belief
Relocation:	Forced relocation
Repatriation:	Forced repatriation
Slavery:	Forced labor and slavery (i.e., portering)
Torture:	Torture and other cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment or punishment
Women:	Discrimination and violations against women

Interview 1: HRV: Refugee, Relocation, Livelihood, Women, Child

Name:	Maw Reh
Sex:	Male
Age:	about 50-55
Ethnicity:	Kayah, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist/Animist
Marital status:	Married with seven children
Address:	Daw Tama village, Shadaw Township, Karenni State
Date of interview:	January 20, 1997
Place of interview:	Karenni refugee camp (2), Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

[Maw Reh arrived in a Karenni refugee camp in November 1996 after staying in Shadaw relocation site, hiding in the forest near his village, and being arrested by SLORC.]

I left my village sometime in October. I don't remember which day but it took me 13 days to arrive here. The SLORC didn't order me to leave [when he fled from hiding in the forest in October] but if they found people in the village they would torture them. So I was afraid of that and I ran away.

They gave the order letter dated May 31, 1996 to move all of us. They gave us only seven days to leave. We had just finished planting our paddy and we had to leave it all behind. If we didn't leave by the deadline, the SLORC would kill us. So we all hurried to Shadaw [relocation camp] at once. It was three hours' walk. A lot of people moved there. Some fell over on the way. Some of our things were left behind. We all had to stay in one place there. When we arrived there, some people fell sick and died. We were too afraid of the SLORC to stay there. They didn't give us any rice to eat [after two months], so some people tried to go back to their villages. And when we went back, we had to hide in the forest because we were so afraid of the SLORC. Then we came back to that place [Shadaw relocation camp] because we couldn't hide for very long. We couldn't do anything. We didn't know what was the best thing to do.

I stayed at the relocation site for two and half months. At first they gave us some rice. But after two months, the SLORC didn't give us any more food. So we escaped from there and went back to our own village. We were afraid to stay in our village because nobody stays there now. The SLORC had come and burned down the houses and the rice barns. All of the houses. Most of the rice was destroyed but a little remained. We had made pits in the ground to hide it. We also hid some of the rice in caves. We were afraid of the SLORC soldiers and we hid. If

the soldiers saw us, they would kill us. So we had to hide in the forest. Not too far from our village, in the valley. We couldn't hide on the mountain. It was a little distant from our village but we took some rice along from our village. We used to go back to our village to get some more rice. If the SLORC had seen us, they would have tortured us.

We stayed there for one month and then we came here. The whole family together. Lots of people were hiding in the forests. There were 30 houses in our village. Only some stayed in Shadaw. We decided to come here because we were too afraid of the SLORC. They came often and checked around everywhere. We saw some soldiers in our village, but whenever we saw them we ran back to hide in the valley. Sometimes they went past and sometimes they turned and went back. We always felt afraid to go back to the village. When they saw us, they tortured us. The SLORC soldiers nearly cut my throat. It happened while I was going back to my village to get some food. I got a pass from them and went. But then they arrested me and brought me back to Shadaw.

They arrested me in my village, at the lake when I went to fetch water. They pointed their guns at me. They were going to kill me. I begged the soldiers, "Please don't kill me. I still have many children and they need me." I said this in Kayah language and they didn't understand. Fortunately one person from Daw Tama saw me, helped me and explained for me. I showed the pass to the soldiers but they didn't care about it. They didn't hit me but they tied me up for the whole day and all night. They tied my hands behind my back and I couldn't sleep. At that time, I couldn't run away. They didn't only tie my hands, they also tied my feet. They made me sleep with them in the forest for two nights. They kept me among the soldiers at the army post. I was tied all the time. I couldn't sleep at night. I sat beside the fire. They gave me some food but I couldn't eat. I was in agony. I thought that I would die. Then they took me back with them to Shadaw and they showed me to the people there [as an example].

Two of my daughters died. When we moved to Shadaw, my two daughters didn't feel well and so they didn't follow. They died behind. When I went back to the village, I saw that they had died. Nobody had a chance to dig a grave or make a coffin for them. They were sick because they were always hiding in the forest, they couldn't get any medicine to treat themselves and they died from fever. Their names were Vu Meh and Pleh Meh. Vu Meh was 25, she was already married and had a child. Pleh Meh was 20. She was so beautiful and well-built. Her skin was white. I feel so much sorrow about her. I wish she was back with me. They died about two days apart from each other.

We spent 13 nights on the way to get here. I came with the whole family. My two sons, my wife and I. There were four of us. I was too afraid of the soldiers to leave

my children behind [he means his two youngest children; his older children are married and live separately, so he no longer counts them as 'children']. I crossed the Salween River by boat. I don't remember exactly when I arrived here but we have received rice three times in the camp since then [rice is distributed once per month in the refugee camp, so he has been there for over two months].

I did not know the reason why SLORC ordered us to move out from our village. I only know that I had to run, because they ordered us to move and they only gave us a few days. If we didn't move during that time limit they would kill us. Before, they used to come to our village sometimes but they didn't beat anyone.

Interview 2: HRV: Refugee, Relocation, Livelihood

Name:	Soe Reh
Sex:	Male
Age:	over 40
Ethnicity:	Kayah, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married with six children
Address:	Daw So Kyar village, Shadaw Township, Karenni State
Date of interview:	January 21, 1997
Place of interview:	Karenni refugee camp(2), Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

I arrived here during October. At first I went to Shadaw [relocation site]. But I had not enough to eat and I was afraid of the SLORC.

In my village there were about 70 houses. In June, the SLORC sent us a written letter to move. When I saw the order I went to Shadaw. The SLORC said that all the villagers must go within seven days. They said: "Stubborn people are not as hard as bullets!" We were afraid and we left. We couldn't carry everything, so we carried first all the useful things like pots, rice, blankets, etc.. Some of our things were left behind. The SLORC only gave us one week to carry our belongings. If we took more than one week they would make problems for us. When we arrived in Shadaw, we had not enough food and we felt sick. Even the clothes and the blankets were not enough. All my paddy was left behind and it was destroyed by the SLORC. Most of our animals were killed by the SLORC. Only very few remained. When I got back to my village, I could only see the bones of our animals. They killed our animals and destroyed our rice barns. I felt so depressed and decided to come here. I have no idea why the SLORC forced us to move out. When SLORC ordered us to go, we just went. Shadaw was not a good place to live. It was so dirty. We couldn't eat or even

sleep. We could only live on the ground. There were so many sick people. Many died. Every day two or three people died. They died of fever, dysentery and cold. I arrived in Shadaw in June and I came here in October. You can guess how many months! I couldn't build any house. There was no bamboo, no trees, not even leaves to make a roof. Every material was very far away to get. The SLORC only gave us 200 shingles of leaves to make a roof [enough to cover a roof about seven feet square, and even these were probably demanded from local villagers]. But some people could do it, some people have some money and they could buy the materials to build their house. But not me. So I went to stay with my relatives in Shadaw [village]. I didn't stay in the new place [the relocation site] because there were too many sicknesses, and the SLORC forced the people who lived there to work for them. During the first month I was also included in doing work for them. I had to build a fence for the army camp. I couldn't do this for long, so I went to my relatives and stayed there.

We had to cut bamboo, make a fence around ourselves [surrounding the relocation camp], clear a place to grow beans [for the Army], clear the roadsides of the car road and also repair it. They forced each family to cut 100 bamboo for them. Each bamboo had to be 15 feet long. It was for the old army camp but the SLORC ordered us to rebuild it. There were two fences, one around the camp and one around us.

At first, the people built shelters around Shadaw town. Then they went and stayed under the houses, in the kitchens, and under the trees in Shadaw town. But the SLORC prohibited that and forced them to stay together in one place. The new place was very close to the army camp. I myself stayed there. The place inside the fences was full of people. I don't know how many. Maybe 1,000 or 2,000. SLORC didn't allow them to stay around the town. Many people were so depressed and some escaped from there. Sometimes they seldomly allowed us to go out.

The relocation place was a flat area. It used to be untouched bush. Nothing was ever planted there before. First we had to clear an area where we could stay. Then SLORC decided that we had to clear another place to live, and they used the first place to grow beans. The bean field was a little far from the new place. I had to clear the new place, too. But then after one month, the SLORC forced us to move to a new place near their camp and clear it again. As soon as we arrived we also had to cut bamboo and build a fence. My relatives saw me. They had pity on me and asked me to stay with them. They were already living in Shadaw town. When I left Shadaw [to flee to the refugee camp in October], they had already planted beans in the big place. Some people managed to build a house, but some couldn't and they were trying to flee.

There was not enough food, so we went back to our own village to bring back some food. Sometimes they allowed us to bring food if we had nothing to eat. Only one person per family was allowed to go. If one time was not enough, we could go a second time. I had to buy a pass for two *kyats* to go back to the village. If our village was far, they would allow us two days, but if the village was close they would allow only one day. If we stayed over the permitted time and the SLORC found us along the way, they would do to us whatever they wanted. My village was very far. If we started walking at 6 a.m. we got there at 12 noon -- at least 6 hours' walk. They allowed us two days. But when we arrived in our village, SLORC had destroyed everything and it was so depressing. Everything in the village was completely ruined. Before we left, we had hidden some rice in the caves, so we tried to get some rice from the caves. A little rice remained there, so we could eat. Some rice was also left in some rice barns because the SLORC hadn't found them.

My village was not burnt down, but if we tried to stay there the SLORC would burn it down. They did this when they see people staying there. More than ten villages had already been burnt down. Some villages were destroyed - they destroyed the walls and the roofs of the houses.

At first, they gave six milk tins [of uncooked rice] for six days [this was less than half what an adult needed], but after one month they didn't give anything. When the priest saw the people at that place, he said to the soldiers: "You called the people together here. Why don't you give them enough food to eat? If you don't give enough food to them, I will try to give some myself." The SLORC told him: "You can give, but you have to give it to us first." The priest didn't believe them, so he said: "If I give the food to you first, it will not go to the people." So the priest refused to give it any one. The people became really depressed and tried to escape from that place. But some had a little money and could stay there.

Before, there were some wells beside the stream but they were very dirty. So we dug new ones to fetch water. There were many wells, more than 10. SLORC said that they put some chemicals in the wells to prevent diseases. Many people died when they drank the water.

Some people had malaria, others had dysentery. But almost all the people who died, died of dysentery [possibly cholera, or dysentery combined with something else; the symptoms were vomiting and diarrhea]. Adults died, children died - but mostly children aged 7 to 9. I know about one child - his mother died and his father sent him to the priest. He was only two weeks old. There was a small clinic but when we got sick, we couldn't get enough medicine. We didn't need to pay for the medicines but they were not very effective, so some people went outside to get good medicines to cure their diseases. Some went to the priest and tried to get medicine

from him. In other places, you had to pay 35 or 45 *kyats* for one injection. I knew the priest, so if my children got sick I went to get medicine from the priest. No one died in my family. They did not get sick often. Only once, one of my children felt seriously ill. I got medicine from the priest and he got better.

I saw people being beaten but I didn't see anyone being killed. Sometimes they arrested people on the road, then they brought them back to the new place and beat them. They were beaten because they were found outside without a pass or with an expired pass. These people were caught and beaten. I saw three people like that. All three were men. They beat them with a bamboo stick and kicked them all over. Their faces were swollen and not nice to look at.

I escaped at a place on the other side of the gate. I broke the fence and escaped. Some other people also broke the fence and escaped.

The whole town of Shadaw was surrounded by a fence. The SLORC soldiers had checkpoints, day and night. We escaped through the fence. It was a new fence. After we arrived, the SLORC soldiers forced us to surround the town with a fence. My wife and my children escaped together with me at about 11 p.m. Five other families also used the same hole in the fence. But there were other holes in the fence too, so many that I could not count them. Many families escaped that way. Two weeks after we escaped from Shadaw, we arrived near here. At Tee Cha Ker mountain, we met SLORC soldiers. They shot at us but we ran away and hid in a valley. Later we started trying to come here again. The whole journey took about 15 days. Here, it is better than under SLORC control. There are problems, but we can stay in our house. Under SLORC, we cannot!

Interview 3: HRV: Refugee, Relocation, Livelihood, Torture, Killing, Arrest

Name:	Kay Reh
Sex:	Male
Age:	27
Ethnicity:	Kayah, farmer
Religion:	Christian (Baptist)
Marital status:	Single
Address:	xxxx village, Deemawso Township, Karenni State
Date of interview:	January 28, 1997
Place of interview:	Karenni refugee camp (2), Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

[Kay Reh's village was forced to move to Tee Po Kloh relocation camp in June 1996. He was arrested there in August with 11 others, tortured and detained for three months at three different army camps before escaping to a refugee camp. Five of the twelve men arrested died under torture.]

I arrived here around the end of November, because I was afraid of the Burmese. I was in jail before I came. One and a half months in IB. 54 prison and then another one and a half months in LIB. 530 jail. Altogether three months. They suspected me of being a company commander for KNPP.

They arrested me when I was building my house in Tee Po Kloh [relocation camp]. On August 28, 1996, about 70 or 80 soldiers from LIB. 429 from Baw Ker and eight MI's [Military Intelligence officers] from IB. 27 came to the front of my house and shouted: "Is there anyone in this house?" The MI's were wearing uniforms like those the Burmese soldiers wear. At that time I was eating in the kitchen. They called me out, pointed their guns at me and blindfolded me with a towel. Then they tied my hands and my legs to my neck with ropes like a pig, abused me and took me to their camp on foot [the camp of LIB. 429 Battalion near Tee Po Kloh].

When I arrived there, they interrogated me. They asked so many questions, like: "Where have you hidden the guns?" "Whom do you know?" "Who are your relatives?" "How many relatives do you have?" So on and so on, like that. When I replied that I didn't know, they handcuffed me, punched me, slapped me and tortured me.

They arrested twelve of us and said that we were especially important for investigation. The others were from other villages such as Tee Po Kloh, Daw Ta Dar, and Daw Ku. We were treated as dangerous prisoners and we were accused of being UG [underground agents] of KNPP. So they tied us to twelve poles, interrogated us and tortured us.

Five of us died from their beatings in Tee Po Kloh. They beat us with green bamboo. They hit all over our whole bodies, including our heads. They poured water in our nostrils and our mouths. They tied plastic bags over our heads [so that we could not breathe]. They also sawed my legs with a hand-saw until they were bled. I still had some scars from that. They didn't give us any food or water. Some soldiers gave water to a few prisoners that they pitied. I fell unconscious, I did not know for how long. When I was lying face down, a soldier pulled me up by the hair and blood came out from my mouth and nose, and then I tried to sit by leaning my back against something. A soldier asked me, "What are you doing?" and I answered: "I only see God!" Five prisoners from our group died because of their torture. Only seven remained. From my village, two of us were arrested at the same time but the

other one died of their torture. He was hit with a big wooden stick when they captured him. He died at the army camp in Tee Po Kloh - altogether five people died there. They caught us in Tee Po Kloh, took us to their camp and killed us.

They tortured me for one day, from 3 p.m. until 3 a.m. the next morning. Then they stopped torturing me because five of us had already died. Instead they put us out in the hot sun without any shelter around, and finally put us all in sacks like pigs. They tied shut the top of each sack and loaded us into a truck to take us away.

They took me to the IB. 54 Battalion lockup in Loikaw. They had arrested more people, because altogether there were 64 prisoners in four cells. They still tortured me in the jail. They called out of the cells those they wanted to beat. They hit us on the back and on the chest and they rolled bamboo on our shins. There were 64 prisoners and four cells in the jail, inside the army camp. We didn't do any labor because we were not allowed to go outside the jail. In our cells, I didn't see anyone with chains. They put seven people in a small cell. I couldn't lie down and it was difficult to breathe. The food was only one small plate of plain rice without curry, and the water was very little too. They only let us drink a little amount of water at 7 p.m. Three or four prisoners died in the jail. They were suffering from serious diseases and some of them didn't have any muscles left on their legs. There was no medical care and no clinic, and they became so emaciated that they died. All the prisoners were accused of being KNPP sympathizers. They were all Karenni. I felt sick. I caught a cold because there was no blanket. I couldn't sleep at night. We just slept in a sitting position because the cell was so narrow.

Then they transferred us by truck to another jail, LIB. 530 Battalion jail, because new prisoners were going to arrive there. That jail was about eight miles east of Loikaw. LIB. 530 jail was a little better because we had a little chance to breathe fresh air. It was bigger than the other one. There were 27 prisoners in my cell. Then they divided us into two groups and put one group in another cell, so it was a little more comfortable for us and more spacious. The food was the same. I was beaten there too. We were tortured by the jail wardens when they were drunk with village rice liquor. They punched me, kicked me, pulled our ears and walked on our stomachs with their boots while we were lying face up. We didn't wear prisoners' clothes. I didn't have to work. Only the prisoners who were not suspected, because they were not Karenni, had to work. Some were Burmese and some of them were soldiers. They had shackles on their legs when they were going out of the jail to work. They were from SLORC and were punished because they didn't obey the rules of the Army.

When I was in that jail, I was in charge of distributing the food to others in my cell. There were three doors and they only opened one of the doors when they gave the rice. No one except me could touch the rice pot. Two soldiers pointed a gun at us when they were passing the rice pot to me. I took it. Then when we gave the rice pot back, I told my friend: "Survive or die, I will fight them to escape from here. Otherwise, we will surely die in this jail! I will hit the soldier with the gun and you will take on the soldier with the rice pot." The soldier who opened the door had no gun and I gave him the rice pot. Then the soldier who had a gun turned his back. I punched him and he fell down. My friend punched the other soldier and he also fell face down. While we were running, the other soldiers shot at us. There were two fences around the jail but they were opened in the daytime for the officers to go in and out. Only the door of our cell stayed closed, and it was only unlocked when the soldier came to give the rice pot for dinner. Only the two of us escaped. First, we hid in the long grass and bushes outside the jail fences while the soldiers were chasing us. I hid there until 9 p.m. Then we moved again and reached xxxx village. I slept one night in the paddy fields. I dared not leave in the daytime and departed at 7 or 8 p.m. Finally I carried on to my village. I stayed there for 8 days and came here.

Last June [1996] they ordered the villagers from xxxx [his village] to move. They said that it was ordered by the gentlemen from the Army to the Township LORC Chairman and then passed on to the Village Tract LORC Chairman. The villages were Daw Put, Daw Pet, Daw Law Ku, Daw Pru, Daw Bya, Tee Theh Kloh, Daw Ta Kleh, Daw Lyah Ku, Daw Ku Siu and Daw So Ku. About 11 or 12 villages moved to Tee Po Kloh. The people were gathered inside a fence, a bit outside of Tee Po Kloh village. They kept the people in a separate area. There was about one furlong [220 yards] between Tee Po Kloh village and our area. The army camp of battalion LIB. 429 was about three furlongs [660 yards] away, in a separate place not inside the same area. They just guarded the fence from the gates [they posted sentries at the gates in the relocation camp fence]. This fence had only three gates, where they watched for strangers. The fence was built by the villagers when they arrived in Tee Po Kloh. We had to get permission from the soldiers if we wanted to go out. We didn't need to pay for the pass.

The SLORC ordered: "No one can say 'This is mine' or 'I am the owner'. If someone says, 'This is my bamboo!' SLORC will come and arrest them." [This is apparently a threat against local villagers who protested that those who were relocated were stripping the area of bamboo.] "Everyone can cut and get whatever they need to build a shelter," they said. So it was not so difficult to get bamboo, but it was really difficult to get wooden posts because there were no trees. The people could only build small shelters. People could not go outside of the fences, and neither could the animals. When the situation was bad, if someone went outside the fence they considered him a stranger and shot at him. We had to build the shelters according to SLORC restrictions. They told us how many bamboo would be enough

for each family. Then you could only count them and cut them down according to the amount they said.

They didn't allow us to go back to our village to get food. All our livestock were left behind, such as cattle, goats, chickens, ducks, etc. That's why we needed to buy rice from somewhere else.

In Tee Po Kloh I saw a lot of sick people. Some died. There was no clinic. There was no school in the new place but there was one in the old Tee Po Kloh village. I can't say whether the children can still go to school or not because it depends on their teachers.

Before I was arrested, the people had to do many things that the army ordered them to do, but I don't know what happened when I was in jail. For example, twelve people had to go to the army camp every day to build their bunkers and trenches. They had to put big logs on top of the bunkers.

Twice I arrived back at my village. They didn't burn the village and they didn't lay land mines, but they took all the materials from our houses such as floorboards, walls and roofs, and even firewood. They killed all the livestock for their meals and took everything that looked nice for themselves. I had more than ten heads of cattle. As for the whole village, the villagers owned about 300 cows and buffaloes. They didn't get the chance to sell them, nor to look after them even for a short time. The SLORC soldiers reported that they were going out on patrol to look for enemies. They didn't, they just went to shoot and kill all the villagers' animals for their food. I lost all, except two bullocks that I used. We could just take a few things along by cart when we first moved from our village to Tee Po Kloh. Later, they didn't allow us to go out there again. The two bullocks are still alive.

About 30 people escaped from Tee Po Kloh after they heard about my arrest. Now I can't think of what to do.

Interview 4: HRV: Relocation, Refugee, Child

Name: Klaw Reh
 Sex: Male
 Age: about 30-35
 Ethnicity: Kayah, farmer
 Religion: Christian (RC)
 Marital status: Widower, one daughter aged 10
 Address: Daw Mi Ku village, Shadaw Township, Karenni State
 Date of interview: January 21, 1997
 Place of interview: Karenni refugee camp (2), Thai-Burma border
 Source: KHRG

[Klaw Reh's wife died along with their unborn child along the way, while the family was fleeing Shadaw relocation camp for the Thai border.]

I don't remember exactly when I arrived here, but I think two months ago. SLORC sent a letter to order us to move. When we received the order, I called my family and we went to Shadaw. I stayed there for two months. In Shadaw, they forced me to cut bamboo. Each family had to cut 100 big bamboo for the army camp and also three wooden posts for lights along the road. The bamboo were for building fences in the camp and for [army camp] buildings.

I could only build a tiny house for my family. The SLORC only gave 100 shingles of roof leaves [enough to cover a roof about 5 feet square, and even these were probably demanded from local villagers]. In the rainy season the rain leaked through the roof. And we had to find the bamboo ourselves [to build the houses, in addition to the bamboo for the Army]. We stayed in a big place and there was a fence around it. I received 30 milk tins of rice per week for my family. For about two months. After that, no more. When we had no more food, SLORC allowed us to go and get some in our village. My daughter got sick. She was coughing.

I escaped from Shadaw through the fence with my wife and my daughter. My wife was well. When we escaped from Shadaw, she was well. She was about four months pregnant. First we went back to our village. It was still in good condition. We spent one night there, but not in the village, we hid in the jungle. But when we got near Tee Cha camp, my wife became sick. She became very tired and had pain in her belly. She died during the night. I stayed the night near her. In the morning, I buried her at that place. Then I continued the journey with my daughter to come here. I saw many villagers on the way here. I also saw four villages on the way. Three of them had been burned down by the SLORC. Only one was not burned down but nobody was staying there. I didn't meet any SLORC on the way. Here I feel safer because it is not under the SLORC. But I don't know anything about the future.

Interview 5: HRV: Refugee, Relocation, Arrest, Forced Labor

Name: Nga Reh
Sex: Male
Age: 28
Ethnicity: Kayah, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Marital status: Single
Address: Daw Tama Gyi village, Demawso Township, Karenni State
Date of interview: January 21, 1997
Place of interview: Karenni refugee camp, Thai-Burma border
Source: KHRG

[Nga Reh's village, just north of Baw La Keh on the west side of the Pon River, is being used as a relocation site.]

I arrived here about two months ago. My village was not ordered to move but SLORC soldiers arrested many people. I was very afraid of them. And we had to do a lot of 'loke ah pay' [forced labor] for them. So I left my village.

Other villages were ordered to move to Daw Tama Gyi. I don't know whether they received an order or not but I know that the SLORC soldiers forced the other villages to stay together in Daw Tama Gyi. It was at the beginning of the rainy season. I saw more than 300 people. They were from four villages, Daw Kaw, Daw Par, Daw Ta Kya and Daw Hei Kleh. They had to stay in a separate place near Daw Tama Gyi, only for the new people. They built shelters there. It was very difficult for them to find bamboo and to build houses. The SLORC didn't give them anything with which to build a house. There was no fence around the place but many SLORC soldiers were always checking and guarding the new people. They were not allowed to go out freely.

The food was not enough. Each family received only three milk tins of rice per week. The people could do nothing. They just boiled the rice to make a rice soup. The water was not good. It came out of a pipe from Daw Ku Kay village. I saw a lot of sick people. Some died from disease. Most of them had fever. The SLORC soldiers forced them to work every day, to clear the car road and to make fences for the security of their camp. They were making a new car road.

I saw some cars on it. People could not run away from Daw Tama Gyi.

I was arrested when I was in my house in my village. That happened about three months before the new villagers arrived to Daw Tama Gyi. SLORC forced me to build a fence for their camp. I could not do it. They ordered us to go every day and sometimes I was absent. So they called me and they beat me three times on my back with a bamboo stick. Even before the new people came, we had to do labor all the time. Building the fences, working on the car road. We had to do work for the SLORC every day. We didn't get paid for it. We had no chance to work on our farms. The SLORC ordered us to work for ten days and then we had only one day for ourselves to grow our paddy and other things. The new people also had to do the same work all the time for the SLORC. They did not have any land [to farm].

I was afraid of the SLORC, so I came here with two of my brothers: an elder brother and a younger one. We came here on foot. We climbed the mountains and we crossed the Salween river by boat. We didn't meet any soldiers on the way. We saw two villages on the way: Daw Kraw Aw and Daw Mu Kya. Both had been burnt down by the SLORC. SLORC soldiers are not good to the people. That is why I came here. What will happen, I don't know!

Interview 6: HRV: Refugee, Relocation

Name:	Baw Reh
Sex:	Male
Age:	19
Ethnicity:	Kayah, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Single
Address:	Daw Law Ku village, Demawso Township, Karenni State
Date of interview:	January 21, 1997
Place of interview:	Karenni refugee camp (2), Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

[Baw Reh spent several months in Tee Po Kloh relocation camp.]

I arrived here on January 16, 1997. First I went to stay in Ngwe Daung, then I came over here. Daw Law Ku villagers had to move to Tee Po Kloh. I think it was in July [around mid-June]. They gave us only three days to move. My family moved together to Tee Po Kloh. It was one day's walk away. We had to make three trips. Some people had to carry their things by themselves and some used bullock carts. It was in the hills but a cart could be used on the way. In Tee Po Kloh, we received a plot of land to build a house. It was pretty big. I could even grow things there if they would let me, but the SLORC didn't allow us to grow vegetables. This area used to

be farmland. The Tee Po Kloh villagers didn't receive anything as compensation for it. Eleven villages moved to Tee Po Kloh, including Daw Law Ku, Daw Pet, Daw Preh Tu, Daw Lyah Ku, Daw Put, Tee Theh Kloh, and etc. I don't know how many people there were. In my village, there were 26 houses. Everybody moved to Tee Po Kloh. I don't know why the SLORC ordered us to move. They didn't burn our village down but the villagers didn't go back.

The place was not fenced [later there was a fence]. The soldiers had a camp in Tee Po Kloh. I think it was SLORC LIB.421 but I am not sure. Each person received only four or five milk tins of rice for one month [this is only enough for two days]. If it was not enough, they allowed people to find food outside, but just for a limited time, between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m. We could go back to our village but we had to get a pass. It was free. The validity of the pass depends on the village. If the village was very far away they allowed two or three days, but if the village was near Tee Po Kloh they allowed less time. If we overstayed, we would be tortured by the soldiers. I saw people being beaten because the SLORC suspected them. They arrested them, beat them, and put them in jail. Sometimes they even killed them. No one from my village was killed but some Tee Po Kloh villagers were.

We got water from the well [the existing village well]. It was enough for everyone but it was not clean. Many people got sick. I don't know from what diseases. Some people died, especially children. There was no clinic. The only possibility was to go to the city hospital [at Demawso town].

Some people escaped from there, mainly single men. I stayed in Tee Po Kloh for seven months [actually less than that]. The situation was getting worse and worse because there was not enough food. People who owned animals sold them to get money to buy food. My family already sold our two cows and our buffalo.

We also had to repair the car road, the road from Demawso to Tee Po Kloh to Daw Tama Gyi. I worked there for three days. They called one person from each family. They fixed a period of time. Each village had to finish one section of the road within three days. In Tee Po Kloh, there was nothing to do [to earn money]. I went to Ngwe Daung to do farm work with my relatives. They had a farm in Ngwe Daung [near Deemawso]. I went alone. I worked there for about four months [actually less than that]. I couldn't stay there for a long time because SLORC soldiers might come into the village and arrest people. From Ngwe Daung I came here on foot. It was nine days' walk. I saw some soldiers on the way but they didn't do anything. I saw some villages and almost all of them were burnt down. All the villages I passed were empty.

My family is still staying in Tee Po Kloh. I would like them to come here, but if I call them SLORC will torture all the villagers in Tee Po Kloh. Because my family is registered with the village. Also, it would be very difficult for me to go back there. Now I have no plans. I don't think this refugee camp is very good, but I don't know where else I could go. So I will stay here.

Interview 7: HRV: Refugee, Relocation, Forced Labor

Name:	Koo Ni Reh
Sex:	Male
Age:	24
Ethnicity:	Kayah, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Single
Address:	Daw Law Ku village, Pruso Township, Karenni State
Date of interview:	January 21, 1997
Place of interview:	Karenni refugee camp (2), Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

[Koo Ni Reh spent seven months in Mar Kraw She relocation camp.]

SLORC told us to move to Mar Kraw She village, beside the road which goes to Phasaung town. Only my village had to move there. It had 20 houses. The other villages like Tee Theh Ku, Daw Ku Li and Law Pya Leh had to move to Kay Lia and Daw Ter Kleh had to move to Tee Bya Nge. They threatened us, "If you want to die, don't move. If you don't want to die, you must move to that place." We were afraid that if we went to any other places the SLORC would kill us. And if we didn't go to do their 'loke ah pay' [forced labor], we would be killed.

When we were ordered to move, we could carry all our belongings except our cattle. Later the SLORC allowed us to go and look after them during the daytime but in the evening we had to be back in the new place. The SLORC didn't burn down my village, but nothing is left there except for some animals. The troops often pass through the village.

My family moved and they relocated us beside Mar Kraw She village. It was not a good place because each family only received a very tiny plot of land 12 feet by 12 feet. We could only build a small shelter, only big enough for sleeping.

They didn't give any roofing leaves, so we had to get them from the Mar Kraw She villagers. We went by ourselves to cut the bamboo and trees to build shelters. We had to go back to our village to get them. They didn't order us to build a fence around the new place, but they ordered us to build a fence around their Army camp. They ordered us to cut bamboo and make a fence, to cut trees along the road and clear the car road.

There were a lot of sick people. There was no clinic there. When people were sick, they went to see the priest and he gave them some medicine. From July until December we didn't receive any rice. After that, I don't know as I wasn't there any more. When we had no rice to eat, we wanted to go back to our village. But then the SLORC saw us [leaving] and they asked: "Who gave you permission to go back to your village?" We were afraid of them and we couldn't do anything anymore. For seven months, the SLORC didn't give any rice to us. That's why I ran away. I escaped through the fence. I knew if they saw me they would beat me. They only allowed us to go out from 7 a.m. until 4 p.m. If we came back later than that, they would torture us.

I arrived here this month, on foot. I am the only one from my village. In our village, many people would like to come here, but they have no way to come because they are afraid of the SLORC soldiers. If the soldiers saw us coming here in groups, it would not be easy for us. My family wants to come here very much but they cannot, because the names of every family are already on their list. If you want to come here, you must lie to them.

Interview 8: HRV: Refugee, Relocation, Killing, Child

Name:	Sai Long
Sex:	Male
Age:	24
Ethnicity:	Shan, Buddhist
Marital status:	Married with one daughter
Address:	Meh Steh village, Soe T'Cheh township, Karenni State
Date of interview:	January 21, 1997
Place of interview:	Karenni refugee camp (2), Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

I have been staying here for about ten months. I came to the refugee camp because the SLORC forced me to move out of my village and because of SLORC oppression. In the past I used to live in Meh Steh village. The SLORC burnt down the houses in my village and so I went to another place called Pan Yone [previous site of Karenni Camp 2 refugee camp].

On January 3, 1997, when the Burmese came here, I was staying in my house. The fighting started at 2 a.m. At first, I heard a big explosion and I saw sparks coming out. I didn't see the soldiers. I don't know how many they were and what kind of guns they had. They didn't warn us. They came quietly into the camp. I suddenly heard shooting. I just took my child and ran to escape. I started running along the narrow path between the houses. My wife was behind. I only knew that the bullets flew very close to my house. Near my house, three shells [by other reports, apparently M79 grenades] exploded. We shouted and my wife cried out in tears when she saw her father running. The firing stopped when she cried like that. But she was hit and fell down. She fell near the door of our house. The shell exploded in front of our house. She was wounded on her legs, stomach and arms and soon after she was bleeding. Her name was Naung Kyin and she was 19 years old. I was also hit on my right elbow and my child got a small wound on her foot.

The attack lasted about 15 minutes: shooting and explosions. I didn't see the Burmese after the fighting [he was hiding]. After the attack, I had to wait for a long time for someone to carry my wife because I myself couldn't walk. I also had an injury on my leg, so I just looked for some other people to carry her after the fighting stopped. I waited for two hours and then some people carried my wife to the hospital, and soon after she died there.

I cannot think or guess why the Burmese attacked this camp. Now my wound is healing, but I can only bend my elbow a little bit. As for my daughter, she can walk again now. I have no other place to stay, so I can't think or decide whether I should stay or not stay now. I don't dare to stay in Camp 2 anymore. I want to stay with my parents-in-law who moved to Camp 3 on the Thai side [away from the disputed border, further into Thailand].

Interview 9: HRV: Refugee, Relocation, Livelihood, Women, Killing

Name:	Saw Ler Wah
Sex:	Male
Age:	about 30
Ethnicity:	Karen
Date of interview:	January 27, 1997
Place of interview:	Karenni refugee camp (2), Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

Buko was not a relocation site. The villages in that area were ordered to move to Maw Chi relocation site. Shortly after the relocation, SLORC burnt down half the houses of Buko, about 30 houses, and 50 houses in Kwachi. Now in Kwachi village, some villagers were even rebuilding their houses. The villagers had returned to live in the village but with only a few belongings and were always ready to run. Actually, only the villages close to Maw Chi moved to the relocation site because SLORC could destroy them anytime. But the villages further away didn't move.

Many people stayed in the forest, two or three families together. They managed to harvest a little paddy this year. The SLORC operation took place in the rainy season. At that time the villagers had already planted their paddy, but since they had to go into hiding they could not take care of their fields. Although weeds grew in the fields, they managed to harvest some paddy, but obviously the harvest was not good. Their paddy could last them for another 2-3 months, then they would face a big shortage of rice. Especially in Buko area, where paddy cultivation had always been difficult and the farmers needed a lot of paddy seeds. In that area it would be harder to survive. If SLORC came again during the field clearing season [February to April], they would face big problems for the next harvest. The villagers found vegetables in the jungle and they also managed to grow some, like cucumbers. They had eaten all their animals like chickens and pigs, and most of their cattle and buffaloes had already been sold. Also, during its operations SLORC killed and ate any cattle they found.

In the forest there were many illnesses. The worst was malaria, but also worms, respiratory disease, diarrhea, dysentery and skin diseases. I heard about two children from the same family who died the same day because of malaria and anemia. They came from Maw Chi relocation site.

SLORC deliberately burnt down the villages they thought were important for the rebels. They also burnt down the best houses in other villages, and all the rice barns they could find. Some villages were not burnt down but landmines were laid.

After the relocations, SLORC moved into Ler Mu Ko township and Bwe Ghaw Ko township and searched the area. They passed through Baw Ghu Der township and also burnt down some houses and put landmines there, but this was not a special operation. Some people were killed, including women, because they stepped on landmines. The SLORC didn't search for the people in the jungle.

In Mawchee relocation site, the people needed permission from the SLORC to go back to their fields, to work and bring rice to the relocation site. The pass cost five *kyats* and was valid from 8 a.m. until 4 p.m. So the villagers could go back, but it was dangerous because of the landmines -- not only SLORC landmines, also KNPP landmines. Some had died because they stepped on landmines.

SLORC gave eight milk tins of rice per person for one week [less than half what was needed to survive]. The rice brought back by the villagers from their villages must be given to the rice bank, and the SLORC redistributed it to the people at the same rate -- eight tins per person per week [i.e. no one could get more than that no matter what]. It was very difficult to get salt and medicine. They could not go to Mawchee to get salt. At present they must go to Toungoo, which is far. In the relocation site people died from diseases because there was no health care. There was only one clinic in Mawchee. There was not enough medicine and people needed to pay for it. There was no school.

There were three SLORC bases in Mawchee and one inside the relocation site. There were about 1,000 people in Mawchee relocation site. The people were ordered to build a fence around the relocation area. In Phasaung too, there was a fence around the relocation site and the people were ordered to build it. SLORC ordered the people to work: to guard the area, to build their bunkers and fences, and some people had to serve as porters. According to the villagers, SLORC was rebuilding the Toungoo/Mawchee road and clearing the area for logging, but I didn't see or hear about any road building going on right now.

They also threatened people. Recently KNPP destroyed a water pipe for the mine generator [Maw Chi is an important mining area] and the SLORC forced the people from the Maw Chi relocation site to rebuild it. About 40 to 50 people fled the relocation site and went to stay in other villages away from the SLORC.

Interview 10: HRV: Refugee, Relocation, Refugee, Forced Labor, Livelihood

Name	Ko Chai
Age	37 years old
Address	Thein Khun village, Tenassarim township
Occupation	Farmer
Nationality	Shan
Religion	Buddhist
Name	U Maung New
Age	40 years old

Name	Ko Seinn
Age	30 years old
Date of Interview	January 1997
Source:	ABSDF

(Three persons were interviewed together as they were from the same village with the same story)

We lived in Thein Khun village in Tenasserim township. Our village was ordered to move no later than October 27, 1997 by the local SLORC troops. That was why I fled to Thailand. I knew that it would be very difficult to survive under their conditions after the relocation. The mistreatment by the SLORC soldiers is getting worse year by year. We have been forcibly used as unpaid forced labor till now for at least five years.

On the first week of October, 1996, a column led by Captain Zaw Myo Htut arrived at our village and ordered the entire village to move by October 27. No assistance or arrangement was provided by the SLORC. They did not tell us why we were being forcibly relocated nor where to relocate. They just ordered us to get out of our village immediately. Some of us moved to Tavoy or other towns where our relatives lived. Many of our villagers just ended up wandering around the region. I decided to go to the border because I did not want to live under SLORC rule. We had to abandon everything; all our belongings, our houses, farms, animals and rice barns. I, myself, left five acres of farmland behind, and, to make matters worse, had been in debt since last year because I could not take care of my farm due to the frequent forced labor demanded of me. Because I did not have the required 250-300 *kyats* it would cost to hire a substitute, I had no choice but to work for the SLORC. Earlier this year, I borrowed some money to subsidize the cost for cultivating this season's crop. Because of SLORC's forced relocation orders, I had to abandon everything I had worked so long and hard for.

Interview 11: HRV: Refugee, Incursion

Name:	Naw Tha Muh
Sex:	Female
Age:	19
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	No religion
Marital status:	Single
Address:	Huay Kaloke refugee camp, Thailand

Date of interview: February 1, 1997
Place of interview: Huay Kaloke refugee camp, Thailand
Source: KHRG

[Naw Tha Muh was in Huay Kaloke refugee camp when it was attacked by a combined SLORC/DKBA force on January 28, 1997. Note that as a shopkeeper in the market, she was much better off than most refugees.]

On January 28, 1997, the DKBA came into the camp. I don't know the exact time because I had no watch. It must have been past 10 p.m. After I had watched television, I went to bed. My house was in the market [her house is also a shop selling mainly clothing]. I was sleeping when my mother woke me up, and the first thing I heard was jungle boots running ti...ti...ti... and chasing the people who were running here and there. They came across the football field. I didn't know what was happening. Just then, DKBA soldiers kicked the door hard with their boots and said: "Open the door!" I didn't open it and went to the back of the house, but the DKBA soldiers were also at the back of the house. When I came face to face with them, they asked me: "Where are you going?" I didn't answer and went back to the front of the house. My mother was so worried for me. She said "Don't run anywhere!" Then the DKBA soldiers turned their guns on us and said: "All of you! Go back to the front of the house." At that time there were some guests staying with us. There were seven in the house, all females, and we didn't say anything, so the DKBA didn't do anything to us.

Seven soldiers came to my house. My mother had hidden one bag and they didn't find it, and they didn't find the money we had hidden either. They only saw the box with a little money in it. They took all the money from the small box. They also opened my handbag and took the money as well. Altogether, they took some coins, 2,000 *Baht*, and mostly clothes, also shoes, small knives and a flask. They put the clothes from the shop into bags. The plastic bags were from my shop too, and they carried them out themselves [they didn't use porters].

My mother told a DKBA soldier who looked about 20 years old: "Child, take everything you want but please do not burn our house down!". But the soldier pointed his gun at her and said: "Do you want to die, old woman?" A girl who was in my house begged the soldier: "Please don't do anything to Grandmother! She is old!" (They also took the *tehku* [sarong] and clothes off an old man in my house and searched for something they expected to find on him, like gold or money, but they didn't find anything.) They took everything they wanted and then they moved to another house, my friend's house.

The DKBA came into the camp, group by group, house to house, simultaneously. I heard that the same was going on at the other houses too. 40 *baht* was taken from my auntie's house. Her husband was kicked with boots. They ordered everyone to get out of their houses. No one was allowed to take anything out. Then they started burning the houses.

The DKBA went to the biggest shop and pointed their guns at Uncle [an older man]. They demanded the key and money. They took a lot of money from him, about 500,000 *kyats*, plus the gold rings, chains, and bracelets which belonged to others. These had been given to uncle as guarantees for money borrowed from him. They also used his telephone.

They took everything they wanted such as clocks, watches, cassettes, radios, clothes, and they even searched for things in the brassieres of the girls and the women. They expected to find things such as gold and money. They took off earrings, bracelets and chains from two girls. One was Karen and the other Chinese. Then the soldiers questioned a 50-year-old man who was insane, and hit his head with a rifle butt. He was hurt and blood streamed down his head. The question was only: "Are you a soldier?" And the mad man only answered: "What?" Only for this!

I also heard that Nya Nya Say's father got kicked in the chest when DKBA demanded gold and money from him. Nya Nya Say was a student. I saw that they took two motorcycles from others, but people said that seven motorcycles were taken altogether. They left some motorcycles in the paddy fields because there was no road through the fields and they were unable to push them further. For some others, they didn't have the key to start the engine, so they just broke the dashboards and lights and destroyed the motorcycles on their way back. They also took the telephone.

After the soldiers went out, they started to set the houses on fire. I said to my mother: "Mother, the DKBA are burning the houses!" She thought they wouldn't burn them but then she saw the other shops burning.

I went down to my motorcycle to move it away from the fire and also because I was afraid that DKBA would take it. They took the motorcycle from an Indian house, but I had kept the keys for ours inside and they hadn't seen it because it was kept at the back of the house. My mother helped me to pull it. Then they saw me pushing the motorcycle. Two DKBA soldiers came towards me to ask or do something to me. They said: "Where are you going?" I thought they would take the motorcycle, but another DKBA soldier called them. They turned back. They didn't have a chance to do anything to me. I don't know why. Maybe because we had been selling goods for a long time and they knew us. They didn't do anything to my mother either. When some soldiers pointed their guns at her, the others disapproved. They left her.

I noticed they didn't speak rudely to her. They only asked: "Do you have money?" and didn't harm her. As for other people, they beat them when they demanded money.

I rode down to the Thai checkpoint. But I didn't see any Thai soldiers at the checkpoint. No one was there. Then I went to the other Thai gate and tried to wake them up. Only one policeman awoke. I told him that the DKBA were burning the houses and looting things from the refugees. But he didn't seem to understand, and he asked me: "What is DKBA?" "The DKBA means the Buddhist soldiers", I said. Then he understood but he didn't do anything or say anything. So I got angry and immediately rode to another police gate at Mae Pa [a larger Thai village very near the camp]. The police told me: "We already know and we have contacted the other posts." On my way to Mae Sot, we saw one or two cars with people in them between Mae Pa and Huay Kaloke. Maybe they were coming around to look at the fire. I didn't see any soldiers, just civilian cars. I went to call my teacher in Mae Sot. When we arrived back at the camp, we saw that the people were everywhere in disorder and that the houses were in flames.

My mother had taken as many things as she could and put them down into the well when the DKBA started burning the houses. My house was also burnt down by DKBA. My mother told me that they came inside the houses, searched for things to light the fire with, then set fire from inside the houses. I didn't see that because I was making for the Thai checkpoints.

Altogether I saw about 20 DKBA soldiers but other people said that there were over 100. They were all in camouflage. They had soldiers' boots and long guns like G3s and G4s which the SLORC uses. Others had black uniforms which the Burmese wear. They were shooting up and down, in the air, not at the people. Nobody died. Some of them spoke Karen but most spoke Burmese.

At the time when the camp was already on fire, a 20-year-old man came to help us carry things out of our house and helped to save a patient in another house. Before he reached the house, he met a SLORC soldier who asked him: "Where are you going?" The man answered in Karen: "I am going to help a patient there", and the SLORC soldier replied: "I am not Karen. Don't talk to me in Karen. Just take off your watch from your wrist and give it to me now!" So the man gave it to him. I am sure he was a Burmese soldier. People said that the Karen DKBA soldiers had put soot on their faces and that the Burmese didn't. I couldn't recognize them because their faces were all the same. They all looked black in the dark.

At last the DKBA returned to their own camp when they saw the fire engines coming to the camp to extinguish the fire. They must have thought that these trucks were from the Thai Army.

When I came back to Huay Kaloke camp, all I saw were the houses in flames, the people disorganized and the Thai fire engines not doing anything to the burning houses. They were parked still at a distance, and the Thai policemen were also staying still at a distance just looking around. Actually I am not sure, police or soldiers. They didn't have any guns. They wore brown uniforms like the Thai police. Maybe they were firemen. I also saw some people from Mae Pa standing on the road. The firemen extinguished the fire only when everything was already burnt down. The houses were burning continuously for about 3 hours.

I don't feel angry with the DKBA. I don't want to kill them. We can understand each other because we are Karen. I just hate the Burmese, SLORC. Only a few DKBA came and they did nothing to me. The Burmese soldiers tried to shoot my mother but the DKBA soldiers stopped them from killing her. They also stopped them from harming me when I was trying to push my motorcycle. The DKBA soldiers helped me escape by calling away the Burmese soldiers. [Note: At this stage of the events she was not actually sure which soldiers were which.]

My mother has practically nothing left, just a few things. She has no gold. They already knew that we didn't have any gold. We only had some money. I remember that we invested about 50,000 *baht* in this shop. Later on we increased it up to 70,000 *baht*, maybe more, but less than 100,000 *baht*. That included the shop and the clothing. All burnt down.

I don't miss anything in particular, because many times my house has been burnt down. This is the fourth time that my house has been burnt down during my lifetime. I only want a better life. There is only one thing that I regret most: my family album of photographs.

Even when my mother was expecting me, our house was burnt down in Old Wankha. But my first experience was when I was 5 or 6 years old and we were living in the new Wankha camp. At that time, my father was a trader. We also had a shop then and everything was burnt down. I can remember my house being destroyed. It was set on fire during the fighting between the KNU and the Burmese. The second time was when we were living at Wankha on the Thai side and I was about 12 years old. We had a shop there too and it was burnt down by the Burmese soldiers. But that time we didn't lose the clothing because we took it all out ahead of time. The third time was at the new market in Huay Kaloke last year. It was an accident: an Indian family's carelessness with their stove in their kitchen [most of Huay Kaloke market was burnt down in March 1996 because of this accident].

Now we are staying in Mae Sot for a short time. We are renting a house. My mother will start a new shop when the situation is better in Huay Kaloke.

Interview 12: HRV: Refugee, Incursion, Women, Child

Name: Saw Hai Kaw
 Sex: Male
 Age: 18
 Ethnicity: Karen student
 Religion: Christian
 Marital status: Single
 Address: Beh Klaw (Mae La) refugee camp, Thailand
 Date of interview: February 3, 1997
 Place of interview: Beh Klaw refugee camp, Thailand
 Source: KHRG

[Saw Hai Kaw was in Beh Klaw refugee camp when it was attacked by a combined SLORC/DKBA force on January 29, 1997.]

The attack started at about 6:30 a.m. on January 29. At that time I was staying in the Bible school dormitory. I was coming down from the dormitory to work early. The Bible School was in Section C1 and the DKBA came in from the hilltop of Section C1. They came from different parts in that section. Just when I started working in the school compound, I heard a carbine gunshot. Then I heard heavy shelling. Some shells exploded but others didn't. They shelled heavy weapons to block off the gate. During the fighting, we Bible School students went to hide in a cave nearby. While I was running towards the back of the hill, one RPG [rocket-propelled grenade] shell dropped nearby, so I ran into the teak plantation. That shell fell in the bamboo and killed an old woman who was hiding there with some children. I don't know her name but we used to watch television together every night. She must have been 80 years old. She died instantly. Two 4- or 5-year-old children were injured.

The DKBA came in at the time when the [security] soldiers were rotating their duty, so only three soldiers were left. That was why the DKBA was able to reach the foot of the hill of section C1. Some DKBA did not even have any weapons - they came into the camp just to set the houses on fire. Only a few of them had guns, like AR, AK47, RPG-7, and M79 mortars [the AR is a cut-down version of the M16 automatic assault rifle; AK47 is an automatic assault rifle; RPG-7 is a shoulder-launched rocketpropelled grenade; and M79 is a rifle-sized grenade launcher]. I saw some of them coming in and blowing a whistle. The whistle means "Start fighting!" Then others came in. So they started fighting in Section C1 because there was not enough security in that area to fight against them. The security soldiers didn't have enough guns. One of the villagers told me that at that time three DKBA went shouting into the houses, "Is there anyone in this house?" Then they shot their guns into the houses and set them on fire. Afterwards I saw six burnt houses but other people said there were 15.

While I was hiding in the teak plantation, reinforcements of Beh Klaw security soldiers arrived. One of them who came from the other side of the camp was injured on his hand. He didn't feel his injury because he was concentrating on his duty. He only noticed it when he saw the blood seeping out of his wound. Another Bible school student and I cleaned his wound and dressed it.

When the reinforcements came I felt encouraged and went to look around near the fighting. I followed the soldiers but not too close to them. When the shells fell, I hid under the teak trees. The DKBA retreated up to the hilltop, from where they were still fighting. During that time, some DKBA were killed. People told me that three DKBA died but I saw only one dead, under the banana trees. When this man fell down another DKBA came down to save him, but he got injured so he left his friend under the banana trees. Beside the dead body we found a gun, a backpack and a cassette player [stolen from one of the houses] which had been damaged by the gunshots. We opened his bag and we saw materials for mines and bombs and wires to hook them up to explode. I felt very sad for our Karen people. He also had an amulet to protect his life. These are the tricks of the Myaing Gyi Ngu monk [U Thuzana, chairman of DKBA]. Are the monks not holy? I don't understand.

About 30 soldiers came but I only saw the one who died. They wore uniforms, the same as the SLORC, but "Thawka Thu Po" was written on their badges. It means "the monk's soldiers". I think they came to loot things from the refugees.

They fired about 35 artillery shells. Some exploded near people's houses. During the fighting the refugees ran out of the camp. Some of them ran to the foot of the hills. For two or three days afterwards there was no one in the camp. I didn't even see my family.

Interview 13: HRV: Refugee, Incursion, Killing

Name:	Naw G'Mwee Paw
Sex:	Female
Age:	49
Ethnicity:	Karen medic
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with 6 children
Address:	Huay Bone (Don Pa Kiang) refugee camp, Thailand
Date of interview:	February 6, 1997
Place of interview:	Huay Bon refugee camp, Thailand
Source:	KHRG

[Naw G'Mwee Paw, a medic at Huay Bone camp clinic, was there when it was attacked and burned on January 28 1997.]

On January 28 1997, they burnt our camp. At the time I was sleeping in a house, very close to my own house. I was not in my own house.

It was 9:45 p.m. Karen time [10:15 Thai time]. At first, we heard one gunshot, just one gunshot, and the people who were staying together with me in that house all ran away. But I came back to my own house to get my daughter, because my husband was staying there with my son and my daughter and he couldn't carry them both [her son is disabled and her daughter is 21/2 years old]. Within a few seconds, we heard a very strong voice near our house which said "Catch them! Shoot them! Don't let them get out of the camp!" We saw a lot of men with guns running out of the bushes to Section 2, toward our house and directly toward the clinic. They entered the clinic looking for whatever they needed. At first they didn't come for me. But when they didn't find the things they needed, they came to my house, surrounded it and then ordered the others to guard my house while some of them came into the house and pointed their guns at me.

Ten of them came into my house. They all had guns. They didn't shoot at me but they poked me with their guns and said, "Don't run or we will shoot you!" They pointed their guns at me and asked me for the key of the clinic. I gave it to them. One of their leaders ordered them: "Look through this house and open all the things in it. After that he said, "Don't do anything. Don't touch this Auntie! Don't hurt her!" So the soldiers who were standing beside me stepped away from me. I took the key and my little daughter. I carried her with me to the hospital, the soldiers following me, and I looked for the microscope in the clinic [the DKBA are usually on orders to get microscopes when they raid refugee camps]. When I opened the cupboard, I didn't find the microscope. But these men who came to get the microscope, they didn't even know what a microscope is. They looked everywhere but couldn't find it. I gave them medicine to take back [to Burma] and use. At first they put the medicine in their bags, but afterwards one of them told me, "Auntie, I don't need these. In our place, we have a lot of medicine." He gave it back and I closed the cupboard and came back to my house. When they came out of the clinic, they talked to one of the leaders on the walkie-talkie - they said, "We haven't found the microscope. What do we do now?" One of the leaders said on the walkie-talkie, "How is it that you can't find it? Today they were using it to do malaria tests". They were speaking very loudly so I could hear very clearly. They were speaking in Karen language over the walkie-talkie, not Burmese. The leader told them over the walkie-talkie, "Threaten that woman and you will find it." The second time, they climbed into the clinic by themselves, but didn't call me. They found it in the breastfeeding room. They took the microscope. We were staying under our house and we could hear their voices. They were speaking very loudly. When they brought the microscope out of the clinic, the man with the walkie-talkie ordered: "Burn it down. Burn it down!"

I was under my house, I looked at the clinic and I saw that it started to burn. Then my house and the camp office [next door] started to burn. There were about 30 soldiers there, and at other places maybe a lot more, but I just saw the ones who were near my house and the clinic. They were dressed in uniforms and all of them had guns, but I don't know which kind. One of the guns was very short and a lot of them were long. I could not see very well at nighttime. We could not use our torchlights, and they were training their torch-lights on us. Only some of them were DKBA. SLORC soldiers were also amongst them. As far as I know, the soldiers who came and talked to me were DKBA, but outside the clinic many of the soldiers were silent. They didn't speak. One woman told me that when they were outside the camp she heard them speaking Burmese to each other, but inside the camp they didn't speak at all.

I saw the face of the one who asked me for the keys but I didn't know him. But their eyes were very strange. Their eyes were red and they looked at us sternly, like they were crazy. I am sure they had taken some medicine. When they addressed me at first they were very aggressive, but afterward they became softer.

First, they surrounded the camp, then after the gunshot, some of them ran to the clinic and my house but another group went to the market. They shot one Thai [a merchant who sold things in the camp]. I didn't see that. Early the next morning I came back to the market and I saw a lot of blood on the ground, and the people told me, "Oh! Min Yen's husband was shot last night!" When he heard that the DKBA were close to us, he jumped into his car and tried to drive out of the camp. Then he saw one DKBA soldier in front of him who ordered him to stop the car, but he tried to drive through and they shot him dead. He was hit in his leg and his bladder, inside the car. I don't know his name. He was Thai. His wife was also Thai. They did business here. They had a shop in the market. He was staying alone in the camp that night [without his wife].

At that time they ordered us not to run away: "If you run away, we will shoot you!" So my husband told them, "You are burning our house and yet you don't let us run away." But we tried to escape and we ran to the field outside of the camp. We didn't run too far and we could see the whole camp burning. They stayed around for about 4 hours. When the fire was nearly finished, we could hear them shouting: "All burnt. Now we must go back." We could see them with their guns, we could even count them! We stayed very quietly just outside the camp. We couldn't go far because we had no shoes. So we tried to hide in the bushes, and we spent the whole night there in the fields outside of the camp. We couldn't save any of our belongings. We only had the clothes we were wearing. That night, I didn't wear a sweater, only a shirt and my sarong, and it was very cold. I had left my jacket in my house. I had 764 *baht* in it to give to someone in the camp. That day I couldn't find the person, so I had kept the money in my jacket to give to him the next day. I was keeping the

money very carefully, but at that time I didn't remember about my jacket and it was burnt. I lost an electric keyboard [a portable battery-operated piano keyboard, which are used by many Karen churches] and my cupboard with all our clothes inside. Also my medical dictionary, I lost it all.

At that time, we didn't know that they were also burning down Huay Kaloke camp. We could see the light of the fire in the sky but we didn't know where it was from [Huay Kaloke is just 10 km. further south]. It was nearly at the same time that they set our camp on fire.

There was no Thai security in our camp and nobody was staying at the checkpoint. Usually they stayed in the daytime, sometimes at night too. But if they heard that the news was not so good [i.e. that there may be an attack], they went away. It happened at nighttime, so there was no security for us. But the next morning, a lot of Thai soldiers came, checked the situation and asked many questions.

Afterwards we came back to the camp, but we had no more houses and nothing to cook. A lot of people were without any pots, without anything. So the monk who was staying here announced to the people: "If you have nothing, you can come to the monastery. Especially for the babies, we will give rice for you." [The monastery was not burnt down.] The adults had to wait. A lot of people came and ate there. Some rice was left in the monastery. Some families who had rice came and gave it to the monks, and the monks gave food to the villagers.

I didn't hear of them looting anything in the market. Personally, I believe that their leaders only ordered them to do two things, to get the microscope and to burn down the camp. At the time I felt angry but also very sad. The people here felt so sad. A lot of them were crying because they had nothing left, not even clothes. Since then and even until now we have been sleeping outside of the camp. Only a few families have some blankets. The small children under 5 years old especially, have been catching colds. We've also had a few cases of malaria and diarrhea.

For the future, we can do nothing. I don't know. We are waiting to know what we should do, where we should go. A lot of people are waiting to hear what the leaders will say and they will follow. If they are asked to go back to Burma, they will refuse to do so. But if we build our houses here again, they will surely come and burn them again.

I was in the camp when DKBA attacked us. It was on August 23, 1996. As I was afraid, I was not in my house but in another one in the camp [there were already rumors in the camp of a possible attack because DKBA soldiers had been seen gathering just across the border]. They didn't send any messages beforehand.

First they entered Ka Na Su [an outlying section of the refugee camp]. The camp leader told me that it happened at about midnight. I didn't hear the shooting because it was about three kilometers away. They killed Major Tun Kyi there. The villagers said that about ten of them [DKBA] crossed the river and came directly to Major Tun Kyi's house. His house was a bit distant from the other houses. They surrounded his house. His wife ran out of the house. Major Tun Kyi also tried to run out of the house but he only got down the steps when somebody shouted to him and shot him. They didn't ask anything. Major Tun Kyi asked, "Who is coming?" He got no answer and he was shot. He was hit by many bullets in his chest. He was in the KNU before. He was 70 years old and had retired. He had four children. That night, only Major Tun Kyi and his wife were staying in the house. Their children were not staying together with them because they were at school, one of his daughters is a school teacher in this camp [the main section - there is no school in Ka Na Su] and the eldest one is married. His wife thinks that if she hadn't managed to run out of the house, she would have been shot too. We think that maybe the SLORC told DKBA to go and find someone like a leader, a KNU leader or a camp leader and arrest and kill him. We all know that they are controlled by the SLORC.

After they had killed him they entered his house and took all the clothes and all his money too, 70,000 *baht*. Nothing was left in his house. I think that they came to catch him, but after they got him they also wanted to get his money. In Ka Na Su they also went to Pu Kyi's house. They stayed there for a few minutes and pointed their guns at his family. They didn't ask or steal anything. They only frightened them. I just heard now that they also took the clothes in another house.

The same group came here. They entered the camp [main section] at nearly 2 a.m. They didn't take the path -- they crossed the cornfield and came to the well in Section 7. One of the men saw them with their guns but he thought they were our own camp security guards. Only later did he realize that they were DKBA. They all had guns. My son also saw them, but it was night-time and he didn't know whether they were wearing uniforms or not. My son was not staying in our house. He was near the top of the road and he saw them passing by. Maybe they came in separate groups, because dogs were barking at various places. Then they must have joined together in the camp.

That night I was sleeping and I didn't notice anything. Only in the morning, my husband told me. When I went back to our house in the morning, my husband was complaining: "Last night I didn't sleep. I want to sleep now." So, I asked him, "What happened to you? Why didn't you sleep?" And he told me "DKBA came around our house, but they didn't ask or take anything in our house." He saw them. He knew it was DKBA because they had guns. In our camp nobody carries a gun, and we can recognize the Thai soldiers by their uniforms. Those that my husband saw didn't wear uniforms. He saw one man standing at the steps of the camp

secretary's house [next door], two here and one or two there. The dogs were barking at them. They lighted their torches, and the dogs were barking a lot. We have 5 dogs, so if someone comes, there is so much noise. Afterwards they went to the hospital. Only one of the nurses and one patient were staying in the IPD [inpatient's department]. They went in and shone their torches but didn't ask anything and didn't take anything.

They went and surrounded Aung Gyi's house [Aung Gyi had recently married an American teacher who had just left the camp the previous day]. They were standing there with an RPG [rocket-propelled grenade launcher], the neighbors saw them. Three men entered his house and looked inside the bedrooms, but they didn't find anyone. Only the headmistress was staying in the house. They said, "Where is the foreigner? We want to see the foreign woman and Padoh Captain [Aung Gyi's father, who is with the KNU]". But she didn't answer and pretended she was asleep. She felt so afraid. Three times the same night they surrounded his house, but only the last time they came and searched inside. But they didn't find them so they left. The only house they entered in this camp was Aung Gyi's house. They knew very well. They wanted a foreigner because they think that foreigners had a lot of money. And Saw Captain belongs to the Timber Department of the KNU and they wanted leaders like him.

