HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR BOOK 1995

BURMA

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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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For further information, please contact:
Human Rights Documentation Unit
P.O. Box 14, Ngamwongwan Post Office
Nonthaburi 11000, Thailand
o r
NCGUB INFORMATION OFFICE
815, Fifteenth, NW. Suite 910
Washington, DC. 20005.
Tel: (202)393-7342, (202) 393-4312
Fax: (202) 393-7343
E-mail: ncgub@igc.apc.org

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

PREFACE

BY

H.E. Dr Sein Win
Prime Minister
THE NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF BURMA

A year has passed since the publication of the **"HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR BOOK 1994."** This book, which records known cases of human rights abuses in 1995 and published this year, once again confirms a continuing sad state of affairs in Burma. It shows that human rights abuses are on the rise and that the military-run State Law and Order Restoration Council has no qualms about breaking the law as long as the result serves its purpose.

Following the release in July 1995 of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of Burma's democracy movement and general secretary of the election winning party, the National League for Democracy, the SLORC suddenly gained respectability and raised hopes in the international community that perhaps everything was going to work out after all. SLORC rode high on that sentiment, seeking financial assistance and investment from world countries and did, in fact, won some over to its side.

Today, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi continues to be restricted in her movements and people rallying around her, particularly the members of the National League for Democracy, are being persecuted and bullied into staying away from her. The reason behind the release of Daw Aung San Kyi has become obvious today. It was simply a move necessitated by international pressure and, most importantly, it served SLORC's purpose at the time.

Is there a lesson to be learned here? It's plain for all to see. The SLORC never intends to restore democracy or human rights in the country and that its main agenda is to impose military rule through a constitution being drafted by its own agents.

Since this is a process that goes against the will of the people, it is bound to be opposed by the masses. SLORC will then continue resorting to brute force to maintain control. It is therefore glaringly evident that unless SLORC is removed or is forced to enter dialogue for national reconciliation with the pro-democracy forces led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the leaders of the ethnic nationalities, atrocities against the people will continue unabated.

With this in mind, the international community that wishes to see justice done in Burma should chart a correct course of action and not be misled by strategems that SLORC will come up with from time to time to preserve itself.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A journey only begins when the first step is taken. And the journey the Human Rights Documentation Unit (HRDU) has embarked on began when that first step was taken in 1995; the Human Rights Yearbook 1994 was published that year. This book, the Human Rights Yearbook 1995, is the second effort by the HRDU to document the ongoing human rights violations in Burma.

For decades, the people of Burma have been living in fear under the reign of terror by the military. But Burma is an isolated country and these widespread human rights abuses are rarely known to the outside world. Reports about the abuses, passed on by word of mouth, gradually fade away from the mind with time. The effort by the HRDU is to correct that situation and fulfill the need of the people of Burma.

The people of Burma are described as cordial, hospitable, sincere and loving. This has always been our national trait and we are proud of it. But what cannot be known to the outside world is that our people today are subjected to daily abuses by the military, and the smiles we see on them hide the anguished lives they are leading.

The generals of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, SLORC, who changed the name of the country from Burma to Myanmar, have decided to declare 1996 as Visit Myanmar Year. They believe that the visitors would see newly built buildings and assume that Burma has developed under their rule. This ambitious scheme has already ravaged the lives of people all over the country. Millions are conscripted as forced labor in tourism promotion projects, villages relocated from income-generating areas and taxes imposed without any legal justification to finance infrastructure projects.

SLORC has claimed that for the first time in decades, regional development work is being carried out in the border areas following its cease-fire arrangements with armed ethnic organizations. The truth is, under the guise of regional development work, SLORC has been conscripting local people to build roads, bridges and rail tracks. People are told to report without fail to their designated work sites, bringing their own food and tools, and are forced to work without compensation in voluntary projects. Local villagers are also made to pay porter fees to the regional "law and order restoration councils" and the local army units if they want to avoid being conscripted as porters. Giving security as an excuse, villages are forcefully relocated to clear the way for the construction of the death gas pipeline from the gulf of Martabam to Thailand. People who have lived for generations and earned their living in these areas are not only relocated to new areas but also conscripted to work in projects to prepare for this pipeline.

In the meantime, SLORC is holding a sham national convention of its own delegates to draft a new constitution that would embody the principles to perpetuate military rule in Burma. The vast majority of the representatives elected by the people in the 1990 elections are not allowed to participate in this convention. Those who are allowed to participate are not permitted to freely discuss their views.

SLORC military dictators use threats, blackmail and illegal arrests as tools to control the people. In 1995, thousands of political prisoners are still being imprisoned for their beliefs. In some detention centers, political prisoners are kept in isolation cells, deprived of food and water for long periods, and subjected to torture. SLORC however finds it easy not to take any legal action against its accomplice, the Opium Kingpin of the Golden Triangle, Khun Sa, and is even providing security for him.

SLORC is also refusing to hold talks with either the leaders of the election winning party, the National League for Democracy, headed by Nobel Peace Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, or with the other leaders of opposition parties to resolve national issues.

There was a dilemma for the members of the Human Rights Documentation Unit in undertaking the task of publication of this book. It was a task we hated doing and, at the same time, we knew it was something that had to be done without fail. In other words, the process of compiling human rights abuses had a very profound impact on us. We were emotionally overwhelmed by the tragic events that plagued the lives of our people. But we also understood that to leave these events unrecorded would even be a greater tragedy. We could not let the suffering of our people be forgotten. We therefore took it upon ourselves to inform the world about the ongoing human rights abuses in Burma, hoping that justice would be done one day.

The Human Rights Yearbook 1995 records tragic events that are unheard of in civilized countries, and the reader will come to experience the anger, bitterness and sorrow that we felt in compiling this book. We sincerely hope that this book will provide an insight into the life of the people under SLORC and why it is imperative for the world to cooperate with us in freeing Burma from the yoke of military rule.

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the law students of Norway and the members of the Norwegian Burma Council for their unwavering support in making this book possible. In addition, I would like to thank all ethnic orgarnisations and many individuals who supported this project. The very existence of the HRDU would not have been possible without the assistance from these friends of Burma. I have used the opportunity made available to me by the emergence of the HRDU to work closely with organizations that are noble and just and have a profound sympathy for the people of Burma. I therefore wish to put on record my profound gratitude to KHRG, HURFOM, M.I.S, ABSDF, S.H.A.N NLD(LA), SAIN and Images Asia, for their enthusiastic assistance and cooperation for the publication this book.

For any shortcomings in this book, I alone must accept responsibility. Finally, a wish by the members of the HRDU: May the journey toward a peaceful and prosperous Burma where human rights prevail and toward establishing a pleasant life for the people be short and quick.

Thein Oo
Minister of 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
ABSL -	All Burma Students League
aka -	also known as
ALP -	Arakan Liberation Party
approx -	approximately
ASC -	Arakanese Students Congress
BAD -	Border Area Development programme
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 Programme Party
Capt -	Captain
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 Defence Services Intelligence
DKBA -	Democratic Kayin (Karen) Buddhist Association
DPA -	Democratic Patriotic Army
Dta Baw -	The Yellow Ones (the common Karen names for DKBA)
FEC -	Foreign Exchange Certificate (officially valued at US$1 = 1 FEC; unofficial/black market US$1 = 110-120 FEC)
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 Bn
IDC -	Immigration Detention Centre (Thailand)
Ind -	Independent
Lt -	Lieutenant

kg -	Kilogram
KHRG -	Karen Human Rights Group
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 (usually red-and-white) headbands (a relatively small group which has allied itself with DKBA. It started as a civilian organisation focused on preserving Karen culture but at some point was either subverted or forcibly taken over by militant DKBA members. Ko Per Kit members now carry samurai-style swords which they say must be used to kill someone if they are drawn, and operated together with DKBA troops.)
Ko Per Wah -	The White Headbands which was recently formed. Formed by a monk who then allied himself with DKBA chief U Thuzana.
Ks -	Kyats (approx. value: official US$1 = 6 Ks; unofficial US$1 = 110-120 Ks)
LIB -	Light Infantry Battalion
LID -	Light Infantry Division
LORC -	Law and Order Restoration Council (on the local, regional, etc., levels)
Maj -	Major
Ma Wa Ta -	Township-level SLORC authorities
MDUF	Meik-Dawei United Front (a 100 strong ethnic Tavoyan armed opposition group formerly known as DPA)
MIS -	Military Intelligence Services (aka DDSI)
MIS -	Mon Information Service
mm -	millimetre
MNRC -	Mon National Relief Committee
MOGE	Myanmar Oil & Gas Enterprise
MOI -	Ministry of Interior (Thailand)
MOU -	Memorandum of Understanding
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 organisation
NLD -	National League for Democracy
NLM -	The New Light of Myanmar

NMSP -	New Mon State Party
Pa Wa Ta -	State-level SLORC authorities
Pali -	Sanskrit
Pvt -	Private
Pyi -	Country
pyi	eight-condensed-milk tin
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 (now know as SSA after joining the latter army)
SUA	Shan United Army (now-defunct when MTA exits)
SURA	Shan United Revolutionary Army (now-defunct when MTA exists)
Ta Wa Ta-	Division-level SLORC authorities
TOC -	Tactical Operations Command
TRC -	Thailand Revolutionary Council
USDA -	Union Solidarity and Development Association
Ya Wa Ta	Town-quarter-level or Village-level SLORC authorities
yrs -	Years

TERMS

Baht -	monetary unit of Thailand (see under "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 under "measurements").
jaggery -	a hard brown crystallised substance which is obtained from boiling sugarcane juice and also sap from toddy palm stems, and used as brown sugar or syrup
Kawthoolei -	Karen name for the Karen nation.
Khun -	form of address to an adult Thai male
Ko -	form of address to a young male.
kyat -	monetary unit of Burma.
longyi -	sarong in Burmese language
Ma -	form of address to a young female.
Mahn -	form of address to a male.

Maung -	form of address to a young male.
Mehm/Min -	form of address to a young male
Mi -	form of address to a female.
Movement	the SLORC appoints a village "headman" (not the same as the real Paper- headman), usually against his will, and this man is then authorised 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 -	form of address to an adult male.
Naw -	form of address to a female.
plah -	Karen measurement of distance, from elbow to fingertip (1 plah is under 2 feet).
pya -	100 pyas = 1 kyat.
ringworm -	derogatory SLORC reference to KNLA soldiers.
Sai -	form of address to a young male.
Sangha -	Buddhist order of monks.
Sao -	male of royal descent.
Saw -	form of address to a male.
Sayadaw -	Buddhist abbot.
Tatmadaw -	Burmese Army.
Thakin -	master (used to address the British colonial rulers; later politicised by the Burmese independence movement in the '30s).
tickle -	(see under "Measurements").
tin -	(see under "Measurements").
tract (village) -	area consisting of 4-6 villages.
U -	an honorific used to address an adult male.
viss -	(see under "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 kilometres
baht	1 baht = 100 satang = US$ 0.04
	25 baht = US$ 1
FEC	1 FEC = US$ 1 (official)
	1 FEC = US$ 110-120 (unofficial)
furlong	1 furlong = 220 yards (1/8) mile = 201 metres
kyat	1 kyat (Ks) = US$ 0.15 (official)
	1 kyat = US$ 0.008 (unofficial)
	6 kyat = US$ 1 (official)
	110-120 Ks = US$ 1 (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 standardised transcriptions for Burmese, Mon, etc., in the Roman alphabet, words are spelt variously, according to different spelling conventions or usually by how they "sound'" (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 Burmanisation of well-known, historical English spellings (like Myanmar for Burma).

Despite this, and to avoid confusion and politicisation, this report will restrict its usage to the established and more widely-accepted anglicised spellings, since this report was written in English.

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

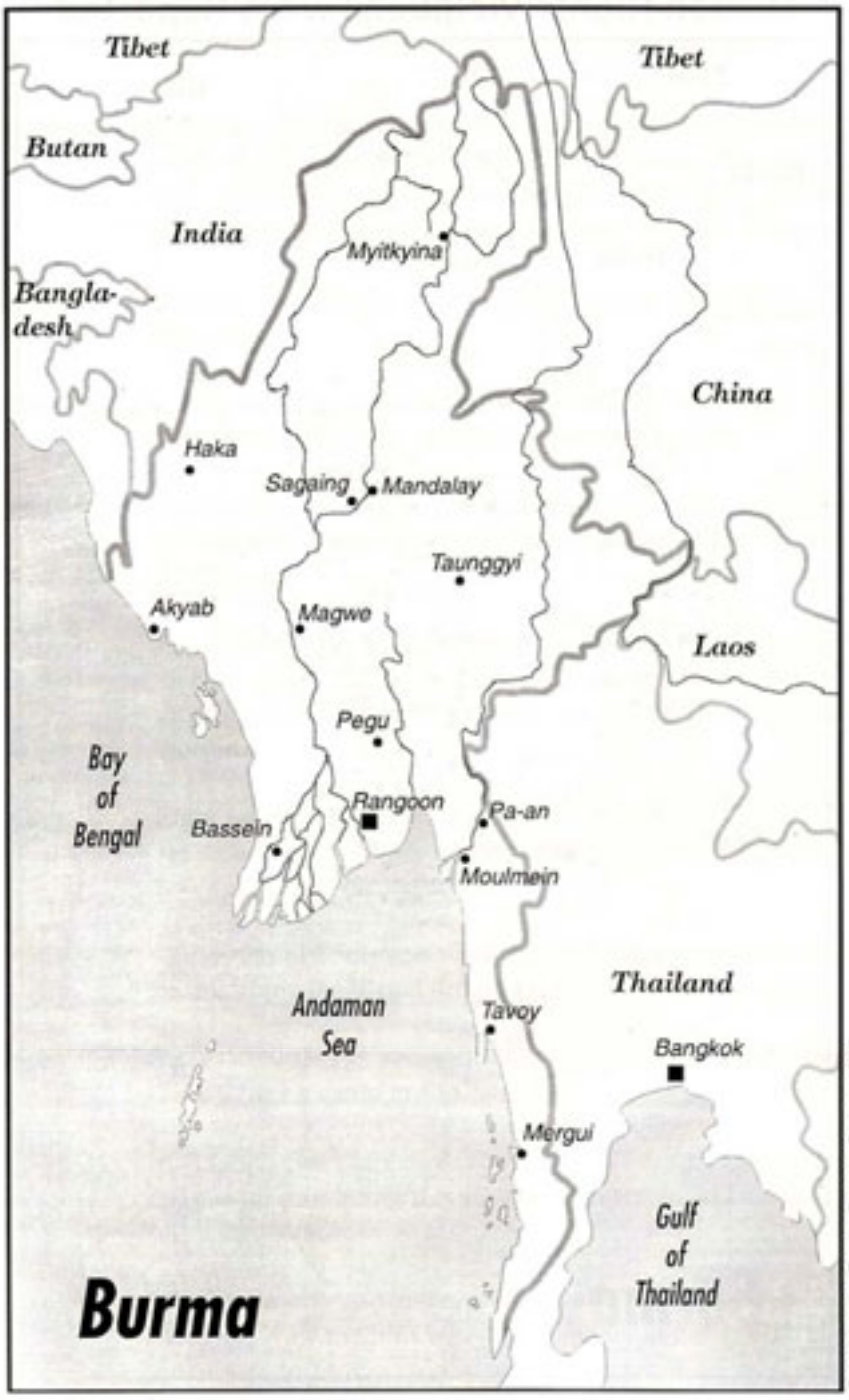
Ayeyarwady -	Irrawaddy
Bagan -	Pagan
Bago -	Pegu
Bamar -	Burman
Dawei -	Tavoy
Hinthada -	Henzada
Hpa-an -	Pa-an
Kayah -	Karenni
Kayin -	Karen
Kyaing Don -	Kengtung
Magway -	Magwe
Mawlamyine -	Moulmein
Muang Tai -	Mong Tai
Myeit -	Mergui
Myanmar -	Burma
Pathein -	Bassein
Pyay -	Prome
Sittoung -	Sittang
Sittwe, Sittway -	Akyab
Tanintharyi -	Tenasserim
Thandwai -	Sandoway
Thanlwin -	Salween River
Taungyin -	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:	47 million.
Urban population:	26%
Population density:	160 people/sq mile.
Refugees:	[300,000 in Thailand; 20,000 in China and India; 50,000 in Bangladesh].
Internally displaced:	about two million people.
Birth rate:	2.1%
Life expectancy:	59 years.
Adult literacy:	19.4%
School attendance:	26.7%
People per telephone:	348.4
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 capital GDP:	US$ 676; (Industry 10%, Agriculture 46%).
GDP (PPP):	US$ 31 billion
GDP growth:	6.4%
Per capital GNP:	US$890
Saving % of GDP:	12%
Reserves excl. gold:	US$ 0.7billion
Cur acct. balance:	US$ 0.2 billion
Exports 12 months:	US$ 0.8 billion
Inflation CPI:	21.8%
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 (estimated).
LDC status:	Since 1987
Natural resources:	tin, plutonium, zinc, copper, cobalt, gold, rubies, jade, teak (80% of world's reserves), fish (704 metric tons/year), gas, oil, rice, sesame, groundnuts.

Map of Burma showing State and Division Borders

Map of Burma showing Cities of States and Divisions



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 (1930s); 2 million tons (1962); 20,000 tons (1988).
Opium production:	1,300 tons (1988), 2,400 tons (1994) (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:	May 1990.
Next election:	Unknown.
Form of government:	Military dictatorship (State Law and Order Restoration Council since 1988, membership expanded 1992).
Government Address:	State Law and Order Restoration Council, Ministry of Defence, Signal Pagoda Rd, Yangon, MYANMAR (mail addressed to "BURMA" will most likely not be delivered).

ETHNIC PEOPLES OF BURMA

THE 43 million inhabitants of Burma, like China and India, are made up of a diverse mixture of cultures, languages, and races, due to successive waves of migratory tribes descending from the north in ancient times, and which appears to be continuing today.

Colonisation by the British has also left its mark on the country, arbitrarily drawing political boundaries and often dissecting a single indigenous nation as occurred in the case of the Chins, whose nation is divided between Bangladesh, Burma and India.

Reliable population figures are not available, since the last attempt at any real census was conducted by the British in 1931. There is especially lacking any real statistics from the ethnic groups themselves.

Here is a brief look at the peoples of Burma, with maps and a chart from Martin Smith's 1994 "Ethnic Groups in Burma".

MON-KHMER includes Mon, Wa and Palaung: Ancestors of the Mon-Khmer ethno-linguistic group were the first recorded civilisation in Indo-China. By the 16th century, the Mon ruled much of Burma, Siam and even parts of Laos and the Shan States. In the late 18th century the Mon capital, Pegu, was finally taken by the Burmans. Mons introduced Buddhism to the Burmans, and the Burmese script is based largely on the Mon. Yet in recent history the Mons have seen their language and culture being eroded by successive Burmese governments, and no less so by the SLORC.

TAI includes Shan minorities: The Shans came to the hills and plains of northeast Burma in the 9th or 10th century, at about the same time as the Burmans, as part of the major Tai immigration from China to Southeast Asia. They controlled much of central Burma during the 14th and 15th centuries, and even while the British ruled, they maintained a great deal of autonomy under their Sawbwas.

TIBETO-BURMAN includes Akha, Arakanese (Rakhine), Burman, Kachin, Lisu, Naga and Zo (Chin): The Burmans make up the majority ethnic group in Burma. The Arakanese are also Buddhist and, like the Mon and Shan, once had an independent kingdom which was involved in frequent wars with the Burmans as well as with Indian and Mongol invaders. Arakan was only conquered by the Burmans in the late 18th century. The Kachin and Zo (Chin) live mainly in the hills near the Chinese and Indian borders.

KAREN includes Karen, Kayah (Karenni and Padaung), Kayaw and Pa-O: The Karen probably moved down to Burma in the 6th or 7th century. They occupied the mountainous region covering (and crossing) most of the long Burmese-Thai border. Today there are also large populations of Karen in the Irrawaddy Delta area and in all urban centres.

OTHERS include Anglo-Burmese, Chinese, Indian and Rohingya: As well as indigenous minority groups, Burma also has large populations of naturalised immigrants. Many of these first came to Burma during the British occupation when Indian administrators were brought in to run the country. Chinese and Indian traders dominated the economy. Bengali-speaking Muslims, known as Rohingyas, were also brought into Burma by the British colonial rulers. The British themselves sometimes inter-married or had children with all indigenous peoples, and often educated their children abroad.

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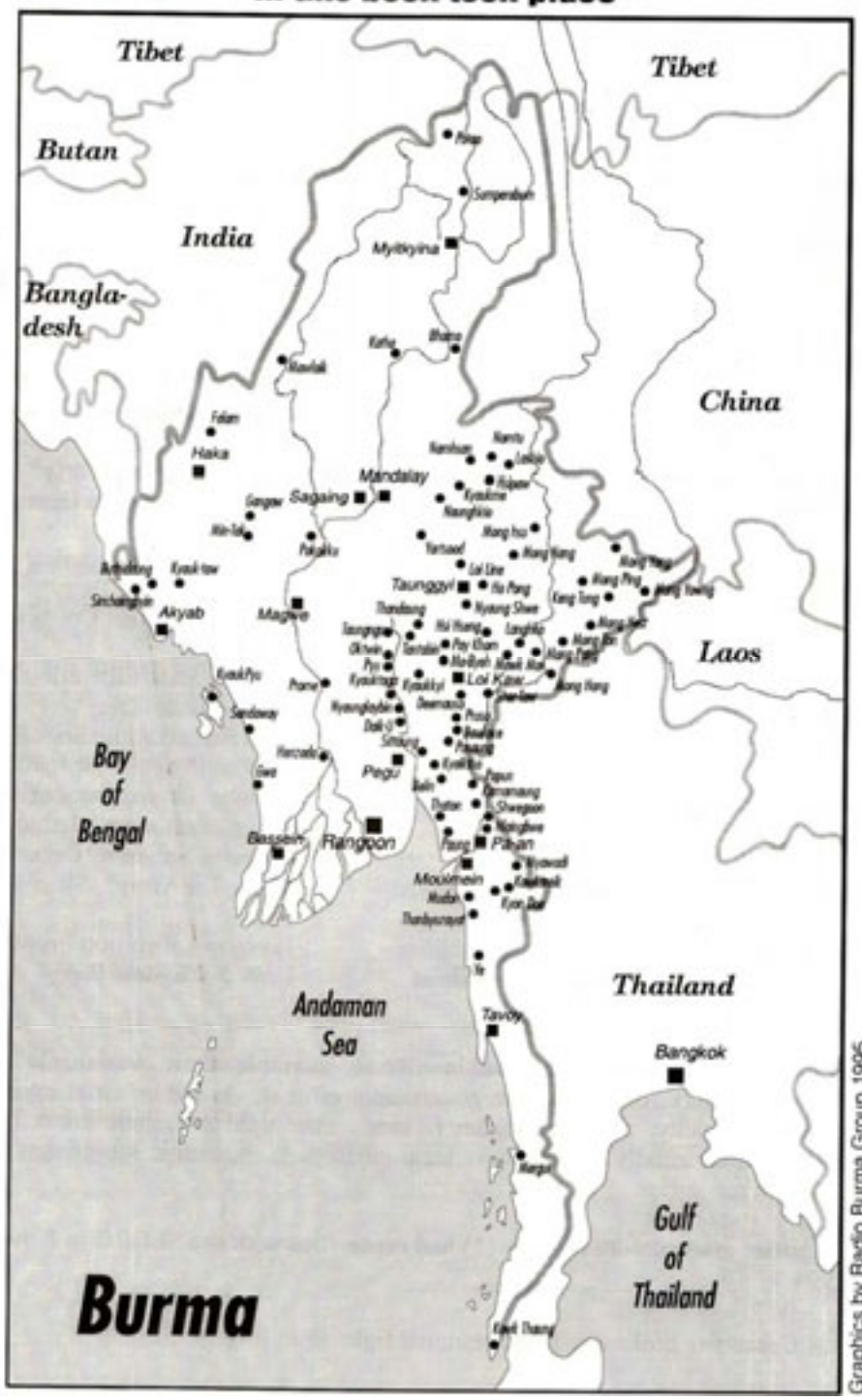
MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS OF BURMA

Name	Population	Main Religion(s)	Main Armed Opposition group(s)
Akha	100,000	Animist	———————
Burman	29,000,000	Buddhist	members of Democratic Alliance of Burma and CPB
Chin	750,000-1,500,000	Christian, Animist	Chin National Front
Chinese	400,000	Buddhist, Taoist	———————
Danu	70,000-100,000	Buddhist	———————
Indian	800,000	Muslim, Hindu	———————

Name	Population	Main Religion(s)	Main Armed Opposition group(s)
Kachin	500,000-1,500,000	Christian, Animist	Kachin Independence Org*, New Democratic army*:
Karen	2,650,000-7,000,000	Buddhist, Christian	Karen National Union
Karenni	100,000-200,000	Christian, Animist	Karenni National Progressive Party#, Karenni Nationalities People's Liberation Front*
Kayan	60,000-100,000	Christian, Animist	Kayan New land Party
Kokang	70,000-100,000	Buddhist, Taiost	Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army*
Lahu	170,000-250,000	Animist, Christian	Lahu National Organisation
Mon	1,100,000-4,000,000	Buddhist	New Mon State Party*
Naga	70,000-100,000	Animist, Christian	National Socialist Council of Nagaland
Palaung	300,000-400,000	Buddhist	Palaung State Liberation Party*
PaO	580,000-700,000	Buddhist	PaO National Org:*, Shan State Nationalities Liberation Org:*
Rakhine	1,750,000-2,500,000	Buddhist	National United Front of Arakan, Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front, Rohingya Solidarity Organisation
Shan	2,220,000-4,000,000	Buddhist	Mong Tai Army*, Shan State Army*
Tavoyan	500,000	Buddhist	Tavoyan Liberation Front*
Wa	90,000-300,000	Animist	United Wa State Party*

1. All figures are approximate and involve considerable ethnic overlap. Generally, the lower figures on the left are government estimates based on strict interpretations of ethnicity, while the higher figures on the right are ethnic minority estimates, which usually include more local inhabitants and ethnic sub-groups within different territories.
2. Parties marked with asterisk (*) had cease-fires with the SLORC in November 1994.
3. # Cease-fire broke down and resumed fighting in July 1995.

Townships where Human Rights Violations in this book took place



HRDU

HEADLINES IN REVIEW: EVENTS OF 1995

JANUARY 1 - KNU SPLITS OVER FACTION DISPUTE: KNU said a midday January 1 deadline it set for rebel Buddhist within the movement to rejoin its rank had passed. As a result the rebels "would be regarded as enemies" said a KNU statement dated January 1.

JANUARY 7 - SLORC TO CARRY ON FIGHT WITH DRUG LORD: Burma's military government will never accept Golden Triangle opium warlord Khun Sa even if he tried to surrender, and he and his army must be completely uprooted, Lt-Gen Khin Nyunt who is the head of Burma's intelligence said today at a teachers' conference in Rangoon.

JANUARY 9 - BURMESE SINGLED OUT: Eight handcuffed Burmese accompanied by an Thai Immigration Department officer was put on a plane at Don Muang International Airport to Singapore. The victims were all legally staying in Bangkok and they were raided by the Immigration authorities and even though they able to produce their passport and visas, they were illegally detained without charge.

JANUARY 17 - BURMESE PROTESTERS FACE TOUGH ACTION: The Interior Ministry of Thailand has ordered tough action against about 150 Burmese students who left their holding centre at Maleeloi Safe Area in Ratchaburi Province. The students left in protest at violent clashes which took place in the camp resulting in three students suffering head injuries.

JANUARY 18 - IMMIGRATION ARRESTS ILLEGAL BURMESE WORKERS: Thai Immigration officials raided living quarters and rented houses in a fishing village at Pak Nam Si Chon, Khanom District, Nakhon Si Thammarat, and arrested 27 Burmese crewmen illegally working on Thai trawlers.

JANUARY 19 - MORE BURMESE IMMIGRANTS ARRESTED: Another 138 Burmese immigrants were arrested on charges of illegal entry by Thai Immigration officers and Border Petrol Police at Tak's Mae Sot District.

JANUARY 19 - BURMA USING SLAVE LABOUR TO BUILD TOURIST INFRASTRUCTURE: Burma's military junta, eager to promote tourism, has conscripted armies of men and women into slave labour on the country's highways, railways and tourist attractions, a BBC television report said. The new rail line which links Ye and Tavoy, said the BBC, has been dubbed "the death railway ... employing some 10,000 forced labourers in conditions comparable to those under the Japanese occupation during World War II.

JANUARY 23 - DAW SUU VOWS TO PURSUE STRUGGLE: Burma's democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, in a statement from house arrest vows to pursue her struggle for democracy and declared she would never accept "secret deals" with the military junta. "There has not been, and there will not be, any secret deals with regard either to my release or to any other issue," she said in the statement.

JANUARY 26 - THAI GOVT TO RETAIN "SAFE AREA": Thailand has no plan to close the "safe area" for Burmese students in Ratchaburi Province but will keep a tighter rein on their political activities, said the Interior Ministry.

JANUARY 30 - VILLAGERS FLEE BURMA TROOPS' OFFENSIVE: Between 3,000 to 4,000 refugees fled from the Manerplaw area and are residing near confluence of the Moei and Salween River, about 2,000 refugees, who fled from Dawn Gwin, about 50 km north of Manerplaw, are stranded on the Salween River bank; about 6,000 fled from Naw Ta area, 30 km south of Manerplaw, to the Moei River; and about 1,200 refugees in Tenasserim Division into Bong Ti Pass in Kanchanaburi province.

JANUARY 31 - FLEEING REFUGEES TO BE SENT BACK: About 10,000 Karen refugees forced into Thaialand by recent Burma Army attacks "will be pushed back" into Burma "without having to wait for fighting to cease", Thai Interior Minister Sanan Kachornprasart said.

FEBRUARY 1 - BURMESE FACE ENTRY CHARGES: Ten Burmese were arrested in Muang District, Satun Province, on illegal charges.

FEBRUARY 3 - BURMA ARMY USING CIVILIANS AS SHIELDS: SLORC troops are forcing hundreds of civilians to carry their weapons and supplies in combat zones, the London-based human rights watchdog Amnesty international said in a statement. Amnesty International said it learned from interviews with refugees in Thailand that Burma's military junta had captured hundreds of men and women since seizing KNU headquarters on January 27. Refugees have said that the junta was forcing prisoners to walk ahead of their military patrols as human shields, while also carrying weapons, food, and wood.

FEBRUARY 5 - KAREN REFUGEES SENT TO "SAFE" BURMESE GROUND: More than 1,500 Karen civilians who fled to Thailand during fighting between the Burma Army and KNU are sent back after Thai military officers on the border determined that the fighting in Burma have died down enough to carry out safe repatriation.

FEBRUARY 8 - REPATRIATION OF CHIN REFUGEES: After a meeting between SLORC and Indian authorities in Falam Township of Chinland, they issued a statement saying that all Chin refugees who have escaped to India should be forcibly sent back to Burma.

FEBRUARY 10 - KAREN REFUGEES MOVED FROM BORDER VILLAGE: Thai army, border patrol police and district officials of Tak province put 2,000 Karen refugees from Huey Haeng Camp into ten trucks and driven to Huey Manok village in Tha Song Yan district of Tak province as safety protection.

FEBRUARY 13 - UN ENVOY DENIED PERMISSION TO MEET DAW SUU: Alvaro de Soto, assistant UN secretary-general, accompanied by Francisco Vendrell, director of East Asia and Pacific Division of the UN political affairs department, representing UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said that he was refused permission to see Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

FEBRUARY 20 - STUDENTS ARRESTED: Several students were immediately arrested during the funeral procession of former prime minister U Nu when they began singing a pro-democracy anthem, Kaba Ma Kye Bu ("The World Won't Forgive").

FEBRUARY 21 - KAREN GUERRILLAS PULL OUT OF WANKHA: Karen guerrillas withdraw under fire from their last stronghold in Wan Kha alleging Burmese government forces have used chemical shells in their final assault on the camp.

FEBRUARY 28 - CALIFORNIA CITY SLAPS BAN ON BUSINESS DEALS WITH RANGOON: The California city of Berkeley bars its business from purchasing any goods or services from Burma in an unprecedented decision made in response to the country's repressive human rights record.

MARCH 8 - UN SHOWS GRAVE CONCERN AT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN BURMA: The United Nations Human Rights Commission accused the Burmese military junta of torture, arbitrary executions and other abuses, and appealed for the release of Nobel peace laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The resolution, sponsored by Australia, Chile, the United States, Hungary and the Europen Union, was adopted without a vote.

MARCH 8 - BURMA GETS U.S. WARNING OVER RIGHTS RECORD: The United States warns Burma's ruling military junta of possible further downgrading of ties to protest against its lack of political reform, slow progress in fighting drug trafficking and what Washington regards as its abysmal human rights record. In speech in New York, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Hubbard said the junta has failed to take "even the modest steps needed to merit a modest improvement in bilateral relations.

MARCH 8 - FIVE PIPELINE WORKERS KILLED IN BURMA ATTACK: Five members of a natural gas pipeline survey team were killed and 11 others wounded by heavily armed attackers near the village of Kanbauk, Yebyu Township in Tenasserim Division. They are attacked by a small armed unit of fewer than 10 rebels from the 10th Battalion under KNU's 4th Brigade.

MARCH 12 - KARENS FLEE CLASH ACROSS BORDER: About 1,000 Karen refugees— women, children and elderly— fled into Phop Phra District, Tak Province in Thailand, after a clash between SLORC troops and KNU on March 11.

MARCH 14 - U.S. DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED IN BURMA: The Clinton administration is "deeply disappointed" with Burma's lack of progress on human rights, democracy and narcotics matter, said Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord during a hearing of the Senate Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

MARCH 14 - BURMESE GUNNERS HIT KHUN SA STRONGHOLD: Burmese government troops bombarded the stronghold of Khun Sa's Mong Tai Army (MTA), forcing about 200 Shan civilians to seek shelter near the Thai border.

MARCH 16 - KAREN REFUGEES FLEE THE CAMP FEARING ATTACK: About 800 Karen refugees, fearing another attack by DKBA abandoned their camp in Huey Manok to move to safer areas in Tak Province. The mass exodus almost empties the camp. The group move en-masse to other camps along the border in Mae Salit, Mae Tan and Mae Song in Tha Song Yan District.

MARCH 16 - SLORC USES INMATES AS ARMY PORTERS: Rangoon has forced over 500 prisoners to become porters for 3,000 SLORC troops attacking Khun Sa's Mong Tai Army.

MARCH 20 - FEAR OF RANGOON FORCES DRIVE SHAN INTO THAILAND: Thousands of Burma's Shan minority have fled to Thailand as SLORC troops in northeastern town of Tachilek hunt for rebels and sympathisers.

MARCH 21 - THAI REPATRIATES REFUGEES: Reinforced Thai border police units are repatriating the more than 1,000 refugees who had fled the area opposite Mae Sai, a mix of Burmese, Shan and Akha.

March 24 - MORE STUDENTS ARRESTED: Six more students were arrested in Rangoon for allegedly obstructing soldiers preparing a route to the Shwedagon Pagoda three days before Armed Forces Day.

(*Start finding from 24 March to 19 April*)

MARCH 30 - BURMESE MP AMONG THOSE HELD IN NORTH: U Daniel Aung, 52, Lahu-ethnic Burmese parliamentary member, who walked out of SLORC on 12 April 1994 is among the 36 Burmese dissidents arrested by the police in Chiang Mai while attending a seminar sponsored by Image Asia.

MARCH 31 - BURMA BANS MUSLIM MEETINGS: Members of the Muslim community at Three Pagoda Pass and nearby villages inside Burma have been banned from gathering of more than five people for religious services. The ban was ordered by the local military.

APRIL 19 - DKBA KIDNAP KAREN REFUGEES, BURN 30 HOUSES: Five Karen refugees were kidnapped when a group of 20 DKBA sneaked across the border into Mae Teun refugee camp in the northern province of Tak early in the morning. The abductors also burned down 30 houses at refugee camp in Tha song Yang District and threatened more violence if the Karen asylum seekers, who are mainly Buddhist, refuse to return to Burma.

APRIL 21 - FIVE YEARS FOR MUSLIM LAWER: U Wai Lin, a Muslim lawyer from Loikaw was sentenced to five years imprisonment for holding a discussion over the issue of relocating a local Muslim cemetery after being ordered by Loikaw Township LORC. His five year sentence, handed down in the third week of March 1995, was for violating the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act.

APRIL 23 - GAS PIPELINE ADDS TO WOES OF MONS: Mon refugees seeking sanctuary in Thailand from the civil war in Burma are being harassed

by Thai authorities to facilitate the construction of an oil pipeline between the two countries.

APRIL 23 - BURMA CLASH SENDS 500 FLEEING INTO THAILAND: A Renewed clash between SLORC troops and opium warlord Khun Sa's MTA has forced some 500 refugees to cross to Northern Thailand. The refugees, mostly ethnic Shan, Akha and Muser hill tribesmen, abandoned Pang Dao Tai village in northeastern Burma and headed south for Thailand after Rangoon's attack against MTA on April 21.

APRIL 25 - BPP ORDERS MON REPATRIATION: The officials from Thai Border Patrol Police ordered to Halockhani Mon refugee camp leaders to quickly repatriate the refugee families of new arrivals from Thai territory.

April 25 - BURMESE AND KAREN RAID REFUGEES CAMP IN THAILAND: About 100 Burmese soldiers and members of DKBA crossed into Thailand and set fire to Kamaw Lay Ko Karen refugee camp in Tha Song Yan District of Tak Province, leaving more than 3,000 people homeless. They looted and set fire to more than 300 buildings and then take an unknown number of people hostages, both Thai villagers and Karen refugees.

About 100 Burmese soldiers and members of DKBA cross into Sob Moei District of Mae Hong Son Province in Thailand and attack Mae Ra Ma Luang Refugee Camp where about 5,000 refugees are housed, killing a child and wounding 10 others. Then the perpetrators set the camp ablaze.

In April, during separate raids by SLORC and DKBA troops in Thailand, Mae Ta Waw (Pop.7,889), Kler Thay Lu subcamp, Sho Klo (Pop. 8,493) and Klay Mu Hta (Pop. 3,659) were burned in part while Kler Kho (Pop. 3,726) was totally reduced to ashes.

APRIL 26 - BURMESE TO BE SENT HOME AS BATTLES EASES: A Joint Thai-Burmese Border Committee has agreed for the first time to repatriate Burmese refugees detained in Ranong Province, Thailand, to Victoria Point, Burma, in the next few days.

APRIL 28 - 7 YEARS FOR DISSIDENTS: Nine of the students who were arrested during the funeral procession of former prime minister U Nu, including three female students, were sentenced to seven years in prison under Section 5 (j) of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act. They were Maung Maung Oo, Moe Myat Thu, Moe Maung Maung, Aung Zeya, Maung Nyunt, Tin Than Oo, Ma Aye Aye Moe, Ma Moe Kalayar and Ma Cho Nwe Oo. All of them were jailed in Insein Prison. Two other students were sentenced in absentia to 20 years imprisonment by that special tribunal.

APRIL 28 - UN ASKS FOR KAREN CAMPS TO BE MOVED: The United Nations says 74,000 Karen refugees in Thailand are in danger from cross-border attacks and calls for the camps to be moved further away from the Burmese border.

April 28 - BURMESE TO BE DEPORTED: Thailand's immigration authorities will soon deport more than 300 Burmese who entered the country

illegally to find work, officials say today. The illegal immigrants were rounded up in a week-long crackdown in Bangkok.

May 1 - 29 BURMESE DISSIDENTS ARRESTED: During the raids on residences of the Burmese refugees in Bangkok, 29 dissidents were arrested by Thai Special Police Force 191. Most of them were recognised by UNHCR Bangkok office as person of concern, bearing their papers for refugee status in Thailand, while others applied at the UNHCR for recognition as refugees.

MAY 3 -THAI CAMP RAID: A squad of about 20 SLORC troops and allied DKBA crossed the Salween River along the Thai-Burmese border and burned more than 100 homes in Mae Sam Lap camp, which houses 5,300 Karen refugees.

May 17 - U.S. "DISAPPOINTED" WITH LACK OF CHANGE IN BURMA: The United States is very disappointed with a lack of progress by Burma's military government to improve its record on human rights, democracy and narcotics control, said Winston Lord, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

MAY 17 - UNHCR TOURS REFUGEE CAMPS: UNHCR representative in Thailand, Ruprecht von Arnim accompanied by three other UNHCR officials, make an inspection tour of refugee camps in Sob Moei and Mae Sariang districts, Mae Hong Son Province.

MAY 17 - 3,000 KARENS FLEE TO THAILAND: At least 3,000 Karen refugees, most of them children and women, flee across the border into Thailand in an effort to escape possible attacks by SLORC troops on KNU bases opposite Umphang District of Tak Province.

JUNE 1 - REFUGEE CAMP CLOSED DOWN: The only Chin refugee camp in Mizoram, located in Champhai Town, was closed down by the Indian government.

JUNE 2 - BURMESE JUNTA DETAINS NLD LEADER AGAIN: Burma's ruling

military junta again detains National League for Democracy Party (NLD) leader U Kyi Maung who was freed in March, along with U Thu Wai (former chairman of now-defunct Democracy Party), U Htun Shwe, Dr Tha Hla and U Aye Maung, who were in their late sixties, at Dr Tha Hla's residence. The detention takes place shortly after U Kyi Maung held talks with the British ambassador to Burma. Later on U Thu Wai, Tun Shwe and Htwe Myint were sentenced to seven years terms after a summary trail, and they were sent to Insein Prison in Rangoon.

JUNE 6 - SLORC TROOPS FORCE VILLAGERS TO CARRY SUPPLIES: A total of 23 Burma border villagers forced by SLORC troops to carry war supplies in their offensives against KNU have escaped from their abductors to Karen-controlled area.

JUNE 10- RANGOON REJECTS WEST'S HUMAN RIGHTS CRITICISMS AS MEANINGLESS: SLORC leaders visiting in Singapore dismiss Western

complaints of human rights violations, including continuing detention of opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, as meaningless and ineffective in scaring foreign visitors.

JUNE 14 - CHICAGO URGES BAN ON BURMA TRADE: The Chicago City Council unanimously passes a resolution calling for federal legislation banning United States business links with Burma.

JUNE 15 - HUNDRED OF CHIN REFUGEES HANDED OVER TO SLORC: The Mizoram government started forced repatriation of all the Chin people who had taken refuge in Mizoram State. Hundreds of Chin refugees were handed over to the SLORC army.

JUNE 17 - INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION REFUSED ENTRANCE TO BURMA: Norway expressed regret that an international delegation was barred from visiting Burma and seeing democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi later this week. "It is strongly regrettable that Burmese authorities have refused a delegation from the Socialistic International to enter the country to visit opposition leader and Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi,'' the Foreign Ministry said.

JUNE 19 - RED CROSS SHUTS OFFICE IN BURMA OUT OF FRUSTRATION: The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said today it was closing down its office in Rangoon because it had failed to get proper access to political prisoners in Burma. ICRC requested access to political prisoners in Burma in May 1994.

JUNE 21- NONTHABURI POLICE RAID NETS 15 BURMESE: Fifteen ailing Burmese refugees including a severely handicapped man, two pregnant women and four babies were rounded up by police today morning from a house in Nonthaburi, Thailand.

JUNE 23 - BANGLADESH TO CLOSE ROHINGYA CAMPS THIS YEAR: Bangladesh hoped to empty its camps of Rohingya refugees from Burma by the end of this year. Repatriation officials said a total of 192,467 Rohingya refugees have already returned home, leaving 52,625 in Bangladeshi camps.

JUNE 25 - NOBEL LAUREATES URGE UN TO ACT ON SUU KYI'S PLIGHT: Eleven Nobel Peace Prize laureates, in a statement issued for the UN 50th anniversary, appealed for UN action on the release of Burmese democracy leaders Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, calling her plight "political oppression disguised as criminal detention."

JUNE 30 - SLORC, KARENNI BATTLE AS CEASE-FIRE COLLAPSES: A full-scale battle erupted in Kayah (Karenni) State following the collapse of a cease-fire agreement between KNPP and SLORC. At least 1,500 Karenni refugees have fled from a camp at Do Mo Sheh in Burma to another at Pang Yong in Mae Hong Son's Muang district, Thailand.

JULY 10 - DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI RELEASED: Burmese democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is unconditionally released from house arrest. But Burma's military rulers imposed a local news blackout on her release.

AUGUST 11 - SLORC TROOPS TORTURE AND KILL PORTERS: Burmese troops sent to eastern Kayah (Karenni) State to fight KNPP have tortured and slain several villagers who were forced to act as porters for munitions. About 1,500 villagers, including women and children, have been conscripted into portering against their will by SLORC soldiers in areas around Loikaw, the capital of Kayah State, since June 26.

AUGUST 14 - UN ENVOY MEETS DAW SUU: UN deputy secretary-general Alvaro de Soto meets recently released democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

SEPTEMBER - SLORC RELOCATES VILLAGERS FOR A TOURIST ZOO: Ethnic minority from more than 200 villages in Thandaung Township in the hills of northern Karen State have been ordered to leave their homes by November 10. Some of the Padaung (long-necked) minority women have been herded into a model village, which is being built near Rangoon in time for Visit Myanmar Year 1996.

SEPTEMBER 22 - AMNESTY ACCUSES BURMA OF TORTURING ITS PRISONERS: Amnesty International today accused Burma's military authorities of increasing using torture against both political and criminal detainees who are held in "appalling conditions".

SEPTEMBER 27 - ANOTHER STUDENT SUBJECTED TO ARREST: Ye Htut was arrested for having sent information to Burmese abroad; In January 1996, he was tried under Section 5 (j) of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act for "spreading false news about the government and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment."

NOVEMBER 18 - THREE NLD MEMBERS ARRESTED: Three NLD members (Maung Aye, Toe Aung and Myo Zaw), among the crowd which gathered to listen to Daw Aung San Su Kyi's speech, were arrested for having intervened with the police who were erecting barricades in front of her house. They were charged with assaulting a police officer and were sentenced two days later to two year's imprisonment.

NOVEMBER 29 - NLD WALKS OUT ON NATIONAL CONVENTION: Democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi says that she and her allies are ready to face a possible backlash by Burma's military regime after they walk out on national convention. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi says her party, the National League for Democracy (NLD), will not participate until SLORC engages it in dialogue on national reconciliation.

DECEMBER 2 - DKBA SHOOTS MISSIONARY DEAD: A missionary was shot dead when about 50 troops from DKBA attacked Karen refugees in the Sho Klo Camp.

DECEMBER 16 - NLD SUPPORTERS ARRESTED: U Sein Hla Aung, an NLD member from Mandalay was arrested for distributing the video tapes of Daw Su's speeches, delivered on every weekends.

A few days later Zaw Zaw Myaing, a video tape renter from Mandalay, was also arrested under the same allegation of violating the Video Act.

DECEMBER 18 - ICFTU BALMES SLORC FOR WORKERS' LAYOFF: The International Confederation of Trade Unions-Asian and Pacific Regional Organisation (ICFTU-APRO) says that Burma's military junta should be blamed for an impending layoff of workers in Burmese garment factories following protest over alleged human rights abuses.