They went to some shops and ordered, "Open the door. If you don't open it, we will do it ourselves." They took some bread and tins of sardines, and other things that they could eat. One shop was left nearly empty. They carried everything away themselves. They also arrested two people and asked them for money, 1,200 *baht*. They couldn't give it, but the DKBA didn't do anything and left them. No one was taken away. They stayed in the camp for about 2 hours, then they left at 4 a.m.

We think they came here for some people, leaders that they wanted, but they didn't do anything because they didn't find them. Even the section leaders were in hiding [the refugee camp section leaders]. They didn't ask the refugees anything.

Everyone was afraid but they couldn't do anything. Most people here didn't even know what happened. Sections 1, 3, 4 and 5 knew but the other side of the camp didn't notice anything. They didn't shoot here. Only the next morning the other people heard the news and got frightened too.

On the 24th, nothing happened, but on the night of the 25th they fired heavy weapons nearby again, across from the fields, on the Karen side [just across the border]. One or two fell on the Thai side near the river but didn't explode. I heard 5 shells. People woke up and ran away from the camp, some along the road and some to the cornfields. They didn't come back to the camp that night and stayed outside the camp under the trees. It was raining. Some people had a plastic sheets but some didn't. Some went to stay in the Thai [farmers'] field huts. My husband also went to stay in a Thai hut. That night I stayed here but the next day I went to stay in Mae Sot with my children.

Now we are afraid. When they came we knew some of them [DKBA soldiers] and nothing happened. Maybe that was good for us. But yesterday we heard that some villagers outside the camp saw them again, and this time they didn't recognize any of them - so maybe the SLORC changed them because when they came they didn't do anything in the main camp. SLORC wanted them to kill someone or burn the camp. Before, they sometimes used to visit some villagers who they knew, but without guns. This was the first time that they came with guns. Each of them had a gun. The villagers were so afraid. The camp leader will have a meeting with KRC [the Karen Refugee Committee] and the NGO's [the foreign Non-Governmental Organizations who supply the refugee camps] to see if we should move. It will not be easy to move so many families.

[After the attack on the camp on 24 August and the shelling of the area on 26 August, the refugees were living in extreme fear and no one was sleeping in the camp at night. They had moved their valuables out into the farm fields and went out there to sleep every night. By 10 September, most of them returned to stay in the camp.]

Recently, I heard that the local troops were asking the people from our village to come back. This was because they needed civilians to work on their forced labor projects. Our village was assigned to provide the labor for the construction of the Moe Htaung motor road. SLORC ordered every villager to return to their village. Anyone who failed to comply would have their land confiscated by the SLORC authorities, in accordance with orders given by Major Hla Min, local commander. In addition to supplying unpaid labor, our village was also required to pay 6,000 kyats per week as porter fees to the SLORC.

Interview 14: HRV: Forced Labor, Refugee, Relocation, Killing, Livelihood

Name:	Saw Hsah Muh Lah
Sex:	Male
Age:	54
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with six children
Address:	Nan Ka Prao village, Tenasserim Division
Date of interview:	February 18, 1997
Place of interview:	temporary site on Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Hsah Muh Lah was a village elder in Nan Ka Prao village, and was one of the few men allowed to cross the border by the Thai authorities.]

The SLORC made problems about building the road from Le Nya to Boke Pyin. So we couldn't stay there, and we had to come up here. The road had all been built before, we built it, then when it was finished the rains came and ruined it, then we had to build it again. So we had to go. If you couldn't go you had to pay money, and if you couldn't pay money then you had to go. If we couldn't go we had to hire someone, sometimes it was two or three thousand *kyats*, sometimes one or two thousand. We had to go one time every month, one person from every house. There were over 40 houses in Nan Ka Prao village. If the adults couldn't go then the children had to go, children around 12 and 13 years old. And old men over 50 or 60 years old often had to go on behalf of the young men. Each time it was for about 14 or 15 days. The Burmese didn't give

anything, they [the laborers] had to take care of themselves and survive on their own food. Some of them got sick, and then we had to substitute them with others.

Nan Ka Prao village was ordered by the SLORC to move. We already had to move two months ago. The Burmese came to the village and ordered all the villagers to move to Le Nya, which was in their area. It was about three or four hours' walk away [from Nan Ka Prao]. Some of the villagers moved there because they were afraid, but some didn't go there or come here, they just fled and stayed somewhere else. As for us, we fled up here. The Burmese killed two of the villagers who didn't go to the relocation place, and they said they would kill all the villagers who disobeyed them and fled somewhere else if they saw them.

They killed the two villagers in the forest near Nan Ka Prao village. It was about a month ago. One was Kyi Lin. He was over 30 years old, he had a wife and four children. He was a Nan Ka Prao villager. The Burmese saw him when he was harvesting rice at his farm. They didn't ask him anything, they just shot him dead. They said they would kill any villagers who disobeyed and didn't go to Le Nya. And they did it.

I know the other who was killed too. That happened the first time the Burmese came, over two months ago. Over 100 soldiers came from Battalion 358. They gathered all the male villagers and took them along with them. There was a young man among the villagers and the Burmese accused him of being a Kaw Thoo Lei [Karen army] soldier and then tortured him. Later on, they realized he was not a Kaw Thoo Lei soldier, but they killed him anyway. They killed him along the way. Even his parents didn't know, and no one dared to search for his body. His name was Saw Peter. He was a Nan Ka Prao villager, about 22 years old.

I would guess that maybe over 40 households moved to Le Nya as ordered [from other villages as well as Nan Ka Prao]. I don't know how they stay there. Maybe they have to build the road. As for us, we didn't go there, instead we came to the Karen area among Karen people. Many people are staying in the jungle. But we would starve if we stayed a long time in the jungle, that's why we came up here. And up here is Karen revolution area, so I thought we'd have some hope of getting [or growing] some food.

The SLORC burned our village. There were four villages in Nan Ka Prao area -- Nan Ka Prao, Ler Pa Doh, Waw Pa Doh, and Kyet Der. All of them were burned by the Burmese, they did the same to all the villages. They burned all the houses, they ate all our livestock and they cut down all the coconut trees and betelnut trees. None of the villagers were there, everyone had run away. They say we help Kaw Thoo Lei [KNU/KNLA], and Kaw Thoo Lei is their enemy. They had ordered everyone to move, so they said if people didn't move they were going to destroy everything and everything we had. When we came here, I could only bring two or three pieces of clothing. We came as a group of two or three families, 14 or 15 people altogether. It took us four nights along the way because of the children. There were no Burmese along the way.

When we first arrived we got rice from the Karen revolution, because we were staying with them. Then when they didn't have any more food for us the gawlewah [westerners] helped us with food. Now we've been in Thailand for five or six days, because we don't dare stay in Kaw Thay Lu anymore. The Burmese were coming there to attack and destroy, so we fled here. There are about 70 households here now. Altogether over 200 people [actually 282]. There are people from Nan Ka Prao, Waw Pa Doh and Ler Pa Doh, and from Kaw Thay Lu village. As for the people from Ze Daeng, they couldn't come up here even if they wanted to, because the Burmese were making many problems for them and blocking them.

Interview 15: HRV: Relocation, Refugee

Name:	Naw Lah Lah Htoo
Sex:	Female
Age:	30
Ethnicity:	Karen hill farmer
Religion:	Animist
Marital status:	Married with five children
Address:	Nan Ka Prao village, Tenasserim Division
Date of interview:	February 18, 1997
Place of interview:	temporary site on Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

There are about 40 or 50 houses in Nan Ka Prao village. We got here over two months ago because the Burmese expelled us. They came up to Nan Ka Prao village, ordered the villagers to move and made problems. They burned all the houses. Some of the villagers came up here and some of them went down to the Burmese area. We came here quietly, so the Burmese didn't know. The people who went down where they ordered are staying in Kyaw Mote. As for me, I would not move there. I fled when all the other villagers were running into the jungle. We were in the bush for about three weeks. Then I went and stayed at Boke Pyin for about a week, then I went back to my village again and it had already been burned by the Burmese. I couldn't do anything, so I came to stay here in Kaw Thay Lu. I couldn't bring along any sleeping-mats, I just brought along some rice and one blanket. Then we couldn't stay in Kaw Thay Lu because the [Karen] leaders were worried that there would be troubles for us when the Burmese came. That was why we came here [1 km. into Thai territory]. I came here with all my children. My husband is still staying on the mountaintop [the Thai authorities would not let him cross the border, even though he is just a villager and has never been a soldier].

There are many Karen villages in Nan Ka Prao, like Nan Ka Prao, Waw Pa Doh, Ler Pa Doh, Kyet Der, etc. Waw Pa Doh has 12 houses, Ler Pa Doh has 30 houses. All these villages had to move. Now there are still some villagers living there, but they've run and are staying in the forest [around their villages]. They were ordered to move to Le Nya and Ma Kaw, which are among the Burmese and the Mon. The Burmese said they would kill all the villagers who were living in the jungle, they said that these were bad people. They said all the people who stayed in the jungle or came to Thailand are bad people, that we all helped Kaw Thoo Lei [KNU/KNLA], and that only the people who went to their [relocation] place were good.

There are also Thai and Burmese villages in Nan Ka Prao area. The Burmese make difficulties for them too. All the villagers [Karen and others] who stay around Le Nya or go down to the places among the Burmese have to build the road and carry heavy things [as porters]. They're building a road to Boke Pyin, and one to Le Nya Kee and Nan Ka Prao. The Burmese said they would build a camp in Nan Ka Prao.

The Burmese and Thai villagers are fleeing here also. Only a few of the Thai villagers are still staying there now. Some of them are moving to Thailand.

Now I am separated from my husband. He hasn't come because the Thais won't allow the men to cross the border together with us, so all the men have to stay in Kaw Thay Lu. The Thais only allowed four men to come and stay here among us. I don't know why the Thais do that. My husband is not a soldier, he is just a villager. I don't know how long I'll have to stay here, but I've been here a week now.

We just got rice and salt while we were fleeing [from the KNU]. Yesterday we were given some sardines and noodles too. My children are healthy but I am not well, I feel bad and have pain in my back.

Interview 16: HRV: Refugee, Relocation, Forced Labor, Livelihood

Name:	Naw Htoo Paw
Sex:	Female
Age:	21
Ethnicity:	Karen hill farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Single, seven siblings
Address:	Nan Ka Prao village, Tenasserim Division
Date of interview:	February 18, 1997
Place of interview:	temporary site, Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

I'm a hill rice farmer, but our farm has been left behind because we had to flee. The Burmese ordered us out starting in 1996, they ordered us to move to Le Nya. Some people moved there but as for us, we didn't want to stay among the Burmese, so we came to the Karen revolution area. Before we stayed on the hill, but the Karen leaders told us we had better come here [into Thailand] because the military situation was getting worse. There are Nan Ka Prao, and Kyet Der, Waw Pa Doh and Ler Pa Doh villages, close to each other in my region. They all have to move, and the Burmese burned all of them. Some of the people went to the Burmese [relocation place] and half of us came to the revolution area. Only a few households from Nan Ka Prao went to the Burmese place. Some others are just staying along the way there but not going all the way to the Burmese area. Those people are building small shelters and farming in the jungle. It is only really old men and old women who can't walk, can't do things or can't see who are going to the Burmese place. From other villages a few are here, a few are hiding in the forest and a few went to the Burmese place.

Before we left from the village, all of us had to work for the SLORC. People had to build the road and carry heavy things, and some people had to pay money when they couldn't go there. The road goes from Boke Pyin to Le Nya. In our village we just collected money and sent it to the Burmese.

There are over 40 houses in Nan Ka Prao village. Our village has been burned by the Burmese two times. They have already burned three of my houses. The first time was about 20 years ago, and the second time was in [November] 1996 when we were there. It was after they ordered us to move out. They burned many houses except the church. At that time, I was hiding in the jungle. We were in the jungle, trying to build a small shelter like this one [she was being interviewed in a tiny 4-foot by 5-foot shelter in the forest with a plastic sheet for the roof]. Later, some Karen soldiers and villagers who had gone and seen it told us that the Burmese had burned every house except the church.

After we had decided to leave for the border, we hid some rice, salt and fish-paste in the jungle, so that when things like this happen we could get it. Also, when these things happen we carry a little rice along with us, so we can survive for a short time. Then we fled out to here.

We were staying in the jungle for one or two months, and the Burmese attacked the Karen once when we were there. We just kept moving around in the jungle and staying along the upper reaches of streams. If the Burmese had seen us during that time it wouldn't have been easy. They would surely have killed us. Then we came here. We spent four nights on the way to get here. We couldn't bring anything except two sets of clothing, all our other things were taken by the Burmese. As for the food we brought, it was all finished on the way coming here. Then when we got here they [the KNU] gave us some rice and salt. At first they gave us ten plates, five blankets and one pot because there are ten people in our family. We arrived in Kaw Thay Lu in November.

There are 22 households here from Nan Ka Prao village. In the jungle there are more people than there are here. They would come if the situation was better, but for now they just have to hide in the jungle in the upper reaches of the streams.

Interview 17: HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Relocation

Name:	Naw Wah Mo
Sex:	Female
Age:	50
Ethnicity:	Karen, hill farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with four children
Address:	Nan Ka Prao village, Tenasserim Division
Date of interview:	February 18, 1997
Place of interview:	Temporary site, Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

When the SLORC came to my village I was in the village, but we didn't dare face them so we fled into the jungle. Later I saw the places they'd burned. There were no more houses, nothing was left. All the houses were burned except for the church.

Some of the village moved to the area as ordered by the SLORC. They have made rafts and are living on the water [in shelters built on bamboo rafts in the river] and others are living on the sand bank [the sandy riverbank]. I wasn't there, but someone who saw it told me. I heard that the people who moved there are now building a motor road. The Burmese ordered all of the people to move there, but we didn't go. I don't know why the Burmese do things like this.

I've been staying in Kaw Thay Lu for two months now. Now we have come here [across the border to Thailand] because we are afraid of the Burmese. I don't think we can go back to Nan Ka Prao. If the situation is good we can go, but not if it is bad. We're really afraid right now.

Interview 18: HRV: Forced Labor, Relocation, Livelihood, Child

Name:	Saw Bleh
Sex:	Male
Age:	46
Ethnicity:	Karen hill farmer
Religion:	Animist
Marital status:	Married with four children aged
Address:	Ler Pa Doh village, Tenasserim Division
Date of interview:	February 18, 1997
Place of interview:	Temporary site, Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

The SLORC came to the village and ordered us to move out, but we didn't and we fled. It was about three months ago. They said that they would kill us if they caught us after that. There are about 30 houses in Ler Pa Doh village and 20 houses in Waw Pa Doh village. Waw Pa Doh is right across the river from Nan Ka Prao. Ler Pa Doh is 30 minutes' walk from Nan Ka Prao.

I was in the village when the soldiers came to my village. They came to the village and they burned all the houses. I was hiding in the bushes. I saw them burning the paddy in my rice barn, the paddy which I grew on my own hill farm. There were a lot of them. It was over two months ago, then they came again. They came and burned the houses three times, because the first and second times not all the houses were burned completely. After the third time all the houses were burnt. All 30 houses.

First, we just went and hid in areas upstream. Altogether three households from Ler Pa Doh arrived here. More households went to the Burmese place instead of came here. It took three days to come here. All our children came on foot with us. This one is 5 years old, and this one is 4.

We dared not stay there [just across the border at Kaw Thay Lu] because the Burmese would attack, so we had to flee into Thailand. If the Burmese arrive there we won't dare stay here either, we'll have to move to another place.

We can't stay back in our village if the Burmese are there. If the Karen leaders tell us the Burmese are not there anymore then maybe we can go and stay there.

Interview 19: HRV: Forced Labor, Prison Labor, Torture

Name	Inpo
Age	25 years old, single, male
Parents' names	U Gwan Shein and Daw Yin Kyi
Nationality	Burmese/Buddhist
Address	Nine Pagodas ward, Mergui
Date of interview	February 21, 1997
Place of interview	Htaw Ma Phyoe refugee camp
Source	Information Department, Tavoy, Mergui district

I had almost finished my sentence in Mergui prison when I was forced to work as a porter. My release date was at the end of February 1997. But, during the first week of February, all prisoners were sent to the frontline to serve as porters by the prison authorities. Only a few could afford to pay the money to avoid being sent to the front line.

The cost to avoid conscription as a porter depended on the authorities. Most charged 3,000 *kyats*, but some charged 5,000 *kyats*. I could not afford to pay and, as a result, had to go and work as a porter. Obviously, I did not want to go because I knew that it was dangerous. However, I did not have any other choice.

300 prisoners from Mergui prison were taken as porters on February 11. As part of our supplies, we were given one white prison uniform, one blanket and one jute bag. Later, we were all taken to Tavoy by boat. There were no civilians in Tavoy the next day. From there, we were taken to the LIB 25 base. I spent one more night there and on February 13, we were taken to the front line by truck. I had never been to this area, so I did not know where we were heading or which villages we were passing through.

Our portering duties began once we arrived at the village. I was forced to carry a half bag of rice for the soldiers. When I couldn't carry it any further, the soldiers ordered me to carry ammunition instead. I was beaten several times because I wasn't strong enough to carry my quota. Many porters faced the same treatment.

Some were beaten and some died because of this brutal treatment. I saw one porter killed by one such beating. Because he was sick and too weak to carry his load, he requested of the soldiers to let him rest. However, the soldiers forced him to keep marching until he collapsed. Later, the soldiers beat him to death. This was the only killing I witnessed but I heard that many porters were killed in other columns for this same reason.

Only in the first two days, we were provided with rice by the soldiers. On the rest of the days, the troops only gave us the boiled banana trees. We did not have time to rest when the soldiers took rest in the village. They ordered us to pound raw paddy to make rice. We had to carry heavy load continuously without any rest and we also had to work while the soldiers were taking rest. They had a meal that we made, but they did not provide enough food for us. They just ordered us to find the banana trees to boil and eat. Some attempted to escape. Only the lucky people could manage to escape. I think about 100 were able to escape. The unfortunate were rearrested and badly treated.

I was also among the lucky ones because I was able to escape. I think I would have died if I had had to continue to serve as a porter in the SLORC army.

Interview 20: HRV: Relocation, Refugee, Child

Name:	Saw Wah
Sex:	Male
Age:	68
Ethnicity:	Sgaw Karen, hill rice farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with one son
Address:	Meh K'Tee village, Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview:	February 26, 1997
Place of interview:	Ke Hee Paleh temporary site, Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

I am from Meh K'Tee is my village, I got here three days ago. We came through Tee Yu Kee, up to Hto Kaw Kee, then to Meh Kwih Kloh, and from there we crossed the car road and reached Hto Kaw Kloh [river] at Hta Kaw, then we went down to Meh Kwih Lah Per. One of our friends died there because he stepped on a landmine. His leg was blown off and he died. So we didn't dare continue and we slept there. He was about 20 years old. He was a villager but I don't know the name of his village.

The next morning we climbed up the mountain. There were about 300 of us altogether including women and children, from various villages. Some from Plaw Kee Pa, some from Meh K'Tee Hta, some from Htee Meh Wah. Many people ran with their children on to Htee Sgaw Sgee. But I don't know what happened there because we were behind the others. The Burmese didn't see us because we came through at nighttime. In the daytime we stayed in hiding. It was three days to travel to here, but if I count from when we first ran from our village it took us 10 days, going step by step from place to place. We arrived here three days ago.

The SLORC soldiers chased us and tried to find us when they entered the village. They ordered some villagers to go and call back those who were hiding. They said they would give written passes for those who went back, but they shot at those who ran away from them. People here have seen quite a few villagers killed just because they ran away from the Burmese. The Burmese shot them without asking questions. It's impossible for us to go back to our village as long as they are like this. If we go back they will divide us into two groups, those who have money and those who have no money. This is what I understand. [i.e. they would divide the villagers into those who can pay extortion and those who will have to do forced labor.]

The people staying farther inside have to flee around from place to place, because there's no easy way for them to make it here.

Interview 21: HRV: Relocation, Refugee, Child

Name:	Saw Maw Lay
Sex:	Male
Age:	48
Ethnicity:	Sgaw Karen, hill rice farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with seven children
Address:	Meh T'Ler village, Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview:	February 26, 1997
Place of interview:	Ke Hee Paleh temporary site, Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

Eleven people in my group just arrived now. The Burmese are in our village now. I saw them when we were hiding in the jungle. I saw them arrive. None of the villagers were still in the village. When I saw them they didn't do anything, but we dared not stay there because we were afraid of them.

We've slept in the forest many nights already! I think we spent three weeks on the way. We slept in the bush, for sure. Since we started to flee. Some villagers go back. The men went back to get things. Me, I didn't go back to the village. The Burmese came, I didn't dare go back.

No one is left in my village, everyone is coming here. But many are still climbing over the mountains to come here. We had to climb a big mountain. We slept along the path three nights on the way coming here [note: they've been sleeping in the bush for three weeks, but fled the area of the village three nights ago]. There are over 60 households in Meh T'Ler, and some people are bringing along some cattle as well. People are fleeing from Meh T'Ler, Po Si Mu, Taw Ghaw Law, Kwih Kler. Some of them have arrived here, but many are still left in the jungle. I came with my children. I couldn't bring anything except these clothes on my body. Some of my daughters and sons are in Kwih La Taw already. And this child here was born just two days ago, to my daughter-in-law. Along the way [he points to the mountain to the west]. Two days ago. In the forest.

Interview 22: HRV: Refugee, Religion, Killing

Name:	Nurul Islam
Sex:	Male
Age:	about 40
Religion:	Muslim merchant
Address:	Kyaikdon village, Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview:	February 27, 1997
Place of interview:	Ka Hee Pa Leh, Thailand
Source:	KHRG

The SLORC soldiers destroyed the mosque in my village when they arrived there. They took all the wooden boards from the mosque, from the floor, the walls and the roof, and burned them. They also burned some villagers' houses around there. They also killed two people from Meh Ka Htee Hta. People who came here later saw it all. The brothers and family of one of the men killed are all staying here – that is his niece there. Her husband was staying with her uncle, and he just arrived here yesterday. The Burmese killed her uncle three days ago, because he was ill and unable to run. He was just a villager, but he couldn't run because of illness when the Burmese came. Only three were left in the village. All three were killed, and two of them were Muslims. They were staying between Tee Tha Blut and Pa Klaw Kee villages. Their names were Pa Mot, Maw Mot Kya, and Hu Sein. All of them were men. Hu Sein was not so old, though Maw Mot Kya was older, his hair was white. He was about 50 years old.

There are many villagers still in Kyeikdon area, even my sisters and brothers. But not in the village, they are scattered here and there in the jungle and on the mountainsides. Maybe some have gone down to the towns like Moulmein, I don't know. We ran and came here.

Interview 23: HRV: Refugee, Religion, Women, Killing

Name:	Ni Ni Sein
Sex:	Female
Age:	20+
Religion:	Muslim merchant
Marital status:	Married with no children
Address:	Na Kree Hta village, Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview:	February 27, 1997
Source:	KHRG

I know that SLORC killed three persons from my village. When they were looking for their cattle, the SLORC saw them and killed them. They broke their legs and arms, and they took out their eyes. People saw my uncle after he was dead and they told me. It happened four days ago.

Among the three, my uncle was one. His name was Pa Mot. He was over 60. His wife is dead, and his children and son-in-law are in the refugee camp. He lived in Pa Klaw Nee, and he fled to Pa Klaw Kee. SLORC saw him there so they killed him.

What about the other two men who were killed?

Their names were San Bo and Soe Tin [a.k.a. Hu Sein and Maw Mot Kya; villagers are often known by more than one name]. Soe Tin was over 30, and so was San Bo. They also had wives and children. Their families are in the jungle. They couldn't run. The SLORC blocked the way. Two of the men were Muslims and Soe Tin was a Karen Buddhist.

Many of my villagers are still hiding in the jungle. They cannot run. They try very hard to come here but they cannot. The SLORC blocks the way. Some of the Buddhists return again to their villages, but the Muslims cannot return. If the Muslims enter the village, the SLORC beat or kill them, and take their things. They want to stay in their villages but the SLORC says they cannot stay there. Only for Muslims. If Buddhists and others want to stay there they can. In Kyaikdon the SLORC didn't burn the houses but they broke apart the mosque, and they also burned the Muslim school.

In other villages they didn't burn anything, but if they see any Muslim people they catch them. Yesterday many Muslim people arrived here from Pa Klaw Kee area, over 200 people. I have been here for ten days. When the SLORC came into Pa Klaw Kee area they asked "Where are all the Muslims?" Some of the Karen people lied to them and said, "We don't know, they all ran away".

Interview 24: HRV: Refugee, Religion, Arrest, Killing, Forced Labor

Name:	Maung Thet Lwin
Sex:	Male
Age:	29
Religion:	Muslim day laborer
Marital status:	Married with no children
Address:	Meh K'Tee village, Karen State
Date of interview:	February 27, 1997
Source:	KHRG

I just arrived here yesterday. I stayed along the way for eight days. I didn't see the SLORC, but I saw the places where they had dug the ground [for trenches and bunkers]. I came together with about 50 men, 30 women and about 150 children, all from different villages. From Kyaikdon, Pa Klaw Ni, Meh Ka Tee Hta.

There are no Muslims left in the area because the SLORC won't allow us to stay there. They confiscated all of the villagers' belongings, and then they drove all the Muslims out of the village. They fired into the air behind us as we ran away until we were all out of the village. They said they would send all the Muslims back to India. As for the Burmese, Mon, and Karen people, they gave them passes to stay in the village. But they drove the Muslims out to Kwin Kalay. They sent about 100 people together with their 28 bullock carts. Then when they got to Kwin Kalay, they took all the belongings of those Muslims and left them with only the clothes on their bodies. Some of the husbands fled and arrived here with nothing, and their wives are still left there. Two of those people already arrived here. They said some of the others were arrested by the SLORC and killed, that four of the people were already killed by SLORC.

While we were in our village, the SLORC ordered the villagers to send 60 people for a week at a time to build their Army camp. They must do that every week. It's the same as going for portering. They order the people from Kyaikdon, Meh Naw Ah to build their camp. They are doing that now.

Interview 25: HRV: Refugee, Incursion, Killing

Name:	Naw Lah Paw
Sex:	Female
Age:	30
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married with two children
Address:	Sho Kloh refugee camp, Thailand
Date of interview:	March 5, 1997
Place of interview:	Sho Khlo camp, Thailand
Source:	KHRG

[Naw Lah Paw is the wife of the leader of Section 3 of Sho Kloh camp, who was hit in the shelling and killed.]

I have been living in Sho Kloh for about 11 years. On January 4, I was selling lottery tickets in the market. Then when I heard an explosion I was staying in my house. I started running towards the bunker [after Sho Kloh was shelled in June 1996, most families dug a small bunker near their houses] and I looked for my children. It was about 4 p.m. Burmese time [4:30 Thai time]. I heard 3 or 4 shells and the last one landed right here [about five meters in front of her house]. I stayed in the bunker while the shells landed. I wondered "What is happening?" because there was a lot of dust in the air, and I looked at my husband. I saw him falling down there [pointing at the footpath outside her house]. When the mortar landed, he was in front of the house shouting at the children to stay still and hide in the bunker. I shouted to him loudly that the children and I were already in the bunker. Just as I spoke a mortar landed there as he was coming towards us. It was too late for him to get into the bunker. His name was Saw Pay. He was 33 years old, Sgaw Karen and Buddhist like me. He was the section 3 leader.

I saw him lying down just like that. I thought that he was dead because he was so quiet and stayed still. I didn't see his injuries, but people saw him wounded and took him to the hospital about 30 minutes after the shelling. The other people didn't want me to go, so I went back to the bunker again. My parents heard that he was wounded, so my father came up to me about 15 or 20 minutes later and I came out of the bunker again. But the others forced me back into the bunker because they were worried for me. At that time I also had my youngest child in my arms, so I couldn't leave him lying in the bunker alone and there was no one to look after him. When it was dark, I followed my mother walking and running to the hospital because I wanted to see my husband. People didn't let me see him because they were worried that I would be upset. When I saw him, his wounds were covered. He

was injured by four pieces of shrapnel - in his neck, in his side, in his stomach and in his right leg. The people sent him to Mae Sot by car along with his brother. I couldn't go to Mae Sot with the child and went to stay in my mother's house in Section 2. The next day, I tried to go down to Mae Sot but I could only get to Beh Klaw [half way]. I went to see him about a week later. At that time he looked better. He had an oxygen pipe going into his throat and he couldn't speak. Two weeks later, he became thin and couldn't eat well but he could speak a little. On the February 12, he died. My brother-in-law told me. They burnt his body in the hospital. I didn't even know when he was buried.

One uncle [older man] also got injured while he was staying in the bunker. I was in his bunker and he was trying to get into my bunker. I was too afraid to stay in my bunker, so I had gone to his. He got injured on his thigh and it broke his bone. His house is just here and his children are staying with his son. His wife is already dead. The people carried him in a hammock to the [camp] hospital. I saw him there with bamboo slats on both sides of his leg, tied up with a bandage from the hip to the ankle. They sent him to Mae Sot together with my husband. He is still in Mae Sot hospital now.

Altogether the shelling lasted for about five or ten minutes. I think it was DKBA who fired the shells. They were coming from Baw Pa Hta area. I think they have bad feelings toward us, but we have done nothing to make them feel this way. I don't know why. The Thai soldiers in Sho Kloh did nothing. I didn't hear them firing back. They just stayed like that. About five or ten minutes later, Thai soldiers from Mae Plu fired three or four shells back.

I dare not think about the future. I feel scared and sad. We have to stay alert. I don't want to go back to Burma. Only if there is peace would I like to go back. If the situation goes on like this, I don't want to go back. If everybody moves to Beh Klaw I will go too, because it is not safe to stay separate from the other people. I will follow the others, though I believe that Beh Klaw is not safer than Sho Kloh. For now, I am staying in Section 2 with my parents.

Interview 26: HRV: Refugee, Incursion, Killing

Name: Saw Win Hlaing
Sex: Male
Age: 25
Ethnicity: Karen shopkeeper
Religion: Muslim
Marital status: Single
Address: Sho Klo refugee camp, Thailand
Date of interview: March 6, 1997
Place of interview: Sho Klo refugee camp, Thailand
Source: KHRG

[Saw Win Hlaing was one of the three people wounded by the shelling.]

I have been living in Sho Kloh for the last ten years. I live in the market of Section 4. It was about 5 p.m. when the DKBA shelled into Sho Kloh. As soon as we heard the shelling, we closed the shop. As I was closing the door a shell exploded about seven or eight yards away, in front of my shop and the video house. Actually the mortar came through the roof of the video house and exploded in the middle [no one was in there]. It damaged the walls of the video house, my house and my things in the shop. A piece of shrapnel hit me. I was the only one hurt by that mortar shell. I was wounded in the back of my shoulder [the top corner of his left shoulder]. My family was already in the bunker and I went to the back of the house to my family. I waited for about half an hour until the shelling was over. My whole shirt got soaked with blood. Then my younger brother carried me to the hospital. He is bigger and stronger than me. I arrived there first, before the other two wounded people. There were one or two medics but no patients, all of them had fled to the bunkers near the hospital. The medic washed the wound and did first aid to it. Two other people were also wounded: Saw Pay, the section 3 leader, and one old man I don't know the name. We had to wait for a couple of hours. We didn't dare go without any security guard. At about 7 p.m. a Thai Army car took us to Mae Sot hospital. There were three patients and two medics. In Mae Sot, the doctors took out the shrapnel and dressed my wounds that night and I came back here the next day. I only stayed one night at Mae Sot hospital. Now my shoulder is sometimes numb. If I work for more than 10 minutes it gives me cramps. It is still painful when I sleep on my left side.

Five shells landed in Sho Kloh [four exploded and at least one or two did not]. They shelled from Baw Pa Hta. I didn't see them but I heard them, especially the one that hit me. One shell landed in front of my house, one at the monastery, one at the church and another one in front of the section 3 leader's house. That last one hit and wounded him. One leader dug up the tail of the shell and told me that it was a 2.5"

mortar. I feel very angry and resentful about this, but since we are refugees we can't do anything. I believe this could happen again, and we will just run if we can escape. I don't want to move to Beh Klaw because of the difficulties for my family. Altogether there are ten people in my family, six brothers and sisters, my parents, my sister-inlaw and myself. Now we have no money to move there. If our leaders ask us to move we will move, and if they ask us to stay we will stay. That's all. Staying in Sho Klo is better than staying in Burma, because there is a lot of fighting in Burma now. I used to live in Moe Nai village in Hlaing Bwe township. Sho Klo is safer than my village. I want the organizations of the whole world to help the Karen refugees. There is no hope for improvement through the peace talks between SLORC and the ethnic groups. It can only be possible with the interference of the whole world and if SLORC transfers state power to Aung San Suu Kyi. I think the situation in Burma might be better if Aung San Suu Kyi comes to power.

Interview 27: HRV: Refugee, Women, Child, Torture, Forced Labor, Religion

Name:	Naw G'Mwee Paw
Sex:	Female
Age:	30
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with two children
Address:	Meh K'Tee village, Karen State
Date of interview:	March 23, 1997
Source:	KHRG

The SLORC troop came to my village and we ran. We dared not stay and we ran. I can't remember exactly when because I was so frightened. Maybe the February 22. Two days before the Burmese arrived at Meh K'Tee, we left our village.

After the SLORC arrived, did you go back to your village?

Yes, only once. After I saw what was happening in my village, I dared not go back again. It was just a week ago, on Friday. I came back here on Tuesday.

Can you tell what was happening in your village?

Yes, I can tell something. The Burmese asked the villagers to show them around. If they couldn't show them [what they wanted], they kicked them, beat them and persecuted them. The Burmese arrested one woman who had a one-month-old baby and her husband when they were running and staying in the forest. They beat the woman. They accused them of being Kaw Thoo Lei and they tortured the wife as

well as the husband. They beat them very mercilessly. They tied them, beat them, kicked them. They were accused of receiving visits from Kaw Thoo Lei [Karen soldiers]. I know her. Her name is Naw Blu and people call her husband Maung Kyaw. She is over 30 years old and her husband is maybe 38 or 39. I didn't ask them their ages. I didn't see the beatings but I saw the bruises on her face. I was only there for a short time and she told me about that. I saw her face black and bruised. They kicked her, slapped her face and insulted her. One side of her face was very swollen. She can see. It is a little better now. She tried to treat herself. Her husband, they beat him and kicked him. They tortured him so badly that he couldn't eat. They arrested them for one day and in the morning they released them. But because they'd tortured him so much, he didn't even know anymore whether he'd been kicked or punched or stomped on. They kept asking things without giving them time to answer, just kicked and asked and kicked again. They didn't even know how their faces had become so bruised. They didn't do anything to the baby. Just the woman and the man.

Did the SLORC ask them many questions?

They asked so many things and the couple explained everything. They told about the man who had a hunting gun. So the soldiers went to that man and beat him badly. His body was very seriously swollen, and his face was so swollen that he was nearly dead. Only because of that hunting gun. He gave the hunting gun to them but they were still beating him. He ran to the forest and came back again, and they tortured him again. When I arrived at the village, they had already released him.

They tortured the man and the woman, the man with the hunting gun and another two. Of the other two, one man was very afraid and couldn't answer any questions, so they beat him once. The other one, I don't know how or why but they accused him of having relatives in Kaw Thoo Lei. They beat him twice. That happened three days before I arrived in the village.

How many houses are there in the village?

More than 60, but now there are only six houses with people in them. The other villagers went to stay in other villages, in Saw Hta [Azin] and in this camp. Because they were afraid, they went to stay where there were a lot of people. The Burmese didn't allow them to stay in Saw Hta and ordered them to stay in Meh K'Tee. But the villagers dared not stay in Meh K'Tee because there were only a few people there.

What else happened when the SLORC came?

They destroyed some betelnut trees and coconut plantations. They cut them down and ate them all. They just cut them down to destroy them. There were a lot of coconuts in Meh K'Tee but now there are none left. I don't know what they did with all the coconuts, but they took the betelnut to sell. They carried so much betelnut away with them. They shot some cattle for food. They ate all the chickens. They destroyed all the paddy and rice. They took it to the stream and poured it down. All the rice of the people who fled was destroyed. I saw one of the pastors' rice thrown away. Maybe they thought that something might be hidden in the rice. They threw it away in the river and along the road. They took some rice for themselves, some to sell, and the rest they threw away. [The purpose is to destroy food supplies so the villagers will be destitute and unable to feed Karen soldiers; unlike in the Tenasserim Division offensive, where SLORC soldiers are desperate for rice, in Doooplaya District their supply lines are better so they can simply destroy it.]

Now the villagers are afraid of the soldiers and they dare not go back. The soldiers move here and there all the time. They stay at Nat Zin Gone, on the way to Th'Waw Thaw [Sakanthit]. Some others stay at Htee Yu Kee sometimes, but when there are no villagers there they leave and go to Taw Th'Naw Kee, because villagers are staying there. The soldiers have no bunkers, just shelters and small holes for protection. Then they came to stay at Pa Klaw Kee. That is permanent, but they don't build. Instead they stay in the villagers' houses.

They don't do anything to the houses where the owners still stay. But if the people have run away and the soldiers see their houses in good condition, they accuse the owners of being Kaw Thoo Lei. They [the soldiers] try to sell these houses, but nobody dares to buy them!

Do the villagers have to work for the soldiers?

Yes. They have to work. They demand two villagers and one bullock cart each day. They use these to carry away so many things belonging to the villagers, like oil tins and bamboo baskets [everything left behind by those who have fled]. The people from Meh K'Tee have to go to Saw Hta [Azin] to work. The people from Nat Zin Gone have to show the way to the soldiers [do labor as guides/human shields].

Do they have to be porters?

Yes. They have to carry food and other things. As for ammunition, I don't know. Along the way the soldiers even take the hats off the villagers' heads, then when they forget them in someone's house they order the porters to go and get it back for them. The villagers have to carry things to Saw Hta. If they are going further, other villagers have to carry the loads from there. In Meh K'Tee we don't have to build the road, but in Kwih Kler the villagers have to do that.

Why did you go back?

I went to see my house, and whether my possessions were still there or not. In my house there were only two or three pots. The rest had disappeared. Plates, spoons and food had disappeared. They destroyed part of my house, but not all of it. It was a wooden house. They destroyed all my betel-leaves. At Meh K'Tee Hta they completely burnt down the school, the church, and all the houses in the area around the junction of the roads. Not even one was left.

Was it easy to go and come back between here and your village?

It is a very long way. We went on foot and had to climb hills up and down about one day's travel. But for the women and those with children, it takes about three days. We had to ask permission first from the Burmese. When we asked, they asked us detailed questions like, "Where are you going?" "What are you going to do?" Then they allowed us. It is hard on both sides [of the border]. We are afraid. On my way back some Burmese soldiers told me to call the refugees back. They said, "You know about Huay Kaloke and the other camps [burned and destroyed in January]. If you don't come back, as soon as your houses are built the same will happen to this [Noh Po] camp." They threatened us that they would make trouble for the refugees. The conditions are not good on the Burmese side. There I was afraid all the time. Here too. I don't know where to go. We are afraid all the time. Everywhere it is all the same!!

Interview 28: HRV: Refugee, Repatriation

Name:	xxxx
Sex:	Male
Age:	34 years
Date of interview:	March 12, 1997
Place of interview:	Thuka, Thai-Burma border near Thom Pa Pon
Source:	BI

In the morning, after breakfast, on March 3, I was in Thu Ka camp and was planning to go into the jungle to look for firewood. However, at that time everybody in the camp was talking about a possible SLORC attack against the camp, and they were very frightened. We got a message that stated the SLORC troops at Wa Loung Toe had gone into the jungle and were possibly heading towards Thuka.

We left Thuka camp at 12 noon, and when we arrived at Mong Se Mine (on the Thai side of the border), we were met by four Thai Border Patrol Police(BPP). The four BPP men immediately made a barricade of bamboo across the road but none of us cared about the bamboo or the Thai border police. One of the Thai border policemen even got pushed over by our crowd and he fell on his back. The BPP said, "We cannot stop you, but you will have to return soon; as soon as the army arrives." We wanted to continue past the Mong Soe mine since the mine area might not be safe from SLORC mortars. The BPP refused to let us proceed to this safer area. At this time many of the children were crying because of thirst and the heat; it was the hottest time of the day. There was a big tree there but impossible for all of us to receive enough shade.

One spokesman went to the BPP to ask for permission to get drinking water from the nearby stream and they said that only three people would be allowed at a time. The BPP said, "I am worried that you will go inside our country." The spokesman got very angry and told him that we were already in Thailand. Three people then went to the stream to get water for the other thirsty refugees.

We stayed at that hot place for about one hour, and then a truck came with 18 Thai soldiers wearing uniforms. The person I thought was the leader was using very sharp language and said, "You cannot stay here any more! I know that the SLORC is far from Thu Ka and you have to return to the camp. If there is fighting at Thu Ka we will allow you to come back. "At this time I thought, "I know the situation much more than you." But I kept it to myself.

At 2 p.m. the four BPP, and the 18 soldiers started to push all of us back along the road towards Thu Ka. I saw a woman, 43 years old, with a weak heart who became weak and dizzy when the Thai soldiers shouted, "Go! Go!" Her husband and I massaged her back and slowly started climbing the steep slope towards the border. None of us wanted to go back because we were afraid of the SLORC more than we were afraid of the Thais. We delayed the process by sitting down. Some even lay down on the ground. We thought that if we went on like this, the Thais would not push us back. However, they continued to physically push us; they pushed me in the back twice, shouting "Go! Go! Go!" in Thai. Some women dropped their loads onto the ground, and the soldiers put the loads back onto the women's heads.

One of the refugees threw away her whole load in despair when the Thais put her discarded load back onto her head. She was crying, but I had no time to take care of her because I was afraid and had to continue. Normally it would take us 10 minutes to get up the first slope to Ke Baw Yu Plaw (a flat field still on the Thai side of the border), but we arrived at the field at about 5p.m.; it took us three hours in all. Everybody was hungry so some people put down their belongings and started

cooking and eating. Then it started to rain. This started a lot of activity to find shelter. Some people had not received any plastic sheeting as they had just arrived at Thuka from their home. There were about 50 sheets of plastic on the ground, and I started sharing them with those who had nothing. We even gave some plastic sheets to the Thai soldiers who asked for some, so they would not get wet.

It rained for about one hour. Even though we had plastic as a shelter from the rain, the ground got wet. After that we started cooking again. We slept at Ke Baw Yu Plaw that night. The night was filled with the cries of children and the people were very cold in the night. I could only sleep two hours that night. I thought about my life, and I missed my baby very much. When we left our village my baby was only two months old. She got diarrhea and died. My wife and I had come to Thailand to seek safety and now we were being pushed back. I thought that the SLORC or DKBA could burn down our camp as happened in the Mae Sot area. After what I saw that day, I think that even if the SLORC or DKBA did this, the Thai soldiers would not care. I was thinking and worrying what might happen the next day if they would continue shouting, "Go! Go! Go!" and really push us all back to Burma. I finally fell asleep at 4 a.m.

In the morning we cooked and after breakfast we thought that the Thais would allow us to stay, so some people started cutting bamboo for huts. The Thais did not say anything so more of us began building slightly larger shelters. At around noon the Thai soldiers started collecting the refugees again by using a loudspeaker. Most of the people had found shelter in the bushes and had slept spread out. Very slowly, people came out while others ignored the call. The commander said, "If you do not come out I will take out all to Nai E Taung by truck." (Nai E Taung is the SLORC base camp in the area.) When we heard what the commander said, we all got frightened and came out onto the middle of the field quickly. The soldiers counted everybody and took photographs and video of us. Some people did not understand what the video camera was and thought it was a weapon and were very afraid. The recording of the refugees took about two hours and then the Thais allowed everybody to return to their possessions. I thought that the Thais would not push us back again, so I lay down to sleep while some others started cooking dinner.

At about 2:30 p.m. I was still resting and others were eating when the Thai soldiers once again started ordering us to go back. A few soldiers cut down our bamboo shelters with their knives and again shouted, "Go! Go! Go! Quickly! Quickly!" Some people had to throw away their rice and collect their belongings.

The people did not resist as much as they did the day before, and the soldiers did not physically push them. Everybody went back to the Karen side of the border and once again started building new houses. We have stayed here until now, but in my opinion the SLORC will definitely attack, and the KNLA {Karen National Liberation Army} cannot stop them because they could not even stop the SLORC in Htee Kee (the KNU district headquarters recently occupied by SLORC). I hope that the SLORC do not come because I do not want to go to Thailand again, and I do not want the Thai soldiers pushing us back again. Here, everybody is frightened, even me.

Interview 29: HRV: Prison Labor, Forced Labor, Torture, Killing

Name:	Ko Maung Myint
Sex:	Male
Age:	32 years old
Ethnicity:	Burmese
Religion:	Buddhist
Date of interview:	March, 1997
Place of interview:	Sankhanburi border
Source:	HRDU

I was serving in Mergui Win Saung (a porter battalion) after I was sentenced to a five years prison term with hard labor. Altogether, 130 people were taken from the Mergui porter battalion on February 8, 1997 for the military offensive against the KNU. We were taken to Tavoy by boat and arrived in the evening. We were joined by other prisoners from Kyeik Chaung prison camp, Bokeyyin prison camp, Kaw Thaung prison camp and Tavoy prison. In addition, I saw many other civilians who had been forced to become porters. Our numbers reached approximately 2,000 (the exact number is difficult to estimate because there were many trucks loaded with porters, and I did not dare count the trucks out of fear the soldiers would beat me up). From there, we were quickly taken to Thaung Thone Lon village by a convoy. The soldiers did not let us rest in Tavoy, and drove us to Thaung Thone Lon that night.

When we reach to Taung Thone Lon, the troops had already been divided into three columns. I was in the column which marched through the Tenasserim River. The officer I worked as porter for was Captain Moe Khaing. For the entire duration of the journey, I had to carry six 81" motor shells and two boxes of bullets.

Each group of porters (there were five in each group) was given a small box of rice twice a day. Sometimes, the soldiers shaped the rice into small sticky balls and gave us one each. They also gave us water, but it was never enough. Beatings were common. I was beaten several times because I could not walk as fast as they wanted. Corporal Win Myint punched me in the face and kicked me with his military boots. After that, I could not walk properly and, as a result, was scolded and beaten again. Other porters were also beaten frequently. When we were climbing the hills and mountains, we couldn't always move fast enough because the loads we carried were so heavy. The soldiers beat us on our backs and forced us to keep climbing. They never allowed us to even take a short break. Than Htay, also a prisoner from Mergui prison camp, was beaten to death by the soldiers when both of his legs swelled and he could no longer walk due to the non-stop marching. When he pleaded with the soldiers for a break, the soldiers got angry and beat him with bamboo sticks. Finally he died. Many porters tried to run away while they were resting at night. I saw many porters collapse from exhaustion while they were carrying heavy loads during this operation. If they weren't beaten to death first, they were left behind, without food or water, to die. Two prisoners died between Taung Thon Lon and Metta died in exactly this manner. Both were from Mergui prison and both carried the same load the rest of us did. But they were very weak and sick and were left on the side of the road unburied. Another twenty porters died when they were left behind without food and water, too weak to keep up with the rest. Even civilians were left behind without food and water, too weak to keep up with the rest. Even civilians were not spared. They were not spared. In Metta village, two civilians were shot dead because they did not follow the military's orders to assemble.

Interview 30: HRV: Forced Labor, Arrest, Torture, Women, Child

Name:	Myint Lwin
Age:	24 years old
Ethnicity:	Burmese, fisherman
Marital status:	married with a one-year-old daughter
Religion:	Buddhist
Address:	Nat Seik village, Tenasserim Division
Date of interview:	March 9, 1997
Source:	Information Department, Mergui- Tavoy district

I was arrested in my village along with eight other villagers. Policemen from Win Wa village and militia rounded us up on February 9, 1997 for use as porters. They arrested all the men in the village at random. Many escaped, but we were caught when the militia discovered our hiding place.

We all were taken to Win Wa police station and put in a jail cell. Once there, we saw over 100 more civilians who had also been arrested to be used as porters. The next day, February 10, all of us were sent to the base of LIB 25 in Tavoy. We were held there for an hour and joined by more arrested people. The number soon rose to over 400, including around 200 prisoners. I did not know where they were from, but they were also rounded up for the same reason. Later they sent us to Heinda village and ordered us to work for the LIB. 104. Soldiers forced us to carry supplies for them. The column started moving after mobilizing for four days. I was ordered to carry one 120 mm mortar shell. Another time, I was ordered to carry a 120 mm launcher with another porter.

When we arrived to Pya Tha Chaung village, I saw soldiers from IB. 431 grabbed a Karen girl from the village. The soldiers ordered us to stay away and then gangraped the girl. I did not dare to inquire about the girl because I was so scared of the soldiers. We did not even dare to talk among ourselves about what had happened.

There was a small clash between our column and the KNU near Pya Tha Chaung village. After the clash, the soldiers from IB. 431 rounded up 25 Karen women and five Karen men from the village. They were ordered to porter alongside with us the next time column moved. The women were ordered to carry the equipment of the soldiers as well as cook and wash the uniforms of the officers in the column. Eleven Karen women and one Karen elder were also rounded up when they were found at a betel farm between Pya Tha Chaung and Phaungdaw village. They were used as porters also and besides having to bear heavy loads, six of the younger women were forced to sleep with the officers. All of us were subject to beatings by the soldiers. Beating was very common when we could not carry our loads. Three prisoners were beaten to death because they were very sick and could no longer carry on with their work. Soldiers beat them up and kicked them off the mountain. I am sure they all died.

We arrived in Htee Hta after the SLORC occupied it. I escaped alone with other five porters as soon as we got a chance at Htee Hta. Since we did not know the area well, we all were recaptured the next day by troops from LIB. 224 at Amla village. They beat us and ordered us to work for them. Fortunately, we managed to escape again when the KNU troops launched an attack against LIB. 224 at Amla village. We ran away during the fighting and hid in the jungle outside the village. The KNU soldiers later found us and took us to this refugee camp.

Interview 31: HRV: Refugee, Incursion, Child

Name:	Saw Hai Kaw
Sex:	Male
Age:	18
Ethnicity:	Karen, student
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Single
Address:	Mae La refugee camp, Thailand
Date of interview:	March 2, 1997
Place of interview:	Mae La refugee camp, Thailand
Source:	KHRG

["Saw Hai Kaw" was in Beh Klaw refugee camp when it was attacked by a combined SLORC/DKBA force on January 29, 1997.]

The attack started at about 6:30 a.m. on January 29. At that time I was staying in the Bible school dormitory. I was coming down from the dormitory to work early. The Bible School is in Section C.1 and the DKBA came in from the hilltop of Section C.1. They came from different parts in that section. Just when I started working in the school compound, I heard a carbine gunshot. Then I heard heavy shelling. Some shells exploded but others didn't. They shelled heavy weapons to block off the gate. During the fighting, we Bible School students went to hide in a cave nearby. While I was running towards the back of the hill, one RPG [rocket-propelled grenade] shell dropped nearby, so I ran into the teak plantation. That shell fell in the bamboo and killed an old woman who was hiding there with some children. I don't know her name but we used to watch television together every night. She must be 80 years old. She died instantly. Two 4- or 5-year-old children were injured.

The DKBA came in at the time when the [security] soldiers were rotating their duty, so only 3 soldiers were left. That was why the DKBA was able to reach the foot of the hill of section C1. Some DKBA did not even have any weapons - they came into the camp just to set the houses on fire. Only a few of them had guns, like AR, AK47, RPG-7, and M79 mortars [the AR is a cut-down version of the M16 automatic assault rifle; AK47 is an automatic assault rifle; RPG-7 is a shoulder-launched rocket propelled grenade; and M79 is a rifle-sized grenade launcher]. I saw some of them coming in and blowing a whistle. The whistle means "Start fighting!" Then others came in. So they started fighting in Section C1 because there was not enough security in that area to fight against them. The security soldiers didn't have enough guns. One of the villagers told me that at that time three DKBA went shouting into the houses, "Is there anyone in this house?" Then they shot their guns into the houses and set them on fire. Afterwards I saw six burnt houses but other people said there were 15.

While I was hiding in the teak plantation, reinforcements of Beh Klaw security soldiers arrived. One of them who came from the other side of the camp was injured on his hand. He didn't feel his injury because he was concentrating on his duty. He only noticed it when he saw the blood seeping out of his wound. Another Bible school student and I cleaned his wound and dressed it.

When the reinforcements came I felt encouraged and went to look around near the fighting. I followed the soldiers but not too close to them. When the shells fell, I hid under the teak trees. The DKBA retreated up to the hilltop, from where they were still fighting. During that time, some DKBA were killed. People said to me that three of them died but I only saw one dead DKBA, under the banana trees. When this man fell down another DKBA came down to save him, but he got injured so he left his friend under the banana trees. Beside the dead body we found a gun, a backpack and a cassette player [stolen from one of the houses] which had been damaged by the gunshots. We opened his bag and we saw materials for mines and bombs and wires to hook them up to explode. I felt very sad for our Karen people. He also had an amulet to protect his life. These are the tricks of the Myaing Gyi Ngu monk [U Thuzana, chairman of DKBA]. Are the monks not holy? I don't understand.

About 30 soldiers came but I only saw the one who died. They wore uniforms, the same as the SLORC, but "Thawka Thu Po" was written on their badges. It means "the monk's soldiers". I think they came to loot things from the refugees.

They shelled about 35 artillery shells. Some exploded near people's houses. During the fighting the refugees ran out of the camp. Some of them ran to the foot of the hills. For two or three days afterwards there was no one in the camp. I didn't even see my family.

Interview 32: HRV: Refugee, Incursion, Killing

Name:	Naw Lah Paw
Sex:	Female
Age:	30
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married with two children
Address:	Sho Kloh refugee camp, Thailand
Date of interview:	March 5, 1997
Place of interview:	Sho Klo refugee camp, Thailand
Source:	KHRG

["Naw Lah Paw" is the wife of the leader of Section 3 of Sho Kloh camp, who was hit in the shelling and died.]

I have been living in Sho Kloh for about 11 years. On January 4, I was selling lottery tickets in the market. Then when I heard an explosion I was staying in my house. I started running towards the bunker [after Sho Kloh was shelled in June 1996, most families dug a small bunker near their house] and I looked for my children. It was about 4 p.m. Burmese time [4:30 Thai time]. I heard 3 or 4 shells and the last one landed right here [about five meters in front of her house]. I stayed in the bunker while the shells landed. I wondered "What is happening?" because there was a lot of dust in the air, and I looked at my husband. I saw him falling down there [pointing at the footpath outside her house]. When the mortar landed, he was in front of the house shouting at the children to stay still and hide in the bunker. I shouted to him loudly that the children and I were already in the bunker. Just as I spoke a mortar landed there, as he was coming towards us. It was too late for him to get into the bunker. His name was Saw Pay. He was 33 years old, Sgaw Karen and Buddhist like me. He was the section 3 leader.

I saw him lying down just like that. I thought that he was dead because he was so quiet and stayed still. I didn't see his injuries, but people saw him wounded and took him to the hospital about 30 minutes after the shelling. The other people didn't want me to go, so I went back to the bunker again. My parents heard that he was wounded, so my father came up to me about 15 or 20 minutes later and I came out of the bunker again. But the others forced me back into the bunker because they were worried for me. At that time I also had my youngest child in my arms so I couldn't leave him lying in the bunker alone and there was no one to look after him. When it was dark, I followed my mother walking and running to the hospital because I wanted to see my husband. People didn't let me see him because they were worried that I would be upset. When I saw him, his wounds were covered. He was injured by four pieces of shrapnel, in his neck, in his side, in his stomach and in his right leg. The people sent him to Mae Sot by car along with his brother. I couldn't go to Mae Sot with the child and went to stay in my mother's house in Section 2. The next day, I tried to go down to Mae Sot but I could only get to Beh Klaw [half way]. I went to see him about a week later. At that time he looked better. He had an oxygen pipe going into his throat and he couldn't speak. Two weeks later, he had become thin and couldn't eat well but he could speak a little. On the 12th of February he died. My brother-in-law told me. They burnt his body in the hospital. I didn't even know when he was buried.

One uncle [older man] also got injured while he was staying in the bunker. I was in his bunker and he was trying to get into my bunker. I was too afraid to stay in my bunker, so I had gone to his. He got injured on his thigh and it broke his bone. His house is just here and his children are staying with his son. His wife is already dead. The people carried him in a hammock to the [camp] hospital. I saw him there with bamboo slats on both sides of his leg, tied up with a bandage from the hip to the ankle. They sent him to Mae Sot together with my husband. He is still in Mae Sot hospital now.

Altogether the shelling lasted for about five or ten minutes. I think it was DKBA who fired the shells. They were coming from Baw Pa Hta area. I think they have bad feelings toward us, but we have done nothing to make them feel this way. I don't know why. The Thai soldiers in Sho Kloh did nothing. I didn't hear them firing back. They just stayed like that. About five or ten minutes later, Thai soldiers from Mae Plu fired three or four shells back.

I dare not think about the future. I feel scared and sad. We have to stay alert. I don't want to go back to Burma. Only if there is peace would I like to go back. If the situation goes on like this, I don't want to go back. If everybody moves to Beh Klaw I will go too, because it is not safe to stay separate from the other people. I will follow the others, though I believe that Beh Klaw is not safer than Sho Kloh. For now, I am staying in Section 2 with my parents.

Interview 33: HRV: Refugee, Religion, Forced Labor

Name:	Thein Myint
Sex:	Male
Age:	34
Religion:	Muslim, shopkeeper
Marital status:	Married with three children
Address:	Kyaikdon village, Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview:	March 24, 1997
Place of interview:	KNU 6th Brigade area
Source:	KHRG

I arrived here twenty days ago. When I left Kyaikdon to come here, the enemy was already there. When I first left Kyaikdon [just before the SLORC arrived], I stayed in the forest behind Taw Ya Kyaung monastery near the village for three or four days. My children became sick, so I went back to the village and the soldiers told us to go away. I went back to the village with others in three bullock carts. When we arrived at the village we went to fetch water at the mosque, and the soldiers saw us and drove us out with their guns by telling us: "You, Muslims, you cannot stay

here!” We could not even go back to retrieve our possessions. The soldiers had destroyed the mosque, they burnt the [Muslim] school down and they tore up all the Korans. I myself saw what the SLORC had done. I saw all the religious books they destroyed, all scattered around, and I saw how they had damaged our mosque. I dared not look at it too long, because the soldiers were standing very close to me and wouldn’t allow me to look at it. So I bowed down my head and fetched the water. I saw a big gun in the compound of the mosque. The mosque had collapsed and scattered. They cursed us Muslims, they said “Nga lo ma kala!” [“Fuck the mothers of all Muslims!”] They also asked me, “What are you doing here in the village? Would you like to rebuild your mosque again? If you want to you can!” I didn’t say anything, I just left the village with the bullock cart at about 12:30 because they forced us to leave the village. We can’t destroy each other’s religion and faith. I felt so sorry about that, so we went and slept in another village.

Then we went towards Sar Pa Daw village, and we spent a night in Sar Pa Daw. We met the soldiers again. At the time, many people and 23 bullock carts were there. At Kaw Tha Nu, another seven bullock carts, so altogether 30 bullock carts. When we were staying there, three soldiers came and asked for money, 3,000 *kyats* from us to buy pork. The soldiers said, “All of you, you cannot eat our food!” We had to buy one pig for the soldiers. [This was done as a humiliating insult, because Islam forbids the eating of pork.] They ordered us to buy it. If not, we would be beaten. Then we combined with the seven bullock carts at Kaw Tha Nu village and we spent two nights at Kaw Tha Nu. Then they demanded 500 *kyats* for each cart. Altogether we had to pay them over 15,000 *kyats*. Then the soldiers asked, “Where are all of you going to?” We replied: “To Than Ma Ya.” When we arrived at Than Ma Ya, the soldiers told us, “You cannot stay here. You have to go back to your village!”

At that time, the passenger boat to Seik Gyi arrived. My family is big. Altogether we are 8 people. I took the boat and went back to Kaw Tha Nu village. When I got there, the villagers asked me where were our wives and children. I explained to them that they were all at Than Ma Ya village and that I was the first one to arrive back at Kaw Tha Nu. I told the villagers there what happened to us.

To destroy our religion and our mosque. These are the cruel things they did to us. The soldiers did that because they were ordered by the Army officers. They are from LIB. 22, LIB. 202 and Division 44. When I saw the mosque they had already destroyed it with their hands, but after that they blew it up with mines and razed it with a bulldozer. Even though they didn’t torture us, they destroyed our mosque and that’s what we can’t bear. They cursed us and forced us to leave. Now the Buddhist people who come to the camp here say that at Kyaikdon gate near the village the soldiers have hung a signboard that says, “No entry for Indians” [meaning Muslims]. Muslims are strictly prohibited to enter Kyaikdon, but Buddhist people can stay there.

When there was fighting some Muslims ran to Ber Kler [southeast along the plains to the Thai border] and others ran to the mountains. It was at least an eight days' journey and they had to climb several mountains, but they didn't meet the enemy. The people who ran to Ber Kler met the enemy, but now they've all arrived at the [refugee] camp. Some fled to other villages, but many came here.

I met many people along the way who had to go as porters, from places like Moulmein, Thaton and Maw Tama. They arrived at Kyaikdon, but then they all were sent back to their places. After the SLORC settled at Kyaikdon they released the porters. I met some of them at Seik Gyi. They were ordinary villagers. We were talking about the SLORC setting fire to our mosque, and they were talking about how the porters had to carry big guns and bullets for the SLORC. I heard what they were talking about because they were sitting close to me, but I didn't dare ask them anything. I heard them say that it took a week to serve as porters, and that those who couldn't carry their loads were beaten. They were not only Muslims, but everybody. I saw about 50 of them who were going back.

The SLORC are now constructing a road from Kyaikdon to Seik Gyi. Trucks can travel already. The soldiers did it with a bulldozer.

I lived in Kyaikdon for a long time, we were all like a family. We were all close to each other like relatives. I wanted to stay there because I had lived there so long. I could not be happy at Kawkareik, which is my native place, and I can never forgive them for what happened to our mosque, that is why I came to stay here. My shop [in Kyaikdon] was full of things but I left it all, I carried nothing with me here, though some other shopkeepers carried all their things here.

Interview 34: HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Forced Labor, Religion

Name:	Saw Muh Lah
Sex:	Male
Age:	45
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married with ten children
Address:	Tee Meh Baw village, Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview:	March 24, 1997
Place of interview:	KNU 6th Brigade area
Source:	KHRG

I can't remember exactly when the SLORC soldiers arrived at my village. Maybe on February 20, the SLORC arrived at the village. I left my village about the 25th of February, then I went back to the village two times. I slept one night in the village the first time I went, but the second time I went back I couldn't reach my village. I thought I would try to go back and get one pair of bullocks because I had nothing when I arrived here. If I could get my cattle I would sell them to get some money to buy vegetables and things. But I couldn't get them because the Burmese were very close to the village.

When I went back the first time I saw some villagers, but not the SLORC. As many people had left, the SLORC had taken and eaten our coconuts, and as for our rice they had poured it down on the ground to be trodden upon. They had also eaten our pigs. I asked the villagers the news, and they said the SLORC ordered them to make ready two bullock carts with two people to go for two days and carry things like ammunition for them from Saw Hta to Kyaw Kee. They said the soldiers also took all the villagers' things that they needed. Everything that they need us to do we have to do for them. Regularly the villagers have to send two bullock carts and two people for them, and if they need porters the villagers have to go. They haven't much time to work for their own survival. If the people from Tee Meh Baw want to travel anywhere they have to get a pass from Division 44, but the people from Meh K'Tee have to get their passes from Division 22. To go work your field you need one pass, and to search for your cattle you need another pass. If we go to search for our cattle in DIV.22 Division's area [very close by] we have to go and get a pass from them as well, one from DIV.44 and another from Div.22. You don't need to pay for the pass. Each village has to prepare two bullock carts and stand by at Meh K'Tee. Tee Meh Baw village has to stand by at Kyaw Kee. Now Division 44 has taken over responsibility for Meh Kwih Kloh area, and they are in Kyaw Kee.

The SLORC's headquarters is in Saw Hta. Once or twice a week they order the villagers to go and have a meeting there. When I was there I saw helicopters come one or two times.

The soldiers take clothing from the villagers and then sell it to other villagers. They sell for a cheap price, so some people buy it from them. Even the paddy they've taken from the villagers, they order the villagers to mill it. Then they sell it back to the villagers, for 500 *kyats* per basket. If they need something they go and take it. Even though the villagers tell them it belongs to them, the Burmese just say, "No, these are the Indian people's things" and they just take it.

There are 37 households in my village. Only seven houses came to this camp. The other 30 households were hiding in the forest, but they went back to the village because they heard that the Burmese were going to fire mortars into the forest. The people stayed in their houses and didn't trouble each other, but the Burmese beat 3 people on the head with a stick. Maung Kyaw, Maung Than Nu, and Saw Kloh. They were wounded a little bit. One of them went and came back and said something to his friend, then another told something to his friend, and then the SLORC said, "Mind your own business!" and beat them on the head. They were all beaten at the same time. With a bamboo stick, not very big.

When I went back to the village I saw a letter with names written on it, such as Pado Maung Myint, Puh Dta Er, and Tha Muh Heh. It said, "These three have surrendered and now they cooperate and work with us". The letter is still with the headman. After I came here the Burmese chose a new headman, his name is Saw Lwin. He showed me that letter. It was a typed letter. They distributed it. It was true that one person had surrendered to them [Tha Muh Heh], but the other two had not.

Two monks' helpers went to Meh K'Tee monastery and saw nothing there. The Burmese had taken everything that was kept in the monastery. None of the spoons were even left. All the [Buddha] images were taken, and all the floor mats. Then when the monks came back and there were no sleeping mats in the monastery, the Burmese offered them one. It was one of the same mats they had stolen from the monastery. The monks recognized it.

I dare not think about going back! Some people contact me and they tell me that the Burmese say I have two guns, but I have no guns. They say if I go and take them two guns, they will accept me. I dare not go back because I don't have any guns at all. If I go back, I would have to buy guns and give them to the Burmese. I'm happy to stay here because I don't have to be too afraid of anything. Everything is in conflict in the village so I don't dare go back. I'll stay here.

Interview 35: HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Torture, Arrest, Forced Labor

Name:	Pa Noh
Sex:	Male
Age:	37
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Animist
Marital status:	Married with four children
Address:	H--- village, Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview:	March 24, 1997
Place of interview:	KNU 6th Brigade area
Source:	KHRG

How long ago did the Burmese arrive in your village?

It's over a month now. They took all the pots, pans, and other things. They ate up the villagers' pigs, chickens, and bullocks, and they destroyed all the paddy and [husked] rice they saw. They took it out of the storage barns and poured it down on the ground to be trodden upon.

What happened to K--- [a villager in H--- who was tortured]?

He is 22 years old. He is married and has his family staying there in the village. He is a farmer, and also a village guard [KNDO]. They punched him and they poured water in his nose, because somebody sent them information that he had a gun. They held him for two or three days. He was tied to the betelnut tree near his house. I didn't see how they tied him but I could hear his crying and shouting. I dared not go to look. He was beaten for one night. He had to suffer seriously, his body was all swollen up and bruised. He had to give them the gun, which belonged to M---. That happened on the 17th or 18th of March.

At first I stayed in the village, but when I saw that he was beaten by the Burmese like that I ran away from the village. I saw him after he was beaten. I saw his wife gave him a hot formulation using medicated leaves.

After that they also tortured Tee Kay Pah. He is 30 years old. Also Saw Pu, Saw Aw Gaw, and Saw Bleh Doh [these were all men the SLORC captured and tortured for having fled the village]. They tortured Saw Aw Kaw first. Then they tortured Tee Kay Pah because he ran away and then came back to check the situation in the village, and they captured him and beat him up. Saw Bleh Doh, they captured him, punched him, then carried him down and tortured him for one whole night. He is 30 also. He is [normally] unhealthy and pale. After the torture he was swollen and bruised. He had a lot of pain, especially inside his body. He can't eat much because of the pain.

At present, we in the village can't do anything for ourselves because we always have to work for them. The villagers have to carry betelnut for them. The Burmese also take the planks from the houses of Indian people [Muslims] and then order the villagers' bullock carts to haul them. When I was still in the village I saw them going and taking the paddy from the houses where the villagers had left and ordering the other villagers to carry it with their bullock carts. I think that they will take all that paddy and rice. They order the villagers to take all those things to Azin. Where they send it from there I don't know, but when I was there the villagers had to carry the paddy to the rice mill to grind it for them. I don't know what they will do with all that rice. They also take a lot of our chickens and other animals.

Does the SLORC still stay in your village?

When I left the village they were there, but after that they went back and now they just come and check in the village sometimes. Yesterday when I was on my way here they were at Meh K'Tee, and after they tortured two or three people there they moved on to H— village so I didn't dare stay and I left. There's one group who stay on the mountain and are always there. Every day three people have to go and carry water for the Burmese at Shwe Nyaung Bin, which is close to Meh Kwih Kee. The SLORC are building their camp on the hill and settling in Nat Zin Gone near Meh K'Tee.

Was it difficult for you to come here?

It wasn't easy to come here. I had to sleep in the forest for two days, and I had to climb the mountains. I was afraid and running alone, but my family stayed behind in the village. I think about going back to take my family but I am afraid. I dare not go and stay in my village because they beat people like that. They also destroyed our paddy and some of it they took for themselves. So far they haven't done anything to the houses. There are 30 families and over a hundred people, but more people have come here than stay behind in the village. Just about 20 people or more have stayed in the village, from not more than ten households. Now I heard that the Burmese forced people to move to Toh Naw. I am not sure whether it is true or not, I only know that without their permission nobody can go anywhere freely. To come here we have to run out secretly.

Do you think it is better here?

Yes, here we can talk to others and meet with others freely. There we dare not speak or talk to others because we are afraid we might be beaten by the SLORC.

Interview 36: HRV: Refugee, Torture, Arrest, Livelihood, Forced Labor

Name:	Saw Eh Kaw
Sex:	Male
Age:	36
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Single
Address:	xxxx village, Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview:	March 25, 1997
Place of interview:	KNU 6th Brigade area
Source:	KHRG

I fled to the forest, then I went back and stayed about two weeks in the village. I was staying in my village, then I got a pass because I had to go and work in the hills for three days [at his farm]. When I came back three or four soldiers came and arrested me at xxxx's house in xxxx village. It was 7 o'clock in the evening. They tortured two of us while we were sitting in the house, then they let us go. They pointed a gun at me. He [the leader] was a First Sergeant Major and he carried a Chinese gun. I've heard people call him Ba Gyi. They are from 22 Division.

Then at midnight [the same night] two soldiers called me down from my house. I heard one of their names was Saw Mu Tha. They tortured me and asked me about a gun, but I said that I had no gun. They tied me up and punched me, and they covered my face with ordinary plastic and poured water over the plastic on my face. I couldn't breathe. They covered my face and then asked me, covered my face and then asked me, they did it like that many times. I answered that I hadn't seen any gun and I didn't have a gun, so that night they tied me up and made me sleep in the betelnut plantation.

The next day they kept asking me about guns. I said that I knew where they [KNLA or KNDO] used to keep the gun, but I didn't know whether they'd taken it away or when they'd come and got it. [The SLORC were looking for a gun or arms cache which they knew was in or around the village. Like all the villagers, "Saw Eh Kaw" had a vague idea of where it had been at one point but didn't really know about it.] I took them and showed them the place where the gun had been and they searched all around and saw nothing, so we went back. In the evening I told them that I would like to go for a bath, and then I ran away to the forest and came here by the old way. That was one or two weeks ago. My nose was bleeding and my mouth was split. I still have the scabs, and my lips still hurt because they're not totally healed yet. After I came up here, I heard that many more villagers were tortured and beaten by the Burmese.

I was back there alone. When the SLORC arrived in the village my family and I fled to the forest and stayed at our farm near the village. At first all the villagers were staying in the forest. Then I went back to the village, got the pass and stayed with them for three days on the mountain. I went back because I wanted to get our belongings. My family was left alone at the farm for more than one week while I was at the village. After they arrested me and I ran away, my family and I moved here.

What did you see when you were back in the village?

There were over 30 households in our village, but now only 12 households have gone back and are staying there. The Burmese chose a new headman by themselves, not our old headman. They usually do that, they choose someone who can speak Burmese. I heard the new headman say they were going to check the number of villagers [in order to assign forced labor and extortion quotas]. The SLORC destroyed our paddy and took the villagers' clothes for themselves. They took the good things, like hand-woven tehku and nee [men's and women's sarongs] and good cloth. If they get new clothing such as Karen dresses and sarongs they keep it for themselves. They keep our clothes for their families, but when they send it to them I don't know if they'll sell it or not. As for our rice, they keep as much as they can for themselves, and if they can't take it they destroy it. Everything that they see out in the forest they destroy.

The Burmese made the villagers carry water and rice for them for three days at a time. They made us carry things from Tee Yoh Kee to Maw Hta, to Meh K'Tee or Nat Zin Gone with our bullock carts. It was two hours' journey by bullock cart. Each person had to do that for three days, then come back and other people had to take this place. For those three days we had to carry things all the time. Sometimes we had to carry on foot and sometimes with the bullock cart.

Was it easy to come here?

It was easy because I knew the way. Most of the villagers have fled to the forest or to here.

Interview 37: HRV: Refugee, Women

Name:	Tha Doh Htoo
Sex:	Male
Age:	45
Ethnicity:	Karen, hill farmer
Religion:	Animist
Marital status:	Married with two children
Address:	A'May village, Ler Mu Lah township, Karen State
Date of interview:	March 31, 1997
Place of interview:	KNU 6th Brigade area
Source:	KHRG

[Tha Doh Htoo's elder sister is blind and was left behind in the village during the rush to flee from the approaching SLORC Army.]

At first I lived in Kyi May, but now I live in A'May village. There were 18 households in A'May village. All of them came here. I arrived four days ago. I spent three days coming here from my village.

I heard that one old woman stayed behind near the village.

She was left behind at Kleh Pa Taw because we could not carry her, she couldn't walk and she was blind. She couldn't walk. She was more than 50 years old. Her name is Naw Nweh. Once a long time ago she had a husband but no children, now she no longer has a husband and she is alone now.

Where is she now? In the forest?

Yes, she is in the forest. She is outside the village. She has nothing to eat.

If the Burmese arrive what will they do?

I can't think about it. We couldn't do anything, we just left her. We dare not go back, we are afraid, but I think about her. She is my older sister.

When you fled your village were the Burmese arriving?

When I heard that the Burmese Army was coming I ran out of the village, but the Burmese had already arrived at Klih Thu. Klih Thu is not far from A'May, just about one hour's walk. I heard gunshots from Klih Thu and I came running straight away to here. It took me 3 days from A'May to here. On the way here we didn't hear anything.

How do you think your sister will survive?

I don't know how my sister will get food. I don't know if she is still alive or not.

Interview 38: HRV: Relocation, Arrest, Torture, Women, Religion, Forced Labor, Killing, Child

Name:	Nai Thein Zar
Sex:	Male
Age:	46
Ethnicity:	Mon, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married with four children
Name:	Nai Win Soe
Sex:	Male
Age:	43
Ethnicity:	Mon, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	Married with six children
Address:	Mae Taw village, Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract, Ye Byu
Township,	Tenasserim Division
Date of interview:	March 30, 1997
Place of interview:	Thai-Burma border
Source:	KHRG

We arrived here on February 24, 1997. I couldn't stay in my village because the Burmese forced us to leave our village. Now nobody is staying there anymore. I had to leave - if I refused to leave I would be punished.

There are about 100 households in my village. All the people are Mon. At the beginning of February the Burmese troops came into our village. They forced all the villagers including women, children and the elderly together into the monastery. Then the troops went out into the village and they searched every house and looted some belongings and they burnt down some houses. They also tied everyone together with rope in groups of 13. They tied all of us like that in groups of 13, including all the women. They didn't tie the children. But they especially tied up the village headman and the young men and they beat them. They tied them and they beat them. They also beat two women.

They tied us and then they asked some questions of the villagers. Some villagers could not speak Burmese, so they couldn't answer and they were beaten. The village headman was also beaten and they cut his body with a knife. They tied the villagers in groups, and then they beat them and tortured them with a knife group by group. They did it inside the monastery. When they were mistreating one group, another group of villagers saw that and they were afraid and tried to get out of the hall [the

monastery gathering hall] and flee. Then the troops shot at them. One man broke free and tried to flee from the monastery. They shot at him but didn't hit him. He was afraid and stopped running. They captured him and beat him several times in the head with their gun butts. They beat his head from all sides. The whole of his head was bleeding and his face became black. He had many wounds on both sides of his head. They also beat him with a wooden stick on his thighs, and he lost consciousness. Then they brought him back to the monastery. When I came here, he was still receiving treatment and he could neither urinate nor eat any food, so I am not sure whether he will recover or not.

They also arrested one man who worked in the monastery [layman] and beat him with a nail. He was one of the men who was in the monastery to help the monk build the new building. The monastery was being built, and they took a nail from a post and hit his head with this nail. The blood came out of his wound for the whole night. The villagers worried that he would die, so the next morning the soldiers treated him. He recovered, but not so well.

They also asked the women questions in Burmese. The women didn't understand and didn't know how to answer, so the soldiers got angry and beat them. Two women were beaten. Both of them were pregnant. When the soldiers realized that these women were pregnant, they stopped beating them and said, "If you were not pregnant, I would kill you!"

As for the men, they mainly beat the village leaders, 5 of them, and those who tried to flee, another 10 men. Altogether, about 15 people were beaten. Most of the village leaders were elderly. The eldest one was about 80 years old. Those who usually worked in the monastery were old men.

The main reason that they gave to the villagers for coming to the village was, "In your village we have no military base, so your village has to move to where there is a military base". They also told the villagers, "You are the supporters of a dacoit [bandit] gang which is operating in this area." They accused the monk and the layman-in-charge at the monastery of receiving some funds from these dacoits. Over one year ago, almost two years, one of these dacoits used to stay in our village. He was not from our village but married a woman from our village. He left a long time ago, never returned and never had any contact with the villagers, even with his wife, for a long time. When the troops came they asked for the two dacoits. Their main questions were, "Where are these two men? Where do they stay?" As these men hadn't come back for a long time, the villagers told them, "We don't know. They haven't been here for a long time." They asked everyone, one by one. I was tied up like everyone else, but I wasn't beaten because I could speak a little Burmese.

In other areas, like in Hpaungdaw area [where the gas pipeline comes on shore], this group of robbers were also active. They also robbed traders who travelled in the sea. They used to take some hostages, maybe some traders, and demanded cash from these traders or businesses. But I don't know why the SLORC came and asked our monk. He was building a monastery and they accused him of using cash received from these robbers. They took his donations that he got from the villagers. Many villages from the village tract, even Kywe Thone Nyi Ma, had given donations to the monk to construct this new building. The monk had just started to build the buildings so he had a large amount of cash, not himself but the layman-in-charge. The monk took responsibility to collect donations from the villagers in his village and the surrounding villages for the construction of the monastery, but when he received the money he could not keep it with him according to our religious tradition [monks are not allowed to handle money], so he gave it to the laymen who worked for him. The five village elders were managing the money. They had to buy wood and building material and manage the construction work. The Burmese troops accused them of getting that cash from the robbers, but they never met the robbers and the robbers had never been back to the village. The monk had 140,000 *kyats* for the building work. I don't know who told them that the monk had this money. The soldiers did not beat the monk, but they disrobed him. They took his robe off. They searched everywhere in his monastery looking for where he put the cash, and they also searched his body and his robe. They didn't find anything. The donations were kept in one place, in a box at the monastery. They searched everywhere in the monastery, and that same night they found the box with 140,000 *kyats* and they took it. After they punished the villagers, the LIB. 273 troops posted in Cha Bone village returned to Cha Bone and they checked and made sure that the cash was from donations and not from the robbers. Their higher officers told them that the robbers had 8 million *kyat* and the monk had very little money compared to that [the troops believed the monk was hiding money for the dacoits], so after two days they returned the money to the monk.

Altogether about 35 soldiers were in the village. They stayed in the village for four days. For four days they kept everyone tied up in the monastery. They didn't allow anyone to leave the monastery for four days. All the family members were kept at the monastery, including the children. They would only let one member of each family go to get food from their home, but they told them not to cook the food in their house but to bring the food to the monastery and prepare the food there. We were kept tied together all the time, every day. We were tied hand to hand. So if you could sleep like that, then you could sleep. But if someone needed to go to the toilet, the whole group had to go. There were women's groups and men's groups. They didn't tie the children but they didn't allow them to go outside of the monastery compound. They didn't make any trouble for the building workers at the monastery who were from other villages. They even allowed them to continue building the monastery.

During that time they searched everything in the village, every house, house by house. They took some of the villagers' belongings. On the last day they also burnt down some houses, especially the houses of the village leaders. Then they told us that we could not stay in our village anymore and that we had to move. On the last day, all the belongings they took from the villagers were gathered in the monastery. When they returned to Cha Bone, it was too much for them to carry. They carried some of them, then they returned to the village again and told the villagers: "We are leaving here, do not stay in this village." After that, the villagers felt they had to leave. They returned to their houses and packed their belongings and closed up their boxes.

They didn't say where we should go, but they said that we must stay in a village where there is a military base. Most of the villagers moved to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village. LIB. 273 has a camp there. Some moved to villages in Thanbyuzayat township and Ye township [100-200 km. to the north].

In my village, the village leaders are the elderly people who helped the monk. My mother is one of them. She is old and works with the monk. When I was hospitalized in Rangoon, only my mother was left in the house. They forced my mother to go to the monastery. She is very old and did not take anything with her from the house. I lost 100 baskets of paddy in my house and all our belongings were burned up. I had a big house. To build it I spent 150,000 kyats. Everything was very good, like the furniture - I lost everything, furniture, clothing, rice, fishpaste, salt ... and the house! And because of the flames, about 6 coconut trees and durian trees were also burnt.

Four or five days after they burnt my house down I arrived back at my village. When I arrived with my wife, we couldn't find anyone in our village. My mother and my children had all gone to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma. I found them there.

They took everything they could carry, like clothes, pots, tools, rice and animals. For the other villagers it was the same. During those 4 days the soldiers killed all our chickens and ducks and cooked very good curries for themselves. They had 10 porters with them and they loaded the porters with our belongings. When the troops left on the last day, we saw the porters carrying things with them. We thought that they were carrying away just a few of our things. Only later did we realize that a lot of things were taken from our houses.

First they loaded their porters with things like longyis [sarongs] and villagers' possessions and made them go first. Then they took about 15 of our own villagers to carry their equipment and ammunition that the porters had brought when they first came. They had to carry everything to Cha Bone village. According to the Cha Bone villagers, when they got there the soldiers kept the old longyis and they had to load the boats with all the belongings of the Mae Taw villagers, and then these boats

went to Kanbauk [at the southern tip of the Heinze Basin - Kanbauk is the main village on the pipeline route, much of the military assigned to the pipeline project is based there and the oil companies' base camp lies just outside of Kanbauk].

At that time, the troops that came to our village also killed one child about 14 years old from Maw Gyi village. They suspected the boy of having contact with the robber group, so they arrested him and brought him along with them to Mae Taw village and other villages. They beat him. They ordered the boy to show the houses of the robbers. The boy was so afraid, that he just pointed out some houses at random. The soldiers climbed into these houses and searched everything and couldn't find anything. So they beat him again and forced him again to show the robbers' houses but he really did not know. I don't know why they accused this boy of supporting the robbers. I don't know his name. According to the xxxx village head, during the whole four days that they detained the villagers they forced the boy to show the houses and beat him. They beat him very brutally. He was suffering from many injuries on his body. It was terrible. I saw him at the monastery. When I saw him it was on the first day, and the boy had already been beaten and had many injuries. His hands were tied to his neck. He could do nothing but walk. After 4 days they took him back to Cha Bone village again, and two days later the boy disappeared. The villagers there were sure that he was killed. They didn't see his body, but they knew that he'd been killed because the boy had so many injuries that he couldn't eat and he was suffering a lot. The villagers believe that even if he had been released he could not have survived.

Cha Bone village had to move after SLORC told them [to stay near a military base]. In Cha Bone village, the men fled and the women collected their belongings and started to move to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma. Chaung Phyar village also. When the 4 other villages heard the news about Mae Taw village, many of the villagers fled. They were afraid that the Burmese would come and torture them like in Mae Taw village. Most of them moved to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma and others went to other areas. So after the incident in Mae Taw village, there were no more village headmen in the other villages. The troops went around to the other 4 villages. They could not find the village leaders and the men, and they ordered the women to leave. [The villages which have been uprooted are Mae Taw, Cha Bone, Chaung Phyar, Mae Yaung and Mae Than Taung, all in Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract.]

People in my region also had to work for forced labor. We've had to work on the [Ye-Tavoy] railway for the last three years. Every month we had to work at the railway construction site, and if we could not go we had to give 3,200 *kyats* and half a tin of rice [about 8 kg./18 lb.] every month. Sometimes we had to work twice in one month, sometimes once. Usually we had to work for two weeks every month, one person per family. Up to June 1996 we had to do this work. When the rains started, we stopped. After the rainy season, we didn't have to do it. In January they ordered each family to provide two *kyin* of crushed stones and deliver that to the

railway [one *kyin* = 10 x 10 x 1 feet, i.e. 100 cubic feet]. If you could not do it you had to pay between 700 and 1,000 *kyats* for each *kyin*. Many villagers were afraid to travel to the railway and be arrested as porters, so they paid the money instead.

After the rains stopped in September, we had to pay porter fees of 2,000 *kyats* every month. Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village has a military base. They don't call for any porters but we have to pay 2,000 *kyats*. In the other villages of Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract people also have to pay 2,000 *kyats* per month. But when the troops come to the village they will still arrest you. Also in my village - every month our headman has to send the porter fees to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma but when they come to our village, sometimes they still order people to carry. [In other words, LIB.273 has a standing order that every village must send 2,000 *kyats*/month 'porter fees' but has no standing order for porters; they just come and catch porters whenever they want them.] They usually take porters for up to two weeks going from one village to another, and then they change with other porters from other villages and you are released to go back home. When I came here, they had already been arresting porters for the Karen offensive but none of them had returned yet. [These are the current mass offensives in Dooplaya District of Karen State, 150-300 km. to the northeast, and in Mergui/Tavoy District of Tenasserim Division, 150-200 km. to the southeast - these are huge distances to take porters away from their homes; there are reports that thousands of people have been taken from the entire Andaman seaboard, from Moulmein to Mergui, to be porters in these offensives.] I don't know whether they arrested anyone from Mae Taw village for the offensive because it was happening at the same time that we had to move. I heard that they arrested people mainly in Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village, especially the visitors and the traders. They caught everyone. Their base is near the road [the main north-south road on the mainland], and when the passenger cars arrived from Tavoy or from Ye, they stopped them and caught people. Also in the sea, they stopped all the passenger boats and arrested the people to be porters.

The village chairman of Cha Bone was arrested at the end of January and they kept him for 15 days. They beat him seriously. He nearly died. Nai Thein is the headman of Cha Bone. He is over 40. I don't know why they arrested him. They detained him in Bauk Pin Gwin and Nat Gyi Zin. They have a military outpost there. They detained him and beat him for 15 days. His relatives looked everywhere for him, and after 15 days they found him in the outpost near Bauk Pin Gwin. He had been tortured: his face was beaten, and they covered his face and held his head underwater. When his relatives came to fetch him they brought money for the military, but the military did not accept it. They ordered them to bring four big boats full of paddyhusks to Bauk Pin Gwin because they had to make bricks for railway construction. To bake the bricks they use paddy-husks as well as wood for the fire. At the time they needed fuel so they didn't accept the bribe. But now Nai Thein has moved to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma, so now his relatives have to collect the husk in that area, send it [from the island] to the road and then by lorry to Bauk Pin Gwin.

For about one and half or two years they used the Kywe Thone Nyi Ma villagers for forced labor in the army camps near the pipeline.. After that, they didn't call them any more.

People can't travel freely. Even to go to your farm, you need permission from the village headman and then you have to show it to the military commander to get him to sign it. If you don't carry your permission with you, they will punish you. Every time we have to pay 45 *kyats* to the village headman for that. Before, it didn't used to be like that. They started this at the beginning of 1996. Not only to go to your farm - wherever you go, if you want to go to town or if you want to visit another village you need it. Without this paper, you can't go anywhere.

In the area where the gas pipeline passes through the fishermen have to give money to the Army. In Kywe Thone Nyi Ma area, they have to give them I don't how many kilos of seafood, like fish, fish paste, dried fish, and dried prawns once a year for free. Also, very often when the troops come to a village they demand so many kilos of fish from the villagers and the fishermen have to provide it. When the troops come into any village of a village tract, the villagers

from that village have to provide everything for their military operation like pigs, rice, etc. After the troops leave, the headman goes and collects cash in all the villages of the village tract [to cover the cost of the supplies].

They have checkpoints along the seacoast. If you leave Kywe Thone Nyi Ma and go south [towards the pipeline], you will meet one checkpoint. The military check and do not allow the boats to travel at night time. When you are sailing a bit far from the coast, they stop and check your boat, because now they have many Navy ships and almost every island and village close to the sea now has a military base. This increase has happened especially since 1996. After the cease-fire [with the New Mon State Party], they built new army posts in inland villages too.

The situation of my village after the cease-fire is worse. There has been no improvement. The situation now is worse than before. Before the cease-fire, we didn't need to give them as much money as now. Since the cease-fire more [SLORC] military comes to our village, and they come very often, and we have to provide them with money and labor. We cannot go freely to our farms or to other villages for our work like before. Because of that, we've lost a lot of opportunity to work on our farms, in the plantations and to conduct trade. We've also lost a lot of our own resources. The military are doing business too. They force the villagers to sell them rice at a low price. It's the same for those who plant rubber trees, lemon and betelnut trees. They have to sell to the military at a low price and the military takes all the profits. Before the cease-fire we had to give 4 baskets of paddy per acre to the military, and after the cease-fire it increased to 10-12 baskets of paddy that we are forced to sell to them at government price. They give us only 98 *kyats* for one

basket when the market price is about 500 *kyats*. I have no rubber plantation, only a rice farm, but the owners of rubber plantations presently have to give taxes sometimes in money, sometimes in rubber. When you plant rubber trees you have to wait for 6 years before you can collect some rubber, but even the owners of 3-yearold plantations have to pay these taxes. The owners whose rubber trees are still small have to pay 500 *kyats* per acre.

Another big business of the SLORC is hardwood. They are cutting the trees in our area and they don't allow the villagers to cut them. Before we could go freely to the forest and cut a tree. Now they do not allow us to go to the forest, but they cut the trees themselves. They've monopolized the entire wood business. They have made a list of the villagers who saw lumber, and they force these villagers to sell the lumber to the military base at a low price, not at market price. They put an outpost near the sea so they can arrest the villagers who refuse to sell to them. For example, they give only 8,000 *kyats* for one ton of hardwood, but if you sell this on the market you can get 30,000 *kyats*, three to four times more.

For me, I have nothing left and I have no money. My health is not so good. I came here to get some food and to help my family to survive. I will try to do some jobs here and earn some money. I don't want to stay there.

Interview 39: HRV: Religion, Torture, Livelihood

Name	Nusa
Sex:	Male
Age:	33
Ethnicity:	Karen Muslim
Religion:	Muslim
Marital status:	Married with two children
Date of interview:	March, 1997
Place of interview:	Temporary site near Mae Sod, Thailand
Source:	Images Asia

When we arrived at Kyaikdon we tied up the bullocks and went to the well in the mosque compound to get water as quickly as possible. In the meantime, a SLORC column entered the village, hurling rude abuse at us like "You sons of bitches!" and so on. I was getting water at the in front of the mosque when some soldiers brought out the Koran and I saw them ripping it up. The soldiers said, "Don't watch! Just get your water," pointing their gun at me. I wanted to cry but I couldn't. They threw the pieces of Koran on the street. When the Muslim women saw this, they cried and felt much pain. The SLORC soldiers said, "Don't cry! This is not a Muslim country! This is Buddhist country! Go away!"

An officer from the 202 TOC(Tactical Operation Command), and other from LID.22 (Light Infantry Division) said, “Muslims cannot stay. You must leave.” Another one said that Muslims could not stay there and we must convert to Buddhism and put an altar in our house. The soldiers then ordered us to move our bullock carts out of the village within half an hour. When we started to move from that place, the soldiers came out and threatened us with guns. They ordered us not to pick up any of our belongings that had dropped from our bullock carts. After that , we made our way back to Nam Ngen village and then went to Ywa Thit village to meet the commander of the SLORC troops. At Ywa Thit, the major told us we were not allowed to stay in the village and would have to stay somewhere outside the village. Therefore we moved, over twenty bullock carts, to the banks of a nearby stream.

The next day the solders arrived and asked how many bullock carts we had with us. They then ordered the whole group of villagers to go with them, including the girls and 27 bullock carts. They also said that we would have to eat the meat that we cannot eat (pork). We understood clearly what they meant, and after discussing it with the village elders, we decided to collect 150 *kyats* for each of the 27 bullock carts and gave the money to the soldiers. After that the soldiers bought pork and took it to the place where they were staying. We slept at the side of the stream for two nights.

I came to the refugee camp with part of my family. On the way we heard that the Islamic teacher of Kyaikdon had been arrested there by the SLORC. The Muslim villagers had to pay 2000 *kyats* to the officer there to secure his release.

Since I arrived here, I heard that in Azin Kyaung Paya village, the SLORC troops forced some Muslims to eat pork [this practice is contrary to the precepts of the Islam].

We have suffered so much grief at the hands of the military that I feel that if we could get some guns now, all of the people suffering here would fight back against this brutal regime. This feeling is felt deep in the hearts of our Muslim community here. We can never forgive the SLORC soldiers who destroyed our mosque and our Koran, which is the holy center of our community.

Interview 40: HRV: Religion, Refugee

Name:	Wanna Soe
Sex:	Male
Age:	30
Ethnicity:	Muslim Karen, wage laborer
Religion:	Muslim
Marital status:	Married with two children
Address:	Kyaikdon village, Karen State
Date of interview:	March 1997
Place of interview:	Temporary site near Mae Sod, Thailand
Source:	Images Asia

My wife and some of the other villagers returned to the village from the place where we were hiding in the jungle. They cried with grief when they saw the ruins of our mosque. They met the SLORC soldiers near that mosque, and the SLORC soldiers said to them, "This is not India! Within two days two bulldozers will arrive at this village to raze the mosque!" They noticed that the doors on the left side of the mosque were burned down and the marble floors made of ceramic tiles had been crushed and destroyed by the SLORC troops. The Koran had been torn into pieces and was scattered on the public footpath in front of the mosque. The women in the group cried when they saw this. At that time, the soldiers told the people, "This is not India! All of you Muslims must leave the mosque compound within half an hour!"

From our hiding place, we had already seen our village through a pair of binoculars. We saw that the roof of the mosque had already been destroyed, and also that all the roof framework had been completely destroyed by fire.

The SLORC troops have now destroyed the mosque at Kyaikdon village twice. Once was in 1990 and the other time was this year. This time we tried to hide the Koran in a safe place in the mosque, however the soldiers found the Koran and tore it to pieces and scattered it across the road. The soldiers then killed the pigs and cooked and ate pork curry in the mosque compound [a grave insult to Muslims].

The destruction of the mosque and holy Koran hurts like a spear piercing my heart. Even if the SLORC were to kill me along with my family, it would not hurt as much as this. This feeling is deep in our hearts and we will never forget this incident.

[Another recent arrival told Wanna Soo that no villagers are staying in the Muslim quarter of Kyaikdon anymore. The SLORC tried to destroy the mosque in a series of five explosions. This did not completely destroy the mosque- which is made of concrete-but cracked the ceiling and walls].

According to the Karen elders who had also witnessed the destruction of the mosque, the SLORC troops were making many problems for the Muslim community, and it would be wise for us to leave the village for that reason.

We sent one man back to our village from our hiding place to collect news about the movements of, and conditions under the SLORC major from Light Infantry Battalion LIB.205. He went back to the village and returned to our hiding place in the evening. He warned us to stay in a large group, and that we should not travel separately. He advised us to run to Kawkareik.

Two porters who escaped and arrived at Nopho told us that the SLORC soldiers said to each other that if they had a chance to meet Muslim women, they would rape them and then kill them.

Interview 41: HRV: Religion

Name:	Yi Soo
Sex:	Male
Age:	36
Ethnicity:	Muslim Karen, cowboy
Religion:	Muslim
Marital status:	Married with seven children
Address:	Mehka Tee Htar, Karen State
Date of interview:	March 1997
Place of interview:	Temporary site near Mae Sod, Thailand
Source:	Images Asia

When I heard the SLORC was coming, I had to run with my cows and hide. I asked a Karen Buddhist friend to go to the SLORC troops and ask them what the policy was for Muslims. My friend came back and told me that it was bad news for Muslims if the SLORC troops saw any Muslims they would kill them.

I got information that all the cows were being taken by the SLORC and the SLORC troops were taking all the things that belonged to Muslims. So I gave my cows to my friend to look after.

Interview 42: HRV: Religion, Killing

Name: Kyi Win
Sex: Male
Age: 33
Ethnicity: Sgaw Karen
Religion: Christian
Marital status: Married with three children
Address: Pa Glaw Ni village, Karen State
Date of interview: March 1997
Place of interview: Temporary site near Mae Sod, Thailand
Source: Images Asia

The SLORC told the villagers [from Kyaikdon] to come and tell them if they saw any Muslims. The SLORC came and asked us, "Where are the Muslims? If we catch them we will barbecue them eat them."

I heard that they had killed two of them [Muslims]. Then they came back and told the villagers to go and bury the bodies. The villagers picked up their tools to go and bury the bodies. When they arrived they could not find the dead bodies. They searched and searched but there was no trace of them. I don't know whether they were lying or telling the truth.

There was a mosque in the village, but the SLORC troops dismantled it. It was made of wood, and the troops told the villagers to take it, but the villagers refused. So they [the SLORC soldiers] sold the wood. The SLORC troops also burned the Koran and destroyed the Muslim coffin.

Interview 43: HRV: Religion

Name: Abdul
Sex: Male
Age: 54
Ethnicity: Muslim Karen
Religion: Muslim
Marital status: Married with nine children
Address: Yaikdon, Karen State
Date of interview: March 1997
Place of interview: Temporary site near Mae Sod, Thailand
Source: Images Asia

There was a fighting in Kyaikdon on February 13 for one hour. The Muslim troops and the SLORC troops shot at each other; then the Muslims retreated into the mountains.

The SLORC soldiers used four explosives [probably mortar shells] to destroy the mosque in Kyaikdon. I could see from a hill that it was destroyed, and the others who were there later came out and reported the details to me. The SLORC took everything left in the village. They said all of it belonged to Muslims, so they took it.

Interview 44: HRV: Refugee, Arrest, Forced Labor, Relocation

Name:	Saw Kloh Wah
Sex:	Male
Age:	about 35
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Marital status:	Married with four children
Address:	Kyun Chaung village, southern Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview:	April 2, 1997
Source:	KHRG

["Saw Kloh Wah"'s village was in KNU-controlled territory, and was just occupied by SLORC in the current offensive.]

I have been here for three days. I came along with others and it took three days to get here. The situation in Kyun Chaung was so bad that I decided to leave. I am only a farmer. I always work in my field. Since the SLORC soldiers came to my village, we have had to work for them and serve them. They have been in our village for more than one month. At first they said, "Don't flee from this village!" So we did not run away. Then they called all the villagers and listed down all the villagers' names. Whatever they asked we had to give them, like chickens, food, etc. We had to supply bullock carts, too. One day the commander came and asked me, "Where did you hide the weapons and the walkie-talkies?" Since then, my situation has become more dangerous. It was not true, of course, but they went to ask the village elders whether I was involved in those kind of activities or not. The village elders also told them "No". But in that situation, I didn't dare stay any more in my village. So I left.

All the bullock carts had to be on standby for them. They collected one person from each house of the village and we had to go and get bamboo for their fences and their camp buildings.

Where did people have to work?

At Chaung Wa [at the mouth of the stream]. It [the Army camp] is not finished yet. It was still going on when I left. At the beginning around 20 villages were working there. Now, when I left, there were less than before. We cannot work for them any more. Even if you didn't want to work for them they forced you to do it, and not only in our village. They also collected workers from other villages. [These villagers were in KNU controlled area before the offensive and were not used to doing all this forced labor.] I didn't work there myself because I was so busy with my family problems. The health of some of my family members was not so good. But I have brothers and I sent them to work there instead of my family [if your house cannot send someone, you have to send a substitute]. I never worked there so they thought that I didn't obey their orders, and they became suspicious of me.

How did the villagers have to work in their camp?

They had to go early every morning after their meal. Some of them took a lunch packet along with them. They could only come back in the evening. We had to go almost every day. When they started building we only needed to go two or three times a week, but now we have to go every day, the whole week.

The villagers were also ordered to bring all our paddy and food to a specific place. Then we had to go and get our food [rationed out] back from that place. All the villagers had to gather at that place and they redistributed some food, but it was not enough. All the villagers were facing food problems. Every family received only around two milk tins of rice [per day; only enough for 1 person]. We had to solve our food problems ourselves. When no food was left, we went and asked food from the soldiers. Sometimes they gave, but not always. And they also collected food for themselves from the villagers.

The situation of our paddy fields is also not good. Last year we got 120-150 baskets of paddy per acre. This year we only got 50. I had to buy more paddy for the coming rainy season. I have a large family. I have to try to get more.

Did they take porters in your village?

Yes. When they went on operation to search for insurgents, two or three villagers had to go along with them and they have not been released yet.

Do you know the battalion number? Did you see their badges?

I saw the number “4”, a tiger’s head and the Bandoola sign [Bandoola was a famous Burmese general who fought the British during the colonization of Burma], and above that, 3 and 4. People told me that some troops who surrendered to the SLORC came along with them [possibly soldiers from KNLA Battalion 16 who surrendered]. I don’t know whether this is true or not.

I cannot estimate exactly how many soldiers came to our village, maybe 500 or 600. There was no fighting between them and KNU. There was one KNU gate in Kyun Chaung area. A few KNU soldiers were there, around five or six. When SLORC entered the village, all of them ran away. Then when the villagers came back from their farms, they met SLORC soldiers. They were about to run away but the SLORC soldiers shouted: “Don’t run away! Don’t be afraid! We will not harm you, people!” They ordered the villagers to stand in a row and registered all the villagers’ names. At the beginning our situation was not so bad, but later they became cruel and it became worse and worse, day by day. So we left. At the beginning they didn’t force us to do anything, but later on they collected one person from each family to do jobs for them. Some people from our village moved to the plains but others didn’t know how and where to go. These villagers are remaining in the village and they are suffering. They are still working in their camp. If we move to the plains, they allow it but we are not supposed to move up here.

In our village, whenever they suspect someone they arrest him. Two or three villagers were arrested and beaten. I never did their building work, so the man in charge of the camp construction became suspicious of me. My situation became worse and worse. So I left my family and my village. We came here by ourselves through the jungle. I came with three friends but without my family. On the way, we met SLORC soldiers once but we ran away. My family will be coming. One of my babies was sick. Their situation is also very bad. All of them are in fear. After I left the soldiers warned and threatened my family. They told them, “We are going to burn down your house and seize all your paddy and belongings!” There is no more head in my household, so they are helpless and they also have to come here. My wife is coming with our four children. I don’t know where they are now. They are coming by a different route and I don’t know what will happen to them. I cannot say what will happen in the future.

Did other villages have to move?

Yes, like Min Ski, above Kyun Chaung. There were 80 houses in Min Ski. Some people from Min Ski have already moved to other places to work for their living. There are two villages above Min Ski Chaung. Min Ski is big. The other one has around 40 houses. The villagers were divided into two: Buddhists and Christians. They had to move to Ya Gyi. The SLORC ordered that all the villagers would have to move within one week along with all of their property, but the villagers could not organize everything within that amount of time. I don't know what will happen to them.

Every village now has SLORC troops. Min Ski, too. And Meh T'Kreh as well. People there have to work for them [SLORC]. Also in Kyone Done. Wherever the SLORC is posted, people have to build their camps. I heard they are building camps in Kyun Chaung, Min Ski, Meh T'Kreh, and Kyone Done. Their main camp is in Kyun Chaung. Most of them came from Meh T'Kreh and are posted in this area. They have to go and get their supplies from Meh T'Kreh. It takes them eight days' return trip to get their rations. But their main base camp is in Kyun Chaung.

When the SLORC arrived in Kyun Chaung, there were around 200 porters with them. Maybe one or two for each soldier. Some porters had to carry ammunition. The man who came along with me [to the refugee site - see below], had to carry ammunition boxes. Some porters had to carry rice, one big tin. It was very difficult to climb up and down the mountains with the loads. They had to carry very heavy loads. He was arrested to be a porter and put in the lock up in Kyun Chaung. When the troops went on an operation, he had to be a porter along with others. When he couldn't carry any more he was beaten. They abandoned him as dead and he escaped. So now out of three villagers, two still remain in the lockup in Kyun Chaung.

Any troubles with DKBA in your area?

No. It is very difficult to find them! They didn't come. Well, I heard that four local people were with the SLORC soldiers but I don't know much about that.

Interview 45: HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Torture, Killing, Forced Labor

Name: Saw Po Htoo
Sex: Male
Age: 67
Ethnicity: Karen, church elder
Religion: Christian
Marital status: Widower with two children
Address: Kyone Yaw village, Kya In township, Karen State
Date of interview: April 2, 1997
Source: KHRG

When did you arrive here?

I arrived five days ago.

Why did you leave your village?

We left because we could not live and we had nothing to eat. Because our rice was all taken and we had to go and ask for our rice back, weighed out on a scale little by little. We had to climb high mountains with heavy loads. So we couldn't stay, we didn't dare stay anymore and we left.

Who collected your rice?

The Burmese soldiers. They came one month and six days ago. They made us collect all of our rice. They caught the chickens and the pigs to eat and they destroyed our belongings and animals. They surrounded our village, gathered us together in one place, and then they took all of our animals to eat and destroy. They hurt us also. Even the Pastor couldn't stay at home, he had to run out and hide himself in the forest. They used us to do hard work and carry heavy loads until we couldn't do it any more, so we left.

They hurt some people. I saw it. They beat us on our faces, punched us and made us do hard work like cattle or buffaloes. Whatever they ordered we had to do. We had to clear a yard for them, dig holes, and climb the mountain to look for Karen soldiers. If we couldn't find any, they told us that we were telling them lies and hurt us. They didn't do anything to the women, but they were very dangerous for the men. I don't know what they would have done to the women if there were no men in the village.

How many people were beaten?

A lot of people who were caught. They caught me and bound me for a while, and while I was there I saw what they did so I felt afraid and escaped later before they beat me. They tied our necks with rope, so I didn't dare to stay. I didn't see everybody, but with my own eyes I saw them beat 20 people. With their feet they kicked, with their hands they beat people's faces and with their guns they struck us. They also beat us with bamboo and wood, and they took the stairs from our houses and beat us with them. [Karen houses are built above-ground with a ladder-like stairway of wood or bamboo.] If we couldn't find Karen soldiers they hurt us. If we couldn't climb high mountains with heavy loads they hurt us. They also killed some people. Two people were killed. I didn't see it with my own eyes, but an escaped porter told me that they were killed on the mountain among the rocks. I don't know their names. They were villagers in Kya In township. They felt so tired that they couldn't climb the mountain any more with their heavy loads. They fell down, so the Burmese soldiers kicked them and made them stand up again. Eventually they couldn't stand up again, so the Burmese soldiers killed them in the end. They shot them dead and continued their journey. That happened three days after the Burmese arrived at my village.

Is that the first time SLORC has arrived in your village?

The very first time for my village. They were from Division 44. Our village covers a wide area but there were about 40 houses in it. They ordered us to build a place [camp] for them, build shelters and dig toilets for them, dig holes for cover, clear a yard, and make four or five concentric rings of fences surrounding their place. We had to go and dig every day, from when they first came until now. It's still not finished. It's a very wide place. They kept us all together a little apart from their place. We had to work every day for them, and we had to bring our own rice to eat for many days because they never gave us any food, and they never care about our hunger. There's no time left for us to do our own work. They caught every man to do the work. They didn't catch women because there were still many men in the village, but I can't say what will happen when all the men escape from the place.

We had to work early in the morning until late in the evening with no rest. When we were too slow they didn't beat us, but they shouted at us to hurry up. At night some people could sleep and others had to work. They called us by turns. The people on night duty had to live in their camp until we rotated. I had to work in the night for three nights. I had to stay until someone came to replace me. We had to work for them every night and day. It was hard work. Now my cart is left there with the Army. I'll never go back to get my cart and belongings any more. There are about 500 soldiers there now, I guess.

How did they collect your rice for the first time?

They collected all of our paddy on the first day they arrived. They ordered us to bring our paddy to them and to build a building for our own paddy. They ordered us to bring all of our paddy to their camp together because they said they didn't want us to feed Karen soldiers. They said if we kept our paddy in our own homes, the Karen soldiers would come and eat and it would give strength to Karen soldiers. So we have to beg our rice back from them, weighed by scale little by little. We must buy it back from them, our own paddy. They would never give it back to us for free. We had to pay ten kyats for eight milk-tins of paddy, or 160 kyats for two big tins. They kept it in their camp, and they only gave you one big tin [about 15 kg.] each time. When it was gone we had to go to them again.

They wrote down the villagers' names and also the names of the people who brought their paddy to them. They went around finding out how many people were in each family and wrote it down. Many villagers ran away and hid in the forest, but the soldiers tried to look for them and catch them. Some people escaped, but only men. They left their children and wives, ran to the forest with their rice and hid there, and they had a lot of trouble. [The men flee to avoid torture and forced labor, while the women and children hope to be treated better and stay behind to try to protect their home, land and belongings.]

Some families fled to other places, and some came here. Some families here are from my village, and some are from Lay Wah Ploh - it is very close to my village. We didn't come the same way because we didn't dare to wait for each other. We feared that the soldiers would see us. They would catch us if they saw us.

Why did you choose this place to come and stay?

Because we knew this place and thought we could get food here. We walked one day to get here. We traveled at night, and we ran quickly when we crossed the [Thanbyuzayat-Three Pagodas Pass] road. We worried that if we went to other places we would have no food to eat. We had never been to Thailand before so we dared not go there, and also we didn't know how to go there. We heard that in this place our white younger brothers and sisters take care of the people, so we came [in Karen legend, the Caucasian is the younger sibling of the Karen people]. If they didn't take care of us, we would die. So I came to cry unto them for help. Please have mercy upon us.

Now that you are here do you want to go back again?

We think we will stay here and not go back any more. If we can't stay here we will continue our travels but never go back. Everybody in our village is afraid.

What do you hope for the future?

We hope to stay here.

Interview 46: HRV: Forced Labor, Torture

Name:	Saw Nee Taw Thaw
Sex:	Male
Age:	18
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Single
Address:	Kyone Yaw village, southern Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview:	April 2, 1997
Source:	KHRG

When did you leave your village?

One week ago. I'm from Kyone Yaw. I came here because I was afraid of the SLORC. They captured me as a porter and I had to carry things for them and climb the mountains. When I couldn't carry things for them they beat me, so when we reached the mountain I ran away.

Did they beat you hard?

Yes, they beat me very hard. I was in pain. They beat me with their hands while they pointed their guns at me. I just had to bear that, so later I ran away. When I was with them I didn't see anyone killed by them, but I saw them beat other people very hard with a stick. After beating them, they ordered the people to carry things. We had to carry very far and climb the mountains, and if we couldn't climb we were beaten by the soldiers. They wouldn't put any medicine on my wound, or on the wounds of other porters. They would kill us if we couldn't carry their ammunition and food. There were about 30 porters and 100 soldiers. They were from Division 44.

Did they see you when you were escaping?

Yes, they saw me along the path and they shot at me two or three times. I didn't go home, I ran straightaway to here. It took me four days.

What do you think about the future? Will you stay here or go back?

I'll stay here. I don't want to go back. If the situation is good I'll go back, but if the enemy doesn't leave I won't go back to the village.

Where are your parents?

In Kyone Yaw. My mother is old. I think they can't leave. [Note: his parents have no way of knowing where he is, or even whether he is still alive.]

Interview 47: HRV: Forced Labor, Torture, Child, Women

Name:	Moo Nay
Sex:	Male
Age:	40
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with seven children
Address:	Lay Wah Ploh village, Kya In township, Karen State
Date of interview:	April 2, 1997

When did you arrive here?

Three days ago. The Burmese soldiers forced us to do hard work for them and hurt us. We were afraid of them so we ran away.

When did the Burmese soldiers arrive at your village?

One month and six days ago. They came around our village and took my rice and animals to eat. After that they called us together and forced us to work hard for them, doing things like fencing the place where they will settle down, digging holes for them to protect themselves, and clearing all the bushes from their place. We also had to cut a lot of bamboo and carry it to them. It wasn't in my village. We had to go and do all these things in Kyone Yaw every day. Other villagers also. Every village must do it. I had to work in the hot sun all day carrying heavy things for them. It was hard work, but they allowed no period to rest. They didn't beat me, but they shouted at me. I worked there for three days. They gathered us together, wrote down our names, and then 20 people had to go and work for them each day, for three days at a time.

Lay Wah Ploh village has 53 houses. They divided our 20 people into two groups. One group had to cut and carry the bamboo and the other group had to work in their camp digging the holes, cleaning the camp, etc. They didn't call porters, but they ordered us to bring our carts to them and they used our carts as well as our bullocks.

Did they hurt any people in your village?

Yes, they hurt one man from my village. He had to guard the carts. They didn't tie him but they beat him.

Did they also collect the villagers' rice?

For now they didn't collect our paddy, but they forced us to build a building to hold our paddy in our headman's garden. They ordered that one week ago. As for me, I didn't do that but ran away to escape.

Did your family come together with you?

Yes, we went out together at night time. All night and all the next day we walked from our place to here. When we were walking we hoped to get to a safe place. We thought that this place would be a safe place for us, so we came here.

What do you hope for the future of you and your family?

If we can stay here we will stay. If we can't stay here we will go forward, but we will never go back to our village. I'm not sure if this place is safe, I don't know, but if we have to move again we will. That is my decision.

Interview 48: HRV: Arrest, Forced Labor

Name:	Saw Kenyaw
Sex:	Male
Age:	56
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with five children
Address:	Lay Wah Ploh village, Kya In township, Karen State
Date of interview:	April 2, 1997
Source:	KHRG

I arrived here three days ago, with my family. There were a few families still in the village, but most had left the village. They left after the SLORC arrived. The soldiers captured me, I was the first one captured. Then we had to stay in Lay Wah Ploh village for three days, with one cart. After that they called me to Kyone Yaw village. They were teasing me. They asked me, "Are you a Ringworm? You are a big Ringworm. You are the Great Eagle of the Ringworm!" ["Ringworm" (nga pway) is a derogatory SLORC name for Karen soldiers.] I told them, "Go ahead and cut my throat." A soldier said, "We will kill you within the next three hours." After three hours he came and said he was just joking, and he wouldn't kill me. He said, "The ringworm, when they see us they just smile and we don't realize, and then they kill us. The one who smiles like you is the one who can kill us." ["Saw Kenyaw" smiles and jokes a lot.]

He didn't tie me up, but he kept me held in a house with five other captives. All five of us had been captured at the same time. There was no floor, we had to stay on the ground. One room was for the bullock-cart driver and the other room was for us. [The bullock-cart driver was probably the cart owner being forced to do labor with his cart, while the other five were suspected 'ringworm'.] They asked many questions but I don't remember all of them. They kept saying and accusing that we were 'ringworm'. They tried to threaten us and claim that we are their enemies, which was not true.

Did they threaten you when they were asking the questions?

Yes, one aimed his gun at me while the other questioned me. They took a knife and shaved my scalp three times [shaving his hair off] and they sawed the knife back and forth across my throat. They beat me three times on my head and three times on my leg. When they shaved my head it bled. It was very painful, but I just had to bear it.

I don't know how many hours it was, but at 2 p.m. we had to go. After beating me it was time to leave. Then we had to take them to Meh T'Pret village to get their rations - rice, milk, and sugar. We had to send them and carry the rations all in the bullock cart. It took eight days to go there.

Why did you flee your village?

I left because I was afraid that they would catch me and force me to work for them again. I left separately from the other villagers, but we met on the way.

Interview 49: HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labor, Child, Movement

Name: Saw Tamla Htoo
Sex: Male
Age: 60
Ethnicity: Karen hill farmer
Religion: Christian
Marital status: Married with seven children
Address: Meh T'Li village, southern Dooplaya District, Karen State
Date of interview: April 2, 1997
Source: KHRG

I've been here for three weeks now. The reason why I left my village was because everything was all mixed up. We were living in little groups here and another group there and our houses were in their path. The SLORC Army came and the Karen Army came and passed through our village. When they crossed paths there was fighting, and we feared the crossfire would hit us so we had to flee our village. Before there was no fighting, only starting last year and this year the fighting came. There was fighting last month in March, and there was also fighting in December and January in our village. Meh T'Li is about six miles from Kyun Chaung which is two hours' walk.

Our village was KNU area because there was a gate there. SLORC often came to the village even when the KNU stayed there. When the SLORC came last month they occupied the village, but when they were leaving the Karen soldiers came back, and when the Karen soldiers attacked with great force SLORC ran away. The villagers ran and dived and took shelter under the houses and trees and beside the stream. The Burmese didn't like it when the villagers ran away far from them. They said to us not to run away, just to stay close to them [as a shield, and not to go and tell the KNLA where the SLORC were positioned].

Now the SLORC is in the village. When they came they called all the villagers who were staying at their hill farms, up the streams and hiding in the bush to come back and stay in the village. They said to the villagers, "If you are good people come and live in the village and we won't do anything to you", so the villagers came back and stayed in the village. But the KNDO Karen told us not to go back. Now that the SLORC has occupied the village, the KNDO has run away to other places. When there was no more fighting, some villagers went back and stayed near the road. The SLORC said that if any fighting starts they won't differentiate between the civilians and the soldiers, they will shoot everyone.

We were there and waited to see what the SLORC would do. Then the SLORC started taking all the property and valuables from the villagers and burning their houses, and they ate all the chickens and pigs that they found. Even the cattle, they shot them dead and ate them. While I was there they took all the clothes and threw them around all over the place. We didn't dare say anything to them. From my house they took all the clothing that was good and all the rice that they found. They took eight big tins of rice [about 125 kg./250 lb.] and all the chickens. My house was close to the road so they took everything. They took everything from all the people whose houses were close to the road.

Did they take all the rice and put it into one place?

No, they did not do that.

How many houses are there in your village?

There are three areas in the village. Before we had to flee there were more than 100 houses in Meh T'Li village, but now some of the villagers hide up the streams and some stay in Lay Mine Hta, some stay in Htee Kay Kee and some of them stay in Meh T'Li Kee, they are all scattered. Now there are only 20 families on the northern side and 6 families where I live. The others have all fled up the stream or down the stream, or they've run away to other villages like Lay Mine Hta, Meh T'Li Kee and Htee Kay Kee.

Since the SLORC occupied the village have they asked the villagers to do anything?

The SLORC ordered them to dig trenches, build their barracks, fence their base, carry water and cut wood. The SLORC asked them to build the post in Ah Grime that is, between Meh T'Li and Ah Ploh. Three people from my village had to go, and others from Ah Ploh, Lay Po and Ler Say villages. My son had to go for three days. They had to take their own food. He had to take his own tools. He had to fence the barracks. There were about 20 or 30 villagers there. There were more than 100 soldiers staying there. The villagers had to cut and carry the materials to build the fence. For example, if they had ten villagers from Ah Ploh then five of them have to cut three big bamboo each and the other five had to stay with the soldiers in their post [building the fence]. For three days three villagers had to go from our village, then another villagers had to replace them for the next three days. All of those who went were men.

Did they demand any porters?

Yes, they called for porters when they came, but the people who stayed near the road they didn't even call, they just arrested them all and took them. Then they beat and kicked them.

When the SLORC came to occupy the village did they come with porters from other places?

Yes, the porters came with them, the porters ran to escape and came to eat rice at my house.

Since the SLORC occupation can the villagers move around freely?

No, if they want to go to other villages they have to ask permission from the military authorities for a 3-day pass. Their names are noted down, and after three days they have to report back personally.

Has there been any fighting since the SLORC occupation?

Yes, there was fighting a week ago outside the village between the SLORC and the KNU. Sometimes when the KNDO comes to the village and then SLORC comes too there is fighting, and none of them are wounded but the villagers die instead of them, so we left the village. The KNDO said, "Because you are living with the enemy this means you sympathize with them, so when there is fighting we must shoot you also. We told you to get out of the village, so if something happens to you it is your own fault." [Note: this goes against KNU policy. It shows a bad KNDO officer, possibly made worse by the frustration the current SLORC offensive has created in much of the Karen military.]

Did you have any difficulties coming here?

It was very difficult to come here, we couldn't follow the main route. We came the Meh T'Li Kee way, and we had to climb many mountains. KNDO was along the main route and the SLORC were also going along that route, so we were afraid that if there was fighting between them we would be caught in the crossfire and wouldn't know which way to run. So we took a roundabout route which was further but safer. We came here because the SLORC were all over our area and we hadn't heard of the SLORC attacking here, and because we heard that we could get food here through people's mercy. I couldn't bring any blankets, just one cooking pot and only three of our children. All our clothes and belongings were taken by the SLORC, we had nothing left there and no way to make our living, so whatever the problems will be

here I left my village and came to stay here. If I am allowed to stay here I will stay, and if not I will go on to some other place, but if there is peace I would like to go back to my own village because I still have my land there. SLORC can take our belongings and burn down our houses, but even they cannot take and carry our land away.

Interview 50: HRV: Livelihood, Women, Forced Labor, Torture, Killing

Name:	Naw May Oo Paw
Sex:	Female
Age:	21
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married with no children
Address:	Kaw Za village, Kyaik Maraw township, Mon State
Date of interview:	April 3, 1997
Place of interview:	Thai-Burma border near KNU 4th Brigade area
Source:	KHRG

[Naw May Oo Paw arrived at the Thai border on April 2, 1997. Her village is not directly in the path of the offensive, but it has still been affected.]

I left Kaw Za village about ten days ago. The Burmese Army were collecting taxes in the village. We were forced to pay, otherwise they threatened us. Even the village elders had to follow their orders. SLORC collected rice and other food from the villagers and we had to send four or five bullock carts loaded with food for them. We also had to send porters through a lottery system. Children also had to do that. In my village, there were about 300 to 400 houses. Sometimes they demanded ten porters, sometimes six. Our village head didn't want to send people, so he needed to pay bribes to the soldiers. He collected the money, 10,000 *kyats* from each household [possibly for the whole year]. The Karen soldiers also demanded porters. We had to send two villagers twice a week according to the draw system. If someone didn't want to go, he had to pay some money. Occasionally, SLORC soldiers came and asked for paddy, five *tins* [about 15 kg. per *tin*] from each house.

And during the current offensive against 6th Brigade [Dooplaya District]?

Same as before. The KNLA also collects soldiers, the same as before. It is as usual. During the offensive, the Karen soldiers came and asked for food. The headman didn't give it to them so they looted it from the villagers.

SLORC also came, took food and collected some porters. When they entered the village, all the men had to flee and hide. Then they arrested even the children. Even if we had already given money for porter fees, they still came to collect people.

Both of them [SLORC and KNLA] always come to our village. Sometimes they meet. So the village elders have to go and request SLORC as well as KNLA not to fight in our village. SLORC does not have complete control over our village. They said, "If we see Karen soldiers in the village, we are going to burn it down and make it like an ashtray". The Karen soldiers are afraid of SLORC burning down the village, and they allow the villagers to leave for a short time when the SLORC arrives.

On March xxx, when I was coming back from Moulmein hospital, along the road I saw two truckloads of soldiers, two truckloads of porters, one truckload of dogs [possibly to search for landmines] and one truck loaded with mules for carrying things.

Then after I got back, I met two porters near a rubber plantation in Lakasai village. One of them had been injured in his cheeks by a knife. He could not speak at all. The other one was injured on his nose. He could speak. He said to me, "Please help us!" I was afraid of them. It was night time. I asked them, "How can I help you? Where have you come from?" He said, "We were arrested in Moulmein." I didn't ask them their names. Both of them were from Moulmein. They were Burman. I didn't ask their ages, but maybe around 30. He said he was arrested in Moulmein market when his wife was selling things. "I was arrested when I went to give a lunch box to my wife", he told me. The other one [who could not speak] was also arrested in the market. All of them were arrested, tied with a rope. They had to work on the road construction near Kyone Done. They took them by truck to the construction site near Kyone Done. Some of them fell sick and some died. They got nothing to eat. The SLORC soldiers only fed them some banana stems. This one man was stabbed in his cheeks and fell down in the valley. Another man who remained at the top of the hill had his throat cut.

Why were they tortured like that?