DECEMBER 21 - SLORC STOPS DAW SUU FROM ATTENDING PARTY: SLORC stopped democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from attending a new year's celebration of the Karen ethnic minority and whisked her to military headquarters where they warned her. Four other people — Khun Myint Tun and Tin Tun Oo, youth members of the NLD; Saw Tin Win, a member of the NLD's central committee in Pa-an, the capital of Karen State; and Mahn Htay Shein, the patron of the Karen New Year's celebration — who tried to arranged for her to attend the celebration were arrested at night on December 20.

DECEMBER 26 - TWO INJURED IN DKBA ATTACK ON KAREN CAMP: Two people were seriously wounded when some 30 men from DKBA plundered Sho Klo Karen Refugee Camp, which houses over 9,000 refugees.

DECEMBER 29 - FURTHER HEARINGS ON DISSIDENTS: U Sein Hla Aung AND Zaw Zaw Myaing were sent to the court. Both of their next hearing was scheduled on 11 January 1996.

The State of Burmese Economy under Military Management

by Mya Maung

Introduction

The present military regime of Myanmar (the new name of Burma), the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) made up 19 military commanders, staged a counterfeit coup on September 18, 1988 that resulted in bloodshed and killings of thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators against the 26-year military dictatorship of General Ne Win. It was a counterfeit coup because the same entourage of Ne Win engineered the coup in the name of restoring law and order. Since then, the SLORC has been claiming positive achievements of democratization and the unprecedented prosperity attained for the citizens of Burma under its management. The SLORC attributed its economic achievement to the market-oriented economic reforms undertaken in the name of "open-door market economy" of Myanmar. At the outset, it will be stated that the ostentatious economic reforms introduced from the top in the name of "open-door market economy" have not elevated Burma from its status of being one of the least-developed countries in the world—a status it attained in 1987 under the management of the previous military regime.[1]

Since 1988, the SLORC has been using the "open-door market economy of Myanmar" claming spectacular economic achievements and other maneuvers to legitimize its illegitimate rule and stay in power; such as drawing up the unconstitutional constitution, lifting the martial law, releasing the opposition leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, from house arrest without consenting to her political leadership and transferring power to her party that won the 1990 election, and attempting to eradicate opium/heroin trafficking. These maneuvers have persuaded the ASEAN and many outside observers to view the junta as making "positive changes and steps towards economic progress and even democratization." Among those who hold this view are investors from around the world, including U.K. Premier, Total of France, U.S. Texaco, Unocal, and Pepsi Cola officials and a number of lawmakers such as George Archer and Nancy Johnson who were invited by the SLORC to visit Myanmar in 1993. Others are the New York businesswoman Mariam Marshall Segal (nicknamed by Burmese dissidents as "the shrimp lady" who owned a joint-venture fishing firm with the SLORC and is under indictment for fraud by the Hong Kong-based Peregrine Ltd. at the New York court) and former congressman Lester Wolf. The latest holders of this view who recommended for the US recognition of the SLORC as the legitimate government of Burma and the resumption of aid are Mya Saw Shin (the daughter of U Tin Htut, one of the framers of The 1948 Constitution of the Union of Burma of the democratically elected civilian government of the late U Nu), Alison Krupnick and Tom L. Wilson in their flimsy report entitled *"Burma" or "Myanmar:" U.S. Policy at the Crossroads* published by the Bureau of Asian Research, October 1995.

Military Capitalism and Controls of the Economy

The policy of the so-called open-door market economy of Myanmar or "the Burmese Way to Capitalism" has been adopted and pursued by the junta since 1988 with the primary objective of enlarging the economic base of power to sustain and legitimize its rule. Except for opening the door of the economy to foreign investors to form joint ventures with more than fifty former state enterprises in key industries, the Burmese economy remains primarily an inefficient command economy with a nationwide black market. Black/parallel markets riddled with corruption continue to persist due to trade and price controls on the one hand, and because of the foreign capital and foreign exchange controls imposed by the SLORC along with the maintaining of an artificially fixed foreign exchange rate on the other. When the legalization of border trade was announced in December 1988, 16 commodities were banned from export across the border, including teak, rice, oil and gems. On October 28, 1991, the list of banned commodities was increased to 23 by the SLORC. Among them were the four export products with the largest foreign exchange earning power, rice/paddy, teak, oil, and gems, followed by arms and ammunition, antiques, pulses and beans, corn, cotton, coins, rare animals, fish, shrimp, animal horns, leathers, and so on.[2]

The Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development wit its powerful Myanmar Foreign Investment Commission made up of self-proclaimed military cabinet ministers and the Ministry of Trade are the two main state organs empowered with total control of trade and investment, domestic and foreign. According to the **Foreign Investment Law** promulgated on November 30, 1988 and began operating in May 1989, foreign companies may invest and form either wholly-owned or joint-venture firms with a minimum capital of 35 percent in various sectors of the economy. However, wholly-owned foreign investment is allowed only outside the 12 areas which are reserved for the state under the **State Economic Enterprises Law,** promulgated on March 31, 1989. Among them are teak, gems, fishery, postal and telegraph, radio and television, air and rail transportation, oil and natural gas, metals, electricity, banking and insurance, and defense industries.[3]

The state or defense services controls the key sectors and industries of Burma with nine state-private joint ventures called The Union of Myanmar Joint Venture Corporations No.1, 2, 3 etc. formed at the end September 1990. They operate in the areas of (1) paddy, rice and rice product trading, (2) trading in papers and printed materials, (3) agricultural products other than rice and paddy trading, (4) construction works, production and marketing of construction materials, (5) fish, shrimp and other marine breeding and trading, (6) modern hospital, clinic, medicine and medical equipment manufacturing and trading (7) general merchandise trading, (8) general merchandise export and import (9) the formation and supervision of companies and affiliates by the Myanmar Economic Holdings Company Ltd. (Public Joint Venture No.9) with K10 billion capital (almost 10% of Burma's GDP in 1990) under the direct control of the Directorate of Procurement and Ministry of Defence.[4]

The Directorate of Trade of the Ministry of Trade controls export and import activities of foreign and domestic companies under strict rules by issuing permits/licenses to import and export on consignment basis. The obtaining of these permits by both foreign and domestic companies hinges directly upon personal connections, family ties and bribery of the military commanders and corrupt officials. For example, the foreign oil companies that have invested heavily in Myanmar since 1990 must put up signature bonuses that run as high as $15 million, as in the case of the French Total, to secure their exploration rights The same is true for domestic companies which must bribe various government officials in order to secure export and import permits.

The entire process of securing joint venture contracts and trade permits is riddled with corruption and bribery that was publicly acknowledged by the Chief of Intelligence Khin Nyunt himself. As he stated ˜service organizations connected with trade matters such as import and export work, services sector and collection of taxes are taking bribes according to their ranks as we come to know.˜[5] Burmese colloquially call the payment of bribe to government officials as the payment for drinking tea, *la-hpet yay bo*, or **"tea-money"** for short. Burmese say satirically that in the past there used to be only one tea-money (t-money), but now-a-days there are four different t-monies, **"t"**s or bribes, that a person must pay in cash and in kind to the high-ranking corrupt government officials: money for "tea," money for "table" (in reference to the cost of dining at a table in an expensive restaurant), money for "television," and money for "Toyota." These additional "t"s reflect that the cost of bribery has gone up a great deal in Burma with the galloping inflation rate of over 100 percent reported by the Burmese nationals.

The Myth of Economic Growth

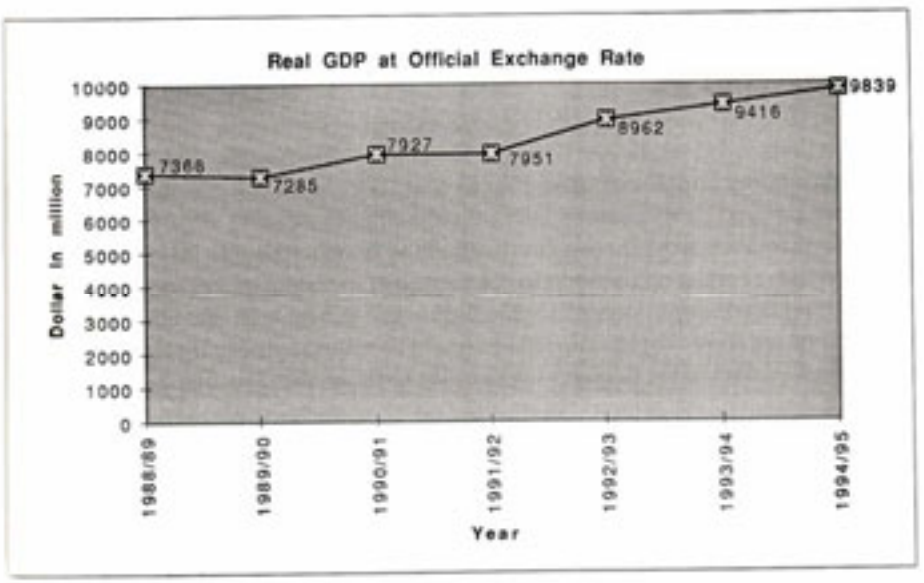
With respect to distorted government reports in the socialist state of Burma from 1962 to 1988, Burmese satirically used to say that "if one wishes to arrive at the real truth or figure of bad news reported by the government, such as "10 people were killed by the security squad in a demonstration," one should multiply the stated number by 10 to obtain the real figure of 100 killed, while good news put out by the government, such as the growth rate of income and output, one should divide it by 10." In fact, the Asian Development Bank estimated the real GDP growth rate of Myanmar for the fiscal year 1992/93 at 1.2% or one-tenth of the figure reported by the government.[6] The unreliability of government reports and shortage of empirical data or information continue to persist in Burma today.

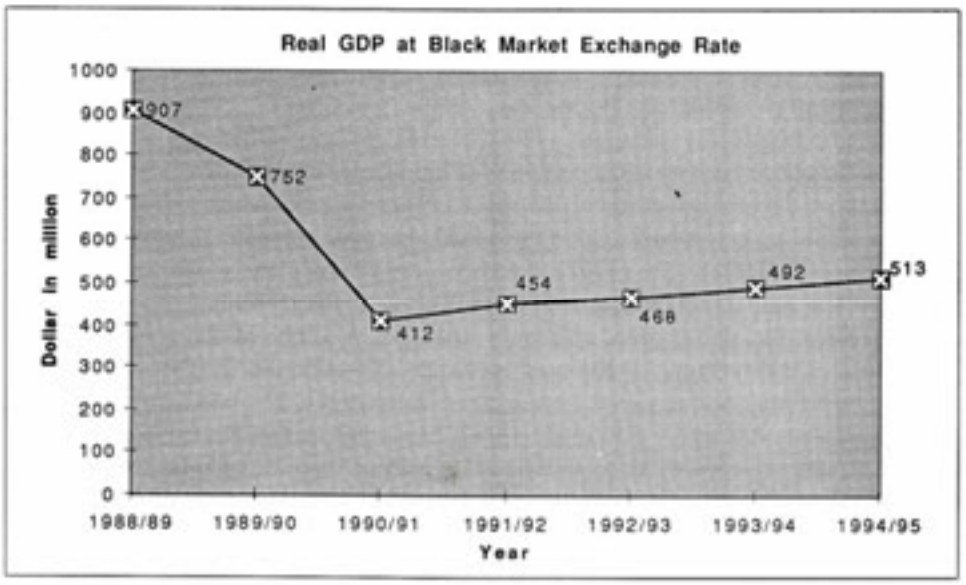
The SLORC has been claiming the phenomenal performance of the "open-door market economy of Myanmar" under its management in the mid-1990s, reporting that the real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by 3.7% in 1989/90, 2.8% in 1990/91, -1.0% in 1991/92, 10.9% (later revised down to 9.3%) in 1992/93, 6% in 1993/94 and 6.8% in 1994/95. In line with the GDP growth, the per capita GDP was given as Kt1,410 in 1994/95 representing a 4.8% increase from the previous year.[7] The claim of 10.9% or the revised 9.3% real GDP growth rate for fiscal year 1992/1993 is grossly exaggerated by virtue of the fact

that the deflator used by the government was based upon the underestimated official inflation rate of 30% rather than the two privately estimated inflation rates; between 60% and 90% by foreign analysts and over 100% by Burmese nationals.

Using the conservative estimate of 60% inflation rate, which is double the inflation rate reported by the government, the real GDP growth rates reported by the government would be cut in half to give the adjusted grwoth rates for the period: 1.85% (1990), 1.4%(1991), -2% (1992), 4.65%% (1993), 3% (1994), and 3.4% (1995). Hence, the annual real GDP growth rate of Burma in the 1990s would average only 2%. This would also produce a virtually zero growth of rate of real GDP because of the average population growth rate of around 2% for the same period. The government also reported a per capita income of Kt1,335 or $222.5 at the official exchange rate of $1=Kt6 in 1994/95.[8] This suggests that Burma is no longer a least-developed country since its per capita income has climbed above the United Nations' benchmark of $200. However, using the average unofficial/black market exchange rate of $1=Kt120 in 1995, Burma's per capita income was only $11.125. Further evidence of Burma's continuation as an agricultural economy and one of the least-developed countries in the world can be discerned in the more or less unaltered distribution of sectoral contributions to GDP with the agricultural sector contribution remaining constant at around 38 percent of the GDP and the manufacturing sectors contribution remaining stagnant at below 10 percent of the GDP since 1988—one of the benchmarks used by the United Nations in granting a least-developed country status.

The following charts on the dollar values of GDP at current prices at official exchange rates and black market exchange rates illustrate how different assessments or claims can be made on the value and growth of GDP





Source: The Ministry of National Planning and Development, *The Union of Myanmar, Review of the Financial, Economic and Social Conditions for 1994/95* (Yangon: Ministry of National Planning and Development, 1995), p. 8.

In contrast to the increasing growth pattern and a 5 percent annual growth rate of real GDP at more or lessfixed official exchange rate at Kt 6=$1, the use of steadily rising black market exchang rates theopposite pattern of a drastic drop of real GDP between 1990 and 1991and a negative pttern annual growth rate between 1989 and 1995. The reason for the opposite pattern and difference between the two growth rates is due to the sustained deprecition of *Kyat* relative to dollar in the black market. This was relfected in the increase in the black market price of US dollar by 200 percent durin the period form Kt60 = $1 in 1989 to Kt120 = $1 in 1995.

Rice Shortages and Escalating Prices

The clearest indicator of the economic plight of ordinary people in Myanmar is reflected in the escalating cost or price of staple diet, rice, that makes up the bulk of the consumption expenditures of a typical Burmese family brought about by inept state policy and control of its output and export. The Burmese proudly called paddy (the unhusked rice) as the golden fruit, shwethee, whose abundance over and above domestic consumption prior to the military takeover of political power and management of the economy in 1962 was reflected in the fact that Burma was known as the "Rice Bowl of Asia" and the largest exporter of rice to China, India, and other countries. The export of paddy/rice before the 1962 military coup under the management of the civilian government of the late U Nu annually averaged between one and two million tonnes. It dwindled to a few thousand tonnes during the 26 years of military rule between 1962 and 1988. By 1988, the price of rice climbed to Kt15 per pyi (4.67lb) that was one of the

immediate causes of the mass political uprising of 1988. During the uprising, the protesters against the military regime shouted the slogan: *"San tapyi setngar kyat, Sein Lwin gonggo phyat"* i.e., "since the price of one pyi of rice is Kt15, we must cut the head of Sein Lwin (the 17-day President General Sein Lwin)." The government report of a 30% increase in the cost of living index since 1988 directly contradicts the fact that in 1995, the price of rice has been reported by the Burmese nationals and private economic journals to climb above Kt100 up to Kt125 per pyi in December. That is, the price of rice has risen over 800 percent between 1988 and 1995 to indicate that the average annual increase in the price of rice over the seven years period is over 100 percent to indirectly confirm the private estimate of the true rate of inflation of over 100 percent.

The economic hardship of an average government employee due to inaccessible basic necessities at discount official prices and escalating unofficial prices has compounded further by the government wage policy of keeping the wages more or less frozen. On March 27, 1993, in honor the auspicious 48th Armed Forces Day, the SLORC issued Notification No. 15/93 to increase the salary and wage scales of public service personnel to be effective on April 1, 1993 "to provide welfare to State service personnel."[9] It was reportedly done to alleviate the economic hardship of rising costs of living due to inflation faced by government employees. This was the second increment of pay scales made by the government, while the first increment was made in April 1989. The monthly pay scales of government employees was increased from the old minimum-maximum range of Kt450—Kt2,000 to a new range of Kt600—Kt2,500 (US$5—$20.80 at black market rate of exchange of $1=Kt120) to be effective on April 1, 1993. This represented a 33% raise for the minimum wage earners and a 25% raise for the maximum wage earners or an average wage hike of 30% for all government employees over a four-year period from 1989 to 1993. The daily wage rate of government workers was also increased from Kt15 to Kt20.

This one-time average wage hike of 30% for all public servants (active and pensioned) did not alleviate the problem of negative real wages. According to official reports, between 1989 and 1993 the average annual increase of the consumer price index was 30%. It would require more than 30% wage increase every year or over 120% for the four-year period to keep the real wages constant between 1989 and 1993. According to private information, prices of basic necessities in the unofficial/black markets in Rangoon and other major cities across Burma have been rising at an average annual rate of over 100% since 1989. Hence, the 1993 government one-time wage hike of 30% failed to solve the problem of accelerated plunge in real wages that has been occurring since 1988.

Low growth rates of output together with a 40% annual increase of currency in circulation has been the key determinant of the escalating inflation rate in Burma. The following phenomenal table of gaps between official and unofficial/black market prices in Rangoon and the charts on escalting prices of

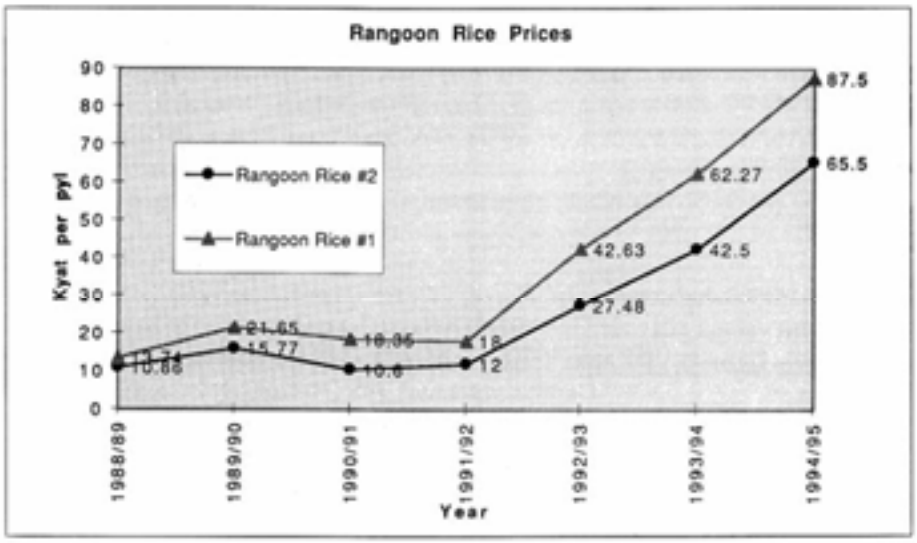
rice and protein highlight the worsening economic conditions of an ordinary urban family.

The Gaps between Official Prices and Unofficial Prices in Rangoon, 1995

	Official (1995)	Unofficial* (1995)
First Quality Rice (pyi) (Pawsan Mhway)	Kt10.5	K87.5
Second Quality Rice (pyi) (Emata)	Kt6	Kt65
Ngayan (viss) (Snake Fish)	Kt90	Kt260
Ngakhu (viss) (Cat Fish)	Kt95	Kt300
Pazunkyawt (viss) (Shrimp)	K60	Kt180
Chicken (viss)	Kt120	Kt300
Gasoline (gallon)	Kt16	Kt230
US $1	Kt6.252	Kt120
Foreign Exchange Certificate US$1	Kt6.252	Kt118

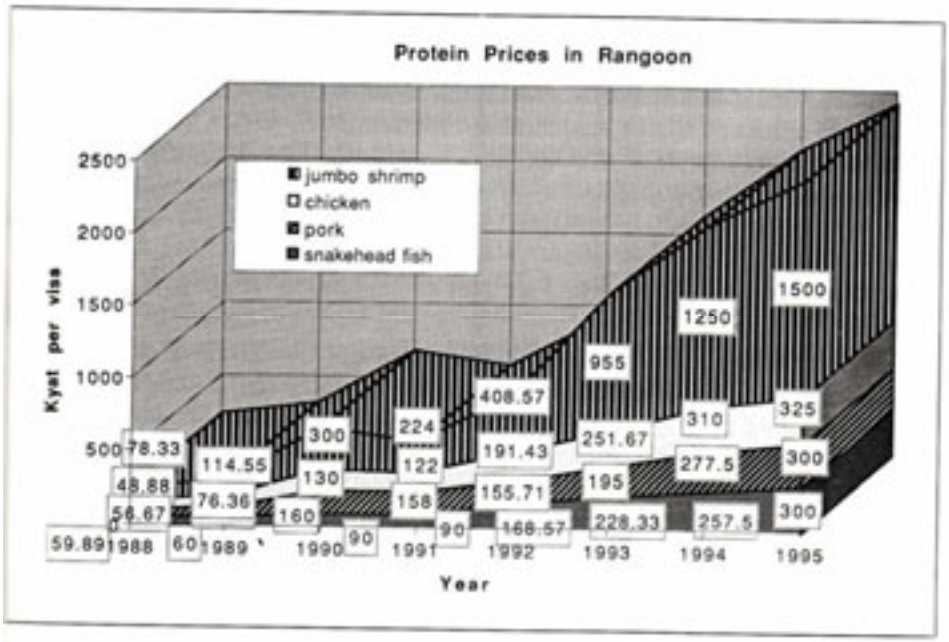
*Average prices for the year

Source: Central Statistical Organization (CSO), *Selected Monthly Economic Indicators, 1994* (Rangoon: CSO, 1994) and US Embassy, *Survey of Selected Retailed Prices in Rangoon,* 1994, and private infomation for 1995.



Source: US Embassy, *Survey of Selected Retailed Prices in Rangoon,* 1994 and private information of Burmese nationals for 1994-95.

Source: US Embassy, *Survey of Selected Retailed Prices in Rangoon,* 1994 and private information of Burmese nationals for 1994-95.



Source: US Embassy, *Survey of Selected Retailed Prices in Rangoon*, 1994 and private information of Burmese nationals for 1994-95.

In December 1995, the price of top quality rice, Pawsun Mhway, was reported to be Kt66 per pyi (4.67lbs). Beginning in January 1996, Burmese nationals and economic journals began reporting that the price of Pawsun Mhway climbed above Kt100 per pyi. In February 1996, the private Burmese economic journal, Dana, came out reporting that it climbed to Kt136 per pyi in Mandalay, representing more than a 100 percent jump in two months. The price of lowest quality rice, *Nga Sein*, was also reported to climb from Kt40 per *pyi* to Kt67 per *pyi* to indicate a drastic worsening of living conditions for ordinary people. The price increase of the first quality rice in Rangoon was even higher, although rice prices in Mandalay historically is higher than the prices in Rangoon.

In short, a highly inefficient command economy with a dual price structure of official and unofficial/black prices has been responsible for the abnormal increases in rice prices. The private merchants and dealers seem to have been buying and hoarding rice to sell in the black or parallel markets inside Burma and across the border for higher profit, while the state has been stockpiling paddy and rice in government warehouses to export to foreign countries to earn foreign exchange. The consumers may also be buying and hoarding rice in panic to safeguard against the pending social and political unrest, the traditional customary practice of the Burmese people in times of political instability and crises dating back to the days of Burmese kings. It seems apparent that the major cause of abnormal increases in rice prices has been due to cut in supply for domestic consumption by the state to fulfill the committed rice export of one to two million tonnes by 1996 to drought-affected China and Indonesia. In March 1996, it has been reported that the government began distributing free

rice to government employees at a rate of 14 pyis for a family man and 12 pyis for a single man in order to head off the potential runaway inflation and appease public discontent that brought down the previous socialist government in 1988. Such a stopgap measure is not going to solve the long-run problem of rice shortages and escalating prices.

The Fleecing of Burmese Farmers

For 26 years from 1962 to 1988, the military regime of General Ne Win managed the agricultural sector of the command economy of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma by institutionalizing "the advanced purchase of paddy system" with a state monopoly on rice export. By advancing loans to farmers, the government established a system of quotas for farmers to sell their harvested paddy at pre-determined prices to the state buying depots. Although there has been a number of increases in the offered price of paddy along with the decontrol and recontrol of rice and other agricultural products since the late 1970s, the quota system of procuring paddy from farmers at low prices by the state procurement agencies remains intact in Myanmar today. In 1987/88, the military regime decontrolled paddy and rice by allowing private traders to trade and export freely. At the same time, a new tax system was introduced that required farmers to pay land revenue and agricultural sale taxes in kind. The liberalization of paddy and rice trade was short-lived and by 1990, private export of paddy and rice was banned.

Soon after the military coup of 1988, the military regime of General Saw Maung renamed the former state buying agency (State Corporation No. 1) the Myanma Agricultural Trading Produce (MATP) and began to offer higher procurement prices of paddy to farmers. Former buying depots and quota system of delivery to the state were reinstituted. As in the past, farmers have to meet their quotas of paddy sale to the state according to the credits or cash advances secured for their operation from the state banks. A farmer who cannot meet the quota is subject to arrest and seizure of his farm by the authorities. Since then, there are four competing buyers of paddy from the farmers: the state procurement agents of the MATP of the Ministry of Trade, the agents of the State Joint Venture No. 1 (a joint venture between the state and big private merchants), the co-operative agents of the Ministry of Co-operatives, and small independent private merchants. Each of them purchases paddy at different prices. The purchase prices offered by the first three state and quasi-state agencies are officially determined at low levels relative to the high prices offered by the independent private merchants who deal in the unofficial/black market. The official offered prices may be as low as 50 percent of the prices of paddy and rice offered by private dealers and merchants.

Athough since 1988/89 the government and the state-sponsored co-operative purchase prices at the state buying depots or farmgates have gone up several times, they remained well below the free market price offered by private traders.

In 1994/95, the private purchase price of paddy was Kt7,688 per ton which was more than double the government purchase price of Kt3,833 per ton. This unfair procurement and pricing system with state monopoly on paddy and rice export has been largely responsible for the continuing economic plight of Burmese farmers. In 1994/95, the spread between the export partiy price of Kt12,030 per ton received by the government and the average farmgate price of Kt10,000 after procurement received by farmers was Kt2,030 per ton to underscore the fleecing of farmers by the state for the purpose of export to earn foreign exchange. According to The World Banks estimate, the total income loss of farmers due to implicit taxation and export ban by the government was over Kt14 billion for traditional paddy output with loss due to export ban accounting for over 70 percent of the total income loss of farmers in 1995.[10]

The paddy output per acre in the Delta ranges from 60 to 70 baskets. Most farmers cannot meet their output quota due to the limited supply of inputs for farming such as fertilizers and insecticides sold by the government at low official prices, the amount undercut by the state procurement agents and the forced payment of paddy to the army. The shortage of inputs sold by the government forces farmers to purchase them in the black market at high prices. The amount of paddy left over after meeting the state quotas is called wunsah or "paddy for the stomach." These wunsah paddies may be sold to co-operative agents or merchants who in turn mill them and sold them in the unofficial market. Most farmers are left without wunsah paddies after all the robbery of their paddy output by the state and co-operative agents.

This process of paddy and rice distribution seething with corruption and swindling the farmers by state officials at the village buying depots across the country explains how and why there has been a widespread shortage of rice for domestic consumption and escalating price of rice in major urban centers of Myanmar. It should also be noticed that the export of rice is monopolized by the state to earn foreign exchange. Like teak, gems, opium/heroin, and oil that are banned from private export by the state, there is a thriving black market for the export of rice across Myanmar's borders. Majority of rice that flow to the black market came from the independent merchants, the state procurement agents, and the leakage from the state distribution shops. Like ordinary folks in urban communities, farmers have been forced to buy rice and other basic necessities in the unofficial/black market. In Upper or Dry Zone of Burma where paddy and rice output has always been low due to natural factors, it has been reported that people have to purchase and consume rice imported from China that is cheaper than the imported rice from Lower Burma. It has caused resentment among Burmese consumers whose country used to be proudly known as "the Rice Bowl of Asia" as the major exporter of rice to China and India.

Inflation and the State of Burmese Economy since 1988

According to government and its lobbyists, growing direct foreign investment, strong economic growth, and "economic reforms" had fueled the inflation. Normally, economic development tends to be associated with rising prices and ideally, it should occur with a minimum rise in prices. In most newly industrialized or developing economies of Asia, such as the Asian Tigers and the ASEAN, the rate of inflation tends to be either equal to or slightly higher than the rate of economic growth. In the case of Myanmar, the rate of inflation has outstripped the rate of growth GDP annually by three to four times to indicate the abnormality and lack of genuine reforms introduced by military managers. With respect to inflation and the state of the Burmese economy under the military management since 1988, Professor Minoru Kiryu wrote in his Report to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP):

> The recent price increases in Myanmar, however, can not be viewed as a healthy counterpart to economic growth and development. They instead must be seen as an indication of abnormalities in the economy, and as a stumbling block to stable development.[11]

He also gave five economic factors responsible for abnormal price increases in Myanmar: supply shortage or stagnation of domestic production, increases in production costs, the increase in money supply, overvaluation of Burmese currency, and dual price structure. He also added that in addition to these economic bottlenecks, the social factors of distrust in the stability of Burmese currency due to past demonetization measures and the lack of timely and accurate information have intensified the rate of inflation

In March 1996, as rice prices skyrocketed in Rangoon and other cities, General Than Shwe, Prime Minister and Head of the State of Myanmar, called for all-out efforts to bring down production costs by stressing frugality in spending, saying that commodity prices would stabilize and fall only when production and distribution costs fell. Indeed, his diagnosis is correct in stressing the need for frugality of spending. In particular, the military regime needs to curb its exorbitant spending on arms procurement from China, Russia, and other countries, state-sponsored cultural, religious, and sport festivals for political distraction, rewards doled out to newly appointed 27 military cabinet ministers out of the 31-member cabinet, 11 military commanders promoted to the rank of Lt. Generals in 1993, more than a dozen military deputy ministers, and hundreds of loyal civilian government officials and enlargement of its armed forces from some 180,000-men in 1988 to 300,000-men in 1995. The main cause of inflation has been the lack of monetary and fiscal discipline on the part of the government in incurring mounting deficits and financing them by printing new bank notes, including the dollar-denominated Foreign Exchange Certificates (FECs) which are locally dubbed as "the Burmese Dollars."

The military regime has been printing new bank notes and putting them in circulation at an annual average rate of 40.6 percent since 1988 to finance its

escalating government deficit (the combined deficit of state administrative organizations and state economic enterprises) that jumped from Kt6.265 billion in 1989/90 to Kt25.917 billion in 1994/95. That is, for the six years between 1989 and 1995, the government deficit increased by 300 percent or grew at a simple average annual rate of 50 percent. On March 27, 1994, the Central Bank of Myanmar put into circulation newly denominated bank notes Kt500, Kt100, Kt50, Kt20 and Kt.5 (50 cents) in addition to the existing legal tender notes of Kt1, Kt5, Kt10, Kt15, Kt45, Kt 90 and Kt200. With the introduction of these new notes, Burma now has 12 different bank notes in circulation. According to the Minister of Finance and Revenue, Brigadier General Win Tin, the new bank notes were issued "in accordance with the normal banking practices" and for the purpose of "easy handling in line with the market-oriented economic system."[12] Government deficit-financing by printing new bank notes is neither a normal banking practice nor a rational monetary action to combat inflation in a market-oriented economy of developed nations.

Foreign Exchange Controls and Dollarization of the Economy

To sustain its grip on political power, the military regime has relentlessly maintained a foreign exchange regime. Strict foreign exchange regulations and controls are imposed by the newly created Ministry of Finance and Revenue in 1993 with Brigadier-General Win Tin as its minister. Foreign exchange rate, transactions, and account of all foreign and Burmese companies and nationals are directly controlled by the four main state financial institutions of The Central Bank of Myanmar, The Myanmar Foreign Trading Bank (MFTB), The Myanmar Investment and Commercial Bank (MICB), and The Myanmar Economic Bank (MEB). The state control of foreign exchange is absolute despite the policy of allowing private companies to open foreign exchange accounts and use them for export and import activities under strict regulations of monetary authorities. All foreign exchange accounts are required to be kept at zero interest and subject to a flat 10% tax with The MFTB, The MICB and The MEB and four other semi-state or so-called joint state-private venture banks: The Myanmar Citizens Bank, The Co-operative Bank, The Myawaddy Bank or The Military Bank and The Yangon/Rangoon City Bank owned mostly by military families and directly controlled by military directors.

Private citizens have no free access to and use of foreign exchange. For example, the maximum foreign exchange allowed to a Burmese national for travel abroad since 1989 is limited to $65. The remittance of foreign exchange from abroad is controlled by allowing the recipient to withdraw on the spot 25 percent of the remittance in kyats translated at the official exchange rate, while the rest may be kept as a savings account at zero interest with the MFTB or can be redeemed at the official exchange rate. The use of the residual foreign exchange for purchase of foreign products is allowed with or without a license depending upon the type of import. Hence, most remittances from abroad are done through black market dealers called hondis at home and abroad.

Consequently, dollarization of the Burmese economy has been occurring since 1990.

Dollarization signifies the displacement of a country"s local currency by dollars in domestic pricing and trading of goods and services. This is happening in Burma today in which everyone wants to spend or pass on "bad money," Burmese *kyat*, to someone else and receive or hold "good money," US dollar, exemplifying Gresham's Law in operation. The US dollar has been used as a standard of value and a store of wealth in lieu of the kyat that has become worthless in the eyes of the public. Since 1988, the Burmese kyat has become bad money due to a lack of confidence, an artificially fixed exchange rate at about Kt6 to US$1 and strict foreign exchange controls relentlessly maintained by the government. The black market rate of exchange hovers around Kt120=US$1 to indicate that the official exchange rate is 20 times overvalued.

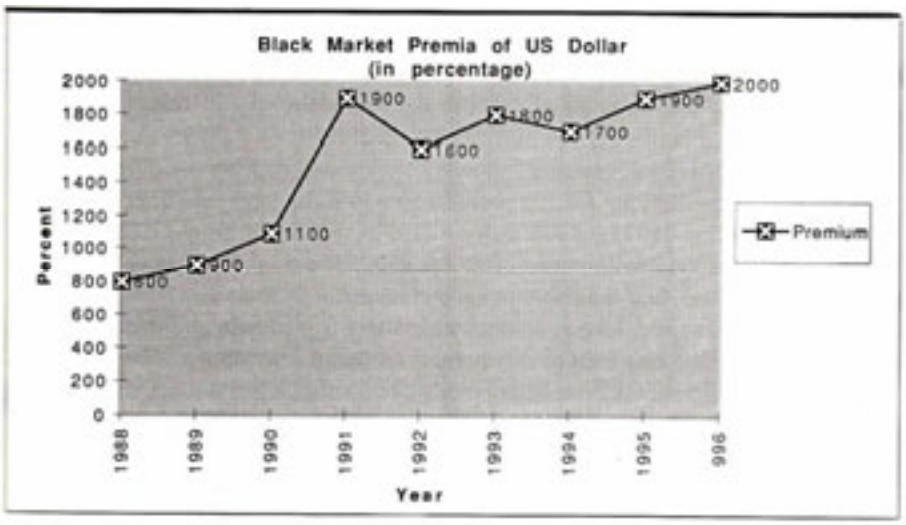
The dollarization of the Burmese economy was augmented further by the monetization of dollar-denominated certificates. On February 4, 1993, the Central Bank of Myanmar began issuing the 1, 5, and 10 U.S. dollar-denominated foreign exchange certificates to boost foreign exchange earnings of the state and facilitate the exchange of hard currencies by tourists. These certificates were decreed to be generally acceptable by any person and used inside Burma only, making them the second or parallel legal tender note or "the Burmese dollar" as they are dubbed in the Burmese economy today. The Burmese citizens who came to own these certificates can hold them privately or deposit them in foreign exchange accounts with state banks. The 1993 regulation also required all foreign tourists to purchase a minimum US$200 worth of certificates that cannot be redeemed when leaving Burma. In March 1994, this minimum requirement was raised to Kt300 to capture more dollars from the tourists. This requirement is a de facto forced conversion of US$300 into Burmese kyats at the official exchange rate of Kt6.25 for US$1. It also amounts to a tax or an entry fee imposed upon visiting Burma.

Due to the maintenance of a foreign exchange regime, huge spreads between the official and unofficial/black market foreign exchange rates of US dollar continue to develop. The following table and charts indicate the phenomenal spreads between the average black market and official exchange rates for the period of 1988-1996 during which the black market-premium of US dollar jumped from 800 percent to 2,000 percent.

The Average Black Market and Official Exchange Rates of US Dollar

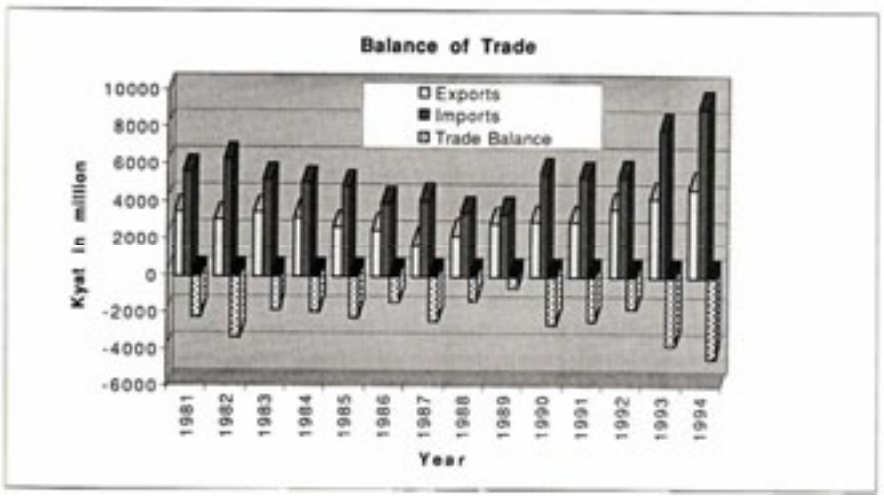
	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
US$1	Kt45	Kt60	Kt80	Kt122	Kt110	Kt117	Kt110	Kt118	Kt124*
Official	Kt5.00	Kt5.80	Kt6.62	Kt6.20	Kt6.30	Kt6.10	Kt6.10	Kt5.90	Kt5.90

Sources: US Embassy, Retail Prices of Selected Goods, Rangoon (1988-1994) and private information for 1995-1996.



Balance of Trade and Payments Deficits

In 1993/94, for the 16th year in succession Burma recorded a trade deficit Kt3.695 billion ($606 million at average official exchange rate), which was the largest trade deficit ever recorded since 1977/78. For 1994/1995, government projected another larger trade deficit of Kt4.344 billion or $737 million (Review 1995: 175). Since 1988, Burma has been suffering from a chronic trade deficit averaging over Kt2.5 billion ($400 million at official exchange rate of $1=Kt6) a year, along with the worsening terms of trade, and an outstanding foreign debt of over $5 billion. Using 1985/86 as the base year, the terms of trade since 1988 remains below 100 with a declining trend from 81 in 1989/90 to 47.2 in 1993/94. However, the government projected that it will improve to 52.4 in 1994/95 (Review, 1995: 176).[13]



Source: Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development, The Union of Myanmar, *Review of the Financial, Economic and Social Conditions for 1994/95 (Yangon: Ministry of National Planning and Development, 1995), p. 175.*

The cumulative trade deficit since the military coup of 1988 stood at Kt17.1572 billion or $2.8595 billion at the official exchange rate of around $1=Kt 6 in 1994/95. It has been the main source of drain in the foreign exchange reserves of the government.

The current account deficits for the period from 1990 to 1995 are $77.5 million (1990), $526 million (1991), $344 million (1992), $275.4 million (1993), $292 million (1994) and $339 million projected for 1995. The financing of these persistent current account deficits has been made by the inflow of long-term foreign capital in terms of concessional loans and grants, mostly from Japan and former West Germay, and direct foreign investments from around the world. However, the financing the current account deficits by these two sources has not been adequate to generate an equilibrium in the basic balance of payments due to the fact that since 1988 all bilateral aid from the West and multilateral grants and loans from international organizations, such as the IMF, the Asia Development, and the World Bank, have been halted. In other words, Burma faces a serious long-term problem in meeting its external debt obligations and balancing its basic balance of payments. In the 1990s, long-term capital inflows in the form of foreign direct investments have dominated the capital account of the balance of payments as official financing of current account deficit has become less and less significant. Most recently, the shortage of bilateral and multilateral loans has been partially made up by the disbursement of a number of new medium-and long-term concessional loans for railway, shipping, and fishery projects provided by China.

As for the external debt, it has grown steadily from $4.221 billion in 1990 to $5.518 billion in 1994/95 with an annual average debt service ratio of 41 percent for the period.[14] The majority of Burmãs medium-and long-term external debt are concessional loans, accounting for 90 percent of the total external debt, three-fourths of which are bilateral loans with Japanese loans accounting for 75 percent. As in the past socialist state of Burma, Japan and former West Germany continue to be the largest creditors of Burma. As of March 1993, the total outstanding and disbursed bilateral debt (including arrears on principal payments and excluding interest payments) was $3.290 billion with $2.44 billion outstanding debt to Japan, $515 billion to former West Germany, and $91.4 million to China. The outstanding stock of external debt service arrears has also been rising. At the end of 1994/95, it rose by some $137 million to almost $1.5 billion, over 75 percent of which are owed to Japan.[15]

The external liquidity crisis of Burma due to insufficient long-term capital inflows continues to persist and is reflected in the overall balance of payments deficit (current account balance + net long-term capital movements + errors and omission) since 1990 with the consecutive deficits of $370 million (1991), $232 million (1992), $279 million (1993), $248 million (1994) and $48 million deficit projected for 1995.[16] Hence, it can be inferred as some private analysts suggested that the major portion of financing the mounting licit trade and current account deficits has been made by funds derived from the export of illicit drug

or heroin from the Golden Triangle and other contraband to the outside world across the borders of China, India, and Thailand. To solve the international liquidity crisis, the officials of the military government has been rigorously lobbying and asking for the resumption of loans, grants, and drawing rights without success so far from the two most important multinational lending organizations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

The persistent trade deficit has been the major cause of the decline in foreign exchange reserves. Foreign exchange reserves reached a high of $454.4 million in 1989/90 primarily due to the investment of more than a dozen foreign oil companies that entered on-shore and off-shore joint-venture oil exploration contracts with the state-owned Myanmar Oil and Energy Enterprise (MOEG). It was followed by four consecutive years of decline with $297.8 million in 1991, $283.3 million in 1992, $273.4 million in 1993, and $241 million in 1994. The projected foreign exchange reserves for 1995 was $327.6 million.[17]

The major reason for the decline in foreign exchange reserves since 1989/90 may be attributed to the military regimẽs rigorous arms procurement program from the outside world, including the $1.4 billion deal struck with China in mid-1990, and other countries (Yugoslavia, Poland, Portugal, North Korea, and Singapore). The exact payment in foreign exchange for arms purchases each year is not known and has not been revealed by the government. Based upon the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agencỹs report, the average value of arms import by Burma was almost $200 million a year between 1990 and 1993 that represented one-half of the average trade deficit of $400 million a year for the same period. The most recent arms procurement from China was a package deal struck in November 1994 during the visit of Burma Army Chief of Staff and Secretary No. 2 of the SLORC, Lt. General Tin Oo. It was reported to be worth $400 million, involving the procurement of helicopters, artillery pieces, armored vehicles, naval gunboats (including three naval frigates), military parachutes, and small arms.[18] There are also reports of recent arms procurement through arms brokers from a number of Western countries, including Belgium, Israel, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and Russia.

China's Economic Dominance over Burma

The dependency of Burma on imports of foreign-manufactured consumer goods, raw materials, and capital goods has been continuing with no end in sight. In terms of trade balance by country, Burma has the largest trade deficit with Japan followed by deficits with China and Thailand, while it has trade surpluses with Singapore and India that seem to be dwindling in the 1990s. However, on the basis of various observations and reports of large shipments of goods, arms, and transport equipment by China across the Yunan border under numerous trade agreements signed between the two countries as well as the flooding of Chinese goods of all kinds in the major cities of Burma since 1988, it may be concluded that China remains the largest exporter of goods to Burma.

The exact statistical information on the value and composition of imports of Chinese goods across the Bumra-China border, especially the contraband and arms, is not known. After the legalization of trade with China in 1988, Burma has signed several trade agreements with China. For example in July 1993 alone, Burma and China signed six new agreements involving trade, transportation, and infrastructure. Under these agreements, Burma was to sell timber cut in the Kachin State to China across the border, while the Chinese would help construct hotels in Rangoon and a hydroelectric plant at Chin Shwe Haw near the Chinese border. Burma in turn agreed to purchase 30,000 tons of rail, locomotives and spare parts and $2 million worth of motor vehicles and spare parts from China.[19] In 1994, four Myanmar state enterprises signed memoranda of understanding with Chinese counterparts from Yunan province to develop the shipbuilding and power sector, involving building of warfs, power stations, and purchase of vessels.[20] The value of legal and illegal Burma-China cross-border trade has been estimated to be worth over $1 billion a year.

The primary objective of adopting a policy of so-called open-door economy of Myanmar and subsequent legalization of Burma-China border trade in 1989 by the Burmese military junta has been to attract aid, trade and investments from the outside world, particularly from China, to sustain its illegitimate rule against the wish of the people of Burma. The net consequence of the ostensible free border trade with China has been the Chinese takeover of Upper Burma and the continued existence of parallel/black markets in central Burma and at the border. The Chinese goods and merchants have been flooding the Gem City of Mandalay and other cities in Upper Burma. The ethnic Chinese merchants and drug warlords are reported to have bought up the real estate and the entire downtown of Mandalay which has become a booming city with new roads, shops and refurbished bazaars. It has also been reported that many Chinese nationals have become Burmese citizens overnight by purchasing National Registration Certificates (NRCs) from black marketeers and corrupt government officials. The illegal trading of goods, including opium and heroin, banned by the state to and from China and other neighboring countries has been overlooked by the military authorities.

In effect, the Chinese takeover of Mandalay and northern Burma replicates the economic consequence of the British colonization of Burma by massive importation of Indian, to a lesser degree Chinese, manpower and capital. The net result was a parallel takeover of land, business, industry, commerce and finance by Indians. The striking difference between the two types of colonization is that in the case of British annexation of Burma it was imposed by an imperial power that deposed the native rulers after waging and winning the three different Anglo-Burmese wars fought over a span of sixty-one years from A.D. 1824 to 1885. In the "open-door economy" of present-day Myanmar, the Chinese economic colonization of Mandalay and northern states of Burma has occurred without wars during a short span of five years from 1988 to 1993 welcomed and blessed by a native Burmese government, the SLORC. The

similarity between the two cases is that both the SLORC and Great Britain came to power through force without the democratic consent of the people of Burma.[21]

Direct Foreign Investment: Constructive or Destructive Engagement?

Private corporate world and individual governments of both the West and the Asian countries have shown willingness to tolerate continued human rights violations of the military regime by not sanctioning and imposing a total trade and arms embargo against Burma. Despite verbal rebukes and resolutions passed against the Burmese military regime's human rights abuses by the UN and the US, a multilateral arms embargo has yet to be imposed. Meanwhile, Burma continues to be a member of the United Nations and the ASEAN has invited and accepted by the SLORC to be a guest at various July meeting of its ministers ever since 1993. In effect, the clinch constructive engagement followed most ardently by the ASEAN, and to a lesser degree, by the Western democracies has been destructive to the democracy movement of Burma. The underlying motive of the ASEAN as well as industrially developed Asian and Western countries in entering trade and investment relationships with the Burmese military regime has been economic to establish new markets and exploit untapped natural resources of Burma that the military regime has been putting up for sale to capture scarce foreign exchange and sustain its control of power. The political motivation of the constructive engagement has been the concern over China's increasing military strength and influence over Burma that represents a threat to regional security.

As of March 16, 1994, total foreign direct investments in Myanmar is reported to be $1.056 billion by some 91 foreign companies. By country of origin, Thailand remained the largest investor followed by the United States, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the Republic of Korea, Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Bangladesh. In terms of sectors, tourism has replaced mining as the second most important sector of direct foreign investments in 1994. SLORC has been launching a rigorous campaign of promoting tourism with the slogan of "Visit Myanmar in 1996" to amass more foreign exchange. As of June 21, 1994, Abel stated that Singapore overtook Thailand as the top foreign investor, with its $500 million share out of the total foreign investments of $1.23 billion. Singapore's investments have dominated the hotel and tourist industry that the SLORC has targeted as the largest foreign exchange earner under the rigorous international campaign of "Visit Myanmar in 1996."

As 1995 began, there has been a dramatic rise in foreign direct investment which has reportedly more than doubled, reaching a total of $2.4 billion in February 1995 with significant changes in the ranking of investment by country of origin and by sector. This dramatic rise was primarily accounted for by an additional investment of Total Oil of France, which owns a major interest in the joint venture project of offshore Yadana Natural Gas Well with the state-owned Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE), for the construction of the proposed

multimillion dollar pipe line to ship natural gas to Thailand by 1997. France became the largest investor with its investment of $1.05 billion, accounting for 44 percent of the total direct foreign investments of $2.390 billion, to overtake Singapore ($265 million) followed by Thailand ($211 million) and the United States ($203 million). However, in March 1995 the United Kingdom has replaced France as the largest investor in Burma with 24 percent, followed by France with 17.9 percent, Thailand with 16.1 percent, Singapore with 13 percent, U.S.A. with 8.7 percent, and Japan with 3.8 percent. The combined investment of U.K., France, and U.S.A. alone accounted for more than 50 percent, while the total Western investment, including Australia, accounted for almost 60 percent of total foreign direct investment. The combined investment of three ASEAN member countries accounted for more than 30 percent of total foreign direct investment.[22]

By sector, foreign direct investment in oil and gas continued to top the list with 56.4 percent followed by hotel and tourism with 21.9 percent, fisheries with 9.47 percent, mining with 7 percent, manufacturing with 6.7 percent, and the rest by less than 1 percent in agriculture and transport each. The majority of investment in oil and gas was made by multinational companies from France, United States and United Kingdom in entering joint venture projects with the state-owned Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE) and the companies from Thailand and Japan. The majority of investment in hotel and tourist industry was made by Singapore, Thailand and Hong Kong.

Conscript Labor Input in Oil and Natural Gas Joint Venture Projects

Towards the end of 1992 and during 1993, more than a dozen foreign oil companies pulled out of Burma due primarily to no significant finds of onshore oil. However, the exodus of the unsuccessful foreign oil companies was offset by the U.K. Premier Consolidated Oilfield's discovery of gas and condensate at the Yetagun Wildcat Well (Sagarwah in Burmes) and Texaco's offshore natural gas find in the Isthmus of Kra located some 100 miles west of Mergui. The participating interests in the Yetagun Wildcat Well project are American Texaco (50%), British Premier Petroleum Myanmar (30%) and Nippon Oil Exploration (Myanmar) Ltd.(20%). In July 1992, the French multinational firm MNC Total S.A. and the Petroleum Authority of Thailand Exploration and Production Public Co. Ltd. (PTTEP) signed an offshore natural gas exploration project with the MOGE estimated to be worth over US$1.2 billion. The participating interests in this giant offshore natural gas project are Total (52.5%), PTTEP (up to 30%) and the rest belonging to the Unocal of United States with a 15% share option retained by the MOGE. This concession known as the Yadana Gas Well covers an area of 26,140 square kilometers in the Gulf of Martaban, located some 250 kilometers southeast of Rangoon and 500 kilometers west of the Burmese border town of Three Pagodas Pass across Thailand. In 1994, the head of the state of Myanmar, Senior General Than Shwe, reported that the Yadana Gas Well have a 6 trillion cubic feet of production potential instead of the initial estimate of some

2 to 3 trillion cubic feet of natural gas deposit. These two major joint ventures are the only oil and natural gas exploration projects left in operation in Myanmar today. In 1994, Thailand signed an agreement to be the sole buyer of Burma's natural gas form the Yadana Gas Well by 1997.

The two on-going offshore oil and natural gas joint venture projects are in the geo-politically strategic areas along the Thai-Burmese border and the Gulf of Martaban where the headquarters and population of the two strongest ethnic minority rebel groups, the Karen National Union (KNU) and the New Mon State Party (NMSP) are located. The control of the areas occupied by these rebels has been a must for the SLORC for the natural gas production and shipment to Thailand. There are reports of atrocious human rights violations against the Karens and the Mons by the Burmese military, forcefully relocating villagers and using forced labor to build roads and the Ye-Tavoy Railway labeled by the ethnic human rights activists as "the Death Railway." The Ye-Tavoy railway project has been undertaken by the Burmese army for the purpose of building the proposed mutli-million dollar pipeline that would tap the two offshore blocks or joint venture projects mentioned before to ship the natural gas to Thailand. According to the report issued by the Burmese exiled government, the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), since October 1993, as a first phase of the gas pipeline project, the Burmese army deploying 15 new regiments have forcefully relocated local people from "four villages from Ye township, 11 villages from Yebyu and Tavoy townships."

In early 1995 to clear the site of the pipeline, the Burmese junta broke its unilateral cease-fire agreement and mounted an all-out assault to successfully overrun and captured Manerplaw, the central headquarters of the Karen National Union (KNU) and the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) as well as other KNU camps and the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) headquarters at Dawn Gwin. It has caused the KNU leaders and thousands of Karen and other refugees to take refuge inside Thailand. In August 1995, for the same purpose the junta broke its cease-fire agreement with the Karenni ethnic rebels and waged war against them, creating more refugees along the Thai-Burmese border. These refugees in turn are under intensive Thai pressure of forced repatriation and deportation. Against this background, both groups have been forced to enter into cease-fire talks with the SLORC.

In 1994, evidence of the use of conscript labor surfaced on the international front when foreign journalists reported it with pictures of civilians and prisoners in chain gangs to clean up the Mandalay Palace and dredge the moat. On September 17, 1994, The New York Tines reported: "In April 1994 orders were given to clean up Mandalay Palace, including a project to dredge the moat. Alongside shackled prisoners, two thousands ordinary farmers and city folks were used to work on this giant project." A few fatalities among forced laborers was also reported. Another foreign journalist, Suzanne Goldberg of London, who visited Myanmar in 1994 wrote in The Guardian:: "Burma's junta is using a

'unique form of taxation' [forced labor and donation] to realize its grandiose dreams in drenching the moat of the old Mandalay's palace, building international airports at Bassein and Mandalay and 110-mile Ye-Tavoy Railway."

The powerful intelligence chief, Lt. General Khin Nyunt labeled by dissidents as the "Prince of Darkness," admitted the conscription of uncompensated labor from the people and defended this feudal system of corvee[22] labor as the voluntary "noble deed of merit" in Burmese tradition performed by the Burmese people. On November 26, 1994, in the state-run *New Light of Myanmar*, he accused the "destructive elements" of Myanmar (foreign journalists, radios, neo-colonialists, traitorous expatriates, and armed organizations under foreign influence) of spreading "concocted news" and "unfounded information" of forced labor, "despite full good will of local residents in their contribution of voluntary labor." This justification replicates the one made by malevolent ancient Burmese kings to justify their acts of building gardens, roads, bridges, and pagodas for the atonement of their sins of torture and murder of their subjects. However, the UN Special Repporteur, Professor Yoko Yokata, reported that "the labor extracted from the people by SLORC is not voluntary and made under various threats of violations of personal integrity rights or property rights."[23] The most brutalized and abused victims of forced labor, portering, and relocation by the Burmese army have been the two ethnic minority groups of Karens and Mons whose states are the site the proposed multi-million dollar pipeline to ship natural gas to Thailand.

The impressive amounts of foreign direct investment made by countries from around the world in the various sectors of the economy seem to suggest that doing business or investing in Myanmar has been easy and highly lucrative. In reality, foreign investors face a number of obstacles such as corruption, bureaucratic red tape, foreign exchange control, restricted repatriation of profit, and lack of modern financial institutions and infrastructure. A successful foreign investment venture inside Myanmar depends directly upon personal connections and contacts with the military or civilian directors in charge of various ministries. On the surface, the continuous inflow of foreign capital and direct investments may seen highly conducive to the economic growth of the country and welfare of the people of Burma. In reality, due to the maintenance of trade and foreign exchange regimes by the state, the impact of foreign direct investment has been more negative than positive on the economic welfare of the people.

Forced Relocation and Disparity of Income and Wealth

The SLORC decalred the year 1996 as "The Visit Myanmar Year" to capture foreign exchange from the tourists. Since 1989, the military junta has been launching the beautification program of Rangoon and other cities across Burma by forcefully relocating and inducing voluntary relocation to new satellite towns. There are ten satellite towns around Rangoon alone to which almost half a million population has been relocated. Similarly, satellite towns were created around the famous ancient city of Mandalay in Upper Burma, forcefully

relocating the residents to attract and accommodate Chinese and other foreign investors as well as tourists. The government claimed that most of the evicted were squatters and fire victims who were not allowed to re-acquire their old plots of land. However, the Burmese nationals reported that among the forcefully evicted were regular homeowners. The forcefully relocated home owners also reported that the compensation paid for dismantling their homes were well below their market values. They were also asked to pay for the new plots of land in satellite towns. If they could not pay, they were moved further away and forced to settle in shabbier satellite towns outside Rangoon division. Also, the villagers and residents living at ancient tourist sites, such as Mandalay, Pagan, and Amarapura in Upper Burma, were forcefully relocated for the purpose of renovating these sites for tourist attraction. The massive eviction similar to the style of Pol Pot or Khmer Rouge of Cambodia occurred in 1989 a year prior to the holding of the multiparty elections to disperse and disorient voters in major urban centers. The political motivation of dispersing potential dissident students was also evident in the creation of a new Rangoon University in 1993 at the new satellite town, Dagon Myothit or New Rangoon, located far away from the center of Rangoon.

The central feature of the satellite towns created across Burma is that modern homes of military commanders and high ranking government officials are built along the main highways and railway tracks with access to electricity, telephone, and water supply. On the other hand, the homes of forcefully relocated people are built with traditional bamboo and thatches that are located far away from the main roads with no electricity and water supply. With respect to this condition, a Burmese political satirist wrote:

> Look! The homeless were provided with plenty of "water," yay, and "fire," mee, by relocating them to new satellite towns. Yes, indeed there are plenty of water supply and fire; torrential flood in the rainy season and innumerable fires in the summer. This is the bountiful yay and mee for the people of Burma.[24]

Military elites and high-ranking government officials secured low-interest mortgage loans from state banks and building materials at subsidized prices to build two to three homes in the best sections of these new satellite towns. They would either sell these homes to make abnormal profit or maintain absentee ownership of unoccupied homes and rent them out to foreign businessmen and diplomats to earn foreign exchange.

Like most countries of the Third World, the statistical data on income and wealth distribution in Burma are unavailable. However, there are private reports on the growing inequality of income and wealth distribution between the Burmese military elites, black market king pins and corrupt civilian officials and the rest of the population. Apart from basic necessities, the elites have an easy access to modern living such as better housing, automobiles, the best health care with private physicians, the best domestic and foreign education for their children with private tutors, foreign travel, golf, tennis, foreign liquor, television,

stereo, video, satellite dish and others. Modern life-styles and comfortable modern homes of military elite and families living at former colonial residential quarters and newly constructed modern quarters and villas in Rangoon, Mandalay and other cities as well as in new satellite towns, all conspicuously symbolizing the abodes of what the Burmese called Lawki Nateban or modern Nirvana.

Examples of these heavenly quarters and estates of the military elites are the most famous *Ady Road or Maykha Yatethah* (home and the well-fortified palace of General Ne Win), *the Nawarat Yatethah* in central Rangoon (homes of defense service personnel), the Golden Valley or Shwetaung Kyar No. 1 and No. 2 (homes of high-ranking government officials and other rich folks with political connections), Windamere Road (modern homes of government officials and black market kingpins), the Inyar Myaing, the Parami and theShwegontaing Ban Yatethah (the comfortable homes of ex-military commanders) and *Bogyoke Ywah* or General's Village, also called *Shwe Wut Hmon*. at *Chinchawn Chan* or *Kanbawza* (the well-fortified villas and homes former president, the late General San Yu, and ex-Revolutionary Council members, and the home of present Intelligence Chief, Lt. General Khin Nyunt). Other heavenly quarters of military elites and their families in new satellite towns around Rangoon are *Ngwe Kyah Yan, Koan Myint Thayah, Palell Myothit, Padamyar Myothit, Shwe Pauk Kan or Second Dagon Myothit and Thuwana Myothit.*

Conclusion

The ostentatious economic reforms undertaken by the military regime of Burma have not been effective to substantially improve the economic performance and living conditions of the people of Burma. As The World Bank assessed:

The pace of economic growth is still not rapid enough to compensate for the economic stagnation of the preceding quarter century, and its sustainability is uncertain. The current reform efforts are, therefore, unlikely to push the Myanma economy to a higher growth path on which the bulk of the population would enjoy substantially better living standards.[25]

Burma's prospects for sustainable economic growth looks rather bleak due to inept measures and policies of the power-driven military government that has been putting up for sale the depletable natural resources such as forest, gems, minerals, oil and natural gas, and fishery to profit-driven foreign investors. The ecological rape and depletion of natural resources as well as the cultural depletion under unrestrained tourism to amass foreign exchange signal an imminent debacle for Burma.

The long history of military dictatorship in Latin America and authoritarian or totalitarian rule in the former Soviet Union, the Peoplẽs Republic of China, and the present communist states of North Korea and Cuba accord with the Burmese

experience. It testifies that decades of political stability and discipline maintained under the rule of force do not generate economic growth for the people. As Daw Aung San Suu Kyi correctly appraises:

> A revolution that aims at changing official policies and institutions with a view to an improvement in material conditions has a little chance of genuine success. Without the revolution of the spirit, the forces that had produced the iniquities of the old order would continue to post a constant threat to the process of reform and regeneration.[26]

The iniquities in Burma today are; the growing power and wealth of the military rulers at the expense of impoverished masses; the sub-human conditions and plight of hundreds of thousands of displaced refugees stranded along Burma's borders (including over 100,000 Muslim refugees at the Bangladesh border and over 300,000 refugees and illegal immigrants along the Thai border and inside Thailand) reported by private refugee relief organizations and the UNHCR; thousands of Burmese girls and women forced to work as prostitutes across the border in the Thai brothels documented by the Asia Watch;27 some 400,000 people infected with the AIDS virus reported by the UN; millions of forcefully relocated people forced to donate free labor and act as porters and human shields for the military campaigns against the ethnic rebels and bridge and road building projects to accommodate Chinese, Singaporean, Thai, and other foreign investors.

The Burmese junta's approach to development in adopting the East Asian approach that mandates 'stability and discipline' first to promote economic growth and democracy later is not really new in the annals of military dictatorship and authoritarian regimes. It is state capitalism or mercantilism of the pre-laissez-faire era cloaked under the garb of "a market-oriented economic system" or "an open-door market economy" designed to benefit and empower the central power-holders or "the strong state." So far neither economic growth nor democracy has flowered in Burma. The yardstick to measure a good government is not economic growth per se but "development of the people, for the people and by the people,"[28] and their rights to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness unfettered by fear and threat of an ominous state.

Notes

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27. See Asia Watch and the Women's Right Project, *A Modern Form of Slavery: Trafficking of Burmese Women and Girls into Brothels of Thailand* (New York: Human Rights Watch, December 1993).
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Note

Mya Maung is professor of finance at the Wallace E. Carrol School of Management, Bonston College, United States.

SLORC Army: Strategic Military Headquarters
Tibet
Tibet
Butan
India
Bangla-
desh
China
Laos
Thailand
Burma
Bay
of
Bengal
Andaman
Sea
Gulf
of
Thailand
Bangkok
Myitkyina
Mon Ywa
Sagaing
Mandalay
Lashio
Taunggyi
Akyab
Magwe
Taungngu
Aungban
Prome
Pegu
Taukkyan
Thaton
Pa-an
Rangoon
Bassein
Moulmein
Commnd
Division
Graphics by Radio Burma Group 1995

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND BURMA

1988 marked the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. During a year when the United Nations worked to focus world wide public attention on the promotion and protection of basic human rights, the pro-democracy movement in Burma was brutally crushed. Repression and torture intensified.

The following is the first 21 Articles of the Declaration and an update of Burma's record in observing these rights. The remaining 9 Articles dealing with economic, social and cultural rights are not dealt with in this fact sheet.

Article 1. All Human Beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

General Saw Maung: "In our military science there is no such thing as dialogue, someone might say 'look friend, please don't shoot', well that is not the way it works."

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.

Asiawatch, May 1990: "the Burmese army uses thousands of civilians to carry supplies, including food and ammunition. Porters are dragged from their houses in the middle of the night or abducted from the street in broad daylight. They are exposed to a range of hazards, from disease to malnutrition to land mines and guerilla fire. Porters who become sick or tired are frequently left behind or killed. Many who try to escape are shot."

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

New York Times, 8.5.90: "In Burma the torture of detainees, the American embassy charged, includes electric shock, sleep deprivation, exposure to cold and cigarette burns. Such torture has continued since the May elections and is widespread."

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

International Human Rights Law Group, May 1990: "Allegations of extrajudicial killings of civilians, particularly those belonging to ethnic minorities has been reported.

Article 7. All are equal before the law.

Amnesty International: "Most people arrested on political grounds in Myanmar are initially held incommunicado detention for investigation and interrogation. In almost all cases torture or ill-treatment took place during these prolonged periods – incommunicado detention sometimes persisted for 6 months or more."

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy for violation of human rights.

SLORC Announcement #1/90 para. 19c: "Only SLORC has judicial power."

General Saw Maung: "We are using both the force of law and the force of power".

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Amnesty International, 1988: "People from all walks of life were arrested in thousands following the September coup."

Amnesty International, 1990: "In October (1990) the security forces arrested hundreds of monks and scores of political activists, many of whom are elected members of parliament."

Asiawatch, 1991: "Repression in Burma has been intensified with widespread arrests".

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal.

International Human Rights Law Group, May 1990: "SLORC enacted Martial Law establishing Military Tribunals. The Military Tribunals

may conduct trials without the most basic elements of due process necessary to ensure a non-biased and free trial.

Article 11. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law, and according to the law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

1975 Law to Protect the State from destructive elements: "The government may order up to three years detention or house arrest without charge or trial for anyone the authorities believe will do, or is doing, or has done an act which endangers the peace of most citizens or the security and sovereignty of the State."

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

The Military Intelligence Service (MIS) in Burma is the most powerful organisation in the state. Mail is opened, families of known or suspected political activists are harassed and threatened , people are afraid to make the slightest criticism of the SLORC in public for fear of being informed on.

Article 13. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

SLORC is forcibly relocating thousands from cities to satellite towns (see Article 17) and in rural areas ethnic minority villages are razed to the ground and villagers forced to move away from areas where insurgents are active.

Article 14. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

Thailand is not a signatory to the 1951 UN Refuge Convention, so although it is a member of the General Assembly it does not feel obligated to protect refugees. As a result Burmese refugees in Thailand are unrecognised by the Thais, though some get stipends from the UN High Commission for refugees. Thailand has repatriated over 5,200 Burmese since September 1988, exposing them to arrest, torture and even death. The arrest and deportation of Burmese asylum seekers is a serious violation of human rights.

Article 15. Everyone has the right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Burma Alert, June 1991: "In November (1990), 30,000 people were uprooted from coastal villages in the Arakan state and driven out to Bangladesh."

Article 16. Men and women of full age have the right to marry.

Article 17. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

International Human Rights Law Group, May 1990: "Reports of massive relocation of urban residents, numbering nearly 500,000, to satellite towns have been confirmed by the Myanmar government… Citizens who have resisted the relocation have been arrested."

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Amnesty International: "On the 31.10.1990 (the SLORC) promulgated new law No. 20/90 which provides for imprisonment of up to three years for monks who are members of unofficial monastic organisations or who 'organise, incite, speak or write' critically about the officially recognised monastic organisation.

Burma Alert, June 1991: "The All Burma Muslim Union accused SLORC of trying to stamp out Islam in Burma and trying to engineer communal rifts between Muslims and Buddhists. A Thai official in Maesod said that 1,000 Burmese Muslims have fled to the Thai border after harassment by SLORC troops."

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and 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.

Military Tribunals use the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act to convict Myanmar citizens for political activities. The act provides penalties for anyone who 'spread a false news item or a rumour to excite disaffection…(or to encourage anyone to be) disloyal to the State.'

Article 20. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

SLORC Order #2/88: re-established the curfew; banned gatherings on the street of five or more people, including monks; banned the

opening of strike centres; prohibited road blocks or demonstrating en masse.

Article 21.1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Amnesty International, 1990: "Myanmar's military government, the State Law and Order restoration council, remains in control of the country in spite of overwhelming victory of the opposition, the National League for Democracy (NLD). Security forces have arrested hundreds of monks and political party activists, many of whom are elected members of the Peoples Assembly, for their peaceful opposition to the SLORC's continued rule."

SOURCES:

Amnesty International	- Myanmar
	- Myanmar, 'in the national interest'.
Asiawatch	- Burma – time for sanctions
	- Human Rights in Burma
International Human Rights Law Group	- Report on the Myanmar Election
	- Post-Election Myanmar
	- A Popular Mandate Withheld
United Nations Human Rights	- Questions and Answers

NEWSLETTERS

- Burma Alert
- Dawn
- Burma Relief Centre

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SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
1.	U Kyaw Than	NLD	Insein	Kyemmedine, Rangoon
2.	U Kyi Myint	MP, NLD	Myingyan	Latha Township, Rangoon
3.	U Kyi Shwe	MP, NLD	Insein	Palaw Township Tenasserim Division
4.	U Kinn Shein	NLD	Insein	
5.	Daw Kyi Kyi	Associated with CPB	Insein	Kyauk Myaung, Rangoon
6.	Ko Ko Gyi	NLD (Central Youth)	Taungoo	Shwe Pyi Tha, Rangoon
7.	U Kyin Maung	NLD	Thayet	Thaketa Township, Rangoon
8.	Ko Ko Gyi	ABFSU	Taungoo	S. Okkalapa, Rangoon
9.	U Kyi Nyunt	P.P.P	Thayet	S. Okkalapa, Rangoon
10.	U Kyi Tin Oo (Poet)	CPB	Insein	Hlaing Township, Rangoon
11.	Ko Kyi Soe		Insein	Sanchaung, Rangoon
12.	Ko Kyaw Lwin		Tharrawaddy	
13.	Ko Kyaw Zin Htwe		Insein	
14.	Ko Kyi Win		Insein	
15.	Ko Kyaw Kyaw Oo		Insein (Sperate cell)	Webagi SattelliteTown
16.	Ko Kyaw Min Tun		Thayet	
17.	Ko Kyi Soe		Insein	Tamwe, Rangoon
18.	Ko Kyaw Soe Win		Insein	Silbings, north Dagon
19.	Ko Kyaw Soe Lin		Insein	Silbings, north Dagon
20.	Ko Kyaw Soe Moe		Tharrawaddy	Thonze

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SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
21.	Ko Kyaw Win			Thonze
22.	Ko Kyi Lwin		Insein	Mingala Taung Nyunt, Rangoon
23.	Ko Kyaw Thiha			Pakokku
24.	Ko Kyi Pe Kyaw		Insein	Teachers' Training College Compound Bogale
25.	Ko Kyin Hoe		Insein	
26.	U Kyin Win		Insein	Meiktila
27.	Ko Kyaw Myint Oo		Insein	Lewis St., Rangoon
28.	Ko Ko Aung	NLD	Tharrawaddy	S.Okkalapa, Rangoon
29.	Ko Kyaw Swa Moe		Tharrawaddy	934, Lower Mingaladon St. Insein
30.	Ko Kyaw Soe Lin		Insein	71/B, Myin Tha 2nd St.15th Quarter S. Okkalapa, Rangoon
31.	Ko Kyaw Htay		Insein	
32.	Ma Kyin Ti (a) Pe Pe		Insein	Kawthaung Town
33.	Ko Kyin Ngwe (a) Phyoe Htein		Tharrawaddy	Dala, Rangoon.
34.	Maung Kyan	NLD	Insein	Mergui
35.	Ko Kyin Sein (a) Saw Phoe Mee	NLD	Insein	Mergui
36.	Ko Kyaw Nyi Nyi Htun		Bassein	
37.	U Khin Maung NLD		Myingyan	178/33rd Street, Rangoon
38.	Ma Cho Nwe Oo	Student	Insein	Rangoon
39.	U Khin Maung Swe	CEC, MP (NLD)	Insein	Shwe La Win Street, Sanchaung, Rangoon

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
40.	Ma Khin Nyo Lwin (a) Ma Don		Insein	Kyauk Myaung, Rangoon
41.	Ma Khin Hnin Yee (daugther of Bo Sat Yaung)	CPB	Insein	
42.	Ma Khin Mar Kyi		Insein	
43.	Ma Khin San Yee		Insein	
44.	Ma Khin Mar (Wife of Ko Kyaw Mya)	CPB	Insein	
45.	Ko Khin Mya			
46.	Maung Khin Zaw			
47.	U Chit Swe			
48.	U Khin Maung Lin (a) Tok Ki			
49.	U Khin Latt			Prome Township
50.	Ko Khin Zaw			Dawpon, Rangoon
51.	Ko Chit San			
52.	U Khin Maung Gyi		Thayet	Thamine, Rangoon
53.	Dr. Khin Zaw Win		Insein	Yankin, Rangoon
54.	Ko Khin Kyi			RIT Compound, Gyo Gone, Rangoon
55.	Ko Khin Maung Zaw		Insein	Paungde Township
56.	Ko Khin Zaw Oo		Tharrawaddy	

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SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
57.	Maung Khin Tha		Insein	437, Thar Du Kan Quarter, Shwe Pyi Tha Satellite Town, Rangoon
58.	Ko Khin Win		Taungoo	149, Bogyoke Aung San St., 2nd Quarter, Shwe Pyi Tha Satellite Town, Rangoon
59.	Ma Khin Htay Yee (a) Ma Tu		Insein	
60.	Daw Khin Mya	NLD (Mergui)	Insein	Meythayar Street, Shanmalswe Quarter, Tavoy
61.	Ko Khin Maung Than		Insein	Kyauktan Townsh (lighthouse)
62.	Ko Khin Maung Kyi		Tharrawaddy	
63.	U Khin Win (a) Boe Daw		Insein	Rangoon
64.	Ko Khin Maung Yee (a) Tin Aye (son of Daw Hla Hla Win)		Mandalay	No.52, 165th St, Rangoon
65.	U Khin Maung Lay		Insein	Paukkaung Township
66.	U Khin Maung Lay		Tharrawaddy	Taguntaing, Mandalay, EPC
67.	U Khin Maung Nyut		Insein	Bogale Township
68.	Ko Gyaw Le Tun	Strike leader	Thayet	Thonze
69.	Ko Jimmy (a) Kyaw Min Yu		Tharrawaddy	
70.	Ko Ngwe Thein			

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
71.	U Sein Hla Oo	MP, NLD	Insein	Yankin, Rangoon
72.	U Saw Nay Dun	NLD	Insein	
73.	Capt Sai Win Kyaw	Army	Thayet	Yankin, Rangoon
74.	Daw San San Nwe	NLD	Insein	Yankin, Rangoon
75.	Ko Sein Hlaing		Insein	
76.	Ko Sein Kyaw Oo		Thayet	
77.	Ko Soe Htike			
78.	U Si Thu Mya Than (Son of Thakin Mya Than)		Insein	Thingankyun, Rangoon
79.	Ko Soe Htet Khing			
80.	Ma Sein Pin		Insein	
81.	Ko San Myint (a) Ajit Hein		Taungoo	
82.	Ko Sein Win (Son of U Tin Pe)		Tharrawaddy	
83.	Ko Saw Thet Htun			
84.	Ko San Lin			
85.	Ko Si Thu		Tharrawaddy	Sanchaung, Rangoon
86.	Ko Soe Hling		Tharrawaddy	Thonze Township
87.	U Soe Min (a) Herry Sein Lin			
88.	Ko Soe Lwin		Tharrawaddy	Monywa Township
89.	Ko Soe Myint			Dawpon, Rangoon
90.	Ko Saw Htoo Soe			

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
91.	Ko Sein Kyaw			Kamayaut, Rangoon
92.	Ko Soe Tint			
93.	Ko San Myint Aye		Tharrawaddy	
	(Son of U Htwe Myint)			S.Okkalapa, Rangoon
94.	Ko San Myaing (a)			Hle Dan, Rangoon
	Tha Nge			
95.	Ko Soe Naing Win		Insein	
	(Son of U Than Tin)			
96.	Ko Sein Myint		Insein	S.Dagon, Rangoon
97.	Ko San Lwin			
98.	U Saw Aung			Loikaw Township
99.	U Saw Win	MP, NLD	Tharrawaddy	
100.	Ko Saw Ku Sel	17/1	Taungoo	Kyaukni
101.	Ko Saw Kyi Wi	5 (j)	Insein	Nyaunglebin Township
102.	U Sein Win (Clerk)		Taungoo	
	Husband of Daw			
	Myint Myint Sein			
103.	U Sein Myint		Taungoo	
104.	Maung Saw Nwe		Taungoo	747, Tha Du Kan Quarter,
				Shwe Pyi Tha Satellite Town
105.	U San Win		Taungoo	597, Thayetchan 5 St.
				Painngekone, Insein
106.	Ma San San Aye		Insein	Bahan Township
	(a) San Sanda			

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
107.	U Saw El Day Husband of Daw Khin Mya		Insein	
108.	Ko San Myint		Insein	Insein Township
109.	Maung Soe (a) Saw Phoe Seik	NLD	Insein	Mergui
110.	Ko Soe Htike	CPB	Bassein	Bassein Township
111.	Ko Soe Moe Latt		Bassein	
112.	Ko Saw Kye Le		Tharrawaddy	Bogale Township
113.	Ko Saw Ba Do		Insein	Ma-ubin
114.	U Sanda Yaw (a) U Kyaw Kyaw		Insein	Daik-u
115.	Ko Saw Thein Win	17/1	Insein	Bogale Township
116.	Ko Saw Win Kyi	17/1	Insein	Bogale Township
117.	Ko Saw Raw Be		Insein	Bogale Township
118.	Ko Saw Tha Tin Kalay		Insein	Bogale Township
119.	Dr Zaw Myint	MP, NLD	Insein	Henzada Township
120.	Dr Zaw Myint Maung	MP, NLD	Insein	Mandalay
121.	Ko Zaw Aung		Insein	
122.	Ko Zaw Tun Thet		Mandalay	
123.	Ko Zaw Zaw Aung		Tharrawaddy	Tharrawaddy
124.	Ko Zay Yar Win			
125.	Ko Zaw Tun			

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SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
126.	Ko Zaw Gyi			Tamwe, Rangoon
127.	Ko Zaw Myint (BOC)			Thingankyun, Rangoon
128.	Ko Zaw Gyi			Sanchaung, Rangoon
129.	Ko Zarni (a) Kyaw Moe Naing			No.20, Htin Yu Myaing St., 9th Quarter, Yankin, Rangoon
130.	Ko Zaw Nyein Latt		Tharrawaddy	No. 233-A-13, Yankin, Rangoon
131.	Ko Zay Ya	DPNS	Tharrawaddy	
132.	Ko Zaw Myint Hein		Insein	814, No.2 Quater, Bogyoke Aung San St.,Shwe Pyi Tha, Rangoon
133.	Ko Zaw Win Htut		Thayet	
134.	Ko Zaw Hling (a) Thiha Aung		Insein	
135.	Ko Zaw Win Than		Bassein	
136.	Ko Zaw Myo Win		Thayet	
137.	Ko Nyo Tun	ABFSU	Thayet	
138.	Ko Nyi Nyi Oo	NLD (Attempt blast in Syriam)	Myingyan	
139.	Ko Nyi Nying Aung (Son of U Than Aung)		Insein	
140.	Ko Nyunt Mying (a) Bo Htike		Insein	Hpa-Sa-Pa-La Quater, Rangoon
141.	Ko Nyo Tun (a) Zaw Aung			148, Mya Nanda St., Set Hmu Let Hmu Quarter, Thaketa Township, Rangoon

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
142.	Maung Nyi Nyi Win (a) Nay Lwin Aung		Insein	No.1 St., Quarter 3, Daik-u
143.	Ko Nyut Zaw	NLD	Insein Building 6	Room 9, Padamya 3rd St., Henzada Township
144.	U Htay Aung	NLD	Insein	Thingankyun, Rangoon
145.	Ko Htay Lwin			
146.	Ko Htay Kywe			
147.	Ko Htay Win		Insein	
148.	Ko Htay Thein			Dawpon, Rangoon
149.	Ko Htay Lwin			Kyemmedine, Rangoon
150.	Ko Htay		Taungoo	113, Nag Moe Yeik, No. 20 Quarter S.Dagon, Rangoon
151.	U Tin Htut	MP, NLD	Insein	Kandawlay, Rangoon
152.	U Tin Aung Aung	MP, NLD	Tharrawaddy	
153.	U Tin Shwe (Monywa)	CC, NLD	Insein	Insein, Rangoon
154.	U Tin Tun (Boxing)	NLD	Insein	Pabedan, Rangoon
155.	U Tin Tun		Insein	Kamayut, Rangoon
156.	U Tin Aung	CPB	Insein	642, Aya 3rd St, (J) Quarter, N.Okkalapa
157.	U Tin Aye	CPB	Insein	Thaketa, Rangoon
158.	Ko Tin Tun Hling	DPNS	Taungoo	N. Dagon, Rangoon
159.	Ma Toe Toe Myint (a) Phoe Tha Htoo		Insein	
160.	Ko Tint San		Insein	

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SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
161.	Ko Tin Than Oo		Insein	
162.	U Tin Tun		Myingyan	Thuwunna Township, Rangoon
163.	Ko Tin Soe			Hlaing Township, Rangoon
164.	Ko Tint Wai	NLD (Mergui)	Insein	149 St., Rangoon
165.	U Tin Win			
166.	Ko Tin Myint		Taungoo	Thein Chaung village, S.Dagon
167.	Daw Tin Tin Yee	NLD (Mergui)	Insein	No.8602, Kyan Sit Tha St. 10 Miles, Insein
168.	Daw Tin Tin Oo		Thayet	Dala Township
169.	Dr Tun Thu	NLD	Insein	Syriam-Pharku, Rangoon
170.	U Htwe Maung		Thayet	
171.	Ko Htwe Maw		Insein	
172.	Ko Tun Tun Oo		Insein	Hlaing Township, Rangoon
173.	Ko Tun Tun			
174.	Ko Tun Tun (a) Tun Tun Myint		Insein	
175.	Ko Tun Tun Lin			N.Dagon, Rangoon
176.	U Htwe Myint	DP	Insein	S.Okkalapa, Rangoon
177.	Ko Htwe Lwin		Taungoo	
178.	U Tun Myint		Insein	135, Sein Yadana St., 5/3 Quarter, Shwe Pyi Tha, Rangoon
179.	U Tun Win			Myintmo Yeik St., Sanchaung , Rangoon

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
180.	Ko Tun Tun Naing		Insein	15/2 St, 14 (1) Quarter, S.Okkalapa, Rangoon
181.	Ko Tun Shein			Thiri Mingala Quarter, Kyaukpadaung
182.	Ko Tun Wai	CPB	Bassein	
183.	U Naing Naing	MP, NLD	Insein	Pazundaung, Rangoon
184.	Ko Ne Naing Aung			
185.	Ko Ne Tin Myint		Myingyan	
186.	Ko Ne Lin Soe Yin			
187.	Ko Naing Win Thein (a) Naing Ko			
188.	Ko Ni Tut Kyaw		Thayet	
189.	Ko Ne Rein Kyaw		Insein	
190.	U Nay Min (Lawyer)	BBC	Tharrawaddy	154/33 St., Rangoon
191.	Ko Ne Win (Son of U Thein Tun)		Tharrawaddy	365/13-Yankin, Rangoon
192.	U Nanda Marlar (a) U Kyaw Maw		Insein	Thayettaw Monastery, Rangoon
193.	U Pike Ko	DO, NLD (Pakokku)	Tharrawaddy	
194.	Ko Peter (a) San Aung			
195.	Ko Poe Pein (a) Mya Win			
196.	Phyoe Min Thein		Insein	Syriam

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SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
197.	Bo Gyi (a) Than Htut			Pegu
198.	Bo Lay (a) Aung Naing Oo		Insein	Lammadaw, Rangoon
199.	Ko Ba Thet Aung		Taungoo	
200.	Ko Bo Kyi		Insein	
201.	Ko Bo Ni Aung		Thayet	
202.	Ko Ba Myo Thein		Insein	
203.	Ko Bo Bo Han		Insein	354,Thayetchan, Insein, Rangoon
204.	Dr Myint Naing	MP, NLD	Insein	
205.	U Mya Win	MP, NLD	Insein	Yankin, Rangoon
206.	Ko Min Ko Naing	ABFSU(CM)	Insein	Wai Za Yan Da St., Thingankyun, Rangoon
207.	Ma Moe Moe Tun (Daugther of Daw San San Nwe)		Insein	Yankin, Rangoon
208.	Ko Maung Maung Oo	NLD	Insein	Aung San, Insein, Rangoon
209.	Ko Moe Myat Thu		Insein	Dagon Township, Rangoon
210.	Ko Moe Zaw Oo	NLD (Central Youth)	Thayet	Pabedan, Rangoon
211.	Ko Myo Myint Nyein		Insein	Pabedan, Rangoon
212.	Ko Myint Soe	NLD(Central Youth)	Thayet	12, S.Okkalapa, Rangoon
213.	Ko Maung Maung Nyo			N. Okkalapa, Rangoon
214.	Ko Min Min Soe		Thayet	13/A, No.7 Quarter, N. Dagon, Rangoon

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
215	Ko Moe Win	CPB	Insein	Kyauk Myaung, Rangoon
216.	Ko Myat San		Taungoo	
217.	Ko Moe Kyaw Thu			
218.	Ko Ma Yan Thee (a) Aung Than		Myingyan	
219.	Ko Myo Than	CPB		
220.	Ko Maung Maung Aye			
221.	Ko Maung Maung Soe			
222.	Ma Moe Kalyar Oo	Student	Insein	
223.	Ma Mya Mya Yee	NLD	Insein	Pazundaung, Rangoon
224.	U Myint Tun			
225.	Ko Moe Maung Maung		Insein	
226.	Ko Myat Tun			
227.	Ko Min Zaw Gyi (Son of U Thein Tun)		Tharrawaddy	Tharrawaddy
228.	Ko Min Zaw Lay (Son of U Thein Tun)		Tharrawaddy	Tharrawaddy
229.	Ko Moe Zaw Thein (a) Bo Bo			Bahan, Rangoon
230.	Ko Min Ko Ko		Myingyan	LanthitYeiktha, Rangoon
231.	Ko Myint Thaung			
232.	U Myo Aung		Tharrawaddy	Thaketa, Rai goon
233.	U Maung Gyi			Ein Gyi St., Pazundaung, Rangoon

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SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
234.	Ko Min Naing Tun			Natchaung, Rangoon
235.	Ko Myo Win		Insein	
236.	Ko Min Hling			Dawpon, Rangoon
237.	Ko Mya Aye (Son of U Khin Maung Aye)			Toe Kyaung Gyi, N. Dagon, Rangoon
238.	Ko Myint Shwe		Insein	355/3 St., Thayetchan, Insein Rangoon
239.	Ko Myo Thu Rein (Son of U Ko Gyi)			Toe Kyaung Gyi, N. Dagon, Rangoon
240.	Ko Myo Myint (Son of Daw Thaung Tin)		Insein	245, Marlar Myaing 1 St., Hlaing Township, Rangoon
241.	Ko Myo Tun			948, S.Dagon, Ywa Thar Gyi, Rangoon
242.	Ko Myo Min Zin Shein (Son of Daw Tin Hla)			No.28 Kyaung gone 2 St., Hlaing Township, Rangoon
243.	Ko Moe Moe		Tharrawaddy	Room.10, Building 222, Yankin, Rangoon
244.	Ko Myo Khin		Tharrawaddy	Lanmadaw, Rangoon
245.	U Mya Than			Daik-u Township
246.	Maung Myat Moe Latt		Insein	312, No.2 Quarter, Bogyoke Aung San St., Shwe Pyi Tha, Rangoon
247.	Ko Myat Twin		Taungoo	2475, Htan Chauk Pin, Shwe Pyi Thar
248.	Ko Myint Yee		Tharrawaddy	

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
249.	Ko Myint Soe		Insein	
250.	Ko Myitn Aung		Taungoo	
251.	Ma Marlar Kyi (Daughter of Daw Kyi)		Insein	25/106 St., Mingalar Taung Nyut, Rangoon
252.	Ko Mya Aye (husband of Ma Sanda Win)		Taungoo	7, Naung Yoe St., Mingalar Taung Nyut, Rangoon Tha Satellite Town
253.	Ko Myo Myint		Taungoo	Taukkyan
254.	Ko Myo Kyi		Tharrawaddy	
255.	Ko Maung Myint		Tharrawaddy	
256.	Ko Myint Than (a) Kalar Gyi		Taungoo	Daik-u
257.	Ko Myo Aung		Tharrawaddy	Dala
258.	U Myint Kyaw		Tharrawaddy	Dala Township
259.	Ko Yin Htwe	Nobel Uprising		
260.	Ko Yin Htwe	DPNS	Insein	Kamayut, Rangoon
261.	Ma Yin Yin (a) Soe Soe		Insein	
262.	Ko Maung Yu	NLD (Mergui)	Insein	
263.	U Ye Tun	NLD	Insein	Kyemmedine, Rangoon
264.	U Shein Tin		Insein	
265.	Ko Yan Aung	NLD (Central Youth)	Thayet	No.6 St., Pa Thein Nyut, Rangoon
266.	Ko Ye Naing			
267.	Ko Yan Lin (a) Nyi Nyi			

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SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
268.	Ko Ye Win			Zetar Hostel, Hling Township, Rangoon
269.	Ko Ye (a) Thein Aung		Thayet	Myae Ni Gone, Rangoon
270.	Ko Ye Myint		Insein	Pyinmana Township
271.	Ko Yan Naing			704, Pein Ne Gone Rangoon
272.	Ko Richard		Insein,	St. Mary Compund, Kyun Taw St. Sanchaung
273.	Ko Robert		Insein	" " " "
274.	Ko Ye Aung (Son of Daw San San)		Insein	147, Kan Gyi 3rd St., Strand Rd, Insein
275.	Ko Ye Kyaw Hling		Myingyan	Kyauk Ye Twin, Mayan Gone, Rangoon
276.	U Hla Than	MP, NLD	Insein	Kyemmedine, Rangoon
277.	U Hla Min	NLD	Insein	"
278.	U Lwin Oo	NLD	Insein	Kyauktadar, Rangoon (now moved to Insein)
279.	U Hla Tun	MP, NLD	Insein	N.Dagon, Rangoon
280.	U Lwin Myint			
281.	Ko Hla Min		Insein	Dawpon, Rangoon
282.	Ko Hla Nyein	NLD		Bahan, Rangoon
283.	Ko Hla Htut Soe		Insein	
284.	Ko Htwe		Tharrawaddy	
285.	U Hla Aung (a) Cho			

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
286.	U Hla Aung			
287.	Ko Hling Moe Than			Aung Mingalar Quarter, Kyaukpadaung Township
288.	U Win Tin	CEC, NLD	Insein	Rangoon
289.	U Win Hling	MP, NLD	Thayet	Pazundaung, Rangoon
290.	U Win Kyi		Insein	5/2/161, Bogyoke Aung San St. Shwe Pyi Tha, Rangoon,
291.	U Win Kyi (Industry-1)	17/1 & 5 (j)		
292.	U Win Naing		Insein	Dagon, Rangoon
293.	Ko Win Naing		Insein	367, Thayetchan 3rd St., Insein, Rangoon
294.	Ko Win Thein		Insein	
295.	Ko Win Maw			
296.	Ko Win Maung (Son of U Pone Kyaw) (Tharrawaddy)		Insein	
297.	Ko Wai Moe		Insein	
298.	Ko Win Swe		Insein	Khin-u Township
299.	Ko Win Tun Zaw			938, Ywatha Gyi, S.Dagon, Rangoon
300.	Ko War Oo (a) Nay Myo Aung		Insein	N.Okkalapa, Rangoon
301.	Ko Wine		Myingyan	357, Toe Kyaung Gyi, S.Dagon, Rangoon

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SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
302.	Ko Win Bo		Taungoo	
303.	U Win Ko	Teacher	Tharrawaddy	
304.	Ko Win Aung		Taungoo	Maymyo
305.	U Thein Dan (Mandalay)	CC, NLD	Thayet	Mandalay
306.	U Than Min	NLD	Mandalay	Pazundaung, Rangoon
307.	U Thein Tun	CPB	Insein	Thingankyun, Rangoon
308.	U Thaung Kyi		Insein	
309.	Dr Ma Thida (Sanchaung,)	NLD	Insein	Sanchaung, Rangoon
310.	Ko Thet Oo		Insein	
311.	Ko Thet Naing Oo		Insein	
312.	Ko Than Htike Win (Be-U)			
313.	Ko Thet Min Aung			
314.	Ko Thet Lin			
315.	Ko Thet Khaing		Insein	
316.	Than Zaw		Thayet	
317.	Thein Aye (a) Ne La			
318.	Thein Htun		Tharrawaddy	
319.	Thet Htun		Insein	
320.	Tan Chaung(a)Aung Thein		Insein	

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
321.	Than Htay		Insein	
322.	Thiha		Insein	
323.	Than Myint		Insein	
324.	Than Htike			
325.	Than Myint Swe			Sanchaung, Rangoon
326.	U Thar Gaung			
327.	Ko Than Swe			
328.	Thein Than Htun			Sanchaung, Rangoon
329.	Than Win			Sanchaung, Rangoon
330.	Thein Aung		Insein	
331.	Thet Naing			Dawpon,Rangooon
332.	Ko Thaung			
333.	Ko Thet Naing (a) Bo Bo Htun			
334.	Thein Htun Oo (a) Kyet-U		Insein	S.Okkalapa, Rangoon
335.	Thein Htike Aung		Insein	Zetawun Kyaung St., 13th Quarter, Hlaing, Rangoon
336.	U Than Saw Htut		Insein	Thuwunna, Rangoon
337.	Ko Thein Zaw		Insein	
338.	Maung Thura Kyaw Kyaw		Bassein	
339.	Ko Than Naing		Taungoo	38th Street, Rangoon
340	Ko Thet Hmu		Insein	Htan Pin Gone, Insein