They had no food to give to the laborers, so they wanted them to die. The villagers became a burden for them. I think these two men complained to the soldiers that they had no food to eat so a cruel soldier stabbed one of them in his cheeks so that he could not eat, and cut the other on his nose.

I offered them some food. After the meal, he said that they wanted to go to the hospital. He had no money. His family was arrested too. He had no money to pay for the treatment. So I gave them 2,000 *kyats* and took them to the hospital. First I brought the men to Lakasai. When we arrived at the car road, we went to the hospital by passenger truck. I requested the nurse to take care of them and to write a letter to their parents. One of them needed blood. Then I went back home. I didn't ask how long they were taken for [as porters]. I didn't ask any other questions because my duty was just to get them to hospital.

After that, when I went to Kyauk Kweh I met another porter who had escaped from the SLORC soldiers. He had lost his way near Kyauk Kweh. I didn't see any injury on his body. He said that he was tortured, so he fled. He said, "I didn't have enough food and had no water to drink. I had to drink my own urine." I asked him, "Where are you going back to?" He said to xxxx. He was a porter and the Burmese soldiers tortured him. That's why he ran away. He was an old man. He said he had some children.

The Ya Wa Ta [Village LORC] authorities ordered that all the people who possess a television and video set must show two video tapes [generally, the only people who own such equipment are those who run public cinema houses]. If they didn't show these video tapes, the authorities would seize the video equipment. My mother told me to go and see these video tapes. One tape showed Karen soldiers and Burmese soldiers killing each other with many casualties on both sides [this is to promote the new SLORC line calling everyone to "exchange arms for peace", i.e. surrender, as shown on TV Myanmar and in the New Light of Myanmar]. The second one was the surrendering ceremony of Karen soldiers [Tha Muh Heh and some troops from KNLA #16 Battalion, when Tha Muh Heh went on his knees before SLORC General Maung Aye and Maung Aye walked on the Karen flag]. I don't know the name of the commander. In that tape, I saw a lot of weapons surrendered. There was one Karen Buddhist monk shown in Kyaikdon, and it said that when somebody wants to surrender to the SLORC, he will inform the SLORC for them.

Is Kaw Za village a Karen village?

Yes, mainly Karen. Mostly Buddhist. Only ten Burmese households are living there. Nobody has surrendered to the SLORC in my village.

Is DKBA in your village?

Usually it is the SLORC Army that comes to our village. Sometimes even a SLORC Intelligence man, disguised as a blanket-seller. Those with the yellow headband [DKBA] usually come and ask for money, chicken and food. The headman cannot collect everything for them so he gives the things himself [from his own possessions, not from the villagers].

What is the feeling in your village?

At night time we have to hide and sleep in other places. We do not sleep in our own houses. Sometimes the SLORC troops and the Karen soldiers are shooting at each other, and sometimes they rob our village.

When you fled, did you see many soldiers along the way?

I saw many Burmese soldiers along the Thanbyuzayat-Three Pagodas Pass road but I didn't see any Karen soldiers. The Burmese soldiers collected 1,000 kyats from each [passenger] truck. They also shot a passenger truck. I saw two burnt cars and one bullock cart along the road, on the way to Thanbyuzayat near xxxx. In my truck there were four soldiers but in all the others there were many more soldiers. So I asked a soldier, "Oh Uncle! Why are those cars all burnt?" "We shot them", he replied. Then I asked: "Why did you shoot?" "We shot at the Karen soldiers. Unfortunately some civilians were also wounded. We couldn't give them treatment so we shot them", he explained to me. Then I spoke to an old man: "Oh Uncle! How many were killed?" He said, "An old woman was shot in the back of her head and died on the spot. Some of her relatives also died."

Interview 51: HRV: Refugee

Name:	Saw Ber Kaw
Sex:	Male
Age:	42
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Address:	Ta Pi Lay Ko village, Ler Mu Lah township, Karen State
Date of interview:	April 3, 1997
Place of interview:	KNU 4th Brigade area
Source:	KHRG

[When interviewed “Saw Ber Kaw” had just arrived at the Thai border with a group of 500 new refugees. A large SLORC force had moved southward undetected through valleys parallel to the Tenasserim valley and had suddenly appeared in villages like Ta Pi Lay Ko, which had been far from the frontline, with little or no warning.]

I’m from Ta Pi Lay Ko. 1,000 refugees had gathered there [from villages further up the Tenasserim River closer to the frontline]. On March 25 we started to leave Ta Pi Lay Ko and fled up the Ka Kyu stream. When we arrived at Haw Thu area we heard Burmese gunshots, and the refugees divided into two groups. One group of about 500 people fled [upstream, east toward the border] to Ta Pi Kee and the other group went back [westward] to Ta Pi Lay Ko. The people who ran to Ta Pi Kee hid there, 500 of them. The people who went back to Ta Pi Lay Ko then ran down the [Tenasserim] river to Si Praw Hta.

At Ka Kyu Hta [upriver from Ta Pi Lay Ko] there was not a single Karen soldier. In Haw Thu area there were no Karen soldiers. When the Burmese fired on the villagers around Haw Thu, our group of 500 villagers fled to Ta Pi Lay Ko, and then down the river to Si Praw Hta. The Burmese ran after us place to place and then when they arrived at Si Praw Hta they fired their big guns on us. In Si Praw Hta the Burmese pounded with 30 big shells. At that time there weren’t any soldiers there. All were villagers. There were only one or two Karen soldiers.

Where did you run to?

Me, I was with the group at Si Praw Hta. One was wounded. A man, over 20 years old. He was from Ta Pi Lay Ko. When the shells landed we ran, we ran up the streams, place to place until we arrived at the border on the March 28.

Now where are the refugees?

Along the way near Si Praw Hta there are still 80 to 100 people, because they are sick, they can’t walk or they have small babies. Halfway along the way there’s another group of about 300 [a long distance upstream from Si Praw Hta, towards the border]. At the border at Lay Per Ko there is a group of 50. Near the border at Huay Ba Klai there are 80 or 100 refugees back there. Some others are in Thailand now. About another 400 refugees are coming to Naw La Daw and will arrive at 10 a.m. tomorrow [to cross the border].

Interview 52: HRV: Refugee, Killing, Child

Name: Saw Ku Hser
Sex: Male
Age: 30
Ethnicity: Karen, hill farmer
Religion: Animist
Marital status: Widower with two children
Address: Way Toh Ray village, Ler Mu Lah township, Karen State
Date of interview: April 3, 1997
Source: KHRG

When did the Burmese arrive in Way Toh Ray village?

They arrived on the 25th [of March], in the afternoon at about 1 o'clock. They came through the hills, but at Meh Ngaw there's a car road so they came along the car road. I arrived here four days ago. It took me one day along the way. One of the men in our group had only one child with him. She was 13 years old, and she died along the way. When we were fleeing along the path it was raining, and his child got malaria and died because we had to sleep in the rain. When we were coming, people said that a group of Burmese Army was crossing in front of us. We had to hurry up and go in the middle of the night in the rain. So the man whose child had died had no time even to look after [bury] his dead child's body. He had no time.

Did all the villagers run?

All the villagers ran away, but some of them are still staying not far away from the village. If the Burmese catch up them they will arrest them, make trouble for them and only some of them will have any chance to survive. I've heard much bad news from the village since I arrived here. We can't do anything. When I was coming along the way I heard that the enemy came behind us and burned down houses in Way To Ray and Si Pyet. I would like to go back and see what is happening in my village, but it's not easy to travel there. I don't dare go back just like this, but if I had a gun maybe I could go back to my village.

What did you bring along with you?

I came along with just what you can see here, Thra! [Thra = 'teacher'], respectful form of address; he pointed to a small mosquito net, a couple of shirts, and a small bag of rice.] The villagers carried their things, but when they heard bad news they have threw away their things along the path. I only brought some of my things. I have two pots, three plates, and a big spoon for my family. I have two children – the older is 5 years old. The other daughter stayed behind, where she is staying is not far from the enemy right now. She is 3 years old. My wife died three years ago and left me with two children. One stays with my mother, and one with my mother-in-law. [He fled with his mother and older child.] My parents stay with me here, but I don't know where my mother-in-law and my younger child are.

Do you have problems here now?

We have problems for all the people, for all the future.

Now the Burmese say they will make peace for Karen people. Do you dare go back?

I dare to go, but I don't dare go back and stay among the Burmese. I dare to go back if I have a gun in my hand and go with the Karen Army, then I dare to go back and fight them because I've done that before.

The Burmese call all the Karen refugees to come back in peace and help build car roads.

Our enemy calls us to do this, but never in my life will I do this. Never in my life will I do their work, even if they order me to do it.

Do you think you'll have to be here long?

I don't know whether we'll have to stay here long or not, I can't say.

What about the refugees from Maw Ma Sa, etc. who were in the area? [The hundreds of villagers who had fled SLORC forced relocation orders and were sheltering in Way Toh Ray and other villages of KNU-controlled territory.]

Some of them arrived here. They've had to flee two times already, so they have nothing. I also have nothing, but people have given me some things. I carried some of my things that were old and left some that were new. When I ran out of my village, the Burmese weren't shelling with big guns but they were shooting their small arms. There were just over ten Karen soldiers - ten here, five there, three there. Our livestock, our rice and our house furnishings, all of them were left behind, we couldn't bring any of it. After we got here we heard that the soldiers from the frontline sent a message that the Burmese had burned down our houses. We heard that a woman was about to give birth in Way Toh Ray but the Burmese were all around them, so her husband ran away, they burned the house and she was burned to death in the fire.

Do you think the Thais are going to make problems here?

I don't know yet. It's up to the [camp] leaders here. If they arrange everything for us it should be all right, but if they can't and the Thais do anything then we will all die.

Interview 53: HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Forced Labor, Torture, Arrest

Name:	Nai Aung Kyi
Sex:	Male
Age:	75 years
Ethnicity:	Mon, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Address:	Wai Thar Lee village, Kya-Inn- Seikyi township, Karen State.
Date of interview:	April 5, 1997
Place of interview:	Halockani Mon refugee camp, Mon State
Source:	MIS

When did you arrive at this village (Halockhani refugee camp) and what is your main work in your native village?

I arrived here two days ago. (He has no house and his whole family stays in other refugees' house.) While I was in my village, I had a small farm and I grew rice. But the soil was bad and the field was not good I also cut fire-woods in the forest and sell it to earn money. After the end of the rainy season, I grew vegetables and sold them in the village.

This year, after I had given rice to the government (the government officials buy rice from local farmers at low price, and the farmers feel like they give their rice to government free of charge, I was left with only 200 baskets of rice. In March, one of my sons was arrested by the soldiers to be use as porter and I gave 25,000 *kyats* to the military in Kya-Inn- Seikyi town for his release. Many villagers were arrested by soldiers and they were sent to the front-lines in the offensives against the Karen soldiers.

Besides the arrests of the porters in dry season, did the soldiers force you to provide free labor in the construction?

Yes. The soldiers forced us to build the road that came from Kya - inn - seikyi town. The Burmese troops from IB. 32 from Kya-inn-seikyi town always came to our village and called the meetings with village headmen and sometimes, with villagers. Normally, every time they came they asked for porters or laborers to build the road.

The villager laborers were used to build the Kya-inn-seikyi-Taungbauk road construction. Since last year November, about 50 villagers from our village had to work in the construction everyday. Some rich villagers paid cash to military through village headmen and avoided the forced labor. But they were only a small number.

Where is the work -site? Did the villagers sleep in the work-site?

No. The work-site is not so far from our village. We could go early in the morning and take food along with us. We completed works about 5 p.m. in the evening. Villagers who came from the village of Bokadaw, Lakepyotu, Pharkapo, Thadarpyat, Badargyi which are far from the work-site slept in our village monastery and left for the work-site together with us.

How did the military instruct conscription of the villagers who were far from the construction?

They gave the orders directly to the village headmen and dictated the number of villagers to work in the construction site. If the village headmen refused, the military threatened the villagers that they would burn down the villages. The soldiers could not reach these villages very often but while they launched patrol with huge number of troops they could burn down the villages to ashes. So the villagers were afraid and went to the construction.

Did the soldiers guard the villagers while they were working? Did they mistreat the villagers?

Yes. Most soldiers from Kya-Inn -Seikyi town guarded the villagers while working. They walked around and along the embankment and if they saw the villagers stop working, they would beat them. Once, I was also beaten by two young soldiers. As I was an old man, while I was taking a rest under a small tree in the rice-field, the two soldiers saw me and shouted at me to continue working. I could not move back fast to the construction and because I was slow, they came and hit me severely with their strong fist. One soldier held me tightly with his strong arms and other one struck my face till it was black and I lost two teeth.

Were the other villagers beaten like you?

I think very few. Most young villagers could work for the whole time and so satisfied the soldiers. But old men like me could not work hard and that made the soldiers angry.

Besides the conscription of forced labor in the road construction, can you explain to me what other abuses have been committed by soldiers?

Arresting for porters was very constant in our village. Sometimes, in the normal situation when there was no fighting with Karen troops, they always asked for regular porters to carry supplies and ammunitions for their patrols. From February through May they came into the village very often and arrested the villagers to use as porters in their big offensives against the Karen troops. About 50 villagers from our village were arrested and were sent to the frontline. Before I came here, as I knew, three villagers disappeared and I believe they had died in the battles.

Related to portering case, how did the villagers have to pay the military?

If one of your relatives, your son or husband, was arrested you had to pay the military from 10,000 kyats (in February) to 25,000 kyats (in March) to get him back. The portering fee for each family every month is around 300 kyats. When they had offensives against the Karen troops, they asked about 1,000 kyats per month.

Interview 54: HRV: Refugee, Forced Labor, Torture

Name: Nai Aung Nwe
 Sex: Male
 Age: 37 years
 Ethnicity: Mon, farmer
 Religion: Buddhist
 Address: Paukpingwin village, Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division
 Date of Interview: May 5, 1997
 Place of interview: Ye-Tavoy motor road inside Burma
 Source: MIS

When did you arrive here (a plantation in east of Ye-Tavoy motor road because he was internally displaced) and why?

I arrived here about three days ago. The SLORC Army and the village chairman forced us to work in the railway construction very often. We had no time to work in our own farm. We had to work for them the whole time and later we faced food shortages ourselves. I, therefore, decided to come here.

Which part of road did you have to contribute labor?

This year (in 1997), we almost had to work in a work-site close to our village. The section was from our village to 14-mile village (about five mile long section). Last year (in 1996) we had to go to Tavoyan area (in southern part of the railway), and worked in a section between Ye Bone and Kalein Aung.

How many days in one month did you have to work in the work-site close to your village?

About 20 days in one month. We had no time to work in our own farm. We had to go the work-site everyday in the morning. We brought our own tools and food from our homes and worked for them (the military) free.

Besides your village, did other villagers have to work like you?

Yes. There were many hundreds of villagers from Waethali, Natkyinsin, Kyaukadin and others worked in the construction site like us. But they worked in the respective section close to their village. The military defined the construction sections for those villagers.

What was the main work you had to do the whole time you were used as forced labor?

We had to collect a lot of firewood. The soldiers ordered us to collect and bring them to brick-making factories, to burn the earth. The bricks were used to build bridges. We went into forests and cut many small trees and carried them to the factories or to the construction site and then the oxen-carts came and brought it to the factories. The military and the village chairman (village leader) told every family in the village that each must provide four *kyins* of fire-wood a month. We had to provide four *kyins* of fire-wood every month from February through May this year.

Where were the brick-making factories situated?

Normally, the factories were built near every bridge along the route. We had to walk at least 2-3 hours from the forest we cut firewood to the factories.

Did you receive any payment for fire-wood from the military? Did the workers in the brick-making factories receive payment for their labor?

No. We, the villagers, did not receive any payment. But the workers in the factories received payment from the military. They receive about 600 *kyats* per *kyin* of bricks produced from their factories. Most workers came from Ye northern area villages and they were not native villagers.

Did you only have to collect fire-wood? Or, did you have to contribute labor related to railway construction?

No. Not only collecting firewood. We also had to gather stones to lay on the embankment. Besides collecting firewood, at least about four days every month we had to gather big and small stones to the embankment and broke them into the needed size. We gathered these stones from streams and hills. Every day about 40 villagers from the village had to do this stone-gathering work on a rotating basis. Each family had to work about four days per month.

*How many days did you have to spend to collect one *kyin* of fire - wood?*

At least five days. We went into forests for three days to cut some 10-inch or onefoot diameter trees and bring them to the factories. We cut trees about three days and then spent two days to bring wood to the factories. Every family had to send two members to complete this work within five days.

How did the military conscript the villagers to work in the construction?

They conscripted the villagers to work in the construction and other work related to the railway construction through our village chairman. They had lists of all the families and the population with them. The LIB. 408 discussed and sent instructions to village chairman that how many *kyins* of firewood they needed from our village or how many villagers they needed to gather rail bed stones.

If someone refused to work according to the instruction, how was he/she treated by the military or your village chairman?

If someone refused to work, he would be severely beaten by the soldiers based in the village. Nobody dared to refuse because they knew how the soldiers would react if villagers showed up late at the work-site on the set date; they were severely punished by the soldiers. Our village chairman is very bad in treating his villagers. He always follows the military instructions and he also likes to beat or punish his own villagers. He also owns a small detention cell in his house compound. The village chairman, himself, told the villagers that "If you refuse to collect fire-wood or rails bed stones, please leave this village quickly, I wouldn't like to see your faces anymore."

*Did the military beat the villagers in the construction sites or in their bases?
Did the soldiers ever beat you?*

In both places. Yes. I was beaten by the soldiers from our village base, LIB. 408. Once at the beginning of January, when I was reaping rice in my farm, the village chairman and four soldiers came and arrested three of us, me, my brother and my 13- year-old son. We were brought to the military base. The soldiers accused us of disobeying order that the military need 20 villagers to work in the railway. I explained to them that just three days ago, I came back after collecting two *kyins* of firewood for the factories. The village chairman did not remember our work-duties that he gave and did not support our explanation. Then the soldiers beat us with gun-butts, jungle-boots and fists. On the next day they sent us to the work-site again.

Will you stay here longer or return to your village?

I would not like to abandon my farm. If the situation is better I will return or if the situation is worse I will go into Thailand.

Interview: 55: HRV: Refugee, Forced Labor, Killing

Name: Saw Wah
Sex: Male
Age: 25
Ethnicity: Karen, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Marital status: Single, lives with his mother
Address: Dta Oo Kee village, Belin township, Mon State
Date of interview: April 26, 1997
Source: KHRG

[Saw Wah fled his village in Belin Township of Thaton District (about 60 km. west of Bee T’Ka area). He arrived in Bee T’Ka and immediately had to continue fleeing and become a refugee just before this interview was conducted.]

The SLORC caused a lot of many trouble in the village. They wanted the villagers to work for them every day and people had no time left to do their own work. We had to build their camp and carry their food. Every 15 days the villagers had to carry the soldiers’ rations over the mountains to the Belin River. All the men had to be porters for them, and the women whose babies weren’t breast-feeding anymore also had to carry their rations.

Our village has about 200 houses. Usually about 100 people from three nearby villages: Nyaw Oo Kee, Baw Kee and Daik Kee villages had to go work for them. At Daik Kee and Yo Klah people also had to build the road. Between those two villages we also had to stand sentry watching the road. It’s the road they use to transport their rations in 1st Brigade [Thaton District] area.

DKBA has been to our area, they’ve killed at least two young men from our village this year. One villager was killed when the rains started [mid-1996] and last January another villager was killed. Their names were Pa Taw Oo and Maung Myat Bu, they were both shot dead by Ko Per Baw. Pa Taw Oo was 25 and Maung Myat Bu was 27. They were both single. They were killed because they ran away. If DKBA come we have to run away. The villagers don’t love Ko Per Baw. None of the villagers ever join Ko Per Baw, they only join KNU.

Our village was destroyed by Ko Per Baw and the Burmese. They set up their camp there. The villagers had to face difficulties, because they set up their camp in the middle of the village and then told the villagers to go stay outside the village and build their houses there. Some of the villagers ran away, to take shelter in the villages of their relatives. Our village is one day’s walk from east

of Belin. Some want to come here [to the refugee camp], but it's not easy because of Ko Per Baw and SLORC. We feared them on our way here. We saw them, and when they asked us where we were going, we said we were going to visit relatives and find work.

Now there are more and more SLORC in our area. They say they send more to look for their enemies, but it is only the villagers who suffer. Now they have three battalions, and there is still some fighting. I don't dare go back. Back there I couldn't even dare to work on my farm anymore. About ten households from my village are already here. Other villagers want to come out here if they can. Most of them are living outside the village now, and they all have problems getting enough food.

Interview 56: HRV: Refugee, Torture, Arrest, Forced Labor, Relocation, Child

Name:	Maung Hla
Sex:	Male
Age:	38
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Animist
Marital status:	Married with two children aged 2 and 8
Address:	Noh Ray Tee Per village, Dta Greh township, Karen State
Date of interview:	April, 1997

[Maung Hla spent the last year living in a hut in the forest out of fear of SLORC abuses, only sneaking back and forth to his village when he could. Then his village was ordered to move, and he fled to become a refugee one week before this interview was conducted. His village is a few hours' walk north of Dta Greh.]

My village is situated at the foot of the big mountains [just west of the Dawna Range]. Dta Greh is to the south. It takes from morning until noon to walk to the main part of Dta Greh. There were about 40 households in the village, but there are not many houses left now because most of the people have scattered. About five families went to Sho Kloh [refugee camp in Thailand], and my family came here. Now we have been here one week, because there were difficulties and trouble in our village. The Ko Per Baw and SLORC made trouble, so I could not live any longer in my village and I came here. When they arrived in the village they sometimes caught and beat the villagers. Less than a month ago they beat two villagers, Pa Ghaw Ghet and Pa Kwet Naw. They are brothers. Pa Ghaw Ghet is the eldest. He is 21 years old and Pa Kwet Naw is 19 years old. Pa Ghaw Ghet has one child but Pa Kwet Naw has no children yet.

I don't know why they were beaten. SLORC came with guns and told the villagers to come down from their houses, and then the Ko Per Baw tied them up and beat them. They hit them once with their guns, they stepped on their necks and kicked them in the chest. Then they fired their guns until one magazine was used up. They fired their guns close to the two villagers' ears to frighten them and then they took them to Pah Eet village. At Paah Eat village, they were rescued by the Karen soldiers.

Those who are afraid like us, ran away and stayed in the forest. We're afraid of arrests and beatings. For one year already I dared not to go back to stay in the village. I was too afraid to go back, so I built a hut and we stayed in the forest. As soon as he was released, one of those men who was beaten came to me and told me he dared not live in the village anymore, that he would go to Sho Kloh refugee camp and live there. The soldiers who beat them were Ko Per Baw. Their leader is Pa Nwee. He comes once every two or three days, but sometimes once or twice a day, sometimes not for four or five days. Sometimes they come together with the Burmese, sometimes it is Ko Per Baw soldiers alone. They don't kill, but they torture the villagers. There are plenty of cases like these.

We had to work for the army. We had to build barracks for Ko Per Baw at Be Kyo and work for the Burmese at Kwe Taw Ru village. Every day five persons had to go for forced labor. They had to put up spikes [bamboo obstacles and man-traps around army camps], carry water and build roads. The road leads to Kah Dteh, Maw Ko Kah Dteh. I didn't go myself, but my younger brother went ten times while I cultivated the land. Sometimes they fed the forced laborers only once a day. When we took along our rice, they made us exchange our good rice for their rice full of dirt and paddy [unhusked grains]. Their rice was colored yellow, but if we said we wouldn't exchange our rice with theirs they threatened and beat us. Before I came out here we also had to give the Burmese 300 *kyats* per household.

The soldiers ordered our village to move but we did not move yet. Our village had to move to Ler Pleh. The Burmese came themselves and told us. They said we'd have to move on the April 8, about 25 days ago. Ta Wih Koh village also had to move, but they didn't listen and ran away in to the forest. Ta Wih Koh had 80 houses. The people there were supposed to move to Dta Greh. I don't know why we had to move. They said we had to build our houses near other villages, but the villagers did not want to move. So some fled into the jungle to hide and some still lived in the village. Now those who ran away and hid in the forest dared not go back to stay in the village [for fear of arrest for having fled]. The Ko Per Baw said that if they village saw anyone in the forest they would shoot him. Whenever they saw people cultivating in the forest they beat them at once. My brother built his house in the forest, and when Ko Per Baw saw it they burnt it down instantly. My brother ran back to the village. They don't like people building houses in the forest.

Sixteen people died of cholera -- among them two of my cousin's small children and two of my uncle's children. About ten children died, and some teenagers. Most of the dead were children between the age of 8 and 10. There were many children in the forest with us but none of them died. It was the children in the villages who died, and especially the people who had to go and live in the army camp. None of them had any medicine, and no one has any rice. The people in the village had to eat roots and leaves, just like I was eating in the forest. I had to live on roots and leaves for four or five days at a time. Now people in the village and in the forest were preparing and hoping to plant their rice. For one year I had lived in the forest in a hut because I was too afraid to stay in the village. I planted banana trees and ate roots and some vegetables. Sometimes my two children got sick. There are many households in the forest now, five or six or ten houses in a group, one or two houses here and there. I couldn't count them all, but there are plenty.

There were difficulties living there though there were plenty of houses in the forest. The Ko Per Baw didn't like people staying in the forest. They said that two they would shoot people dead if they saw them in the forest. It took us two days to come here with our three children. I carried the small one, and my wife is also pregnant. We didn't bring anything, we had nothing to bring. We were afraid of the bombs [landmines], we had to avoid them along the way. We came cautiously and in fear and finally arrived here. Many people from Noh Ray Tee Per would like to come here. Some are still planting, so maybe after the crop they will come here. If there is peace I would like to go back, but I don't know how long it will take to have peace.

Interview 57: HRV: Forced Labor, Relocation, Killing

Name:	Saw Po Htoo
Sex:	Male
Age:	39
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with two children aged 4 and 9
Address:	Bee T'Ka village, Dta Greh township, Karen State
Date of interview:	April 26, 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Po Htoo fled forced labor and forced relocation in Pa-an District to become a refugee just before this interview was conducted.] I arrived to the border two days ago. I came to find work here because we couldn't live there. There were too many hardships. They demanded that we do forced labor working for them. We had to construct roads, work in their barracks and do portering, carrying things. I had to go all the time, when I was in Bee T'Ka I had to go two times a month for five days each time carrying things and building the road. Sometimes we had to go for ten days constructing the road, and we had to bring our own food. It is a new road, from Daw Lan to Pa-an.

From Bee T'Ka to that road it is 15 -- no, 16 miles. One time 117 of us had to go, another time it was 107 of us, and another time 32 of us. We had to go three times until the road was finished. We had to sleep on the road and beside the road, we couldn't go home to sleep. They made us work digging earth right through the night, and they wouldn't let us rest until 10 a.m. The last time I worked on the road was three months ago. Every village had to go and build that car road.

We also had to work at the Paw Ye Bu military camp. It used to be Battalion LIB. 339, then it was LIB. 338, now it is 99 Division. We had to make fences around their camp, finish their camp buildings and repair their barracks. We had to go day by day, usually about ten people per village.

Our village was ordered to move two months ago -- to Taw Kyo, Naw Boh, Paw Ta Ka Kyo, or Plaw Po Toe, one of these four villages. There were five villages they wouldn't let us move to -- Meh Da Ma, Naw Deh, Naw Ter Hta, Htee Wah Ker, and the two villages of Naw Ter, even if we had relatives in these five villages the Burmese wouldn't allow us there. Meh Da Ma is close to the Burmese post. Five villages had to move to one big place: Ta Ku Kraw, Tee Hseh Ker, Naw Ter Kee, Bee T'Ka, and Kaw Per Nweh Ko.

The soldiers said the Karen soldiers asked us for food and the villagers fed them, so we had to move. They sent a written letter once and later they came to the village themselves. They said, "You all have to move by the March 26. All of you have to finish moving by then -- if anyone is still in the village we will shoot him or her dead." They gave us from the March 15 until the March 26. [Note: they had previously been ordered to move by March 6 but had not yet complied.] Our village was very big, over 400 houses, but in ten days we all had to leave. We were supposed to move to a place between Yah Kay Ko and Ber Law. The Burmese had cut and cleared a very wide place there, but there was only one well for water. If we went and stayed there we would all die, so we didn't go. One time [between the March 15 and the 26] they came to frighten us. they came into the village at night with many carts [as though they were going to force them to move immediately] but then they went back. We don't know what their plan was. But no one went to their place. Some stayed in the village, some went and stayed at Paw, some at Khaw Po

Taw and Ler K'Su. The Burmese didn't come back to Bee T'Ka after that, they were afraid to come [because of the KNLA in the area]. The Karen soldiers shot them at Bee T'Ka, so they ordered the villagers to come back to the village [to act as a human shield; when SLORC troops camp in villages among villagers the KNLA generally does not attack]. They called the villagers for a meeting but I didn't dare go. When I came out here the Burmese were still around the village, patrolling the area. They had camps at Paw Ye Bu and Taung Zone.

There are no DKBA in Bee T'Ka. They only come around when the Kaw Thoo Lei soldiers go away. When they come they call for porters, eat people's chicken and pigs, take all our rice and don't leave us anything.

[Note: the following story concerns Nu Po and Saw Tha Dah, two brothers from Bee T'Ka who joined DKBA and became notorious for torture, robbery, beatings and killings of villagers]. Nu Po from Bee T'Ka and three of his men were robbers, and they also arrested three people from Bee T'Ka, Pa Nya Li and two others. They had three guns. They have robbed Ku Po Mo two times already, one time last year and one time this year. Her husband is dead. They took 8,000 *kyats* and two ticals of gold, they took her Karen sarongs and Karen dresses. They tortured her and tied her up. First they hit her daughter in the head with a gun butt and kicked her son in the belly. Nu Po's brother Saw Tha Dah is now at Thamanya doing nothing, just working under the monk. These two brothers aren't so strong anymore. Now Nu Po is sick with gastric disease. The Burmese say that the DKBA has arrested Nu Po for robbery and sent him to Myaing Gyi Ngu. [Thamanya is the town-sized Buddhist retreat near Pa-an, controlled by the famous Thamanya Sayadaw, the most revered monk in Burma. Myaing Gyi Ngu is DKBA headquarters on the Salween River.]

Some of the villagers have gone back to our old village but not all. Many are still at other villages. I don't dare go back. The Burmese burned about ten houses in Naw Ter Kee village and all their rice. Some people are left with only a few baskets of rice. They demand rice and money for porter fees. First they demanded 500 baskets of paddy from us, then later 900 more baskets of paddy. They said they'd give us 140 *kyats* for each basket, but they didn't give anything when we sent them.

Now the Bee T'Ka villagers are living in small huts and eating what is left of their rice. They don't have any belongings left because when we had to move they sold all their belongings for low prices. Villagers from elsewhere came and bought them. For example if we had something worth 1,000 we had to sell it for just 700 or 800 *kyats*, if it was worth 2,000 *kyats* we could only get 1,000 *kyats*. Now it's not easy for people to prepare their sugar cane plantations. You can't go downstream from Bee T'Ka. If they see you they give you trouble. Many people are hoping to come out here [to the refugee camp]. Now they're scattered all around the village.

It took us four days' journey to get here. We couldn't bring anything, just the clothes we were wearing. There were very high mountains and I had to carry my children - the bigger ones had to walk, and I had to carry the small one. There are bombs [landmines]. Kaw Thoo Lei bombs, on the mountainsides. The Burmese dare not come into the mountains. Two villagers stepped on the bombs. Many Burmese soldiers stepped on the bombs too. I know of seven, and no one survived, all were dead. The two villagers also died.

Interview 58: HRV: Prison Labor, Forced Labor, Torture, Killing

Name	Ko Maung Myint (a) Nyunt Maung
Sex:	Male
Age	32 year
Marital status:	single
Address:	Pale, Monywa township, Sagaing Division
Date of interview:	April, 1997
Place of interview:	Karen refugee camp near Ratchaburi province
Source:	HRDU

I was a prisoner from Mergui prison. My prisoner number was 1308. I was sentenced to five years in jail for murder. I paid 3,000 *kyats* to the head of Mergui prison for transfer to the Mergui porter battalion. I gave money because the battalion was not as hard as prison. It is a stand-by porter battalion. Only when the army requires porters for their column or operation, the battalion has to provide the required number of porters. It is situated near Ywa Thit village in Mergui. It is for the prisoners who were serving less than five years imprisonment. I heard there are only six porter battalions across the country. Someone told me that there was a reserved battalion in Kyein Chaung, Mergui, but I have never been there. I know other prison labor camps in Tenasserim division such as 14-mile prison labor camp, 7-mile prison labor camp. Prisoners working there are ordered to carry and crush rock. Their uniform is white and our porter battalion uniform is blue. In Mergui porter battalions, family visit is allowed. When the family comes and meets the prisoners, they can stay at the building provided by the official and meet their relatives, but they are required to pay bribes to the authorities.

In January 8, the authorities gathered 130 prisoners including me from the battalion and taken us to the pier for portage. Before we went, the head of the battalion, U Maung Thu told me that we need not to serve anymore for our sentence when we safely returned back to the prison after the portage. Then we all were brought to Tavoy my boat. Without stopping at Tavoy, we were taken to Taung Thonlone at night by truck. Many more people from Boke Pyin prison labor camp, Kawthaung prison labor camp and prisoners from Mergui prison joined us in Tavoy. The number was difficult to estimate, but I think there were between 1300-1400 porters

in the group. I don't know the numbers of soldiers. We were ordered to carry artillery shells and 200 bullets of .5 carbine all along the way. Little food was given to us by the soldiers. We picked up the small tins on our way and saved the water in. The soldiers did not give us water. Many porters died on the way of exhaustion. I saw two prisoners die when we arrived to Minthamee area. They also had to carry 81 motor shells. Some had to carry heavy artillery launchers which were very long and heavy. The soldiers did not let us rest all the way. They went ahead of us and took rest themselves. But they did not allow to take a rest. When someone was sick and unable to carry on the journey, the soldiers beat them up and forced them to go on. When they could no longer carry on, the soldiers beat them to death or left them to die. I am sure they died later. Altogether 15-20 porters died. I myself was also beaten. I did not have slippers and I got a cut on my foot. I could not walk fast. Lance corporal Win Myint beat me . Other soldiers kicked me while other slashed my face. Some soldiers hit my back with a gun. When we were climbing up the mountain, the soldiers beat us from behind and forced us to go faster. Than Htay, from our porter battalion was beaten with a bamboo stick to death. He was forced to carry the heavy artillery. He was forced to carry six big mortar shells. When he refused to carry on because he was so sick and weak, the soldiers from heavy artillery section beat him to death.

When the fighting took place, the soldiers ordered us to sit down quietly and not to run away. They threatened to shoot us if we attempted to run away. However, many people attempted to escape. Some porters managed to escape while we were taking rest at night or in the village. Near Metta village, I saw soldiers shoot to death two persons who attempted to escape.

I saw many soldiers died during the fighting. Some were killed by landmines. I saw at least 30 soldiers wounded by landmines. They did not let us see the dead bodies of their soldiers. When the soldiers got wounded, other soldiers carried them themselves.

I escaped while I was climbing the mountain. I jumped down the precipice and then escaped. I had worked for three months as a porter.

Interview 59: HRV: Killing, Arrest, Forced Labor, Relocation

Name: Naw Paw Na Muh
Sex: Female
Age: 30
Ethnicity: Karen, farmer
Religion: Christian
Marital status: Married with six children aged 7 months to 15 years
Address: Bee T’Ka village, Dta Greh Township
Date of interview: May 1997
Source: KHRG

[Naw Paw Na Muh had just fled her village to become a refugee when this interview was conducted. Her brother was murdered by SLORC and DKBA, then they tried to arrest her and her husband as well for no valid reason.] Altogether 60 people fled together including me. We couldn’t stay because the Burmese and Ko Per Baw oppressed us. My husband is just a farmer. One day I was just staying there without knowing anything and they arrested my brother. We tried to follow him, but there was fighting and the Ko Per Baw tried to arrest me and my husband. They killed my brother, but they couldn’t arrest us. People told me not to stay there, that I should go away, so I went to stay in Ghaw Po Toh and then came back to stay at Ler K’Saw. We kept running like that, if we had stayed anywhere they would have arrested us. My children couldn’t take it, it was hard to get food so I came here with my husband and my two children.

It was three months ago that they killed my brother. His name was Saw Heh Wah. He was 23. He was married with one child, and his wife was pregnant. Now she’s close to giving birth, so she couldn’t make it here. Her parents are both dead, so she has no one to help her.

I don’t know why they killed him. He had a friend named N— who was a trader, and his friend asked him to go along with him to Peh Baw when some Indians [Muslims] came to trade goats. Some people hated his friend. Then when they got there the Ko Per Baw arrested them. [Whoever had a grudge against his friend probably told the DKBA that he was KNU - this commonly happens due to business rivalry and other grudges.] We went there, but they wouldn’t allow us to see my brother. Then later his friend escaped, so they killed my brother instead of him. His friend escaped with hack wounds all over his body. When Ko Per Baw arrest people they never kill them, they just give them to the Burmese to do it. They captured him and killed him at Peh Baw. I don’t see any reason why they killed him.

It took us four days to come here. We saw Burmese and Ko Per Baw along the way, and we ran away and hid. In the morning we came secretly, we slept at Meh Pleh Wah Kee one night, at Thay May Oo Pya one night and at Thu Myeh Nee one night. We had to come very slowly. There were mines, and the Ko Per Baw were just one mile away from the route. They killed one Tee Hseh Ker villager without any reason, and then Ko Per Baw leader called all the villagers who were in the hills to come back to their village. We knew that, so we just pretended to be going back to our village and we came through here.

We came here because they killed my brother, and because they tried to arrest us and blame us when people [KNLA] went and fought with them. When they arrested my brother, the message from Pa Nwee [a DKBA leader] to his men was to bring us back if we let them capture us, and to shoot us dead otherwise. We couldn't hide with our children, so we came here. When we came here we had nothing, only my baby and the clothes on my body. No pots, no blankets.

Some people came here for reasons like ours, and others came because Ko Per Baw asked for money and they couldn't pay, or because they were beaten by Ko Per Baw. They ordered us to go and work on the road, and some people had small babies and couldn't go so they had to pay money -- 1,000 *kyats* each time. We had to buy rice, and one big tin was more than 1,000 *kyats*. The road starts at Nat Kyun and goes to Thamanya [this is part of the Daw Lan and Pa-an road]. We had to build it for three months - it started three months ago. We had to go for five days, then come back and rest, and then the same group had to go again because there were no other groups [usually the village is divided into groups which rotate turns of forced labor]. 50 people from the Christian part of the village had to go, and 50 people from the Buddhist part, altogether 100 people. Women and men. If you couldn't go it cost over 1,000 *kyats* to hire someone to go in your place. We had to take our own food. We had to take along a nurse for the sick people, a pastor so we could have a mass and a traditional doctor for people who got bitten by snakes. The road is very wide, and built as high as two men so you have to climb up to it with a ladder. It took us one day to walk there. I've been two times. This car road is supposed to go on to Nabu and Bee T'Ka. Ten villages had to work on the road. There were 15 soldiers there, and sometimes they got angry and fired their guns. The villagers in T'Nay Cha [Nabu] had to build the road in T'Nay Cha, the villagers in Paw Ye Pu and Dta Greh were another group, and Nat Kyun and Bee T'Ka were another group. Some of the roads were already finished: from Pa-an to Thamanya, then at Thamanya the road forks, a small road goes to Nat Kyun and the big main road goes to Kyeh. We were working on the small road.

We also had to go as porters, work for them and carry their things. We had to carry to Noh Law Bler, Ta Ku Kraw, Tee Hseh Ker, go around and then back to Taung Zone, Paw Ye Pu and Dta Greh. We had to carry their food to Dta Greh. They called five people for five days. We had to go for the Ko Per Baw also.

The Burmese have camps at Thamanya [actually outside the refuge of Thamanya], Kalah Gone and Der Law. In Bee T’Ka, first there was Battalion 28, then after six months it changed to Battalion 339, and six months later Battalion 338 came. There are 40 soldiers at Bee T’Ka. They call the villagers to stand sentry through the night, but they don’t give them guns. At Kalah Gone many villagers died because they were sentries and there was a battle. Every night the villagers have to be sentries. Even when the soldiers stay in the monastery the villagers have to stand sentry there. We never had time to rest. They ordered us to do one thing and then another thing.

So people don’t want to stay. For some people the only way to get money is to be a porter. If anyone hires you it is five days for 1,000 *kyats*, and you can buy rice with that money. People who have money hire others, and the people who are poor do it. [When SLORC demands porters, people who can afford it hire others to go in their place. It is a desperate and dangerous way to make enough money to survive, and there is no guarantee of release after the specified time.]

The SLORC ordered the whole village of mine to move. Every household had to move until there were none left -- 40 or 50 households. They didn’t tell us anywhere to go, we just had to go and stay anyplace. They also forced Noh Law Bler to move. They were also told to go to any other place where they could stay. If the Karen soldiers came and you did not tell them about it, they came and said, “You don’t report to us so you can’t stay here, get out”. They did not like us to allow the Karen soldiers in our village. They said, “If you didn’t accept the Karen soldiers how could they get food? And if they can’t get food then they can’t stay around.” Many villages had to move, I can’t count them all. Bee T’Ka, Noh Law Bler, Ta Ku Kraw, Tee Hseh Ker, and Kwih Sgheh moved to wherever we could and stayed wherever we had relatives.

Interview 60: HRV: Refugee, Arrest, Torture, Killing, Forced Labor

Name:	Naw Hser Muh
Sex:	Female
Age:	55
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with four children aged 2-33
Address:	Bee T’Ka village, Dta Greh Township, Karen State
Date of interview:	May 1997
Source:	KHRG

[“Naw Hser Muh” had just fled her village to become a refugee when this interview was conducted. Her son Saw Heh Wah was murdered by SLORC and DKBA]

I arrived at the border over ten days ago. We came via Meh Th’Wah Kee - two days climbing the mountains, we nearly died. There were more than 20 of us, some from Bee T’Ka and others from Papun. Three months ago, SLORC soldiers arrested and tortured my son and his friend. The soldiers tied them up, covered their faces and beat them badly, then his friend escaped and they killed him. They arrested my son on Tuesday and killed him on Saturday, held him for six days and killed him. The Ko Per Baw gave him to the Burmese, and they tortured him and killed him. His sister went after him and got the help of the senior monk at Peh Kru, but they wouldn’t let her see him. His wife went also but couldn’t see him. They just told us to wait. They said we should bring the village headman, but he had run away so we couldn’t find him. The Ko Per Baw gave my son to the Burmese, and they took him somewhere else and questioned him about many things, but his friend told us that my son answered every question correctly so they knew he had done nothing wrong. But his friend was beaten and knew they were going to kill him, so he escaped.

His friend escaped on Friday. After his friend had escaped they ordered my son to show them his friend’s goats, and then they killed him. His friend had gone there to buy goats, and my son just went along hoping to get hired for money. But they don’t allow anyone to trade anything [without SLORC permission] - anyone who trades anything gets arrested. His friend had bought only five goats. My son had one child, his child is already two years old, and his wife was pregnant when he was killed.

People in my village also had to work for the forced labor, but I could not. I had to ask my daughter to go for me. My other sons had already fled and come here, so my daughter had to go. It was the Nat Kyun road. People over 40 years old and those as young as 12 had to go, and they all had to do the same work. Everyone had to dig and carry the earth. The road was already made but we had to make it higher for the rainy season floods. The road is wide enough for two trucks.

We also had to work as porters, but I was afraid to go so we had to hire people for 200 or 250 *kyats*. They also made us go every morning to work for them, and we had to give all the information [on KNLA movements, etc.]. They ordered the villagers to stand guard while they slept, and whenever something happened or anyone came we were supposed to beat on a piece of bamboo. So we beat on the bamboo, and then they came and beat us up. Every night, two villagers had to go for the whole night and stand guard along the road from Peh Kru to Dta Greh. Along the main road to Naw Ka Ya the villagers had to go and stand guard spaced all along the road, two people at each spot every night. If we did not go they demanded 1,500 *kyats*. Two men died there because of snake bites. The nurse tried to save them but couldn't. There are many snakes there in hot season and rainy season.

Interview 61: HRV: Refugee, Forced Labor, Women, Child

Name:	Maung Kyaw
Sex:	Male
Age:	27
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Single
Address:	T'Nay Cha village, Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Date of interview:	May 1997
Source:	KHRG

[T'Nay Cha is the Sgaw Karen name for his village, which is known as Ler Pu in Pwo Karen and Nabu in Burmese. This large village is south and west of the relocation area, in territory more strongly held by SLORC. Maung Kyaw was interviewed just after arriving in Thailand as a refugee.]

I arrived here eight days ago. I came because I don't want to be a porter, I'm too tired to do it anymore. Burmese soldiers and DKBA asked me several times to be a porter. They stay together. I also had to build the road for them, be a sentry, and dig their bunkers. Everyone in the village has to go and work for them. As for sentry duty, two villagers from each village have to go and do that every night in front of their camp. When we go we aren't allowed to sleep, but they are all sleeping. We are sentries without guns. We're supposed to watch, and if we see Karen soldiers we must go and tell them.

In the daytime one person from each family has to go. If there is no man in the house, women and children have to go. We have to build the car road, and we also have to plant and harvest rice for them. We have to go from two to six times each month. Sometimes we have to sleep there for three to five days each time. We have to bring our own rice, fish-paste and salt. They don't give us any food. We can only rest when we are eating rice, and we must eat rice by turns - while some people are eating, the others must work. We must work early in the morning until half past one in the afternoon, then we can take a rest for one hour. We start again from half past two until 5 o'clock in the evening. We have to sleep in their camp, under the trees, or in a hut if there are any huts in the camp.

They didn't hurt me, but they shouted at me and forced me because they wanted me to finish their work quickly. They hurt some people who fail to work. When people's children or anyone in their house is not well, they have to take care of that so they can't go to work for SLORC that day. Then the next day the SLORC usually hurts them and says it's because those people have shown disrespect for the SLORC. They beat them and punish them. On April 13, 1997 my cousin was hurt by the SLORC because for only one day he'd missed going for labor building the houses for SLORC [soldiers'] families. The SLORC hit him with a gun on his head, above his right ear, and his head was broken. So then the SLORC sent him to the hospital, but they didn't give any food to feed him in the hospital, and they didn't even pay the cost of the medicine. They only paid the hospital for the first day. Now my cousin still isn't well yet. He said he'll come here once his wound heals. His farm and his big house were already taken by the SLORC because his fields are near the SLORC camp. They took all of it. At first my cousin was going to sell his house, but the SLORC wouldn't allow him to sell it and they took it for themselves. Then SLORC ordered him and his family to go and live in Tee Kywa village.

Last year each village had to give them about five baskets of paddy for seed, and they said this year they will take more. Then we had to go and plant the seed for them and do all the work on their farm. They didn't pay us anything. Not only that, but those fields are not even theirs. They just took the villagers' fields. If your farm is close to their camp, they just take it for themselves.

It took me two days to come here by car. I had to ride the car from Kru Tu [Kyone Doh] to Myawaddy for one night for 1,500 *kyats*, then I came here by car for 50 *baht*. I just came in a car that was bringing goods to sell. The SLORC didn't know. If they knew, they would never let us come. I will go back sometime, but not this year. Maybe in two or three years. I think I'll go to Bangkok to find work, or if I can't maybe I can find work here on a farm just to survive from day to day.

Interview 62: HRV: Forced Labor, Torture, Women, Killing

Name: Saw Kayni
Sex: Male
Age: 50 years old
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Christian
Marital status: Widower, father of four children
Address: Ha Ko Khee village, Papun township, Karen State
Date of interview: May 14, 1997
Place of interview: Klopa refugee camp, near Mae Sariang, Thailand
Source: Lokanat

I served as a porter from March 12 to the end of April. I was captured while I was shopping in the market by soldiers from LIB. 548. Other people in the market were also arrested. The soldiers pointed their guns at us and said that they would shoot if we did not follow the order. About 100 people were rounded up for portering that day.

I had to carry bullets and weapons. Sometimes I had to carry chicken, and pork which were taken by force from the villages along the way. The soldiers also took the household utensils from the houses which were deserted by the owners.



Everyday we were given only one plate of rice which was inadequate for an average adults. If we asked for some more rice the soldiers scolded us. Sometimes although the soldiers had pork, only two pieces each being about the size of two-fingers was given to each porter. All porters had to give labor without getting payment. No medical services for porters. The soldiers said that there were no medicines for the porters and if they were sick and could not follow them they would be killed by shooting. If the porters did not wish to die, they must keep working in spite of being ill.

We saw the porters beaten by the soldiers. Two Karen women were taken as porters because the SLORC knew that they were the wives of the KNU leaders named Bo Pha Palaw Pho and Bo Kyaw Hair. SLORC forced them to carry

more heavy load. They became unconscious due to the continuous beating along the route. They were left behind. Fortunately, the two women were found accidentally by the KNU soldiers and received medical treatment. They were sent back to their home village.

Two of the porters died on the way. One of them was a sixty-year-old Karen elder and the other one was fifty years old. Both of them were left on the way when they were exhausted due to overwork. They died soon after.

Nearly two months after serving as a porter there were many battles between KNU and SLORC. Three SLORC soldiers were killed and buried beside the route.

I had to carry one injured SLORC soldier back to Papun. At the entry gate of Papun there was a bridge. I was left there because I could not continue carrying the wounded soldier. I ran away from there and escaped.

On arrival at my village, I learnt that all villages were forced to relocate to Thai-Burmese border. So I decided to leave for the Thai-Burma border. Now, I am staying at Klopá refugees camp. If conditions permit, I would like to go back home.

Interview 63: HRV: Refugee, Forced Labor, Incursion

Name:	Nai Nyein
Sex:	Male
Age:	47 years
Ethnicity:	Mon Buddhist
Address:	Kwe-tho-nyi-ma village, Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division
Date of interview:	May 20, 1997.
Place of interview:	Halockhani camp, Thai-Burma border
Source:	MIS

When did you arrive to this refugee camp? And Why?

I arrived here about two years ago. My native village is Kywe-thone-nyi-ma village. I came here because I escaped from the conscription of forced labor. When I was in my village (in 1994 and 1995), we, the villagers were always asked by the military through the village headmen to work in the Ye-Tavoy construction. I had no time to work in my rice farm and faced food-shortage problems. Once, I was absent for work in the construction and I was severely beaten by the SLORC soldiers from LIB. 408. After that, I decided to leave my home and village. I came here with my whole family.

When the SLORC troops came into this village (Halockhani camp), did you stay in your house and how did you feel?

I was very afraid like other villages. I went to Baleh Donephai and carried sugar cane to sell and when I arrived home about 5-6 0'clock in the evening, the Burmese soldiers were in the village. Two young soldiers, about 14 years old, were staying in my house and my wife and children were quiet. It was hard to decide whether I should enter the house or turn to the section leader's house. One commander was in his house while I stood on the road. Then he came to me and told me not to be afraid, but to stay at home. I went back home.

When -I dropped the sugar-cane in front of my house, one soldier came and asked for sugar-cane. The other soldiers too came and took sugar-canes without payment. I was very afraid and did not say anything to them. Every day during their stay they always asked for vegetables and meat from us. Every family in the village were in fear that fighting might take place in their village, because the Mon troops were entrenched at the top of a mountain not far from the Burmese soldiers. We told each other to flee into Thailand. But it was too difficult. Many Thai soldiers were stationed at the entrance of Thai territory and we had no ID cards to go into Thailand. We thought if the fighting broke out, we would be killed.

How did they treat the villagers?

The soldiers went around every house and checked the population of the camp. They searched around the houses for arms. They also asked the villagers to tell them who the native villagers were and why we fled to this village. We lied to them we that came here to get good jobs and more income.

The soldiers also went to the hospital and annoyed the female medics. They asked medicines from the hospital and ordered the medics to take care of their commanders. They also asked the section leaders to provide bamboo and thatch to build the military barrack. I suddenly remember about the forced conscription of the villagers in our village to build the military base. They did the same. On the next day the Mon commander came and told the villagers not to provide bamboo and thatch. We were afraid fighting would break out between the Mon and the Burmese.

How did they leave the village?

After staying for five to days, they left the village. The Mon commander pressured them every day to return Three-pagoda-Pass. At the end, they agreed to return. But they asked for 20 porters from the village to carry their supplies and weapons. The village and section agreed to provide them with 20 porters because we wanted them to leave the village as quickly as possible. The 20 porters carried the materials to Day Sot, a place half way to Three Pagoda Pass.

Interview 64: HRV: Refugee, Relocation, Women, Forced Labor, Killing, Torture

Name:	Saw Win Htoo
Sex:	Male
Age:	25
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Single, lives with his parents
Address:	Noh Kheh village, Dta Greh Township, Papun district, Karen State
Date of interview:	May, 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Win Htoo had just fled his village to become a refugee when this interview was conducted.]

I came to this refugee camp because the Burmese forced us to move. We ran and scattered everywhere. We had to run to T—. Eight villages had to move - Naw Ter Kee, Pleh Wah Hta, Taw Ghoh Hta, Noh Kheh, Pa Wih Kee, Paw Tee Hta, Paw Tee Wah, and Kyaw Law Kloh. The Burmese ordered us to be porters and to find the Karen soldiers. We couldn't find them, so they forced us to move. They told us, "If you stay here and there's any fighting, you will have to do your duty and face the consequences. If you don't do your duty we will kill you." They wanted to make Kaw Thoo Lei [KNU] people go hungry. They said that people from the village welcomed and gave rice to Kaw Thoo Lei people, so they moved the village. Somebody went and shot at the Burmese at Peh Leh Noh and one died, so they beat our Burman village headwoman. She cried out very loudly and one of her ribs was broken. After that she dared not be a village head anymore and we had to choose a new one. Our village head was a woman because if we choose men the Burmese treated them very badly, but women were treated a bit better [i.e. tortured a little less frequently].

They started giving these orders last rainy season [mid-1996]. First they said nobody could go outside the village, that they would shoot dead anyone they saw outside the village. All our livestock also had to be kept and cared for inside the village [impossible for cattle and buffaloes], but the villagers couldn't feed them like that so they had to let their livestock wander freely, and the cattle ate and destroyed all our rice crop. The people from Naw Ter Kee and Play Ghaw Hta, lost all their crop to the cattle, so they didn't have enough for themselves and they had to buy it from elsewhere. Then in January the Burmese started to relocate the villages to Thu K'Bee. The Burmese said, "Anything you can't take with you will be ours. We will burn all of your houses." The villagers moved, they took some money with them and

bought some rice, but when the money was gone they went hungry. Some tried to find work to earn some money, and they all thought about coming here.

The Burmese set up their camp there four years ago. It was IB. 36. Now there are three camps around the village, 30 soldiers at each camp. They came and asked us “Where are the nga pway [‘ringworm’] Karen soldiers, have you found any yet?” If we said no, they beat us and say “Are you nga pway?” Then if we said no they beat us, and if we answered yes, they beat us. They always demanded seven people from each village to work at their camp. Seven people had to go with their own rice and then came back each day. They wrote orders to the village head and then she had to arrange the villagers for them. In each village three to five villagers had to go as porters and 40 or 50 people had to go for other work at a time. If you couldn’t go you had to hire someone else for 100 *Kyats* per day. The oldest who went were 40 or 50 years old, and the youngest were 15. For work on the road, it was mostly women who went, and single young people. If older people went the soldiers made them work even harder. We had to go for three to four days, and take our own food.

They demanded porters and people went, and then if people couldn’t carry their things any more they kicked them, stomped on them, beat them and punched them. Sometimes they said people helped the “nga pway”, that means Karen soldiers, and then they killed them. They poured water in their mouths, tied their hands behind their backs, tied their necks and plunge them in water, then they make them crawl across thorn bushes. They killed two villagers this year that way, Tee Po Thay and Tay Po Ker. The Burmese ordered them to go and find some Karen soldiers and as they couldn’t, they killed them. The village head tried to vouch for them, but they didn’t listen and said it was none of her business. Their wives followed and tried to see them but couldn’t. They held them in the forest for two or three days and then killed them. The leaders of the Burmese knew their men were doing these things but they pretended they did not know. People went and told them about it, and later they came and forced the villagers to move.

I decided to come here and try to find work to live. I’ll do anything that I can. Three of us came together. Along the way at Meh Th’Wah, Ko Per Baw gave us problems. We had to give them money or else they wouldn’t allow us to come. We couldn’t come secretly. In our village we did not see Ko Per Baw. We came into Thailand and the Thais arrested two of us on the road at Mae Tan. We had to stay in Mae Tan jail for one night and in Mae Sot jail for four nights. I had to give them 700 *baht*, that was all I had, and my uncle [already a refugee] came and he only had 100 *baht* so he gave it to them, and then they released me. My friend had to stay there cleaning the grounds of the jail. They released him later, but I don’t know where he is now. After I was released I came here [the refugee camp] on the passenger car, but I had no money for the fare, so the Thai driver got angry with me. [Note: unlike the scenes of Thais “welcoming” refugees portrayed in Hollywood movies, this is

more typical of what really happens; new refugees who arrive in small groups are commonly arrested, imprisoned, robbed and abused in other ways by Thai authorities, then either forcibly repatriated, sold into sweatshop labor, or allowed to pay their own way to get to refugee camps.]

My parents are still at Noh Kheh but they will come soon. Many people will come because they can't stay there any more. I don't know when they will arrive. They are all farmers but they can't do anything now.

Interview 65: HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Forced Labor, Killing

Name:	U Thar Htae
Sex:	Male
Age:	56 years
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Address:	Kyun Chaung Village, Kya-Inn-Seikyi township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	June 5, 1997.
Place of interview:	Three Pagodas pass, near Sankhlaburi, Thailand
Source:	MIS

Why did you leave your village and when?

I arrived here one month ago. I could not survive if we stayed in our village longer. The Burmese soldiers took all our rice, and they didn't leave any for our family. That was why I fled here to escape from the mistreatment of Burmese soldiers and to seek a job.

Do you get job here, now?

Yes. Now, I am a worker in a furniture factory.

Can you explain to me how the Burmese soldiers confiscated your rice and when?

It was at the beginning of March. About 500 Burmese soldiers from the joint operation (especially from IB. 61, IB. 32, LIB. 343 and other Light Infantry Battalions and these troops are under the command of SLORC Brigade No. 44) arrived at our area and surrounded our village. The soldiers came in and called a meeting with all villagers. Firstly, they asked how often the Karen troops came to the village and then explained that if we kept our paddy or rice in our village, the Karen soldiers would take it. They instructed the villagers to carry all their rice to the middle of the village and keep it in one place.

How did they (the soldiers) keep all paddies and rice from the villagers? Did they distribute it to the villagers later?

They forced the villagers to build the military camp and keep all the rice and paddy in their base inside the village. The villagers had to build a big rice store and all villagers' paddy was kept there. Yes, they distributed it to the villagers. First, they distributed one basket of paddy to each family for one week. It was not enough to eat. When we asked them to give more, the commander refused. After two weeks we had buy our rice from the soldiers. The commander said they would keep these paddies for troops and if the villagers needed it they would have to buy.

How much did you have to pay for one basket of paddy?

About 80 kyats per basket. Most villagers had no cash to buy and we gathered cash and bought the rice, and then shared it equally.

You said, the soldiers also forced the villagers to build their military barrack. How did they conscript the villagers and when was it?

Soon after they arrived at our village, the soldiers planned to build the military camp. Previously, the Burmese Army had come to our village; they stayed only a few hours and never established their base. This time they changed their plan. They conscripted all male villagers including boys to build the military barracks.

These villagers went to their base in the morning and returned home in the evening. We had to work for the whole day excepts one-hour rest for lunch.

What kind of works did you have to do?

Several kinds of work. We dug earth to make bunkers and trenches. We cleared the land and dug the earth for a playground. We built the barrack and cut bamboo to make fences. The trees around the base were cut down and used in building barracks and etc.

Did they use the villagers as front-line porters?

Yes. They brought many porters together with them and these porters were arrested from other areas. But they also used our villagers to show the bases of the Karen troops. Once, two days after they reached the village, they used about 20 of our villagers including me to lead them to the Karen bases. They forced us to walk in front as human shields so that if the Karen troops fired we would be killed and not them. But luckily, there was no fighting or shooting from the Karen troops.

Did you hear about the killing of the porters when you were there?

Yes. When we built the military barracks, I also talked with a porter from Kya-Inn-Seikyi town. He was a Karen. He said the two Karen villagers who were arrested as porters from villages near Taungbauk (a village close to Kya-ein-seik-kyi town) were killed by the soldiers on a mountain before reaching our village. These men were sick and could not walk any more. The soldiers were getting angry with these men and beat them. They were then shot and left behind.

Because of the forced labor and portering, did men flee from the village?

No. You couldn't flee, because your wife and children were in the village. They also made registration of the villagers and told the head of family that if they fled from the village, their wives and children would be punished. So nobody dared to flee without their whole family. When I fled I brought all my family members. If I left someone there, he/she would be severely punished.

When will you return home?

It depends on the situation in the village. I will stay here for the whole rainy season and next dry season, if there is no fighting, I will go back.

Interview 66: HRV: Arrest, Women

Name: Nam Nu
Sex: Female
Age: 32-year-old
Ethnicity: Karenni
Place of interview: Thai-Burma border, Karenni State
Date of Interview: June 1997
Source: HRDU

I spent about one year in Loikaw prison. I did not want to say why I was arrested. The MI came to my house and asked me to come with them. I asked them if they had a warrant. They said they did not need any warrant. They took me to the police station and interrogated me. They also beat me up during the interrogation. I did not have a chance to sleep for three days. They forced me to confess that I committed a crime. The MI punched me in the face, They beat me up with batons and also forced me to squat on the stone for a long time. They also shone bright light on my eyes for a long time, too. These all were MI, not police. They came into the room and blindfolded me so I did not know who they were. I knew only Captain Kyaw Kyaw Thu, Captain Kyaw Win, U Tun Shein, U Han Nyunt, Thet Khin Soe, quarter master Myint Oo, Khin Soe and Thet Naing. They all were from MI 27 in Loikaw. Finally, I had to make a false statement because I could no longer bear their torture. They stopped beating me only after I made a false statement. Other women in the police cell were also beaten and women with political charges faced worse treatment.

Anyone has a right to a lawyer during the hearing at the court. However, the cost for hiring lawyer was so high that most could not afford to hire one. It cost between 10,000-50,000 *kyats*. Even having lawyers did not help so much as all lawyers and judges were also scared of the MI. All cases were screened and judged by the MI. The judge only had to read out the decision provided by the MI. It seemed free and fair by pointing out that people could come and hear at the court. However, MI were among the crowd, so nobody could speak or give comment.