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SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
341.	U Han Sein	NLD	Insein	Lanmadaw, Rangoon
342.	Ko Han Win Aung		Insein	
343.	U Ohn Kyaing	MP, NLD	Tharrawaddy	16th Quarter, Thingankyun, Rangoon
344.	U Ohn Twin			
345.	Ma Aye Aye Moe	Student	Insein	Annawratta St., Kyauktada, Rangoon
346.	Ko Aung Swe Oo			
347.	Aung Kyaw San			
348.	Ko Aye Hlaing			
349.	Ko Aung Naing		Taungoo	
350.	Ko Ohn Win			
351.	Ko Aung Khin			
352.	Ko Aung Myo Naing			
353.	Ko Aung Thein		Insein	
354.	Ko Aung Myo Tint			
355.	Ko Aung Kyaw Oo			
356.	Ko Aung Myo Thein			
357.	Ko Aung Moe Kyaw			
358.	Aung Kyaw Moe			Thingankyun, Rangoon
359.	Dr Aye Chan	History Dept.	Thayet	
360.	Ko Aung Ze Ya	DPNS	Insein	
361.	Ko Aung Myint (son of U Tun Aung)		Insein	Tharrawaddy

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
362.	Aung Naing Tun (son of U Tun Aung Zan)		Tharrawaddy	Tharrawaddy
363.	Aye Win		Tharrawaddy	Thonze
364.	Ko Aung Thu			Sanchaung, Rangoon
365.	Ko Aung Thin		Insein	
366.	Ko Aung Mya Kyaw			
367.	Ko Ohn Kyaw		Taungoo	Dawpon, Rangoon
368.	U Aung Khing		Insein	Taungoo
369.	Ko Aung Kyaw Moe		Tharrawaddy	Kamayut, Rangoon
370.	Ko Aung Thura			149/ Toe Gyaung Gyi, N.Dagon, Rangoon
371.	Ko Aung Myint Thein			S.Dagon, Rangoon
372.	Ko Aung Moe		Insein	Taungtha Township
373.	Ko Aung Kyaw Swe			268 (A) Khaing Shwe Wa St. 5/6th Quarter, Shwe Pyi Tha, Rangoon
374.	U Aung May Tu	NLD	Tharrawaddy	Minhla Township
375.	U Ohn Than		Insein	35/A Bo Aung Kyaw St. Padamyar Quarter, Henzada
376.	Ko Aye Thet		Tharrawaddy	
377.	Ko Aung Myaing Oo		Insein	
378.	U Ohn Yee	(ARDC clerk)	Bassein	
379.	Ko Aung Than		Tharrawaddy	Taukkyan
380.	Ko Aung Myo San		Taungoo	Kamayut, Rangoon

H R D U

SOME OF POLICTICAL PRISONERS AS OF 26 DECEMBER 1995

No.	Name	Organisation	Prison	Address
381.	Ko Ant Bwe Kyaw			13/257, Yankin, Rangoon
382.	U Aung Than		Tharrawaddy	Thegon Township
383.	U Aye Khaing		Insein	Bahan, Rangoon

Note

NLD :	National League for Democracy
MP :	Member of Parliament
CPB:	Communist Party of Burma
ABFSU:	All Burma Federation of Studentents Union.
P.P.P :	People Patriotic Party
CEC :	Central Executive Committee
DPNS:	Democratic Party for New Sociaty
CC:	Central Committee
DP :	Democracy Party
DO:	Divisioa Organising Committee

Polictical Prisoners in Myingyan Prison (As of 9 March 96)

No	Name	Father's Name	Address	Alleged offences	Sentence
1.	U Aung Thu		Myingyan		
2.	U Pele		Myingyan		
3.	U Zaw Win		Myingyan		
4.	U Tun Tun Oo		Myingyan		
5.	U Than Htay		Myingyan		
6.	U Chit		Myingyan		
7.	U Thaung Pe		Myingyan		
8.	U Too		Myingyan		
9.	U San Phoe Aung		Myingyan		
10.	U Hla Aung		Myingyan		
11.	U Myint Swe		Myingyan		
12.	U Han Nyunt		Myingyan		
13.	U Htay Ngwe		Myingyan		
14.	U Khin Maung Swe		Myingyan		
15.	Ko Saw Thet Tun	U Thein Tun		17/1	7 Years
16.	Ko Kyar Tun	U Kar Li		123	10 Years
17.	Ko Htay Lwin	U Ba Din		17/1,5J	10 Years
18.	Ko Than Swe Moe	U Nauk Pu		17/1	8 Years
19.	Ko Tin Win	U Nyunt Aung		17/1,19(a)	5 Years
20.	Ko Aung Min	U Paw		122/1,149/302(b)	10years
21.	Ko Saw Aung Soe	U Shwe		17/1,19(a),122(1)	20years
22.	Ko Kyaw Lwin Oo	U Phoe Thaung		17/1,19(a),122(1)	20years

H R D U

Polictical Prisoners in Myingyan Prison (As of 9 March 96)

No	Name	Father's Name	Address	Alleged offences	Sentence
23.	Ko Wai Moe	U Win Maw		5(j)	5 Years
24.	Ko Thein Than Tun	U Tin Tun		17/1	7 Years
25.	Ko Ye Kyaw Hlaing	U Kyaw Hlaing		5(j)	5 Years
26.	Ko Min Ko Ko	U Maung Maung Tar		5(j)	5 Years
27.	Ko Zaw Hlaing	U Kyin Pe		17/1	3 1/2 Years
28.	Ko Hla Nyein	U Aung Nyein		5(j),17/1	10 Years
29.	Ko Nan Khin	U San Yin			
30.	Ko Moe Zaw Thein	U Thein Aung		17/1, 5(j)	8 Years
31.	Ko Aung Htike	U Htin Aung		17/1	7 Years
32.	Ko Poe Gon Saw	U Maung Maung Tin		17/1, 17/2	5 Years
33.	Ko Tun Tun				
	(a) Tin Tun Aung	U Aung Htoo		5(j), 17/1	6 Years
34.	Ko Kyi Shwe	U Nyein		124(a)	5 Years
35.	Ko Thein Aung	U Tint		17/1	10 Years
36.	Ko Saw Yin Tint	U Kyar		17/1	10 Years
37.	Ko Kyi Soe	U Hla Gyi		17/2	10 Years
38.	Ko Win Thaung	U Hla Taw		5 (c)	7 Years
39.	Ko Chit Saung Oo	U Sein Hlaing		5(j), 17/1	20 Years
40.	Ko Saw Aung Tha	U Shwe		122/1,17/1, 19(a)	10 Years
41.	Maung Than Myint	U Kyaw Than	Taunggyi		
42.	Nyi Nyi Kyaw	U Kyaw Than	Taunggyi		
43.	Ko Tin Hlaing	U Maung Lay	Taunggyi		
44.	Maung Kyaw Soe	U Kyaw Nyunt	Sandoway		

Polictical Prisoners in Myingyan Prison (As of 9 March 96)

No	Name	Father's Name	Address	Alleged offences	Sentence
45.	U Bo Kyi		Pakokku		
46.	Maung Aung Sint	U Khin Maung Aye	Pakokku		
47.	Maung Htay	U Maung Lay	Pakokku		
48.	Aung Myat Htut				
49.	U Chit Saung				
50.	U Tin Tun		Rangoon		
51.	U Kyi Kyint		Rangoon		
52.	U Khin Maung		Rangoon		
53.	U Tun Shein		Aung Mingalar Quater, Kyaukpadaung		
54.	Ko Hlaing Phoe Thant		Thira Mingalar Quater, Kyaukpadaung		
55.	Nyi Nyi Oo		Syrian, Rangoon		
56.	Ko Mayan Thee	U Aung Than			
57.	Ne Tin Myint		Rangoon		
58.	Ko Wine		357/ Toe Kyaung Gyi, Rangoon		
59.	U Soe Win		Mandalay		
60.	U Kar Wi Ya		Mandalay		
61.	U Klyar Na		Mandalay		

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14.6.7. Mae Salit (Tala Thaw, Gray Hta) Camp
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14.6.9. Mae La (Beh Klaw) Camp
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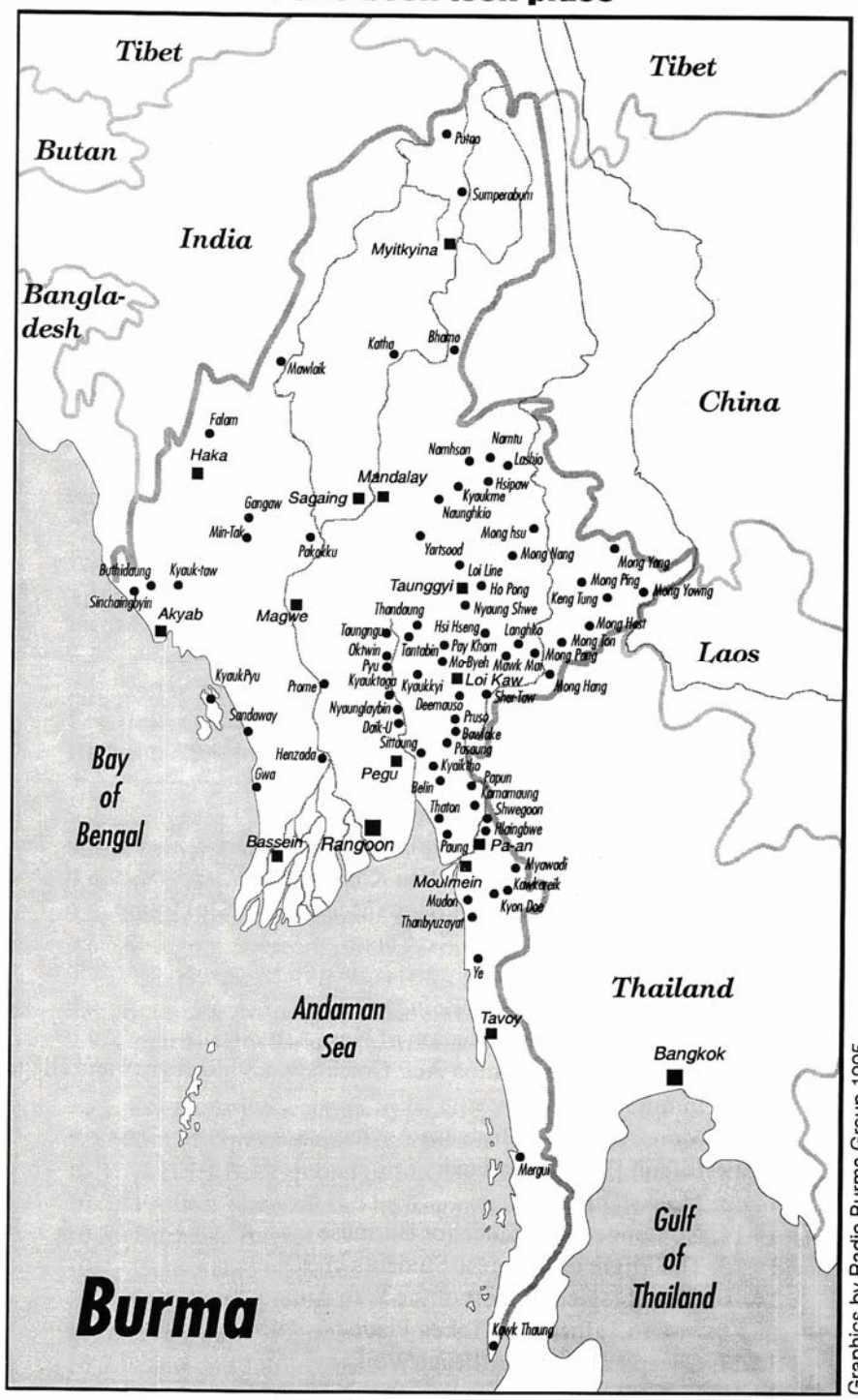
Townships where Human Rights Violations in this book took place



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I) EXTRA-JUDICIAL, SUMMARY OR ARBITRARY EXECUTIONS

1.1. Background

While military tribunals are no longer handing out death sentences on civilians, the number of executions in Burma has not decreased. Most incidents show a tendency for executions through forced portering which involved human mine-sweeping and acting as human bullet shields in combat zones. Porters also have been severely beaten, not fed enough food and left along the wayside to die. When porters are ill or exhausted because of heavy burden and unable to keep up on march, they were executed or abandoned without any food or medical care. Many villagers are hiding in the jungle in order to avoid SLORC Army's forced relocation scheme and being herded into concentration camps. These hidden villages are regarded by SLORC as rebel villages and there are cases of firing to villagers when they were faced with SLORC Army.

Victims of summary executions are in many cases villagers who are accused of being having communication with insurgency groups despite the lack of proper evidence. Women are commonly killed by soldiers after being raped, for fear that the victims of these double crimes will report or publicise the sexual assaults.

Arbitrary executions could be taken place anywhere and at any time, by military leaders as well as rank and file. People who run awy from the military even in cities in fear of being forced into portering, are often shot at without regard for their lives.

Recent arbitrary executions also include prisoners being tortured to death while in custody, beatings, denial of adequate food and medical care, and subhuman conditions in prisons. Executions of all kinds have focused particularly on ethnic peoples, in most cases only because of their ethnic backgrounds.

1.2. Death in Custody

1.2.1. U Dhamma Wara Seit-Dhi, a 51 years old monk from Mandalay, reportedly died from malnutrition and malaria on 18 November 1994. He had been arrested for his participation in the 1988-89 pro-democracy movement and sentenced to five years' hard labour in the Kachin State. Hundreds of monks were arrested for their role in protest demonstrations and scores are believed to be still detained. After working on a road in a malaria area, U Dhamma Wara Seit-Dhi died after reported attacks of malaria. *[Source: AI]*

1.2.2. U Kin Sein, in his 50's, died in Insein Prison in early 1995 of an unknown disease. He was reportedly arrested in December 1990 and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment under Section 5 (j) of the Emergency Provisions Act. A

member of the Prome Township People's Progressive Party, he was also a businessman. [*Source: AI*]

1.3. SLORC Pressures Parents and Kills Students

Since the beginning of 1995, SLORC troops under the command of South-eastern Command, have been putting pressure on the parents and relatives of the students who are involved in the democratic movement, to meet and "return" their children to the legal fold. In a recent example, Maung Paw Oo, age 25, and Maung Aung Swan, age 21, were arrested by SLORC troops on 16 May 1995 near Kyauk Thinbaw fishing village, Palaw Township, Tenasserim Division. The students were on their way to meet with their parents and relatives after receiving the families' invitations.

The two victims were then brought into a nearby fishing vessel and interrogated by SLORC soldiers. There they were subjected to various forms of torture, including repeated knife incisions. Eventually they lost consciousness because of the continuous cutting. On the following day, it was reported that both of the students were buried alive in the boat's freezing room. *[Source: ABSDF]*

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 1, 4-5, 15, 22-26, 28, 31-34, 39, 41, 51-52, 57-59, 64, 69, 72, 75-76, 80, 99-100, 109-111, 116-127, 135, 148, 153, 165, 171, 185, 187, 192, 204, 210-211, 223-224, 231-232, 239, 249, 253, 255,258, 264-265, 285-286, 288, 290, 293, 298-299, 304-305, 307, 312-313]

1.4. List of Incidents

1.4.1. At 11:00 p.m. on 4 October 1994, Pvt Khin Maung Myint who was responsible for sentry-duty of LIB 408, was found asleep and kicked and punched by Lt Than Zaw, officer-on-duty. Unable to endure further beatings, Khin Maung Myint shot dead Lt Than Zaw with his gun, causing Than Zaw to die on the spot. Pvt Khin Maung Myint was sentenced to death by officers from LIB 408 and gunned to death over night. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.2. Twelve villagers from different villages in Paletwa and Kyauktaw townships in the northern part of Arakan State, located in the triangle area of Indo-Burmese- Bangladeshi border, were arrested and later inhumanly executed by Coy 2 of SLORC IB 376 commanded by Capt Tun Wei and Lt Tun Myint after being accused of having contact with the Arakanese rebels. Their eyes were gouged and hands were cut. Of them 8 victims were identified as:

Table 1.. Physical Mutilations and Murders in Paletwa and Kyauktaw Townships

Name	Age	Name of Village	Date of killing
Mr. Rammado (village headman)	48	Loungadu	31/12/94
U Nga Mae Che (village headman)	46	Taung-roa	11/04/95
U Oung Zan Oo (Secretary of village council)	54	Taung-roa	11/04/95
Maung Shwe Doot	25	Taung-roa	11/04/95
Mejir	33	Taung-roa	
U Tha Maung (village headman)	55	Setpaik-pron	15/04/95
Hla Han	28	Setpaik-pron	16/04/95
U Maung Fru	46	Trawan-ai	

[Source: ASC]

1.4.3. At 1:00 p.m. on 10 February 1995, a villager was back at Klaw Hta village, Papun District in Karen State, to retrieve some belongings. SLORC troops arrived at the village, saw him and shot him in the belly. The bullet went through his body, but the villager did not die on the spot. The SLORC troops went up to him, tortured and then stabbed him to death with a knife. The SLORC officer responsible was Bo Chit Aung, a Coy Comdr from IB 19. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.4. In February 1995, the SLORC troops entered Tar Meh Der, Tar Paw Der, Tee Thoo Der and Thay Ko Mu Der villages in Papun District and killed several villagers and destroyed all those villages, leaving 19 families with 98 people with no food at all. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.5. On 1 March 1995, a group of 32 armed men from DKBA ransacked Ka Law Hta village, Kwee Lay village-tract in Bilin Township, Mon State, and shot dead 5 innocent villagers. Among the victims were wife of U Maung Ni and Naw Mya Shay from Kyet Taung Seik village near Naw Ta, Hlaingbwe Township, Karen State. Moreover, the soldiers plundered valuable possessions from the villagers. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

1.4.6. On 3 March 1995, a villager (name not provided), who was heading home at Bu Lo Klo in Papun District, Karen State, was seen by SLORC troops between Bwa Ghaw and his village and shot dead by the soldiers. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.7. On 5 March 1995, a villager went to Ka Nah Der village, Papun District, Karen State, to find out news about the position of SLORC troops in the area so that he could inform the other villagers who were hiding in the forest. SLORC saw him there and shot him in the thigh. His thigh was broken. When they knew that he was still alive, they stabbed him to death with a knife. The officer responsible was a platoon commander from IB 19. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.8. On 10 March 1995, a villager (name not provided) returned to Toe Muh Der village, Bwa Der area in Papun District, Karen State, to thresh some paddy. While he was threshing, SLORC troops from LID 99 arrived and shot him to death. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.9. On 15 March 1995, during a Christian religious festival at Pu Wut village, Palaw Township, Tenasserim Division, an intoxicated sergeant from IB 101 insulted a driver, leading a nearby lance corporal to outage and he killed the sergeant. The intelligence unit in Palaw arrested the lance corporal and immediately executed him on the way. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.10. On 18 March 1995, 80 SLORC troops from LIB 525 and IB 71 from Kengtung stopped and took rest at Mui Taw village, Kengtong village-tract, Mong Nai Township. At 8:30 p.m., Sai Kan Na (36, son of headman Ing Ta and Pa Ku) and Sai Kham Mun (alias) Su Zar La came back from their farms on a bullock cart. As they did not know that SLORC troops were there, the villagers entered the village. Then they were surrounded and forced to get off the cart by the soldiers. Sai Kham Mun, pretending to lift the front of the cart, ran away and managed to escape. When the soldiers searched the cart, they found an old World War II rifle that did not work properly. The soldiers then accused Sai Kan Na of being a Shan soldier, and struck his head with a stick so violently, causing him to die on the spot.

That night the SLORC soldiers took the corpse of Sai Kan Na out of the village secretly and buried near a footpath to a farm on the eastern side of the village, covering it with dry leaves. They then left the village. They took Sai Kan Na's bullock cart away to carry their things, together with 15 viss of fish and a pig, which were already on it.

At 3 p.m. on 21 March, the villagers searched for and dug up the corpse. They then re-buried it at a proper place. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

1.4.11. On 20 March 1995, combined troops of DKBA and SLORC entered Da Oo Kee village in Bilin Township, Mon State, and shot dead Saw Mya Po, 20 years old. Pa Mer Ler and Saw Po Kee were among the DKBA soldiers who came along with the SLORC troops. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.12. On 21 March 1995, SLORC troops arrived at Tee Klu Hat village in Papun District, Karen State, captured a village man (name not provided), tortured him and stabbed him to death with a knife. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.13. In March 1995, DKBA troops penetrated Tee Lay Kaw village in Bilin Township, Mon State, and shot dead two women. One of them was from Yo Klah village and her child was still being breast-fed. Pa Mer Ler, a DKBA soldier, also penetrated Tee Si Baw village in Bilin Township and when he saw some villagers he called them. They didn't hear him and he shot at them. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.14. In April 1995, SLORC troops from IB 67 raided Warn Nam Lin village, Mong Heng village-tract, Mong Yang Township in northern Shan State and shot dead Loong Or (55, son of Loong Ti and Nai Loi Tsing), Loong Hkam Sorn (56, son of Loong Tun and Naii Loo), Nang Sar (30, daughter of Loong Hkam Sorn) and Sarng Parn (32, son of Loong Moan and Naii Lig). *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

1.4.15. On 9 April 1995, a joint military column of DKBA and SLORC troops led by Capt Tin Maung Win from 1st MSC of South Eastern Command entered Zegon village in Bilin Township, Mon State, and shot Maung Yit (aka) Phar Toe Kae (23, son of U New War) and Ma Win Htay (23, daughter of U Kyaw Din) to death. The victims died on the spot. *[Source: ABSDF]*

1.4.16. On 10 April 1995, a joint military column of DKBA and SLORC troops led by Capt Tin Maung Win from 1st MSC of South Eastern Command [see 1.4.15. above] entered Mae Pa Li village, Bilin Township, and repeatedly shot at the villagers. As a consequence, Saw Bu Ghay (23, son of Pyu Wah), Saw Win Thein (23, son of Oe Kyi Dee) and Maung Myint Oo (20, son of Phar Noe) were killed, leaving the people there living in a state of fear. The first two were from Zee Gone village and Maung Myint Yi, a mahout in Mae Pa Li village, both in Bilin Township. *[Source: ABSDF/KHRG]*

1.4.17. On 16 April 1995, a group of 10 soldiers from SLORC LIB 433 led by Cpl Hla Win together with People's Militia from Za Yat village, Mergui District, Tenasserim Division, opened fire on Tin-Aung-Moe passenger boat in which 400 passengers were on board. U Kyaw Win and Ma Aye Kyaing who were on the boat were killed. Local people and passengers on the boat notified the nearest police station about the incident. But when the police learned the shooting was done by the SLORC army, they took no action. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.18. Around midnight on 18 April 1995, about 30 SLORC troops led by Maj Lha Kyoo of LIB 248 from Mong Nai arrived at Nar Lin village, arrested Sai Ti Ya, a villager, and tortured him. The soldiers cut his thighs and back with a knife and then applied salt in the wounds. They accused the victim of being an MTA soldier and interrogated him about MTA. Then the soldiers kicked and beat him to death. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

1.4.19. In the last week of May 1995, SLORC troops from IB 67 of Mong Yai arrived at Koon Morng village, Mong Tom village-tract in Tanyan Township. On arrival at Na-tur-leng near Korn Morng, they captured Sai Aung Pa, (35, husband of Nang Lee, 30, and son of Loong Pang Tsoom and Naii Purng), tied him up and dragged him to Loi Yurng Loi Lao, near a Palaung village named Wein Kwaii.

The soldiers interrogated the victim about MTA and beat him violently. The soldiers then hanged him alive in a hut where the hay was stored. When the local Palaung villagers found the victim later, he had been stung to death and eaten by black hornets. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

1.4.20. On 23 June 1995, SLORC IB 25 bombarded Thabyu Chaung village, Thayetchaung Township, because there were some KNLA soldiers staying in the village. During the fighting, five SLORC soldiers tried to escape but were later recaptured by their own battalion and reportedly shot dead. According to a porter from Yin village who later escaped, while IB 25 was withdrawing to its base, ten exhausted porters who could not walk anymore were shot near Taung Byauk village, Thayetchaung Township, and their bodies were thrown into Min Tha Stream. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.21. Due to SLORC shelling into Thabyu Chaung village, Thayetchaung Township, Tenasserim Division, on 23 June 1995, two innocent villagers were hit and died on the spot after troops pursued them and opened fire on a crowd of escapees. One of them was Saw Kyar San, age 22, from Kyauk Htu village. *[Source: ABSDF]*

1.4.22. Since 26 June 1995, when thousands of SLORC troops resumed military offensive against the KNPP designated area, SLORC troops have committed gross human rights violations against the porters who were forced to serve for military purpose. According to Maung Tar (34) and Maung Te (32) of Kong Thar village, Loikaw Township, both escaped from military column, an 18-year-old student who was forced into portering from Taunggyi was shot dead on 27 June and kicked into the ravine on the way from Tatamaw to Maesatae, 20 km from the Thai-Burmese border, with the reason that he was unable to carry the heavy loads. *[Source: ABSDF]*

1.4.23. On 2 July 1995, Saw Htoo Lay, who was living at No. 297, Daw U Khu Quarter in Loikaw Township of Karenni State, was intimidated at an outpost of SLORC LIB 261 and then arrested. The victim was tortured to death and 5,000 Ks in cash, one gold ring, one calculator and one valuable watch belonging to the victim was taken away by the perpetrators from LIB 261. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

1.4.24. At night on 11 July 1995, the DKBA troops led by Mya Win entered a hut on the farm in Meh Naw Ther village, Thaton District, and shot Saw Po Keh (49) to death. Aung Than's (20) arm and leg were broken and Saw Mu Kaw Tha (33) was seriously wounded. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.25. On 17 July 1995, more than 200 SLORC troops led by Maj Hlaing Tun Aung and Maj Tsai Long from IB 99 brutally slaughtered three porters — Long Torna (45, son of Long Na and Pa Nang), Sunanda (22, son of Long Mooling and Pa Ni) and Sor Nandar (20, son of Long Sawn and Pa Nang) from Tung Tsu village. After failing to provide the troops with 20,000 Ks each, they were executed near Hwe Tsoi village, Mong Pan Township, southern Shan State. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

1.4.26. On 23 July 1995, Cpl Aye Khine shot dead a porter with a G-4 rifle and kicked the body into the ravine by the order of his commander from LIB 426 with the reason that the victim was exhausted and could no longer carry his 81mm mortar shells. *[Source: ABSDF]*

1.4.27. At 8:00 p.m. on 28 July 1995, Panglong-based SLORC LIB 249 arrested Pa-O ethnic nationalities and forced them into portering for their military operation against KNPP. At that night, a porter, Aike Yan (31, Pa-O from Kyauk Ka Cha village in Hsi-hseng Township, southern Shan State) jumped down from the truck at Khoke Nam village, Wan Yin Town, Hsi-hseng Township. When he collapsed and was dying, the soldiers from LIB 249 stepped on his neck and crunched it until he died. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

1.4.28. In the last week of July 1995, one villager from Kyauk Ka Cha village, six villagers from Sike Khoung village and two villagers from Kauk Mae Thin village in His-hseng Township were beaten to death by SLORC troops from LIB 249. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

1.4.29. Between July and August 1995, a group of militia of Mong Pan accompanied 60 troops from SLORC LIB 520 led by Bn second-in-command Maj Nyan Win penetrated into villages such as Tung Tsu, Warn Hwe Tsoi, Warn Torng Kaii, Warn Wo Laii and Warn Pung Khur of Mong Pan Township, southern Shan State. Accusing the villagers of being supporters of MTA, all the headmen and males were arrested. Some were beaten to death. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

1.4.30. In September 1995, Ai Ne (35, from Kant Kan village), Loong Wun Na (48), Pi Mong (40), Ping Nyar (45, from Nyong Kham village), Pi Zan Dar (from Nyong Kham village), Loong Thoon (50, from Nam Wor Poong village), Pi Sai (from Mai Kom village), Kor Ya (38, from upper Tong Kwai village) and two men from Mong Kung staying at Ping Nyar's house at Nyong Kham village were killed by SLORC troops under the command of Capt Thein Han from Mong Pan-based LIB 332. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

1.4.31. In September 1995, an informer named Ai Tsai Kyaw led a group of militia from Mong Pan and SLORC troops from LIB 520 to capture people around Mong Pan, whom were accused of being supporters of MTA, in which Tsai Nay from Ward Tein Nur on Circle Road; and an elderly man from Lai Hka who was visiting his relative there, were victims and beaten to death. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

1.4.32. On 11 September 1995, Lt-Col Soe Win Tin and Column 1 of IB 233 killed two brothers — Saw Ker Doh (male, 42) and Saw Ee See (male, 32) — from Pway Baw Der village, Taungoo District. They also killed Saw Sein Win from Saw Tha Der village. All of them were farmers. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.33. On 13 September 1995, over 100 SLORC troops from Coy 2 of Mong Pan-based LIB 332 led by Maj Ngan Lwin brutally murdered five porters — Korya (a former villager of Worn Tong Kai, who recently lived at the foot of Wor-ma hill), Ai Sai from Worn Mai Kom village and Ai Nay, Wunna and Pu Kyong of Wor Kan Tsarng village — for not paying 20,000 Ks per person. Three of them were executed near Worn Kant Kan and the other two were killed near the old village of Hwe Nor. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

1.4.34. On 15 September 1995, SLORC IB 35 penetrated Ka Baw Lu, Ka Par Lu, War Kalay Lu and Htee Law Thi Htar villages in Pa-an District, Karen State. SLORC razed two villages to the ground and opened fire on the villagers. Naw Ngwe Htoo (45, female) was killed and other four were wounded. Moreover, the troops killed livestock on the farm for their rations, looted gold, silver and valuable items and burned paddy, rice and other goods which they were not able to carry. *[Source: NCUB]*

1.4.35. On 15 September 1995, Saw Parhar (42) and Saw Sein Win (30) from Wade Kho village in Taungoo District were arrested and beheaded by a SLORC column from IB 223 led by Maj Soe Win Tin. On the same day, the troops penetrated Say Daw Ko village and shot dead another villager, Saw Ka Doh Swe (male, 25) while he was working in his field. *[Source: KNU/KHRG]*

1.4.36. On 17 September 1995, a SLORC column from IB 35 was ambushed by the KNLA near Htee Law Thae village in Papun District of Karen State. After that, the SLORC troops accused the villagers of informing the KNLA about their movement and bombarded Htee Law Thae village. Naw Ngwe Htu (45, female) was killed, and four others were seriously wounded. *[Source: KNU/KHRG]*

1.4.37. On 21 September 1995, 2nd-in-command Win Myint and L/Cpl Kyi Shwe of SLORC LIB 20 killed three male villagers — Saw Nyunt Win (20), Saw Kyaw Min (25) and Saw Kyaw Htoo (18) — on the Baw Naw Kloh river near Tee Pa Doh Kloh Hta in Thaton District. The three young men, all log workers from Kyo Weh village, were up tied at hands and foot, and then thrown into the Baw Naw Kloh River. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.38. On 23 September 1995, in Papun Township, SLORC soldiers from IB 35 led by Lt-Col Min Toe arrested three female villagers — Naw Kywe Htoo (43), Naw K'Lih Htoo (57) and Naw Nat Gay Meh (63) — from Paleh Wah village. They then cut their throats and stabbed each of them in the chest. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.39. On 24 September 1995, Saw Gadon Shwe from Sidaw Kho village in Taungoo District was beheaded by a SLORC column from IB 223 led by Maj Soe Win Tin. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.40. On 25 September 1995, three female villagers — Naw Kalu Htu (60), Naw Thawl Htu (40) and Naw Yi Mae (68) — were beheaded outside Bale Gaw village, Kyaukkyi Township, Pegu Division, by a SLORC column from IB 60. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.41. From June to October 95, 40 out of 500 convict labourers working at 30-Mile (Mine Thone Se) Labour Camp died and other 30 attempted to escape because they could no longer bear the hardships. They were chased by SLORC troops from LIB 406 and more than 5 labourers were shot to death. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.42. At about 5:00 p.m. on 6 October 1995, 25 armed-men from SLORC and DKBA entered No. 1 Quarter of Sho Kloh refugee camp and shot death Kar Ta Paw (58), in charge of the quarter, and Ka Lar (25). *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.43. On 11 October 1995, an old Karen woman, aged 65 years old, from Baydaw kho village in Taungoo District was killed and beheaded by IB 26 commanded by Maj Aye Kaw. On the same day, Saw Saw, the headman of Khaw Bu Hto village in the same District was also killed by IB 26. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.44. On 14 October 1995, Lt-Col Aung Naing Htun arrested village elder Saw Tha Ba Per (50) in Bawgali, Taungoo District, on suspicion of having contact with the KNU. They found gunpowder in his house and executed him secretly. On 25 October 1995 the villagers came across Saw Tha Ba Per's decayed corpse, apparently murdered by Lt-Col Aung Naing Htun. He then gave orders to Saw Tha Ba Per's family to leave the village and had his soldiers destroy Saw Tha Ba Per's house. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.45. On 16 October 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 354 led by Bn 2nd-in-command Khin Soe and IB 34 led by Bn 2nd-in-command Kyaw Shwe raided Kaw Hoh Der village, Taungoo District, and bombarded with mortars and other heavy artillery as well as small arms. There were no Karen soldiers in the village. Saw Po Htoo (male, 40), Naw Muh (female, 12), and Saw Klo Doh (male, 10) were killed and many other villagers were wounded. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.46. On 16 October 1995, SLORC troops from Column 1 of IB 26 led by Bn Comdr Lt-Col Myint Aung caught and executed a villager, Saw Kee Lu (male, 26), without any interrogation while he was working in his orchard near Saw Wah Der village, Taungoo District. Villagers there had been forced to move to Thit Kyat Seit earlier, but SLORC gave them permission to go back by day to look after their orchards and fields; despite this permission, IB 26 continues to kill them on sight. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.47. On 18 October 1995, Bn Comdr Lt-Col Myint Aung of IB 26 led his troops into Saw Wah Der village, Taungoo District, and started shooting at the villagers while they were harvesting in their rice fields. One girl and seven men were killed and five others wounded. *[Source: KNU/KHRG]*

1.4.48. On 18 October 1995, SLORC troops from Column 1 of IB 26 led by Lt-Col Myint Aung encountered Naw Mu Mu (female, age 35) and her 12-year-old daughter from Saw Wah Der village, Taugoo District, while they were working in their field. They tried to run from them, but the soldiers fired and hit them with an M79 grenade near the top of a hill. Naw Mu Mu was hit in the bladder by fragments. Her daughter tried to carry her to help but she died on the way. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.49. On 19 October 1995, SLORC troops from Column 2 of IB 26 led by Bn 2nd-in-command Maj Aye Kyaw arrested Saw Sah Lu (male, 43) and his son Saw Joseph (15) near their home at Maw Tha Der village, Taungoo District.

They executed Saw Joseph, then ordered his father to lead them to the Karen soldiers. When he couldn't do so, the soldiers executed him as well. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.50. At night on 21 October 1995, four prisoners, who were forced to work for the railroad construction, escaped form 30-Mile camp because of oppressive measures imposed by the camp authorities. All of them were chased and shot at by the soldiers, causing one prisoner's untimely death. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.51. On 21 October 1995, SLORC troops from IB 26 led by Bn 2nd-in-command Maj Aye Kyaw arrived at May Daw Ko village, Taungoo District, and found Pi Heh Lay (female, 62) harvesting paddy. They killed her, put her body on a pile of paddy and burned it. They continued burning all the paddy they found in this area. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.52. On 22 October, SLORC troops from IB 26 led by Bn 2nd-in-command Maj Aye Kyaw entered Haw Ta Toe village and shot dead the village elder, Zaw Zaw (male, 60) on a farm. Then they captured two girls from the village and destroyed fields and huts there, and looted property. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.53. On 22 October 1995, SLORC troops from Column 1 of IB 233 led by Lt-Col Soe Win Tint, under the direct command of Lt-Col Aung Naing Htun, commander of 2nd MSC (Western Command), opened fire on Karen villagers in the paddy fields called Ka Mu Kee near Saw Mu Der village, Taungoo District of Pegu Division. Saw Bar Balu (male, 27), was shot dead and all the paddy fields were burnt down by SLORC troops. Saw Bar Balu leaves a wife and 2-year-old daughter. *[Source: KNU/KHRG]*

1.4.54. On 25 October 1995, Lt-Col Aung Naing Htun, commander of 2nd MSC, summoned village headman Khaw Thaba Phawt (50) and an elderly woman from Baw Gali Gyi village in Thandaung Township, Karen State, to serve as his personal servants and later the village head man was killed. His dead body was found in the jungle by the villagers. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.55. On 27 October 1995, Columns 1 and 2 of SLORC IB 26 led by Lt-Col Myint Aung and Maj Aye Kyaw fired three bullets on Saw Heh Tha Blay (male, 30) from Ta Aye Kee village, Taungoo District, while he was working in his field, killing him. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.56. In October 1995, SLORC LIB 2, under the command of LID 77, led by Bn Comdr Nay Win Myint entered Kyoe Wine and Baw Naw Mi villages in Thaton District and killed three innocent villagers — Saw Nyo Win (20, son of Saw Tir Kyi), Saw Kyaw Min (25, son of Saw Saw Lain) and Saw Kyaw Htoo (18, Saw Ke Lay Dta) -- under the fale allegations of being supporters of the rebels. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.57. On 2 November 1995, Saw Shee Lay, a villager from Than Nar Cho village in Taungoo District, was shot dead by SLORC IB 34. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.58. On 2 November 1995, SLORC troops from IB 34 entered Leik Tho area and shot dead a male villager, Saw Ye Lwin, from Upper Nan Cho village, Taungoo District. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.59. On 11 November 1995, Lt-Col Aung Naing Htun arrested and detained Saw Tun San (male, 42), village head and traditional healer of Bawgali village, Taungoo District. The following day Saw Tun San was secretly executed. On 12 November, the villagers found the victim's corpse in an orchard. No explanation was given. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.60. At 6:00 p.m. on 21 November 1995, about 100 strong SLORC troops from IB 230 commanded by Bn Comdr Thet Oo penetrated into Win Kat village, Kyon Doe Township. The following morning, KNLA forces attacked the column at 9:10 a.m. After the fighting, the SLORC troops looted everything from six houses, shot two bulls and one buffalo, and razed two houses to the ground. Then, they arrested one man from Mayin Gone village, tied him up, and stabbed him eight times to kill him. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.61. On 30 November 1995, Aung Kyi Sein, Comdr of SLORC LIB 440 under 1st MSC of the Western Command, shot dead Saw Tha Kale (30, father of four), from Kaw Thay De village in Taungoo District. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.62. On 14 December 1995, LIB 440 stationed in Ta Kwee Soe village, Taungoo District, shot dead a male villager, Saw Ler Mu (male, married with 3 children) from the same village while he was coming home back from his field, then cut off both his ears. *[Source: KHRG]*

1.4.63. At 8:45 a.m. on 21 December 1995, while the official Karen New Year ceremony was going on at Wah Raw village in Ye Township, about 240 troops from SLORC IB 106 led by San Lwin and LIB 343 led by Maj Nyunt Tin opened fire on the civilians. They beat Saw Plaw Doh from Wekame village to death. They also shot and wounded Saw Oo Yeh from Wah Baw village and Saw Pah Way from Klo Law village. The troops later entered the village, looted and destroyed the villagers' property. They also took all the money they found and snatched watches and necklaces off the villagers. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.64. On 23 December 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 439 shelled Yeh Mu Plaw village from Ray Pay Kyo ridge, Papun District, killing 2 village women: Naw Blut, age 42 (married), and Naw Law Plih, age 18 (unmarried). *[Source: KNU/KHRG]*

1.4.65. On 25 December 1995, a military column from IB 1 of LID 66 shot dead a villager from Kyaw Par Htee Nee village. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.66. On 28 December 1995, a joint military column of SLORC troops from LIBs 391 and 105 (both are under LID 77) led by Lt-Col Tin Yu arrived at Khae Par Htar area of northern Papun District and shot dead Saw Pah Kyay Waw (65), an innocent villager from Ler Wah Kee village. [*Source: KNU/KHRG*]

1.4.67. At 1:00 p.m. on 28 December 1995, about 30 armed men from DKBA crossed into Thailand and committed a robbery at Butukaloe Thai village. Saw Phaw Thay, a Thai nationality was wounded and his daughter Su Dah, 8 years, died because of shooting during the robbery. Another Thai schoolteacher, Nantana, was also wounded. *[Source: KNU]*

1.4.68. On 29 December 1995, about 150 SLORC troops from IB 63 led by Maj Than Win arrived at Mae Wine Parish in Papun Township and shot dead a villager, Saw Pah Der (50), from Khaw Pa Kee village. *[Source: KNU/KHRG]*

(II) ARBITRARY DETENTION AND ENFORCED OR INVOLUNTARY DISAPPEARANCES

2.1. Background

Some 2,000 prisoners detained under SLORC's emergency regulations have reportedly been released since April 1992, but it was not clear that the majority had been detained on political charges nor could most of the releases be verified. As their names have not been published, precise estimates are impossible.

At least 1,000 political prisoners remain in detention, including students, monks, National League for Democracy (NLD) members and 16 members of the parliament elected in May 1990. Diplomats estimate there are between 1,000-3,000 dissidents still in jail. Though the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has reached agreement to organise training programmes for the Burmese military, ICRC has no access to prisoners and is unable to provide their usual range of humanitarian services. According to the first hand interviews with the ex-prisoners, various forms of physical and psychological torture are routinely practised in the Burmese prisons. ICRC announced on 16 June 1995 that it would close its office in Rangoon the following month due to the failure of negotiations with SLORC on allowing the ICRC regular and confidential access to prisoners.

Severe restrictions on freedom of the press, assembly and association and harsh sentences to political dissidents have created an overall climate of fear and intimidation.

2.2. SLORC's Latest Political Detainees

2.2.1. On 20 February 1995, several students were immediately arrested during the funeral procession of former prime minister U Nu when they began singing a pro-democracy anthem, Kaba Ma Kye Bu ("The World Wont't Forgive"). On 28 April, nine of those arrested, including three female students, were sentenced to seven years in prison under Section 5 (j) of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act. They were Maung Maung Oo, Moe Myat Thu, Moe Maung Maung, Aung Zeya, Maung Nyunt, Tin Than Oo, Ma Aye Aye Moe, Ma Moe Kalayar and Ma Cho Nwe Oo. All of them were jailed in Insein Prison. Two other students were sentenced in absentia to 20 years imprisonment by that special tribunal. [*Source: AI, Inside source*]

2.2.2. On 24 March 1995, six more students were arrested in Rangoon for allegedly obstructing soldiers preparing a route to the Shwedagon Pagoda three days before Armed Forces Day. [*Inside source*]

2.2.3. On 2 June 1995, SLORC again detained NLD Chairman U Kyi Maung, who was released in March 1995, along with U Thu Wai (former Chairman of now-defunct Democracy Party), U Tun Shwe, Dr Tha Hla and U Aye Maung, who were in their late sixties, at Dr Tha Hla's residence. The detention took place shortly after U Kyi Maung held talks with the British Ambassador to Burma, who was to return to London. U Kyi Maung's meeting with others dissidents were also critical of the regime, leading him subject to detention and interrogation. U Kyi Maung was released on condition that he would not become involved in any political activity. The sources in Rangoon reported that they met every week at Dr Tha Hla's house and talked then proceeded to Shwedagon Pagoda to pray. Moreover, the sources added that they did regularly, but no political motivation.

Later on U Thu Wai, U Tun Shwe and Htwe Myint were sentenced to seven years' term after a summary trail. They were sent to Insein prison in Rangoon, where political prisoners are generally not given access to proper medical treatment and are sometimes held in solitary confinement. [*Source: AI, Inside source*]

2.2.4. On 27 September 1995, a student, Ye Htut, was arrested for having sent information to Burmese abroad. In January 1996, he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. All of these people were tried under Section 5 (j) of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act for "spreading false news about the government." [*Source: AI, HRW/A, Inside source*]

2.2.5. On 6 November 1995, Ko Khin Tun who was in charge of the youth wing of the Pegu Division NLD was arrested. On going to visit a friend serving a sentence in Insein jail he had taken a photograph of the said friend whom he saw labouring at a vegetable plot outside the jail compound. Ko Khin Tun was charged under Section 5 (d) and Section 42 (prison regulations act.) He was not

allowed any contact with his family. Although he asked for the services of a lawyer from the time he was first tried, his request was not granted. Only 70 days later, on 17 January 1996, the last day of his trial, he was permitted the services of a lawyer. On that day, the crucial evidence, the film concerned, could not be produced. Nor was the member of the prison staff who was the principal witness for the prosecution present for cross examination. Further, Ko Khin Tun was not given adequate opportunity to defend himself. He was sentenced to four years and three months imprisonment. [*Source: NLD*]

2.2.6. On 18 November, three NLD members (U Thein Nyunt, Ko Toe Aung and Ko Myo Zaw), among the crowd which gathered to listen to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's speech, were arrested under accusation of trying to remove barbed wire barricades placed to regulate traffic in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house and charged under Section 353, obstructing a public servant in the performance of his duties. Although the evidence of the witnesses for the prosecution made it clear that the said section of the law was not applicable in this case they were each given two days later the maximum penalty of two year's imprisonment. [*Source: NLD*]

2.2.7. On 16 December 1995, U Sein Hla Aung, 45 years, an NLD member from Mandalay was arrested for distributing the video tapes of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's speeches, delivered on every weekends. A few days later Zaw Zaw Myaing, 30 years, a video tape renter from Mandalay, was also arrested under the same allegation of violating the Video Act. U Sein Hla Aung was sent to the court on 29 December. Both of their next hearing was scheduled on 11 January 1996. On 15 March, U Sein Hla Aung was sentenced to three years' imprisonment while Zaw Zaw Myaing was to serve two years with labour. [*Source: NLD*]

2.2.8. Following the visit of Prof Yozo Yokota to Burma in October 1995, 28 political prisoners, including U Win Tin, Secretary of the NLD, who has been suffering from severe spondilytis; Monywa Tin Shwe, a lawyer and member to the NLD central committee; Myo Myint Nyein; Dr Myint Naing (elected representative from Kantbalu Constituency-2 in Sagaing Division); and Saw Naing Naing (elected representative from Pazundaung Township in Rangoon Division); Dr Zaw Myint Maung (elected representative from Amarapura Constituency-2 in Mandalay Division); Dr Khin Zaw Win (dental surgeon who was arrested on 2 June 1994 at Mingaladon Airport as he was about to board a plane to Singapore); and Moe Zaw Oo who are currently serving long prison sentences in Insein jail have been charged with committing additional offences while in prison and trials have been conducted within the jail precincts since November. During the second week of November 1995, they were put incommunicado in "police dog cells" as a form of punishment under accusation of providing information on prison conditions to the UN Special Rapporteur. Attempts to provide legal assistance for them has not been permitted. Moreover, there has been reports of another seven years sentence to them, of which it is identified that Saw Naing Naing, Dr Zaw Myint Maung and Myo Myint Nyein. Since then, their situation has been deteriorating. [*Source: Inside Sources; AI]*

2.3. Situation of Dr Ma Thida

The health situation of imprisoned Dr Ma Thida, a medical doctor and short story writer, who has been sentenced to 20 years imprisonment in Burma's jail since August 1993 for her non-violent expression of beliefs and association with an opposition political party, is declining. It is reported that Dr Ma Thida has been suffering from tuberculosis and a series of small ovarlan tumours.

Dr Ma Thida was among the many health professionals who treated those injured during the pro-democracy demonstrations in 1988. She was tried under the 1957 Unlawful Associations Act, the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act, and the 1962 Printers' and Publications' Act. She is currently being held in Insein prison.

She has reportedly been diagnosed with tuberculosis and was admitted to the hospital in mid-June 1995. There is great concern for her health, because the medical provisions in Insein prison are poor. In addition, it has been reported that she has been held in solitary confinement throughout her imprisonment. [*Source: Inside Source*]

2.4. Student Put in Solitary Confinement

A Burmese student, Maung Myat San, a member of Three Colour Flag group (former personal bodyguard group of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi) and NLD youth member, who has been serving his 7 years prison term in Insein jail wrote a letter to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi after her release in July 1995.

Unfortunately, that letter was seized by the prison authorities at the gate of the main jail and the warder who took out that letter was dismissed and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment with hard labour. Maung Myat San was put in tiny cell for solitary confinement for 5 months. [*Source: ABSDF*]

2.5. Contribution to Political Prisoners Confiscated

After her release from house arrest, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has organised a Committee to provide assistance to political prisoners in different jails in Burma. She then contributed 1,000 Ks including a towel and necessary medicines for each political prisoner.

The Committee provided assistance for the poor family members of the political prisoners. There are some 2,000 political prisoners still detained in the different prisons in Burma. She also provided the assistance to the poor family members of the political prisoners, particularly, 5,000 Ks each to the family members of the political prisoners who died in the prisons while serving their terms.

Family members of the following three prisoners have been well received the assistance.

NAME	CHARGED BY THE SLORC	DIED
1. U Tin Maung Win 51 years MP of NLD	Action was taken against him on 21.11.90 under section 212(l) and 124 code for his involvement in attempting to form a parallel government	18.1.91 Insein Prison
2. U Thaw Ka 62 years Former Major in Burma Navy	sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on 5.11.98 under section 5(a) and (b) of the 1950 emergency provisions Act and for organising and exhorting the Tatmadaw famous author personnel from the Navy to dissociate from the combined armed forces.	11.6.91 Insein Prison
3. U Maung Ko 50 years	A member of the NLD HQs. Detained for his involvement in ttempting to form a parallel government.	9.11.90 Insein prison

2.5.1. Others Died in the Prisons

(SLORC presentation to UN special rapporteur Mr. Yozo Yokota in November, 1994)

1. U Zaw Ti Ka 60 years Buddhist Monk	Sentenced to three years imprisonment on Feb 8 under section 5(j) of the 1950 emergency act and under section 295 of the penal code for involvement in a strike organized by the monks.	18.11.92 Insein Prison hospital
2. Khin Maung Myint 64 years	sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on 6.11.89 under section (5) of the 1950 Emergency Act and section 17 of the 1908 Unlawful Association Act involvement in the under ground movement of the BCP	16.2.93
3. Kyaw Myo Thant (a) Japan Gyi 25 years	A member of DPNS sentenced to one years imprisonment under section 505(b) of the penal Code on 7.11.89 for distributing illegal leaflets	20.5.90 Maubin prison
4. Sow Win 72 years	Sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on 6.11.89 under section 5(j) of the 1950 Emergency Act and section 17 of the 1908 unlawful Association Act for involvement in the underground movement of BCP.	3.5.91 Insein Prison hospital

5. Nyo Win 58 years	Charged on 18.7.89 under section 19(a) of the Unlawful Association Act for circulating disinformation and distributing illegal prison leaflets.	8.3.91 Insein
6. Khin Maung (a) Bo Set Yaung	Sentenced on 2.11.89 to five years imprisonment under section 5 (j) of the 1950 Emergency Act and section 17 of the 1908 Unlawful Association Act for involvement in the underground movement of BCP.	7.3.90 Insein Prison hospital
7. Man Dar Weit 55 years	Sentenced to eight years imprison-ment on 27.11.89 under section 17(2) of the 1908 Unlawful Association for seeking assistance from KNU insurgents	12.7.92
8. Mohammed Ilyas (a) Maung Nyo	Detained for having laid explosive mines near the Golf club at Maung Daw	23.6.92 Maung Daw jail

2.5.2. Others not Presented by SLORC to the Special Rapporteur

1. U Sein Win 54 years	lived in Thone Khwa township in Rangoon	January, 1991
2. U Thar Htun 82 years	A well-known history expert in Araken and a member of ALD(Arakan League for Democracy) was arrested on 7.5.90 and sentenced to three years Imprisonment under section 5 (j) of the 1950 emergency act	August, 1990
3. Ko Kyaw Win 30 years	arrested in June, 1989 and was detained without trial and sentence	in early, 1990 Mandalay Prison
4. Ko Than Win	a member of NLD at Maubin township was arrested and detained at Tharrawaddy	Unknown
5. U David 58 years	arrested in 1988	2.8.92
6. U Aye Lwin 38 years	sentenced to death penalty under fighting against the Thingangyun police station	December, 92 Insein Prison
7. Maung Aing Ko 31 years	Workers College Union	13.10.93 Tha Yet Prison
9. Ko Soe Htay 19 years	a member of NLD was arrested on 12.4.91	16.4.91
10. Ko Kyaw Soe 22 years	arrested in January, 1989	two day after the arrest
11. Ko Zaw Win Htun 21 years (4th year, Physics)	university student was arrested on 2.10.88	30.12.89

12. Ko Ne Win Aung 22 years	fled to Thai border and returned Burma in 1988 under SLORC amnesty and arrested a few days later in Rangoon	a few days after the arrest in Insein Prison
13. Ko Hernit 21 years	A Muslim fled to Thai border and returned under the SLORC's amnesty was arrested	Insein Prison
14. Ko Aung Moe	Fled to Thai border and returned under SLORC's amnesty and arrested	after the arrest Insein prison

All Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's assistance to the political prisoners in August 1995 were confiscated by the prison authorities at the prisons according to the order from the superior. It was first allowed by the Col Kyaw Win, Deputy Director of Defence Service Intelligent of SLORC, who passed the oral message of Gen Than Swe for unconditional release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on 10 July and has frequently visited her residence since then. *[Source: ABSDF]*

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 1-10, 16-21, 25, 28, 30, 37-39, 41-48, 51-52, 56, 59-62, 64-70, 86, 89, 104, 107-108, 110, 118, 134, 136-138, 140-141, 143-144, 152, 155, 183-187, 193-194, 196-197, 201, 218, 221, 225, 228, 232, 242-243, 246, 248, 252-253, 255, 264, 289, 291-292, 299, 305-306, 309]

2.6. List of incidents

2.6.1.At night on 2 March 1995, a group of armed people from DKBA entered Maw Lu Khaw Refugee Camp, located near Mae Tha Wah village, Tha Song Yang District of Tak Province, Thailand, and then arrested Maj Jaw Lay (65), who retired in the refugee camp. The victim was beaten and taken to Mae Tha Wah. His family was asked by a SLORC officer to come and meet Maj Jaw Lay at Mae Tha Wah on 4 March. His children and son-in-law who went to meet him on that day were also arrested and taken to Pa-an. [Source: KNU]

2.6.2. The naval officials from Hai Gyi Naval Base detained about 300 skilful carpenters on Hai Gyi Island against their will after seizing their Identity Cards. Originally, they were recruited from the Rangoon area since 18 March 1995 with the incentive offering of 20% more wages than in Rangoon. Actually, on the island the wages changed to 65% less than normal wages plus a small amount of rice. [Source: ABSDF]

2.6.3. At 12:30 p.m. on 24 March 1995, a group of young Burmese swore and fought back a SLORC security unit (Lon Htein) who secured the marching route for the Golden Jubilee of Armed Forces Day Celebration at the southern entry to Shwedagon Pagoda at Pha Ya Gyi Quarter of Dagon Township in Rangoon Division. Six of them — Bo Bo (son of U Win Aung), Thant Zin (son of U Kyi Oo) and Win Thant, Win Zaw, Aung Naing Oo and Saw Naung (all are sons of U Than Yee) — were arrested after the clash with the police. All of them were charged with attacking the security forces. [Source: Inside source]

2.6.4. In April 1995, SLORC troops from IB 67 raided Warn Nam Lin village, Mong Heng village-tract, Mong Yang Township in Northern Shan State. The abbot of Nai Pu Monastery in Mong Heng was captured by SLORC troops who put him in Mong Yang jail for three days and then transferred him to Lashio prison. They accused him of being a supporter of MTA. [Source: S.H.A.N]

2.6.5. In May 1995, abbot U Wi Mar La (36) from Kyat Chaung village, Kyun Su Township in Tenasserim Division, was arrested at Mergui Airport by No. 19 Military Intelligence Unit while he was going to leave for Rangoon to ask the Higher Monks Body about the case of one of his friends, whose gold and jewellery was seized by the military. U Wi Mar La has been detained in Mergui Township until now without any official charges nor trial. [Source: ABSDF]

2.6.6. On 4 May 1995, Coy 1 from Mong Pan-based SLORC LIB 520 arrested Loong Kan, the village headman of Mai Poke village in Mong Pan Township, and ordered the villagers to pay one cow or 20,000 Ks for his release. The headman was released only after the villagers handed over a cow. [Source: S.H.A.N]

2.6.7. On 7 July 1995, Warrant Officer Aung Bo, camp commander from IB 17, summoned Maung Myint Lwin (20, son of U Ba Aye) from Thein Doh village in Tenasserim Township and detained him without any reason. He did not ask any questions, he just aimed his carbine rifle at Maung Myint Lwin's head and opened fire. But his carbine misfired. Aung Bo was embarrassed and angry because there were soldiers watching. Thus he grabbed a domestic cat and killed it with his foot. On 8 July, the village headman of Thein Doh pleaded Aung Bo for the release of Maung Myint Lwin and he was set free. [Source: KHRG]

2.6.8. On 24 July 1995, SLORC IB 92 arrested Maung Thaung Han (21, son of Ba Chit), from Ta Rweh Kee village,Thaton District, and tortured him severely. He has still not been freed. [Source: KNU]

2.6.9. On 26 July 1995, SLORC troops from Mong Pan-based LIB 520 under the command of Maj Kyi Lin came and arrested Pu Heing Yi Kham (headman of Pung Kur village, Nong Yang village-tract, Mong Pan Township) at a new quarter, east of the town. They abused him and asked him about rebel activities and locked him up without any charge. After a day and a night, he managed to escape and flee to Thailand. [Source: S.H.A.N]

2.6.10. For the Sixth Student Sports Festival (5-15 December 1995), SLORC tightened security measure by reinforcing their troops in Loikaw and arrested some youth. From the first week of September 1995, SLORC deployed five battalions there and arrested about 50 youth and students. Among the victims were, Maung Taw, a high school student from No. 1 State High School in

Loikaw. All of them were detained without any charges till the festival was over. [Source: ABSDF]

2.6.11. On 11 September 1995, 18 people who returned from buying goods in Mae Sai were arrested by No. 3 Sensai ferry, at Maka Ho Kham Quarter, Tachilek Township in Eastern Shan State. They were refused bail, sentenced to one month imprisonment on 13 September and then sent to Kengtung. [Source: S.H.A.N]

2.6.12. On 26 October 1995, SLORC Lt Min Kyan Ta, commander of Lailenpi post, Matupi Township, arrested Pu Mase, chairman of Hloma Village Council, with suspicion of a sympathiser to CNA. He was detained in the Lailenpi jail for three days without being giving any food. And later, Lt Minn Kyn Ta charged 10,000 Ks to set him free. Each household in Hloma had to contribute money to pay for this, because Pu Mase was a simple subsistence farmer and he had no way to pay it. [Source: Independent Chin Report]

2.6.13. Farmers arrested

Local SLORC officials in Kyaiklat Township, Irrawaddy Division, ordered the people there to sell their crops to the government. In June 1995, 150 farmers were arrested for failing to sell their quota fixed by the officials. The farmers didn't want to sell their rice to the government because of low prices compared with that of the market. As the detention cell was crowded, some were kept in garages and offices. Since they were not fed, their family members had to send food. Some fled from arrest and hid in the nearby forest. [Source: ABSDF]

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One of SLORC child soldiers during Armed Forces day Parade in Rangoon. (27 March 1995)

BAIRD/Burma Banks

A child labourer working at a construction site in Okkalapa, Rangoon. He displays his labour ID which has been blacked out by the HRDU to hide his identity.

Images Asia

A child soldier belonging to the DKBA, barely taller than the weapon he wields.

HRDU

ROSALIE T. Mc KERNAN

Children supplement family income by hawking on the streets of Huai Kalok camp, December 1995.

SAIN

A family looks out from a newly built house at Yatanabon satellite town in Mandalay Division. Less fortunate families live in makeshift shelters.

SAIN

Children at work at force labour road repair camp in Pegu.

HRDU

Despite their predicament, children refugees on the run smile for the camera. No stable place of abode, running away from SLORC troops and separation of families are alaredy a way of life for these children.

BAIRD

A typical classroom for children. Decades-old desks, lack of text books and stationery are a everyday life for schoolchildren. Picture was taken at a Mandalay school. -- December 1995.

Images Asia

Children asleep on makeshift 'bed' near Bornor. The Karen family fled to escape attacks from DKBA and SLORC troops.

HRDU

Karenni children return to the Nai Soi refugee Camp after a bath at a nearby pond.

A bewildered child amidst the ruins of what was, until a recent DKBA cross-border offensive, her home.

Burma Relief Centre

Burma Relief Centre

Sadly the refugee children are becoming accustomed to homelessness and desolation.

(III) RIGHTS OF CHILD

"In the stone mines just outside Mandalay (called Thone Bo) , I saw girls of 10 and 12 years old working. They fill baskets with stones (I could hardly lift) and carry them down from the mine to a machine that selects the sizes, to the truck. They get 60 Ks for 8-9 hours work. They work every day and have never been to school. The stone are being used for road construction. Moreover, young girls who are as young as 13 have been working in silk factories, at lacquerware factory and in hotel construction, including the Plaza Hotel in Rangoon." [*An Eyewitness travelling inside Burma*]

3.1. Background

In Burma, the participation of children in the armed conflict has become routine, as the country has been at war for the majority of this century. Although international law forbids the use of children under the age of fifteen as solider, almost all of the Burmese groups have child soldiers within their ranks, as does the Tatmadaw under the control of SLORC. Although all parties to the conflict in Burma use child soldiers, the treatment of them, recruitment methods and conditions of service, vary a great deal both between, and within, these armed groups. The treatment of child soldiers in the Tatmadaw is much more severe than that of other groups.

The widespread use of child soldiers has ensured that many thousands of children in Burma have suffered exceptional cruelty during the war; many child soldiers have been killed or wounded, or have witnessed terrible atrocities. Many children have taken part in these human rights abuses themselves. Some youngest SLORC child soldiers joined the military service at the age of 12.

The use of children as soldier in Burma results in serious human rights abuses. Children are killed, forcibly conscripted, unwillingly separated from their families, kidnapped, tortured during their service, forced to kill and torture, and due to the rampant corruption in the military, are underpaid, or are not paid at all.

Children in Burma suffer extreme poverty, with Burma being the seventh poorest nation in the world. Although children under five make up only 15% of the population, they account for half the country's annual death rate. According to UNDP 1994-1995 report, infant mortality is estimated at 146/1000, with 175,000 under five dying every year. UNICEF mentioned in its 1992 report that most of these deaths are due to the easily preventable or treatable diseases, including malaria. Moreover, 10% of children under three suffer from severe malnutrition. In the ethnic border areas the situation is worse.

Many Burmese children leave their homes for neighbouring countries to work, as the employment and economic situation inside Burma is so poor. According to Asiawatch report in 1994, hundreds of thousands of these children are currently exploited in forced labour situation such as sweatshops, and in prostitution in Asian countries in the region such as Thailand. UNICEF estimate that over 40,000 Burmese children are working in Thailand's sex industry.

Although most of the warring factions in Burma have forcibly recruited some children, most of the children joined the ethnic armies voluntarily, usually because they saw no other way to survive. Children say that they joined for various reasons: to avenge the killings of family and friends, to protect their families and communities from the opposition army or armies, or to get food for themselves, and in some cases, for their families. Not infrequently, when the child's family had been killed, there was no one left to take care of them. They therefore took the only option that they thought open to them, to joined a military force, ethnic or Burman. Ethnic military leaders state that many child soldiers, both volunteers and recruits, are orphans. Some ethnic armies and the Tatmadaw are know to have institutions to train these orphans as child soldiers. Other claim that orphans often volunteer due to a lack of other options.

Since 1988 and the military's rapid growth, the Tatmadaw have begun recruiting boys at fourteen and below. UNICEF officials even found out that boys could be 'officially conscripted' into the military at fourteen. These boys are placed in training centres where they receive military style education. Designated the "Ye-Nyunt Youth," the boys are also said to receive political training, and are taught to be loyal to the government and the army. They are eventually assigned to serve in the army, in intelligence units, or as security for high-ranking officers. Most of these recruits tend to be orphans, street children, children captured from enemy positions or those abandoned in front-line villages. Anecdotal reports exist of such children being taken to other cities at some distance from their homes, before they are forced into armed service. UNICEF also identified at least one residential SLORC military camp, near Kengtung in Shan State, where children aged seven and above (believed to be orphans) were being trained for a future life with the military. Ethnic armies such as the Mong Tai Army (MTA) in Shan State, controlled by notorious drug warlord Khun Sa, had similar institutions.

Although all armed sides in the conflict use child soldiers in their forces, the differences between the children's recruitment reasons, treatment, duties, and post-service situations, with each side vary significantly. Not only are there differences from between child soldiers' experiences with each army, there are also variances from region to region, and command to command . It is, however, apparent in all the ethnic armed forces and the Tatmadaw, when an impending large-scale battle is approaching, more child soldiers are recruited and used in the front-lines as more man-power is required.

Children have played various other roles in the conflict: they have performed front-line/active combat duties, done cooking and other menial labour, stood sentry/check-point duty, acted as body-guards (a feature common to the ethnic armies especially), served as porters carrying ammunition and supplies, and been used, as cannon fodder to draw the fire of their adversaries, and sometimes in human-wave attack tactics in which hundreds are usually killed. All child soldiers interviewed were familiar with and even adept in the use of a wide variety of automatic weapons, and even heavy weapons. Most of the child soldiers on all sides of the conflict are male.

Military training makes a poor replacement for civilian education, even in a country where most schooling is substandard. In Burma, education in government schools, where parents must supply all school materials, is a luxury. According to UNDP/UNESCO Education Sector Study in 1992, an estimated 80% of students enrolling in primary school drop-out before completion. Some 35% of children never enrol in primary school and only 25% complete the five year cycle, said in the January 1995 report of UNICEF. Ethnic border regions are severely under-serviced. Even in areas where some groups operate schools independent of the central Burmese regime, education systems are routinely disrupted when villages are forced to relocate during combat. Many child soldiers come from poor families or are in fact orphans, and many have barely started their schooling before it is interrupted by military duty. Military training under the auspices of different armed groups varies in length and content, however it can be stated unequivocally that most child soldiers do not receive significant instruction to enhance literacy or vocational and occupational skills. Lack of educational opportunity for young recruits has significant ramifications for their post-military futures, and indeed, portends difficult prospects for the Burma's economic and social development.

Despite the fact that many children join the army seeking benefits for themselves or their families, almost all interviewed told of receiving inadequate food and clothing and few received benefits for their families. Most Tatmadaw soldiers also spoke of being regularly punished, and often of being beaten and abused by the their senior officers. In addition, while it is sometimes believed that children are less cognisant of atrocity and death, the interviewed child soldiers made frequent reference to the fear, despair, and horror they felt, especially when they were ordered to beat porters, witness rapes by their senior officers, or engage in combat situation. [*Source: Images Asia*]

3.2. Kidnap of Schoolchildren for SLORC Army Recruitment Drives

In the last week of January 1994, three 6th-standard students -- Maung Tun Tun (13), Maung Hla Myo (12) and Maung Aye Naing (12) from No. 1 State High School in Thingangyun -- were missing on their way home from school. When their parents reported this to the police station, a police sergeant said that

they were definitely sold. As SLORC had to deployed more troops in important places in Rangoon in 1995, they needed recruits for the army and opened "recruit gathering centres" in Rangoon. Under this forced recruitment programme, those who can find a recruit will be given 300 Ks in cash and a bottle of Army Rum while those who promise to find five recruits are given 1500 Ks and five bottles of Rum in advance.

The aforementioned three students were lured by unscrupulous means and sent to recruit gathering centre in Mingaladon. When their parents heard about their fate, they proceeded straight to Mingaladon gathering centre, bringing recommendation letters from headmasters and other needed letters. But they were not allowed to talk to their sons in person although they met their sons from a distance. On the following day, the number of the students mounted to approximately 200. The students who were in their school uniform — white shirt and green longyi (sarong) — were forcibly transported from Rangoon to Prome with massive deployment of armed soldiers to make sure that they would not escape.

The rich could afford for the release of their sons by giving a ransom to concerned SLORC officers and medical officers who later on managed to bring these students back to Mingaladon Military Hospital for medical check-up. Their parents could bring their sons home from Mingaladon Hospital. Even though their examinations were drawing near, SLORC considered the recruitment rather than their education. *[Source: Inside source]*

3.3. Forced Recruitment of Ethnic Child

SLORC has been expanding their military strength from 18,000 in 1988 to an estimated 400,000 in 1995. Over half of national budget has been used in defence service. Many ethnic youth have been forcibly recruited into army without their consent. Particularly in Sagaing Division and Chin State, SLORC launched forced recruitment of the ethnic youth to the army. SLORC authorities took the ethnic children from their families with a promise of education opportunity in cities. Instead of sending to the school, ethnic Naga boys were directly sent to the military recruitment centres or training schools and forced to join the army.

SLORC authorities recruited 37 Naga boys from Sumra, Konkilon, Kuki, Phontharet, Nga Kyan and Nami Ubi villages in Sagaing Division with a promise of education opportunity in the cities. Among these children were Barry Saw (14, son of U Tha Don), Cara Phor (12, son of U Kyan Chi), Yin Shi, (12, son of U Nar Wor) and Saw Htee (son of U Raphan) from Nga Kyan village, Sumra Township, Sagaing Division.

These 37 Naga school boys were sent to an army training school in Monywa, Sagaing Division, instead of sending to school as they promised. They were later forced to enrol the military training for six months. Some boys had managed to escape from the training school. Barry Saw and Saw Htee are now in army service at Mawlaik, Sagaing Division.

3.4. Impact of Tourism

The impact of tourism on local communities in Mandalay, Sagaing, and Amarapura is now becoming apparent. Children wait for tour groups to arrive in places such as pagodas and other sites of interest. They follow tourists around begging for presents and money and at times perform for the tourists, smiling, holding their hands, etc. These children are earning up to 800 Ks a day which is four times what their parents are earning. According to conversations that members of SAIN had with some parents and other local sources at these sites, these children are now being sent to earn money for their families in this way and not going to school. There is great concern about the increase of this situation, especially for young girls who will, when older, be uneducated and unable to have a chance to enter what is already a competitive workplace. *[Source: SAIN]*

3.5. Child Slavery

Following account was revealed by an eyewitness who travelled inside Burma in December 1995.

> "I met two former porters 16 and 18 years old. They were rounded up for portering from a video hall on 26 June 1995 together with 30 or 40 other men from the area of "Five mile village" (near Loikaw). The youngest in the group was 16, the oldest 45. The two boys had to work as porters for two months, but some of the others came back only in the middle of November. They worked from sunrise to sunset, carrying ammunition (weight "about half a bag of rice"). Once a day, they got a small bowl of rice-soup, no blankets. Anyone who could not keep up was beaten, including one of the boys. Two villagers died from disease (malaria they think) and starvation.
>
> Another source said that until now there is still portering going on in Shadaw, 30 miles east of Loikaw, and in Bawlake, south eastern Karenni State, 15 miles from Loikaw."

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 3, 6-8, 12, 14-15, 18, 23-24, 33, 36, 42, 46, 52, 71, 77-78, 83, 90, 93, 99, 106, 113-116, 118, 120, 149-151, 179, 182, 192-193, 196, 202-203, 221, 233, 239-241, 258, 261, 265-266, 270-271, 275, 277-280, 288-292, 301]

3.6. List of Incidents

3.6.1. SLORC IB 54 and LIBs 256 and 261 forced the local people in Loikaw Township, Karenni State, into portering during their offensive against the KNPP, which started in June 1995. Among the victims, Maung Aung Thein (13), son of U Maung Doe and Daw Jo Wah Nar from Daw Tha Naw village, Loikaw Township, has disappeared and his whereabouts remain unknown. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

3.6.2. In February 1995, SLORC troops entered Ko Ra Hta village in Papun District, Karen State. All the villagers fled, but an 11-year-old boy (name not available) was left behind. The SLORC troops captured him, executed him with a knife and left his body behind in the village. *[Source: KHRG]*

3.6.3. On 20 April 1995, a SLORC military column from IB 101 led by Maj Thet Oo entered Wan Nar village in Tenasserim Township, Tenasserim Division, and arrested Daw Ohn Kyi (40) and her daughter Ma In Kyi (14) with the allegation that they were being supporters of ABSDF and informing the students. The two women were forced to enter a nearby mini video hall in the village. Daw Ohn Kyi was forced to stand in the sun for the whole day while Ma In Kyi was dragged into the video hall and repeatedly raped by the SLORC soldiers. *[Source: KNU]*

3.6.4. In Akyab, IB 20 has been recruiting young boys who are only 12 to 13 years old for the military service. When these young boys are asked why they joined the military, they replied, "We can have a regular meal if we join the military. We did it for hunger". The young boys also stated, "Outside the military compound, we are unable to enjoy regular meals", they said. *[Source: ABSDF]*

3.6.5. On 4 October 1995, SLORC troops under the command of Brig-Gen Comdr Kyi Aung from Taungoo-based Southern Command captured school girls and boys to carry ammunition and heavy loads for them. [Source: KNU]

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U Thuang, an escaped porter, who fled from the SLORC troops, shows the wounds he suffered from carrying 81-mm shells.

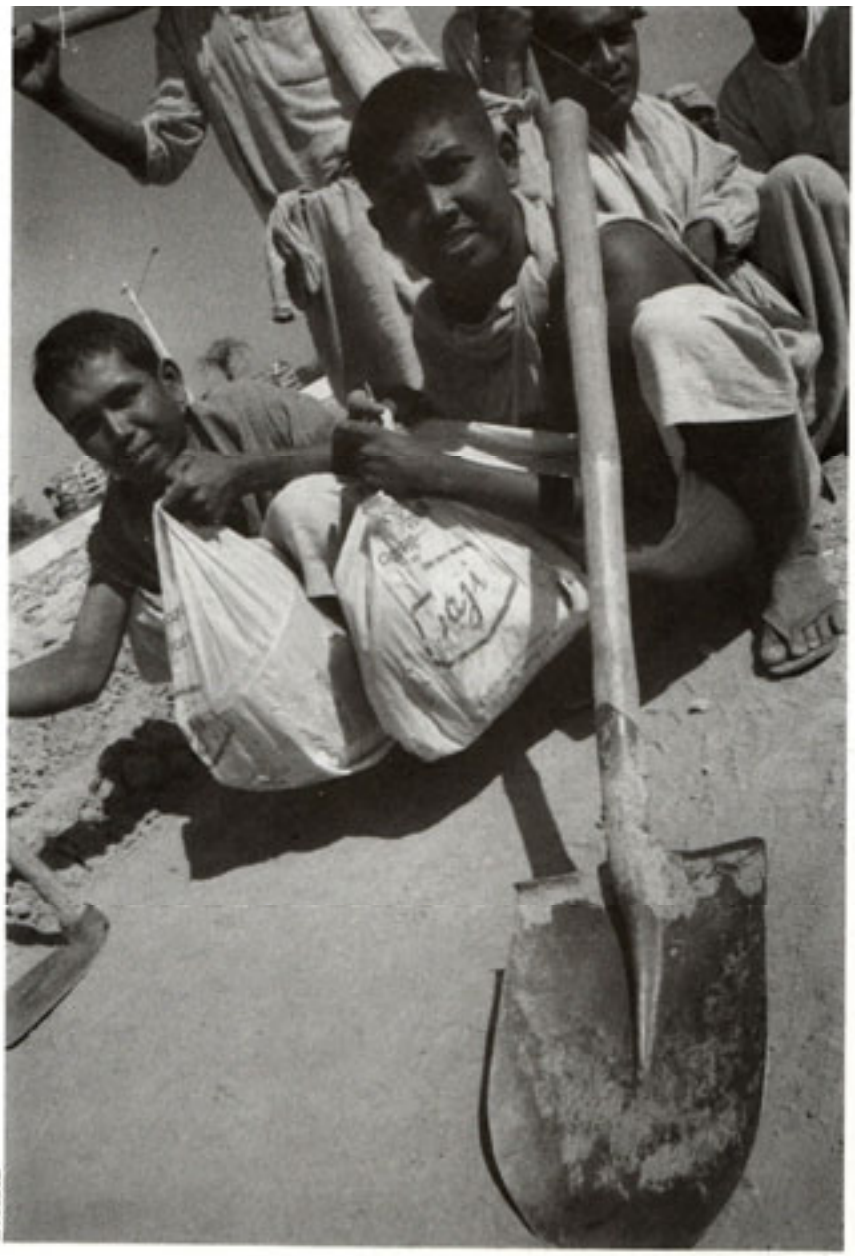
KHRG

Mon porters, under the watch of SLORC soldiers, carry food and military supplies. The pratice continues even after SLORC promised not to porters as part of NMSP ceasefire deal. (August 1995 Mon State)

HRDU

FORCED LABOUR

Maung Khwee, conscripted as a porter to carry military supplies by the SLORC troops, shows the wounds he suffered from stepping on a mine when he escaped.



BAIRD

Prisoners with tools ready, a wait work assignment from their military overseers.

SAIN

Mandalay Hill. Prisoners work on upgrading the hill for "Visit Myanmar Year"

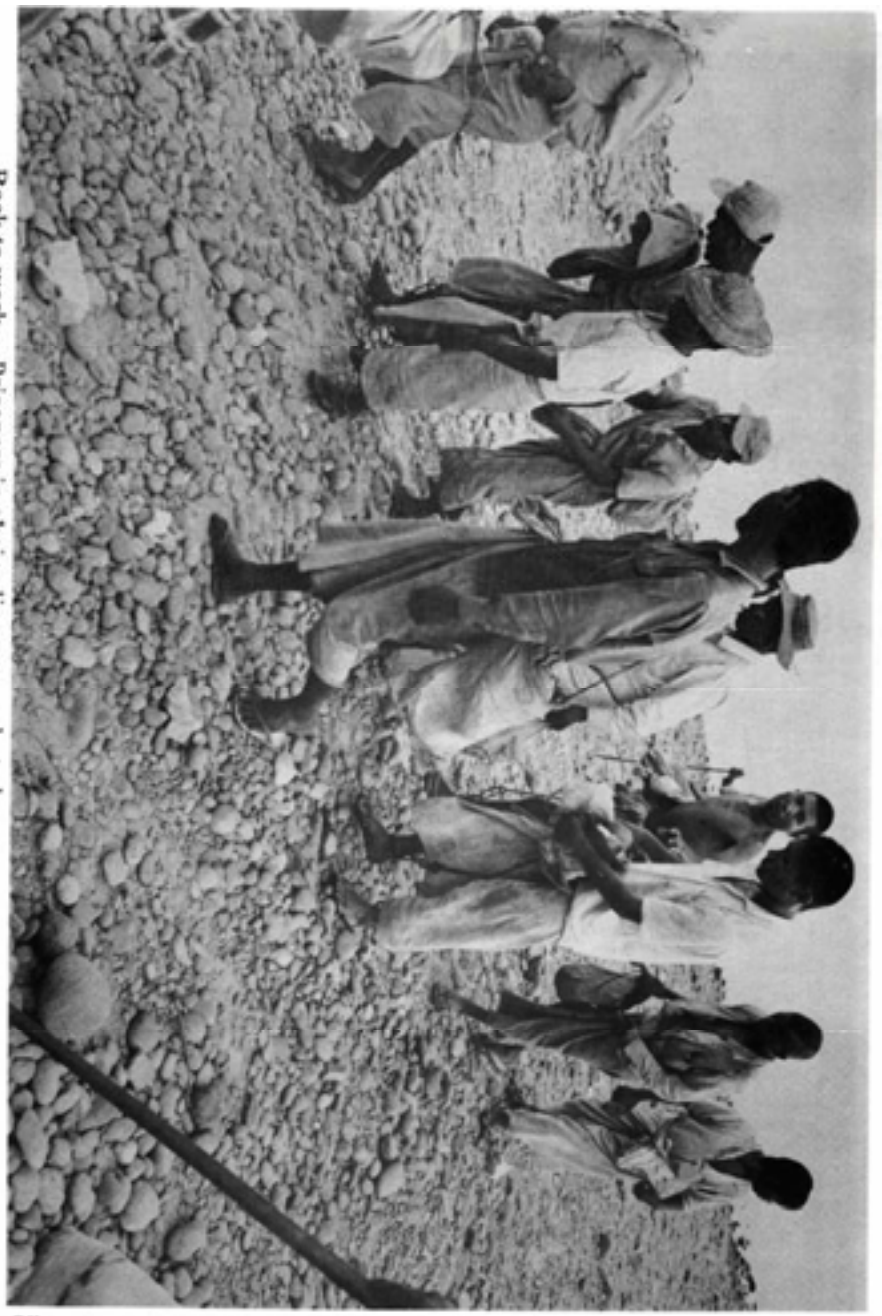
HRDU

SAIN

Yin Nyein quarry in Thaton Township. Prisoners break the rocks that are used by locals conscripted to repair and maintain roads in Burma.

Prisoners in chains, take a meal break from work in Myitkyina

Olly



Back to work -- Prisoners in chains line up, ready to leave for their worksite after a meal break.

Olly

Mandalay Palace wall being repaired by conscripted labour for "Visit Myanmar Year"

Prisoners working at Tooth Relic Pagoda Project in Mandalay.

BAIRD

Prisoners build road with bane hands in Mandalay.

BAIRD

A soldier keeping guard walks by as conscripted 'volunteers' work on a building.

BAIRD

Civilians, young and old alike, join prisoners in Tooth Relic Pagoda construction project as soldiers supervise the work.

BAIRD

SAIN

A disabled man living in Yatanabon Satellite Town, joins others to contribute unpaid labour for one day. The order to work on a compulsory basis was put up at the USDA office in that town one day ahead.

FORCED LABOUR

People living in Yatanabon Satellite Town, regardless of sex or disability, were asked to contribute unpaid labour for one day on a compulsory basis. The order was put up at the USDA office in that town one day ahead.

BAIRD

Women working on Road construction in Thazi

BAIRD

Construction between Thazi and Kalaw

Road to Kalaw

Near He Ho -teenagers working on the road in front of a military base.

SAIN

Thanbyuzayat. Forced labour is used to repair and maintain the railway that goes south to Ye.

Child labour in Pegu

Forced labour in Pegu along the Rangoon-Pegu Expressway. Local people state that in Pegu locals have to pay 50 ks a fortnight per house to hire a steamroller. If you don't pay, you have to provide the labour instead.

(IV) FORCED PORTERING, SLAVERY AND FORCED LABOUR

> The use of labourers in Myanmar has been practised since the time of colonial rule, during which time laws in connection with this were promulgated by the colonial rulers. Following independence, successive Governments have continued this practice according to the law
>
> Recruitment and employment of civilian labourers are in accordance with the Village Act of 1908 and the Towns Act of 1907, and it is based on the following three criteria:
> (a) They must be unemployed;
> (b) They must be physically fit;
> (c) They must be paid a reasonable amount of wages, fixed and agreed upon beforehand.
>
> The labourers must be paid from the time they leave their respective homes until they return, on completion of their duty. Apart from daily wages, they are entitled to receive rail and steamer travelling warrants or cash to cover the actual costs of transport between their homes and the operation area. The respective military unit has the responsibility of providing accommodation, messing and medical cover for the recruited labourers. Daily wages must be commensurate with those prevailing in the area. They are never required to accompany the troops to the actual scene of battle, nor are they exposed to danger. In the unlikely event of loss of life or limb, they or their families are compensated in accordance with the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923.
>
> - U Ohn Gyaw
> - Myanmar Foreign Minister
> - 50th Session of UN General Assembly

Forced portering has come to be known as one of the worst forms of human rights abuse by the Tatmadaw. Many people have heard the constant reports of civilians kidnapped, driven to the front-line like cattle under heavy loads of ammunition, forcibly starved and then killed as soon as they can no longer carry their loads. The following is a summary on types of forced portering, one of many constant abuses being faced by the peoples of Burma.

4.1. Background

Away from the central plains, Burma has rugged-steep mountainous terrain, with dense forests and no roads. However, transportation in the central plains is not much as difficult as major roads are rudimentary. In the mountainous terrain

covering most of the country, even such roads are non-existent. The rainy season makes even paths impassible throughout the country. People talk about the dry season from November to May as "fighting season", because during rainy season large-scale military operations are almost impossible to mount. Even in "fighting season", some means have to be found to transport ammunition and supplies over rough terrain. Ammunition and weapons are very bulky and heavy, and front-line soldiers also require a lot of food and other supplies. While guerrilla forces can live among the villagers, SLORC troops are hated by the populace and must bring in their supplies because they cannot pilfer everything they need from the sparse village populations.

The use of civilian porters was a common practice by the British Army during colonial days. Porters were men who were either hired for money or conscripted from a village and made to carry supplies to the next village, where they were sent home and the process was repeated. After Burmese independence, the Burma Army continued using similar practices. However, as the Burma Army degenerated into a strictly repressive force, particularly after Ne Win took over power in 1962, portering became forced and unpaid, more brutal and sadistic. Even before SLORC came to power in 1988, portering was already well-known among the people as a harsh form of slavery that must be escaped at any cost. Since then it has already driven untold numbers of refugees across the borders in search of safety and freedom from enslavement.

4.2. Types of Portering

SLORC has not only taken portering to new extremes of cruelty, but they have also used it as part of the Four Cuts policy which aims to cut off civilian support for opposition forces by terrorising the civilian population and making them destitute. In this context, villages are faced with such constant demands for porters and other forced labour that they can barely work to support themselves anymore. Villagers and townspeople alike must constantly face the threat of various types of portering, primarily the following:

4.2.1. Operations Porters

Operations portering is the type of portering which many people have read. These are porters who are kidnapped whenever SLORC needs a large number of porters immediately for a military offensive or other large-scale operation. Soldiers surround and sweep through villages, taking every healthy civilian regardless of age; police units and army trucks spread through the streets of towns and cities, encircle video halls, train stations, and even wedding ceremonies and religious festivals, or any other large gathering of people, and forcibly remove every able-bodied person. Soldiers storm every house in a neighbourhood at 3:00 a.m. Sometimes women, children and the elderly are let go; sometimes not. The rest are piled into trucks and taken to army camps or

prisons, where they are held pending further orders — some sit in jail cells for a week before the army comes to collect them. Apparently, Military Command receives porter demands from each Battalion or Strategic Command, then decides where the porters are to be rounded up and issues orders to the army or district officials in the area, who then use soldiers, police and even firemen to round up porters. The porters are often taken in towns, cities or villages hundreds of kilometres from the fighting area, sometimes because of a lack of sufficient local population but more commonly as a deliberate strategy to make the porters too frightened to attempt escape in a front-line area which is far from their home. Porters for operations in Karen State are sometimes brought from areas as far away as Rangoon, southern Mon or northern Shan states. Porters from different areas or ethnic backgrounds can easily be told things like "If you escape, the Karen will cut your throat!".

Operations porters are kept for as long as the operation lasts, or even longer — often three months or more, or as some porters have said, "Until you either die or escape". Over the course of a month or two, generally up to half of them will die and up to half of them will escape, so new porters must constantly be sent. Anyone caught trying to escape are either killed or savagely beaten and forced to continue until they die. Porters carry loads of ammunition or supplies of 30 to 40 kilos per man and 20 to 30 kilos per woman. They are generally fed one or two handfuls of rice per day with little salt or nothing else, and are often deprived of water because it would slow them down. They are generally not given any chance to bathe, and almost all are only wearing light clothing when they are captured near their homes. Porters have to sleep in the dirt, often inside pointed and guarded bamboo fences which they are forced to build themselves. Men are generally kept apart from women; women are often dragged off during the night to be gang-raped by officers and soldiers. When the people get sick, medicine is refused, and when they get too weak to keep up, they are beaten or prodded with bayonets. Those who can no longer continue are either left behind in the jungle to die, beaten and left where they collapse, kicked down the mountain side, tied up and thrown into a river, beaten to death with rifle butts, shot dead point -- blank on the spot and their bodies left to rot, have their throats slit open, or have met any number of other grisly ends with their remains left behind as evidence of the atrocities -- and as warning to others what will happen to them.

4.2.2. Permanent Porters:

Soldiers need supplies and ammunition whether or not they are out patrolling. Villages in all parts of Burma, whether they are near a fighting zone or not, receive written orders specifying the number of permanent porters they must provide to each nearby SLORC Army camp. This is the number of people from that village which must always be at the camp in order to be at the disposal of the soldiers as porters and messengers. Usually the number is based on size of the village; for example, a village of 50 households may be required to provide

10 permanent porters to a nearby camp. These 10 people will have to go for a 5-, 7-, or 10-day shift, bringing all their own food and sleeping necessities to the camp, to do whatever is demanded of them by the soldiers (including rape). At the end of this time, their replacements for the next shift must arrive from the village or they will not be released. Treatment of permanent porters tends to be less brutal than operations porters and beatings are rare, partly because the people bring the food and clothing they require so they do not become too weak. They usually do not have to march as hard or as far as operations porters, and partly because they have come voluntarily. If a village fails to send permanent porters as requested, the whole area will be shelled or burned down, village leaders will be tortured or executed, or the soldiers will simply storm the village and take away more porters than they had demanded in the first place. If there are several army camps in the area, the village will usually be forced to send permanent porters to all of them independently. The villager appointed by SLORC as Village LORC Chairperson (usually against his/her will) receives the demands for the porters, and villagers have to take turns as he/she assigns. If the porters do not go, he/she will be the first target for torture.

4.2.3. Emergency Porters

In addition to permanent porter quotas, villages are constantly bombarded with SLORC written orders demanding certain numbers of porters or other short-term labourers to come to the army camp for emergencies — short-term jobs such as hauling the monthly rice supply to the local outposts. These people must take their own food and any required tools, and are generally not treated severely in the course of their labour; however, they are still kept under constant guard at gun point, and women are often called for such portering tasks and then raped repeatedly at night. These people also frequently run out of food because the written order calls them to come for one or two days but then they will be kept for up to three days to a week or longer. When SLORC wants operations porters, they often demand emergency porters for a day and then keep them and send them to the front-line. As with other demands, any village which fails to send the emergency porters as commanded faces being shelled or burned down and having its elders executed, or the soldiers will raid the village and remove an excessive number of porters than they had early ordered as punishement. Villagers are forced to go by turns as decided by the Village LORC Chairperson [see under Permanent Porters].

4.2.4. Porters of Opportunity

Upon seeing a few farmers or a family along the road or in the fields, SLORC troops on the move or patrolling will generally grab them, interrogate them roughly and often take them as porters, with the idea that you can never have too many porters. Sometimes such people will only be kept for a few hours, sometimes for several days or more. Quite often, SLORC troops will accuse

them of being rebel sympathisers because they were walking along the road or in the forest and will treat them brutally with extreme measures, often ending up by torturing them to death. Otherwise, they are treated similarly to operations porters.

4.2.5. Portering as Punishement

In urban or semi-urban areas, police or army units often raid houses at night for porters as punishment for minor infringements, such as failure to pay monthly porter fees or other protection money to SLORC authorities or army battalions, failure to register your guests (under SLORC law, any guest you have in your house must be registered with local authorities), or simply because some local official or military officer has a grudge against you. In these cases, the victims are usually sent to the police lockup, then handed over to the local army battalion, then often turned over to battalions which are on their way to the front-line. Many of these people end up as operations porters. House-to-house sweeps for infringements of the law are also sometimes used as an excuse during wider round-ups for operations porters — in such cases, people are often taken for failing to pay fees which they have already paid, or failing to register the guests they have in fact already properly registered.

4.2.6. Convict Porters

Hundreds of convicts are often taken from Burma's prisons, loaded onto cattle trucks and taken to front-line areas as operations porters. There they are treated at least as brutally as civilian operations porters, and are often kept at the front-line from one operation to the other indefinitely, until they die or escape. Many of them are taken from the prisons shortly before their sentences are about to expire, then kept at the front-line long after they were supposed to be released from prison. They are kept apart from civilian porters and under the same amount of guard, readily recognisable in their tattered prison clothes — shirts and longyis of rough burlap-type material, all dirty white or all blue. Most of the convicts are criminals — but most of those whom we have interviewed were imprisoned for crimes such as being out after curfew, throwing a stone at an army truck, or selling goods in the market without a SLORC licence.

4.2.7. Paid Porters

Although SLORC units always collect porter fees which are allegedly to hire porters, porters are never paid by SLORC. However, in villages which are constantly or occasionally faced with demands for permanent or emergency porters, villagers are usually too afraid to go and will avoid the labour any way they can. When it comes their turn to go, they will hire somebody else to go in

their place if possible. Sometimes they can hire somebody else in the village to go in their place, but usually they hire itinerant migrant workers, usually of Indian descent, who are so poor that they are forced to do anything they can for a living. Some of these labourers have virtually made a profession out of hiring themselves out to go in place of villagers. Some of them become very adept at bribing the soldiers to get better food while portering and to avoid beatings and other mistreatment. Many of them escape from the soldiers as soon as they get the chance, although if they are going as a permanent porter replacement this will only cause the army unit to demand another villager from the village responsible. The hired porters often go as emergency or permanent porters only to find that SLORC is treating them too brutally or using them as operations porters, and then they try to escape.

4.2.8. Porters in Battle

Porters are often taken into front-line battle conditions, especially if they are carrying ammunition. Most of the front-line areas have no fixed line of demarcation, but consist of SLORC troops advancing through areas where they are subject to ambush at any time. In these areas, a column of porters is often forced to march ahead of the troops as human mine sweepers, and many have lost feet, legs or lives to mines. SLORC officers and non-commissioned officers in many units force porters to switch shirts with them, hoping that the porters will draw enemy fire while the officers will be seen as porters and spared. During an ambush or fight, porters naturally dive for whatever cover they can find. Sometimes the soldiers allow them to stay there, but other times they order porters to stand up and take ammunition to the advance unit. There are even recorded cases where SLORC soldiers have threatened to shoot porters if they do not get up and keep moving. Any porter who is killed is left to decompose among the jungles and footpaths; the seriously wounded are left to die. Those who are slightly wounded are usually forced to continue carrying supplies if they can. If they cannot, some units will abandon them or murder them outright, while others will send them back together with the wounded soldiers for treatment. The families of the dead are not compensated nor even notified. Whenever SLORC takes porters, they simply disappear — the family rarely knows what has happened to their loved ones. By the time some porters have escaped and have returned home, their families have already written them off as dead.