I was put in Loikaw prison after the sentence. I met about 70 women during my time in prison. The hardships and maltreatment continued in the prison. While wealthy people could avoid the mistreatment by paying bribes to the prison officials, the ordinary people suffered many forms of mistreatment during their time in the prison.

Women prisoners were sentenced for different reasons. Some were for stealing, drug trafficking and political reasons as well. I saw some women prisoners serving for political reasons. They were Nan Nyunt Yee Hlaing who was serving a 20 years' imprisonment, Ma Rosy who was serving five years' imprisonment and Hnin Mu, Htar Ya Moe and one woman (wife of U Rona, NLD member). All of them were sentenced for allegedly having communication with the armed ethnic groups, particularly with the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP).

Anyone who could give 5,000 *kyats* to Sonny, chief prison officer was able to get special privilege. Besides him, she had to pay 500 *kyats* each to three wardens. They were Daw Hla Hla Myint, Daw San Yee and Daw Mi Mi Khaing. They regularly asked for more money every two months. I spent over 10,000 *kyats* for them during my one year period inside prison.

The situation of women inside the prison was terrible. Many young girls were sexually harassed by Sonny. He slept with one young girl each night. Some young girls slept 3-4 nights with him. Girls were given good treatment if she agreed to sleep with him. Some girls were released before their actual release date for sleeping with Sonny. Most girls who were sentenced for prostitution faced this situation. Other girls also faced this situation. For example, Ni Ni Myint, a young pretty girl was put in prison for alleged prostitution. Actually she was not. She was forced to sleep with Sonny. She was later released after one month. She told her story to her boy friend from Special Investigation Branch. Later I heard that Sonny was transferred to Myingyan prison due to his malpractice.

Women prisoners did not get special treatment during their period. Pregnant women also did not get good treatment during their labor time. Women had to give labor behind bars because they were not allowed to go to the hospital. I witnessed two women who gave deliveries behind the bars. They were Sue Mei, 25 year-old-girl from a village near Loikaw. She gave birth in April 1997. She had labor pain at 11:00 p.m. but was not allowed to get out for medical treatment. Nan Nyunt Yee Hlaing who had the medical experience helped her deliver her child with unclean things that were available in the prison. There was no medical supplies. She used the burned iron plate during the delivery because there was nothing else. Another one was Khin Khin Oo, a 27-year-old girl from Chike village, Loikaw who gave birth at the beginning of June 1997. She was assisted by Nam Nyunt Yee Hlaing too.

Interview 67: HRV: Forced Labor, Arrest, Torture

Name:	Win Naing
Sex:	Single, male
Age:	28
Ethnicity	Burmese
Parents' names:	U Chit Zin, Daw Khin Nyunt
Address:	Bawa Gone village, Tavoy
Date of interview:	June 19, 1997
Place of interview:	Pin Si village, Thai- Burma border
Source:	HRDU

I worked as a porter on June 4, 1997 as part of an ongoing rotation. There were about seventy houses in my village and, as part of each rotation, twenty people were assigned to work as porters for ten days. If someone wanted to hire a substitute during their rotation, it would cost them 3000 *kyats* to cover that ten- day period. Since I had no money to hire a substitute, I was forced to become a porter for the army.

I think there are three different types of porters. The first, is the type of porter with quota obligations, like in my situation. The second, is the hired porter, who receives the money as the substitute to fill the quota. And the third, is a person who is randomly arrested and forced to work as a porter. Generally, the first two types might have a little time to prepare the basic materials they will need as porters. For example, they could bring some dried food like salt and fish paste. The third type, however, is given absolutely no time to gather even the simplest of provisions. They are conscripted and forced to work with nothing more than the clothes on their bodies. Their situation is obviously much worse than it is for the first two types of porters.

On June 4, 1997, my group was taken first to Taung Thine Lon village, then to Myee Khan Ba village. We were trucked there along with the soldiers from the LIB. 104. In total, there were about 200 civilians taken as porters from different places within the Tavoy and Yebyu town ships. Most of us were quota and substitute porters, and I did not see any of the third type porters among us.

When we arrived in Myee Khan Baw village, we were put in the local primary school. The soldiers guarded us the whole time we were there and warned us not to attempt to escape. They told us that many troops had been deployed all around the village including the village militia troops. (Note: the village militia troops are different from the People's Voluntary Armed Force found in other areas. This militia group is known as the Anti Insurgency Group, and was formed and armed by SLORC troops. Incidentally, they were the same auxiliary force used

during the recent offensive against the KNU 4th Brigade). With these threats fresh on our minds, we stayed there for two days. During this time, we were each given one meager plate of rice per day. Drinking water was also in short supply and as a result we were not allowed to bathe during that time. Unable to bear the miserable conditions, six porters decided to try the escape on June 5, 1997. Later, we heard the four of them had been rearrested that same day and executed by troops from the LIB. 104. They all were from Kalaing Aung village in Yebyu township. I did not know their names. The other two escapees were also apprehended not long afterwards. We saw them when we arrived at See Phyone village on June 7. They were tied up and guarded by the village militia. A corporal from the column cut the throat of one of them with his knife as soon as he saw them. He was angry because he had been reprimanded by his commanding officer for not having kept better guard in Myee Khan Baw village.

The died instantly. The other porter was hit with an axe by another corporal. We watched him fall and I do not know whether he survived.

We were each ordered to carry two tins of rice and other materials which were about 20 viss in weight. Some porters had to carry military equipment and ammunition. We were continuously reminded by the troops that we would be shot dead if we attempted to run away. Some porters who did not walk fast enough were physically beaten by the soldiers, but none of us dared to try and escape after witnessing the outcomes of the six that had tried earlier.

On June 8, the column left from See Phyone and arrived in Thu Kha village after marching all night. We came to realize that the soldiers in our column were assigned to replace the troops stationed at Thu Kha. We were not allowed to go back with this column, and the troops ordered us to keep working for them. We were divided into four groups, each comprising of 50 porters. Our group was ordered to stay with the LIB. 104 column which was stationed at the top of a hill in Thu Kha. We had to do everything for them including collecting firewood, digging trenches, building barracks, fences and roofs.

We were forced to work every day we were there. Sometimes the soldiers beat us because they were not satisfied with our work. There were also some militia soldiers stationed with the SLORC soldiers at the outpost, and they were also cruel to us. When they got drunk, they would threaten to kill us. They wore the same military uniforms as the units from Tavoy, and the badges on their uniform were also the same as the SLORC soldiers. Altogether, I think there were about 100 of them in this column.

Although SLORC had promised to send another group after our ten days rotation finished, the new group had still not arrived. The hard work, compounded by the inadequate food rations made me tired and disappointed. This, plus the fact that we were routinely beaten by the soldiers made me decide to run away. It would be the only way to escape this hell and I was constantly looking for the chance to escape. One day, when our group of seven porters was ordered to gather firewood in the forest near Kyun Chaung village, I took my chance and started running. I ran and ran, afraid that the militia was close behind me. I ran without stopping for four hours until I arrived at the Thai- Burma border. Now I am staying in Pin Si village.

Interview 68: HRV: Arrest, Forced Labor, Women, Child, Refugee, Killing

Name:	Mugha Lwee Paw
Sex:	Female
Age:	49
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Widow with four children
Address:	xxxx village, Myawaddy township, Karen State
Date of interview:	July 4, 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Mugha Lwee Paw had to flee her village after being arrested and tortured by DKBA. Her testimony shows how the village structure breaks down when the lack of any rule of law causes people to make false accusations over personal grudges.]

The DKBA arrested me at my village because they had ordered me to go to Lu Baw Heh post [and she hadn't gone]. I didn't know anything. It was [DKBA] Battalion 333. Their battalion commander is Bo Kyaw Kyaw and the second-in-command is Tha Lone. They said that I joined the Karen [resistance] but I never did that. They accused me and asked me, "Do their soldiers come to your house in the middle of the night?" I answered that I never saw them, and they asked, "How many times have you sent rice to their soldiers?" I told them I'd never done that. He said people told him they'd seen me talking to Bo Kyaw [a KNLA officer] in my garden." I've never seen him," I answered.

They beat me with a bamboo branch that still had the husks on it. They hit me one time and my skin was slashed, and my youngest child cried until she fainted, and my son looked at me and he was also crying with fear. They beat me because they said I had stolen some cattle. I am a woman, why would I have to steal cattle? Even a chicken, I would never steal.

That was the first time they arrested me, in March. They kept me for two days. It was Ther Heh who beat me. The second time it was Ther Heh and Bo Than Htun who arrested me, and they kept me for eight days in April. They called me to go to them, and then they tied me all over my body, they tied up my neck, around my chest, and my legs. I couldn't stand and I couldn't sit. They tied me up like a ball. They kept me tied like that for one and a half days. I couldn't stay like that. The knots were not very tight, so I told Bo Than Htun I couldn't stay the way he had tied me anymore and then I untied my own hands and the rest of my body. I told them, "I won't run. If I run, shoot me dead and keep shooting until my body falls to pieces. If I had done anything wrong, I wouldn't even have dared come here. I only came because I know nothing."

In the afternoon they took me back to Thra K---'s place and we slept there. They tied one of my hands again. I told them not to tie me, I said, "I will follow you wherever you go. I would die rather than run." But every time we were near people's houses they tied me again. They tied my hands very tightly, and they tied my neck and my whole body. I said to Ther Heh, "Why do you tie me like this? I won't run, untie me please". Then he said to me, "I am not a leader. We have leaders and we have to do this by order, so I cannot untie you now." I told him, "No problem", and I untied my foot. I was thinking, "If you want to kill me just kill me, but I will untie myself". Then I couldn't sleep, so I untied my whole body again. Their porter told me not to untie myself like that, he said "If people see it won't be good". But I told him I couldn't stay like that, and then I untied all. I stayed at their side, and I told them to sleep close to me because I was afraid. My child had stayed behind, and I was worried whether it could eat or not because it was very small. Then, in the morning they tied one of my hands and some villagers from Kaw M'Ka arrived. They talked to each other and said, "This woman knows nothing, don't beat and torture her." After that Bo Than Htun didn't do anything to me, even though I knew he'd wanted to torture me at first. I said to him, "Don't torture me, I know nothing", and I tried to stay close to Ther Heh. But then Ther Heh said, "I'll send you to Noh Baw Heh post and you'll stay with Bo Than Htun." So I got angry and told myself, "If you will go back, then go. If I must die, I will die." But then Than Htun didn't do anything, he said not to worry because he knew people had falsely accused me. He took me to Bo Kyaw Kyaw who asked me more questions, but then he said, "This woman knows nothing. Three people have come and accused her, but she knows nothing."

The first time they arrested me alone, but the second time they also arrested my relatives P--- and L--- [both men]. P--- is 40 years old and L--- is over 30. They beat P--- one time, but not L---. They said that Bo Kyaw Kyaw's father-in-law died because these two had joined with the Karen soldiers to come and kill him.

Bo Kyaw Kyaw told me he would kill five people to repay this one life. Then they demanded money for the death [when they realized that none of the three had anything to do with it]. At Noh Wah Klay village they demanded 100,000 *kyats*, and P--- and L--- had to give 50,000 *kyats*, altogether 150,000 *kyats*. No one helped us. They arrested us for no reason, and they released us with nothing. When they released me they told me not to go anywhere, not even to search for food, just to stay in the house.

Then I stayed in my village, but one of the Ko Per Baw told me, "If you can go anywhere then you'd better go away". Then Bo Than Htun told me, "People still accuse you, so you'd better go away. You know who is accusing you, so if you come back later you can do what you can do [i.e. get revenge]". But I told him I would never do anything to anyone. I dared not stay anymore, so I went to N--- with my child. I saw my brother in his field planting paddy, and he asked me where I was going. I told him I didn't dare stay, that people would keep accusing me until I was killed. I told him wherever I went they would arrest me. He asked me to stay there a few days, so I stayed and helped him in his field. I was still afraid and was always watching out because Ko Per Baw had come to that village as well. People there told me the situation there was not good either, so I left and came here. Along the way I nearly met Ko Per Baw. If I meet them again I will die. I don't dare go back to my village. I used to work my fields, but now I did not dare do anything. In many places they [DKBA] are burning all the field huts and straw, because they say this is where the Karen soldiers hide and sleep. Along the way here, I saw that they had burned all the villagers' field huts as well as their coconut trees.

With Ko Per Baw, if we can give them money, things are a little bit better, but if not, then things aren't easy for us. They do whatever they want to the villagers. As long as their own families stay happily, they don't care about the villagers. For them the most important thing is to get money. They don't care if the information people give them is true or not, they just arrest everyone. The man who was killed [Bo Kyaw Kyaw's father-in-law] was U Tun Maung, he was about 50, from Ywa Kine Kong village close to the Burmese post. The villagers have had to face many problems since his death [retaliation by DKBA]. He was very cruel to the villagers, so earlier this year the Karen soldiers came and shot him dead and got a rifle and a pistol from him. DKBA gave him permission to have these two guns and put him in charge of some work for them. He was in charge of trading logs, and he was a DKBA spy. He stayed in the village, did whatever he wanted and helped the DKBA, like if they wanted to trade logs in secret, capture your cattle, or want to drink wine. All these things he did for them. Whenever he had any information he would go straight away and ask for money. People would tremble when they heard U Tun Maung's voice. For example, if some villagers didn't have enough rice, they would sell one cow to get money to buy rice. Then if he heard about it he would come and take all the money, saying that the villagers were illegally trading. If I planned to buy a bullock to work in my field and he heard about it, he would come and take all my money

and say that I was illegally trading. They arrested all the traders, took their money and shared it among themselves. Then if their shares were not equal they fought each other. No one is free to sell anything now. We have to ask their permission and give money for a pass before we can do anything. If we build a cattle hut here near the village, there's not enough room for the cattle, but if we build it farther away then they demand money and punish us because they say we're in contact with Kaw Thoo Lei.

So now Bo Kyaw Kyaw is arresting villagers and saying, "My father-in-law is dead, he is only one, but even if I kill five of you for it I will not be satisfied". Now U Tun Maung's wife is staying at M---, and whatever she says people have to do. She is the same as her husband was. Her name is Mu Ku Po, she is in her forties.

Interview 69: HRV: Arrest, Torture

Name:	Saw Bo Gyi
Sex:	Male
Age:	38
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Address:	xxxx village, Pa-an District, Karen State
Date of interview:	July 8, 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Bo Gyi was arrested and beaten by SLORC troops.]

The SLORC arrested me on June 16 at Noh Kway and took me to Ah Yin Pu. I was at Noh Kway for a wedding, and one person accused me before them, because they knew I used to help collect money for the Karen [KNLA]. I was never cruel to villagers. The Karen asked for my help and I used to help them a lot.

They kept me for one day. They told me not to work for the Karen. I told them that if they didn't believe I'm just a villager they should go and see the headman. Then they punched me in the face. They were from Battalion 13. There were many of them who beat me. They arrested two of us and tied up our whole bodies, they even tied our necks. The Burmese soldiers told their officer that I'd tried to take his gun. How could I take his gun from him, when they were many and I was only one? They punched me in the face. I tried to cover my face with my hands but they wouldn't allow me to do that, they told me, "Let us punch you, just stay still". A lot of blood was pouring out of my nose. Then they made me go with them to Ta Gkay Pu, and when we arrived at the Lon Cha main road they tortured me again, they tied me and tortured me a lot. When we arrived at Paw they didn't torture me anymore because then we were near their captain, but by then I couldn't even move anymore because I had no more strength.

Now I have scars on my face, here on my hand, and the skin on my back was split. They beat me on my back with a gun. The wounds still aren't healing well because they beat me many times. I've tried to treat myself but it's still not better. My wife tried to treat me with special oil [combined with spirit worship] to cure me and I've also taken a lot of injections, so it has cost me a lot.

Interview 70: HRV: Arrest, Torture

Name:	Pa Boh
Sex:	Male
Age:	35
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Address:	Bee T'Ka village, Dta Greh township, Karen State
Date of interview:	July 15, 1997
Source:	KHRG

[When interviewed Pa Boh still had terrible scars on his neck and legs caused by knives and ropes.]

The SLORC soldiers arrested me on June 24, 1997 in front of Lay Law Pya, on the hill. I stumbled upon them, and they at once started to beat me, stomp on me and kick me, stomp, kick, stomp, until I was unconscious. They didn't ask me anything, just saw me and started beating, kicking and stomping. After that they tied me to the wooden post of a house and they sawed back and forth across my neck with a knife, front and back until my tongue was hanging way down out of my mouth. They kept me tied and then they scraped my shins up and down with pieces of firewood, but I dared not make any move, I just had to stay still like that. They tied my hands behind me like this. They asked me for guns and walkie-talkies, and I said I never saw walkie-talkies because I was a civilian. They said, "You're not a civilian, you're Kaw Thoo Lei". Then they hacked me with a knife and my blood came out. They covered my head with a plastic sheet two or three times until I nearly died. I tried to stand up and just fell down again.

They beat me in my side with a gun, an AK [AK47], until I was unconscious. Their captain beat me with a rattan as thick as my toe. They kept me tied with two nylon ropes. They tied my hands, my legs and my neck.

I don't know their Battalion number. They stay at Loh Baw and they came to Lay Law Pya. When they arrested me they took some of my clothes, my tehku [man's sarong], torchlight, pot, my watch, my sandals, and my money - 13,500 *kyats*. It was the soldiers who took it, but when they searched me their Captain was right there. I didn't see them arrest anyone else, but when they'd tied me up and were pulling me along behind them I saw a person who'd been shot. I saw him running and the Ko

Per Baw shot him, not the Burmese. The Burmese came along after. He was not dead, but his foot was smashed. I looked at him and he looked at me. I had never seen him before. At about 10 o'clock [p.m.] on June 28 one of the soldiers was guarding me, and when he went to the Captain I tried to untie my hands and free myself. Then I ran a little distance away from the house and he came to search for me with a torchlight - he nearly reached me, the light of his torch was on me. I went and hid under the small bushes. I could hear them making a lot of noise, but I couldn't make out what they were talking about. Then I escaped.

The SLORC soldiers caused a lot of hardship to the villagers. They ate a lot of the villagers' chickens, and they ate a whole herd of goats and only left two of them. That was in Thay Mu Pa village. They saw the goats on the hillside, captured them and ate them. The Captain saw it but he didn't say anything to them. They also took six buffaloes and five cattle.

Interview 71: HRV: Arrest, Forced Labor

Name:	Aung Zaw Win
Sex:	Male
Age:	34 years old
Address:	Oakkan village, Taikkyi township
Occupation:	Trishaw driver
Date of Interview:	July 12, 1997
Source:	HRDU

While I was watching video on June 6, 1997, the soldiers from IB 13 arrived at the video hall and arrested all the males in the hall. Altogether 300 males including me were arrested but some escaped by jumping from the window. Some were released after the arrest by paying money or giving their valuables they had on their bodies. Ten people including me remained arrested because we could not afford to pay the bribe money. So we were immediately sent to Rangoon railway station. We were met by the soldiers from Division (33) at the station. We stayed one night at the station and on the next morning, we were sent to Thaton, Mon State by train. Soldiers from IB. 13, based in Shwebo, joined with us at Thaton and we also left for Pa-an, Karen State, by truck. When we arrived at Pa-an, we were taken to the army base and given meal. After the meal, we were taken to Kawkayeik by truck. Before arriving at Kawkayeik, the trucks stopped and we all had to walk in the jungle. Soldiers from IB 13 also walked around in the jungle for five days. After the five days, we went to Myawaddy. We spent two hours in Myawaddy and went back to the jungle.

Every porter was beaten up by the soldiers all the way. Food was not enough and I got only a small piece of fish-paste. We had very little time to take rest during the journey. When the soldiers took rest, we were ordered to collect firewood, food and fetch water. The soldiers escorted us when we had to do the work.

After one day, we were attacked by an armed group. Fighting lasted about half an hour. I was so scared I ran away. While I was running, I hurt myself in my feet. After the fighting we all had to proceed our journey. I told the soldiers that I could not walk properly because of my wound. They ordered me to carry the rice bag instead of heavy ammunition. We walked for three days and arrived at Shokali village. My wound on my feet was very painful but I had to continue the journey until we arrived at Mae Htaw Kalay village after eight days. I could not continue the journey, so finally the soldiers left me alone at the village.

The villagers gave me medicine for my wound. Later I went to Myawaddy after my wound got better. I arrived at Myawaddy on July 10, 1997. I came to the clinic in Mae Taw for treatment.

Interview72: HRV: Killing, Child

Name:	Pi Heh Ku
Sex:	Female
Age:	50+
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Animist
Address:	xxxx village, Dta Greh township, Karen State
Date of interview:	July 15, 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Pi Heh Ku's son was shot dead on June 26, 1997.]My son was shot dead by Ko Per Baw. He was with seven people in a farm-hut, and he jumped down and ran because he was afraid of the Burmese. Two of them were [shot and] wounded, him and P---. People said my son was hit in the head, in the back and in his hand. After he was shot, nobody went to cover him up.

I thought about him and felt hopeless, I didn't even go and look at him. My youngest child went to look at him and came back to eat with me. He had been dead for about two days and one night, then people went to bury him [they didn't dare do it before that because SLORC troops were still in the area]. We just had a small ceremony. The next morning after that I came to stay at my farm-hut and slept there three days. His name was Pa Kyi Kheh. He was 20. Now no one can help me. If I look at the front of our house I don't see his blanket hanging on the wall, if I look at the wooden house post I don't see his bag hanging there. [She was crying at this point.]

Now I am old and no one can help me to work. When my son was growing he helped me a lot, and now they have shot him just because he was afraid and ran. People said the soldiers were Ko Per Baw. The Burmese came together with them, but the Burmese said they didn't shoot him. The Ko Per Baw are very cruel to us, their hearts are not good. They put on the yellow cloth and come to kill people. Who the hell are they?

The Burmese came together with the Ko Per Baw. Then when they came back [to the village after the shooting] they said nothing to me. We were afraid so we couldn't say anything [about her son]. They came and stayed all around people's houses and inside people's houses. They arrived at my house, and they told me to cook rice for them. I kept betelnut in the kitchen and they took it all. They looked around everywhere in the kitchen and took everything. The Burmese took it, only the Burmese dared come to our houses. The Ko Per Baw stayed at the monastery and in the lower half of the village. My daughter said that at the hut [where the shooting happened] they took one pair of slippers and one hoe. From my son's bag they took 100 or 200 *kyats*, then they took the bag, his blanket, his watch and his machete. Nothing was left. Now we don't even have one good machete left, how can we cut anything?

I miss my son a lot. I looked after him when he was little and now he was old enough to look after us. I hoped he would take care of me when I become old. The Burmese have done this, now who will look after me? His brothers and sisters who are left can feed me, but he was old enough to walk and work for me, to cook and to search for vegetables. He cooked and we ate, he searched for food and we ate it. But now when we come home we don't see him anymore. Hai! We just have to survive like this. What can I tell you? His brothers and sisters will have to look after me. The dead are gone, how can he look after me?

Interview 73: HRV: Killing, Forced Labor, Livelihood

Name: Saw Lah Ku
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Karen, farmer
Religion: Animist
Marital status: Married with three children aged 3-6
Address: xxxx village, Dta Greh township, Karen State
Date of interview: July 15, 1997
Source: KHRG

I witnessed the killing of innocent people in my village. It was five days ago, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. I was in the lower field outside of village. I heard the Burmese call to me, "Don't run, if you run we will shoot!" I didn't see Pa Kyi Kheh, my friend who got shot and I ran here. One of their porters told me later that when he was shot, Pa Kyi Kheh was higher in the hut.

The SLORC soldiers shot him dead for no reason. Nobody had guns or was wearing uniforms - we were all civilians. The soldiers just saw people running and shot them. They knew for sure that they were villagers, so they shouted, "Don't run!", but the villagers were afraid of them and ran and they shot at them. Three of them were running through the field, and two of them were hit. Pa Kyi Kheh was hit in the middle of his back. He was hit twice. My younger brother P--- was also wounded. The people who didn't run saw their friends get shot, so they ran too and then they were also shot at by the soldiers. The Burmese said if we ran they would shoot - and they did shoot. One villager was dead, one wounded. The soldiers who shot them were Ko Per Baw, their leaders were Maung Kya, Ta Kay, and Pa Klay. Afterwards they went to the monastery and told the monk about it, and the monk's helper saw one of them putting bullets in his carbine rifle. He'd shot about 20 bullets.

After the shooting the soldiers came into the village. They said nothing, they just said, "Don't run". The Burmese and Ko Per Baw were all very angry, they shouted at me no matter what I did, so I was afraid of them. The Burmese were from Division 33. When they came to the village they ate our chickens and two pigs, and more than forty chickens. They ate all the chickens in our village. People said the Ko Per Baw did not eat the hearts of animals, but I saw them get one chicken, throw it dead by the house post and then put it in their bag. They did not even look you in the face, all their faces were dark. They took a lot of our animals. I did not dare look at Ko Per Baw. They took all the belongings of my brother who was shot, all his clothes and sarongs, and they took all the pots and spoons that they saw in people's houses.

First we asked a Burmese soldier, “Haven’t you got a doctor?” for our villagers who got wounded. He said “Yes, we have” and then he went to ask his officer, but the officer said the doctor was not here, he was in the village. So I went back to the village and asked the officer there, and he said to me that the doctor was with the Ko Per Baw. Then I went to the Ko Per Baw and asked T---, “Where’s the doctor?” He was very cruel and said to me that the doctor was with the Burmese. I just went around and around asking them like that. They had a doctor, but they wouldn’t even look at my face, so what could I do? The man who died, we kept him for one day and on the second day we buried him.

Both SLORC and Ko Per Baw ask for money as taxation. Every month Ko Per Baw ask for 20,000 *kyats* and the Burmese ask for 20,000 *kyats*, altogether 40,000 *kyats* from our village tract. It has five villages, over 70 households altogether. We have to give all of it, so the villagers have no money and we can’t do anything anymore. We’re just forced to give it to them, we try to give it the best way we can, and we have to bear it. The village elders just try to do the best for their village.

Interview 74: HRV: Livelihood, Arrest, Forced Labor, Child, Women

Name:	Thra Ler Muh
Sex:	Male
Age:	about 30
Ethnicity:	Karen, teacher
Religion:	Animist
Marital status:	Single
Address:	xxxx village, Pa-an District, Karen State
Date of interview:	July 15, 1997
Source:	KHRG

Padoh xxxx [a KNU official] asked me to reorganize the school because they dared not enter the village anymore. Places such as K--- and K---, they also could not enter, so he asked me to go back, try to collect all the [students’] names, give the people chalk and open the school, then send him the list. I went back, but I couldn’t open the school because people [meaning SLORC and DKBA] wouldn’t allow it to open. Later [after the start of school in early June] I asked people there, “Was the school at Toh Thu Kee already opened?” People told me it had opened but only for two weeks - then the Ko Per Baw asked for 100,000 *kyats*, so the school had to close. I don’t know why they asked for the money.

I have been teaching for four years. We have over 50 students. Some of them come from xxxx [a nearby village]. We wanted to open our school. If M--- [village] can open their school then we are going to open our school as well. The high school at Ker Ghaw, the schools at Toh Aw, Pah Klu, all the lower places [in the plains], we are just waiting to see if they will open, and if they can't open then we can't either. Now I think it won't be easy to open the school this year. If they [SLORC and DKBA] allow us then we can open it, otherwise we can't. Last year we opened it and they asked, "Whose school is this?" We said it's the villagers' own school, it's not a Kaw Thoo Lei [KNU] school, not a Buddhist school, not a Burmese school, just our own village school. But whenever the Army came we had to close the school. And if they saw us outside the village, they made problems. Once they arrested one of my teacher friends and he had to be their porter for over a week. His name is Saw H---. We were teaching together when the column of soldiers came, so we closed the school and went to the monastery. We had no time to run, so we let all the children go home, there were just the two of us. Then the Burmese arrested him and made him a porter. They also arrested me, but the monk came and told them, "This man has to look after the monastery", so they let me free. That was last year in the rainy season [mid-1996]. No one dared to tell them, even he himself dared not tell them. He said that he was a villager who worked on his farm. All are afraid of the Burmese. If they know you're a teacher, they will ask many questions, like "Where did you go to school?" and things like that. [Any teacher suspected of having been educated in KNU territory would be arrested.] If we kept the school open when they came I'm not sure what they would do, but the old men in the village don't dare face this problem so we also don't dare face it. We can't tell what they will do, so we have to think of our own safety.

One old man named Saw B---. The Ko Per Baw came and asked his wife where he was and she said he wasn't at home. Then the Ko Per Baw went and searched through the house and found him, so they hurt his wife, they showed her a knife and said to her, "The old man is here but you said he's not. I'll cut your throat", and the woman's eyes turned white [i.e. she almost fainted from fear]. The Ko Per Baw are all captains, they don't have any leaders in their organization. Any one of them can kill people. They always eat our animals, people can't stop them, and they demand porters. Yesterday people had to carry their rice for them, and this morning more people had to go to be porters. If they ask for seven porters we have to send seven, if five we have to send five. We have to hire porters [to go in their place] at 2,000 *kyats* each for five days. If they ask for five porters and we only send four, then they say, "I asked for five porters but you sent only four, so if I come I will arrest people, and furthermore you will have to give money before I release the porters already here." They say, "We asked only seven people but you didn't send them, so I don't want these porters, I'll come and arrest some myself." So whatever they demand, we have to fulfil it. If they come they will destroy things. Last time they went to Loh

Baw village they demanded two tins of paddy from each house, and then they made the people grind it for them. So many problems, even if we try to run we can't run! It's like coughing and coughing but nothing ever comes out [i.e. no matter what you try to do it never helps].

Interview 75: HRV: Arrest, Torture

Name:	Saw Shwe Htoo
Sex:	Male
Age:	48
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married with two children
Address:	xxxx village, Pa-an District, Karen State
Date of interview:	July 17, 1997
Source:	KHRG

[When interviewed Saw Shwe Htoo was still suffering from a broken rib and a fever.]

DKBA arrested me at Tone Ton village, last month. A woman had died in Tone Ton village so I went there with four friends. In the afternoon they came into the village and asked one of the women, "Did you see our two or three friends come through here?" She answered that we didn't know, and then they said to us, "Why didn't you see them?" They were drunk, and they arrested us, beat us and tied us up at Tone Ton for one day. They tied my feet, my hands and my neck [i.e. they tied him up in a ball]. Then they took us to Noh Kway and demanded 22,500 *kyats* from us. Then they asked me, "Do you dare go back to your village?" I answered, "Why wouldn't I dare go there?" They told me to follow them to my village, and I followed them there. Then they beat me over ten times in my chest and ribs. They beat me and said, "You used to be headman and Karen soldiers came to your house". I said it wasn't true, but they said, "I saw you, you had contact with Karen soldiers." They beat the two of us, myself and a villager from Noh Kway. The other villager was in his thirties. The soldiers were all Ko Per Baw, there were 17 of them. They used to be villagers but now they are Ko Per Baw. I knew two of them, C--- and L---.

Interview 76: HRV: Refugee, Repatriation, Forced Labor, Women, Child

Name: Nai Khaing
Sex: Male
Age: 53 years
Ethnicity: Mon
Religion: Buddhist
Address: Kyauktaung village, Boke Pyin township, Tenasserim Division
Date of interview: July 24, 1997
Place of interview: Halockani Mon refugee camp, Thai-Burma border
Source: MIS

When did you arrive at Thai territory again? How did you come and were you alone or with your whole family?

I came with my whole family and arrived here about five days ago. We could not come along straight that easily reaches into Thai territory, and we made a roundabout the way in the north side of the mountains. We climbed the mountains and slept for one night in the forest and then climbed down into a Thai plantation.

Are you a returnee in June repatriation by the Thai authorities? Did you really want to return to Burmese side of the border?

Yes, I was a returnee. Actually, we would not like to return but we were also afraid of being detained by the Thai soldiers and we didn't know how to stay inside Thailand like other families. At the same time, we were also afraid of the new military deployment of the Burmese troops in our village. We knew very well about them. We knew if they saw us, they would use us as porters like those in our native village.

Many villagers disappeared while the Thai soldiers were bringing them with trucks to the Burmese side of the border. Some of them knew how to travel inside Thailand and also knew where they could get jobs. I had never stayed inside Thailand before and if I fled from the group, I would be arrested by the police. Though I didn't want to return, I did.

Why did you come back to the Thai territory again?

Soon after we reached the village, all the villagers were used by the military and we had not time to build our houses or to farm. They used all men, women, and

children in the whole village to build their military barracks and forced us to build the road. Before we fled here, the soldiers also arrested the villagers to use them as porters for the frontline of Burmese Army against the Karen troops.

How did the soldiers force the villagers to build the military encampment? And what kind of work did you have to do every day?

Normally, the Burmese commanders ordered Mon soldiers to bring all villagers to the work site. They also gave responsibility to village leaders to manage and bring the needed laborers. Almost all villagers were conscripted to work in building their military encampment. We went early in the morning to the designated place and first, had to clear all trees and grass. After clearing the ground, they forced us to dig bunkers, nine feet deep and covered with wood and earth on it. We also had to dig their long trenches inside the base compound and later build the fences outside of the camp. When I left the village, the rest of the villagers were forced to build the military barracks with hardwood and bamboo. All villagers were forced to cut and bring big pieces of hard wood from the forest.

Did you have enough food while you were working for them? Or, did they provide some food for the village?

No. At that time, they also told some villagers to bring rice from Murntaing village, about one day's walk from our village. When the rice arrived, first they took it for their troops and distributed very little amount to the villagers. They also told the villagers not to expect the rice from relief agencies and that if they would like to eat rice they must go to Murntaing. They provided us only about ten days of rice supplies and we made rice soup and ate it for several days before we fled.

Once, they also called a meeting with all villagers and ordered them to complete their military encampment. One villager requested the soldiers to give them time to build houses and to farm. He was hit by a glass thrown by the commander. They also threatened the villagers not to make any complaint and to continue building the military encampment if the villagers ate their rice.

When did you decide to flee from the village?

On 10 July, the soldiers told the villagers that some of them would have to carry ammunitions and supplies for the Burmese army in the offensives against the KNU and other student groups. I did not know where the fighting was. Many villagers were afraid of being arrested and used as porters. I fled into my old plantation and stayed there. The next day, my sons and wife came and joined me. Then, we decided to flee here.

Interview 77: HRV: Refugee, Arrest, Forced Labor, Relocation, Killing

Name: U Bo Thar
Sex: Male
Age: 52 years
Religion: Buddhist
Ethnicity: Karen, farmer
Address: Manawtone village, Boke Pyin township, Tenasserim Division
Date of Interview: July 18, 1997.
Place of interview: Halockani Mon refugee camp, Thai-Burma border
Source: MIS

When did the Burmese soldiers arrest you and how did they use you in their military operation?

I was arrested on April 27 and since then I was constantly used as a porter, to carry rice and ammunitions along with LIB. 358 military operation. Mostly, this military operation manoeuvred around Moetaung, Pongkachit and Chaungchi areas and launched offensives against Mon and Karen soldiers. For nearly three months, I was not given time to rest and always had to work for the military.

How did you escape from them?

When I arrived at Chaungchi village, I had a chance to talk with villagers there and always tried to escape from them (the Burmese soldiers). I was very tired and could not walk more. I was lucky. When the villagers planned to come here (Thai territory), they also asked me to go with them. When the soldiers let us cut bamboo and hardwood in the jungle, one villager hid me in the forest and then he brought me here. This villager Nai Aung Kyi, saved my life. If I had stayed longer with them, I would have died.

What was your native village and how did the Burmese soldiers treat to your villagers?

I was from Manawtone village. My wife and children are still in my native village. Last year (1996), our village was destroyed by Burmese soldiers. They drove out all villagers to move to Moetaung or Myoh Thit, a section of Tenasserim town. All villagers did not like to abandon their farms and plantation. They refused to move there. The villagers fled their village and stayed in the jungle or plantation.

At the beginning of this year (1997), the soldiers told the villagers that they could go back to their homes and that they would not punish anyone who had refused to stay in Moetaung or Myoh Thit. I went back to my home with my whole family before the end of January. The situation was better for two weeks. We repaired our houses, which we abandoned for three months. And, we prepared to work on our farms.

In the third week of February, about 200 Burmese soldiers from LIB. 224 led by Maj. Than Aung came and told the villagers that they would not allow any villager to go outside without their permission. Then, they asked the village headman to provide five villagers every week to work in Tenasserim-Moetaung motor road construction on rotation basis. At the same time, the military also administrated to build Manawtone-Tenasserim truck road and asked about 20 villagers to work in this construction site on a daily basis.

In mid-March, the Burmese soldiers from LIB. 358 prepared to launch an offensive against Karen and Mon troops, and asked for 20 villagers to be porters from headman again. Every villager was afraid and fled from the village without their permission. The village headman could not manage the village and he was beaten by the soldiers. In second week of March, after the soldiers knew the village headman could not provide the porters, the villagers were arrested. I also fled, but they didn't arrest my wife. I stayed on my plantation and sometimes moved into the forest nearby.

Whenever the soldiers came into the village, they threatened the rest of the villagers, women and children, that if they met them outside the village they would kill them. They also accused all our villagers as Karen rebel-supporters and said male villagers were soldiers.

Did they kill anyone they met outside the village?

Yes. U Kway Ni and his wife were killed. The soldiers from LIB. 224 met them in the forest near their plantation while they were hiding there to escape from arrest and portering. They tied the man and his wife and asked them to show the Karen bases. Because U Kway Ni and his wife Naw Day Tet could not give a satisfied answer to the commander he ordered his troops to kill them. Their bodies were cut in to three parts and left in a betel-nut plantation. The next day, the villagers found their corpses and had them buried.

When the men left the women inside the village, did the soldiers rape these women?

LIB No. 224 was very bad. The operational commander Col. Ye Myint Aung raped about three girls from our village alone. I would not like to tell their names. He was also well known as a bad guy in the area and that was why many young women also hid in the forest with their fathers or brothers.

When were you arrested by the soldiers and how long did you have to work as porter along with military operation?

I was arrested in my betel-nut plantation before the end of April, while I was hiding. Soon after I was arrested, the soldiers beat me and asked me where the Karen troops were. I said I didn't know. So they beat me again and again. They also asked me about my native village and I told them the whole truth.

They took me with them on their military operation all the time and I was forced to carry rice and mortar shells. After two weeks, I was sent to the road construction (Tenasserim-Moetaung) for another two weeks. I had to do hard jobs such as carrying earth to build embankment, crushing stones and laying them on embankment, cutting bamboo and hardwood to build the military camp. Sometimes, the military operation took us to Moetaung as porters. Then we were brought back to the work sites again.

In May, I was taken by LIB. 358 as a porter in their offensives against the Mon troops at the border area. After Chaungchi fell and the Mon troops surrendered in June, I was kept for two weeks in Chaungchi base. We, porters were forced to carry rice and other supplies from Murntaing to Chaungchi every day and had no time for rest. I was too tired. Then we managed to enlist the assistance of Chaungchi villagers to escape.

Did you see anyone die in the road construction?

Yes. When I worked in the construction, two men, one was Karen and another was Tavoyan, died at the work sites. They were suffering from severe malaria, but the soldiers still forced them to work. They did not dare tell the soldiers that they were not well because they were afraid of being beaten. One Karen man died after being bed-ridden. Five days later, the Tavoyan man was seriously sick with malaria again. He was brought to Moetaung. He died in Moetaung.

Likewise, did you see any porters die in the offensives against KNU and Mon troops?

In May offensives against the Karen troops, some porters died because of mines. They forced porters including me to walk in front of them. I was, anyhow, lucky and was not hit by any mines. The Tavoyan man who walked beside me died after his right leg was blown off by explosion. He was about ten feet away from me when he stepped on the mine. The soldiers ordered a retreat and, we left that porter behind. He was crying loudly for help.

Now, you are in Thailand? What is your next plan?

I don't know. I will just go along with these villagers. They say, if we arrive in Thailand, we can get rice and stay in the camp. I will stay with them and if they move, I will move with them.

Interview 78: HRV: Religion, Women, Livelihood

Name:	Pati Kyaw Than
Sex:	Male
Age:	37
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer/cowboy
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with three children
Address:	xxxx village, Myawaddy township, Karen State
Date of interview:	June 28, 1997
Source:	KHRG

The DKBA has distributed their calendars for two years already. If they send 20 calendars to our village, then we have to buy them all. We can't stay there if we don't buy them. If we buy one and keep it in our house there will be fewer problems for us. As far as I know the order to sell these calendars came from Myaing Gyi Ngu [DKBA headquarters]. Then Maung Chit Thu [a DKBA officer] came and gave the order on the numbers of calendars to be sold in each village and township. Last year we had to pay about 250 *kyats* for each calendar, and this year 280 *kyats* [a much higher price compared to other calendars]. Maung Chit Thu said that everyone had to buy one, and no one could stay there without buying the calendar. So some villagers thought it would be better to have one in your house than not to have one. But when the SLORC came, if they did not see anyone in their houses they would burn them down anyway. So it doesn't do any good to have a calendar in your house. They are honorless people. One Christian woman hung a DKBA calendar in her house. A DKBA soldier who knew her, saw it and asked, "Are you a Buddhist or a Christian?" She answered that she was a Buddhist, and he laughed at her.

The DKBA also tried to recruit the new members from the region. It depends on the number of houses in the village. Generally they ask for two or three people from each village, but if the village is especially big or small they ask for as many as they think they can get. In the past, they asked for four or five villagers each year from each village tract, but now they ask for over ten people. They know how the Kaw Thoo Lei [KNLA] used to do it, so they do it the same way. Maung Chit Thu tries to organize it. When Kaw Thoo Lei asked for soldiers they always said “over 17 years of age”, they didn’t want very young people. But now many people say that the DKBA doesn’t care about the age, and that children as young as 13 years old are with them. For each recruit the village can’t send, they ask for over 10,000 *kyats*, so each village tract has to give over 100,000 *kyats*. That is only for one year. Sometimes they don’t need men, they only need money.

In May [after already demanding recruits once], Toh Thu Kee village was ordered to send money again to lower officers like Bo Kya, but that time I think those officers were just taking it for themselves. Perhaps they gave some of that money to SLORC. But most of it, I’m sure they used for themselves, because in May, Pa Klay [a DKBA officer] went to Day Law Pya and Meh Pleh Wah Kee and told the village heads, “Ask for the money now because we need it. Later we’ll pay it back when it’s time for you to give the money for this year’s DKBA members.” [In other words, DKBA has financial problems supporting its own soldiers and has to get ‘advances’ on extortion money from villagers.] For example, with a DKBA soldier, if we were friendly with each other some time ago when he was Kaw Thoo Lei and the situation was better, now he might say, “Friend, lend me 10,000 *kyats* because I need it for my family”. You don’t have much but you dare not tell him, so you have to give it to him. Or he may ask for one or two tins of dog fruit for his family so the villagers have to collect it and gave it to him through you. They don’t know how hard they are making lives for the villagers.

The DKBA creates much suffering to the local people. For example, if they want to clear an area they ask SLORC to go with them, but the SLORC enters the village before the DKBA, takes all the villagers’ belongings and eat everything. They come into the house and one take your Ajinomoto, another takes your chilies. No one can stop them. One woman from Day Law Pya told me that when they came to her house some stayed in the house while some others killed a 7-viss [11-kilo] pig under her house without making a noise. When they came on April 2, they asked for people’s rice because they said their rations were gone. There were two or three DKBA together with their [SLORC] group.

The SLORC also asked for porters. Two or three porters who escaped told us that the first group they were with made them carry very heavy things, and the soldiers put their own [personal kit] bags on top of the porters’ loads and they had to carry those too. The SLORC soldiers give their rations to the porters to eat, and for themselves they demanded good food from the villagers. The rations they bring for

are not good so they don't eat them. When they enter a village they kill, cut, cook and eat the chickens all night long, so by morning there are none left. If they go to a hut where a woman is staying, they demand one chicken, so the woman gives it quickly hoping they'll soon be gone. But then two or three more come and ask again and again. In the daytime they demand, at night they just steal.

Before, when SLORC had a post in our village and if Kaw Thoo Lei attacked them, the SLORC tried to put pressure on the villagers. If one of their soldiers died or one gun was lost, the villagers had to give money for the gun or the dead person. If Kaw Thoo Lei put a bomb [mine] near the village or on the road and one of their soldiers was wounded, they made problems for the villagers. Now it is still like that, with DKBA too. If we can't give them security then we have to give them our lives.

Interview 79: HRV: Killing, Arrest, Forced Labor

Name:	Saw Htoo Say
Sex:	Male
Age:	32
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Address:	xxxx village, Dta Greh township, Karen State
Date of interview:	July, 1997
Source:	KHRG

When the Burmese came to my house they called me down to the ground, then they went into my house and took one necklace, one knife, 600 *kyats* and some clothing. When they came out of the house they took one tin of my rice, then they called me and said to me, "We need you". They pointed to the hills and told me to go with them and show them that place, so I went with them. The first morning they made me take them to Thay Mo Pa Kee, and on the way they shot at people. One man died and one was wounded. They were two villagers, Kyi Kheh and P---. The soldiers saw nothing strange, they just saw a group of people from a distance, so they surrounded the hut and called "Don't run", and when the villagers jumped up to run, they shot at them. The villagers were just wearing clothes like you and I, they were just civilians. The soldiers wouldn't let me go and see, they kept me below the stream, pushed me down and said, "Sit down here". That Army group was bad. While we were walking along the way, they said they would shoot anyone they met along the path. If they couldn't capture someone, they shot at them.

They arrested me six days ago and released me three days ago. The Burmese were from Battalion 44 [sic: Division]. There were also about 30 Ko Per Baw with them. The Ko Per Baw officer was Pa Klay. There were also porters with them. Later, we all came back to my village, and then they arrested one man at his hut. His name was Po Ko Nee.

Interview 80: HRV: Women, Child, Livelihood

Name: Pi Say Say Mo
Sex: Female
Age: 50+
Ethnicity: Karen, farmer
Religion: Animist
Marital status: Married with nine children aged 6-20 died
Address: xxxx village, Dta Greh township, Karen State
Date of interview: July 1997
Source: KHRG

I don't know exactly when the SLORC soldiers came to our village, but they slept two days in the village. They ate five of my chickens. I had brewed some wine for a wedding, and they drank two bottles of it and took my four bottles of honey. They were Burmese who ate my things. I said to them, "Don't eat my things". I kept the honey in my kitchen and covered it with a big blanket. I put my necklace in the kitchen. I buried it under the ashes of the fire and I put pots on top of it, but I was afraid they would see it because they came and cooked in my kitchen. They searched through everything in my house all day long, but they wouldn't listen to me. I told them to stop searching and one said to me, "I am going to grab you by the neck", and I wanted to burn him with the wood in the fire. My baby was afraid and cried out very loud. He took and ate the honey and chickens and I said, "You must be very poor to rob me like this." They took my husband's hunting rifle [an old barreloaded flintlock]. They took a tin with 30 eggs in it, and one tin of rice.

There were many soldiers everywhere, and their officer was staying up above. I was afraid but I couldn't think what to do, I couldn't talk anymore. They came and caught the goats under my house, then they cooked rice under there. I needed to go to the toilet but I couldn't because there were many soldiers, and then I had to relieve myself inside my house. I said to them, "You've eaten everything we had!". They frightened me with their guns to get more food. They took and ate 24 milk-tins of sticky-rice. I couldn't leave my house or they would take absolutely everything. They searched the bag where I keep my sarongs, my clothes and my children's clothes, they took everything out again and again and spread them all over the place. I don't know which Army group this was. People said they came from Day Law Pya. People said, "Don't run and, if we run the Burmese will shoot us dead."

Interview 81: HRV: Refugee, Arrest, Torture, Forced Labor

Name:	Saw Htoo Heh
Sex:	Male
Age:	31
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist Marital status: Married with four children
Address:	xxxx village, Waw Raw township, Karen State
Date of interview:	August 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Htoo Heh was headman of his village, but fled due to abuses by the occupying SLORC troops.]

I am the Karen village headman. There is also a SLORC headman. [One villager acts as liaison with the KNU, while another acts as liaison with SLORC.] I left my village this month on the 5th of the Burmese calendar - maybe August 8-9. We were afraid and we could not stay. There are many groups of SLORC. The first group which entered the village was Division 22. They arrested people and bound their feet and their necks, and tied their hands behind their backs. This group tortured people a lot in our village. They tortured our people and then they left, but even after they were gone our villagers were still suffering from what they had done. Now that it has been a while, they are all better.

Another group [of SLORC soldiers] came to the village and told the villagers: "The people who work far away from the village have to go in the morning and come back in the evening." So by the time we arrived at our fields we already needed to come back. Then when the soldiers saw us along the path they made trouble for us even though their officers had given us permission to go. So we stayed in the village and we couldn't do any work. Since we were afraid and had no chance to do our work, it was better to leave.

They arrested me and I escaped immediately after. But many villagers suffered, and they came with me here. Many families already came and I heard more would come. The village has already been destroyed. The houses are still there but no one is staying there anymore. Before, there were over 40 houses. Some people fled to SLORC area. Some families went to other places. They went to nearby villages and they came back sometimes to look after their animals, fields and gardens. When they were caught doing these, SLORC arrested them. The SLORC soldiers sawed one of my cousins' neck with a sharp knife until the skin was cut open. Many people were tortured by the SLORC. Some came with me. They were tortured in their houses.

Some people say that if we stay in Burma we cannot avoid the Burmese. "If the Burmese come, no one should run", say the elders. The elders say: "Stay!" But the Burmese elder [the headman for SLORC] also ran. He was the first one to run. When the Burmese came, they beat him until he could not eat for one day. Around our village area, the Burmese have beaten elders to death. That happened in Klih Tu village. He didn't die immediately after he was beaten. He treated himself for seven or eight days and then died. His name was U Kyaw Ta. He was nearly 50. It happened in the month of Tgu. Among the many people who were tortured in our village, some were seriously beaten and some not. They accused us of being a KNU village and they demanded guns. They said that the Karen Army were staying in our village and that they kept their rations there. People who could not speak Burmese well properly were not beaten so seriously, but those who could speak Burmese were [probably because this made it possible for the soldiers to interrogate them -- this is an exception to the rule, because normally villagers are beaten for not being able to speak Burmese]. The Burmese kicked and slapped about ten people this way. Three or four people were cruelly beaten. They were swollen, but not as badly as the Klih Tu headman.

In our village there are no Karen soldiers, only civilians and ex-soldiers. They are beaten because this place is a 'black area' [opposition-controlled territory] for the SLORC. The Karen soldiers sometimes cross and pass through the village, but they never stay. They don't have their own place. Sometimes they just come and sleep one night and then leave. But the Burmese said: "This village is Kaw Thoo Lei. After you give us their guns, we won't trouble you and we won't come again. If you don't give us the guns, we will come back. We don't have any option. We have to get guns before we go back." [The soldiers must have been ordered to bring back some guns or face severe punishment.] These soldiers were from Division 22. When I came here there were many soldiers around. They would stay in one village for one or two nights and then would go to another village for one or two nights. One time when they left our village we secretly escaped and came here. We dared not face them, because when they came back they would demand guns again. Maybe they would tie people up and demand 10 viss of pork, or 50 viss, like that [1 viss = 1.6 kg./3.5 lb.]. So we left the village just before they were to come again. Only a few people stayed behind in the village. All the young people left. We were worried that our village would be destroyed, so we were staying to try to prevent this. But when I escaped, everybody escaped at the same time. Anyone who thought it was better to come here came. Other villagers wanted to go to other places and they went. Everyone went separately. Some people didn't escape far but went to stay downstream. Not many were in the forest, only those who came back to look after their animals and their fields. Those who had nothing just left. With their entire family, with the children and everyone.

I am not sure the people left there are able to harvest. If the situation is good they will harvest. If not, they won't. The latest group which came to our village was LIB.355. Then they left. So there was a little time there, and at that time the villagers who had run not too far away came back to the village, but only the older people, not the younger. They didn't bring the children along and they left again on the same day. They came back just to look at the situation and at their houses.

The SLORC are torturing people in villages which are small and distant from them. In the villages close to the car road, they usually don't torture the people. Our village is away from the car road and away from them, so they torture us a lot and they consider it as a 'black area'. When they call us for loh ah pay [forced labor] we have to go to cut and clear [the scrub along roadsides and around Army camps]. We have to work for them. The loh ah pay is the same for all the villages which are staying close to them. The car road [from Thanbyuzayat to Three Pagodas Pass] is 5 klih [armspans] wide. They clear both sides of the car road, not because they are afraid of mines, but when their trucks go along the road no Karen soldiers can hide beside the road to ambush them.

The soldiers asked for porters but we gave them money instead. Like this. In the area, there are two different groups of troops and people have to go and work for both of them. The troops which are staying nearby accept money, but the other group who stay further upstream need porters. Before we came here, they ordered three porters every day by turns. The nearest group is IB.106 and the groups further away are LIB. 545, Division.22, and LIB.355. The nearest group ordered us to clear the car road and cut and clear a place to plant vegetables. That is the loh ah pay, but for the porters we can give money. When they plan to go to Tavoy area [this can mean Tavoy itself, or the Karen expression "going to Tavoy" just means anywhere very far away], we dare not go along and so we give them money.

I decided to come to this area. Even though my heart is not cool here [Karen expression meaning that he is worried and afraid], it is better than in the village. If we stay in our village we dare not do our work. So we have no work. We stay in our houses and we dare not go out. Just like this. We came with our children. We had to walk for nine days. Without children, it would take only four days.

Interview 82: HRV: Relocation, Torture, Arrest, Relocation

Name: Saw G'Lu Taw
Sex: Male
Age: 50
Ethnicity: Karen, farmer
Religion: Christian
Marital status: Married with children
Address: xxxx village, Waw Raw township, Karen State
Date of interview: August 1997
Source: KHRG

[Saw G'Lu Taw's village northeast of Ye was ordered to move. Adding to his comments in this interview were an elderly woman who is a relative of his (noted as 'Old woman') and a church elder from their village (noted as 'Church elder').]

We just arrived today. Just now! Because we are afraid of the Burmese. We dared not stay because they beat us, hit us.

They didn't beat me, but they beat some people. And hit them. The Burmese were coming, so the headman told us to leave the village. Around our village, they tortured so many people. They treated the people like their slaves. When they arrested porters, they never released them. That's why I escaped and came here.

We had to come because the Burmese are getting worse and worse. If we stay there, we have no more strength left to face all the problems. If we go back to our village, they will force us to move to the car road.

Our village received an order to move to Ker. It is over two miles away from our village. It is a little bit away from the car road. We had to move at the beginning of the rainy season. When it was already raining heavily. We didn't know why, they just ordered us to move. In May, the soldiers came to the village by themselves and waited there with their guns watching while the villagers had to dismantle their houses. The big houses were built of wood and we stripped the wooden planks off. All the houses had to be destroyed within six days. The bullock carts had to carry our things to Ker and we didn't have any time to work any more.

I know of five villages which were ordered to move: Htee Ter, Wah Ka Ter, Wah Pa Theh, Kru Maw Hta, and Tar Ba Taw villages, but there are many others. The other villages had to move to Kaneh Kamaw. They were given the order during the same month but not on exactly the same day.

At Ker, SLORC did not provide shelter for us to stay. It was only a temporary place. People just built like they do here [small bamboo shelters]. They provided separate plots, group by group. There was no fence. We did not get any rice or support from the SLORC. They didn't give us anything. They were even asking things from us. Our chickens, our rice. Some people worked half their field and can work only for a short time. They could not complete their work. They didn't allow us to stay at our farm huts. We could not work anymore. If they saw us in the fields, they beat, hit and killed us.

All of our villagers moved to Ker. We destroyed our houses and moved at the same time. The Burmese didn't allow them to stay in the village. Now I am arriving from Ker. All moved to Ker. No one is hiding in the forest. Most of them moved to Ker and some came here. Many more want to come but it is difficult because of the heavy rains. Their children are very small so they cannot come now. They are waiting until the rainy season is over. We are not the first group. They started coming two months ago. As soon as they moved to Ker they saw that they couldn't stay there, so they decided to come here immediately.

There are about 40 houses in my village. At Ker there are over 100 houses. No Burmese [troops] stay in Ker yet, but they come sometimes. They come from IB. 343 and IB. 31.

In Ker, the soldiers ask for money for porter fees, and we have to give it every time. One house, 150 *kyats*, every month regularly. If you give them money, no need to go. But then another group of Burmese orders us to go as porters and we have to go. That's why we don't want to face that problem. If people don't go [as porters], they arrest them.

If we run, we meet the Burmese everywhere. We run this way, we meet the Burmese, we run that way, and we also meet the Burmese. We don't want to be there. So we came here. It took six days to come here [he showed the blisters and calluses on his feet from walking]. When we ran, we had nothing to eat.

The Ker villagers didn't come but the villagers who were forced to move there want to come here. Some will come and some will stay there. Our church congregation members are all going to come here. The other villages also want to come but it is raining now. In our village, we have about 30 families who are church members. And all the church members from xxxx will also come. Their church has more than 45 families. Even the Pastor will come too. We came here because we were worried that the Burmese would come [to Ker] and do more terrible things to us than before. The SLORC don't give trouble to the [Karen] soldiers, they just give trouble to the civilians. When the Burmese shoot, it is the villagers who have to suffer. We don't know exactly why they do this. The head of our village has to go to see the Burmese every day, and he told us what the Burmese had said to him: "The Karen are like a

tree. If you cut the trunk, branches will come up again, so you have to dig out the roots so it will never grow again.” The Burmese from IB. 106 told him that during a meeting at Maw Kaneh about one month ago.

Interview 83: HRV: Torture, Forced Labor, Arrest, Relocation

Name:	Saw Tee Wah
Sex:	Male
Age:	35
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Address:	Married with four children
Address:	xxxx village, Kya In township, Karen State
Date of interview:	August 1997
Source:	KHRG

The Burmese soldiers ordered us to go and bring their rations with our bullock carts. On the way back, when we arrived at Kru M'Tee, they tied us, interrogated us and tortured us. They were demanding guns. They didn't get any guns, so they tortured us. We are only villagers. How can we have guns? But they ordered to find some and give them. How can we find guns and give them? We don't have any.

When the soldiers first came to our village the men ran into hiding [when they first occupied the village during the offensive]. Then the Burmese made trouble for the women, so we came back into the village. They welcomed us and they registered the number of houses and people. At first they didn't disturb us too much. They only imposed stricter rules. Then later on, bit by bit, they started arresting us.

It was in April. I arrived at Kru M'Tee in the evening, on the return trip. I had just gone to Seik Gyi to get their rations with my bullock cart and carried them back to Kru M'Tee [where there is a SLORC Army camp]. Altogether we were 30 people with our bullock carts. They arrested and tortured 15 of us. They never tortured us at our own village because they did not want our wives to see it. The Burmese use their brains. If they tortured us in our village it wouldn't look good for them.

They didn't ask anything. They just started calling names from their list. I don't know how they knew my name, but one person [a Karen soldier] had surrendered to the Burmese and he knew me. The soldiers called our names and demanded guns, tied us up and tortured us, all at the same time. They were asking for guns and beating us. You couldn't even talk. It was night-time, and many soldiers were torturing us. I couldn't see them. Two of them punched and kicked me while they asked for guns. They punched my chest five times and slapped my face five times. They also burnt my beard. Other soldiers, I don't know how many of them, came and hit us with their guns. They beat me for 10 minutes. Other villagers were

tortured for 15 or 20 minutes. They were all young and their foreheads were bleeding. My face was also bleeding. They took everything that belonged to me, like my knife and my watch. Afterwards, we had to carry their rations as far as their camp. Some had to go to Paw Ner Mu and Ya Kra to carry rations for the soldiers who were staying temporarily in the villages.

The soldiers came from Seik Gyi [Kya In Seik Gyi, three days' walk away]. When they arrived at our village they didn't build a camp, they just stayed temporarily. They went patrolling to the other villages. After Division 44 left, they [other groups] came for three or four days at a time. They went by sections, a hundred soldiers covering seven villages. The Burmese stayed very close to me, two houses away from my house. I couldn't tell whether there were DKBA together with the SLORC or not, but a lot of them were speaking Karen language. They all had the same [SLORC] uniform. I knew some of them but I don't know their names. I don't know where they came from. Before I saw them walking along the road, following the Burmese. [These may be SLORC soldiers who are Karen, DKBA soldiers attached to SLORC units, or soldiers from KNLA Battalion 16, whose commander surrendered to SLORC in February; some Battalion 16 soldiers have reportedly joined SLORC, while the commander has set up a SLORC-run militia in Dooplaya District.]

I was a porter once and then I escaped because I couldn't bear it. The first time, in April, I was ordered to take their rations with my bullock cart, but the second time I had to carry things on my back. I had to carry gun barrels and one bag -- I don't know what was inside. I carried it for four days. Our loads were over 30 viss a piece [48 kg./105 lb.]. We could barely even move, it was too heavy. So I escaped and went back home. They didn't beat the porters, but after four days carrying like this you couldn't even lie down on your back. I had to carry for a distance of three miles, going and coming back, again and again. We had to go by turns, one man for two or three days. In xxxx [his village] they demanded seven villagers every day. If the headman didn't collect people to send as replacements, they would never release the porters. We had to carry rice and ammunition, ducks and chickens, everything. They put everything that they took by force from the villagers into baskets and ordered the porters to carry them. They started from Paw Ner Mu to Ywathit, Ywa Haw and then back to Meh Ta Kreh, Kru Kyi and K'Kyar and then to M'Ya Done. Just around the whole area.

They told the headman to call the people. If it was not for the headman calling us, the Burmese would never find us. Our headman was afraid that the Burmese would burn down the village, so he tried to control the villagers. We listened to our headman until we couldn't take it anymore. After that, he couldn't do anything [to stop them from fleeing].

I cannot explain how much they torture the people. Some of our villagers were beaten until they were bleeding. Many of those who were tortured by the SLORC went to stay at xxxx. Some other villagers in our village were put in the pit, but not me. They didn't allow us to see it and we couldn't go near. We could listen from far away. My uncle had to suffer more than me. He was put in the pit. When they put people in the hole, we were not even allowed to go and give them food.

Many people didn't dare face that any longer and ran away from the village. The villagers don't even care about their property anymore, they would rather flee. I came here without my wife even knowing. I couldn't take it any longer. My family still stays in xxxx. I don't know what to do. I came here just a few days ago and now I've decided to go back to xxxx and stay with my wife. My family should move away from the Burmese. If it is possible, I would like to go with them and stay in a refugee camp. If not, we will stay there hiding. We can go and stay in the forest if there are not too many of us. We are Karen people, we would like to stay there because it is our land and our country. My farm is in the village, but we dare not work on our farm and we have to leave the land. We are not free. Sometimes we have to get passes, sometimes not. They treat us like children. People don't want to work anymore but try to find a way to escape. Thinking about it, it is better to stay in a refugee camp or somewhere else. If we escape, we want to be safe.

Interview 84: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Refugee

Name:	Saw Lay Htoo
Sex:	Male
Age:	56
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Widower, five children
Address:	xxxx village, Waw Raw township, Karen State
Date of interview:	August, 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Lay Htoo lived in a Karen village along the Thanbyuzayat - Three Pagodas Pass road, but had to flee after his village was ordered to relocate and his house was burnt down.]

Originally I am from Doe Way Paw village, about two days walk from here in Kya-In township. I left my village ten years ago because the Burmese were doing military operations in the area and they forced the villagers to work, so we dared not stay. We went to live in xxxx village.

I arrived here one week ago because the Burmese burnt down our house in xxxx, so we had to leave and we came to stay here. The Burmese forced us to move to the village [to Three Pagodas Pass village], we didn't go and so they came to burn down the houses.

The SLORC soldiers first came and told the villagers to move. I don't know which Battalion, but I saw "62" on their uniform [this is IB. 62, notorious in the region for destroying villages; it was this Battalion which attacked Halockhani refugee camp in 1994]. We didn't move and after four days they came back and said to the villagers: "Don't stay here. Go and stay at Three Pagodas Pass." I told them: "Yes, we can go and stay there but we cannot bring our belongings with us." The villagers didn't go and the same day they burnt our house down. xxxx. They burnt my house while I was hunting in the forest but my family saw it. We lost everything which was in the house, like clothes, pots, plates, ... everything! I felt very angry. The villagers couldn't stay anymore, so all the households moved to the Burmese place [to Three Pagodas Pass as ordered by the SLORC]. We stayed there for a short time and they asked us to do this and that. They ordered us to carry their things but I am old and I cannot carry anything, so I asked the children to go. If any troops came, we had to go as their guides. So altogether 6 members of my family came here: one daughter, one son, the other daughter with her husband, one grandchild and myself.

The SLORC soldiers demanded porters but the villagers had not gone yet. I have never been a porter, but my children sometimes had to carry their things. Before they burnt my house, we could stay there.

Interview 85: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Torture

Name:	Saw Shwe Hla
Sex:	Male
Age:	21
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married with two children
Address:	Klih Tu village, Ye township, Mon State
Date of interview:	August, 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Shwe Hla witnessed the beating by SLORC troops and subsequent death of his village headman. He was interviewed just a few days after fleeing the area.]

I ran from the Burmese because I did not dare stay. When the Burmese came, they called us and we had no more time to work. They came and ate our rice that we had prepared to store for our food, and they ate the fowl that we reared. When they order us to work for them, they did not feed us and we had to take our own rice with us. If they asked for porters and they didn't get them, they tortured the village headman.

Most people were beaten by the soldiers, but I escaped. The whole village was beaten, the village head as well. It was at the beginning of this rainy season. They were asking for guns. When the people said they didn't have guns, they started beating people. They tortured our village leader and now he has already died. They beat him with a stick, they hit him with gun butts and they shot him with a slingshot. They burnt him, they beat him with a rock and cut through his skin with a knife. I saw it all. He was a tall man. He was completely bruised and black. After the Burmese tortured him, he went to the hospital in the morning, but the hospital wouldn't accept him [for victims of shootings or beatings, written passes from SLORC officers are required for admission to hospital; any doctor or nurse who treats such a person without Army permission risks arrest or the loss of their license to practice]. So he came back to the village and died in our village. He was the secretary of the village. His name was Kyaw Ta.

We did not receive an order to move from the SLORC soldiers. There were 100 houses in our village and about 80 or 90 are still there. Some people went to the towns, like Ler Moe Mor and Lai Sa Bya [these are big Mon villages]. Some families came here. Some from Wah Pyi came here too, after the Burmese came to their village.

Now the Burmese have left our village, but people are saying that they will come again. I left my village about one month ago and went to stay outside the village, in xxxx village. It is not near here. I stayed there because the heavy rains stopped me from going further. There was no problem in xxxx, because the Burmese have never arrived there yet. But we heard that they would come there too. So we came here. We slept two nights on the way. We couldn't carry anything. We came with the children and it was raining too. I came only with my own family. If we go to any other place we will be among the Burmese again, so I don't want to go.

Interview 86: HRV: Torture, Women

Name:	Pa Ngeh
Sex:	Male
Age:	36
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married with two children
Address:	xxxx village, Waw Raw township, Karen State
Date of interview:	August 1997
Source:	KHRG

(Pa Ngeh saw a woman and the headman tortured in his village, so he fled to Kyun Chaung, where he had to do forced labor for SLORC. Then he fled back to his village, only to be ordered to move, so he finally fled the area.)

I arrived last week, just over ten days ago. We had to face so many problems. They tortured people a lot. One or two people. The soldiers tortured one of the women very seriously. There was a woman buying something at the shop and they came close to her. She was afraid and ran. Then the soldiers grabbed the woman shopkeeper and asked: "Who is that woman?" She answered: "She is a good person." Then they said, "She is not good. If she is good, she wouldn't have run!" And they started beating the woman shopkeeper until she passed stools in her sarong. She had to suffer instead of the woman who ran away. They wanted to beat the other woman, but couldn't run after her, so they accused the shopkeeper of being a "Kaw Thoo Lei trader". They beat her I don't know how many times. They hit her with a bamboo as big as this. I dared not look at it.

Many people were tortured in xxxx [his village], even the village head. I saw the Burmese burn him with their cheroots and demand guns from him. Now he has fled and is hiding in that area. I was not beaten, but I didn't want to stay in xxxx anymore. That's why I went to stay in Kyun Chaung. In Kyun Chaung I had to suffer too. I had to work for them weaving bamboo every day. We had no time to work for ourselves. We had to go and stay with them. I was there for two months and we had to cut bamboo, weave it and build a fence [part of the seven layers of

fencing SLORC has placed around their new Army camp in Kyun Chaung]. So I went back to xxxx [his home village], but I saw them there too. We had to move. I was living in the outskirts of the village and they forced the villagers who were living in the outskirts to move to the center of the village. So I fled. I came here because I had to move. I don't know but I will stay until other people move. Then I will move with them. I won't go back.

Interview 87: HRV: Arrest, Torture, Forced Labor, Women

Name:	Saw Tamla Wah
Sex:	Male
Age:	41
Ethnicity:	Karen, pastor
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with three children
Address:	xxxx village, Kya In township, Karen State
Date of interview:	August 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Tamla Wah is the Baptist pastor of his village. He fled three months ago after being arrested and tied to a tree for two days by SLORC troops.]

When SLORC Division 44 entered the area, the villagers heard that they were torturing people a lot. So they all ran here and there. I told them not to run. I said if the Burmese make trouble for the villagers, I would face it. We don't want our church and our congregation destroyed, our congregation scattered, and we don't want our village and our families destroyed either. So when SLORC Division 44 entered, I faced them in the village. I had to solve their problems for them, so I became a leader among the villagers. The Burmese started registering the names of all the villagers, and they often called me for any number of reasons. And later on, Division 44 left.

Then SLORC Division 22 came into the village and they ordered me to go and see them. I thought that I had done nothing wrong so I went. When I met their group, they asked me to sit down beside the Captain and he told me, "Don't tell me anything. Only when I ask you questions, you must answer me. Otherwise you mustn't question me or say anything." Then he told me many things, and he accused me of having two guns and one walkie-talkie and ordered me to bring them to him. Later on, he interrogated me three more times. He sent the soldiers to call me to see him. I went three times to see him. After that, he said to me: "You are choosing the way to death!" I had been order to go and bring these things [guns and a walkie-talkie] to him but I had nothing, so I couldn't. Then he ordered me to get them from anywhere I could and bring them to him. I couldn't do that either.

So the Captain, I don't remember his name, tied my hands behind my back. They tied up many people. They tied people up in the garden under the trees. First they tied people with a rope, then they tied the rope to a tree, and they had three sentries to guard each group. I was tied up to a friend of mine. I didn't see the others because we were kept separately. I can't say exactly how many were beaten, but I know more than ten. Their wives told me about it later. They kept me like this for two days and one night. We couldn't sleep because we were very anxious and we just had to sit there like that. They gave food to us, the same food they ate. They didn't beat me but they beat the others and dunked their heads in the Tha May river. Some were beaten and kicked until they were bleeding. Some escaped but they still haven't returned home yet. The man tied to me was not beaten, but later on they ordered him to be a porter and sent him to another place, about 5 or 6 miles away. I wasn't beaten, just kept like this for two days and one night until the Battalion Commander arrived. He ordered the soldiers to untie all the people that they had tied up. Then one by one, he interrogated us.

I escaped when the Major ordered me to go and talk to the villagers. He said: "If they have any gun that is hidden or buried, they must show it and give it to me. You are the pastor and most of the KNU leaders are Christians, so if you speak to them they will listen to you. Tell them that their fighting is now over, they must join us and work together with us." That was why they let me go to the village. He let me go at 6 p.m. in the evening and told me: "This same night you have to report to us!" and I said to him: "Tonight I cannot arrive there." So he told me then: "Tomorrow at 6 a.m. you have to be back." I promised that I would be back at 6 a.m. But I left with my family and didn't go back.

While the SLORC soldiers are in our village, three people have to go at all times and work for them. If they're staying in their camp then the villagers have to work in their camp. They also order the villagers to carry things to the frontline.

The soldiers walk in front and keep the porters in the middle of their group [so they can't escape]. They know that the Karen Army hasn't put mines around there. That is why they don't send the porters in front of them.

The situation for the villagers is very difficult, because if the Karen soldiers engage the SLORC close to the village, the blame is put on the villagers. For example, if any mine explodes near the village, the village will be destroyed by SLORC and the villagers will have to move to another place.

In other villages too, some people were tortured badly but I didn't see that. Pastors like me were tortured until the skin broke on their heads and their jaws became swollen. I saw one who had to suffer that, but I heard that many others suffered it too. His name was Thra E--- from H--- village, not very far from us. We are friends and we work together. The Burmese hit his head with their gun butts, kicked him

and punched him, and his whole body got swollen. He was beaten because one of his church congregation members, Padoh T---, is a KNU leader. The SLORC told him, "He is your church member. You must know everything about him and his movements." That was why they beat him!

I didn't see it but I heard they raped three women from xxxx and yyyy villages in Waw Raw area. When they entered the village the men were afraid, ran to the forest and slept there. Then the Burmese went and raped the women. This happened not so long ago, shortly before I came here. After I left my village I also heard that one woman was raped by the soldiers in xxxx village, a nearby village. That information, I know, is true. That happened last month in July, when her husband went to sleep in the forest and the women stayed alone in the village. She was 32 years old and she has three children. She is the mother of G---. She is still staying there in the village.

Our village has twenty households. Some are Buddhists, not all are Christians. The SLORC don't care which you are. They also arrested some Buddhist people but most of them were Christians. I didn't see any sign of DKBA. When they arrested me, the soldier who was guarding me was a Burmese guy from Rangoon. He talked about many things to me and he said, "Among our #22 Division, some are DKBA. DKBA only combined with us because they couldn't join the other Divisions." I knew that some DKBA were with them, so I was afraid. [Because DKBA members often identify anyone they don't like, particularly Christians, as 'KNU' so that SLORC will execute them.]

Interview 88: HRV: Arrest, Torture, Forced Labor

Name:	Pa Noh
Sex:	Male
Age:	45
Ethnicity:	Pwo Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with six children
Address:	xxxx village, Kya In township, Karen State
Date of interview:	August 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Pa Noh fled his village after being arrested and badly beaten by SLORC troops.]

One month ago I arrived at the Thai border. I left because the Burmese came to my village and arrested people. They called us and interrogated us about guns. We didn't have guns but they said we had. They beat us often. I was detained for three months, from the time they arrived in Saw Kee and Saw Hta [a.k.a. Azin] until SLORC Division 44 left our village.

The SLORC arrested me and interrogated me about the guns and tortured me. They punched me, beat me and hit me with a gun butt. They tortured me up to the point that four times I became unconscious. They accused me of having contact with Kaw Thoo Lei. They told me: "If you stay in this area, then Kaw Thoo Lei is here too." I was not a village headman, but they arrested and interrogated me questions. During the month of the Water Festival [in April], I was in Plaw Toh Kee and Tee Klee Thu area. They captured me at Plaw Toh Kee. They have established a new strategic camp there. They beat me, they stomped on my chest with their boots and hit me with a gun barrel. They accused me of having a gun, but I've never had any gun. Then they said that I was a traitor and that everything that went wrong in the country was my fault. They said I was the one who wouldn't allow the civilians to come back [from hiding and from the refugee camps, to live under SLORC]. The Burmese ordered me to go around with them. They ordered me to follow them and tied my hands. Just me alone. They kept me for more than one month. They didn't torture me every day, just once a week or so, but then they did it so badly that I became unconscious. They slapped and beat me many times, five times they beat me unconscious. The first time I went unconscious was in Khaw Gheh when I was walking along with them. At Meh Ker Kee once, Plaw Toh Kee once, Ivo once, and Paw Ner Mu once. The first time they tortured me, they hit me with a gun barrel and they kicked me with their boots and they hit my head. They punched me in the ear and it was broken. For three days when I was passing urine it was only blood, and when I passed stools it was also blood. I thought I would die. I will show you the scars. This one is from punching. On my head there are many scars. They also rolled

a bamboo pole over my shins. They ordered me to stretch out my legs, they put the bamboo over my shins and two soldiers on each side of me rolled it very heavily.

They didn't keep me at any one place, they ordered me to follow them. When they arrived in a village they stayed there for two or three days and they tied me up. Sometimes in three days they only gave me one meal.

They dug a hole in the ground four plah x five plah, like a bunker [one plah (elbow to fingertip) is about 1.5 feet]. They had only one hole to put people in. They wanted to dig a hole of around eight plah depth but they met with rocks at the bottom, so they couldn't get deeper than five plah. Then they put the excavated ground around the top and made it 6 plah deep. They put logs on the top of the hole and left only one gap to get in. I had to grab the soldier's hand [to climb down inside]. I couldn't stand up inside [he was forbidden]. They put me in there and then covered the opening with a plastic sheet so I couldn't breathe inside. They put me in that hole once, for the whole day. After that, I couldn't see properly. When the opening was covered, it was hard for me to breathe. I could sit and lie down but breathing was extremely hard and slow.

I know the name of those who tortured me: xxxx and yyyy from SLORC Division 44. The Battalion Commander above them is named xxxx and he is Arakanese. They finally released me when Division 44 left the area. I dared not remain in my village because they had said: "We won't release you! We interrogated you and we got nothing out of you. So I will hand you over to the other army troops." Two new Battalions came and they surrounded my house to arrest me. A third group arrived and did the same.

K--- was also tortured. He is 30 years old. They tied K---'s wrists behind his back and put a bamboo pole through under his two arms like this, and they hung him on a tree like that. Then they kicked him and one of his arms went loose [they disjointed his shoulder]. It happened in the cattle corral. He was tortured for one day and then they released him. He couldn't hold anything in his hands anymore. Now he still stays at xxxx but not in the village, in the forest.

They didn't kill anyone but they tortured many people like this. Moreover, the villagers had to go and carry things for them. Our xxxx village has 80 houses. Eight persons each day have to work for the Burmese as porters. One person has to carry three big tins of rice [50 kg./110 lb.] and we have to take our own rice to eat. On top of that, they also take machetes and other things like coconuts from us. They eat them or destroy them. They arrive at the village and they eat whatever they want, like our rice. They don't take all of our rice but they take some for themselves to eat.

I came here with all of my family. If I left them behind the Burmese would come and arrest them. They are staying here now. I will stay and see the situation.

Interview 89: HRV: Arrest, Torture, Forced Labor

Name:	Saw Lah Po
Sex:	Male
Age:	19
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with no children
Address:	xxxx village, Kya In township
Date of interview:	August 1997
Source:	KHRG

I arrived here one month ago. I dared not stay because they said, "If I see you again, I will not allow you to say one word and I will torture you again." We ran away from them and we thought that they would not come again. But then in April I met them beside my house in xxxx. They didn't ask any questions, they just started at once to tie our hands. They took me to Kru M'Tee monastery. They have a camp in Kru M'Tee. They pushed me with their gun barrels and hit my back with gun butts. They beat me on my neck. They stomped on my back with their boots once, here and here. They punched me here and on my stomach many times. They ordered me to carry things and demanded guns. I left the Karen Army two years ago. I told them, "I don't have any!" and they said, "Yes, you have!" They tied me up and stomped on me. They handcuffed my hands behind my back and attached the handcuffs to the post of the monastery. They ordered me to stretch my legs and keep them straight and together. Then they stepped on my shins with their boots. They made me stay under the hot sun for four days at Kru M'Tee monastery. I felt burning inside. They didn't allow me to drink any water. They only gave me one cup of rice and salt, and they gave this only in the afternoon. Early the next morning they gave me another cup of rice. In the night they didn't untie me and I had to stay sitting up.

After four days, they gave me a pass [allowing him to stay]. They said, "If you lose this pass, you don't need to say one word" [i.e. don't even bother trying to explain]. When they gave me the pass the commander told the soldiers, "If you see that pass, don't bother him and don't arrest him". After they released me, they called me back many times and I had to carry things for them. When some other SLORC troops [a new group] saw my pass, they tore it up. After my pass was torn, the first group of soldiers tried to arrest me again. I had to go and stay in the forest. Later I went to stay in xxxx [in Thailand]. I am still there doing day labor. My wife and her mother are staying there. Her mother and her older brother cannot see very well. She has "tha mu paw" [a disease which causes blindness]. I arrived after my wife. She came first.

Other villagers including my elder brother and my uncle were tortured too. They arrested my brother and me on the same day but they kept us separately in Kru M'Tee. They kept my elder brother by the road and I was detained at the monastery. My elder brother was also an ex-soldier. One of his friends surrendered to the SLORC and came back with them. The Burmese arrested my brother and also demanded guns from him. They thought that he was a captain, so they beat him and stomped on him. They tied him up and tortured him a lot too. They made a fire and forced him to hold his face close to the fire. His face was burnt and became covered with blisters. His mouth was also burnt and he couldn't eat anymore. After the first beatings he could still eat but not after the burns. He was tortured so badly for two days that he was passing blood in his stools. My elder brother also received a pass, but he lost his too. it also was torn up by the new troops.

Only my brother had joined the army [KNLA] in the past, not my uncle. But the Burmese also accused my uncle of having a gun. They pushed my uncle's head into the water. He is 40 years old. They bobbed his head up and down in the river. They made a fire under him and he was forced to lay above the fire. They smoked cheroots and pressed the burning cheroots on him. They handcuffed his hands behind his back. They beat him three different times and one time he went unconscious. When he fell unconscious the soldiers hit him with their gun butt. There were many wounds on his body, and many scars all over from the cheroot burns. Blood still comes out of his mouth because of the stomping he got.

The soldiers asked five people from the village for porter every day. They have to carry three tins [50 kg./110 lb.] of rice to Seik Gyi and then they have to come back in the middle of the night. If the porters get too tired to go on, they catch new ones. It is a long way from Seik Gyi to our village, four days' walk. So altogether their duty is for five days [four days carrying the rice, then a fast non-stop walk home]. Before there were 20 households in xxxx, but now only 12 or 13 households remain in the village. The men have gone to stay outside the village and the women remain in the village. Many people stay outside the village, some have gone to other villages and some have gone to stay at xxxx. My elder brother is now at xxxx. I have four brothers and two sisters. I am the youngest. My father died when I was young. My mother stays in Burma and I came alone to stay here with my parents-in-law. I would like to go and see my mother but I dare not go back. If the Burmese meet me there will be problems for me.

Interview 90: HRV: Arrest, Torture, Forced Labor

Name: Saw Po Ther
Sex: Male
Age: 18
Ethnicity: Karen, farmer
Religion: Christian
Marital status: Married, no children
Address: xxxx village, Waw Raw township, Karen State
Date of interview: August, 1997
Source: KHRG

I arrived here with my wife on July 6, 1997. I left my village because the Burmese tortured us and accused us of having guns. We don't have guns. They arrested us on April 16 and asked us to give them guns. We had a television and they took it. Before they arrested me, they took everything - sleeping mat, watch, goat, chickens, pigs, plates, pots, etc. They took everything from me. They accused people of having connection with the rebels. They arrested me at my house, took me to the church and beat me there. I told them that I didn't have any gun but they said I had. The first night they tied me to a tree and didn't beat me. In the morning, they tortured me for three hours, stopped for a while and then beat me again for one hour. Then they arrested me again on April 28. They kept me in the church for twelve hours, the whole night, and the next day at noon they moved me to another place along the Tha May river and they tortured me again. They rolled a piece of wood on my shins. They tied my feet in the air, my hands behind my back and hung me up [hanging upside down]. They hit me so many times that I couldn't count it, and I was bleeding here and there and here... My whole body was swollen. They beat me with a piece of wood, on my head, my body, my feet. They kicked me with their boots and beat me until I was broken. You wouldn't have recognized me if you saw me then. They tortured me until I was unconscious. I didn't vomit because I swallowed it. I didn't want to show them that I was really hurt.

Then after beating me up, at 7 o'clock in the evening they put me in the water for 15 or 20 minutes and let me breathe only sometimes. They tied me up that night. I had to stay there on April 30, 1997. Then they moved me to Ywathit and they tied me up there for three days, and then they sent me to Ya Kra and I was kept there for three days. In the mornings the Burmese ate fried rice and drank tea, but they didn't give anything to us. Only sometimes in the afternoon they gave us one piece of chicken with stale rice. Once in the evening they gave us one meal. Then they untied one of my hands, and one night later they released me.

I didn't go to hospital because it is far away from my house. I stayed in my house for one month in May to recover. SLORC Division 44 had already left and I thought I could stay in our village. But then on July 1st I heard that Division 44 Division was coming again, so I decided to leave the village and I arrived here on July 6.

The soldiers also arrested two of my elder brothers. The three of us were tortured more than the others. With the others, they only ordered them to carry things as porters. My two elder brothers were tortured even more than I was. They were arrested the same night as me. The soldiers beat their shins and their heads with a piece of wood. Now they cannot walk anymore. They can just stay like this. And they had to go into the hole for six days. They had to pass urine right there in the hole. They were released on May 4. My brothers are still staying in the village. They didn't come because they think there are too many problems on the way. They will come if the situation gets worse.

In our village, they are asking for five kinds of porters. Since their boat sank they have asked for human porters, bullock-cart porters, boat porters, carrying porters and porters to guard them. [He uses the term for 'porter' to refer to any kind of forced labor; by 'carrying porters' he means people to carry supplies, while 'human porters' presumably means people for Army camp labor and 'porters to guard them' means forced sentry duty.] In the place where their boat sank, their guns also sank and so they ordered villagers to guard the place. [Some escaped porters reported that this sinking occurred during this rainy season, when a boat carrying a dozen soldiers as well as a group of porters tied to each other was attempting to cross a river in that area and sank. The 12 soldiers drowned because of their boots and heavy equipment, while the porters managed to swim tied up together and reached the bank. After the incident, the Army was determined to recover the guns from the river bottom, so they forced villagers to guard the place and also forced them to dive into the wild current to recover the guns.]

We're not making things up behind the backs of the Burmese. I am telling you this to report to the world because what they are doing is really true, they are torturing us like this without mercy and we cannot bear it. I don't say this just to tell bad things about them. It is the very truth. Our soldiers are weak and there is no fighting. Why are they treating us like this?

Interview 91: HRV: Arrest, Torture

Name: Saw Lah Kuh
Sex: Male
Age: 41
Ethnicity: Karen, farmer
Religion: Christian
Marital status: Married with five children
Address: xxxx village, Kya In township, Karen State
Date of interview: August 1997
Source: KHRG

[Saw Lah Kuh was headman of his village, but fled after being detained in a hole in the ground and beaten by SLORC troops.]

I cannot say exactly when I left my village, because when I escaped from my village I was really frightened. It was over three weeks ago. The SLORC hurt the people, so I was afraid and came here. It took me three days to get here.

The soldiers tried to arrest the civilians in the village including me. At first [when SLORC occupied the village] I escaped for about one week and the village elder asked me to come back. He is the SLORC headman in our village [the villagers choose one headman to represent them to SLORC (though SLORC often dictates whom this will be), and another to represent them to the KNU; "Saw Lah Kuh" was the "KNU headman"]. He has to go often to the Burmese camp. He called me back to go to their camp. They had built a temporary camp in our village. The Burmese had requested him to go and call me. He told me: "Even though you escape, you are not safe. The Burmese will not be around for just two or three months!" So I had to go back and stay in my house. I went to the Burmese and I had to let them interrogate me. I am the leader of the village group [liaison with the KNU].

In April 1997, they put me in the hole and interrogated me because I was the village headman. That was the main reason. When I arrived at their place, they asked my name. My name was already written down in their list in their books. Then they immediately put me in the hole and didn't allow me to say a word. After they put me in the hole, the Burmese called the young man who works together with me and interrogated him too. Then they took me out of the hole and questioned me more. They put me in the hole again for another half day and then interrogated me again. They interrogated me three times each day. They asked so many questions on so many things that I cannot tell you all of it. They questioned me about guns and about Karen soldiers. "Where did the soldiers escape to?" and "Where did they hide their guns?" And so on, and so forth. I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything. So I couldn't tell anything. But they interrogated me until I couldn't answer anymore. When I felt very tired they would let me rest for a while, and then as soon as I was a

little better they interrogated me again. They frightened me. They cocked their pistol to shoot me. During the first eight days they didn't torture me, but on the last day they did.

On the 9th day, they started torturing me. They kicked me with their boots and punched me. My chin was hurt. They punched my chin twice and I fell unconscious. Then people came to lift me up and the Burmese put me in Y---'s house. That house was inside the Army camp fences. After nine days, they released me.

SLORC Division 44 arrested me. Division 44 also arrested other people who were tortured more than me. Altogether 12 people were arrested. The first time they arrested six and later six more. Those who worked together with me were beaten more than me and were detained longer than me. The Burmese tied them up, punched them, kicked them and put them in the hole. I couldn't see all of them because we were kept separately. They arrested us at the same time but they separated us at once. In the evening they put us together. In the daytime they separated us. Division 22 came in, they asked the village elders about me and then they started interrogating me again. They didn't do anything to me. I just explained to them that when they launched military operations like this, the Karen soldiers split and move in separate groups, so obviously they wouldn't tell me where they stay and I don't know where. Then when LIB. 549 came, I dared not face them because they always beat people they meet on the road or see ploughing their fields.

I don't know the current situation, but before I came here they used to do like what I have related. We didn't have time to work in the fields, and they ordered us to go and carry things for them. If they saw us when we were ploughing or if they saw us on the road, they called us and beat us. Therefore we could not work in our fields anymore and we came here. We always had to be going as porters. Now there is more oppression but I can't explain everything. They took away a lot of chickens, pigs, cattle, coconuts, etc. and they took some rice from some villagers but not from others.

Many villages around my village were also forced to move as well. I heard that the Burmese ordered villages to move, like Kwih Gyi Kloh. Around xxxx, the small villages and the villages where many had fled and few people were left all had to move to the big villages. To Meh Ta Kreh village and to Ka Kyar village, I heard. I heard that the soldiers just came and gave the order. They went to the village called xxxx. They had problems on the way because of the floods and the rivers and they had small children. Some men came here to check the place and then went back to bring their families, but because of the rains they haven't arrived yet.

We stay here and we are waiting to see how the situation will evolve. If we can stay, we will. If we have to move, we will move again to xxxx. I don't feel very safe here but it is better than there. As long as we are staying away from the SLORC, we have less to worry.

Interview 92: HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labor

Name:	Saw Ler Muh
Sex:	Male
Age:	45
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with seven children
Address:	xxxx village, Waw Raw township, Karen State
Date of interview:	August 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Ler Muh is a church elder from a village near the Thanbyuzayat - Three Pagodas Pass road. He had to flee after SLORC troops ordered him to find guns for them.]

I left my village on July 15, 1997. It took me one day to get here. When I was living in xxxx, they came and asked for chickens. Then they went into the houses and searched everything. They didn't get anything. They left and then another group came. They found two bullets in my kitchen. I think that the first group who came to my house left those two bullets behind purposely and told the second group how to find them so they could accuse me. Karen never use that kind of bullets, they were G3 bullets. [The G3 assault rifle is used by SLORC troops but almost never by Karen forces, who prefer M16 and AK47 assault rifles.] "Are these M16 gun bullets?" they asked. I told them, "No, they are G3 bullets!" and I went inside the house and took a gun to show them. I had a hunting gun. They said to me, "You have to look for this gun until we get it." They gave me a deadline, three days, to find the gun. I couldn't find the gun and I fled. That was the reason why I left. First they ordered me to find the gun which the bullets came from. Then within two or three days they demanded that the whole village find them one gun. The villagers could not find a gun and had to give them 2,000 *kyats*. Then later again they asked for two guns and since the villagers could not find them, the Burmese soldiers went to the Tha May riverside and arrested the headman there. His name is xxxx and they took him back with them. xxxx is an old man and he is friendly with the Burmese leaders.

The leaders from Seik Gyi gave him a special pass. When the Burmese soldiers who arrested him saw that pass, they couldn't do anything to him so they let him free. Then the Burmese left the village. As soon as they left, the families also left the village at once and came to this area.

In the past, there was no one in xxxx and then the Burmese forced people to move there. After the people went to stay there, the Karen soldiers did not come anymore. Before we were staying at the mouth of the stream and along the Tha May river,

then the Burmese forced the people to go and stay near the main road. xxxx is very spread out, divided into three parts, Altogether there are 60 houses and my area, the middle section, has 30 houses. But now the Burmese come often and ask the people for guns, so the villagers are now all scattered here and there. I don't know how many houses are left but in the upper side no more families remain. There are still some left in the part of the village where I stayed.

They stay in the village and they ask for porters, shoot the cattle and the pigs, and steal our chickens. They wait along the road for the cattle traders, they demand one cow from them and then let them go. They don't bring their rations, instead they ask rice from the villagers and the villagers have to feed them.

I was not a porter but I had to give money - each month 200 *kyats* for porter fees, and twice a month we have to give other fees as well. Then for the Captain who came and stayed there, we had to give 10,000 *kyats*. I don't know why, maybe for the soldiers' salaries. This is for LIB. 202, LIB. 355, and Division 44. The headman said that if each house gives 200 *kyats*, he will find people to hire [to meet the demands for porters]. We gave the money to the headman, and the headman gave the money to the Captain. The officer who stays in our village is not the commander. The commander stays in Lay Noh [called Taung Zone by the Burmese, along the Thanbyuzayat - Three Pagodas Pass road]. He asked for the money so we had to give it. They move around that area, and porters have to go with them and carry their things and ammunition in the rain. In the rainy season the road is washed out and trucks can only come up to Anand Gwin. It is half a day's walk between Taung Zone and xxxx [his village].

Interview 93: HRV: Torture, Forced Labor

Name:	Saw Kler Eh
Sex:	Male
Age:	25
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	Married with two children
Address:	xxxx village, Kya In township, Karen State
Date of interview:	August 1997
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Kler Eh's brother, who was present at the interview, was beaten by SLORC troops even though he is deaf and mute and must communicate in a sign language unique to his family. Saw Kler Eh himself was once a Karen soldier so he was accused of possessing guns. Both brothers had to flee the village.]

I arrived here during the last week of July, 1997, about one month ago. I dared not stay in xxxx. I used to be a Karen soldier. I left the army already, but the Burmese accused me of having guns. They told me to find them. I knew that if I couldn't they would start to harm me.

One month ago, my elder brother was staying in a hut and the Burmese came there. He cannot speak [he is deaf and mute]. They ordered him to come down from the hut and hit him twice with a knife on his head and took his clothes and money. He did not come with me because he thought that he would stay and do the farm work. But after that, he dared not stay and work on the farm anymore.

The SLORC soldiers also made many problems in the village. They asked for porters, and if they could catch any animals they ate them. They always asked for porters. When I came here they were asking for seven porters. Even after the villagers had already gone [for a shift as porters], they come and catch more people ploughing in the fields. After I left, I heard that now they are demanding up to 20 porters. We have to go by turn. If they need you for a week, you have to go for a week. If they go somewhere, the porters have to go with them. If they stay, you have to stay with them. If your time is up, you must be replaced. They change porters every week. Some people who have carried their things have been badly tortured. Some of them have had to climb high mountains and couldn't do it anymore so they were beaten. When they came back the skin of their backs was damaged and raw. I know some of them but they haven't come here yet. Before I left, among the porters who came back to the village, two of them had had the skin of their back ripped off until it was completely raw, and another one had been brutally beaten.

Over 20 families have left our village up to now. Before we had 50 or 60 households. It is not easy to leave because we have to pass through the Burmese. We had to go secretly without them seeing, because they would never allow us to come here. We're not safe here either, but it is better than in our village.

Interview 94: HRV: Torture, Child, Livelihood

Name: Saw Nee Th'Blay
Sex: Male
Age: 57
Ethnicity: Karen, farmer
Religion: Christian
Marital status: Married with six children
Address: xxxx village, Kya In township, Karen State
Date of interview: August, 1997
Source: KHRG

[Saw Nee Th'Blay was a church elder in his village but had to flee after SLORC occupied the area and began abusing the villagers.]

I arrived at the Thai border about three months ago. We dared not stay in our village because the SLORC oppressed us. They didn't oppress me much. But they oppressed my children [his church congregation] so much, I felt as though they were oppressing me. They put some in holes, beat some and punished some. Some were bleeding so much that we dared not even look at them. Therefore I left with my whole family.

They beat and kicked and punched, they did so many things. Many people were tortured in my village. Not only in my village, in every village. The Burmese demanded guns. Even though you don't have any guns, they say you have.

More than twenty villagers were tortured by the SLORC soldiers in my village. In my [extended] family, they tortured about ten of us. My nephews and nieces, my grandchildren, etc. They had to suffer mostly in the same way. If they put one person in the hole for three hours, then they did the same to everyone. They put them in, take them out to demand guns, then put them back in again, out and in again... all the time. The troops that tortured the villagers were from #44 Division. When one group left, another group came and then another. And they oppressed us more and more. I couldn't stay there anymore and face all these problems.

The SLORC soldiers came often to our village, going around and checking everywhere. But since they came in April they've always stayed in the village. Now they stay in every village. In my village, 200 soldiers came to stay. In the other villages, about 100, 200 or 300 soldiers. They stayed until the rainy season and then left. Now there are fewer in the village.

They stayed in the villagers' houses. They took everything. I don't even want to talk about it. They arrived and took our rice without even asking. They also took our prawn paste and ate it. They did not give money for what they took from our village.

There were 70 houses in my village. Now I am not sure how many are left. You should ask people who came out later than me. My friend left three weeks ago and only 50 households remained, he said. And I am not sure whether they are going to stay in the village or not because everyone wants to leave.

Interview 95: HRV: Forced Labor, Women, Prison Labor, Arrest

Name:	Tategay
Sex:	Male
Age:	23 years old
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Education:	Fourth standard
Date of Interview:	September, 1997
Source:	HRDU

I escaped from portorage and arrived back home. I did not stay at home. As soon as I got back, I brought my 8-year-old nephew who was staying with me in my home. I decided to flee because I could no longer work for the forced labor in the region. The authority has conscripted civilians in Phasaung township and Mawchee township, Karenni State. I had been forced to do forced labor in the renovation project of the old motor road between Baw Gali and Mawchee.

In addition to the forced labor, people had to provide the porters for the military column from LIB 429. It is stationed at the Buko and Kyawkhee camps and demanded the villagers from Bolopa, Kaw Thu Tee, Ywa Tee Do, Tana Lo, Ywape and other villages in Phasaung township to provide 15 porters from each village. These people had to work three days a week and each time lasted three days. Most were ordered to carry two iron-tins of rice. If people did not want to go, 2,000 *kyats* was required as fine. Many women also had to work as forced porters.

When I was working for portorage, there were five women in the group of 15 people from my village. I only remembered two names. They were Bwe Dosay, 25-year-old and Se Saymo, 30-year-old. I could not remember the rest. All were married women with children. There were another 15 porters from other villages.

No money was paid for service. Two meals were given with unassisted one plate of rice and small piece of fish-paste. It was not enough for us.

I found about 100 prisoners with the military column we served. They were from porter battalion. Some attempted to escape during their time in portage. I saw three prisoners were shot dead because they attempted to run away. Soldiers threatened us not to run away and we would be killed if recaptured or because of landmines planted along the route. I did not know who planted the landmines.

I escaped from portage on December 15, 1996. I could no longer bear the big burden for this regular forced portage. I could not go three days every week for this hard work. Not enough food and medical care. The work was also very hard and tiresome. I was hit with gun butts by the military officer when I could not continue to walk during my porter service. I still suffer pain in my chest. I cannot breathe well. It is painful when I cough.

Portering and forced labor is very common in my region. We had to go any time. Every household in my village had to clear their quota space along the Baw Gali-Mawchee motor road. It was absolutely by force. Villagers could not go back to the village every day so they built temporary shelters along the motor road and worked until it was finished. Altogether 200 civilians worked for this road. I saw some prisoners in some construction site. The troops from LIB. 429 monitored the construction and laborers. If the people could not finish their quota, fine was demanded. They are subject to arrest if they failed to give fine. Many people got arrested in this way and many also fled to Thai-Burma border. The whole family fled.

Interview 96: HRV: Child, Forced Labor

Name:	Kyaw Ohn
Sex:	Male
Age:	15 years old
Ethnicity:	Arakanese
Religion:	Buddhist
Address:	Pyin Shin village, Kyaukpyi township, Arakan State
	Private ID: Kapa/952698
Date of interview:	September 1997
Place of interview:	Thai-Burma border near Mae Sariang
Source:	HRDU

I had a problem with my mother and I joined the army. I registered at the Kyaukpyi, a new recruit center, and they took me to Mingladon New Recruitment Center. I was only 11 years old when I joined the army in February 1992. No problem for my young age. Some were younger than me. They were only 9 or 10 years old. I learnt later that they were forcibly conscripted. Their parents were paid 3,000 *kyats* for their son. All are Arakanese from Myauk-U in Arakan State. There were three 8-year-old boys, three 9-year-old boys, two 10-year-old boys in my training intake. Many of them were punished and beaten because they were not strong enough to carry the guns. Not only them, other recruits in their group were also punished. I spent three months in the new recruitment center before I went to training in No.(9) Training School in Thaton, Mon State. We were paid five *kyats* per day for working at the fishing ponds for the fund raising project at the center.



In January 1993, I was sent to No. (9) training school in Thaton, Mon State. During the training, I received 450 *kyats* per month. Many fees were deducted from my salary. I can't remember all the names of fees deducted. The training took five months then I was assigned to Division 11, Thaton. In September 1993, I was transferred to LIB. 434 in Papun. I received 500 *kyats* only eight months after the training. Similarly, many fees were taken from my salary such as education fees for the children in bases and social fees.

I spent most of the time at bases by building the fence and digging the trenches. My first experience at the frontline was in May 1994. When the shooting took place for the first time for me, I was really scared. I forgot to open fire. Two soldiers were killed and one officer was wounded. There were many young soldiers as young as 12-13 years old. They cried when they could not climb the high mountains. Other soldiers helped them carry their equipment. Every time we went to the front line, the column conscripted at least 60 porters. Sometimes, there were women porters. At one time, the column forcibly conscripted one person from each household in Papun.

When the males were not available, the column took women. At that time, we found female high school teachers and a bank clerk. The female porters also had the same work as the male porter. At night there were forced to sleep with the officers.

In September, 1997, my group was assigned to Kyauk Nyunt camp. There were four soldiers from DKBA led by Captain Hla Tun who were working logging concession. Our group was about 60 soldiers and led by Captain Aung Kyaw Lin. He threatened me that I would be killed for an unknown reason. I was told by Sergeant Myint Than. I was so scared that I asked the DKBA leader about the other armed groups. He said the KNU would kill me if I join with them. But the students would not kill an army defector. Finally, I decided to flee from the camp when I was ordered to bring rice from Kyauk Nyunt camp to Payagone with my friend Myint Aung and others. It was November 7, 1997. I carried his gun and mine while he carried the rice. When others were far ahead of me, I ran away with two guns. I could not carry the two guns for long time, so I left one. I spent two days on the way. I did not know the way, but I ran and ran. The troops also came after me. About 30 soldiers including DKBA leader Captain Hla Tun. When I was in hiding, the troops passed by. I met a group of students after two days.

Interview 97: HRV: Arrest, Torture, Forced Labor, Killing

Name	Ko Myint Aung
Sex:	Male
Age:	39 years old
Marital status:	Married with three children
Address:	Loikaw, Karenni State
Occupation:	Merchant, grocery shop owner
Date of interview:	October 10, 1997
Place of interview:	Karenni refugee camp near Mae Hong Son
Source:	HRDU

On August 8, 1996, police came and searched my house. They said they would search my house for drugs. I asked them to show the warrant for the search, but their reply was that a warrant was not required. I told them that I was not involved in the drug trafficking business but they ignored me. They went into my bed room and later claimed that they found one inch of opium in my room.



They later arrested and took me to the police station. I was innocent and I was not involved in the drug business. It was merely their plot to arrest me. They also arrested my wife.

At the police station, both of us were interrogated and tortured the whole night. They forced us to admit that we were involved in drug trafficking. When we did not admit, the military intelligence personnel kicked and punched us all over our bodies. They dropped the burning wax from the candle on my face. They also dropped water over my head. They interrogated me for three days. But they asked the question regarding drug only on the first day and on the later two days,

they only asked about my father-in-law, U Saw U Rei, elected MP from the Prusoe township, Karenni State. They asked who came to meet him, who the contacts were and who was working for the Karenni National Progress Party. I really did not know, so I said I did not know. They did not believe what I said and said that I was lying. They kept torturing me. After I admitted that I was involved, because I could no longer bear that inhumane treatment, they stopped torturing me. We were kept in the police station for some days and sent to the State court and charged with drug trafficking. It was a false charge for me because the Military Intelligence only wanted to arrest my wife, the daughter of U Saw U Rei, who is doing time for his political activities.

I was sentenced to nine years imprisonment and my wife was sentenced to 12 years by the judge named U Tin Maung Lwin.

I was sent to Loikaw prison. The life in the prison was not easy. Prisoners were not provided with enough food. A little amount of rice was given to prisoners. All of us had to work hard work every day. We had to crush stone at the work site for the military barracks. We were ordered to make fences for the military compound, digging the sanitary holes and working at the farms. One could avoid hard work by giving bribes.

Meat was served once in a week. The size of the meat we received was only the size of two fingers. We did not get enough rice. We did not dare to ask for more. When prisoners were sick, the prison authorities did not provide them with

medicines. Only when a prisoner was seriously sick, he received some medical treatment. Mostly, the authorities gave injection to the seriously sick prisoners. Many sick prisoners did not want to get shot, because the needles and instruments in the prison hospitals were not clean. Only prisoners who could afford to pay bribe to the prison authorities could get proper treatment. Some gave 5,000-10,000 *kyats* to the prison authorities for proper treatment. Some prisoners died for lack of proper medical treatment in the prison. I witnessed the death of U Maung Than from Oaktwin township and Kyaw Kyaw Win, a deserter from LIB 54.

There was a large number of prisoners serving prison term for desertion from the army. They were recaptured and sentenced to prison. There were approximately two hundred army deserters out of three hundred prisoners in prison. Many of them revealed their feeling about the army. They said they were really fed up with what's going on in the army. They also said there were many more wishing to escape from the army. I met some army deserters including Captain Win Htut from LIB. 530, officer-Clerk Captain Saw Aye Kyaw, private Thiha and Private Nyunt Thwin. There were many other people whose names I did not know.

I also met around 50 political prisoners in Loikaw prison. Among them were are U Saw U Rei (my father-in-law), Lawyer U Wai Lin and many others. Some were sentenced for allegedly having contact with the KNPP forces. Among them were U Aung Than Phaw, U Htar Yuh, Saw Adaw, U Thein, Toe Reh and Mee Reh, all for allegedly having contact with the KNPP.

Only prisoners with less than five years imprisonment used to go for portorage in the past. They were taken to porter battalion and then sent to the frontline. Due to the death of a great number of porters in the previous years, the authorities sent the prisoners with more than five years imprisonment to the porter battalion.

I had been a prisoner porter when I was in prison. In my first time, July 22, 1997, I was sent to Hway Pon Lon with a LIB. 54 column. There were more than 100 prisoners from Loikaw prison, but when they arrived back to the prison, there were only half left. Some were sick and killed during their service and some escaped. Many of them were killed by the troops when they were recaptured. I knew Kyaw Moe Lwin, a 30-year- old man from Mawchee, who died of sickness. He was a prisoner like me from Loikaw prison. Another prisoner, U Kyaw Soe, about 50 years old, was sick on the way and he was kicked down off from the cliff.

My second time was at the end of September 1997 with LIB. 247. We had to carry heavy ammunition and bags of the soldiers. I, myself, had to carry the bags of Captain Sein Win. Many were killed this time, too. I saw Maung Kyaw Oo, a 12-year-old boy from Mawchee, who was beaten to death by Corporal Ngwe Soe because he was no longer able to carry on. He was beaten to death at Nam Pon river near the Baw La Ke new village.

Interview 98: HRV: Arrest, Torture, Forced Labor, Prison Labor, Child, Killing

Name	Ko Thaung Tin
Sex:	Male
Age	37 years old
Marital status	Married with two children
Address	Chaung Na Thu village, Oakpho township, Pegu Division
Occupation	Farmer
Date of interview:	October 10, 1997
Place of interview:	Karenni refugee camp near Mae Hong Son
Source:	HRDU

I was arrested on August 16, 1990 for cultivating marijuana. Many people in my village cultivate marijuana in their farm, but I was singled out because I had a quarrel with the chairman of the village LORC. He informed the police and the police arrested us. I was sentenced to seven years in prison.

First I was sent to Tharawaddy prison. There were many mistreatments in the prison. As soon as you entered the prison, the beating began. Prisoners were ordered to do hard work. I spent a very short time in Thayawaddy prison. I was sent to Mingun prison

camp near Phaunggyi, assigned for the construction of Rangoon-Mandalay Highway project. I worked for two months, carrying and crushing rock for the project. Then I was transferred to Loikaw prison.



There were over 800 prisoners in Loikaw prison when I first arrived. A small number was sentenced for criminal cases, but most were sentenced for political reasons or for allegedly having communication with the Karenni ethnic armed forces. I saw a large number of army deserters in prison. They were recaptured and sentenced for attempt to desert the army. They were given two choices, one is to go to the military court and back to the army after serving short term imprisonment; second is to go to the civilian court and serve long prison term. Those who have served longer imprisonment in civilian prison do not need to go back to the army again. Many chose to go to the civilian court and serve in the prison for the

civilians. That was because they did not want to go to the military court and return to serve in the army.

Food in prison was not enough. People from Loikaw were able to ask their families to supply food from outside. Most of the prisoners like me from other far places, did not have a chance to get the food from outside. Even those who come and give food to their family members in prison had to pay money (bribe) to the prison authorities. If you are able to give money to the prison authorities, you can avoid work or you can enjoy better life in prison.

I have worked as a porter two times. The first time was in July 1997 with LIB 54. This was my second time and I went along with LIB. 247. Only persons who were able to give 5,000 *kyats* could avoid being a porter in the frontline. I had no money, so I was sent to do portering. I thought I would get a chance to escape from prison while I was working as a porter outside rather than working hard in prison. I saw many prisoners die of exhaustion and lack of proper food in prison. However, some prisoners did not want to go to serve as porters because they thought it was very risky and dangerous. Those, especially, who were about to finish their long prison terms did not want to go and take a risk. They had heard much about porters who were killed by landmines, exhaustion, and sickness.

During my first portage, I saw Zaw Win Lwin, a 19-year-old boy from Mawche, beaten to death in June, by a corporal from LIB 54. Another porter named Kyaw Win and an unknown porter from Loikaw died of sickness in July. Than Shwe, a 35-year-old army deserter from LIB. 72 was beaten to death in Nam Pan river by Corporal Ngwe Soe. I was able to escape while I was being ordered to carry water from the river in Nwagone camp.

Interview 99: HRV: Forced Labor, Women, Killing

Name:	Aung Win
Sex:	Male
Age:	28 years old
Ethnicity:	Burmese
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Single
Address:	Phut Letto village, Tavoy, Tenasserim Division
Date of interview:	October 13, 1997
Place of interview:	Pinsi village, Thom Pha Pum district, Thailand
Source:	HRDU

I arrived in Thailand on October 12, 1997. The reason is I was scared to go as porter for the military.

There were over 30 houses in my Phut Letto village but now there are only ten houses left. The people in my village started to move from the village since the beginning of the Ye-Tavoy railway construction. People had to go for forced labor and also for portage several times. They did not have time for the family and for their living. That forced many families to move from the native village and seek jobs in Thailand.

I was arrested by the soldiers to serve as a porter on September 14, 1997. The troop from IB 80 rounded up my brother and me and took us to Wah Zone Chaung village which was one hour's walk away. There were about 20 armed soldiers. When we arrived at Wah Zone Chaung village, another six porters joined us. The soldiers ordered us to carry rice. The other six were ordered to carry bags and ammunitions. The column I was working with was mobile column mobilizing around the Phut Letto, Kyat Paung Chaung, Wah Zong Chaung villages. The things we had to carry were not so heavy. But I did not like this work. I discussed with my brother to run away when we had a chance. After two days, on September 16, I ran away while I was away from the troops to carry water from a stream. My brother was left behind with the troop. I arrived back at the village on the same day. I did not dare to stay in the village so I took hiding in a farm outside. On September 18, I heard that two women were gang-raped by the soldiers between the Wah Zong Chaung village and Kyat Paung Chaung village. I did not know the exact story and who committed the rape. But I assumed that it must be the soldiers from the column I worked with, because the column was the only moving column operating in this area. Both the women were released after the rape, I heard. The column returned to Phaungdaw village through my village. I was surprised to learn that there was no porter returning with them. I was worried about my brother and went to Wah Zong Chaung village to collect the news of my brother.

When I got there, my friends told me that after the rape of two women, the soldiers killed all remaining seven porters including my brother on September 17. I did not know the reason why they killed all the porters. I didn't get any more information about the killing as well as the rape of two women. The women were threatened with death by the soldiers if they revealed the story to others. I did not dare to go and look for the dead bodies of my brother and others because somebody told me that the troops planted landmine there.

My brother's name was Aye Win. He was 23 years-old and married with a three month-old baby. My father informed to the Phut Letto village LORC that his son was missing during the portage. But nobody looked into this case or investigated.

Interview 100: HRV: Arrest, Child, Forced Labor, Torture, Killing

Name: Htun Hlaing (a) Shan Gyi
 Sex: Male
 Age: 20 year-old
 Ethnicity: Shan
 Religion: Buddhist
 Address: North Lawpita Shan village, Loikaw, Karenni State
 Education: 7th standard
 Date of entry to army: October 10, 1996
 Army ID no.: ta/70085
 Battalion: IB. 25, Division 4, Office of the Division
 Date of desertion: November 13, 1997
 Date of interview: November 25, 1997
 Place of interview: Karenni refugee camp near Mae Hong Son
 Source: HRDU

I was asked to show my ID card at the Rangoon Railways Station. I failed to produce it, so they arrested and sent me to the Mingladon new recruitment center. I was not the only person who faced that kind of fate. I saw many people as young as 13 years old at the recruitment center. I was sent there on October 8, 1996. The officials took a blood test of me on October 10, and I passed the blood test. Then on the same day, I had to fill up the form and forcibly join the army. On October 12, 400 recruits including me were sent to Mergui by Hakha streamer. We arrived at Mergui on October 15, and the authorities took us to Shwedu village where the No.12 Divisional Central Recruitment Center was located.

The training began on October 21. We all were given 450 *kyats* per month during the four-month training. However, our salaries were deducted for stationery, candle, and many other forms of tax. After deducting all the fees, only 50 *kyats* was left. The training finished on February 13, 1997. The next day, 50 recruits including me were sent to Tavoy. We arrived on February 15 at Tavoy. 29 recruits including me were assigned to IB. 25 in Tavoy and 31 were assigned to the IB 104 in Launglon. After taking rest for three days in the battalion, all 29 recruits were assigned to go and join Division 4, operating around the Heinnu Chaung village. We were there about one month. The main duty was guarding the Taung Thonlone-Metta motorroad and Heinda-Taung Thonlone motor-road. Then I was assigned to the region around Gaung Say Chaung village for twenty days. In April 1997, I was with the joint column of LIB. 224 and IB. 25 moving towards Thukha, near the Thai-Burma border. There was no major battle because the KNU troops had withdrawn when we reached there. After we overran the camp, troops from LIB. 224 retreated and our battalion was to station in the region. I stayed there until June 1997. In June,

our battalion was replaced with LIB. 104 and we all returned to Tavoy. I had a rest for one month. In July, I was assigned with others from my battalion to Thukha camp again until I ran away from the army.

During my time in Thukha, the duty was taking guard at the trade route and checking the people crossing the border. An average of 30 people cross the border daily into Thailand. There was an army check-point run by the troops from the IB. 25. The troops levied 600 *kyats* from the people going to Thailand and 100 Baht from the people returning to Burma. People from Burma usually brought cattle and buffaloes to sell in Thailand. The troops levied 100 Baht for each cattle or buffalo. They also brought other animals from Burma to Thailand. They had to pay ten per cent of their profit to Col. Win Htein, commander of IB. 25.

Every week, the following rations were provided to each platoon (five soldiers) under the column 1 of the IB. 25 in Thukha. They were rice- 15 military tins, condense milk-5 tins, canned fish-1 can, small canned meat-2 cans, low quality bean-one military tin, oil-2 1/2 tins, salt, fish paste, and 175 *kyats*. It was not enough for five persons for a week, especially rice. We could not ask for more from the supply section. We had to save as much as we could.

The monthly salary for a private was 620 *kyats*. I received it from June, 1997. The officials deducted the following fees from the salary life insurance-50 *kyats*, stationery fee-5 *kyats*, social fund-5 *kyats*, other unknown fee-100 *kyats*. Total 210 *kyats* were regularly deducted from the monthly salary. I only received the salary for June, the rest would be given when we returned to the battalion in Tavoy, the officials said.

Privates were entitled to receive a loan of 10,000 *kyats* from the battalion. They could only receive one time. From the 10,000 *kyats* loan, 5,000 *kyats* was deducted for the battalion investment in fishing industry. Only 5,000 *kyats* arrived to the private. From the investment, a private received 200 *kyats* monthly as profits. However, private who received the loan had to pay back 450 *kyats* from his monthly salary. So, only about 100-150 *kyats* was left in his hands every month.

A private received only one uniform given at the closing ceremony of training. No more was provided. The following supplies were provided by the training school: one uniform, one military bag, one rough blanket, one smooth blanket, one mosquito net, one big military towel, one small military towel, a pair of jungle boots, a pair of parade boots, one military cap, one jungle cap, one belt, one water canteen, one equipment, one spoon, one cap pin, and one collar pin. When the boots provided by the school are no longer usable, a private has to buy the jungle boots for 380 *kyats* and one pair of slippers for 300 *kyats*. Similarly, when the uniform is no longer usable, we have to make a new one ourselves. It costs 1,000-1,500 *kyats*.

According to the order in the military, only medicines produced by the State must be given to the soldiers in the army. However, in my battalion, China-made medicines are widely used. In the front line, many soldiers died because they were treated only with the cheap and in-effective China-made medicine. The officials did not care when the soldiers got sick. Even the soldiers who were seriously ill were not sent to the hospital for the treatment.

Privates are subjected to maltreatment by the superior. We have to bear their beating and scolding. One thing we have to have in our minds is "Obey the order." No one dare to say against the order. If we say anything against, the officials will kill us. When we enter a village, we have to find food for the superior. We take the chickens, ducks and other animals for our officials. We arrest people for portorage as we are ordered. Local people hate us so much, but they also do not dare to say anything against the army.

My battalion spent most of the time in the front line office, very little time for the operation. While we were taking rest in Metta in June, I was assigned to take the wounded soldiers from the front line at Ai-wai village. One my way back, troops from Division 66 and LIB. 17 came along with us. Ko Myint Cho, a 35-year-old villager from Taung Thonlone village was so sick that he could no longer carry the wounded soldier on his back. He fell down on the ground and could not move. The captain and soldiers from LIB. 17 beat him and he died immediately from brutal beating. No compensation was given to his family.

This mistreatment forced me to run away from the army. I did not join the army on my own will, but conscripted. So finally, I decided to run away.

Interview 101: HRV: Arrest, Forced Labor, Prison Labor

Name: Sai Tin Myint (a) Tin Moe
Age: 19 years old
Education: 7th standard
Ethnicity: Burmese/ Buddhist
Address: Kyatsakan village, Thasi township
Occupation: Odd job
Date of Interview: December 18, 1997
Source: HRDU

I was an ex-soldier from Artillery Division (4). I was sentenced to one year imprisonment for quarrelling with my officer on December 13, 1995. I was in Loikaw prison for eleven months. On November 11, 1996 I was sent to Ma Htaw Khu labor camp and spent one more month. I was released on December 12, 1996 from prison. After the release, I stayed with my friends in Bamagone quarter, Loilin and was working at odd jobs. I went to visit Loikaw in October 1997. I went to Khitthit video hall in Dawtama quarter in Loikaw. Soldiers from IB. 261 rounded up the civilians who were watching the video. It was in the second week of October.

22 civilians and 18 prison laborers from porter battalion were taken along with the military column of IB. 261 led by deputy commander Kyaw Naing. There were about 200 soldiers in the column. We wandered around Sin Thaug area.

I have had different experiences as prisoner, soldier and porter. I have experienced many forms of suffering and abuses in my life. The most unforgettable thing was, when I was in my last portorage. Soldiers from IB. 261 column destroyed all the Kayah's traditional monuments, marks, houses, religious building and everything they found. I saw the soldiers draw moustache on the picture of Jesus Christ at Dawlakhe village. The officer in the column also told the soldiers to destroy everything. He said because of these things, the Kayah armed groups managed to survive. He ordered his soldiers to destroy everything to eliminate the armed opposition in the region.

The military planted a lot of landmines in the region. I saw many notices of landmines around Pon River and Tatamaw camp. They also planted many landmines around all the military bases in Kauk Kau area.

I saw some Karenni breakaway soldiers along with the SLORC soldiers in the column. They jointly operated with the SLORC soldiers. I think there were about 35 soldiers from Karenni breakaway group in my column. They did not physically involve in destroying the religious buildings, but they did not say anything to the SLORC soldiers.

After a long time of carrying heavy things, I was so tired and could no longer carry on with the duty. They beat me up when I could not carry on. They did not give enough rice to us. They only gave a military box of rice for every six porters. We could only take rest when they allowed us to take rest. We had to carry 60 mm rockets. We could not drink water without their permission, even when we were crossing the river. They did not like being asked for water from their water containers. I fainted several times because I did not receive enough food or rest. Whenever I fell down, the soldier kicked me with military boots all over my body.

I was always looking for an opportunity to escape. When I felt safe and thought it was a good time for escaping, I hit the soldier near me with rockets that I was carrying and ran away. Finally I arrived at the area where I am staying now.

When I was in prison, I saw many people put in prison for allegedly having connection with KNPP forces. I think at least 40 were arrested and sentenced for this charge. I heard that Saw U Reh was put in a separate room and he was not given any medical attention. The names of persons for this charge were: U Thein, Toe Reh, Taw Reh, from Mai Long, U Saw, U Reh, Ko Baw Reh, Sai Wanna Htun, his father from Loikaw, Ko Ne Win, Win Pe, All Reh, Lee Reh, U Sal Pa, Thakin, Buu Ree, Saw Aung Khant, U Htar Yu, Sisto, Khun Tin Aye, Saw Palu Htoo, his wife, from Demawsoe, Baw Reh, U Soe Reh, from Lawpita, U Lee Reh, Kyaw Kyaw, from Bawlakhe, U Aung Than Phaw from Min Suu, Kuu Reh from Daw Nuku, U Kaung, Zin Min Thein, from Daw Ouku, U Sanna, U Ainda, U Nanda, U Aik Khan, Wan Hla, from Kyaukkhe, Thaye from Daw Tama, Saw Tuu Saw, an unknown woman teacher and Than Tin from Naungyeh.

Interview 102: HRV: Prison Labor, Forced Labor, Killing

Name	Hla Myo (a) Hlwan Wai
Sex:	Male
Address:	Kywe Tone village, Maubin township, Irrawaddy
Education:	Third standard
Date of Interview:	December 18, 1997
Source:	HRDU

I was an ex-soldier. I finished my basic military training and was assigned to LIB 119 based in Kalay on February 20, 1994. While I was serving there, I got a letter from my family saying that my mother was seriously ill in February, 1997. I asked for leave but was not given. So I decided to go back to my home on my own. I stayed two months at my home and when I returned to my base I was detained for a week at the quarter in the base. I was later sentenced to one year imprisonment by military court in my base on April 29, 1997.

I was taken to Mandalay prison and then to Meikhtila after one week. I only spent two days in Meikhtila and then taken to Ma Htaw Ku porter battalion on May 9, 1997. This battalion of prisoners was kept standby for portorage. We knew the hardship and danger of being porter, but I hoped we would have a chance to escape during portorage. The situation in prison was also so bad that we thought it would be better staying in the porter battalion.

There were about 80 military deserters out of 400 prisoners in Ma Htaw Ku porter battalion. After one week of arrival, I was assigned to go to porter with LIB 427. After that I had to go with LIB 530 in July 1997, with LIB.430 in the last week of July, and with IB.102 on October 8, 1997. Prisoners from the porter battalion were constantly transferred from one battalion to another. I escaped while I was portering with LIB. 424.

In my first time going porter with LIB.427 in May, there were about 150 soldiers with two 81 mm launchers and many 60 mm rocket launchers. They brought a lot of food for themselves and seven mules. We were 40 porters including ourselves from porter battalions as well as other civilians. I saw some civilian porters who were about 50-60 years old. The column mobilized around Kauk Kauk region. Many got sick with malaria because of heavy duty assignment and hard weather. No medical assistance was given. Some were beaten to death when they could not manage to carry the loads. I saw Moe Wai, 24 years old from Lume village, Kyaukse township and Myo Hlaing, 25-year-old army deserter were beaten to death by the soldiers between Kauk Kuak and Hway Oun, with my own sight.