4.2.9. Women, Children and the Elderly

Most SLORC Battalions prefer men aged 18 to 40 as porters, because they can carry the heaviest loads. However, the army regularly take porters indiscriminately, including boys as young as 14 and men as old as 70. Usually the young boys and old men are forced to carry loads almost as heavy as the young men. When troops need a large number of porters, they take women aged

15 through 60 as well. Some battalions go out of their way to take women porters in order to rape them — the soldiers prefer young unmarried girls for this. The women are forced to carry loads about three quarters as heavy as those carried by the men. They receive similar treatment in terms of food and sleeping conditions. They are usually beaten less often and less brutally than the men, but they are still subjected to beatings. Worst of all, during rest breaks and at night they are subjected to brutal gang-rape by soldiers and officers. Some die from the combined effects of rape, beatings and exhaustion. Others return home with permanent internal damage and no access to doctors or are too ashamed to seek treatment. Some return home to find they are pregnant with the child of a hated SLORC soldier. They secretly take desperate measures to rid themselves of the baby, and some die or inflict permanent damage on themselves in doing so. If the village finds out or if the rape victim bears the child, they face likely ostracism and may have great difficulty finding a husband.

4.2.10. Porter Fees and Bribes

SLORC officials and military units collect fees from every family in all villages and towns every month, normally several times a month. The amounts are usually calculated roughly to drain the local population of its entire disposable income, and then some. The money is simply stolen by the local military officials, with a percentage often remitted to a SLORC-monopolised company (Myanmar Economic Holdings Co. Ltd.) in Rangoon. One of the most common fees is porter fees or fees for salaries of government servants. These fees are allegedly to hire porters, but porters are never paid. However, if you fail to pay any of these fees you will probably be taken as a porter. During sweeps for operations porters, many people usually get free by paying large bribes to the military while they are still being held locally, before being sent to the front-line. These bribes average 1,000 to several thousand kyats. For example, if a military unit requires 1,000 porters then they will deliberately capture 3,000. They will then begin releasing those who can bribe them. Sometimes the amount is fixed as high as 5,000 Ks. Sometimes it starts lower, maybe 800 or 1,000 Ks, and then as the number of people still being held drops closer to the number of porters needed, the price goes up. Each person remained in the last group might have to pay as high as 10,000 Ks or more for their release. The people who are left to go to the front-line are always the poor — the farmers, trishaw drivers, labourers, etc.

4.2.11. Portering for Opposition Groups

Opposition forces also need people to carry their supplies and many of groups conscript porters. Khun Sa's Mong Tai Army has a bad reputation for conscription and treatment of its porters. However, other opposition groups tend to use something more akin to British Army methods, such as taking porters from one village to the next. It is crucial to recognise the difference between

SLORC troops, who are hated by the population, and opposition troops, who are found among families in villages and who depend on the villagers for intelligence information and material support. Opposition groups also conscript porters for periods up to several weeks, and in many areas the people are sick and tired of this labour. However, during their time as porters these villagers are fed and accommodated to the same standard as the soldiers, although it is relatively low and without comfort. Porters are not beaten or otherwise physically abused, and if they are sick or wounded they either receive treatment if it is available or are returned to their villages.

4.2.12. Institutionalising of Portering under SLORC

Many people, including escaped porters themselves, often ask just how SLORC soldiers can treat civilian porters so brutally. The answer lies in the statement we have heard from countless porters: "They just did not think of us as human beings." It appears that in SLORC's Officer Training School, officers are indoctrinated to think of civilians -- especially after they have been taken as porters -- as simple pack animals there to serve the military. SLORC officers and NCOs always talk to porters using the same lines, almost word for word: "Medicine? This is not your mother's house!" "You are not our relatives!" "It is your fate to carry like this." Burmese soldiers who hesitate to capture or beat porters are always yelled at with, "Are these people your fathers? Your brothers-in-law?" The Tatmadaw teaches its soldiers and officers that the army is their only true blood, their only true family, and that civilians are more inferior than human. In the field, officers enforce this attitude on the rank and file soldiers through a combination of fear and peer pressure — both of which are very strong factors when faced with a person who hates you and porters who want nothing more than to escape. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.3. Forced Portering

Thousands of porters were rounded up at the end of 1994 and in the beginning of 1995 from towns and villages stretching from Mudon and Moulmein in the south to Thaton in the north for the Manerplaw offensive. SLORC's tactics in rounding up these porters, such as surrounding video halls and capturing all the men or abducting people from their homes in the middle of the night, were reminiscent of their tactics in 1992, when they rounded up an estimated 20,000 civilians for their previous major Manerplaw offensive [for details on Manerplaw porters see under "Eyewitness Accounts", interview 4-18, 43-46, 226-237, 241-252]. Immediately after the seizure of Manerplaw, SLORC began setting up small camps in every kilometre or so along the river to the south of Manerplaw. Many porters were brought in from the hills surrounding Mae Tha Waw, SLORC supply base to the south, to carry supplies to these camps. Many of these porters were "say muh wah" — Karen girls, almost all teenagers, from remote hill villages who wear the traditional white dress before marriage.

Witnesses on the Thai bank of the Moei River saw 100 or more of these girls being held under guard in fenced enclosures along the Moei riverbank every evening. The fences were still visible in photos taken weeks later, each of their sharpened bamboo stake with an empty milk-tin hanging on the top to make sure the girls could not get over the fence at night without making noise. None of them are known to have escaped.

At the same time, SLORC completed a dirt road connecting Mae Tha Waw and Manerplaw within two weeks. When this was done, the "say muh wah" porters were sent back and SLORC trucks began moving supplies, though some men and women porters were still visible with SLORC troops along the road. According to observers on the Thai riverbank, it appeared that DKBA soldiers carried their own loads while SLORC troops carried only their guns and were always accompanied by porters carrying heavy loads. By 10 February 1995, the SLORC trucks were going up and down the road all day — empty on their way to Manerplaw and full of soldiers, equipment and pillaged goods on the way back to Mae Tha Waw.

At the same time, new battalions were sent through Papun for an offensive further north to secure the entire area west of the Salween River. SLORC troops pushed up the Salween river from Thu Mwe Hta (at the confluence of Moei river) and Dawn Gwin areas, and down the Salween from Saw Hta, in the far north just below the Karenni border. As combined SLORC and DKBA units appeared up and down the Salween riverbank, refugee camps and Thai Karen villages across the river began to flee. Even the bustling Thai trading village of Mae Sam Lap fled up a stream two or three kilometre into Thailand after SLORC and DKBA crossed the river into Mae Sam Lap several times. Thai traders could be seen selling their wares from bamboo shelters by the stream, looking like refugees, while the Thai Army had to occupy Mae Sam Lap to protect the border. SLORC troops coming from Papun also formed another line west-east from Papun to the Salween River at Kyauk Hnyat, and performed sweeping operations south of this line to drive out any KNU forces while wiping villagers out at the same time — as soon as they fled, DKBA was ready and waiting to take them to Myaing Gyi Ngu. [*Source: KHRG*]

4.4. Slavery in the South

Since the beginning of 1995, the SLORC Army has conscripted hundreds of innocent civilians from several ethnic Karen, Mon and Tavoyan villages in Yebyu, Thayetchaung, Launglon and Tavoy townships in Tenasserim Division and has used them as front-line labourers in its military operation against the Karen National Union's 4th Brigade and the small ethnic Tavoyan army, Meik-Dawei United Front (MDUF), operating in the region. The conscripted civilians reportedly suffered from various inhuman treatments and serious abuses by SLORC troops, including killing when porters were unable to carry the given heavy loads due to exhaustion or serious illness. Many of the army troops —

including some commanding officers — reportedly also committed a series of rapes in the Karen and Tavoyan villages during their offensives.

The majority of civilians press-ganged into portering were from Taung Byauk, Winkapaw, Kywe Gyan, Kyauk Aing, Me Ke, Alezu, Byatwithar, Winwa, Sonzinpyar, Mindatt, Chaungwabyin, Gonnyinzeik and Nyaung Zin villages in Thayetchaung Township, Auk Yebyu and Thagyettaw villages in Launglon Township, Kudoh and Kahnaingda villages in Tavoy Township, as well as Maungme Shaung village in Yebyu Township. According to a central MDUF source, 500 SLORC troops from four battalions — LIBs 403, 404 and 405 and IB 25 — led by (Tactical Commander) Col Than Sein, moved into the MDUF-operating area in Thayetchaung Township on l June 1995, bringing the 1000 civilian porters along with them. That SLORC military column engaged with KNU's 4th Brigade in a series of skirmishes in Ban Chaung area during the month of June, using the 1000 civilians porters also as human shields and human mine-sweepers. SLORC troops recruited more porters and commenced looting and/or destroying the livestock, crops and any property belonging to inhabitants in the Karen and Tavoyan villages they reached during the military operation. During the offensive, the Burmese troops also burned down Karen and Tavoyan villages which they suspected of harbouring the KNU or MDUF guerrillas.

On 1 June 1995, tha aforementioned Burmese troops and conscripted civilians arrived at Taung Byauk village in Thayetchaung Township and forcibly stayed in houses without the permission by the owners. Taung Byauk is a small village where there are 60 households and about 400 dwellers, most of them ethnic Karen. During their encampment in the village, SLORC troops forcibly ravaged Taung Byauk, eating up the livestock and foodstuffs of the villagers without permission or payment.

Some of the Burmese soldiers committed a series of rapes in certain Karen and Tavoyan villages they reached during the operation. During their stay in Taung Byauk village, on 8 June 1995, LIB 404 Bn Comdr Lt-Col Zaw Weit, Coy Comdr Capt Thant Zin, and Cpl Naing Tun, reportedly intoxicated at the time, beat and gang-raped a 42-year-old Karen woman Ma Aye Mya, who is the wife of the village's chairman U Aung Myaing.

Moreover, the SLORC officers forcibly took away the victim's husband U Aung Myaing as a porter for their troops. On that same day, Capt Myint Maung Win, a company commander of LIB 404, also attempted to rape the wife of the village secretary. Fortunately, this Karen woman successfully resisted the Burmese captain's sexual assault and managed to escape.

The conscripted civilians were subjected to all manner of inhuman treatment during their captivity and enslavement by the SLORC troops. Porters were forced to carry disproportionately heavy loads for several hours each day regardless of weather and for an indefinite period of time until they died or were able to escape. The porters were not provided with sufficient food; nor were they provided with minimum medical treatment when they were sick or when they

were injured in the cross-fire between the SLORC troops and the Karen/Tavoyan guerrillas. The porters were not allowed to have adequate rest; they were tied up in pairs or in groups and were left to sleep as such without shelter, regardless of rains. The porters were also used as a human shield and human mine-sweepers by being forced to walk ahead of the Burmese troops; as a result, many of them were killed on the spot or seriously injured once they stepped on the land mines planted by guerrillas.

Gravest and most horrendous of all, some of these civilian-turn-porters were shot, bayoneted or beaten to death by the Burmese troops when they were unable to carry their given loads because of serious sickness or exhaustion. Amongst those whom were executed by the SLORC troops were: Ko Win Aung from Thagyettaw village, Launglon Township; Ko Soe Hia, Ko Soe Than and U Hla Khin from Thabye Chaung village, Tavoy Township; Ko Htay Oo from Thayetchaung Town and Ko Hlaing Myint from Auk Yebyu village of Launglon Township. All the victims were Tavoyans. Ko Win Aung, Ko Soe Hia, Ko Soe Than and U Hia Khin were beaten to death as they were unable to porter their burdens due to serious sickness, while Ko Htay Oo and Ko Hlaing Myint were shot dead in their unsuccessful escape attempts.

Tens of these porters were estimated to have died by serious illness, from land-mine explosions, in the cross-fire between the SLORC troops and Karen guerrillas, or because of ruthless and cruel treatments by their captors, including extra-judicial execution. As a result, many villagers fled -- both before and during -- to escape the appalling conditions of portering. Since 9 June 1995, the increasing number of escapees significantly rose in refugee areas. *[Source: CPPSM]*

[See also under “Personal Accounts”, interview 1-3, 23-26, 28-29, 37-42, 47-48, 52, 59-62, 65-71, 77-78, 81-86, 88-91, 93, 98, 101, 103-104, 106-109, 114-118, 121-123, 125, 127-131, 134-135, 140-142, 144-146, 148-149, 153-154, 156, 157-204, 211-212, 216, 218, 222-223, 225, 253-254, 261-267, 271, 274, 280-282, 285-293, 297, 299, 302, 308-313,

4.5. Infrastructure Project in Southern Burma

Since early 1994, local people in Tenasserim Division have been forced to contribute corvee labour at gun point for the construction of the Kawthaung-Mergui Road, Moetaung-Mergui Road and Tenasserim-Theindaw Diamond Mine. About 10,000 people were forced to contribute labour and each township in Mergui and Kawtaung districts — Palaw, Mergui, Kyun Su, Tenasserim, Boke Pyin and Kawtaung — were forced to send 1500 people each day.

Every time people went, labourers had to work at least 15 days, spending their own money for the trip and necessities. They also had to take self-responsibility for medical treatment. Nobody else wanted to go in another person’s place even though payments were as high as 3000 Ks. Privileged people in general were

civil servants, members of the USDA, fire brigade and SLORC/LORC, who were neither forced to contribute labour nor pay ransom to be exempt from being taken. Because of the construction, certain houses in Tha Kyet, Tha Yu, Tha La Bwin, Ban Pyi, Theindaw, Sin Pin, Nga We, Maw Tone, Nyaung Bin Kwin and Tha Baw Leik villages were forced to relocate while a number of farmlands were confiscated without compensation.

Anyone who failed to work were fined 100 Ks per day. In addition to these three major projects, all the roads and streets in downtown Mergui are being repaired by forced labourers. Another motorway project of Mergui-Kyel Ku is also underway with about 300 prison labourers.

The Division LORC in Tenasserim Division is in control of there various projects and nine Battalions — IBs 17, 101, 103 and 224, and LIBs 433, 442, 358 and 343 — are responsible for security.

On 28 June 1995, it was reported that Maj Tin Tun of SLORC IB 17, based in 6-mile village, Tha Kyet village-tract, had issued orders through the Tenasserim Township LORC to local people that one person from each household must be sent for military road-building. Assignments were to be completed before the onset of rainy season, the officer demanded.

Local people in Tenasserim Township had been forced to contribute labour for construction of this road at gun point in 1994.. Ironically, after that part of the road was finished, peasants had found themselves prohibited from using bullock carts on the newly-paved road, thus increasing the local people's hardships to transport food and materials on a road they had previously relied on.

The labourers were not only forced to contribute corvee labour from the break of dawn until sunset but they also had to bring their own food and working tools, covering all their own expenses. Maj Tin Tun and his troops were in control of the project and the labourers were under watch for the whole time to make sure that they would not escape. About 50 soldiers led by Capt Aung Swe had the responsibility for security of the road.

A peasant who was among the forced labourers said that all the peasants had to leave their farms unattended since they were forced to work on the road until the rainy season began. In addition, labourers had to use their farming tools at SLORC labour camps, instead of in their own fields. When SLORC officials ordered rocks to be used for the construction, labourers were forced to pay the transportation charges in order to finish the road in time. Cost for one truck-load of rocks is 2000 Ks.

In reality, despite the official propaganda, this road will not benefit the local people nor facilitate their transportation. All in all, that road's real aim is to benefit SLORC from coal and diamond mining projects carried out jointly with foreign companies, and for the rapid deployment of troops and smooth line of supplies in the course of military offensives. *[Source: ABSDF]*

KHRG3

KHRG3

Ye-Tavoy railway labour, just before monsoon in 1995. Many women and children are among the conscripted workers.

4.6. Ye-Tavoy Rail Line Construction

> "... [L]abour contribution camps [are] all equipped with medical and welfare facilities and amenities like TV shows and video shows. Work that was to be completed in a month's time was therefore completed in reality in a fortnight. Those who had contributed labour were reluctant to go home even after completion of the work."
>
> -Maj-Gen Ket Sein
> New Light of Myanmar on 15 September 1994

Since November 1993, a new 110-mile-long railway line, which runs roughly parallel to the Andaman Sea coast of southern Burma between Ye and Tavoy, has been constructed by over 1,500,000 labourers with the exception of the three month's respite at the height of the following rainy season from June to August 1994 and has been going on non-stop until presently although SLORC made a certain reduction in the numbers of forced labours and slowed down the construction work during the rainy season (from June to August) in 1995. SLORC reportedly plans to have completed construction of the whole railway before the end of 1996. SLORC needs quick completion of this strategic railway in order to be able to strengthen its control in the region for security of the billion-dollar gas pipeline project by Total of France and Unocal Corporation of the United States.

4.6.1. SLORC Conscripts Labourers

SLORC troops were moved into the area, sent orders to villages and rounded up tens of thousands of Mon, Karen, Tavoyan and Burman villagers. The civilians were forced by the military to clear the projected routes and build railway embankment. This was done on 15 day rotating shifts under gruelling conditions. For paving the way, 100-meter (328-foot) width of the ground had to be cleared. To build the main railway line, which is 15 feet wide and 16 feet high, a mound had to be piled up. At the construction site, the soldiers from SLORC LIBs 343, 402, 403, 407 and 410 closely watched the labourers and their works.

People had to bring their own food and were beaten for any lapse at work. As a result, many died of illness, beatings or landslides. The elderly, children as young as 10 and pregnant women were not spared from the labour quotas.

4.6.2. Displacement of Villages

Many villagers were displaced in the east of the Ye-Tavoy Motorway in fear of conscription by the military. The villagers who hid in the mountainous jungle area, located in the eastern part of the Ye-Tavoy Motorway, could cultivate rice in the rainy season [during 1994] and they survived with their families. But in

SAIN

Villagers forced from their home in Kanbauk are brought to the village of Taungbon to work on the upgrading and repairing of the railway. They are not paid and have to bring their own food and tools. Many are children.

HURFOM

Forced Labourers in Ye-Tavoy Railway Construction.

the dry season [of 1994] (the dry season in Burma lasts from October until May), because of the conscription of slave labours for the railway construction and collection of various kinds of taxation, many local inhabitants from the areas nearby the railway line had to head to the mountainous areas again, where they did not have enough food and faced numerous difficulties. When the civilians escaped from their villages, some of them were able to bring along food. But later on the SLORC troops in the area issued many orders to prevent the civilians from keeping rice in places they stayed. Moreover, those who were in the hideouts were re-arrested by the SLORC troops when military operations were launched, often on a continual basis.

Starting from November 1994, some commanders from SLORC LIB 410 issued an official order for the locality. [*see Order No. 78, dated 12 November 1994*]. A number of the same orders were also issued by local SLORC troops in Yebyu Township and Ye township. After those official orders being issued, SLORC made it the legal right of the military to confiscate rice from civilians who were found staying outside their villages.

4.6.3. Forced Labour Increases; Internment Camps, Convict Labour, Fines and Fees

In October 1994, SLORC resumed construction of the railway and thousands of local people were herded into labour camps during their labour internment. The main labour camps located between Tavoy and Yebyu townships in 1995 were at Maung May Shaung, Kyauk K'Nya, Hnint Twe, The Pyay Chaung, and Zahar. Each of these held several hundred to a thousand or more labourers at a time.

Conscription of forced labour has been introduced to every civilian regardless of age, gender, occupation, or health status; even the sick and pregnant women have been taken. All forced labourers have been denied any chance of resisting any order by local council personnel or the rank-and-file. Moreover, ransom must be paid if an individual or his or her family cannot afford to contribute labour. SLORC has constantly propagandised that they have taken responsibility for social welfare of the civilians. No personal items for labourers were provided except guards; civilians had to bring their own food, their own medicine and manual construction tools, as well build and maintain their own shelters.

Moreover, every family had to take responsibility for the cost of 100 cubic feet of stone for paving the way and supplying for the monthly railway fund from 200 to 500 Ks regularly. The people who were unable to work as porters were imposed a fine from 1,500 to 2,000 Ks.

Myo Win (Serial No. 922121), a private from 1st Platoon of Coy 1 under the command of LIB 401, exposed mistreatment of his commanders to the civilians:

KHRG

Ye-Tavoy railway labour, just before monsoon in 1995, including many women and children.

SAIN

Villagers brought from Kanbauk to Taungbon where they are forced to work without compensation on the railway line that links Moulmein and Ye. They live in makeshift shelters, and bring own food and tools. Children are not spared from the hard work.

> Forced labourers from Heinda village, who were working at a railway construction site near Za Lun village, were severely beaten by Sgt Zaw Naing Maw from LIB 401 on 10 January 1995. They were later told that the labourers were not supposed to rest without their permission. Three labourers were injured seriously. The soldiers took them to a military camp and locked them up without giving medical care. These three were released a week later and then forced to work again.
>
> In December 1994, about 100 troops led by Capt Maung Ohn from LIB 401 cowed the civilian from Ha Myie Gyi village in Tavoy Township into leaving their houses and robbed the properties from almost every household.
>
> Capt Dang Ka-mehn from LIB 401 arrested seven civilians from Wah Zun Chaung village. The victims were told that they were arrested for failing to serve as porters needed to meet the demands of the local council and army. The seven were locked in Phaung Daw Mi Zat camp. A few days later, the victims were released after their fellow villagers paid a ransom of 1,000 Ks per person. This captain has ordered owners of vehicles from nearby villages to pay a tax of 1,000 Ks for each time passing by Phaungdaw.

U Maung Hla (42, a Burmese Muslim from Pein Daw Quarter, Tavoy) recalled a mournful story about his friends at Zinba construction site:

> I was forced to contribute labour because I could not afford to pay a ransom, amounting to 500 Ks. At the construction site, every five labourers were forced to dig 100 cubic ft earthen pits. U Ba Maung (45) and U Myint Naing (50) were very exhausted and sick due to hard work in the scorching sun and the other labourers asked the soldiers to send them to the clinic. This request was denied with the reason that there was no vehicle. Finally, the two lost consciousness and soon died of heat exhaustion.
>
> I also felt ill and was denied to medical care too. I had to manage on my own to get back home. The other labourers and I rented a truck with our own money. We had an accident on our way back home. Twenty labourers were severely injured and the other two died on the spot.

As SLORC focused on the completion of the southernmost section of the railway — 12 miles from Tavoy to Yebyu — in time for Visit Myanmar Year 1996, the demand of the labourers were higher than usual. To complete the construction work in time, SLORC authorities conscripted 2,500 people from Tavoy, Yebyu, Launglon and Thayetchaung townships in Tavoy District. Villagers were forced to contribute corvee labour once in every fifteen days, at their own expenses.

SAIN

Conscripted villagers prepave tar to pave road to move troops in Ye-Tavoy area. December 1995.

KHRG

Work in progress at the Ye-Tavoy railway line using forced labour.

Each member of local LORC from respective villages had to accompany the porters and acted as an in-charge at the work site to make sure that the porters would not escape. The completion of the Tavoy-Yebyu section of the railway was announced by SLORC and an opening ceremony was held on 30 May 1995.

SLORC balanced the decreased numbers of the local labourers with the increased amount of extortion money demanded to spare from the labour. But more and more convicts in chains from Moulmein, Insein and other prisons were brought into the area to work on the railway. Political prisoners were included, generally those sentenced to five years or less under Section 17/1 for associating with illegal or opposition organisations. At Zahar Camp of the construction site, between Tavoy and Yebyu Township, altogether 300 prisoners were confined and fettered in stocks and forced to work.

People in towns were no longer needed to provide labour anywhere along the route, but were forced to pay 500 Ks or more per family per month. In the villages, people were forced to provide one person and 500-1,500 Ks per month per family.

Following the on 30 May 1995 opening ceremony, SLORC started running a military train along the Tavoy-Yebyu section, while putting the rest of the route still under construction with the continued massive use of forced labour. Since June 1995, every 800 local people from Thayetchaung, Launglon, Tavoy and Yebyu townships in Tavoy District were conscripted by SLORC to construct the rest of the earthen embankment between Kyauk Kanyar and Zinba villages in Yebyu Township and/or for the construction of army buildings for local SLORC military during the height of the rainy season. They had to carry their own food while they were at the construction site.

The entire local ethnic Mon, Karen and Tavoyan communities have been suffering cumulative hardship in every aspect of life as a results of the consistent slave labour on this railway construction and a multiplicity of the accompanying or concurrent other abuses of human rights by local SLORC military — such as forced labour for the Burma Army including forced portering, forced displacement, regular and irregular porter fees and taxes, and so forth. They had to work from 6:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., sometimes under heavy rains. About 500 civilians in these labour camps suffered from malaria and other health problems due to harsh working condition and heavy rain.

During the 1995 rainy season, the Tavoy-Yebyu Railroad was badly damaged a number of times by water in many parts. SLORC, therefore put it under immediate repair and reconstruction by massive use of forced labour from several local villages for one more month starting from mid-August 1995. When it was completed, again SLORC has restarted running its military train on that section since the beginning of October 1995 — patrolling the area, deploying troops, transporting ammunition and food supplies, and so on. But SLORC has not run any single train in the area for the use of local civilians until the end of

1995. Despite the completion of the Tavoy-Yebyu Railroad, SLORC doesn't allow the local people to have a respite from forced labour and forced taxation for the rest part of the construction. Main work were digging ditches: each of which is ten feet wide and one foot high, and building embankment for the railway tracks. One ex-labourer who recently arrived at the Thai-Burmese border after working a month at the labour camp said:

> "Local people from Yebyu, Tavoy, Launglon and Thetyetchaung township are conscripted to work for fifteen days every month. The works are hard labour without any pay. The military monitors the work site but do not provide anything. People get sick and ill frequently because of heavy rain. When they get sick, people have to buy medicine from the military. Anyone who fails to work is fined 2,000 Ks by the local authorities."

Convicted labourers from 30-Mile Labour Camp were forced to work for necessary stones and rocks for bridges along the railroad. Owners of private cars were forced by the SLORC Army to carry those stones and rocks .

As of August 1995, the estimate number of local people who were conscripted for the construction of railroad between Kyauk Kanyar and Zinba villages were 3,200, with close to 10% of the labourers suffering from malaria each day.

Table 2. Forced Labour on the Rail-Line between Kyauk Kanyar and Zinba

No.	Labour Camp	Number of labourers forced to work
1.	21-Mile Camp	1,000 local people (Approximately 100 were suffering from malaria every day. Absent labourers were punished by the SLORC soldiers.)
2.	30-Mile Camp	200 prisoners and 700 local people (Approximately 50 prisoners were suffering from malaria every day.)
3.	Nwe Lein Camp	700 local people (Approximately 70 were suffering from malaria every day.)
4.	Zinba Camp	300 prisoners and 800 local people (Approximately 80 local people were suffering from malaria everyday)

SLORC is now applying the same strategy of focusing on one stretch of the remaining portions of the line. SLORC has considerably increased its use of forced labour to speed up the construction process since the last quarter of 1995, trying to complete the approximately 35 miles' length from Yebyu to Kaleinaung by the end of 1995. According to well-informed local sources, two thirds of construction work on the Yebyu-Kaleinaung section had been completed by the end of November 1995. For example, on 20 November 1995, villagers in Ye Township were suddenly informed that they were to complete the

entire 18-mile stretch from Ye to the Tenasserim border within a deadline of 15 days — from 1 to 15 December. This led to much more intensive calls for labour — whole families instead of one member per family — occurring right at harvest time, when families who go for field work faced losing their entire year's harvest. SLORC reportedly required many villages in the northerm part of Ye Township to provide a total of more than 20,000 laborers to work in the Yebyu-Kaleinaung section.

At the same time, SLORC conscripted another tens of thousands of labourers from Thanbyuzayat and Mudon Township and the adjacent areas including Bilukyun, the largest island town which is composed of as many as 70 villages and is located approximately 7 miles southwest of the Mon State's capital Moulmein. The people living in Moulmein, however, were required to contribute 1,500 to 2,500 Ks per household per month instead of having to contribute their own labour for the railway construction.

The other effect in 1995 is that the villagers often have to travel as far as 100-120 km. to their assigned work site instead of going to the nearest portion of the line. At least one-third to one-half of all the labourers are women and children, either because SLORC has demanded several people per family from their village, or because it takes the whole family to finish the work quota in the allotted 15 days, or because the father of the family stays at home to harvest the paddy.

4.6.4. Non-payment of Labourers by SLORC

Although SLORC claims that labourers on the railway line are paid, there is still no evidence to support this. Villagers must take all their own food and tools. Anyone who cannot go has to either pay 3,000-4,000 Ks to SLORC, or hire someone else to go in their place for 700-2,000 Ks. There are some itinerant day labourers, both in the villages and at the work sites, who are willing to be hired for this. Some families hire substitutes directly, while others give the money to the village headman and he does it. As a result, some people working on the railway are doing so for money, but this money comes from villagers, not from SLORC. Officials from the LORC Ministry for Rail Transport on the site have budgets which may have been intended to pay labourers, but Ministry officials simply hand over all the money to the army battalions in the area in return for guarding the workers and to keep them working. SLORC Secretary-1 Khin Nyunt has even gone so far as to claim that a "secret directive" has been issued to stop all use of forced labour in Burma. The testimonies below make it very clear that no such directive has been issued.

4.6.5. SLORC Orders

In October 1995, SLORC issued orders for the following numbers of forced labourers to come to labour camps from villages in the Ye-Tavoy area.

Table 3. SLORC Orders for Forced Labour in Ye-Tavoy Area

No.	Labour Camp	Workers ordered	Workers received	Short of quota	Convicts used
1.	T'Hlaing Ya	12,500	1,500	1,000	
2.	18-Mile	2,500	1,000	1,500	
3.	19-Mile	3,000	1,800	1,200	
4.	21-Mile	2,000	2,000		-
5.	27-Mile	3,000	3,000		-
6.	30-Mile	1,500	1,000	500	300
7.	36-Mile	1,500	1,400	100	
8.	Heinze	2,000	1,500	500	
9.	Nnan Kyeh	2,500	2,200	300	
10.	Ye Pone	3,000	1,500	1,500	
11.	Kyauk Shat	3,000	1,400	1,600	
12.	Nwe Lein	4,000	2,000	2,000	
13.	Zinba	1,500	800	700	200
14.	Yar Phoo	1,500	1,000	500	
15.	Kyauk Ka Din	1,500	1,200	300	
	TOTAL	35,000	23,300	11,700	500

Notes: All labourers demanded and supplied are civilian villagers with the exception of those listed as convicts. Many are women and children. The numbers supplied do not include those who paid 3,000 to 4,000 Ks to the army to avoid the labour. Orders were issued for village heads to send enough people immediately to fill any shortfall in the number of people demanded.

4.6.6. SLORC Prefers and Profits from "Free" Manual Labour

Most of the labour camps listed above had already been extended in September by Township LORC (Ma Wa Ta) and District LORC (Ka Wa Ta) authorities. At that time there were an estimated 6,800 civilian forced labourers being used in 21-Mile, 30-Mile, Heinze, Nan Kyeh, Nwe Lein, Zinba, Yar Phoo and Kyauk Ka Din camps, as well as about 500 convicts in 30-Mile camp and an additional 400 in Zinba camp.

There are seven bulldozers in Kyauk Ka Din camp, but the authorities never use them, preferring to use manual labour of conscripted villagers because it does not cost them money for fuel or maintenance. In September while heavy rains were continuing, villagers were still forced to work digging earthen pits, building embankments and filling depressions. About 80 to 100 people in each labour camp were ill at any given time, but the authorities provided no medicine. In some camps, people from nearby villages who own video players were forced to bring their equipment and show videos at their own expenses, while SLORC soldiers collected admission fees from labourers and kept the money.

The working and living conditions were severely bad. Between June and October 1995, about 40 prison labourers died of harsh working condition. Other 30 prison labourers attempted to escape and at least five were gunned down and killed by the troops from LIB 406.

All villagers called for railway labour must arrange and pay for their own transportation to get to and from the work site on time. They must take their own food, and receive no pay for the work. Looting, extortion and other forms of forced labour also continue.

The military recruitment centre based in Tavoy District went to forced labour camps in its region and recruited the youth aged between 16 and 22 years whose term were almost finished to join the army. Six youths from 36-Mile Camp, eight youths from Nwe Lein Camp and 15 youths and inmates from 21-Mile Camp were forcibly conscripted.

Many villages in Yebyu Township, however, have consistently been required to provide all their people of between 18 and 60 years of ages as labourers to work on the railway construction since November 1995. The Mon human rights workers were able to interview some Mon people from Yebyu Township's Legyi and Mawgyi villages briefly in mid-November 1995. During the interview, one of the villagers from Mawgyi said as follows:

> All the people in my village, except those under 18 and those over 60, are now required to contribute labour on the railway construction. This means that, for example, if your household has a total of five persons who are between 18 and 60 years, then all these five persons are put on the list of labourers to work on the railway construction. This is a new, but worse system for conscription of labour from my village. It is no longer on the basis of one labourer per household like before. The same that the labourers must work for 15 days to complete one turn (time) of their labour contribution duties.

According to well-informed local sources, the villages in other areas in Yebyu Township have all been required to send all men who are at and over the age of 16 and all women at and over the age of 18 for working on the railway construction since December 1995, regardless of the number of males and females in a household.

The practices of beating of the labourers by SLORC soldiers at the construction sites appears to have considerably decreased, if not completely ended. No such occurrences have ever been claimed by any of the escapees during the year 1995. This sort of relief has come to the labourers working on the railway construction due partly or wholly to that many construction sites have been relaxed from the direct control of the military and are instead administered and overseen by the (civilian) headmen of the respective villages, village-tracts and town quarters. Moreover, SLORC might also have learned the fact that relatively

more labourers and their families fled and sought new shelter on the Thai-Burmese border areas when the railway construction sites were put under extreme tough control of its military during the previous years.

Amongst the tens of thousands of labourers working daily on the railway construction, women and minors have normally outnumbered the men. SLORC may not necessarily instruct its regional and local levels authorities to include women and minors in their conscription of labourers for the railway construction. But, apparently SLORC has instructed its regional authorities of the time by which construction of this strategic railway must be completed without exception. In turn, under the instruction of regional authorities, it is the local (military and civil) authorities who have managed the entire construction work in the field and have directly conscripted and controlled the labourers. The relatively short time given for completion of the construction automatically has paved the way for local SLORC authorities to include or accept women and minors among the conscripted labourers wherever and whenever men are limited in number in respective areas. As SLORC is in a big hurry to complete the construction of this strategic railway, SLORC has deliberately turned a blind eye to its local authorities' consistent and massive use of women and minors as unpaid labourers on the project.

The local SLORC authorities in practical control of the labourers have invariably required the labourers to complete the set work within the set time. This has been the constant pressure that has spontaneously urged and made women and minors in numerous households to come and contribute compulsory free labour for the construction in the absence of and/or on behalf of the men in their own households to complete the works set for their own household within the deadline. Able-bodied men are mostly the breadwinners of their respective own families/households and must work hard to earn a living for their own families under the ever-escalating cost of existence and widespread unemployment in Burma. Understandably, the breadwinners cannot afford much of their time for working on the railway construction without payment. This has consistently made numerous women and minors in rural areas of the region to go and work on the railway construction on behalf of and/or together with their respective men/breadwinners in order for them to have more/full time in their work for family income.

At the same time, men in numerous households in urban and rural areas of the region are normally away in terms of seeking for better job opportunities in the neighbouring countries — Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. The absence of men in numerous households naturally leaves ample chance for a large number of women and minors in the inner rural areas to go and contribute compulsory unpaid labour for the railway construction.

SLORC has completely failed to protect the labourers working on the railway construction from being exploited by its regional and local levels authorities, military and civil. SLORC is solely interested in quick completion of the railway construction and has connived at any unofficial exploitation and abuse of the

labourers by its regional and local levels authorities implementing the project. Obviously, the regional and local SLORC authorities have widely been involved in unscrupulously exploiting the labourers working on the railway construction and in misappropriating the money forcibly collected from the people as the labour dues for the railway construction. The rural people, particular the non-Burman ethnic villagers inhabiting in the so-called "Black Areas", have been relatively suffering far greater than the rest of population in the region in terms of both the official forced labour on the railway construction and the unofficial exploitation by the local SLORC authorities.

In the last quarter of 1995, local SLORC military personnel in control of or keeping guard over Nwe Lein work-site in Yebyu Township were said to show nightly videos to the labourers at the work-site free of charge. However, well-informed local sources have claimed that the video machine/machines were the ones forcibly taken from the nearby villages by the local SLORC military personnel without payment to their owners and that the people in the nearby villages were even required to pay to the local SLORC military personnel for all the costs of the video shows.

Eyewitnesses travelling through Burma in the December 1995 from the Southeast Asian Information Network by land from Moulmein to Ye have reported that resumption of forced labour on the Ye-Tavoy Railroad has been occurring. Thousands of people have been forced to labour on a new section of the railroad from Ye to Kanbauk. Villagers from Kaleinaung and Kanbauk in particular were suffering enormous hardships as a deadline was given for the embankments on either side of the railway to be finished by 15 December 1995.

The situation in the Ye-Tavoy area is again very serious. According to reliable sources in Rangoon, SLORC were told not to build the railroad along the route they have taken, that is west of the valley in Ye Township as there could be problems in rainy season with the earth possibly subsiding. The rainy season is now over and indeed the valley has completely subsided leaving the railway track suspended with very little support. So, a new route is now being used, from Ye to Kanbauk and reports of up to 50,000 people being forced to work on the railroad are being confirmed by those fleeing from the area to Thailand. Two foreign eyewitnesses have also confirmed that forced labour is being used along the railroad from Moulmein to Ye and have seen people living in makeshift tents supplied by SLORC from the Ye-Kanbauk railway. The big difference this time is that majority of the people being forced to work on the roads and railways at the moment are children, some as young as eight years old. It is harvest time in Burma and villagers are having to fulfil their increased paddy quotas. Thus men and women are fully engaged at work on the harvest. At the same time, orders come from SLORC demanding labour from the villages for work on the railroad. The only labour left in most villages is therefore children.

When refugees were asked why they fled, most responded that it was because of forced labour; 50 to 100 people from Tavoy, Yebyu, Launglon and

Thayetchaung townships escape to the Thai-Burmese border everyday. *[Source: ABSDF, HURFOM, KNU, MIS]*

4.6.7. Local Army Unit Pilfer from Government

The In-charges of Ye-Tavoy Railway construction from the Myanmar Railway Corporation (MRC) have regularly paid money, that is originally intended for the labourers, to local army units which take responsibility for security along the railroad construction route because they do not need to pay the labourers. The prices of an earthern pit (10 square feet) dug by the forced labourers was 100 Ks and each depression which was filled in was 150 Ks.

At 30-Mile Prison Camp, located along the Ye-Tavoy Railroad construction site, the MRC has been paying 200 Ks to the military for 16 square feet of rocks and stones. Conscripted labourers in Yebyu Township are now ordered to make bricks while the SLORC Army is selling them at 5 Ks per brick to local traders.

On 13 August 1995, when LIB 406 reported to MRC to come and inspect the completely dug 900 holes, officials from MRC in Tavoy refused to pay for 900 holes as claimed by the army because officials found upon arrival at the site that only 190 were actually finished.

On 24 August 1995, 900 conscripted local labourers from 21-Mile Camp were forced to dig 40 pits and fill 180 depressions by LIB 407 despite heavy rains. Those who were unable to work hard enough for the soldiers' liking were beaten by the soldiers all day long. According to one forced labourer who returned from the railroad construction site, that meant LIB 407 was due 31,000 Ks from the MRC in Tavoy. *[Source: ABSDF/KNU]*

4.7. Forced Labour for Security of Gas Pipeline

For the planned construction of a gas pipeline from Yadana natural gas field at the Gulf of Martaban in Burma to Ratchburi in Thailand, SLORC forced civilians from the villages on Heinzebok Island to work as volunteers. Heinzebok Island is 20 km in the southwestern part of Phaungdaw, a fishing village in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division. Heading east, the route will then cross Onpinkwin, Kanbauk, Kaleinaung, Kaungmu, Eindayaza and Michaung Hlaung villages. From there, following the Tavoy and Zinba river valleys, the pipe line will cross highlands of dense forest before entering Thailand at the Border crossing of Nat-Ei-Taung. Since March 1994, SLORC has used Heinzebok Island as a major camp for storing the equipment as well as for security for the gas pipeline. On that island, a helicopter landing-pad, mini-airfield, motor road, stores and military barracks are being built.

SLORC has forced 10 villagers from each village to work as "volunteers" on Heinzebok Island for one month, bringing their own supply. As soon as the

civilians arrived at the camp, the authorities seized all their supplies and provided only two condensed milk tins of rice per person per day. Despite hard labour under terrible weather, the labourers were not given enough food. Moreover, there was not sufficient medical supplies. Anyone who did not want to be a labourer and who could not afford to pay money had to hire somebody else to work in his or her place. According to a labourer, who returned back from the camp, he had to pay 8,000 to 10,000 Ks. Since the third week of June 1995, gardens and farmlands of local people have also been confiscated by SLORC without any compensation to cover the troops' welfare. Local people were ordered to cut the trees and saw them into pieces for building the military barracks and guest house for the officers from the pipeline project. They also have to build a helicopter lading-pad. Aside from local people, some prisoners were also conscripted to work there.

To provide security for the office of the sponsoring oil company, Total of France, LIBs 267 and 273 were to be stationed between Kanbauk and Onpinkwin villages in a "gas pipeline camp". Resulting from a shooting occurred during the work of gas pipeline, SLORC has managed to deploy an additional battalion in that area. Local people were also forced to work for the construction of military bases for LIBs 267 and 273. One person from each household had to work for cleaning the surface, digging the trenches and building up the military barracks.

Moreover, for the construction of a 5-km-long road which linked Kanbauk and Onpinkwin, one person from every household, has been reportedly conscripted as SLORC "volunteer" to work once a month. In addition to that forced labour, local people were levied numerous taxes such as fees and fund for porters, railway, Heinzebok Island, military and emergency porters, forcing many people to abandon their homes in Burma and leave for Thailand. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.7.1. Facts about the Gas Pipeline

The following information was excerpted and translated from announcement No. 1 of the PTT Oil Company of Thailand, a partner in the gas pipeline exploitation, in Thai language.

1. Objectives: The reason for purchasing natural gas from the Union of Burma is to produce electricity to meet the energy demands of central and southern Thailand. PTT aims to fulfil the project in 1999 according to the contract.

2. Project: The project is to transport the natural gas from its Burmese source via the Ban I Taung (Nat-Ei-Taung) village on the Thai-Burmese border, then through Thong Pha Phung Town in Kanchanaburi Province and finally to a Ratchaburi electricity power station. The 36-inch-wide gas pipe and general materials have to cross about 300 Km. The maximum export of the gas is expected to be about 800 million cubic feet per day.

3. Time: From November 1994 to June 1996.

4. Amount of investment: Approximately 12,000 million bahts (US$480 million)

5. Size of pipe: 36 inches in diameter. The thickness of the pipe is 17.5 mm.

6. Distance: From the Yadana Gas Field to Onpinkwin village = 354 Km
From Onpinkwin village to Thai-Burmese border = 50 Km
From the Border to Ratchburi Power Station = 296 Km

The time schedule for establishing of the gas pipe line:

1. Survey for the tracking of the gas pipe: From November 1994 to February 1995
2. The time for negotiation with the construction company of the gas pipe: From March 1995 to June 1995.
3. The time to approve the detailed map and tracking of the gas pipe: From July 1995 to December 1995.
4. The time to finish drawing the detailed map of the track: From July 1995 to December 1995.
5. The time to record and research the environmental condition: From August 1995 to December 1995.
6. The time to get approval from the ministry: From August 1995 to March 1996.
7. The time to construct and transport the required materials: From April 1996 to August 1997.
8. The time to choose the construction company previously: From January 1996 to June 1996.
9. The time for construction: From July 1996 to March 1998.
10. The time for the test transportation of the natural gas: From January 1998 to June 1998.

Since February 1995, officials and employees from Total and Unocal Oil Co. and from MOGE (Myanmar Oil and Gas Exploration Authority) started the survey.

Recruitment of the Employees

The local SLORC officials announced the recruitment of employees for the project in Yebyu Township and began conducting medical check-ups. As of March 1995, the local SLORC officials chose nearly 200 workers and then limited the number.

The difficulties, as reported by local people who were first-hand witnesses, for the local people in getting employment are:

1) Favourship of the member of the pro-SLORC USDA's membership.
2) Having to give bribery to the doctor for the medical check-up.
3) Having to give bribery to the members of the employment provision board.

Uniform of the employees: Yellow coloured plastic hat and blue-coloured uniform.

Payment to the employee: Witnesses said that Total and Unocal Co. give payment in US dollars up to $30 per day but SLORC exchanged the payment into the official rate under which the salary remained only 200 Burmese kyats per day. The real exchange price was more than 3,500 Ks per day.

Survey and Construction

With the help of 200 chosen workers, Total and Unocal and MOGE employees have started survey work for mapping the route of the gas pipe in Phaungdaw, Daminzeik and Michaung villages (on the shore) since March 1995.

Aerial survey: The foreign oil companies based their office headquarters in Michaung Aing village and started daily aerial surveys with a white helicopter from nearby villages, Onpinkwin to Nat-Ei-Taung since the beginning of March 1995.

Local people said that helicopters flew daily. But they have not seen a collection of pipe or any construction materials so far.

Construction of the field HQ office of gas pipeline project: The field headquarters of the gas pipe project were built two miles from Michaung Aing village.

The information source said the officials from the oil exploration company stopped the ground surveys since 9 May 1995 and stopped the work of daily employees until October 1995.

Since February 1995, SLORC officials and Total have been constructing buildings for the company, including a small jetty, a small landing-pad and an army outpost at Ka Deik village, Yebyu Township. The army imposed a curfew on boats crossing in that area. A curfew was also imposed on passenger buses crossing Onpinkwin village so that they had to choose another route.

In March 1995, a ship docked carrying six trucks and materials for general purpose, excluding any pipes.

4.7.2. Militarisation in Tenasserim Division

Since the SLORC officials received the proposal for exploration for natural gas in the Adman Sea, the railway project from Ye to Tavoy Township has become part of the implementation of the gas project.

As the pipeline and railroad have to cross the area of the ethnic Mons and Karens, SLORC deployed more troops and constructed infrastructure for

military purposes by conscripting local people for forced labour and confiscating land from local villagers by force without compensation.

One of the Tha Pyay Chaung villagers who fled to the border area to avoid SLORC's self-imposed measures eye-witnessed the following events:

> Tha Pyay Chaung village was a peaceful and self-sufficient village consisted of nearly 500 houses before the deployment of SLORC troops in 1991. After that, SLORC LIB 401 was positioned on the forcibly-conscripted land and farms belonged to the villagers, who received no compensation. Then the battalion forced the villagers to work for the building of army barracks. In the forthcoming years, the Battlefield Engineering Corps, No. 324 Heavy Artillery Corps and the Signal Corps were scheduled to be deployed in the area.

In February 1995, as SLORC LIB 267 was also deployed in Tha Pyay Chaung village, that small village gradually became a cantonment. Construction of barracks and army fortresses became daily tasks for the villagers. Moreover, construction of the railroad which crossed their villages worsened their living. For this crossing, some farmlands were confiscated and some houses were destroyed by order. As of May 1995, there were only 200 houses left and others had to move from the village.

SLORC troops deployed along Ye-Tavoy area for the protection of the proposed gas pipeline and railroad are:

No.	Battalion	Village/Town	Strength
1	LIB 401	Tha Pyay Chaung (Tavoy)	300
2	LIB 402	Za Lun	300
3	LIB 403	Thayetchaung	300
4	LIB 404	Thayetchaung	300
5	LIB 405	Thayetchaung	300
6	LIB 406	Dauk Lauk	300
7	LIB 407	Padauk Kone	300
8	LIB 408 (Yebyu)	No. 1 Rubber Plantation	300
9	LIB 409 (Yebyu)	"	300
10	LIB 410 (Yebyu)	Zinba Junction	300
11	IB 25	Tavoy Airport	350
12	IB 104	Taw She	350
13	LIB 267	Tha Pyay Chaung	300
14	LIB 269	Za Lun-Longlon	300
15		Pakari-Myay Khanti	
16		Bawdi Kon-Kaleinaung	
17		Hein Ze Boke Island	
18	B.E 957	Tha Pyay Chaung	
19	No. 342 Heavy Artillery Corps	"	
20	No. 5 Medical corps	Tavoy	

21	No. 515 Signal corps	Tavoy	
22	No. 19 Military Intelligence Unit	Tavoy	
23	IB 61	Ye	350
24	IB 106	Lamaing	350
25	LIB 343	Ye	300
			5300

The disadvantages for the villagers affected by the gas pipe and railroad construction project. (From October 1994 to March 1995)

Thayetchaung Township

According to a villager who escaped to the border area, local SLORC officials have collected money for the security and labour charges from the villagers.

For the construction of Ye-Tavoy railroad, each family had to pay a monthly quota as expressed below:

1) Single-parent family	570 Ks
2) Normal family	700-800 Ks
3) Owner of rubber plantation	1,000 Ks
4) Family who owns cow and cart	1,000 Ks
5) Owner of farm	1,000 Ks
6) Family who owns a grocery shop	1,000 Ks (as reported by the villagers)

Others tributes were also collected, suck as porter fees and fire protection fees. Each family had to pay 100-150 Ks for porter fees and another 50 Ks for fire protection fees every month.

The villagers from that area had to go to the headquarters of LIBs 403, 404 and 405 by rotation for the construction work in the army compound. A villager failing to give the funds was forced to go to the work site on the Ye-Tavoy railroad. As of January 1995, 1 ft x 10 ft x 10 ft of crushed stones were sent for the construction of base layer of the railroad.

The local authority gave orders to the villagers, saying that the civilians should not fail to meet the demand, otherwise they could be punished with a maximum of eight years' imprisonment.

Longlon Township

Some local people who escaped to the border area reported details of the situation there. The local SLORC officials ordered that each family must pay 500 Ks per month in addition to providing 1 ft x 10 ft x 10 ft of crushed stones for the construction of the railroad. Moreover, each family had to pay a monthly porter fees of 100-200 Ks. If they failed to pay the fees, they had to report to the construction site for labour.

Tavoy Township

After the visit of Prof Yozo Yokota, the UN Special Rapporteur for Burma, the local authorities decreased forced conscription of civilians for the construction of railroad since the SLORC officials have been launching various campaigns for "Visit Myanmar Year 1996". Instead, they issued undeniable orders saying each family living in Tavoy municipality must pay a monthly labour charges of 500 Ks for the railroad construction. But for those who lived on the outskirts of Tavoy, each family had to send one family member for work at the construction site for 15 days. Anyone who failed to comply with this order could be punished with three-month terms. The headman or a member of the local authority was responsible for preventing the flight of potential labourers.

A local inhabitant from Zahar village reported in March 1995 that 300 chained prisoners were used for the construction of the railroad.

In every quarter of Tavoy, official collected 50-100 Ks from each family for army porters. Then the army arrested porters indiscriminately and the villagers had to pay a ransom of 3000 Ks to the army officials for the release of fellow villagers.

Yebyu Township

The local authority conscripted 30-100 porters from each village, depending on the size, every 15 days. Any rotated villager who failed to go to the work site was fined 1500-3000 Ks. Moreover, each family had to pay a monthly porter fee of 50-200 Ks plus 5-20 porters to the army headquarters.

When the number of porters routinely collected from the villages did not seem enough, the army further conscripted local people for their military operations. The villagers had to pay a ransom of 3,000 Ks to the army officers to be spared from being forced into portering. In fear of conscription and portering as well as inability to pay the bribes and various fees, 50-100 villagers escaped to the border daily.

SLORC Demands on Villagers

The following is a summary of some of the monthly demands imposed on the hundreds of villages in Tavoy District. The Village LORC chairman, generally a civilian in the village appointed (often against his will) by SLORC, is responsible for arranging forced labour, collecting all money and forwarding it to the local SLORC military. The village LORC chairman is strictly under the military's orders, and he will be tortured if the SLORC demands are not met. None of the money, not even the village development fund, is put back into the

village. Instead, the SLORC officers spend it on themselves, and send the bulk of it to their families in Rangoon and other cities, with a cut going to SLORC money-laundering corporations such as Union of Myanmar Economic Holdings Co. Ltd. This is just a minuscule portion of the urban areas by pro-SLORC individuals and families.

Table 4. A summary of some of the monthly demands imposed on the hundreds of villages in Tavoy District

Thayet-chaung	Winka Phaw	180	15(a)	1,500 Ks	50 Ks	5	4,000Ks
	Moe Shwe Gone	60	6(a)	1,500 Ks	-	3	2,000 Ks
	Moe Shwe Gu	200	27(a)	2,000 Ks	200 Ks	5	5,000 Ks
(Moreover the villagers also has to work at the army camp of LIBs 403, 404 and 405, bring their own good daily necessities.)							
	Pyan Phyu Gyi	100	10 (a)	2,000 Ks	100 Ks	5	5,000 Ks
	Kyat Sar Pyan	300	30(a)	2,000 Ks	50 Ks	15	3,000 Ks
	Thayet Hnit Khwa	300	30(a)	1,500 Ks	150 Ks	7	7,000 Ks
	Shwe Gu	200	27(a)	2,000 Ks	200 Ks	5	5,000 Ks
(In addition, the villagers also must send various numbers of people to LIBs 403,404 and 405 when they are ordered.)							
	Saw Phya	300	30(a)	2,000 Ks	200 Ks	4	6,000 Ks
(In addition, one company of LIB 403 is stationed in Saw Phya village and daily summons two villagers for digging trenches, cooking and collecting water in their camp. Anyone who fails to respond must pay a 150-kyats fine.)							
	Son Sin	500	50(a)	1,500 Ks	150 Ks	10	4,000 Ks
	Shin Pyu Pin	150	10(a)	1,500 Ks	150 Ks	4	7,000 Ks
Tavoy	Heinda	450	40(a)	2,000 Ks	250 Ks	15	6,000 Ks
(In addition, one company of IB 25 is stationed in Heinda village and daily summons five villagers for two weeks for digging trenches, cooking and collecting water in their camp and for carrying military ammunition during operations. Anyone who fails to respond is fined 600 Ks. The villagers have to bring their own food other necessities.)							
	Kyauk Yat	200	30(a)	1,500 Ks	100 Ks	5	4,000 Ks
	Za Har	300	50(a)	1,000 Ks	200 Ks	5	4,000 Ks
	Pa Khet	40	10(a)	1,500 Ks	100 Ks	5	5,000 Ks
	Shan Ma Twin	400	40(a)	1,500 Ks	100 Ks	5	5,000 Ks
	Bawa Gon	200	40(a)	1,500 Ks	100 Ks	20	5,000 Ks
	Kyauk Me Taung	300	30(a)	2,000 Ks	150 Ks	30	5,000 Ks
	Khway Hlaung-Chaung	200	20(a)	1,500 Ks	250 Ks	10	5,000 Ks

Har Myin Gyi	100	16(a)	1,500 Ks	100 Ks	5	4,000 Ks
Maung Mae-*shaung*	1200	(a)	500 Ks	50 Ks	50	4,000 Ks

(Anyone unable to pay is forced to go and work for 15 days at the railroad construction site.)

Taung Thone Lone	800	60(a)	1,500 Ks	150 Ks	10	6,000 Ks

(In addition, five villagers must work at the army camp near the village every day. Any villager who fails to go has to pay 150 Ks.)

Maung Pyo	100	10(a)	1,500 Ks	90 Ks	5	5,000 Ks
Thit Khet Chaung	20	5(a)	1,500 Ks	215 Ks	3	4,000 Ks
Pa Ka Ri	400	30(a)	1,500 Ks	100 Ks	5	5,000 Ks

(In addition, one company of LIB 402 is based in this village and daily compels the villagers to send two porters to the post for day-to-day tasks.)

Ka Pya	200	20(a)	1,500 Ks	100 Ks	5	6,000 Ks
Yo Moh	200	20(a)	1,500 Ks	200 Ks	5	6,000 Ks
Tavoy Town -	-	-	500 Ks	50 Ks	5	5,000 Ks 50

(A person who can not pay the fee is forced to work at the railroad construction site for two weeks.)

LonglonTaung Min-Byaung	300	50(a)	3,000 Ks	50 Ks	5	4,000 Ks
Myo Haung	600	50(a)	1,500 Ks	100 Ks	5	7,000 Ks 50
Dawn Shaung	150	10(a)	3,000 Ks	50 Ks	5	3,000 Ks
Ka Myaw Kin	200	10(a)	2,000 Ks	50 Ks	5	3,000 Ks
Khan Taw	300	10(a)	2,000 Ks	50 Ks	5	3,000 Ks
Thin Gan Tone	60	10(a)	1,500 Ks	150 Ks	5	5,000 Ks
Maung Ma Gan	1500	100(a)	6,000 Ks	150 Ks	10	5,000 Ks

(In addition, the IB 104 is based in this village and the villagers have to send one column of wood for fences.)

Sect B, Launglon Town	400	60	3,000 Ks	200 Ks	10	4,000 Ks
Yebyu Pha Chaung	100	20(a)	2,000 Ks	100 Ks	5	5,000 Ks
Chaung Sone	200	25(a)	1,500 Ks	200 Ks	10	5,000 Ks 50

(Every seven days, 15 villagers must go as labourers for LIBs 408 and 409. Anyone who cannot go on his turn has to pay 700 Ks to the village LORC and also has to go to jail, so they must go when their turn comes. As Chaung Sone village is close to a SLORC base, the troops often come to the village, and every time they take chickens, ducks, pigs and other things without asking permission.)

Ka Lone Hta	300	20(b)	3,000 Ks	-	4	5,000 Ks

(In addition, one company of LIB 407 is stationed in Ka Lone Hta village and daily summons six villagers for one week for digging trenches, cooking and fetching water in the camp and for carrying military ammunition during operations. Anyone who fails to co-operate is fined 1,500 Ks. The labourers have to bring their own food other necessities.)

Na Bu Leh	1,000	50(b)	3,000 Ks	200 Ks	10	4,000 Ks	50

(They select the workers by drawing ballots. People who are not drawn are forced to pay 1,000 Ks. Each family is also ordered to provide five wooden sleepers for the railway, and any family which fails to provide these must pay 1,000 Ks. Since 1993 several other villages, such as Shin Tabi and Pyun Sa Leh, have also been herded into Na Bu Leh under SLORC forced relocation.)

Htein Gyi	400	30	2,500 Ks	100 Ks	10	4,500 Ks	
Le Shaung	600	50	2,500 Ks	200 Ks	10	4,500 Ks	
Pale Ku	100	45	3,000 Ks	200 Ks	5	6,000 Ks	
Min Dub	50	15	3,000 Ks	200 Ks	3	6,000 Ks	
Yin Haling	200	40(b)	3,000 Ks	300 Ks	6	7,000 Ks	
Ying Hlaing (2)	250	25(b)	3,000 Ks	300 Ks	10	6,000 Ks	
Tha Pyay Son	60	6	2,000 Ks	200 Ks	3	4,000 Ks	
Ta Line Ya	40	15(b)	3,000 Ks	200 Ks	2	6,000 Ks	
Pyat That	300	30(b)	3,000 Ks	150 Ks	5	5,000 Ks	50
Ka Nyin Inn	30	6	1,500 Ks	150 Ks	3	5,000 Ks	50
Ze Kya	200	20	1,500 Ks	100 Ks	5	4,000 Ks	50
Yebyu Town-(a)(b)(c)(d)	900	300	1,500 Ks	200 Ks	20	5,000 Ks	200

Ward
1. Township
2. Village
3. Households
4. No. of Labourers fixed
   (a) 15 days
   (b) monthly
5. Fine for substitution (per person)
6. Monthly Porter fees per household
7. No. of Monthly porters fixed
8. Fine for substitution (per person)
9. Monthly Fund for Village Development per household

As SLORC continues to send more military forces into the area, forced labour at army camps and extortion of money from villagers continues to increase. Many of the new battalions are being sent to secure the proposed natural gas pipeline from the Gulf of Martaban to Thailand that is being built by foreign oil companies -- Total and Unocal. Troops protecting the pipeline are now extorting "gas pipeline fees" from all villages in the area, including villages 15-20 km north of the proposed route. The price is 150 Ks per month per family,

and villagers are threatened that anyone who does not pay has to go for three days of forced labour on the pipeline survey work. *[Source: KNU/KHRG]*

4.8. Work for the State or Live in the Collective Villages

Apart from being press-ganged into long-term forced labour for the infrastructure development projects such as the constructions and repairs of rail and motorway in the regions, ethnic non-Burman communities inhabiting in the rural areas in Mon State, Karen State and Tenasserim Division are normally subjected to regular forced labour, forced portering and other compulsory taxes required by the local military of SLORC. Such a regular compulsory labour is collected from almost all the ethnic Mon, Karen and Tavoyan villages in the regions by respective local SLORC battalions. The regularly conscripted Mon, Karen and Tavoyan villagers are reportedly used on a large scale not only as front-line porters for its regular patrols in the areas where moments of ethnic guerrilla are active but also as slave labourers for any money-making businesses of the local SLORC military commanders remained in the rear.

> "The people in Paukpinkwin village were normally required to pay 200 Ks per household per month to local SLORC military, namely LIB 406, as a regular porter fee. Aside from this, the village was also required to send 6-7 men or sometimes up to 15 men on a weekly basis to serve as porters for the SLORC troops on their regular patrols in the area. Any household which could not contribute its own labour, when so required by the authorities, must hire a substitute at the normal price of 3,000 Ks. Despite its regular collection of all kinds of porter fees and labours from the village, the local SLORC military at random arrested the people in the village and extorted money from them. Before I left the village, about 10 men in Paukpinkwin had been arrested at random by LIB 406 and each person had to pay 500 Ks to the local military authorities for release."
>
> "Some of the conscripted labourers from Paukpinkwin were required to cut trees in the forests and then saw them up into logs and boards for commanders of LIB 406. Then the commanders put the finished logs and boards up for sale at the nearby Natgyizin village and take all the money for their own benefit. But the labourers, who made the products, were not only not paid for their labour but they even had to provide their own food during the time they were having to do the work."

[Nai Htoo revealed during an interview at a Mon refugee camp on 27 July 1995]

According to Nai Win, another Mon national from Paukpinkwin village, LIB 406 has been replaced by LIB 453 since the end of July 1995. Following up what Nai Htoo had said during the interview, Nai Win also gave some brief accounts of a more recent situation in the village:

> "The newly-arrived LIB 453 has raised the monthly porter fees of 300 Ks (from 200 Ks previously) from each household in Paukpinkwin since its arrival. Moreover, under the instruction of LIB 453, the villagers in Paukpinkwin have also been required to contribute a 12 ft x 6 inch x 0.5 inch board of wood per household for the construction of a school at the nearby Natgyizin village."

Another Mon national, Nai Nu, also told what he had experienced concerning some local SLORC military commanders' consistent use of unpaid labour for their own private businesses contemporaneously in the construction of Ye-Tavoy railway line throughout the dry season (1994). Alongside 2,000 other local villagers, Nai Nu had to go and work for the railway construction at Gyar Naw — a work site nearby Mayan Chaung village in Yebyu Township — for several weeks during the dry season in 1994. Two thousand labourers at Gyar Naw work site was under the direct control of military personnel from SLORC LIB 407 led by Maj Soe Nwe, according to Nai Nu.

> "A total of about 2,000 labourers from several local villages were officially required to work for the railway construction at Gyar Naw work site. But not all these 2,000 labourers were actually having to work for the railway construction itself. Because many of them were in advance singled out by Maj Soe Nwe to work for his private businesses — production of vegetables, firewood, thatch and so on. Maj Soe Nwe used some labourers to make a large vegetable garden nearby that work site for railway construction, while making other labourers to collect firewood and thatch in the forests. But, at last, Maj Soe Nwe made himself the single owner of the entire vegetable garden, fire-wood and thatch so produced; he sold these products to thousands of labourers working on the railway construction and thereby made money for himself and/or his battalion. However, none of these labourers, who did the gardening, who chopped the fire-wood and who collected the thatch, was paid for the labour. Instead, the labourers had to provide their own food and own tools for the works just like those who were working on the railway construction. It was even worse that all the labourers, who had to do the gardening at their own expenses, had to pay the same price for vegetables which they brought from the garden for their meals." *[Source: CPPSM]*

Thirteen battalions of SLORC troops based in Tavoy District forced local people from nearby villages to work in the military compound everyday. They were forced to construct barracks, to fence walls, to dig pitches and latrines, to watch cattle, to cultivate vegetables, to go on sentry duty and to massage the officers.

Those who failed to show up were forced into portering. Those who were absent because of sickness were forced to pay a ransom of 100 Ks per person per day. Moreover, each nearby village had to pay two pigs and 10 chickens to the troops every week. In addition to this, whenever a villager slaughtered livestock for meat the army levied a 20% tax on the by-products.

All four townships in Tavoy District, Tenasserim Division -- Thayetchaung, Launglon, Tavoy, and Yebyu — were subject to forced labour. Among them, local people from Kyauk Hle Gar, Saw Phyu, Padat Chaung, Kyauk Phyu, Taung Zin villages in Thayetchaung Township suffered the worst. In October 1995, SLORC LIB 403 ordered that all villagers form all these villages were responsible for sending timber, bamboo posts and roofing thatch for the repair of buildings on LIB 403's base. In addition, 15 or 20 villagers from each village had to work for the construction of the railroad, bringing their own food and covering at their own expenses on a monthly basis. Anyone who wished to be spared from forced labour had to pay 2,500 Ks to LIB 403 through members of the village LORC.

SLORC also threatened that all the villages would be herded into the collective village near Saw Phar village, as occurred before, in case of failure to meet the army's demand. All these five villages were relocated to the collective village or detained in that concentration camp in 1991 after being accused of collaborating with armed resistance groups by the SLORC Army. In the beginning of 1995, all villages were allowed to move back to their home community. Now, the villagers are very much concerned about forced relocation again.

Moreover all the unmarried women who were at the age of 16 were forced to attend military training to "secure" the army base. Each battalion summoned 35 woman for the training.

Similarly, local people in ten villages from Taung Pyauk village-tract, Thatyetchaung Township, were ordered to work for the construction of ground of military parade and training centre for LIBs 403, 404 and 405 near Than Chaung Gyi village. Since 4 September 1995, local people have to go and work once a week without pay. The main works are to cut the trees and bamboo, and to level the ground. *[Source: ABSDF/KNU]*

4.9. Forced Recruitment

According to the local information from each township in Tenasserim Division, the police have demanded recruits in their area. This was ordered in mid-June 1995 according to the police commander in Tenasserim Division, who was not satisfied about this order. As the police were not able to meet the demand, 50% of the police officers have become criminals. If they can fulfil the requirements as stated in the order, the officers would be rewarded by their superiors.

In September 1995, a SLORC army recruiting unit from Tavoy District went to several of the railway labour camps and took some young men by force to become soldiers. The young men taken were between 16 and 22 years old. The soldiers also removed a number of convicts who were nearly to be released. From 36-Mile and Heinze camp, the SLORC unit kidnapped six villagers and

convicts, from Nwe Lein Camp they forcibly brought eight villagers and from 21-Mile camp they took 15 villagers and convicts.

Between the months of June and November 1995, such an operation was repeated six times. In some areas, local people have been forcibly taken for recruitment into the police force itself. *[Source: KNU]*

Since November 1995, in Tavoy Township, all the wives of the soldiers from LIBs 401 and 410 who are over 16 years and do not have children were required to attend military training for the "security of the rear". *[Source: KNU]*

4.10. Forced Labour in the West

Since 1992, SLORC troops have been blocking Mongther Stream, Thaiktabo Stream, Ze Stream and Pazine Stream and constructing four dams in the area between Mahamuni Pagoda and the military bases of LIBs 374, 375 and 376 on the eastern bank of Kaladan River in the townships of Kyauktaw and Mrauk U in Arakan State. The height of each dam is 12m, the length is 80m, the foundation is 20m and the width is 3m. For the construction, each family in the area was forcibly assigned by the SLORC troops to dig 15 plots. Each plot is 200 ft long, 100 ft wide and 1 ft high. The soldiers also collected 100 Ks from each family. Those who could not afford the levy were threatened. During the monsoon in 1993, as the current of the streams were so fast, the dams were destroyed; the villagers were forced to construct the dams again during the dry season.

On 30 October 1994, SLORC Secretary-2 Lt-Gen Tin Oo arrived at Kyauktaw Township and gave instructions to complete the dams within three months. He also issued the order to the commanders of the said battalions to herd together in one place all villages in upper Paletwa Town, as the military was about to launch the dry season offensive against ALP. Under the harassment of the SLORC Army, the people were forced to work in summer — March and April — without receiving any compensation. Out of fear, the villagers were, in fact, enslaved.

In summer, using the water from the dams, the troops forced the villages to plough army-confiscated fields to produce rice supply for their battalions. Every year, each family must pay 50 Ks for fertiliser, 80 Ks for renting cows to plough, 15 Ks to buy the mats to dry the paddy, 80 Ks for the ploughing charges and 30 Ks for irrigation with Kuboda machines. Each family had to pay a total of 255 Ks per year to local SLORC authorities for this alone. Instead of using that money to pay the conscripted labourers, all the money went to the military officers. The villagers who refused to pay the tax were tortured by the SLORC troops. Moreover, SLORC troops also confiscated the paddy fields from the villagers without paying any compensation.

For the aforementioned SLORC battalions, the villagers were forced to grow peas, carrots, tomatoes, potatoes and many other seasonal vegetables without being any paid for their labour. The villagers dared not defy the orders under threat of physical punishment.

Local people were conscripted from Lammadaw, Nyaungbon Hla, Sanga-daung, Paungdoot, Alegyoan, Kyaukkazu, Shwepray, Thoonsaunzu, Myauktaung, Tunma, Kyaungan, Roamabron, Nyaung Choung, Tharata-bon, Kyauktaloon, Mahamuni, Thayagoon, Sabasipe, Pauktaw and Monthadaaung villages where there was a total of 10,000 houses per village. Over forty villages far from the dams also had to pay 500 Ks per family for labour charges. But, all the money went into the pockets of SLORC military officers. *[Source: ASC]*

The cross channel dam Project on the Aungdainy river of Sittwe were taken up in October 1994 by SLORC. The purpose has been to rear shrimp on commercial basis for the military.

For the completion of the project, every family of Sittwe Township has to offer one labourer at least three times in a year. The penalty in case of no-show is 350 Ks. While working, the people in town are subjected to rude behaviour of the soldiers. If by any chance anyone tries to move a little while eating for convenience, he or she is quickly given a kick on the head. Such instance of cruelty have made many people maimed, blinded, or seriously wounded. Although the work was temporarily stopped during the monsoon, it has been taken up as soon as the dry season comes. *[Source: ABYMU (Arakan)]*

4.11. Military Recruitment

For every construction work, especially in developing the ridiculously outdated infrastructure of Rakhine State, slave labour is in widespread use so that a large number of able villagers leave their homes in search of livelihood only to find a degrading occupation and a life of endless misery. Homes broken and hopes vanished, they find life contemptible. Utter poverty and desolation finally take the youth to the fold of the army. Stray youths as a last resort are compelled to join the army.

For recruitment, there are special military recruitment centres posted all across Rakhine. Take the example of the LIB 376 based in Kyauktaw Town. Through appointed brokers who are paid 200 Ks for each recruit, the battalion collect the would-be candidates and send them to Sittwe where they join with other candidates rounded up in 16 other townships.

On 30 April 1995, on their way back from the recruitment centre, drove up the Kaladan River, LIB 376 ordered all young girls of Tharaktabang and five nearby villages together to accord a formal welcome to the newly enlisted. The girls came no doubt, but flatly refused to obey the orders. The military commander did not expect such a curt denial. So the village leaders and elders were given a

sound dressing-down and warned of dire consequences for any "such" non-compliance in future. *[Source: ABYMU (Arakan)]*

4.12. Confiscation and Forced Labour

Between 20 and 28 April 1995, the army seized 3,000 acres of privately owned paddy fields from the villagers of Lanmadaw in Kyauktaw Township for a proposed artillery corps. The confiscation went without any compensation to the helpless villagers, who for generations had been working on the soil. As a part of the artillery corps project, a 120-feet wide and four-mile long highway across Lanmadaw-Tharaktabang road, running right to Khaung-dok village in the north, was built. More than 30,000 people, on a basis of one person from each household, were conscripted as slaves and forced to work there with their own food.

In April, the heat was scorching and the corporals' behaviour was disgusting. As the plains dried up during that month of summer, water was scarce. For the thousands parching in the fierce sun, consumption of undrinkable water from roadside pools and ditches was not only essential but also compulsory for survival. In a short time, therefore, there were outbreaks of enteric diseases. The immediate death toll was counted 280, while ten times more were caught the ailments and about one thousand or so are feared to have died from the after-effects.

SLORC did not stop there. On the illegally confiscated ground, common villagers and the previous owners were intimidated into cultivating paddy, harvesting and carrying it to the very silos made by timber, bamboo and labour supplied by the villagers.

In April 1992, an area of 1,800 acres of paddy field was seized from the villagers of Daung-daw-yo at Kyauktaw Township for LIB 376. The barracks and more than ninety living quarters for the battalion were made by utilising slave labour. Until the end of 1994, slave labour was used to procure timber and bamboo, and to fulfil their master plan.

Loss of paternal land meant loss of livelihood and a life in ruins for the villagers. But it also meant a great achievement of SLORC's part in materialising their concerted effort to wipe out the identity of the ethnic Rakhines by bringing them to begging. The battalion's greed did not stop there. Soon they confiscated all the ponds in the nearby villages. The villagers were forced to supply workers for the fisheries of the army. Until the catching and selling of fish, the villagers had to work from sunrise to sunset, without any wage to any of them. As the leftover small fishes could not be sold, the young girls were summoned to clean them and put them to dry. By the end of the day, those girls who had no husbands were detained for the night.

Likewise in the dairy, livestock and poultry projects taken up for the families of the SLORC Army posted everywhere in the State, wholesale slave labour is used. All the nearby villagers are forced to supply quota of feeds and fodder by turn besides attending the chicken, pigs and cattle of the battalion. Village girls are forced to work there routinely and subjected to physical assault and gang rape.

Between April and June 1993, irrigation canal projects were implemented in Kyauktaw Township. In most of the projects, embankments of an average height of 15 ft had to be constructed to connect natural hills and hillocks for the purpose. But the embankments were of in different lengths; Gara Hill embankment runs 300 ft and Mintha Creek embankment is above 1,000 ft. To force to work harder, the corporals of LIB 376 acted like feudal taskmasters over the impressed, maiming and grievously injuring dozens of the helpless villagers. When the closing ceremony was to be held, the battalion arranged a grand gala. On the day when TV crew would come and the project would be opened, soldiers were engaged in a manner as if they had been working all along. The entire show was videotaped for a nation-wide broadcasting. The military officer in charge of the related department of irrigation in his address made it public that a total of 1.2 million Ks was spent to implement the entire project. Only on that very moment in April 1995, people were able to know the truth at the grand gala opening of the irrigation project arranged at Pajaing Chaung that, they had been had. By that time there was nothing left to air their grievances, not one little proof. No outlet of resentment would have been tolerated by the gun toting military demons, so silence was obviously the golden rule.

The same method of immensely notorious exploitation and oppression was used to build Kyatiktaw-Paletwa motorway between 1991 and 1994. Confiscation of one thousand acres of paddy fields and horticultural hills of Lanmadaw in Kyauktaw Township by LIB 374 also carries a similar story. Stationed at Kyauktaw sugar mill, this battalion is still applying oppressive and repressive measures on the local Rakhines.

Paving-stones for the aforementioned roads were quarried from sites at upriver of Lemro. The stones and boulders were then loaded on boats requisitioned from the public owners. The whole process was done by slave labour.

As the army taskmasters goad on to hurriedly load the stones, the wooden boats (mechanised and un-mechanised) are often cracked and damaged, causing great loss to the owners. To be careful at loading, the army commanders and the labourers are usually bribed. All the villages along the river had to supply the cost of labour and bear the conveyances. *[Source: ABYMU (Arakan)]*

4.13. Forced Farming in Arakan

Every year, the peasants making up 70% of the population in Arakan State are allowed only 40 days to take care of their own crops and for the rest of the time they were forced to work for the military projects such as construction of Rangoon-Minbu-Ann-Kyaukpyu-Mrauk Oo (Myohaung) Road.

Maung Tin Myint, 35, from Ywa Ma of Ma Yut village in Rambree Township died because of over-work ordered by the military authorities for the construction of Rangoon- Minbu-Ann-Kyaukpyu Road. On that day, as he was seriously ill, he slept and refused to go to the work site. But two soldiers from IB 34 forced him to go to the work site. He died while working at the work site. He was married to Ma Khin Nyunt with five children.

Since 1991, a big brick-field has been set up at Mahamuni. The poor Rakhine villages have been impressed to work there without pay and without food. The villagers are also forced to collect firewood for the purpose. *[Source: ABSDF/ABYUM (Arakan)]*

4.14. Pakokku-Gangaw-Kalemyo Railway

Chin State

"Border Area Development" projects continue to create more and more forced labour. The Pakokku - Gangaw - Kalemyo railway is mostly completed but labour is still continuing on it in some areas. There are also hydroelectric projects and road projects by using forced labour.

In the entire region, villagers are used as porters and human shields among the moving army columns. SLORC officers take many people as human shields around them to protect them. Throughout Chin State, there are only two all-season roads, from Hakha to Falam and Kalemyo to Tiddim, and two dry-season roads, from Hakha to Matupi and Matupi towards the eastern plains. Everywhere else, SLORC troops always summon hundreds of porters at a time to carry their things. Every month, each village is ordered to bring pigs, chickens, and whatever the soldiers want to their camps. Relatives of CNA soldiers are under constant watch and suspicion. Their letters are opened and if SLORC finds a letter from their son they are arrested. In Hriphi village, Than Tlang Township, one army camp is to be built shortly [with forced labour on confiscated land]. In September/October 1995, there was a serious cholera outbreak in Leiled village, Falam Township, and at least 70 people died because no health care whatsoever is available.

Sagaing Division

Kalemyo (also called Kalay or spelled Kalaymyo) is in Sagaing Division just east of the Chin State border. SLORC has a major forced labour project building a railway to Kalemyo from Gangaw (120 km./ 75 miles to the south) in northern Magwe Division. This is part of the Chaung U-Pale-Yesagyo-Pakokku-Gangaw-Kalemyo railway project, a total length of 500 km (312 miles). There are plans to continue the line in future north from Kalemyo to Tamu, which is at the border with India's Manipur State. Chaung U is 80 km (50 miles) west of Mandalay and linked to Mandalay by rail, so this line would establish a rail link between Mandalay and the Indian border. However, SLORC plans to do the entire project with forced labour. So far only Chaung U-Pale and Kalemyo-Nat Chaung sections are in operation. However, much of the rest is finished but waiting for some major bridges to connect various sections.

Along the Gangaw-Kalemyo section, most of the forced labour has been done by Chin villagers. Work is still continuing toward the Gangaw end. The 22-mile (35 km.) segment from Kalemyo to Nat Chaung was officially opened on 3 May 1995. The opening ceremony at Kalemyo railway station cost 4,300,000 Ks, including 30,000 Ks just for the meal honouring SLORC Rail Transport Minister U Win Sein, despite the fact that none of the labourers on the entire stretch of railway was ever paid. SLORC responded to the November 1995 report of UN Special Rapporteur Yozo Yokota by claiming to have paid the workers as follows: "Chaung U-Ma Gyi Boke sector and Pakokku-Monywa sector: 8.29 million kyats; Pakokku-Gangaw-Kalay sector: 30 million kyats".

Construction on this line began in March 1990. As it crosses mostly flat farmland, paddy fields were destroyed without compensation. In all the villages of Kalemyo Township, one person per household had to contribute labour. They had to bring their own food and their own tools. Each group of 10-20 villagers were guarded by 3-4 soldiers. Each group had to build 1/8 falong [i.e. furlong, so 1/8 falong = 28 yards] length of embankment, up to 30 ft high and 20 ft wide. The villagers had to dig the ground within only 30 ft of the track, so sometimes they had to dig quite deeply and there are reports of some people who died of landslide. Each group has to complete 60 ft within one week. In Kalemyo Township, there are two bulldozers owned by the government. The people can sometimes use them, but only if they themselves provide the diesel.

If absent from the work, the fine was 1,200-1,500 Ks per person. The distance between the railroad and the villagers' homes was so far that the villagers had to stay and sleep at the work site. They could go back to their villages on Sundays to get food from their families for the following week. They had to be back in Monday mornings. Most families went to work 6-7 times on the railway over the past five years, each time it took 2-3 weeks to finish their assignment. Villagers were also ordered to prepare gravel for the track-bed in their homes. Each family had to provide 10 ft x 10 ft x 10 ft of gravel.

Starting from 23 April 1995, the Kalemyo-Nat Chaung line went into use, but only with a Hino TE21 truck being used as a railway engine (it is mounted on a special frame with railway wheels). It makes the return trip twice a day and can carry a maximum of about 60 passengers. One way fare is five kyats. In July 1995, some sections were damaged because of rains and the Kalemyo-Nat Chaung service was interrupted. SLORC again ordered people from each household to prepare more gravel and to contribute labour for repairing these segments.

SLORC plans to commence construction on the Kalemyo-Tamu section of railway (another 120 km/ 75 miles to the north) soon as they see this as an important trade link with India. In Tamu Town, people who live along the main road have been ordered to build brick houses or be evicted. They have been given three years to do so, possibly timed to coincide with the expected completion of the railway.

4.15. Hydro Power and Other Projects in Kalemyo

SLORC is building the "Ye Chaung" Hydro electric power project near Ta Han village, 30 miles southwest of Kalemyo in Kalemyo Township. Villagers and about 500 prisoners are being used as labourers for the construction. It is a medium sized project, estimated cost at 70 million kyats, started in 1990 and scheduled for completion in March 1996.

Villagers from forty village-tracts have been forced to contribute labour: 37 on the railway and three on the power project. Also, villagers are being forced to break rocks on the road construction, upgrading and extending the existing dirt road from Kalemyo to Gangaw, parallel to the railway line. The project is implemented only with manpower, no machinery. There are reports of two dead and five wounded by accidents on this project, with no compensation paid.

4.16. Forced Labour in Kuki Villages

In Tamu Township, Mawlaik District, Sagaing Division, Kuki villagers [Kuki is considered a subgroup of Chin] are regularly forced to contribute labour and their bullock-carts for "border area development" projects such as road construction. There have also been reports that some villagers have been forced to take their bullock-carts to help SLORC officers smuggle teak logs across from India. In one such incident on 24 January 1995, Lt-Col Win Kyi of IB 50 forced 28 villagers and bullock-carts from Nam Monta, Htan Ta Bin, and Man Maw villages to cross into India to retrieve teak logs. Indian forces caught and arrested the entire group. When the SLORC officer asked to be released, they released him and his soldiers but detained the villagers at Moreh in Manipur.

4.17. Forced Labour in the Name of Development

Local people living in the villages between Kalay and Tamu of Sagaing Division were forced to contribute labour everyday for the construction of a road that links Kalay and Tamu and to complete their assignment within the set deadline in summer 1995. Not only the villagers but also their cattle and carts were forced to send to the work site to carry rocks and sand. The daily compulsory labour led to hardships for their subsistence so that many of them living in the villages near the road escaped to other areas, and Indo-Burmese border. *[Source: Inside Source]*

In the name of the "Kalay-Kabaw Area Development Programme", local people living at Naung Ngu, Pan Thar and Nan Nwe villages in Kalay Township, Sagaing Division, located at the foot of Mwe Taung, had been consecutively forced to contribute labour by digging 80 fishponds owned by the military. In Nan Nwe village, about two miles from Kalay, there were 15 fishponds measuring 15 acre wide, owned by IB 10 of SLORC. Local people there were forced to contribute labour on compulsory basis, spending their own money for transportation and other charges. *[Source: Inside Source]*

4.18. Construction of Artillery Corps and Dam in Monywa

Four miles away from Monywa, there is construction of a heavy artillery corps and about 500 acres of farmland have been confiscated. A 13-mile-long road is being constructed with forced labour from Monywa to Ah Myint village, the native village of SLORC Trade Minister Lt-Gen Tun Kyi. Between November 1994 and February 1995, the Thay dam in Monywa Township was expanded. Every family in the area had to go for two months of forced labour. Only one adult per family was allowed to stay at home. *[Source: KHRG]*

Since the construction of Thazi-Monywa Dam has been started on 14 November 1994, 1275 local peasants living at Thazi, Ah Nout Su, Inn Taing, north & south Nau Pin, east & west The Gyi Gone, Dan Pin Hte, Ywathit, Ywama, Man Gyi Gone, Koe Pin, and Ywa Thar Lay villages in Thargi village-tracts, 550 people living at Kyang Gone, Ywathit, Baw Gar, Tharketa, Pha Lan Kyin, Thar Yar Su in Kyaung Gone village-tracts and 600 people from Kyaung Twa, An Pya, Lay Gone, Sone Gone and Ywa Taw villages in Twin Kyaung village-tracts -- altogether 2425 people -- were forced to contribute corvee labour. Villagers had to bring their own mattocks, chopping hoes, pickaxes and cane baskets, while covering their own expenses. All the labourers were ordered to be ready at the work site at 4:00 a.m. every day and a group of labourers was assigned to dig a 10-ft-wide and 8-ft deep earthern pit and carry loose soil from the bottom to the surface of the dam. On the surface of the dam, they have to dig a drain (gutter) which is 3 ft wide and 8 ft deep. Those who were not able to finish their assignments were not allowed to go home on each day and guarded by armed soldiers.

As of April 1995, five labours died from snake bites, being crushed by falling trees and other injuries. Those wounded were never received treatment. Each person who were not able to go for work had to hire somebody else at the rate of 75 Ks in cash per day plus additional costs for provisions of food.

Daily problems occurred between the exhausted labourers and intoxicated soldiers. The villagers were routinely subjected to torture. A woman from Ywathit village was stoned by a drunk soldier, crushing her head. When the soldier asked whether she was pleased with his treatment, in fear of further beatings, she said "Yes". *[Source: Inside Source]*

4.19. Reservoir in Seikphyu

In Seikphyu Township, Magwe Division, the villagers were also ordered to dig the ground for a reservoir project. Each village was ordered to contribute corvee labour to complete an assignment of 150-ft long, 6-ft-wide and 4-ft high earthern pit. Moreover, the villagers were also forced to work on the construction of the railroad which linked Pakokku and Myaing. Each family was ordered to send a person to work for one month or that family would be/was fined 1,000 Ks. In that area, daily wage for a hard labourer is only 15 Ks and, due to drought in 1994, there is widespread poverty and starvation. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.20. Irrigation in Central Burma

According to a priest and a foreign journalist, pressure on the farmers in the Delta is high. The double cropping is a burden, quota are impossibly high and there is a lot of forced labour on irrigation canals. Sometimes even at night.

According to another priest, there is similar forced labour on an irrigation projects near the Mu river, near Shwebo. Each family has to dig a stretch of 20-ft-long and 20-ft- deep through a rocky ground. They have to bring their own food and equipment and sometimes they have to hire some. The work started around January 1995. [An Eyewitness; in the beginning of December 1995]

4.21. Forced Recruitment in Chin State

In Leshi and Lahe townships in Sagaing Division, SLORC has reportedly been continuously forcing villages to provide recruits for the Army. Any village which fails to provide the specified number of recruits must pay 20,000 Ks per recruit. Since 1993, SLORC has encouraged people to enrol their children in a youth organisation called Ye Nyunt by promising that all members will have

access to basic and higher education. All those who enrol are then taken away and forced to join the Army.

Forced labour of villagers and convicts is being used to build roads from Homalin to Tamanthi and from Tamanthi to Leshi. Soldiers have also reportedly been forcing Christian Nagas to build monasteries and pagodas in every town and village in the Naga Hills. SLORC troops patrolling Naga areas force villagers to provide all their food. When they want pork, they force the villagers to hand over their pigs and pay only one tenth of the price. Village heads are often left having to pay the difference to the owners of the animals.

SLORC had been forcibly recruiting soldiers in Hkamti, Homalin, Leshi, Lahe and Namyung Township by the order of Lt-Col Maung Oo, commander of Hkamti Strategic Cantonment.

On 30 September 1995, the party led by operations commander of IB 347 arrived at Sumra village and demanded recruits for the SLORC Army from Leshi Township. Moreover, villagers were ordered to send recruits to a Kuki village by the deadline of 6 October 1995. If the villagers failed to send any, the troops gave them two choices; not to stay in the village, or the village will be set ablaze if SLORC found that villagers continued to stay in their homes.

Table 5. Number of Villagers Demanded for Recruits in Leshi township

1. Sumra village	10 persons
2. Poun Ta Yek village	4 persons
3. Leyon village	3 persons
4. Pansup village	10 persons
5. Ngacham village	10 persons
6. Koung Kailou village	7 persons
7. Namee Yupee village	5 persons
8. Yehtaung village	1 person
9. Kuki village	10 persons

The following youths from Sumra village were forcibly taken;

(1) Maung Yan Soe	18 yrs; son of U Yar Htaung
(2) Maung Athwin pot	24 yrs; son of U Yar Pot
(3) Maung Ye San	20 yrs; son of U Yar Pot
(4) Maung Kan Phore	17 yrs; son of U Htan Po

Moreover, Maung Saw Htin (23, son of U Ye Pan), a villager from Surma who was on his way home from Leshi, was also conscripted for recruitment. *[Source: ABSDF/KHRG]*

4.22. Forced Labour in the North

"I saw a group of about twenty prisoners in chains building a new marketplace in downtown Myitkyina.

The old wooden stalls were torn down and shopkeepers have to buy themselves to get a place in the new building. No compensation was paid for their lost shop. Most of them cannot afford the new place (5-10 leks plus a monthly rent of 450 Ks) and building is already partly occupied by rich Chinese and Indians.

By the end of the afternoon I saw approximately 130 prisoners taking a bath in the river. They were all wearing shackles. According to people in Myitkyina, they were confirmed that in remote areas of Kachin State, political prisoners were also doing forced labour: At Chying Hlerang Rum (waterfall) — hydroelectric dam and at Sumpra Bum — road."
[An Eyewitness; in the beginning of December 1995]

4.23. Forced Labour for Construction of Naval Base

Since the end of 1992, SLORC officials have been forcibly conscripted local people from about 50 nearby villages for the construction of a Naval Base on Hai Gyi Island. Each household has been assigned to send one family member to work at the construction site every week. They have to dig bunkers and trenches, and make fences and construct roads at the base. The villagers are not provided with shelter, food or medical care. Each family has to pay 400 Ks per week in case of failing to meet the SLORC demands. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.24. Aung Ban-Loikaw Railway

About one million villagers in Shan State were forced to build the 106-km-long Aung Ban-Loikaw Railway Line in 1992 and it was officially opened in 1993. About 70 villages along the route were also forced to relocate in order to provide the way to build the railway line. Last than one year after the line was opened, a passenger train was derailed, killing hundreds of people on the train and destroying parts of the line. Since the villagers were conscripted and forced to contribute labour, they did not think about the safety and quality of the railway line, instead they considered about how to finish the line as soon as possible.

Since May 1995, LIBs 336 and 421, in collaboration with Immigration officers, local SLORC authorities and members of USDA (Union Solidarity and Development Association), forced local people in Hpe Khon and Pinlaung townships, southern Shan State, to contribute labour for the repair of part of Aung Ban-Loikaw Railway Line which was destroyed by train accident in 1994

and scheduled to be re-opened on 16 June 1995. Each household in these townships was responsible for sending one family member to contribute labour for 15 days regardless of their gender or age. There were over 10,000 households in southern Pinlaung Township and eastern Hpe Khon Township. Only those who could pay a ransom to SLORC authorities were spared from contributing labour.

They had to work from 7:00 a.m. until 4:00 p.m. with a break of 10 minutes for every hour. They had to carry their own food, covering their own expenses in order to finish in time and be able to return home to do their usual jobs. Because of the excruciating work, they were so exhausted that they had to spend the night on the slope without any shelter. Shortage of water for cooking was also another problem for the civilians. Unable to bear these hardships and with the aim to concentrate on their own jobs, some of the villagers returned home within four ti five days. The authorities were constantly watching the labourers to make sure that the latter would not escape.

Ko Hpa Rein, who was living in Hpe Khon, and his neighbours also attempted to return home. As soon as they were on the motorway, the authorities (composed of military, immigration officers, local SLORC authorities and members of USDA) saw them and told them to come back. Ko Hpa Rein was beaten with a cane. Others who were in fear and looking at what was happening to Ko Hpa Rein were asked by their pursuers whether they were going to contribute labour for one more day or be subjected to beating like Ko Hpa Rein. The authorities forced them to work by threatening that any man who attempted to escape would be beaten five times and woman would be beaten three times. The people did not find any alternative solutions and had to carry out the work as ordered. Because of severe beatings, Ko Hpa Rein's condition was fatal.

The areas where local people were forced to contribute labour were around Naung Woe hillside, Lo Kho, Par Pon, Daw Paw Pale, Lin Khan, Par Pa Lan and Ka Ya villages. According to one eye-witness, many villagers were taken as porters for the military patrol unit in Shan State after assignments were finished.

In the second week of June, each household was forced to pay 700 Ks and in the third week of the same month it had to pay another 500 Ks to the SLORC authorities for the expenses of sleepers, stones and bridges along the over five-mile-long railway that required repairs. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

4.25. Shwenyaung-Namsang Railway

Construction of the Shwenyaung-Namsang railway began on 6 January 1993, after completion of surveying on 8 May 1992. The News Light of Myanmar reported that the completed railway would stretch 140 miles and cost 800 million kyats. Construction is currently underway in the districts of Taunggyi and Loilem.

4.25.1. Construction in Wan Yin

The distance from Shwenyaung to Taunggyi is about 80 miles. At present local people are being ordered to clear the part of the railway and lay the earth foundation. The earthwork between Shwenyaung and Wan Yin has been completed, and now the ground is being cleared in Hsaikao village-tract, three miles east of Wan Yin.

Local people are being forced to provide unpaid labour under the following condition:

1. Each household must send one member for the construction work.
2. Transportation, food, temporary shelter and even working tools must be provided by the people themselves.
3. The duration of one shift of work is five days. A rotation system operates, under which each household member must work for at least six shifts, i.e. 30 days.
4. There are two systems of work at the construction site:
   a. Ordinary work starts at 7:00 a.m. and ends at 4:30 p.m. with a temporary recess in-between.
   b. A particular task is allotted to a group of people and the task must be finished within that day. For example, a particular village may be ordered to dig an area of earth which is 30 ft long, 10 ft wide and 28 ft deep.
5. Some people can hire others to work for them if they can pay 150 Ks per head per day, which costs 750 Ks plus two meals of rice per shift. For five shifts, each household has to spend at least 4,250 Ks.
6. If any part of the railway foundation becomes damaged, the people who have worked on that part of track must repair it again.