I spent one month and five days working porter with LIB. 427. After one month in the battalion I had to go for portering again with LIB. 530. This time, there were 70 soldiers from LIB. 530 and 35 prisoners from the porter battalion. This time was to replace the troop from LIB. 430 in Kauk Kauk. We arrived at Kauk Kuak after three days' travelling. All 35 porters were kept in a bunker with a log roof. We were not allowed to get out from the overhead exit except going to the toilet. If we want to go to the toilet, our hands were tied behind and escorted by the soldiers. We had our meals in the bunker. We had to stay like that for ten days without taking a bath.

When the troops from LIB. 430 returned to their base, we were taken out from the bunker and brought back. Many of us could not walk well, because we were kept in the bunker for ten days without enough movement. We walked alternatively with the soldiers. The soldiers beat us all the way.

I arrived at Bawlakhe, base of the LIB. 430, in the last week of June. We were not sent back to Ma Htaw Khu porter battalion, instead, we were kept in the jail inside the battalion. After a week, fifteen prisoners including me were taken to Daw Tamagyi area with military column (2) and the rest were sent to Shan-Karenni area with column (1).

During my portorage, I saw many villages between Salween and Pon River that were destroyed by the military column. All farms and houses were burnt down by the troops. Three prison laborers managed to escape while they were portering with LIB. 430. For their escape, the rest 12 prisoners including me were tied up and left in the heavy rain. While we were being tied, the soldiers conscripted other villagers and ordered them to carry the loads. The villagers were ordered to carry the loads at the front and the soldiers pointed their guns at them from behind. We were taken back to the base in Bawlakee around the second week of September.

I spent only one day at the base. On the next day, we all were taken by the IB. 102. There were 30 prison porters taken along with the two divisions of soldiers from IB. 102. We went to Daw Mumar camp and we were ordered to sharpen the bamboo, dig the trenches, cut the logs and build the overhead. Later, soldiers from LIB. 424 arrived at the camp. They were building the bases around the area. They built one base for LIB. 428 and other bases for LIB. 424 and 423 on the strategic hills in the area. I saw that some other porters were extremely weak.

When I got a chance, I ran away with Ko Khin Maung Saw. I got lost in the jungle and had nothing to eat for five days. Then we met one Karenni hunter and he helped us to find the way.

Interview 103: HRV: Prison Labor, Forced Labor

Name	Chit San
Sex:	Male
Age	23 years old
Address	Bassein West township, Ngaputaw village
Ethnicity	Karen/ Buddhist
Serial No.	941071
Rank	Private
Battalion	LIB. 405, Division 4, Group.2, Thayetchaung township, Tenasserim Division
Source:	HRDU

After both my parents died, the economic situation of my family was bad. I decided to join the army after meeting with my friend in the army. He helped me to get to the Mingladon new recruitment center. I spent 18 days there and was sent to Training Center No. 12 in Mergui. After attending a four-month training, I was assigned at LIB. 405.

As soon as I arrived at the battalion, I was ordered to work for the repair of the battalion ground. Privates were ordered to carry bricks, dig the ground for 17 days. After that, I was assigned to go with the military column to Taung Thon Long village. I spent some time and returned to the battalion. As soon I got back to the battalion, I was sent to work on the Ye-Tavoy railway construction for one month.

After that, I could go back to the battalion and was allowed to take rest for 15 days. Then, I was ordered to go back and work on the construction site at Yebyu. Only privates were assigned to do this hard work. We were formed into three-person groups and ordered to dig the ground for the railway road embankment. The authorities told us that they would buy 100 *kyats* for extra one *kyin* of 10 ft x 10 ft x one ft high apart from the assigned three *kyins*. Nobody wanted to do the extra *kyin* because the quota of three *Kyins* was already too much. One three-person group could finished three *kyins* a day, We had never received a full amount of wages for everyday quota of three *kyins*. We only got 90 *kyats* once. The rest were deducted by the officials. Sometimes, the officials did not pay us, but they gave only cheroots to us. At the other site, namely 9-Mile camp, prison laborers were also used for construction.

I knew that previously, the authorities used the civilian labor without pay in this project. When there were many complaints about that, the authorities stopped using civilians and started using soldiers instead. We were told that we would be able to earn extra money and we did not need to go to the frontline.

During the labor work, every morning at 5:00 a.m. we were given fried-rice and went to work at 6:00 a.m. Lunch was between 11:00 and 1:00 p.m. The work finished at 5:30 p.m. I worked at the Ye-Tavoy railway construction site between Nat Kyi Sin village and Yengan Gyi village. I started working in September 1996 and it was supposed to be finished after eight months. The camp for working soldiers was at Sein Pon village.

While I was at the LIB. 405, I witnessed many mistreatments against the civilians in the region. While I was on duty, the officers in the army arrested the cattle traders and confiscated all the cattle and other properties. The 3,000 *kyats* for each private was shared from the loot. I did not want to stay in the army because of inequality in army and hard work assigned to us.

Interview 104: HRV: Arrest, Child

Name	Sergeant Zaw Ye Naing
Sex:	Male
Age:	28 years old
Marital status:	Single
Army ID No.:	725974
Address:	Kandawgyi (1) Ward, Bogalay, Irrawaddy Division
Date of interview:	December 1997
Place of interview:	Thai-Burma border near Mae Sariaing
Source:	HRDU

I took part in the 1988 uprising. When the military staged a coup, I did not dare to stay at home and went hiding. The other reason was to avoid the military conscription in town. At that time, my town was demanded to provide the recruits for the army by quota.

In Pyapon, I was stopped by the soldiers at night while I was hanging out. They were about to beat me up when I was not able to show them my ID. So I said I came to join the army and then they immediately took me to the new recruit center. It was December 21, 1988.

I was taken to Inma and enlisted in 2/89 new recruit training. After the training I was assigned to Division 3, IB.19 in Papun, Karen State. I was promoted to Lance corporal in 1990, Corporal in 1993 and Sergeant in 1994.

Since I was assigned in Papun, I had never been allowed to go back home and see my family. I received 1075 *kyats* when I became a sergeant, but the officers deducted as a form of fees for many reasons. I also got sick of what the army officers and other ranks and files were abusing their authority in Karen State.

Finally, I decided to run away from the army after Captain Zaw Moe Kyaw slapped my face without any proper reason in front of other soldiers.

SELECTED SLORC ORDERS

The following are the direct translations of some written orders sent from SLORC army units to villages. These orders include demands for forced labor on roads and at army camps, extortion money, food, building materials, and intelligence. For every order reproduced here, hundreds more are issued every week; these should be seen only as a small representative sampling. Most of the orders are addressed to Chairmen and Secretaries of Village Law and Order Restoration Councils (VLORC / Ya Wa Ta) and from the Township Law and Order Restoration Council (TLORC / Ma Wa Ta). These are local levels of SLORC administration. A “village tract” includes all the villages in a sub-area of the township. While the Township LORC consists of SLORC officials under direct military control, the Village LORC members are appointed, often against their will, by the local military. They are responsible for providing forced laborers, money, materials, intelligence, etc. as demanded by the military and the Township LORC, and they are the first to be arrested and tortured if they fail to do so. These orders show the systematic, widespread, and consistent nature of SLORC abuses throughout all rural areas of the country. Most of these orders were typed, copied and sent to villages throughout the township. Where necessary for safety, details have been blanked out with ‘xxxx’ or ‘yyyy’.

Order 1

Stamp:
Frontline Battalion
IB. 258
Column (1)

To:
Chairman
Village LORC
xxxx village

Subject: Come and see me

This is to inform you to come and see me personally.

[sd.]
Captain Soe Tint
Kyi- 23474

Order 2

Stamp:
LIB. 417
Intelligence Unit

To:
Village headman,
xxxx village tract

Come and see our military column at Naung Bo monastery as soon as you receive this letter.

[sd.]
(for Column Commander)

Order 3

Stamp:
Frontline Battalion
IB.230
Column (2)

To:
Village headwoman
xxxx village

I am writing to you. Come along with this messenger to Khawe Ain immediately without fail.

[sd.]
Captain Aye Than Maung
Commander of Division (1)
IB. 230
Column (2)

Order 4

Stamp:
Township LORC
Hlaingbwe township
Karen State

Subject: Informing purchasing of paddy

I am informing you to sell the remaining quota paddy to us. Should you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[sd.]
Chairman
Township LORC
Hlaingbwe township

Order 5

Stamp:
IB. 20
Division (2)

Date: 7-1-97

Subject: To provide chickens and vegetable for military base

Regarding the above matter, I want to request you to provide one viss of chicken and other vegetables for our military bases. Please send these items to our military base by January 10, 1997.

Commander
Sonmara base

Order 6

Date: 14-2-97

Stamp:
IB.20
Division (2)

To:

xxxx village headman

xxxx village secretary

I am writing to inform you that we have requested to Pata village tract to provide 40 baskets of paddy for our division's fund. Your village has to provide 7 baskets and we would pay 230 *kyats* to you.

For village xxxx secretary, I also would like to request you to provide 7 baskets of paddy from each village and send to Taungzun military base by February 16, 1997.

Comply without fail.

Military Commander

Taungzun military base

Order 7

Subject: Purchasing of paddy at the mobile purchasing sites

The mobile paddy purchasing sites have been established at Daw Lun village and Pai Kyone village, Hlaingbwe township in order to purchase the quota paddy in the region. Thus, I want you to organize and arrange the peasants to sell the remaining quota paddy to the sites within one week of purchasing period at these villages.

[sd.]

Date: 21-2-97

(for) Chairman

Kyaw Moe

Secretary

cc/

Myanma Agriculture Product Trade - Hlaingbwe township

Office copy

Office Circulation

Order 8

Confidential

Township Law and Order Restoration Council
Ye Township, Ye Town
Ref No. 100/2-10/TLORC (Ye)
Date. February 8, 1997

To:

Chairperson
Ward/Village Law and Order Restoration Council (Southern Part)
Ye District

Subject: Requesting military operational servants

Reference: Instructing letter of Infantry Battalion No. 61 (Ye) dated 8.2.97,
reference no. 100/61/1

- 1) The IB. 62 must have to launch an urgent military operation in near future and thus 200 military operational servants are required. I want to ask all quarters and villages to provide the civilians according to the set number mentioned in an attached list.
- 2) Therefore, I inform you to gather the required 200 operational servants from the wards and villages in southern part of Ye Town without fail (without fail). I will later inform you more detail of the date, time and place of sending people. As it is an very important matter, I remind you again that you must not be absent (must not be absent) to arrange the required number of servants.

[sd.]
Chairman
Soe Win (pa/2141)

Copy to:

- Chairman Mon Division LORC, Moulmein
- Military Strategy Commander, No (61) Military Strategy Operation Group, Moulmein.
- Chairman, District LORC, Moulmein.
- Battalion Commander, No(61), Infantry Battalion, Ye.
- Office copy.

SECRET

The list of required number of porters from the ward and villages of southern Ye.

No. Ward/Village	Number of Sending Person	Note.
1. Yan Gyi Aung	(10)	
2. Yan MyoAung	(10)	
3. Aung Mingala	(10)	
4. Aung Myitta	(8)	
5. Aung Thukha	(8)	
6. Thiri Nanda	(10)	
7. Thiri Kemar	(6)	
8. Thiri Marlar	(6)	
9. Thiri Zeya	(6)	
10. Ahwin	(10)	
11. Ze Phyu Thaung	(10)	
12. Duya	(10)	
13. Chaung Taung	(10)	
14. xxxxxxxx	(10)	
15. Dawzar	(8)	
16. Aryu Taung	(8)	
17. Kabaw	(8)	
18. Kyuk Michaung	(8)	
19. Kyaung Ya	(8)	
20. Komine	(9)	
21. Andin	(8)	
22. Kalot	(8)	
23. Kaw Hlaing	(8)	
24. Tu Myaung	(9)	
Total	200	

Order 9

Stamp:
Township LORC
Hlaingbwe township

Township Law and Order Restoration Council
Hlaingbwe, Karen State
Letter No. 210/3-5/ Mawata (laka)/
Date: 1997, February 25

To:

xxxx village, Hlaingbwe township

Subject: To sell paddy at the mobile paddy purchasing sites

This is to inform the responsible villages to sell the quota paddy of 1,300 baskets to a mobile paddy purchasing site at Daw Lung village, Hlaingbwe township within a week.

Village chairman, come without fail to Daw Lun at 10:00 a.m. on February 26, 1997.

[sd.]
(for) Chairman
Kyaw Moe
Secretary

cc/
- Office copy
- Office circulation

Order 10

To:
Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, come and meet with the Commander of IB. 28 at 11:00 a.m. on March 2, 1997. Should you fail, it will be your responsibility.

Place:	Kyar Gone	[sd.]
Date:	2-3-97	(for) Commander IB. 28, Column (1)

Stamp:
IB. 28
Headquarters of Column (1)

Order 11

To:
Chairperson
Village Law and Order Restoration Council

4-3-97

Subject: To provide army ration's rice

Regarding the above subject, your village tract is responsible for the rice that have been lost while carrying to Sonmara base. Find attached list of rice you have to compensate. Urgently collect the required amount of rice and send to Sonmara base not later than March 6, 1997, without fail.

Note: The amount of rice and list of villages required to compensate:

- | | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1) Hainkyut | (1) basket |
| 2) Yekyaw | 14 military rice boxes |
| 3) Ngakyan | (1) basket |
| 4) Targalan | (1) basket and 10 military rice boxes |

[sd.]
Camp Commander
Swanmara Camp.

Order 12

To:
xxxx

Commander is badly angry with you. Give the paddy that your village is required. We will sell the paddy from Naw Chaw Mhem and Kaw Phaung village tracts by ourselves. You don't need to add the quota paddy of these two villages into your quota paddy amount. This is an order by the Commander. Come and meet with the Commander as soon as you get this letter without fail. The way you are doing is not good.

Place: Naung Bo
Date: 5-3-97

[sd.]
(for) Commander
IB. 28, Column (1)

Stamp:
IB. 28
Headquarters of Column (1)

Order 13

Stamp:
LIB. 113
Column (1)

Chairman
xxxx village tract

9-4-97

Subject: asking military laborers

In order to rotate the ten laborers from Zeegone and Ywathit working at the frontline LIB. 113 base, bring ten laborers from xxxx village tract to Naung Bo Monastery today. Harsh punishment would be implied if you fail to comply.

[sd.]
(for) Commander
Frontline LIB. 113

Order 14

Stamp:
LIB. 113

Chairman
xxxx village tract

10-4-97

Subject: Asking for military laborers

We have ordered you to bring ten laborers to the Naung Bo Monastery on April 10, 1997, but you have not done yet.

As soon as you receive this letter, we inform you (second time) to come yourself with ten laborers to Naung Bo.

[sd.]
(for) Commander
Frontline LIB. 113

Order 15

Chairman
xxx village tract

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

1) In order to discuss the matters relating to the military labor and other security matters, come to Taungzun camp at 10:00 a.m. on April 11, 1997.

2) Action will be taken if you fail to show up.

[sd.]
(for) Commander
Frontline LIB. 113
Yebu camp

Order 16

Stamp:
LIB. 420
Division (1)

Date: 21-4-97

Subject: Permit to cut timber

1) This is a permit to cut 200 logs of timber from Naung Dai/ Htaing Poke reservation in order to build the four schools at Lar Dawei, Kaw Suu, Kyone Sein Kyaung and Kyette Gone in Pata village tract.

2) This is also to clarify that U xxxx, chairman of xxxx village tract will supervise the 200 bullock carts to carry these 200 logs.

3) Cutting will begin on April 25, 1997.

[sd.]
Camp commander

Order 17

Stamp:
Village LORC
Hlaingbwe township
Date: 7-3-97
Secretary

Subject: Paddy purchasing matter

Regarding the above subject, come immediately to meet and discuss the matter as soon as you receive this. Absence is inexcusable and you will have to take your own responsibility if you fail.

[sd.]
Chairman
Pata village
LORC
Hlaingbwe township, Karen State

Order 18

Stamp: IB. 28
Division (2)
xxx

Date: 8-3-97

Report the exact and genuine number of households in Kaw Pham Gone village as soon as you receive this message.

Note: Should you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[sd.]
Division Commander
Division (2)
IB. 28

Order 19

Stamp: IB. 28

Division (2)

xxxx

Date: 8-3-97

Personally report the exact and genuine number of households in Baw Phem village as soon as you receive this message.

Note: Should you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[sd.]

Division Commander

Division (2)

IB. 28

Order 20

DKBA

Letter No. 0001

Date: 12-3-97

Upper Pai Kyone

DKBA Division (2), 999

Date: 12-3-97

To:

Chairman

xxxx village tract

Subject: Request for rice supply for Division

Regarding above mentioned subject, as we are facing the shortage of rice at out base, we request you to support 50 baskets of rice from your village tract.

Note: Prepare the rice on 25-3-97.

Thein Win

Battalion Commander

(999) Brigade

Division (2), Pai Kyone camp

Order 21

To:
Chairman
xxxx village tract

Date: 16-3-97

Subject: Order for laborers

Regarding the above matter, send ten laborers from xxxx village tract to Naung Bo village at 2:00 p.m. on March 16, 1997 without fail. (NO) absence is allowed.

[sd.]
Column (1)
LIB. 339

Order 22

xxxx village chairman

Not later than the full-moon day of Tapaung (March), sent in five baskets of rice and 1,000 kyats in advance for expense of village tract.

[sd.]
Pata village
LORC
Hlaingbwe township, Karen State

Stamped:
Village LORC
Hlaingbwe township

Order 23

Date: 23-3-97

To
xxxx

Give 4,500 kyats to a guy with this letter. As it is very important, give it today.

Missing you
Stamp:
IB. 28
Headquarters of Column (3)
Sergeant Aung Ban
IB. 28

(Do you understand sergeant is a man who is a sharp shooter, don't you?)

Order 24

Stamp:
DKBA

Date: 31-3-97

To
Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: request

Regarding the above matter, please provide the following items with this messenger and come along with.

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------|
| (1) Cooking oil | one viss |
| (2) Onion | two visses |
| (3) Seasoning powder | three packs |
| (4) Cheroot | four packs |
| (5) Small batteries | four packs |

Chairman, come along with this messenger. If you fail, action would be taken.

[sd.]
Colonel. Saw Kyar Ein
999 Brigade
DKBA

Order 25

Stamp:
LIB. 420
Division (1)

Chairman
xxxx village tract

Bring 20 laborers from your xxxx village tract along with your to Yebu camp as soon as you get this message.

[sd.]
Camp Commander
Yebu camp

Order 26

To
xxxx village

Dear gentleman,

Please bring four laborers along with you to Taungzun camp not later than 4:00 p.m. today.

[sd.]
Taungzun camp
8.4.97

Order 27

Township Law and Order Restoration Council
Papun
Ref.No.59/1-26/TLORC 370
Date: April 28, 1997

To,
Village Headman
xxxx Village

Subject: Relocation of villages

Reference: No.(1) Military Strategy group's telegram dated 10.1.97,

(1) According to the reference telegram, to crush all the insurgents, we will operate the relocation the small villages during the period of one month (from 6.4.97 to 6.5.97) as follows.

- (a) Panhtun village to No (4) Ward.
- (b) Mae Wahde, Panaw Kale, Dwelow, Khale Udo and Phoemude villages to May Nan New village.
- (c) Mae Yin Village to Palu See Village.
- (d) Maw Hta, Khee Hta, Lower Village of Baw Takhe Khee, Naw Kaw Khee, Phwe Hta, Lower Village of Utu Kalo and Upper Village of Utu Kalo to Khawput village.
- (e) Mae Hta w kee, Kyut Khode, Lay Ainsu, Baw Tha Kee and Chaw Pwede to Starlay village.
- (f) Chaw Mupu, Parmula, Chawmu Laykho, Kyaw Nyohta, Tehta, Pawkhee, Duwa and Pokhaw to Phawhta village.
- (g) Talawdoe, Phawdide, Lawpalalai, Thekhamude and Chawlawde to Htoonnyo village.
- (h) Patha, Tanya Khee and Kanelay move to Mae Paw Muhta village.
- (i) Kanekho move to Marmude village.
- (j) Phar See Kung, Saita Maut, Wattho Kala, Pyinma, Myinta Pyay, Tharmah Hoolaw and Thar Dulaw to Makaw Village.
- (k) Nopha Do to Thar Dulaw Village.
- (l) No Lawsu, Tobawso and Karipe Kho to Kusait State Middle School.
- (m) Khalethta, Mawhtoo and Eipaw Klhata to Nga Einsuu.
- (n) Htee Gaw Hta, Kaw Rakhee, Mae Khee and Nan Gu Khee to Nan khu Hta.
- (o) Takhaw Kyo and Tapar Kho to Kyunpin village.
- (p) De Khee, Cherrykyu, The Hta, Htee Bawlaw and Naw wihta to Kyuk Taung village.
- (q) Polee, Poleehta and Pharkya to Kyaungywa.

3) Although the small villages are not included in the above list, they have to move to the nearest villages. All remaining villages after the deadline of May 6 will be destroyed.

4) I hereby inform the village headmen to obey as instructed and order them to explain and arrange the other villagers to follow the order.

[sd]
(for) Chairperson

Copy to: - Military Strategy Commander
- No(1) Military Strategy Group

- South Eastern Region Military Headquarter
- Papun, Karen Division
- Office Copy
- Office Circulation

Order 28

Stamp:
LIB. 347
Military Control Command

Chairman
xxxx Village

April 29, 1997

Subject: To collect the money for fertilizer.

Reference: Township Law & Order Restoration Council (Leshi) letter dated 20-A-97, reference no. Eco/152

- 1) According to the reference letter, the TLSC Secretary U Mah Kho will leave from Leshi on April 29, 1997 to the villages in the western region for collecting the money for fertilizers.
- 2) Therefore, I inform the Chairmen of Ward Law and Order Restoration Council to meet him at Sonmara village standby with required 10,800 kyats for fertilizer of Hai Lwin village tract.

[sd]
Military Column
Commander
Column 2
LIB. 347

Order 29

Stamp:
Light Infantry Battalion 347

Chairman
Sonmara Village, xxxx group, xxxx group.

April 29, 97

Subject: To pay money for fertilizer.

Reference: Township Law & Order Restoration (Leshi) letter dated April 28, 1997, reference no. Eco/152

- 1) According to the reference letter, the Secretary of Township Law and Order Restoration, U Mah Kho Hall will come to the villages in the western region to collect the money for fertilizers.
- 2) Therefore, to prepare the money that your villages require to pay.
- 3) To inform the above addressed villages about this matter.

{sd}
Military Column Commander
Column 2
LIB. 347

Order 30

Stamp:
LIB. 347
Division (1)

Date: 6-5-97

Chairman
xxxx village

- 1) To immediately relay this letter to xxxx village as soon as you get this.
- 2) Come at 10:00 a.m. tomorrow along with the money required for the fertilizer.
- 3) If you fail to comply, severe action would be taken.

[sd.]
Division Commander
Division (1)

Order 31

Stamp:
Frontline LIB. 258
Column (1)

To:
xxxx village

Bring two laborers from your village for military column not later than tomorrow evening.

[sd.]
Lt-Captain Zaw Tint
Yebu Camp Commander

Order 32

Date: 31-5-97

To:
Village headmen and trustee committee members
xxxx village

Subject: Every headmen and trustee committee member in the village to see us at Nabu DKBA family camp at 10:00 a.m. tomorrow without fail.

Note: Severe action would be taken if you fail to obey the order.

Captain Nyein Shwe
(for) Deputy Division Commander
Division (3)
999 Brigade, DKBA

Order 33

Stamp:
LIB. 549
Battalion Office

To
Village headman
xxxx office

Subject: Demand labor for the rubber plantation

- 1) LIB. 549 has been working on the rubber plantation at Mya Pa Dai village and has finished the digging of some kyins.
- 2) This is to inform you to provide the labor for digging kyins at Mya Pa Dai village.

Each village is required to dig the 1,000 of 2 x 2 x 2 ft kyins, starting from June 4, 1997.

- 3) Bring your own shovel and other tools for digging.

[sd.]
(for) Battalion Commander
Major Zaw Thein

Note: If you fail to provide, we will arrest the headman this time.

Order 34

To:
Village headman
xxxx village

Date: 19-6-97

Subject: Voluntary labor

- 1) Come and explain by yourself tomorrow for failing to provide the voluntary labor from your village.
- 2) Send 20 people for repairing fence in the camp, not later than 8:00 a.m. tomorrow (20-6-97).

[sd.]
Warrant Officer Htan Do Lian
387836

Order 35

Stamp:
LIB. 119
Division (4)

To:
Village headman
xxxx village
Kawkareik township

Subject: Demanding Laborers

- 1) Regarding the above subject, send 15 laborers for emergency use between June 21-25, 1997. Also send ten big bamboo along with them.
- 2) If you have problems, it can be negotiated.

[sd.]
Battalion Commander
Division (4)

Order 36

Date: 21-6-97

To:
Chairman

Come and meet me at Sonmara camp immediately when you receive this. Bring the rice when you come to see me. I can no longer wait anymore days and nights. It is very important. If you fail to come or fail to bring the rice, legal action will be taken against you. This rice belongs to our camp and we just helped you. If you don't come, I will definitely come and arrest you.

[sd.]
Camp Commander
Sonmara Camp

Order 37

To:
Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: Demanding labor for rubber plantation

In order to build a fence and work for the rubber plantation at the LIB. 549 camp, come and report at the rubber plantation site as soon as you receive this message. Do not fail.

Place: Near Nabu Taung [sd.]
Date: 27-6-97 (for) Commander of Headquarters
LIB. 549

Stamp: LIB. 549
Military Command

Order 38

Stamp:
LIB. 13
Column (2)

Date: 2-7-97

To:
Chairman xxxx
xxxx village

Bring 18 new laborers on July 9 to replace the old laborers. All must bring their own food too.

[sd.]
LIB. 13, Column (2)
Commander
Naung Bo village

Order 39

Date: 7-7-97

Stamp:
LIB. 119
Division (4)

To:
Village headman
xxxx village

Come and provide with 30 laborers along with you at 8:00 a.m. to help build the fence at the military camp on July 8, 1997.

Should you fail, it is your responsibility.

[sd.]

Order 40

Date: 7-7-97

Stamp:
LIB. 115
Division (4)

To:
Village headman
xxxx village

Your village is assigned to provide a messenger on the following days so that report without fail.

8-7-97
13-7-97
18-7-97
23-7-97
28-7-97

Bring reports from other villages.

[sd.]
Camp Commander
Lower Bote camp

Order 41

Stamp:
LIB. 13
Column (2)

Date: 9-7-97

To:
Chairman xxxx
xxxx village tract

Subject: Urgently provide a quota laborers

Chairman xxxx, as soon as you receive this letter, come to Yebu camp not later than 4:00 p.m. along with 20 laborers. Make sure to bring the food for seven days. Yourself have to come and meet with the commander. Should you fail, it is your responsibility.

- 1) Htaing Poke
- 2) Naung Dai
- 3) Naung Khwe
- 4) Kay Tha Yaung
- 5) Naw Hte
- 6) Htee Wah Moe

Also bring the same number of laborers from above mention list.

[sd.]
(for) Column Commander
Column (2)
Yebu village, LIB. 13

Order 42

To:
Village headman
xxxx village

Subject: Invitation for a meeting

Regarding the above mentioned subject, come and attend the meeting at noon on 13-7-97. Severe action would be taken if you fail to attend the meeting.

Place: Nabu
Date: 11-7-97

[sd.]
(for) LIB. 549

stamp:
LIB. 549

Order 43

To:
Village headman
xxxx village

Subject: Request for laborers at the rubber plantation

Send 30 laborers with 75 bamboo and food for two days to army rubber plantation

at May Pa Dai for providing labor, not later than July 21, 1997. We will no longer ask any labor for rubber plantation again after this time so that come without fail. If you fail this time, village headman, yourself, will be called and action will be taken.

Place: Nabu [sd.]
 Date: 16-7-97 (for) Battalion Commander
 LIB. 549

Stamp:
 LIB. 549

Order 44

Date: 17-7-97

xxxx village headman

I have sent three letters already. Why don't you come and meet me? Should I come and meet you instead? This is the last and final letter. Come immediately.

[sd.]
 Camp Commander
 Lower Bote camp

Order 45

Date: 28-7-97

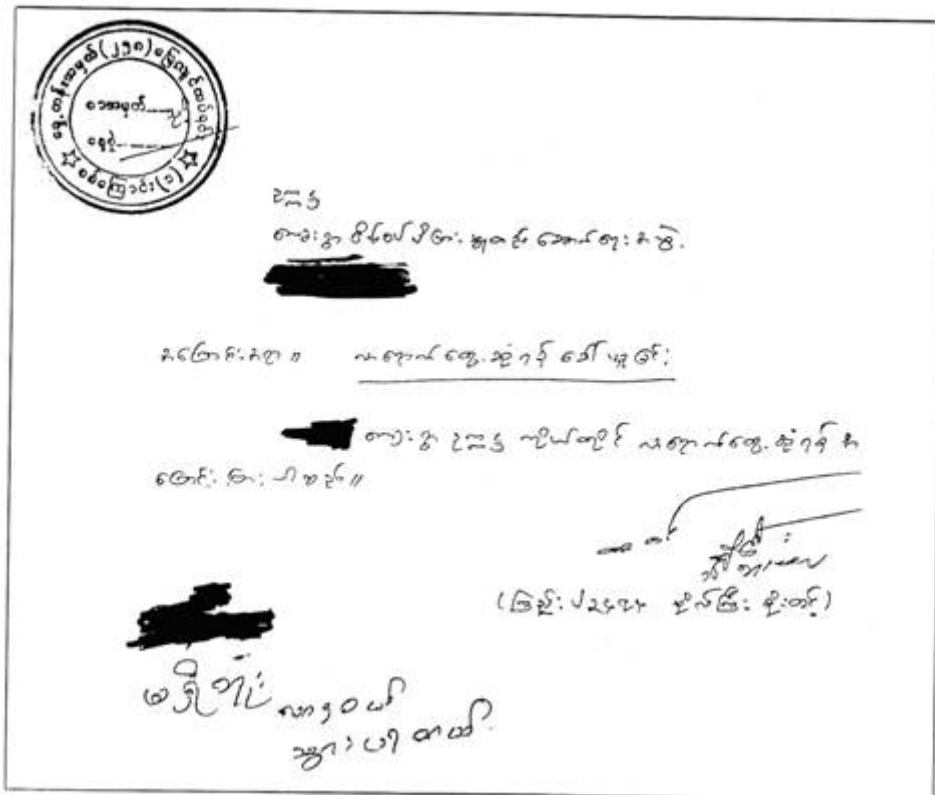
To:
 Village headman
 xxxx village

Send 40 laborers with their own knives for clearing forest to our camp at 08:00 a.m. on July 29, 1997.

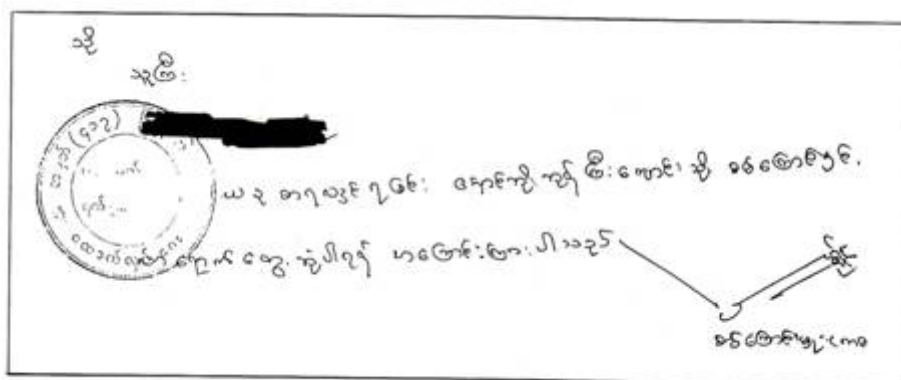
Also bring two coconuts when you are coming.

[sd.]
 Camp Commander
 Lower Bote camp

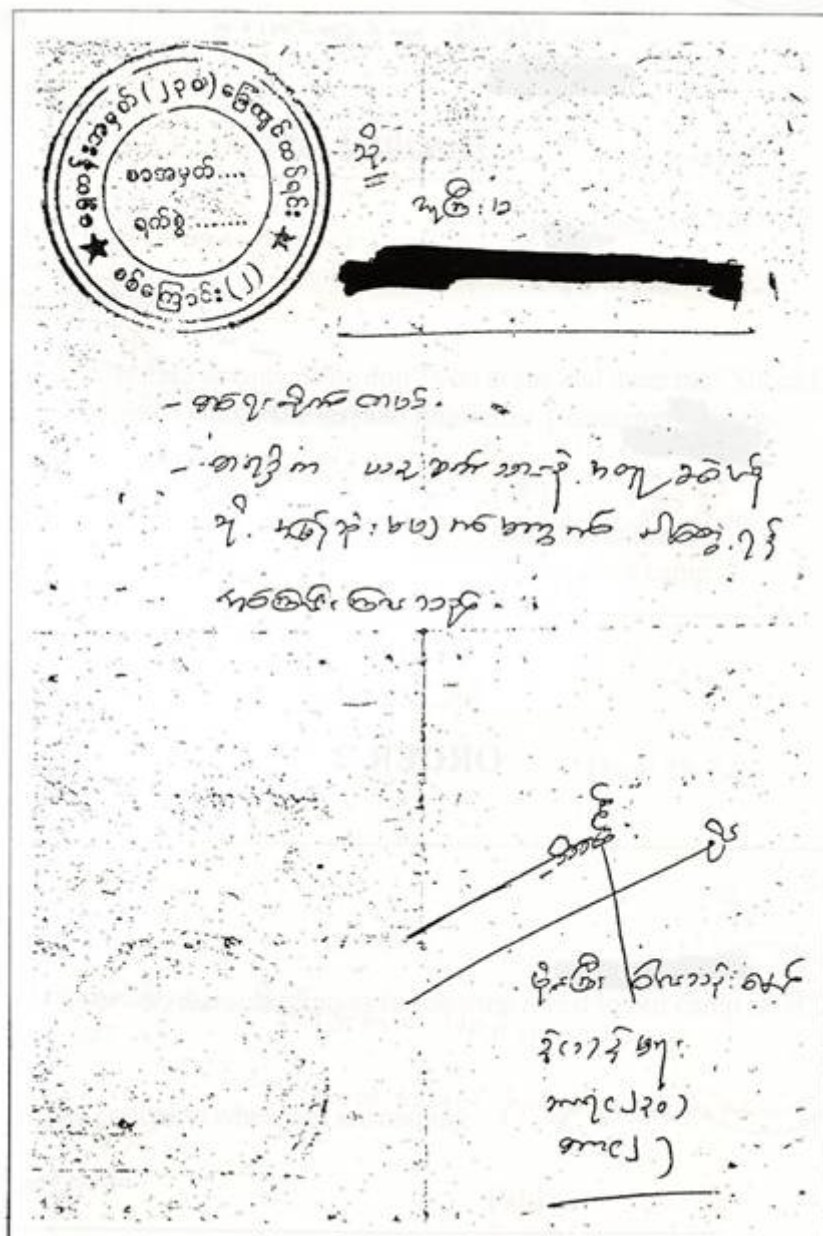
ORDER 1



ORDER 2



ORDER 3



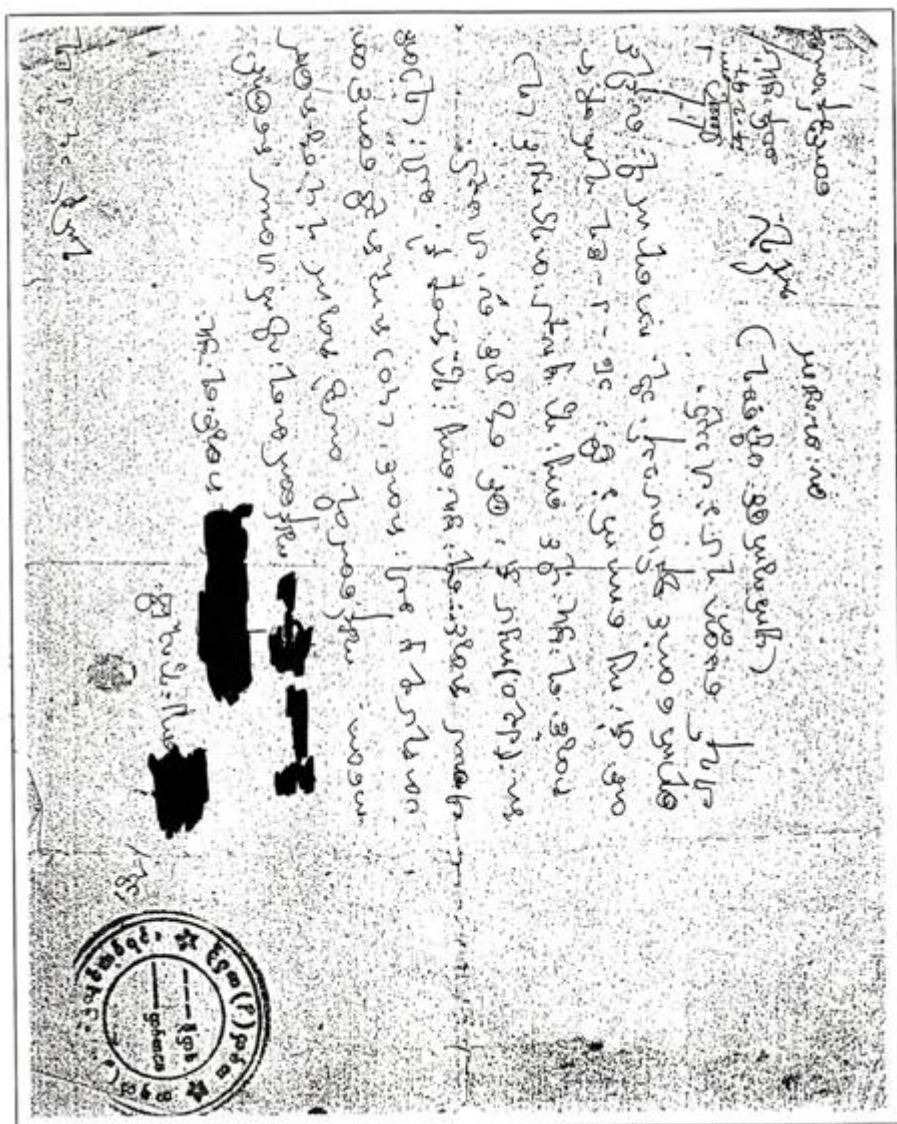
ORDER 4



 စပါးကောင်းချပေးရန်အတွက်
 ကြားဝင်
 အတည်ပြုအကြောင်းအရာကို
 မတည်မတနာ
 ဖြစ်ခဲ့တဲ့ စပါးချေးငွေပေးမှု
 ပေးရန်အတွက် ကြားပါရန်
 ယုံကြည်စိတ်ချရမှု
 ယုံကြည်စိတ်ချရမှု
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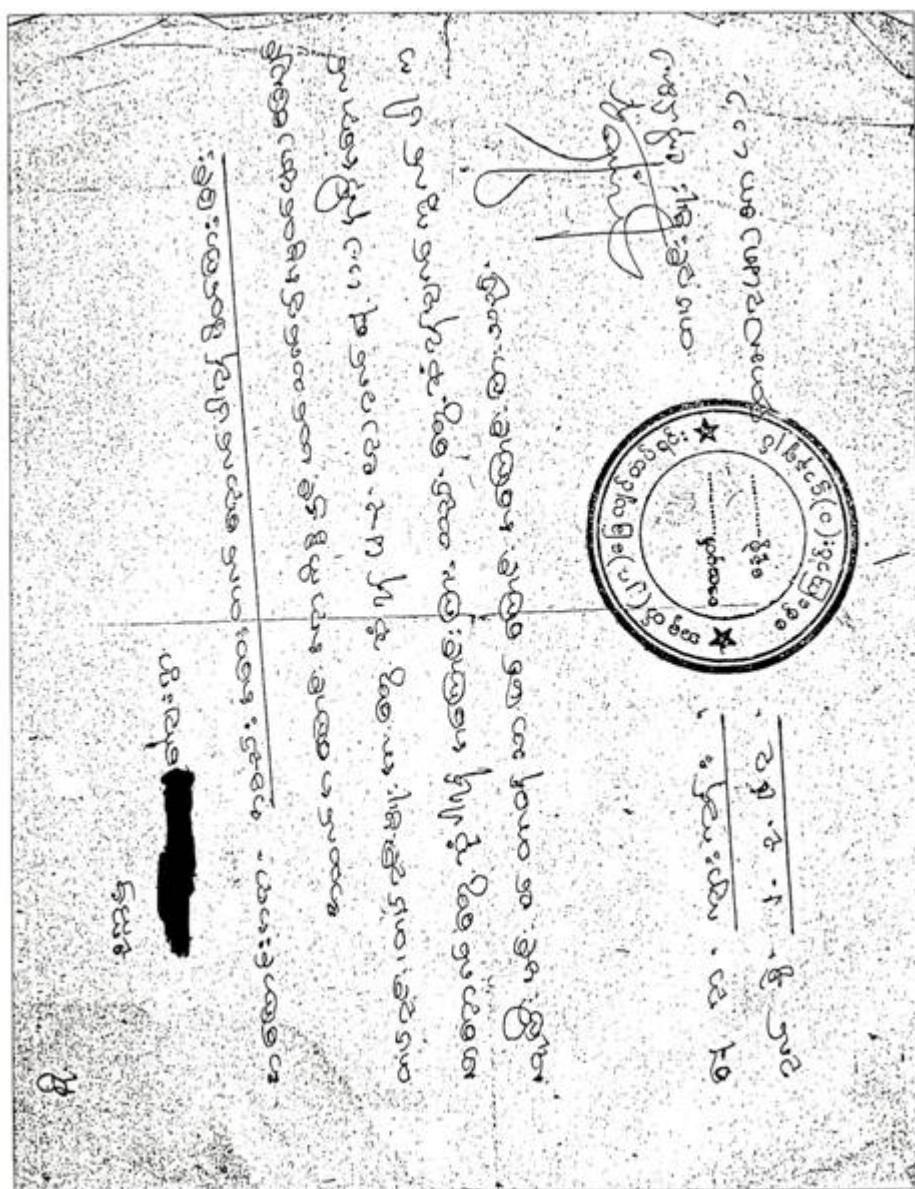
ORDER 6



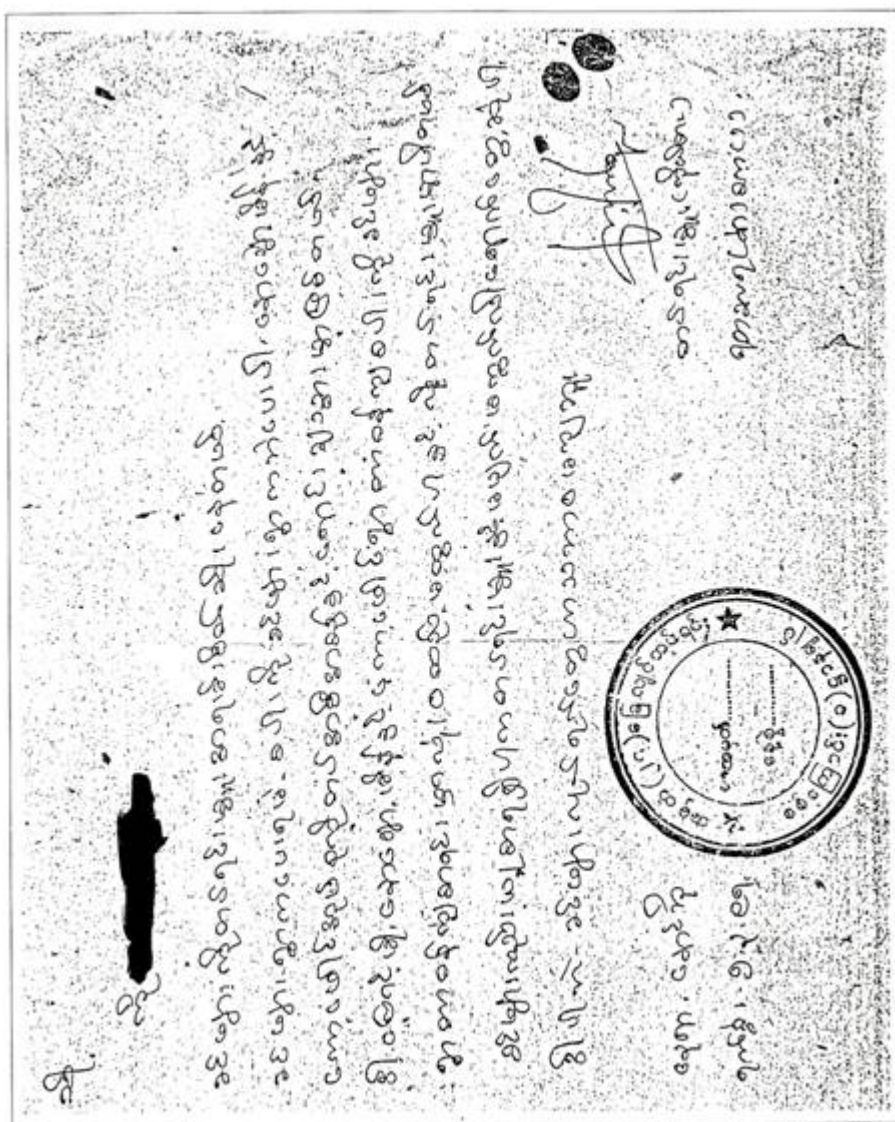
ORDER 8

[illegible]

ORDER 10



ORDER 12



ORDER 13


၂၀၀၇

စာချုပ်ချုပ်ချယ်မှု
ဦးစီးဌာန

၉-၄-၉၇.

အကြောင်းအရာ - အစိုးရအဖွဲ့ဝင်တို့၏ ဖိနှိပ်မှုကြောင့်
 ဤကန့်သတ်ချက် (၁၃) ဖြစ်ပေါ်ခဲ့သောကြောင့် တွင်နေထိုင်သူများ၊ နိုင်ငံရေး၊
 ပြည်သူ့ရေးရာဝန်ထမ်း (၁၀) ယောက်၊ အခြားအဖွဲ့အစည်းများမှ အမှုကြီး
 အမှုငယ်များ ဝန်ထမ်း (၁၀) ယောက် စုစည်း၍ အမှုကြီးအမှုငယ်များကို အမှုကြီး
 အမှုငယ်များ ဝန်ထမ်းများကို အမှုကြီးအမှုငယ်များ အမှုကြီးအမှုငယ်များ အမှုကြီးအမှုငယ်များ


 အမှုကြီးအမှုငယ်များ

ORDER 14

[illegible]

31/10/2019

[illegible]

‘கிரேக்கியனை கி...யினவன்’
 ‘நடையாடும் தந்தை’
 ‘புத்தரின் புகழ்’

• 2005

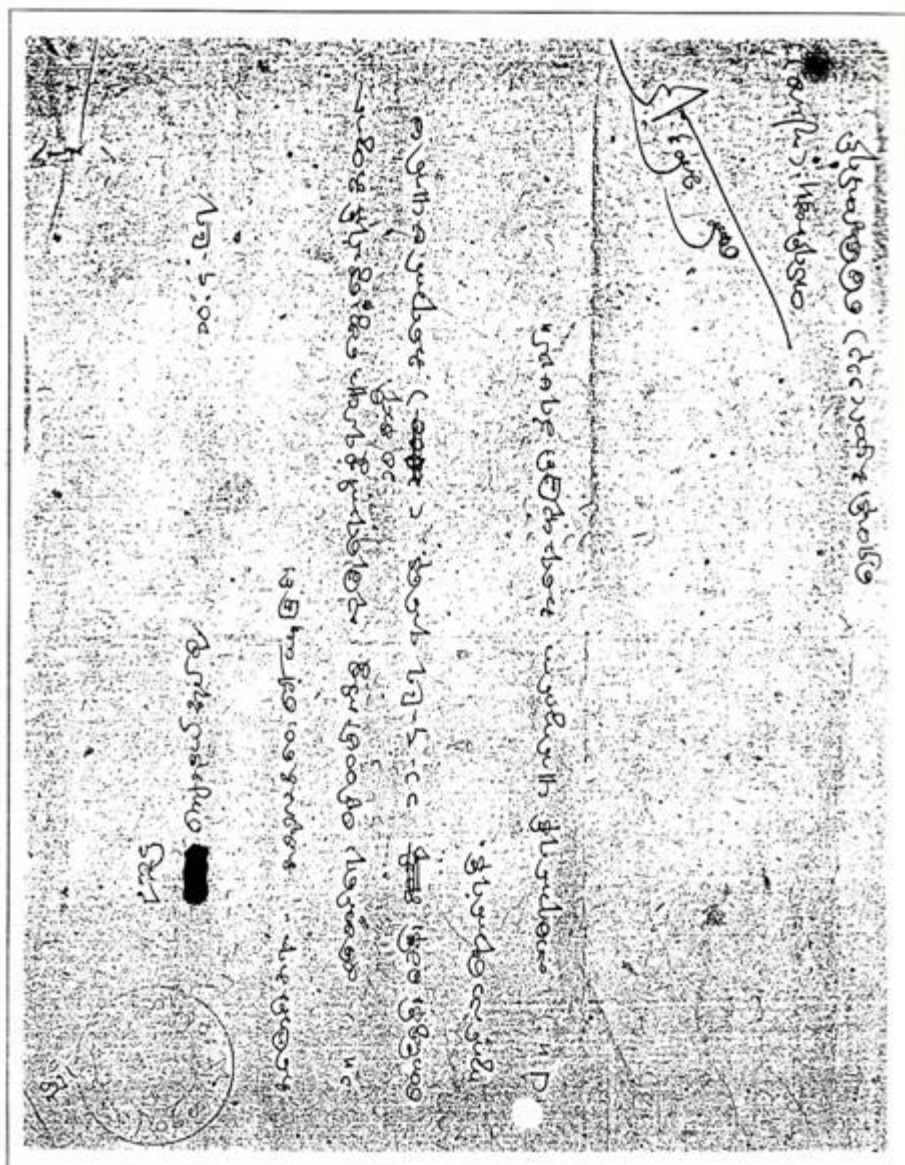
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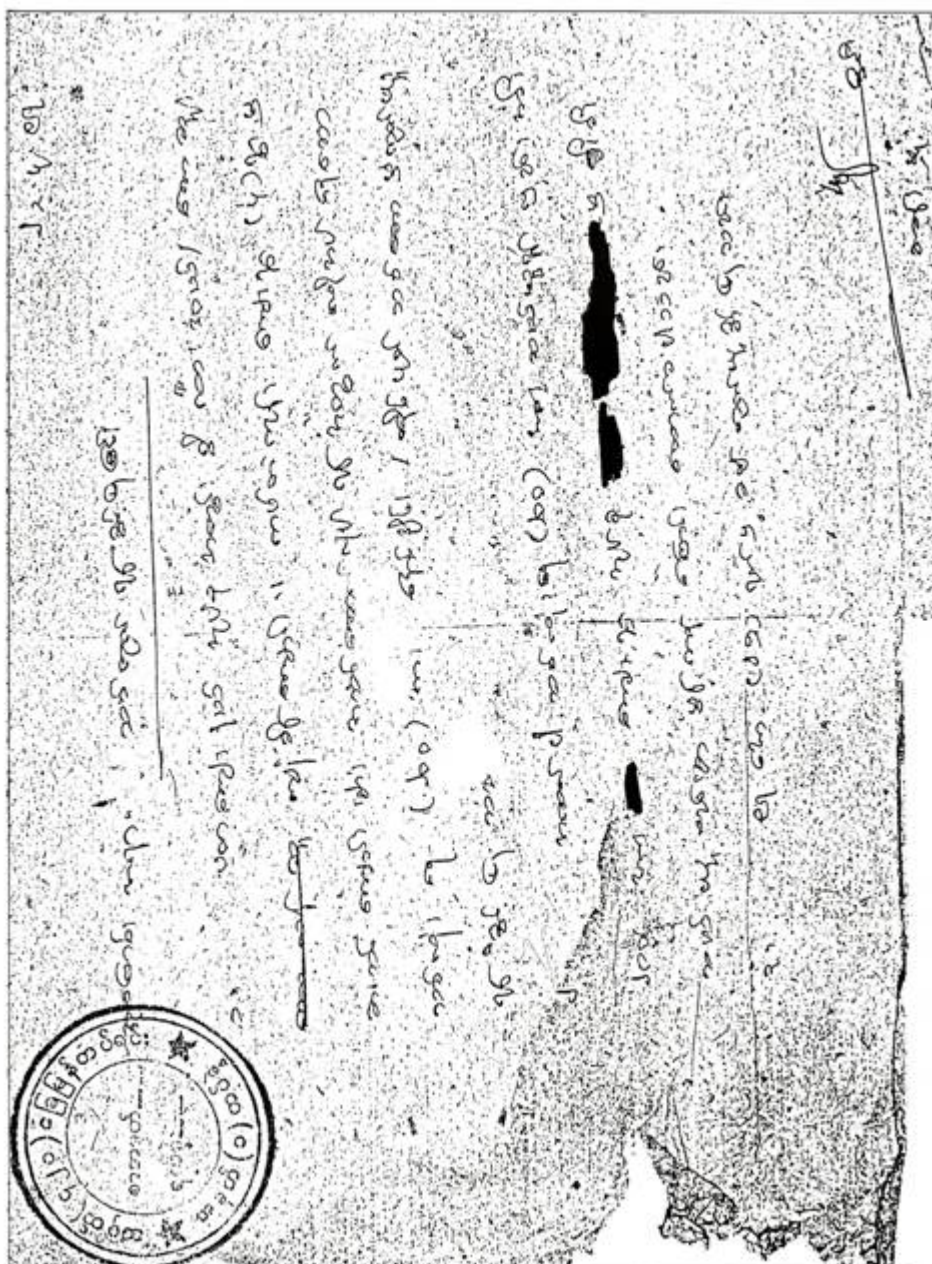
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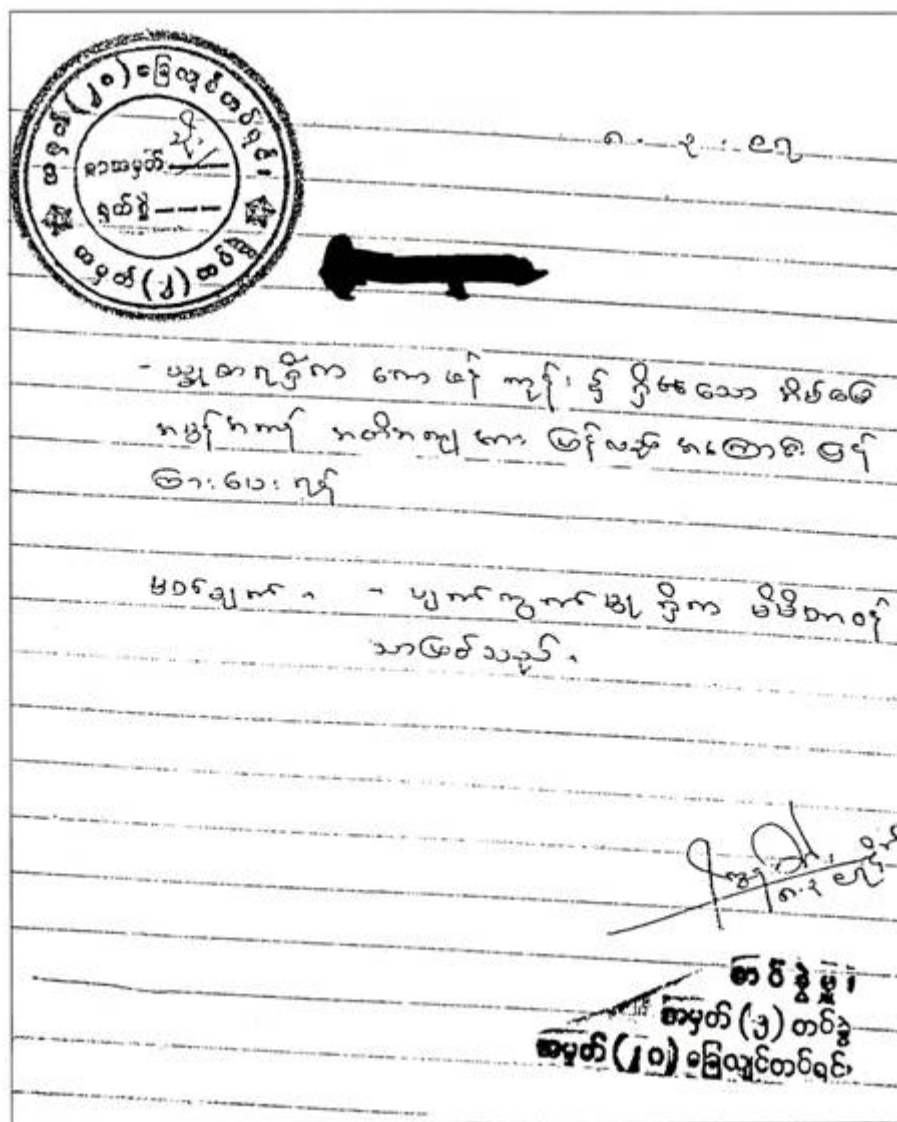
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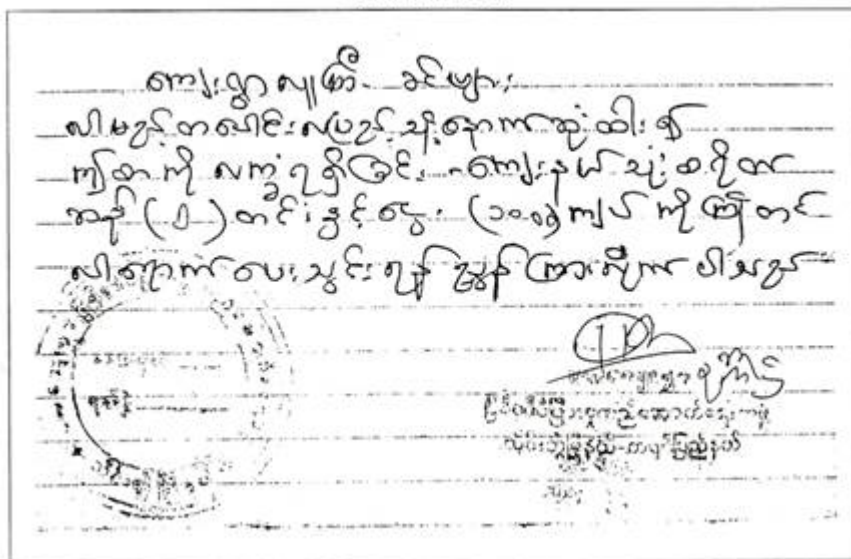
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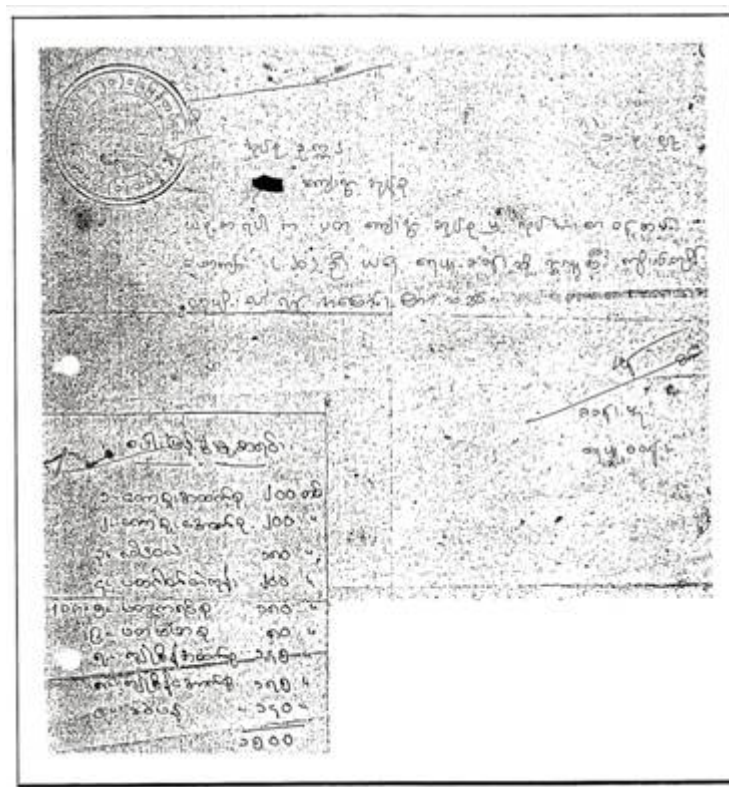
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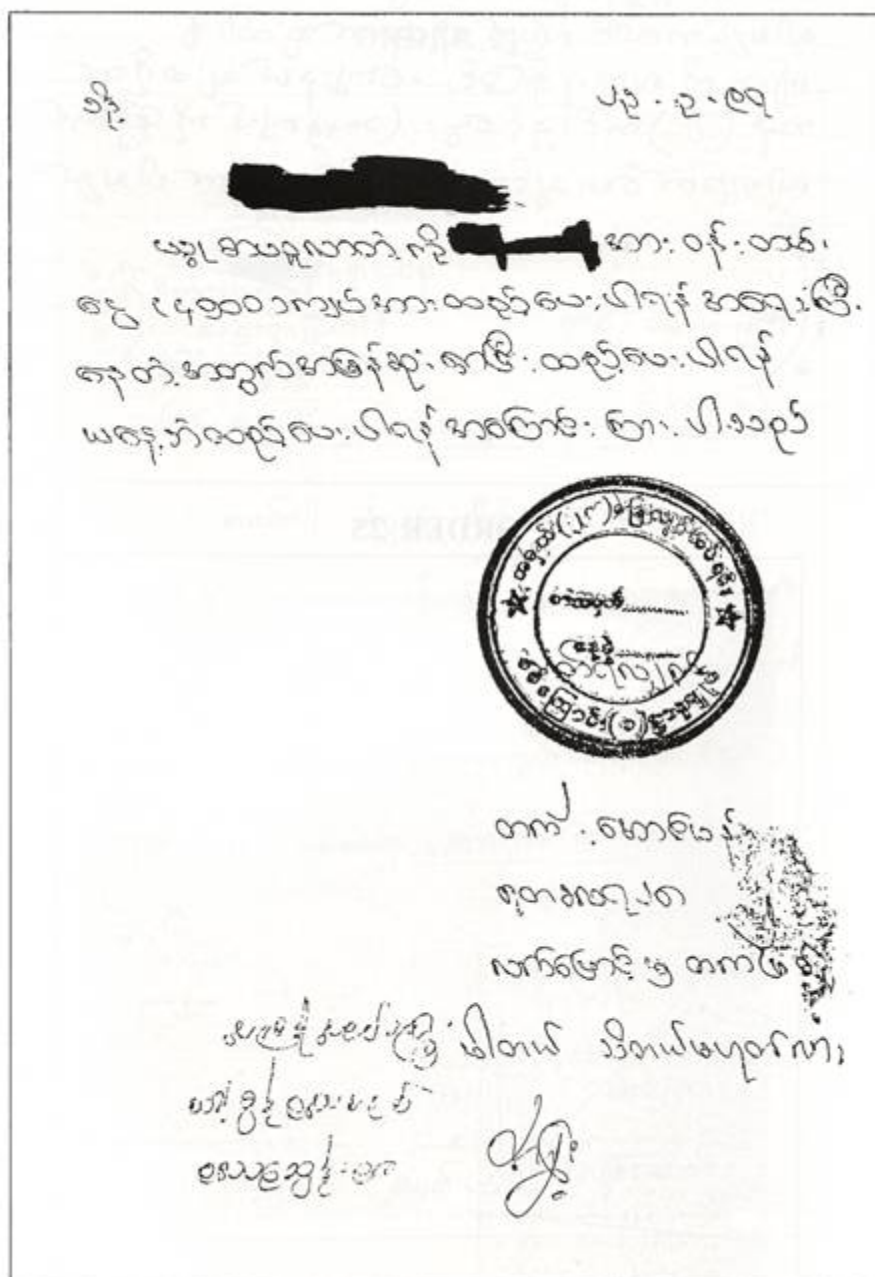
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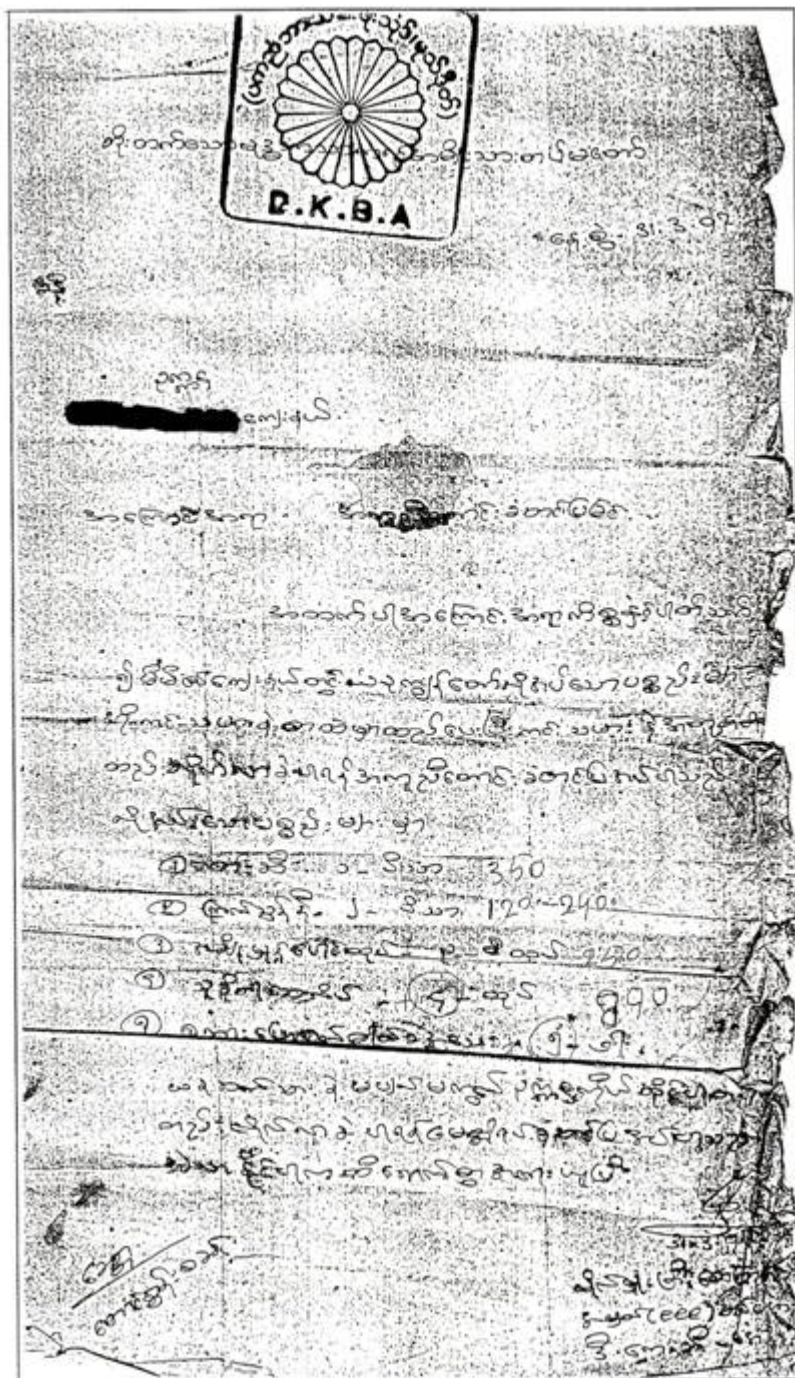
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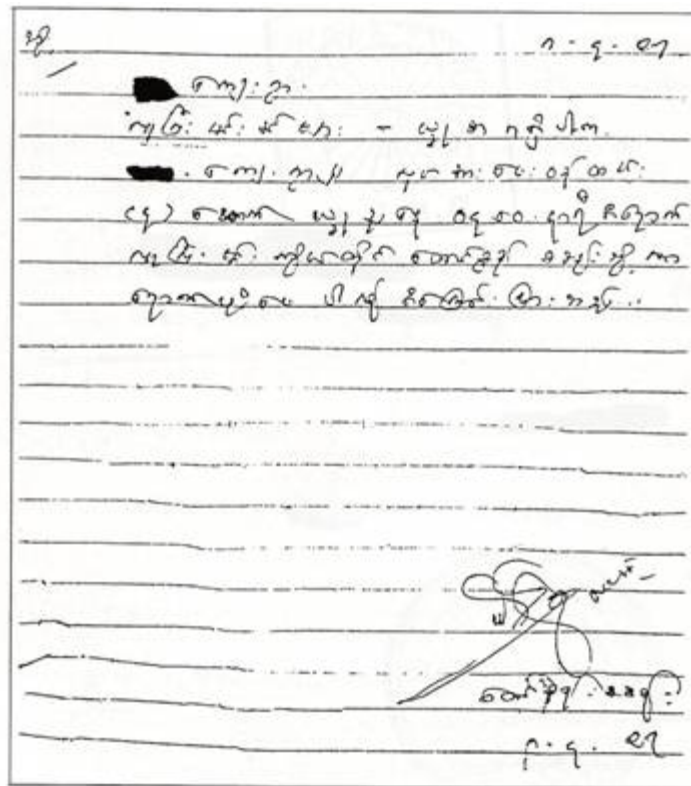
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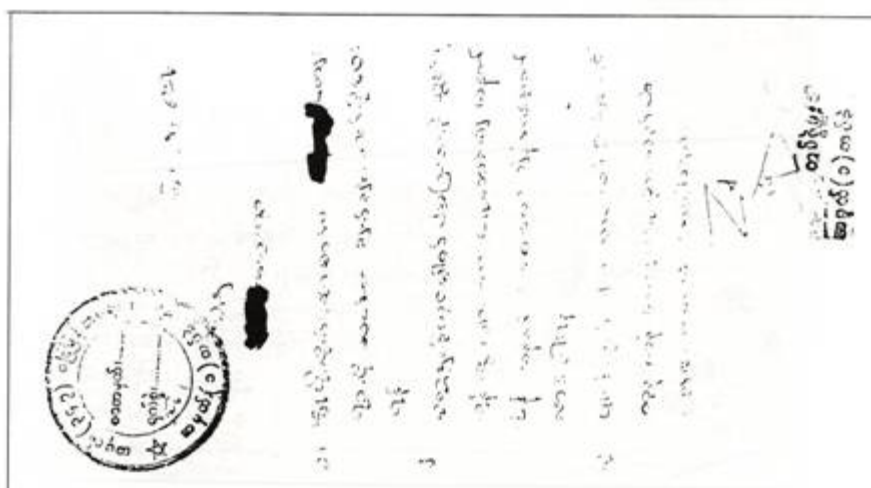
ORDER 24



ORDER 26



ORDER 30



ORDER 27(a)

မြို့နယ်မြစ်ဝပ်ပိတ်ပေးမှုတို့ကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရန်

මෙහෙයුම්: 26/10-26/10 (00-24) තුළ
 ලැබුණු: 0999-9999. මෙය 27 වේ.

ထေး ခွက်ပုံ၊

• ၅၃

၇၆၇

២១ ឆ្នាំ ១៩៩១ ៖ ប្រជាជន ១០ លាន ៥០០ ពាន់នាក់

၁၆၇၁ ခု ၂၂ မတ် ၁၆၇၁ ခု ၁၆ မတ် ၁၆၇၁ ခု ၁၆ မတ် ၁၆၇၁

ရည် ချက်။ အောက် (၁) ခပ်မှီဟာအဖွဲ့ (၈ ဦး) ရှိစေရအောင် ၁၃၁၀ ရက်
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(က) ဝန်၊ မှတ်၊ နာမည်၊ ဝန်ထမ်း၊ အမှု(၄) ခုတို့ကိုလည်း ကောင်း

(၆) ခဲလိဒါ၊ ပုလင်းခဲလိ၊ ဒွတ်တီး၊ ဓမ္မသီဟုဒါ၊ စိုးပုဒ်ကျေးဌာအား
 လေ့လာပြီးနောက် ကျမ်းဂန်များကို ရှိသမျှ အောင်မြင်စွာ

(ဂ) မဇ်ရင်း၊ ရေး၊ ဂွာမား၊ မဇ်ဦး၊ ရေး၊ ဂွာဖိုလည်း ကောင်း

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(၄) ငယ်ဆောင်း၊ ခြုံခဲ၊ လေးစိတ်စူး၊ ဆောင်း၊ ရေပဲ့စားစား၊
လေးစူး၊ ပွားစား၊ ဆောင်း၊

(စ) ရောမဗုဒ္ဓ၊ ယိုးဒယ၊ ရောမဗုဒ္ဓ၊ စို၊ ပြောဆိုသကဲ့သို့၊ ထိုကဲ့သို့၊ မိမိတို့၊ သူတို့၊
ပုံ၊ အမျိုးမျိုး၊ လေ့လာရေး၊ ရွာချီလည်း၊ ကောင်း

(၄) စာလောပိုဒ်၊ နှစ်ပုဒ်၊ လောပလာစေ့၊ သွပ်ပုဒ်၊ ရတနာလောပို
ဒ်၊ ချီးမြှင့်ရေး ပြဿနာများ ကောင်း

(၄) စာနိဂီတကား မာဠုဒိဂ္ဂသနိဂီတကား စကောင်း

(၃) ဖား ဗိုလောင်း ၊ ပိုင်းမော့၊ ဝတ်ဆိုး ကလား ၊ မုဉ်း မ၊မုဉ်းတမ်း
 မာမသူး လေဘ် ၊ သာဓု လေဘ်ကား မ လော့ ကျေး ရွာအိုလည်း ကောင်း

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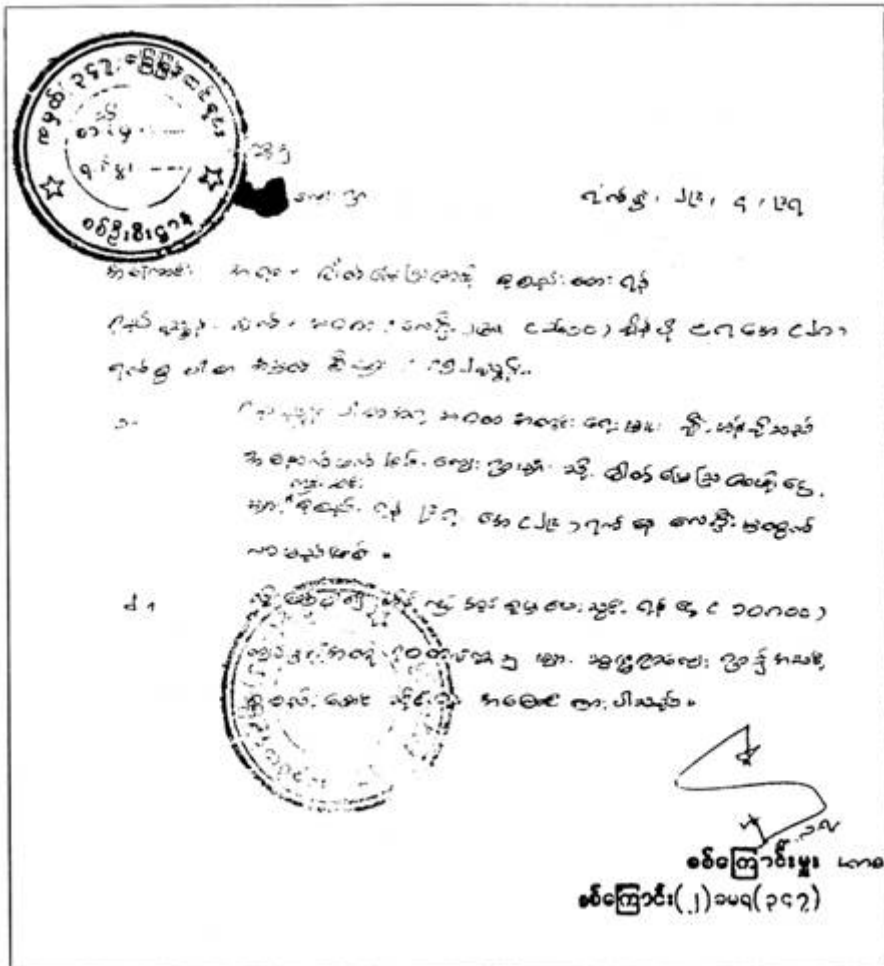
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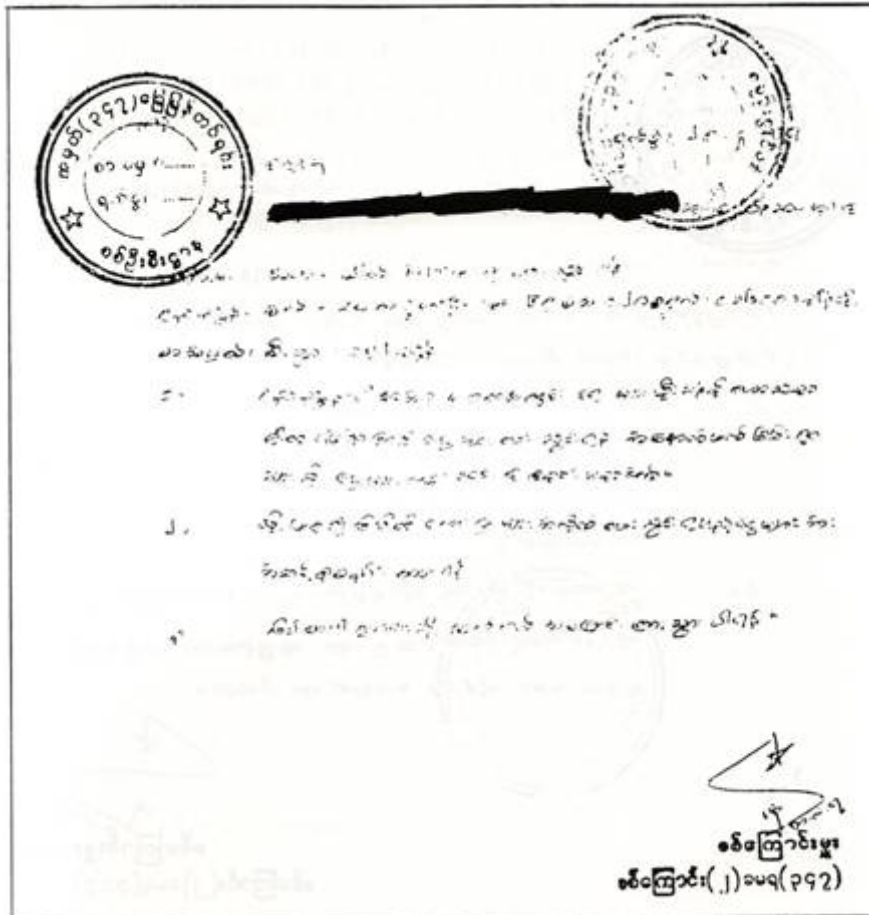
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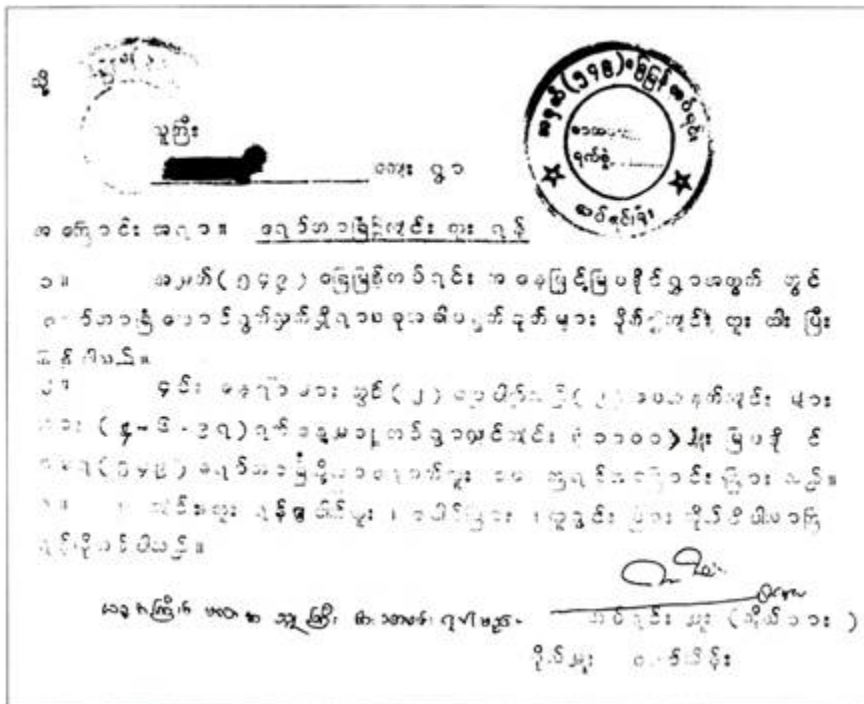
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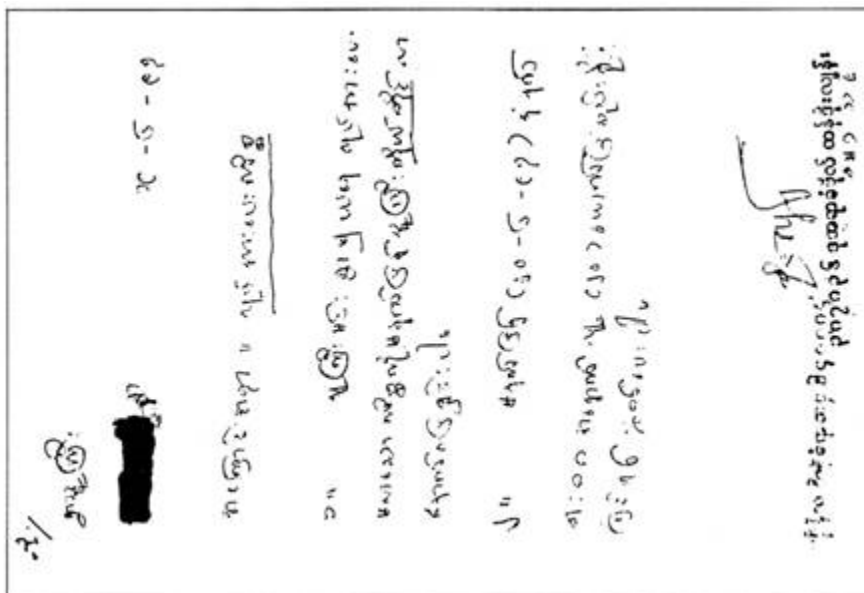
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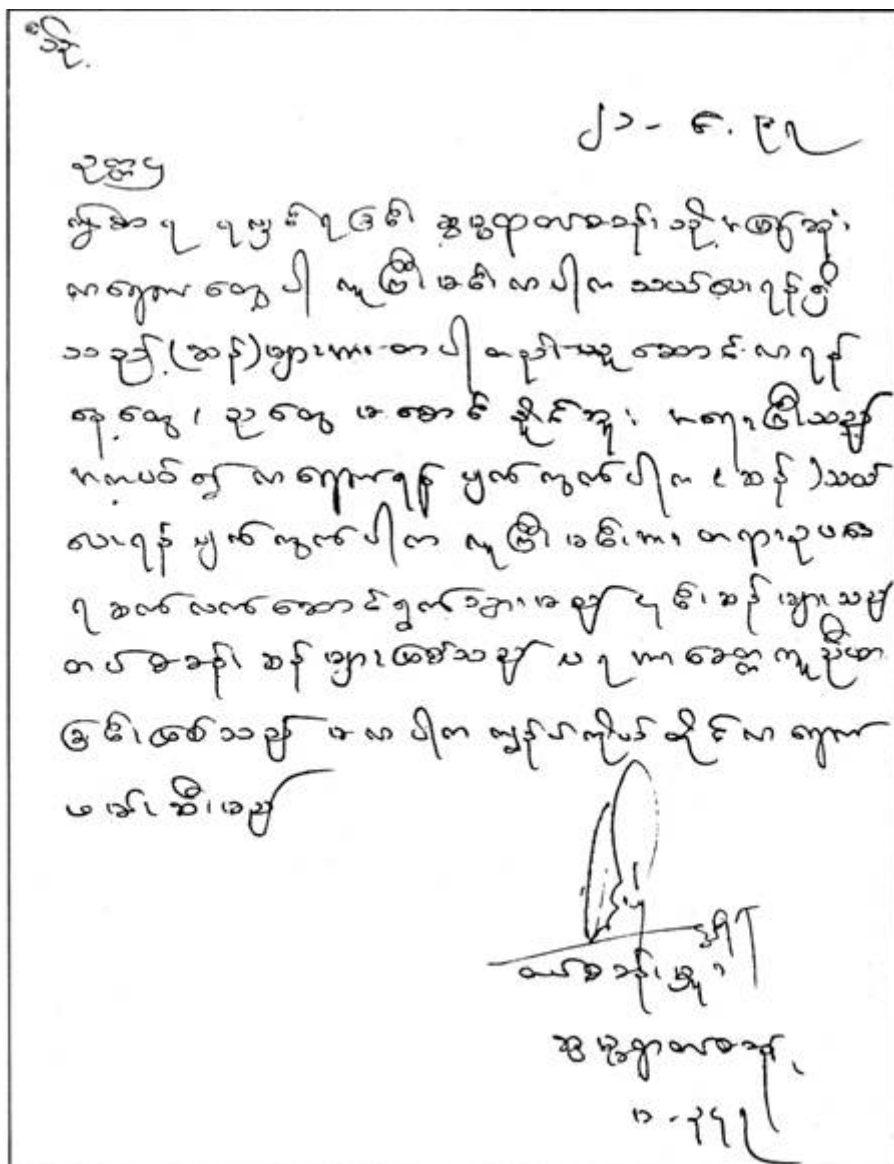
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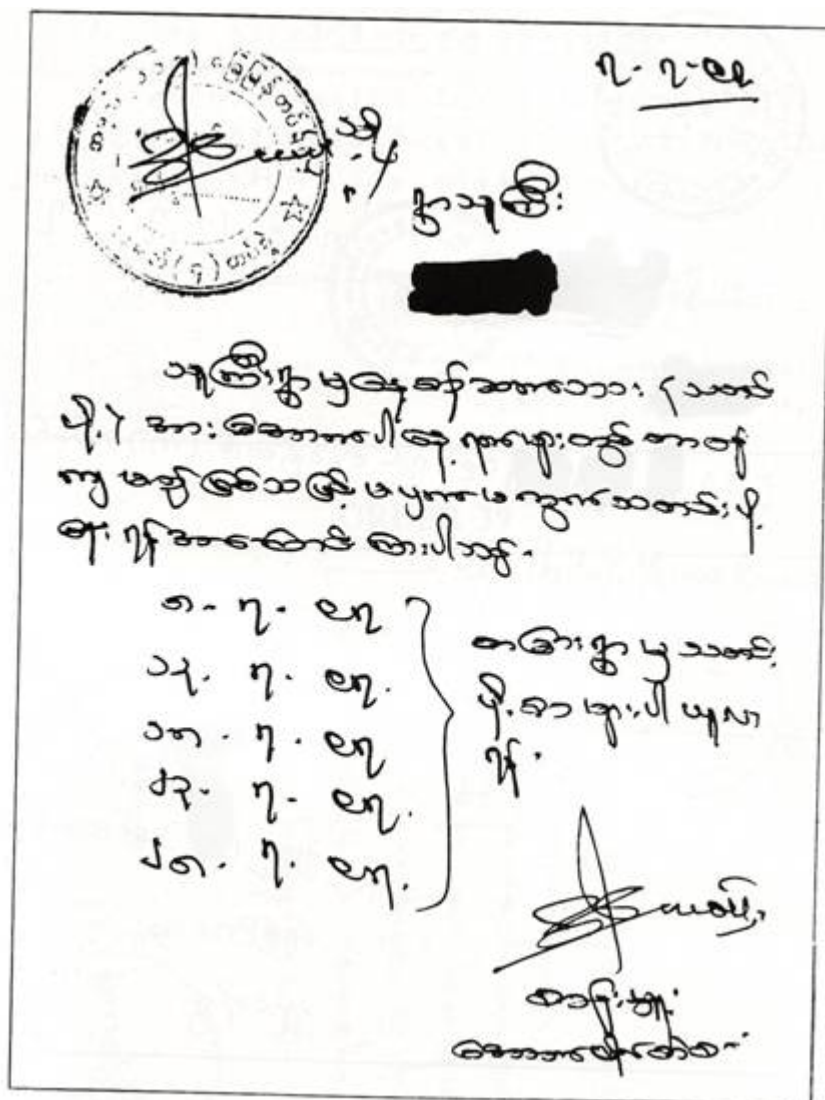
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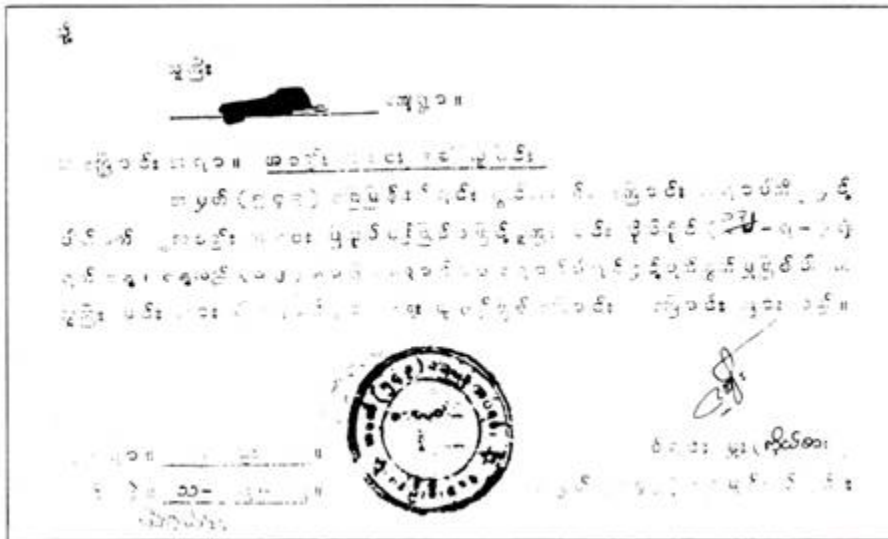
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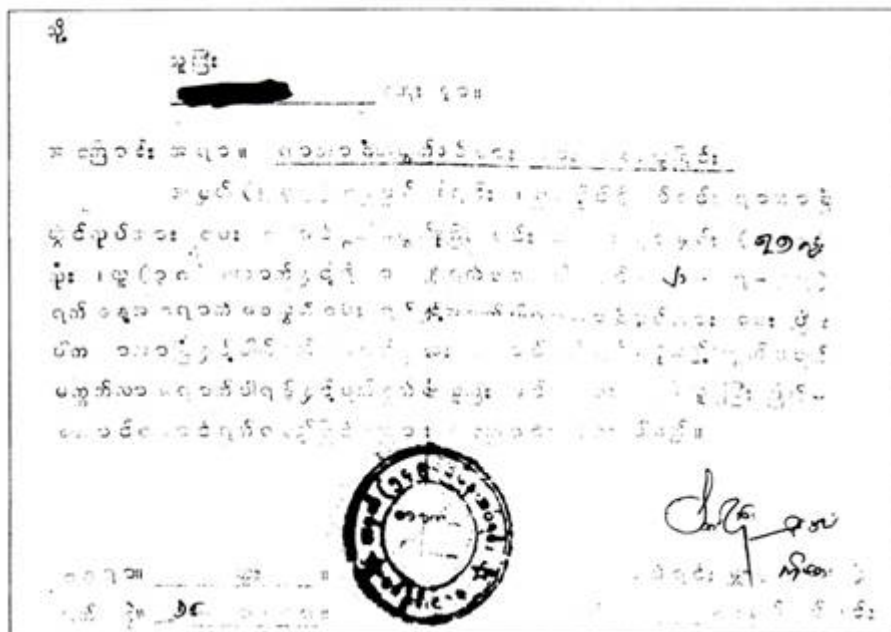
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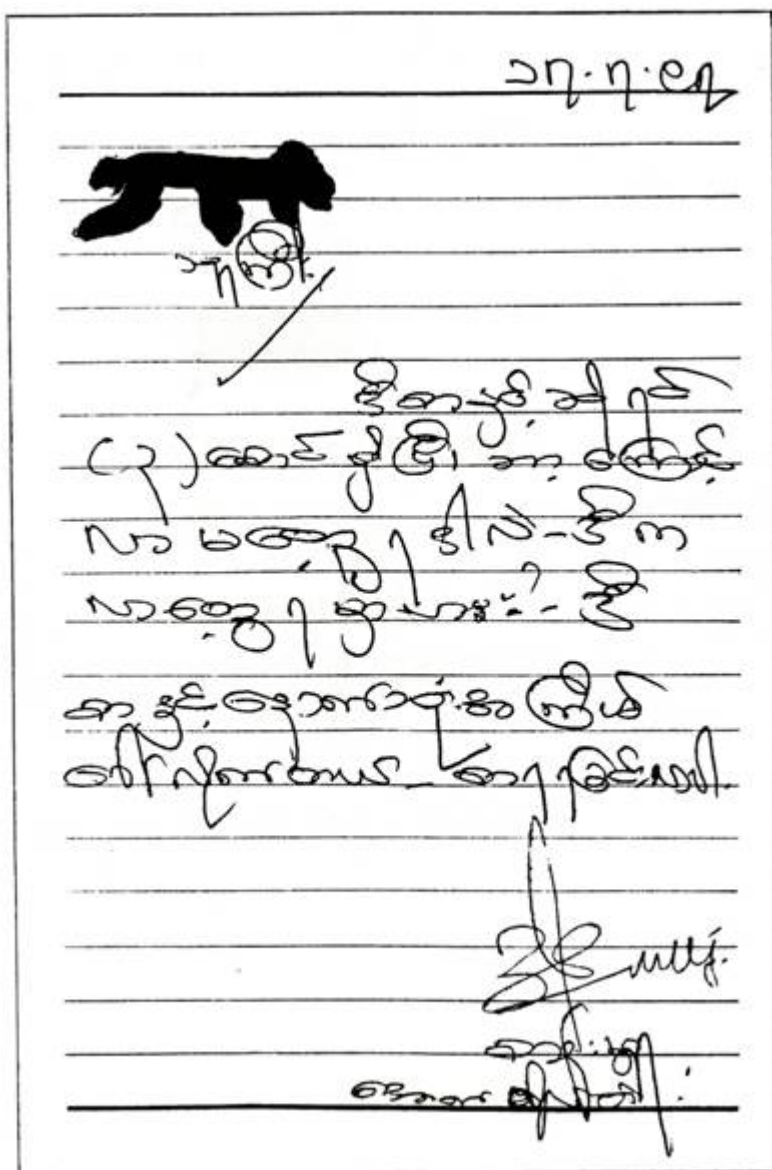
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INDEX

**PHYSICIANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS/DENMARK
AND
DANCHURCHAID**

**VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS
IN
BURMA**

REPORT OF A FACT-FINDING MISSION NOVEMBER 1997

by
Hans Draminsky Petersen, Jakob Lykke, Hans Petter Hougen,
Maiken Mannstaedt & Bjarne Ussing

PREFACE

Previously known as “The Asian Ricebowl”, Burma was once one of richest countries in that part of the world, far ahead of Thailand and Singapore. However, in January 1998 as Burma celebrates 50 years of independence from the former British rulers, the country is one of the poorest in Asia with millions of under-nourished people and refugees often with no access to health or education.

The 48.3 million inhabitants are living under a military dictatorship introduced by General Ne Win in 1962. Under Ne Win the country was almost completely isolated and his way of “Burmese Socialism” failed totally. Since 1989 and until recently the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) has ruled the country, and they disregarded the election results of 1990 where Aung San Suu Kyi’s party, NLD, won 82 per cent of the votes.

In November 1997 SLORC changed its name to State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), but the dictatorship changed very little. SPDC is today more a result of an internal battle between the generals with supporters for General Khin Nyunt winning over General Tun Kyi’s group.

Burma opens up

In this decade Burma has tried to lure foreign investment in order to strengthen its economy. However, the results have been limited, especially after the economic collapse in many Asian countries in 1997. Aung San Suu Kyi’s call for sanctions, which the USA introduced last year on new investment in Burma, could also have had some effect.

Tourism boomed during the 1990’s, but suffered a downturn after December 1996, when students in Rangoon launched demonstrations against SLORC, and reports of violence scared visitors away. The campaigns launched by the Burma Committee against tourism may also have some effect.

Rich country, poor people

The Burmese population is living on a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of USD 650, ten times less than Thailand. Burma, fertile and 676.000 square kilometers wide (15 times bigger than Denmark,) has plenty of oil, gas, tin, plutonium, zinc, copper, cobalt, gold, rubies, jade and teak, but the resources-apart from teak-have used very scarcely.

Burma's former major export, rice, has decreased from 2 million tons in 1962, when Ne Win introduced his dictatorship, to only 20,000 tons in 1996. The "Burmese Socialism" tried to introduce subsidised prices for rice and other necessary commodities, so that even poor people could get sufficient to eat, but this system collapsed more than a decade ago for civilian people. Only the government still uses artificially low prices when they force farmers to sell rice to them, thereby weakening the livelihood of these farmers. Farmers often claim that they are forced to sell rice for next to nothing to the government only to buy expensive rice on the free market for their own families' survival.

Another problem for food stability is the internal refugees and forced relocation. Approximately two million people have been moved away from town and villages, leaving empty farms behind.

All together the result was that at least 7-10 million people-often rice-farmers and internal refugees-were mal-or undernourished in Burma in 1996. After the severe flooding in 1997, when 40 per cent of the crop was lost, the amount of hungry people may be even higher today. Starvation level is predicted in ethnic areas.

Gas and opium

But the government is getting rich on two major products: Gas and opium. According to the USA opium production has increased dramatically since SLORC came to power, and 60-70 per cent of the 1994 estimated production of 2400 tons entered the USA. For the moment opium is probably the major source of income for Burma, but in the near future money from gas will also fill government coffers in Rangoon. Two pipelines are under construction in the southern part of the country, from the Indian Ocean through Burma to Thailand. The oil companies Total, Unocal and Texaco have been criticized by human rights groups for their investments in the pipelines, and Texaco withdrew from its project in Burma after the criticism.

The people

Burma is a patchwork of different tribes and people, from almost black-skinned persons who look like Bangladeshi, to nearly white-skinned with Chinese origins. According to measuring methods, 25-40 percent of the population are ethnic tribes, the rest is ethnically Burmese.

The unrest in Burma is often believed to be due to wars between the tribes, and sometimes it has been true, especially when Burma got its independence in the late 1940's. But in the 1990 election, there was surprisingly an understanding between the tribal groups and ethnic Burmese in support of Aung San Suu Kyi's NLD-party.

84-85 per cent of the population is Buddhist, the rest are animist (5 per cent), Christian (4,5-5,5 per cent), Muslim (4 per cent) and Hindu (1,5 per cent). The

Mon-people in Burma brought Buddhism to South East Asia from India and 'Sri Lanka almost 2,000 years ago and they are, together with the ethnic Burmese, mainly Buddhists. Christianity is seen mostly among the ethnic tribes, and Islam and Hinduism among immigrants from India and Bangladesh.

Outside Burma

According to the exiled National Coalition Government of United Burma (NCGUB) 370,000 refugees were living outside Burma in 1996, most of them in Thailand. Dan Church Aid, which is the major non-government organisation in Denmark supporting Burmese refugees, used DKK 7 million (approximately USD one million) in 1997 to support the 125.000 refugees in camps along the Thai-Burmese border.

Including illegal immigrants, Thailand gives shelter to approximately one million Burmese. During Thailand's economic boom they worked on construction sites, but they are currently facing problems after Thailand's economic collapse in the autumn of 1997 and the concurrent increase in unemployment.

Thailand only accepts Karen and Karenni from Burma in the refugee camps. Mon have been asked to go back to camps in Burma after a ceasefire was reached between SLORC and New Mon State Party in 1995. Shans have never been allowed to stay in camps, despite request to the Thai government. Therefore, all the approximately 200.000 Shans presently in Thailand are there illegally.

The members of the NCGUB government live in different countries, but keep close contact to each other and Aung San Suu Kyi. The last NCGUB meeting was held in Frederiksdal in Denmark in July 1997 on the invitation of The Danish Burma Committee. They had to meet without Aung San Suu Kyi, because she would, needless to say, be prohibited from re-entering Burma, once outside the country.

One of the major problems for NCGUB is that Burma was accepted in 1997 as an ASEAN-member. This could "white-wash" the reputation of the military dictatorship, and open the doors for Burma to the rest of the world, especially other ASEAN-member countries.

In Denmark Dan Church Aid cooperates with The Danish Burma Committee. Both organizations want international sanctions against Burma, which the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Niels Helweg Petersen, supports. In 1996 the Minister tried to convince other EU-countries to introduce sanctions against Burma, however he was not successful.

In 1998 Human Right is a major theme for DanChurchAid, and cooperation with Physicians for Human Rights Denmark is a major element in our work to help people who have been victims of violation and abuse.

Bjarne Ussing

Mr. Ussing is coordinator for DanChurchAid's Burma campaign, and travelled together with the four physicians to Thailand in November 1997. Information in this article is only on behalf of DanChurchAid.

Sources: Human Development Report 1996 (UNDP), Human Rights Yearbook 1996 (NCGUB), Embassies in Rangoon, The Danish Burma Committee, Gyldendals Dictionary and Euro-Burma Office Bruxelles.

INTRODUCTION

Various organizations have described the violations of human rights in Burma during the past years (1-11), all committed by the Burmese army. These studies mostly describe selected episodes and events without relating them to the overall situation in the country. The problem has been similarly mentioned in a few scientific journals (12-14).

To our knowledge there has been no previous systematic epidemiological study of the Burmese population's exposure to human rights violations, apart from that of Allden et al.(15). Because of the safety of the involved persons, such studies must take place outside Burma.

Thus, Allden et al. examined 104 Burmese, mainly students who had fled to Bangkok after the 1988 uprising. The purpose of the study was to assess them psychologically, including the possible presence of PTSD (post traumatic stress disorder) and depression.

In 1991, Physicians for Human Rights/USA also made a study in Thailand: they obtained 47 eyewitness accounts from refugee along the border with Burma (16). The study was not epidemiological, and clinical examinations were not done.

The present study was primarily an attempt to examine the exposure of the rural population to various violations, and when relevant to perform a clinical examination in order to evaluate the validity of the accounts given.

Furthermore, we wanted to study whether the past years had seen a change in the conditions of the rural populations, and if possible to compare the conditions of various ethnic groups in Burma.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The study was planned as a cross-sectional examination. We wanted to find out about Burmese refugees' exposure to various forms of violations of human rights in their home country. According to available information, the exposures included: forced labour and work as porters for SLORC's armed forces, forced relocation,

arbitrary arrest and detention, physical violation including torture, either during detention or on other occasions, threats in various connections, killing of family members or disappearances, e.g. following arrest or during service as a porter, and rape. These forms of violation were registered from testimonies of members of the family or the household.

Furthermore, questions were asked about violations against other people, i.e. people living in the same village or people with whom the interviewee had done forced labour or porter service. The questions concerned physical violations, executions, cases of rape in the village, and disappearances of persons other than family members. Questions were also asked about deaths and injuries from land-mines, involving household members family, fellow villagers, or fellow forced labourers.

The individual examinations started with use of an overall questionnaire concerning basic demographic data, e.g. age, sex, family and household pattern, occupation, and name of village or township. This questionnaire included all the forms of exposure we expected to encounter based on our studies of the literature, as well as a space for "other" forms.

Exposure-specific questionnaires had been prepared for each registered category of exposure with respect to its character and quantity, including the identity of the responsible persons. When the interviewee confirmed exposure to specific forms of violation, the relevant specific questionnaire was also used.

When considered relevant, a physical examination was carried out, and the findings were compared with the information about exposure in order to find evidence of agreement. With respect to evidence of torture, the methods used have been described previously (17). The examinations were conducted in English, with local interpreters.

We aimed at getting access to refugee camps or other areas with a large concentration of refugees in order to select representative groups of the refugee population, a method used previously (18). This proved impossible. The people who were examined according to the above mentioned programme (group A) were selected by our contact persons, mainly people living in the local area and knowing the whereabouts of the Burmese refugees and how to contact them. Thus, group A (92 persons) consisted of selected refugees from different parts of Burma, i.e. of various ethnic origin.

During the last days of our stay in Thailand we got access to a private institution attended every day by many Burmese refugees. Due to lack of time we chose to carry out the examinations of this group B (96 persons) according to a modified questionnaire, omitting details about the character and amount of the exposure.

Apart from the demographic data, the questionnaire included time of flight from Burma, and the following types of violation: forced labour, porter service, forced relocation, killing of family members, rape of family members or others, as well as injuries from land-mines of family members or fellow villagers or fellow workers in forced labour or porter service.

Both groups were asked if the flight had resulted in breaking down of the family, such as parents leaving children under the age of 18 years of age, or if a person under the same age had lost contact with one or both parents. Thus, the material comprised two refugee populations, groups A and B, which were analysed separately. In both groups the participants were analysed according to their ethnic origin. When a group's size was large enough, the amount of its exposure was compared with that of the whole material.

In order to obtain an estimate of any recent change of the exposure to violations of human rights in Burma, the two groups were analysed according to whether the flight had taken place within or before the previous 12 months.

The examinations took place in November 1997 in the northern part of Thailand in areas near the border to Burma.

ETHNICS

The examinations started by informing the contact persons and participants about our aim, i.e. publication of the obtained information on human rights violations in Burma.

It was stressed both to our contact persons and participants that participation was voluntary, and that, in order to protect the participants, there would be no publication of data that might identify them, e.g. their names, their villages or townships, photographs of their faces.

In order to safeguard the participants and their families and our contact persons, the present paper will not contain names of people or localities, nor of refugee camps or institutions that were visited.

DATA ANALYSIS

The material was analysed according to ethnic origin and time of fleeing from Burma.

In group A each participant was given 2 points if he or his family/household had been exposed to the following: porter service, forced relocation, torture, other violations such as being fired at, rape, killing, disappearances, accidents from landmines.

One point was allocated for each of the following: forced labour, arrest, and for the following exposures for persons other than family/households: killing, rape, disappearances, accidents from land-mines.

In group B 2 points were allocated for each of the following exposures: porter service, forced relocation, killing of family/household members.

One point was allocated for each of the following: forced labour, rape in the village, and mine accidents involving family member, fellow villagers or people with whom the participant had done forced labour or porter service.

As mentioned, the participants were grouped according to ethnic origin and time of flight from Burma. The scores of the groups were compared using a t-test and a Mann-Whitney test.

The above grouping was not used for the description of the individual forms of exposure.

RESULTS

GROUP A

Group A comprised 92 persons, of whom 80 (87%) were farmers. The most essential results are shown in **table 1**.

Of the 46 participants in the Shan group, 31 (67%) had been exposed to 2 or more violations against the family: porter service, relocation, physical assault, torture, killings, rape, disappearances, and/or mining accidents. The corresponding number in the non-Shan group was 30 (65%). For those who had fled during the 12 months before the study, and more than 12 months before, the corresponding numbers were 24 (71%) and 37 (64%), respectively.

In 13 cases (14% of group A), the flight from Burma had resulted in breaking up the family. Six persons under the age of 18 had left their parents, 5 had left spouses and 2-4 children, and 2 had left one child. Nine were from the Shan-group, and 9 had fled during the period November 1996-November 1997.

Individual exposures or traumatic events will be described later, but the details will not be complete in all cases.

The SLORC troops were held responsible for all the given violations of human rights, apart from the placing of land-mines.

A few had bought themselves free from forced labour or porter service.

Four people said that they had been indirectly involved in relocation because people from other villages had been relocated to their village. These 4 were not classified as exposed to relocation.

“Assault against family members” does not include being beaten, e.g. during porter service, because being beaten is almost taken for granted during such service.

Looting was not included in the questionnaire, but the examination revealed that this was common; 21 people, 17 of them Shan, reported that SLORC troops had come to their houses and had demanded or taken food or animal stock, within the previous 12 months in 10 cases. Of the 21, 20 were farmers had been exposed to this violation.

“Killings (family and others)” does not include deaths due to mine accidents.

The allocated scores showed no difference between the exposure of the Shan group compared with group A as a whole ($p > 0.90$, t-test). Nor was there any difference between the exposure of those who had fled during the previous 12 months and of those who had fled earlier ($p > 0.30$).

Forced labour

Sixty-one persons (52 male, 9 female; aged 15-70 years, median 32 years) reported forced labour. Ethnically, 35 were Shan, 16 Karenni, 9 Karen, and one of other ethnic origin. It was common for individuals to have carried out forced labour periodically during the 2-30 years before they fled Burma; 41 reported forced labour on 1 to 20 days per month (median 8 days) during the 12 months before their flight.

A few reported that they had worked 6-7 hours daily, the rest that they had worked 8-11 hours, or “all day”.

Fourteen said that they had worked on extensions of military camps, 29 that they had taken part in constructing roads (14) or railways (7), and 4 had done other sorts of work.

The 48 people questioned said that they had worked without salary; 39 had had to bring their own food, while 9 received some kind of food.

For 28 of 44 questioned, recruitment had been through the village headman, but for 12 it had been directly by the army; 4 had been recruited sometimes by the army, sometimes by the headman.

All the 47 people questioned said that all the village households took part in forced labour. When questioned, 36/37 reported that women took part in forced labour, and 4 people said spontaneously that women replaced their husbands when they could not take part.

Children aged 8 to 15 years (median 13) also took part, as reported by 26/40 (65%).

Beatings during forced labour were reported by 14 out of 43 (33%), while 24/32 questioned (75%) said that they had seen others being beaten.

Killings during forced labour (a total of 8 persons) were reported by 4 people. Three of the 8 had been shot and 2 beaten to death, while one died in a work accident because he was overexhausted. The cause of death was not given for the 2 remaining cases.

Porter service

Porter service was reported by 58 people, and by 2 involving family members. They comprised 57 men and 3 women, all aged between 18 and 70 years (median 34 years).

Thirty-six persons reported that they had worked 3 to 120 days (median 40 days) during their last year in Burma. 23 persons reported working the whole day, and sometimes also at night, up to 20 hours per day.

The weight they had to carry was given as 20-30 kg.

Nineteen had been recruited through the village headman, 25 directly by the army; 12 out of 15 questioned said that they had been explicitly threatened.

Every village household took part in the porter service, according to 25 of the 26 questioned, though according to two the village headman was excepted. Twelve of

23 questioned reported that women also did porter service, and 9 out of 20 that children aged between 11 and 15 years had taken part.

Beatings were experienced by 22/40(55%), and 32/37(86%) had seen fellow porters being beaten.

All 34 refugees questioned said that during the porter service they had been guarded at night by armed soldiers, either locked up or tied up.

All 41 questioned said that they had worked without salary and that the food was insufficient.

Killings of fellow porters were reported by 18/38 (47%). These reports described 51 killings; 36 persons had been beaten to death, or were left unconscious in the jungle, while one had been tied and left in the jungle; 6 had been shot, 2 while trying to flee; one had had his hands tied behind his back and was thrown into a river after trying to escape; 3 had been killed in an armed encounter between the guerilla movement and the soldiers having been ordered to go in front of them during the fight; 2 had been killed by mines, one because he had been ordered to go in front of the soldiers into a mined area. The circumstances of the deaths of 2 persons were not given.

The clinical examination of 15 refugees showed small non-specific scars on the shoulders, but we were given 2 photographs of scars on persons who claimed that they had extensive lesions from the traumas of the porter service [figs. 1(a) and (b)].

Forced relocation

Forced relocation from their home villages by SLORC troops was reported by 47 refugees; 16 had fled during the previous year, 31 earlier.

We obtained information from 30 of these interviewed persons about the circumstances surrounding forced relocation. One said that his village had been destroyed in 1962, while the other relocations had taken place from 1977-July 1997 (median 1996).

The reason for 20 of these relocations, according to SLORC, was that the villagers had given support to the guerilla movements. In 2 cases the reason was given as war in the area.

The time given to leave the village had been 0 to 15 days (median 5 days).

In 12 cases the villages were burnt down, and 4 were pulled down. In the remaining cases the refugees knew nothing about what had happened to their villages.

Four refugees reported that they had been ordered to house villagers, relocated from other villages by SLORC. These 4 persons were not included in the total number of 47.

Thirty people said that they owned a house and land in or near the village, but none had received any form of recompensation.

In 22 cases the order to leave the village had been accompanied by explicit threats, for instance of being shot if they did not obey the order (9 cases).

There were 2 reports of rape by SLORC soldiers in connection with the relocation.

Two reported that villagers had been shot (a total of 10 people, the youngest 10 years old) in connection with the expulsion from their own village. There were also reports about family members being killed in connection with expulsion from other villages.

Arrests

A total of 23 stated that they (21) and/or family members (10 people) had been arrested and detained and/or imprisoned during the period 1984 to 1997. Four were women, the rest men, all aged between 17 and 52 years.

The background for the arrest of 14 people was political activity or suspected guerilla activities. Three were suspected of criminal acts. One was accused of illegal border crossing, and one had refused to take part in forced porter service. One person had defied a curfew, while details about the circumstances were missing in the remaining cases.

The duration of imprisonment was from one day to 6 years (median 1 month). Our people had been through regular court procedures, but only one was assisted by a lawyer.

Three reported that they had been beaten. Eight had been exposed to systematic maltreatment, i.e. torture. Another person described how his two brothers had been tortured in prison. One of his sisters had been threatened with rape while in prison.

One reported how a co-prisoner had been beaten to death. Another that his uncle had died in prison of dysentery without getting medical treatment.

Torture

Thirteen people reported how they (12 men, aged 26-70 years) or family members (2 persons) had been tortured. One person had been tortured at a police station, while SLORC soldiers were responsible in the remaining cases- 4 locally in the village or forest, and 7 in military camps or prisons. The torture took place during the period 1980 to 1997, 5 of the cases during 1996-97.

Four had been accused of guerilla activities, 5 of political activity, 1 of manslaughter, 1 of misguiding SLORC troops in the jungle, and one was suspected by the SLORC troops of knowing about a mine field where explosions occurred while the suspected person was doing porter service. The last person was so exhausted that he could not continue his porter service.

The torture methods used were various. Eleven of the 12 had been beaten or kicked, 8 with bamboo sticks and/or rifles. One had been injured by a saw, one with a bayonet. Three had been stepped upon by soldiers. One had been forced to crawl on sharp stones. Four had been suspended.

Four had had their shins scraped by bamboo sticks or similar items. While they were lying on the ground, two soldiers scraped the stick up and down their shins with maximum pressure.

Three reported torture by suffocation procedures, either with a plastic bag or by having their heads forced under water. Four reported electric torture. Two reported that a gun had been fired close to their ears. Six that they had been exposed to other forms of torture: drenching with cold water, burning with cigarettes, mock execution, pulling out of hair, chili put up the nose, blows on the ears with the flat hand, confinement to a hole in the earth covered by branches across which the soldiers walked.

Five stated that they became unconscious in connection with the torture. Two reported vomiting blood and passing blood in the urine after torture. One developed an eye infection following a direct eye injury. One had been left unconscious in the jungle where he was found and helped by local villagers.

Clinical examination showed remarkable scar formations on the shin in 3 cases, which were said to be due to maltreatment with sticks. One had a characteristic group of linear scars on his thigh, said to have been inflicted by a saw. One had lost an eye from infection or trauma. One had typical signs of a neglected fracture of the femoral bone, said to have been caused by a bayonet wound, and reduced hearing, allegedly due to gunshot trauma.

One person reported that his two brothers, father and mother had been imprisoned in Rangoon because of political activities. The two brothers had both been beaten. One had been suspended and forced to crawl on sharp gravel; he was trodden on, his shins were scraped with sticks, and he became unconscious when his head was forcibly held under water.

Other assault of household/family members

Ten persons reported that they (7) or family members had been exposed to traumatic events or trauma that had led to invalidity.

Seven persons had been hit by gunshot or shell splinters. Three of them had lost a foot (amputation of lower leg). One had a chronic shoulder injury with reduced movement. Clinical examination showed that 3 had scars from bullet wounds or shell splinter lesions. Impaired function of a shoulder joint was confirmed in one case, and 3 had amputations at the level of the lower leg.

One reported that his cousin had broken his femoral bone during porter service. Another reported that his mother and brother had been confined in a hole in the earth for 24 hours by SLORC soldiers.

Killing of family members

Thirty-three persons(20 Shans, 8 Karennis and Karens) said that family members had been killed by SLORC soldiers, or in fighting or near their villages.

A total of 46 family members (36 men, 10 women; aged 11-70 years, median 26 years) were reported killed during the period 1980 to June 1997 (median 1996); 19 of them were reported by refugees who had fled within the previous 12 months.

Twenty-nine had been shot, 10 beaten to death, 4 stabbed to death (one in connection with rape), one had been tied up and thrown into a river, and one completely exhausted person had been kicked down a slope. The way in which the last person was killed was unknown.

The circumstances surrounding the killings were given in 27 cases: 4 were killed in their homes or at another place near the village during fighting between SLORC forces and rebels, 2 were beaten to death during detention by SLORC forces, 7 were killed during porter service and one during forced labour, 10 were killed in connection with forced relocation. One was killed in connection with rape, one headman probably because he did not show sufficient cooperation with the SLORC forces. One was shot when he left his house despite a curfew.

Rape

18 persons (8 Shans, 6 Karennis, 4 Karens) reported that they knew about cases of rape, all committed by SLORC soldiers. In 7 cases it was a question of family members, in one of which both daughter and wife were raped, while the remaining cases concerned a grandchild, a sister, a wife, and a niece, respectively.

One person reported that a family member and others in the village had been raped. The ages of the victims ranged from 12 to 40 years (median 16 1/2 years).

In 7 cases the rape had taken place in or near the village, in 2 cases in the victim's home, one case in the woods, and one in a military camp.

The reported cases of rape took place from March 1993- October 1997. One was killed in connection with the rape; the family found the corpse with stab wounds of the chest.

It was reported that, some months after being raped, an abscess developed in the anal region of one woman, who died from blood poisoning (case JL 5).

Disappearances

Thirteen people reported that they knew about somebody who had disappeared. In 5 cases it was a question of family members, while 7 had disappeared in connection with porter service or forced labour during the period 1987- December 1996.

Killings of others than household members

Twenty-eight refugees reported killings of fellow villagers or people with whom they had done porter service. These reports included the killing of 89 people, all by SLORC soldiers; 32 persons were shot and 39 beaten to death.

Fifty one of these deaths were in connection with porter service. Twenty-five were beaten to death, while 11 were left exhausted and beaten in the jungle. One was tortured to death, one had his hands tied and was thrown into a river. One died in a mine explosion while ordered to walk in front of the soldiers in a mined area. Six were shot, three were killed in crossfire between SLORC soldiers and rebels while they were ordered as porters to walk in front of the soldiers.

Three were reported shot in connection with forced labour, while one died from an accident due to exhaustion from forced labour. Fifteen were reported shot in connection with forced relocation. Two were reported beaten to death in their village under unknown circumstances.

Landmines

Twenty-seven refugees reported being wounded by landmines, and 5 had family members who were killed by mines. Apart from one of the family members, all were men. The median age of the examined victims was 25 years (range 16-70). The accidents occurred from 1965-November 1997 (median 1990).

Six of the examined refugees said that the accidents had happened during fighting activities, one that it happened while placing a mine, one while doing porter service, 5 while working in the field or forest, 3 while fleeing from SLORC forces or in connection with forced relocation. One had been wounded while he tried to help another mine victim.

Of those examined, 16 had had a leg amputated, either at the thigh or the lower leg. One of these had also had a finger amputated on his left hand. One had the front of one foot amputated. One had lost fingers on both hands. One had lost both eyes and both hands, the explosion having happened when he tried to place a mine himself. One had a chronic ulcer on his shin, allegedly due partly to a splinter from a mine, partly to torture with a bayonet in the already existing wound.

Several refugees had numerous small scars from splinters from mines (fig.5). Seven stated that other people had been killed or wounded by the same explosion that wounded themselves.

GROUP B

Group B comprised 96 persons, aged between 14 and 60 years (median 28 years). Of them 38 (30 Karens, 6 Burmese, 2 with other ethnic origin) had fled Burma during the period November 1996- November 1997 (median, 3 months before our examination).

58 had fled before November 1996 (median, 5 years before the examination). They comprised 24 Karens, 24 Burmese, 5 Muslims, and 5 others. The main profession of Group B was farming (70 %). Essential data are shown in Table 2.

As judged by the scoring used, the people who had fled Burma from November 1996-November 1997 had been more seriously exposed to violations of human rights than those who had fled earlier ($p < 0.02$). This hold also for the sub-group of Karens ($p < 0.005$).

The SLORC troops were held responsible for all the violations of human rights, apart from the placing of land-mines.

Breaking down of the family unit because of the flight was reported by 20 Group B refugees.

Eleven refugees reported that they had paid money to be free of porter service. Six refugees reported that villagers from other villages had been relocated to their villages, but they are not included under forced relocation.

The killing of 56 family members was reported by 28 refugees, while 2 reported disappearances- a sister who had disappeared after being arrested by SLORC forces, and an uncle who disappeared during porter service. These two cases have been classified as killing of family members.

Seven refugees spontaneously reported the killing of other than family members. One reported about 6 deaths from mines when they were ordered to walk in front of the soldiers in mined areas.

Mine injuries were reported by 46 people, of whom 34 reported 125 deaths, and 25 about 87 persons wounded by mines.

In Group B, 59 (61%), including 39 Karens, reported that the family had been exposed to one or more of the following violations: porter service, forced relocation, killing of family members. Of these 59, 27 had fled during the 12 months before our examination. Group B was not asked about exposure to torture, but one person said that he had been imprisoned in Rangoon after taking part in a student demonstration. He had been held for 6 months, and was beaten and kicked and given electric shock. Two of his ribs had been broken.

DISCUSSION

By far the majority of the refugees we examined represented Shan, Karenni and Karen groups, and they described how they had been exposed to various violations of human rights. Our examinations do not reflect the exact extent of violations of human rights in Burma; however the numerous testimonies we received were remarkably identical and in consistency with information from other sources on the situation in Burma (1-12).

We reached our target group, since 150 refugees corresponding to 80 per cent of the examined were farmers; however similar to the difficulties experienced by Allden & al (15) in tracing target persons we were only to a limited extent able to carry out examinations of inhabitants in refugee camps.

Moreover, our study cannot be compared with Allden et al's study (15), since they primarily examined the psychological health of refugee students, while we focused on traumatization of the rural population.

An exact comparison between group A and B is not possible since the quantity of information on exposure to violations of human rights varies quite substantially. However, it is evident that both groups have been severely exposed to among other things forced labour, porter service, relocation, killing, rape and other violations, including torture.

Added to this numerous accidents in connection with land mine explosions, the fact that the accounts from the individually interviewed refugees were relatively identical clearly indicates that the violations are systematic.

The Shans we examined in **group A** had been exposed to the same degree of violations of human rights as the rest of the group. We found no difference in exposure to violence between the people who had arrived in the period November 1996-1997 and the people who had arrived earlier. In **group B** the people who had fled within the last year had been more severely exposed than those who had arrived earlier.

The difference between group A and group B may be due to dissimilarity of selection. As already mentioned group A and group B are not comparable as regards the quantity of information; however, our results do not in the least indicate any improvement in the human rights situation in Burma during the last year.

Family breakdowns are not included in the score used for expositions, since we consider breakdown of families to be a result of extremely difficult conditions of life. It is thus remarkable that 14 per cent of group A and 21 per cent of group B reported a breakdown of family structure. This observation confirms that the families have been subjected to extreme violations.

Our plan included questions about exposure to threats. However, this soon proved pointless. As it clearly appears from our results at least part of the rural population lives in an atmosphere of imminent danger of being pressed to do forced labour or porter service as well as relocation; especially the two last mentioned factors involved a severe risk of losing one's life. In the areas from where we interviewed refugees, there is also a substantial risk of losing either your life or limbs due to more or less accidental shootings by SLORC troops or land mine explosions.

SLORC but also local guerrilla groups are responsible for putting out land mines. SLORC troops were singled out as the only responsible for all the other reported violations of human rights.

CONCLUSION

The interviewed and examined refugees from Burma represent groups from mainly rural districts who have been exposed to massive violation of human rights. Our examinations do not indicate any improvement in the human rights situation over the last year. Shan people examined by us had been subjected to just as severe violations of human rights as the other groups.

Apart from the land mine problem where local resistance groups are involved SLORC is fully responsible for all the reported violations of human rights.

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Front Cover

Refugee child in temporary site in Kanchanaburi, Thailand. The refugees in Thailand desperately need international assistance and monitoring of their situation.

Back Cover

Universities and colleges in Burma have been closed down since late 1996 following the student demonstration. Many youth are forced to find jobs during their long closure of colleges and schools.

Child laborers inside Burma. Young children have to work odd jobs for the family survival.



Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

[Article 26, Universal Declaration of Human Rights]