A Chinese temple situated near Wan Yin was demolished without compensation because it lays along the part of the railway construction.

4.25.2. Construction in Namsang

Railway construction has started from Namsang to the southern part of Mong Nai Township. At present, it is continuing in Hai Phark village, 16 miles south of Namsang.

The work conditions are the same as in Win Yin. SLORC's Rail Transport Ministry is able to carry out construction in two sites simultaneously because the Ministry does not have to spend a single kyat on labour charges.

In Namsang Township, at the start of railway construction, local authorities arranged stage-shows, traditional performances and a variety of open-to-all gambling booths, which lasted for ten days and nights.

That part of railroad which was built with the sweat, tears, and lives of the people was opened by U Win Sein on 1 May 1995. Before the opening celebration, each family was forced to contribute free labour for three days, bringing their own food and other necessities. If they refused, they were fined 150 Ks for one day. All citizens were ordered to attend the opening ceremony, leaving only one person behind to look after their house. After the ceremony, SLORC forced the people to build many tiny huts along the railroad and each family to take responsibility of guarding the railroad for five days. This guarding duty has been continuing until now. Anyone who refused to guard was fined at 500 Ks. *[Source: S.H.A.N/SHRF]*

Prisoners from prisons throughout Burma have been forced together with the people from Mong Nai to build the railway which links Mong Nai and Namsang. Although the prisoners were told they would be released when the construction was finished, they have been forced to continue in a different direction — from Mong Nai through Mawkmai, Ho Nam-Hsaikhao to Shwenyaung.

SLORC Secretary-1 Khin Nyunt warned that if the railway was not completed in September [1995], the prisoners would be imprisoned "again". One prisoner reported that three of his fellow prisoners died during the construction. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.26. Bawgali-Bu Sah Kee Road Construction

On 25 March 1995 SLORC ordered forced labour from 13 villages to begin the construction of a road from Bawgali to Bu Sah Kee [Bosar Khee] via Kaw Thay Der. They stopped during rainy season, then started again in Ye Tho Gyi area on 14 October 1995. Number of labourers needed to be provided were 165 for Bawgali Gyi, 80 for Kaw Thu Der, 22 for Kaw Mu Der, 40 for Yin Tho Lay, 50 for Kaw Soe Ko, 12 for Wah Tho Ko, 20 for Ku Lu Der, 30 for Der Doh, 5 for Ler Ko, 15 for Maw Pa Der, 6 for Maw Ko Der, 20 for Ku Plaw Der and 40 for Beh Khaw Der. The villagers had to cut trees, clear scrub and lay gravel for the new road. They were given daily assignment which they had to complete on each day. They received no food, money or medicine from the soldiers. Orchards and betel-nut plantations have been destroyed for this road without compensation, especially between Kaw Thu Der and Ku Lu Der. On 18 October 1995, SLORC announced on radio that they have provided 42 million kyats to build this road for the villagers in the area, but no villagers received anything. As of December 1995, the road had reached up to Naw Soh village. *[Source: KHRG]*

> "I saw a few hundred people including women and children digging sand at the historical moat in Taungoo. A source told me families from the town were given quota to dig out the moat and rebuild the embankment, otherwise they had to pay 450 Ks. He thought the work was done in preparation for the Visit Myanmar Year. Households

along the railway line and the main road were given orders to rebuild their houses into two-storey stone buildings, otherwise they had to move. I saw several houses in these locations under construction. Atmosphere in Taungoo was very tense. I was immediately followed and harassed by MI and had no chance to find out more details." *[An eyewitness on 15 December 1994]*

4.27. Forced Labour in Pegu

Other eyewitness accounts stated that there has been forced labour being used in repairing and widening the highway in Pegu Township. Local sources stated that each household has been ordered to pay 50 Ks per member in the house every two weeks for the construction of this highway. The money is not going to those who are being forced to work but towards the use of steamrollers and machinery for making tar. The jobs that people do range from sorting out stones that come from a quarry, carrying the stones from one point to another, sifting gravel through bamboo sieves, and mixing and laying down the tar. The eyewitnesses stated that conditions were very bad, head and dust being the major factors of hardship, especially for the children. The quarry has been worked on by prisoners, some of whom were extremely young, and all were in chains.

Other areas where confirmed reports from eyewitnesses existed about the use of forced labour were in Bilin, Thaton Township and periodically on the car road to Moulmein. *[Source: SAIN]*

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 9, 11, 13, 16, 24, 69-74, 78, 90, 92, 96-98, 100-101, 103, 105-115, 117-125, 127, 130-131, 133-136, 139-141, 153-154, 200, 205-207, 210-217, 219-221, 223, 225-227, 246, 253, 261-263, 269-270, 275, 284, 286, 288-292, 294-296, 299-304, 308]

4.28. List of Incidents

4.28.1. In October 1994, about 150 troops from IBs 31 and 62 led by Deputy Comdr Lt-Col Than Win, Capt Aung Lwin and Capt Aye Min launched offensives in Kyaikmaraw Township and arrested many villagers for portering. On the way, when the porters tried to escape, the troops shot at them. Moreover, the villagers were subjected to various kinds of taxation and forced contribution of rice to SLORC troops. *[Source: HURFOM]*

4.28.2. In October 1994, Ma Win Win Than (27, six months in pregnancy), from Pong Kyun Quarter, Tavoy Town, was forced to contribute labour at the Zinba construction site. Local SLORC authorities ordered them to send either Ko Myint Naing, husband of Ma Win Win Than, or to pay a ransom of 500 Ks. The wife asked to spare her husband because he was sick at that time. The local

authorities did not accept this, instead they ordered the wife to go herself. She was assigned to dig an earthen pit at the construction site. She had seen other pregnant women who were forced to contribute labour as they could neither pay a ransom nor find a substitute person. According to Ma Win Win Than, some women ended up with miscarriages. She had seen many women who formed almost half of the labourers, aged from 15 to 65 years old.

In November, she and her ill husband were spared from forced labour because they were able to borrow 500 Ks to pay for ransom. Unfortunately, in December, the then eight-month pregnant Ma Win Win Than was called again by the local authorities and forced to cook for about 40 troops. Ma Win Win Than, Ko Myint Naing, and their three children finally decided to seek refuge on the Thai-Burmese border. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.28.3. Since November 1994, SLORC IB 29 has confiscated farmland in Maw Hpaung village, Wine Maw Township, Kachin State, for their military base and for the plantation of sugarcane and paddy to make money for the battalion. One Gurkha family lost 20 acres of their own farmland. Not only did that family not receive any compensation, but they also were forced to contribute unpaid labour on that confiscated farmland. Being farmers, they did not have other skills to earn their living. Facing malnutrition, the husband and wife who were both at the age of 45, died one after another within five days. Their son, who was 18, escaped to Thailand. *[Source: Inside source]*

4.28.4. From 1 December 1994 to 15 April 1995, commander of SLORC IB 99 from Langhko, southern Shan State, ordered the people of Warn Hart village-tract in Langhko to come and work as slave labourers on the 22-mile-long road construction from Na Kong to Tsa-Lorng. Labour was allotted according to the size of the village: the smallest had to construct at least three miles of road, the smaller four miles, and so on. After the road had been constructed, the people, their carts and cattle were not allowed to set foot on it; only army trucks loaded with their rations were seen passing to and fro. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.5. In the beginning of 1995, Sai Eu (23, son of Por Zern and Ba Kham from Wan Won village of Mong Yawng Township in eastern Shan State) escaped from being a porter for Tachilek-based SLORC LIB 529. He was forced to work at the SLORC military camp in Pak Tu Murng. He had to carry rice sacks weighing 5 kg for five days, and then had to carry two 120 mm mortar shells for 15 nights. The porters were forced by SLORC to pound paddy for five days, and later they were tied up together and were warned by SLORC troops that anybody who tried to run away would be killed. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.6. In January 1995, before the SLORC launched a military offensive against the KNU bases in Karen State, its local battalions arrested Mon civilians for portering in Mudon and Thanbyuzayat townships in Mon State and Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Township in Karen State. During the third week of January, combined troops of IB 62 and LIB 209 arrested nearly 600 men in Mudon Township. During the

Kyauk Ta Lone festival in Mudon Township alone, approximately 220 men were arrested. IB 62 also took responsibilities for arresting hundreds of civilians in Thanbyuzayat Township. Those civilians were subjected to arrest from several places like on the streets, on the train, at the railway station and in the markets. In the second week of March, in Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Township alone, nearly 1,000 men were arrested by LIBs 207 and 208. *[Source: HURFOM]*

4.28.7. For the construction of Pegu Dam, each household in Waw Township, Pegu Division, was forced to send one family member on a compulsory basis. Each person who wanted to be spared from contributing labour has to pay a ransom of 400 Ks. As the truck carrying the labourers was over-crowded, Aung Myo from Pan Nyo Su village, Tala Non village-tract of Waw Township, fell from the truck beyond Waw Township on 2 January 1995 and died. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

4.28.8. Since the beginning of 1995, SLORC regime has been using about 1,000 prisoners from various towns to work on the project of widening and lengthening the Namsang airfield, southern Shan State. The prisoners have been provided with insufficient food and medical care. Some have committed suicide by deliberately stepping on mines. Others have died of malnutrition and diseases. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.9. On 4 January 1995, IB 349 arrested 40 people from Zalote Gyi village, Shwegyin Township, Pegu Division, and forced them into portering. On 5 January, the same troops arrested 25 more people from Kwin Seik village. Each victim who wanted to be released had to pay 2,000 Ks as a ransom. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

4.28.10. From the first week of January 1995 to 21 May 1995, the commander of SLORC IB 99 forced the people living in Warn Hart village-tract, Langhko Township, southern Shan State, to come and work as slave labourers on road construction from Nam Yoom to Tsa-Larng, and down to Ta Soup Teing (*the mouth of Teing River*). There are 18 villages and every household had to contribute labour twice a month. Those who could not go had to pay a fine of 2000 Ks. People who were working on the construction were often captured as porters by the SLORC troops. Following is list of the households in that village-tract.

1. Warn Hart	130 households
2. Warn Ho-Koon	90
3. Warn Song Ke	65
4. Warn Tein	160
5. Warn Loi Sur	200
6. Warn Nam Murn	20
7. Warn Hona	100
8. Warn Nam Saii	300
9. Warn Toor Neu	200
10. Warn Na Kong	300

11. Warn Koon Kharn	130
12. Warn Khoom Oat	50
13. Warn Harn Lon Mong	20
14. Warn Eoon	30
15. Warn Mark Pin Worn	30
16. Warn Hart Saii Long	25
17. Warn Mang	20
18. Warn Mark Eoon Lao	100
Total	1,943

[Source: S.H.A.N]

4.28.11. On 12 January 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 360 raided the area of Mong Ping Township, eastern Shan State in search of porters. Unluckily Tsai Sarm Noi (30) and five others from Warn Peing Saii were captured and sent to the front line as porters to attack Pa-ke camp in Mong Tom village-tract in Mong Hsart Township. When SLORC troops did not provide the porters with enough food, Tsai Sarn Noi resorted to escape by killing one SLORC guard. He then joined the MTA. He reported that he had seen some SLORC soldiers laying down their weapons and deserting in the front line. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.12. From 16 January to 27 April 1995, 150 men from SLORC LIB 518 led by Maj Aung Kyaw, illegally forced the people of Mong Nai to construct the railroad which linked Mong Nai and Namsang. On 15 May 1995, after their assignments at the railroad construction site were completed, they were forced to build barracks at the entrances of Napon bridge, Nam Gay Zak Dor of Pang Oo bridge, Maihai bridge, Ken Dor bridge, and Nao Khan bridge respectively.

It was reported that entire families in Nao Kham, Pang O, Won Yey, Nao Lin, Kyong Kone, Kone Kor, Maihai villages in Nao Khan village-tract, Mong Nai Township, had to contribute labour. Each village had to provide 80 pieces of bamboo posts, 80 poles, and 500 pieces of thatch. During the construction period for every five days, the people had to pay 3,000 Ks to hire a labourer, and five Toelagyi (small trucks) had to wait at the camps to fetch water for the soldiers' bathing. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.13. According to a Chin human rights activist who interviewed people from 5-20 March 1995 who have gone to work on rail road construction many times, over 100,000 Chin people were forced to work for the construction of Kalay-Gangaw railroad. Many farmer's fields where the rail line passes through were destroyed without any compensation. Local people had to work for this railroad construction twice a month as it was scheduled to be completed in 1996. Each shift of labour lasted for six days. Each household which failed to send the labourers had to pay 100 Ks per day to local SLORC authorities. The labourers were not provided with any food or medicine by SLORC. Many people died and were injured because of landslides and illnesses. *[Source: Independent Chin Report]*

4.28.14. On 2 February 1995, the commander of SLORC LIB 515 stationed at Mong Kung ordered the people of Nam Kut village, Tung Lao village-tract in Murng Kung Township, to work for them. Each member of every household had to contribute labour such as digging bunkers, collecting firewood, fetching water, making huts and etc. Those who refused were threatened with heavy fines. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.15. Since 18 February 1995, local inhabitants from villages near the railway line in Thaton Township have been ordered to go and work for the SLORC. One person from each family was ordered to go. The villagers have to work between Kyaikkaw and Daw Gyi. If a person fails to go he/she has to pay 500 kyats. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.16. Since March 1995, SLORC soldiers have been seizing passengers on vehicles at checkpoints on the roads around Loilem, Namsang, Kholam, Kunhing, Takaw, Mong Ping, Kengtung, Mong Hpayak and Talur to use them as porters. As a consequence, the passengers have been getting out before reaching the checkpoints and walking through the jungle to avoid from being arrested. Later on, SLORC troops started guarding the jungle to catch the escapees. Anyone who was caught had to pay 100,000-15,000 Ks to avoid from being forced into portering. As a result, the number of passengers who used to travel between Loilem and Kengtung dropped by two-thirds. *[Source: S.H.A.N.]*

4.28.17. In March 1995, five civilians — Ar Hsoo (64 from Mong Pan), Kyar Hpa (45 from Nam Muh, Mong Pan), Kyar Hey (25 from Peng Hsan, Mong Pan), Ai Mong (18 from Hwe Hsai, Namsang) and Nun Dor (17 from Hwe Hsai, Namsang) were taken by SLORC as porters for two months as each of them could not afford to pay 60,000 Ks. *[Source: S.H.A.N.]*

4.28.18. From March to April 1995, SLORC conscripted over 180 civilians from Mong Yang in eastern Shan State as porters. Each quarter was also ordered to provide a mule or else pay a fine of 30 rupees (the old English coins — one rupee is worth 75 bath at the current rate.) As none of the porters returned by May 1995, their relatives thought they were dead. Their relatives have been offering alms for their missing kin at local temples. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.19. Since 7 March 1995 SLORC troops stationed on Dta Raw Meh hill have ordered villagers from Kya Ka Chaung village in Thaton Township to send five people everyday to go and cut bamboo for the army camp. Men have to cut 150 bamboo posts per day while women are assigned to cut 100 per day. After the villagers cut the bamboo, the soldiers make them go and sell the bamboo in Bilin Town. The SLORC soldiers take all the money made from sale of the bamboo. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.20. Following the attack on Tachilek by MTA on 20 March 1995, SLORC ordered all the civilians in the town to make a 5km-long concrete barrier along

the bank of Mae Sai River. Each household in the township was ordered to donate 1,700 baht for this construction. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.21. In April 1995, SLORC IB 93 went into Peh La Nuh village in Bilin Township and ordered that every five people have to come and work daily at their camp. They also demanded 100 sheets of roofing thatch and 100 bamboo posts. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.22. On 17 May 1995, SLORC troops led by Maj Sa Thun from Mong Nai-based LIB 518 arrived at Worn Loong Murng village, Worn Norng village-tract, Namsang Township in southern Shan State, and captured six women — Nang Leng, Nang Ong, Nang Ying, Nang Nang, Nang Hurn, Nang Ing — as porters to carry their loads for two days. *[Source: SHRF]*

4.28.23. For the 1995 rainy season offensive against the 4th Brigade area of KNU which started in June, military units under the command of 1st MSC of Southeastern Command arrested at least 1,000 local people in Thayetchaung, Launglon, Tavoy and Yebyu townships and forced them into portering. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.24. In June, 50 people were conscripted from Kanbauk village in Yebyu Township, where there were 8,000 houses, to contribute labour for the construction of Ye-Tavoy Railway Line. They were then forced to get on an army truck and were taken away. Instead of stopping at the railway labour camp, the truck went straight to the base of LIB 404 in Thayetchaung and the civilians were forced into portering. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.25. On 8 June 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 244 guided by Loong Sai, a villager from Yang Kha village, left Kengtung for Murng Puk village-tract in the same township and ordered the people in the area to saw 200 tons of (6 x 8) and (3 x 5) (12ft long) timber from them. All able-bodied men had to put aside their own works and work for them. Each family who had no men, or was unable to go because of illness, was fined 3,000 Ks. All the timbers had to be floated downstream to Yorng Kha village. Later the water dried up and 10 pieces of timber were stranded. The SLORC troops and Loong Sai forced the villagers to buy the timber and filled their own pockets. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.26. From 26 June 1995 onwards, with an aim to use civilians as military porters, SLORC troops conscripted about 1,500 villagers from nearby villages in Loikaw Township, Karenni State. On 27 July 1995, an 18-year-old student who was caught by the SLORC soldiers on the way to his grandparents, died of hunger at the work site. There were four females among the porters who were forced in portering, according to the escapees. According to them, porters were fed only boiled rice twice a day; this only amounted to one condensed milk tin at one time while soldiers themselves enjoyed daily meals (rice and curry). Due to illness, walking "too slow" and inability to work, many porters were beaten, scolded and forced to carry extra loads by the soldiers. Moreover, porters were

provided with no blankets nor rain coats while sleeping in the rain and no medicines when they suffered from malaria, dysentery and the like. As a consequence, many porters died every day.

Moreover, SLORC troops have been confiscating horses in Loikaw for military transportation purposes. Normally these horses are used for pulling horse-carts. Orders were also sent to nearby villages to provide more horses or human beings for portering. Some 60 private vehicles were also confiscated for the transportation of food, arms and ammunition. On 28 June 1995, five truck-loaded porters left Demoso along with other military convoys for the area controlled by KNPP. According to an eye witness, women and students were among the porters. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.28.27. Since the third week of June 1995, SLORC troops approximately 1,000 strong from five battalions — Tavoy- and Thayetchaung-based LIBs 401, 403, 404, 405 and 409, all under Southeastern Command — renewed a series of offensives under the code name of "Spiritual King", which started in January 1995 in the area controlled by the 4th Brigade of KNLA, the armed wing of KNU. It was reportedly known that there were 1,500 porters along with these SLORC troops. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.28.28. In June and July 1995, a number of porters escaped to border areas. Among them were Maung Thant Zaw (23, famer from Pegu), Maung Win Zaw (22, worker in wrought iron factory in Pegu), Maung Htain Lin (18, ex-soldier from Burma Army, Northern Okkalapa, Rangoon), Maung Than Soe (22, farmer from Daik-U, Pegu Division), Ko Tin Oo (49, worker from cooking-oil factory in Waw, Pegu Division), Maung Soe Thein (18, unemployed, from Paung, Mon State) and Maung Khin Maung Soe (25, farmer from Pauk Taw village in Paungde Township, Pegu Division).

All of them were forced to serve as porters under the control of IB 73. They were forced to carry food supplies and ammunitions from rear bases to the front-line outposts several times. Maung Khin Maung Soe and Maung Soe Thein witnessed the execution of two porters by a soldier as they refused to follow the troops due to exhaustion. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.28.29. In the first week of July 1995, SLORC LIB 429 arrested two elderly villagers who were 50 years old and four women from Daw Law Khu village, Shadaw Township, Karenni State, and forced them into portering. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

4.28.30. On 7 July 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 244 guided by Loong Sai, a villager from Yang Kha village, asked people in Mong Puk area to cut wood to make 270 lamp posts for which they would be paid 250 Ks for each. The posts had to be floated downstream to Lahu village on the main road 30 miles away. Instead of paying what they had promised, they even fined each family, who had no men to represent, at the rate of 2,000 Ks each. [Source: S.H.A.N]

4.28.31. On 28 July 1995, about 100 SLORC troops from LIB 520 led by Deputy Bn Comdr Maj Nyan Lwin came to Pung Kur village and asked for a guide. Sai Nar Ga Sing not only had to go with them but also had to carry their things. He was released only after giving a ransom of 5,000 Ks to the troops. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.32. At noon on 12 August 1995, SLORC LIB 424 apprehended local people in Hsi-hseng Township, southern Shan State, to use them as porters during their military operations against KNPP and MTA. Only civil servants were spared from arrest. From 12 to 20 August, about 500 local people were subjected to arrest.

In order to escape from forced portering, local people entered the monkhood or spent the night on the farms or in the hide-outs in the jungle. Due to this situation, the price of robes in Hsi-hseng Town skyrocketed. When the troops did not find any males, they arrested women and children and exchanged them with the men or demanded 30,000 Ks per person for his/her release. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

4.28.33. In fear of forced portering by SLORC troops, all the males in Loi Lem Township and other townships in southern Shan State, dared not sleep at their homes at night. They had to leave their homes at about 6:00 p.m. and spend the night on the farms or in the hide-outs in the jungle. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

4.28.34. On 16 August 1995, SLORC LIB 423 demanded 300,000 Ks from each village in Naung Kyaw village-tract, Wein Kaung village, Kauk Sein village, Law Ka Leh village, Htaung Kae village, Pwan Ran village, Htee Net village (located at the east of Hsi-hseng Township), and Pan Kae village, Pan Ma Kaw village in west of Hsi-hseng Township, and Sike Khoung village, Wan Yin village, Naung Wan village and Loi Put village in Hsi-hseng Township. Moreover, villagers were also subjected to arrest and forced into portering. SLORC troops issued an ultimatum saying that the numbers of porters as fixed by SLORC and 300,000 Ks in cash from each village should be sent on 20 August by the latest. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

4.28.35. On 18 August 1995, over 50 troops from Tanyan-based SLORC IB 33 which patrolled from Worn Kart village-tract to Worn Falum village, Mong Keng village-tract of Tanyan in northern Shan State, surrounded the villages and looked for porters. Since all the men had fled away, 50 women between the age of 17 and 40 were captured and forced into portering. They were forced to carry loads to Na Kha village, Mong Maa village-tract and then detained in the camp of Worn Parng, Veng Hin village-tract, for three days, before being released.

On the same day, the same troops also captured villagers from Na-Song village (Worn Kart village-tract), and Nam Look and Na Loo villages (both in Mong Keng village-tract) and forced them into portering. They had to carry loads from Worn Kart to Worn Parng, a 30-mile journey, and all of them were detained at the camp of Worn Parng. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.36. On 23 August 1995, an explosion occurred at 30-Mile Labour Camp where prisoners were breaking rocks into small pieces for the construction of the railroad in Yebyu Township. Rocks fell on the prisoners at a mining service in the camp, killing two inmates and seriously injuring three others. Those injured were sent to Tavoy Hospital. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.28.37. On 4 September 1995, SLORC IB 48 took porters including Saw Bee Ta Chaung from Ye Tho Gyi village. On 6 September, he and a SLORC private were both wounded by a land-mine near Si Kheh Der village. The soldiers carried the private to their camp for treatment but left Saw Bee Ta Chaung outside without any treatment, and they even made him pay for the rice basket which was damaged in the explosion while carrying . He died from a lack of treatment on 9 September. This is a routine occurrence in Taungoo District. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.38. From 16 to 21 September 1995, 300 local people each from Hsi-hseng and Ho-pong townships, southern Shan State, were arrested and forced into portering by SLORC troops every day. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

4.28.39. On 22 September 1995, two labourers out of three who were assigned to contribute labour at the Heinze Camp of the Ye-Tavoy Railway Line, were forced to swim across the Heinze River by SLORC troops from LIB 408 as a punishment after alleging them of taking rest at the work site without permission. Both of the labourers drowned in Heinze River while they tried to swim across. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.40. On 4 October 1995, SLORC troops under the command of Bri-Gen Comdr Kyi Aung from Taungoo-based Southern Command captured school girls and boys to carry ammunition and heavy loads for them. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.41. On 4 October 1995, Bn Comdr Maj Aung Kyi Shein of LIB 440 entered Bawgali, Taungoo District, captured men and women and forced them to carry supplies and ammunition to Bu Sah Kee. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.42. On 9 October 1995, two forced labourers among the 80 sick labourers in 36-Mile Camp died of malaria and one was killed by a poisonous snake. However, LIB 410, the authority of that camp, did not expand necessary clinics and wards for patients there. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.43. Since the beginning of October 1995, local villagers in Palaw Township in Mergui District and Thayetchaung Township in Tavoy District have been arrested and forced into portering for SLORC's dry season offensive against the Karen armed ethnic group and students from ABSDF. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.44. Since October 1995, every villager from four townships in Tavoy district — Thayetchaung, Longlon, Tavoy and Yebyu townships — has been

summoned by the SLORC authorities for the construction of the Ye-Tavoy Railroad. Each township has to provide about 2,500-3,000 labourers on a compulsory basis. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.45. The use of forced labour is also widespread for the construction of a motorway connecting Mergui-Moe Taung-Kawthaung (Victoria Point). SLORC LIB 358 and IBs 224 and 103 have been rounding up the villagers in the area for use in the construction. Each family in the area is required to dig 10 x 70 ft for the road. SLORC ordered the villagers to bring their own food and tools to the work site where there is no proper medical care. As a consequence, a number of local people in the area have fled their villages since October 1995. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.28.46. On 21 October 1995, four prison labourers from 30-Mile Camp fled from the camp. One of them was gunned down and three escaped. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.28.47. On 21 October 1995, local conscripted labourers returned from the railroad construction site said some labourers who did not work well because of illness during their turn in the camp were not allowed to go back home. Instead, the weak had been forced to work again for the SLORC Army, making bamboo baskets for carrying ammunition, chopping logs and fencing animal farms of army. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.48. On 22 October 1995, 27 conscripted labourers form Heinze Camp who were sent to Tavoy to carry equipment for the construction of railroad went back to their villages when they got to Tavoy. SLORC Col Myint Oo ordered the responsible persons from the villages to send them back to 30-Mile camp as all these labourers had been charged for six months' punishment with hard labour for their escape. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.49. On 23 October 1995, nearly 100 Karen students from Kha Layar and Kaw Thae Dae Guin villages in Taungoo District were arrested by SLORC troops from IB 233 commanded by Lt-Col Aung Naing Tun, Comdr of 2nd MSC under Western Command, for portering, "sweeping" land mines and building new roads. On 24 October, all the arrested villagers were forced to carry supplies and ammunition to Si Kheh Der, and were sent ahead of the troops to clear the mines along the way. The same day, three bulldozers were sent to Kaw Thae Dae village to build a new road from Kaw Thae Dae to Bu Sar Khee village. *[Source: KNU/KHRG]*

4.28.50. In October 1995, SLORC LIB 405 instructed that each villager from Thae Chaung Gyi village, Thayetchaung Township, had to come to their outpost for daily tasks such as cooking, washing clothes, cleaning the compound and more. Anyone who failed to serve these kinds of work had to pay 100 Ks for their turn through member of the village LORC. At the same time, a villager who slaughtered cattle for sale had to pay at least 6kg of meat to LIB 405 and if he failed to do so, he must pay three chickens as fine. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.51. On 3 November 1995, about 60 SLORC troops from Mong Kung-based LIB 514 arrested 11 women Wan Hui village, 11 from Kung Kaw village and another 11 from Wan Long village in Mong Kung area and forced them into portering. The victims were taken away for two nights and two days before their release. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.52. On 5 November 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 440 forced men, women and children from Bawgali, Kaw Soe Ko, Wah Tho Ko, Kaw Thay Der, and Kleh Soe Kee villages in Taungoo District to carry food and ammunition from Kaw Thay Der to Bu Sah Kee army camp. When they reached their destination the villagers were still not released, instead they were forced to cut bamboo and rebuild bunkers. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.53. On 8 November 1995, villagers from Bawga Li, Kaw Soe Kho, War Tho Kho, Kaw Thae Dae, and Kalae Soe Kho, Taungoo District, were forced to carry ammunition and food supplies to the Bo Sar area for SLORC IB 440. As of 11 November 1995, none of them were allowed to return to their villages and forced to serve the army for military construction work. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.54. On 9 November 1995, 60 male porters and 40 female porters were conscripted by Papun-based LIB 340 for military operation in Kyauk Hnyat area of Karen State. During their time as porters, female porters were forced to carry 10 pyi of rice (about 13 kg). Four male porters and ten female porters from that column escaped while they took a rest at Perhike Camp. Naw Htoo Chel (a) Ma Aye Aye Cho (16, a schoolgirl of eight standard), was one of the escapees. Her brother is a medic from DKBO and currently staying in the monastery compound of Myaing Gyi Ngu abbot who is a leader of DKBO. She said that she was caught by LIB 340 on her trip despite she had a travelling document issued by DKBO. Five men and fifteen women were also arrested along with her and conscripted as the porter for the military column. *[Source: ABSDF]*

4.28.55. On 10 November 1995, SLORC troops from Coy 4 of LIB 525 which was stationed at Zalong village, Wan Hard village-tract, Langhko Township, (38 miles south of Langhko, 25 mile south of Wan Hard), forced people from Zalong and surrounding small villages (about 200 houses with a population of 1,230) to build a wooden bridge on Nam Yome (Yome River) about one mile southeast of Zalong. The bridge was 12ft wide and 35ft long, and to be finished within five days. To be able to finish it in time, all the villagers including women and children had to work on the site, leaving only elders to look after their houses.

Part of the road from Wan Hard to Zalong had been completed more than one year ago. The part that goes southeast towards Salween River at the mouth of Nam Teng tributary is roughly finished and almost reached the Salween. Due to the heavy currents during the last rainy season, many trees have fallen and many places and bridges have been destroyed by erosion. People in the areas of Wan Hard, Langhko, Mawkmai were forced to repair the damage at their own expenses. The bridge near

Zalong was one of the damaged parts that the people, including woman and children, of Zalong were forced to repair. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

4.28.56. On 11 November 1995, SLORC troops from IB 55 took people as porters and went to Zayatkyi in order to start military activities in Taungoo District. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.57. Since 13 November 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 440 has been taking villagers as forced labour to work in clearing bushes and building roads around Kaw Thay Der, Si Kheh Der and Plaw Mu Der in Taungoo District. Villagers have to go every day, bringing their own food. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.58. On 30 November 1995, SLORC troops from 1st MSC led by Comdr Myo Hla of the Western Military Command surrounded Kaw Thay Dae and Khalelar villages in Taungoo District and abducted 100 villagers to use as human mine sweepers and to carry war supplies. One of the villagers, Saw Pya Reh (30, a father of five from Kaw Thay De village), who was forced to carry military supplies and walk ahead of the troops, stepped on a land mine at Palo Mude village on the same day and lost a leg. Moreover, a villager from Baw So Kho village lost both of his legs and an arm when he stepped on another land mine in Bu Sar Htar Field on 2 December 1995. As of 4 December 1995, the villagers were still being forced to serve as porters and human mine sweepers. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.59. On 1 December 1995, Saw Sar Mi (32) from Taungoo District who was forced into portering for military operation by SLORC troops, stepped on a land mine near Palaw Mu De village, Taungoo District, and died on the spot. *[Source: KNU]*

4.28.60. On 27 December 1995, Strategic Commander Myo Hla and Intelligence Officer Tin Myo ordered villages around Bawgali to send over 500 porters to Bawgali immediately. They demanded 190 from Bawgali, 100 from Kaw Thay Der, 70 from Pah Thaw Der, 60 from Kaw Soe Ko, 30 from Der Doh, 10 from Ler Ko, 10 from Wah Tho Po, 20 from Maw Pa Der, 20 from Nya Plaw Der, and 20 from Maw Ko Der. They also demanded one truck from Bawgali and another one from Ler Ko. *[Source: KHRG]*

4.28.61. Within one year, 108 out of 530 prison inmates who were sent to Boke Pyin Prison Labour Camp in 1994 have died at that camp in Tenasserim Division. The statistics for 1995 showed that 108 people have died of hunger, a lack of proper medical care, worsening living conditions and the severity of work load. An increased attempts to escape by prisoners has also caused the increasing death toll as the army opened fired on the escapees. As of December 1995, 80 out of the remaining prisoners were being used as porters. *[Source: ABSDF]*

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These logs were transported from Myitkyina along the Irrawaddy River by floated bamboo rafts. Its destination is at this point in north western part of Mandalay City. Then these logs are transported to China.

Local people living in Buffalo point (yard for storing logs) earn from selling Bamboo which are floated along the logs for a living.

For Tourist's sight seeing along the Irrawaddy River and for the construction of belt-road, local people living along the Irrawaddy including from Buffalo point were forced to move to Yadanabon satellite Town which is 10 miles from Buffalo point.

In Yadanabon Satellite Town, local people were forced to sell their farmland at the rate of 3,000 Ks per acre. Those land are later given to the people from Buffalo Point community. A plot is 40x60 ft. The people have to afford water and electricity by themselves.

(V) FORCED RELOCATION AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

5.1. Background

Though there is no fighting in the other areas along the border, forced relocation of the people to leave their home communities and move to government-designated areas, is on-going phenomenon in Burma. The scale of forced relocation and internal displacement is extremely difficult to assess accurately due to the poor communication links between large areas of the country and the outside world. Two million people are estimated to be the internally displaced civilians in Burma.

Forced relocation during the counterinsurgency strategy is the one of the main causes for the internally displacement in Burma. It has been forcing thousands of civilians from their homes and villages as well as to be the internally displaced persons for many years. The military has continued its policy of relocating villagers who could provide a support or be sympathisers for the armed ethnic groups.

In addition to the use of forced relocation as a counterinsurgency strategy, forced relocation is increasingly taking place in order to make way for the unprecedented number of government infrastructure projects currently planned or underway throughout the country. The rapid growth in the size of the army — from an estimated 170,000 in 1988 to 350-400,000 today — and its increased control of ethnic minority inhabited territory has also resulted in villages being relocated to make way for the construction of military bases, as the army seeks to extend its presence throughout the country.

Forced relocation for counterinsurgency purposes is part of a strategy known as the "Four Cuts" by which ethnic minorities living in places where armed opposition groups are active are relocated into areas under government control. Generally villagers are given very little advanced notice that they are to be relocated and villages are frequently destroyed or declared "free fire" zones. That means that anyone found in the zone would be regarded as a member of an opposition group and liable to be shot without any questioning. The Burmese authorities claim that ethnic minorities who have to relocate do so voluntarily, but there is considerable evidence that this is rarely the case. Some relocation places are more appropriately "concentration camps'' with barbed wire fencing, much like "strategic hamlets'' than villages. SLORC does not provide new building materials or fields for relocated victims; villagers must fend for themselves in their new environment, no matter how suitable the soil and surroundings are to habitation.

Orders are given without adequate notice by local military commanders that villagers must leave their homes, carrying what possessions they can. The gas pipeline and related Ye-Tavoy railway have been the reason for massive

Burned village, Taungoo District, November 1995.
Photo: Saw Michael/Burma Issues

Displaced people living in hiding in the forest, Taungoo District, November 1995.

Saw Michael/Burma Issues

Another burned village, Taungoo District, November 1995.

Saw Michael/Burma Issues

A child led by his mother while fleeing SLORC onslaught in Taungoo District, November 1995.

upheavals of whole areas by SLORC. Often villagers are forced to relocate near a military base or into towns, where concentrations of population are less difficult to control than in the jungle. Also, SLORC creates a "resource pool'' to be more readily tapped for forced labour this way. There has been reports of arrests, arbitrary killings, rape and other forms of torture by the military in the context of forced relocation.

SLORC's policy of social and political control over the people has forced many people to flee. This is nothing new and has been going on since the Ne Win Era, affecting millions of Burma's citizens, with two million being displaced in the past seven years alone. The military aims to isolate and to ensure that insurgent groups do not have any support among the people. This lack of stability, for homes and welfare of common people, aims at strengthening SLORC to maintain control over the people and to consolidate power in the ethnic areas.

While massive relocation is going on in the countryside, even urbanites are not exempt from such upheavals. In connection with Visit Myanmar Year 1996, there have been many reports of forced relocation throughout Burma. SLORC has forced inhabitants of Rangoon, Mandalay and other major cities to relocate to "satellite towns'', which are little more than shanty towns without running water or electricity, so that the centres of these cities can be sold off to foreign developers for hotel facilities and other projects. Thereby, electricity is drained from outlying areas and other neighbourhoods. The new towns are also easier to control should a repeat of 1988 ever occur, with the people spread out over geography that is easily manageable for the military to quell dissent.

5.2. Displacement after the Fall of Manerplaw

After the fall of Manerplaw on 27 January 1995, SLORC continued its offensive as they wanted to set up permanent establishment along the entire Salween and Moei River sections of the Thai border. In the process of the Manerplaw/Salween offensive, tens of thousands of villagers suffered the most. At least 100 Karen villages were destroyed or no longer exist. The following is just a partial list:

Tee Thay Kee, Tee Taw Kloh, Kler Thay Lu (t), Tee Thay Kee (t), Mae Po Hta (t), Mu Yu Hta (t), Baw Shaw Lu (t), Pa Hee Lu (t), Pway Baw Lu (t), Htoo Wah Lu (t), Ka Paw Lu (t), Ga Ma, Ya Deh Ni, Lah Hee Lu, Thu Mwe Hta, Mae Let Hta, Gawa Yeh, Meh Leh Kee, Oo Ghay Thu, Meh Bpa, Mae Nyaw Khei, Meh Pru, dozens of small villages in Meh Pru area, Mae Kong Kay, Mae Paw Mu Hta, Pu Mya Lu (t), Thay Law Hta (t), Mae Paw Mu Hta (t), many villages Mae Paw Mu Hta areas, Bwa Der, Maw Leh Meh Hta, Meh Ku Hta, Meh Nyo Hta, Nya Ku Pu, Wah Ku Der, Ee Thu Ku, Ko Ra Hta, Baw Bo Kyu, Klaw Hta, Ko Lar Hta, Htoo Ka Toe, Htay Day, Htoo Bway Kay, Htay Kler Toe, Saw Bway Der, Moi Yeh Hta, Du Ho Reh, Kyauk Hnyat, Thee Muh Hta, Weh Gyi, Weh Gyi (t), Oo Thu Hta, Ka Htee Hta (t), Bon Ya Hta (t), Oo Da Hta (t), Oo Kweh Hta (t), Yaung Nai Oo (t), ... and many others not named here.

KHRG

No free rides -- Even children have to pitch in, carrying family belongings to safety during SLORC attacks -- Taungoo District.

NLD-LA

Villagers cross the Salween to flee from DKBA/SLORC attacks in March 1995.

Those denoted by (t) were displaced Karen villages or refugee camps on the Thai side of the border. Many of civilian-only villages were burned and destroyed by advancing SLORC troops or forced to flee before SLORC could arrive. Those who remained in their villages suddenly found themselves with no Karen Army in the area to protect them. In these cases, many fled as soon as SLORC appeared near the village, or after SLORC had shelled or shot at the village upon entering it. Villages in Kyauk Hnyat area of the upper Salween River found that after their area was occupied, DKBA began posting notices in some villages stating that all villagers must join DKBO or their villages would be burned. When this happened, Christians were the first to flee, followed by Buddhists.

Many villages west of the Salween River were forcibly relocated south and west to areas further inside Karen State in the area of Myaing Gyi Ngu, headquarters of DKBO. It appeared that SLORC and DKBA tried to clear all civilians out of the region within 10 km or more of the Thai border, effectively establishing this swath of territory as a military-only zone. It have seemed SLORC is trying to introduce a "Fifth Cut": in addition to the "Four Cuts" strategy to cut off the opposition from civilian support, SLORC tried to do everything it enabled to cut off the escape route of refugees to Thailand. Over the past year or two, SLORC seems to have realised that the flight of refugees is a weak point in its complete control over the country; there has been a great increase in SLORC's verbal attacks on refugees in the media and in SLORC pressure on neighbouring countries to return the refugees. In recorded conversations last year, some senior SLORC Intelligence officers discussed how in the Irrawaddy Delta they have no problem with forced labour projects because the people cannot escape, but in areas closer to the borders such as Arakan State and the Ye-Tavoy railway, people flee to neighbouring countries, causing problems for the projects and international bad publicity for SLORC. The regime may feel that if it can eliminate the embarrassing existence of refugees, it will be one large step closer to absolute power within Burma and general acceptance abroad. While most people agree that it would be virtually impossible for SLORC to completely block its long and forested border with Thailand, it could certainly decrease the flow of refugees to a trickle if it can establish a wide "free-fire" military-only zone adjacent to the border, and if Thailand is willing to co-operate by immediately handling back any refugees it captures (as it is already doing along the Shan State border), then this "Fifth Cut" could be very effective. Fewer people would even try not to escape if they knew they had little chance of succeeding. New refugees reported that there were 700 Karen families from Kyauk Hnyat area who wanted to flee to Thailand but were trapped between two main SLORC lines extending north-south along the Salween River and east-west from Kyauk Hnyat to Papun.

Of those who fled that offensive, over 10,000 arrived in Thailand, many were hiding in the mountains and forests of their home areas, many fled to the homes of relatives or friends in villages or towns further inside Burma, and some had to go, whether by force, threats, fear, or willingly, to DKBA camps. In these DKBA locations, they were provided with food from SLORC. One particular location near Myaing Gyi Ngu has been set up by SLORC as a "model village", and is now

regularly featured in their media as a propaganda exercise. SLORC Television and print media have shown SLORC generals and SLORC "Non-Governmental Organisations" (such as "Maternal and Child Health-care and Welfare Association" headed by Intelligence Chief Khin Nyunt's wife) visiting the "model village" to give gifts to dazed-looking Karen villagers who have "fled the yoke of KNU rule". SLORC's Burmese-language radio reported that SLORC had invited foreign NGOs to come in and give aid to these "refugees", but as yet there have been no reports of any takers. It appears likely that SLORC will have maintained one or two such places as they are for show, while most villagers who went to DKBA were kept in other villages — where they were treated well for a few months, then subjected to be porters and labourers for the SLORC military. The testimony of "Saw Htoo Thaw" under "Personal Accounts", interview 24 gives an insight of life in the "model village", including forced labour and forced conscription as porters and soldiers. [Source: KHRG]

5.3. Food as a Tool for Forced Relocation

In the rainy season of 1994 (June-October), record rainfalls caused severe flooding which destroyed paddy crops throughout Karen areas, including Papun District. When the dry season came SLORC and DKBA worked together to steal or destroy village food supplies throughout Papun District, using food as a weapon to forcibly relocate villagers in several areas to the camps near SLORC Army bases or to DKBA's headquarters at Khaw Taw (Myaing Gyi Ngu). Many villagers lost most or all of their already insufficient rice supply from last year's harvest. Although next harvest would not due until at least November, attacks on villages by SLORC and DKBA forced most villagers into the forest and they were not able to plant again. A human rights monitor who returned from Papun District reported:

> "The situation of villagers in the area where I conducted interviews is very critical and serious. Most of them are without rice and they don't have adequate shelter. Children are malnourished and have no medical care."

DKBA continued to order all villages in the area to move to their headquarters at Khaw Taw near Kamamaung, which is far to the south in the plains and very foreign to these hill villagers. Christians and Animists feared persecution in Khaw Taw and Buddhists were aware that their sons would be forced into DKBA once they got there. DKBA burned villages such as Bwa Der which refuse to go. SLORC Strategic Commander in Papun ordered the heads of 12 villages in the Papun area at a meeting that they would be forcibly moved to Khaw Taw at the end of rainy season [*See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 89*]. For DKBA, this strategy was aimed at getting them more conscripts and a larger civilian population under their control; for SLORC, they may be trying to clear all areas in Papun District close to the Thai border in order to set up a large free-fire zone and effectively block any further refugee flows from all northern Karen districts to Thailand.

U Maung Thaung, 44, with wife and child. Their house was burned down in the attack on 21 December 1995 at Wah Baw village. Photo: an independent human rights monitor

Homeless -- a villager salvages his belongings from a burned house. SLORC troops entered the village and burned it down in November 1995 -- Taungoo District.

Since January 1995, many villages have been forced to move to intermediate villages closer to SLORC camps. These intermediate villages, such as Wah Mi Day and Kler O Der, were then forced to move to Khaw Taw. Villages which resist were subjected to harassment, attacks, looting, burning, and villagers were tortured and used as human shields and human mine-sweepers.

As a consequence, over seven hundred refugees from several parts of Papun District crossed the Salween River into Thailand in May and June [1995], and are now in refugee camps. Thousands more were in hiding in the forests of Papun District, not knowing where to go next and what to do. Many of them wanted to escape to Thailand but were blocked by large numbers of SLORC troops along the way. Villagers from north and northeast of Papun have been daunted by the obstacle of a car road which runs northeast from Papun through Par Haik to a new SLORC base at Kyauk Hnyat near the Salween River. There are killing grounds along both sides of the road which is heavily patrolled by SLORC troops. To reach the Thai border, the villagers have definitely to cross this road. [*Source: KHRG*]

5.4. Displaced in the Name of Development Programme

Since the construction of Ye-Tavoy railroad has been going on, local civilians have been accused of being supporters of the rebels. Forced relocation campaigns against the local inhabitants living around the gas pipeline area and other confrontation zones have been carried out, where armed opposition groups are active. These areas are still engineered by local SLORC troops more terribly than before. To establish a "free fire zone", many villagers in the area have suffered severe mistreatment and routine and systematic relocation of their villages which were "labelled" by SLORC as base areas of the rebels. In March and April 1995, civilians in Moulmein District were accused of being supporters of Mon rebels, which had been a signal for their relocation to be conducted by SLORC troops. The same plight happened to Ah Mae village in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, which was totally destroyed and relocated by the SLORC during the second and third weeks of April 1995. About 130 families of the former inhabitants there are of Mon nationality and most of them are local farmers.

Initially, since the beginning of dry season, when the SLORC resumed the construction of the railway, those villagers were levied various kinds of taxes every month. As a common situation, whenever the SLORC troops arrived at the village, they always arrested men to use as porters and then they transferred these civilians to conscript labour camp to be used as labourers for the construction of Ye-Tavoy railway. Since the beginning of March and April 1995, SLORC troops from LIBs 408 and 410 have ordered the villagers to move their houses from their home village of Ah Mae and to relocate in another village named Kyaethonenyima where SLORC have a base. Upon refusal by the villagers to relocate to a new place as they lived in their original land for

generations, SLORC troops considered that the villagers were encouraged by the local armed ethnic group. In April, when light fighting broke out between SLORC and Mon troops, the village was considered a base area of the Mons. After such an allegation, the SLORC troops justified any confiscation of the villagers' properties and eventually destroyed the village. The troops came into the village very often and punished the villagers inhumanely by taking their belongings, confiscating rice, arresting villagers for portering, accused them of being rebels and using torture. The villagers were also forced to show the bases of Mon troops.

On the eve of Water Festival (13 April 1995), SLORC troops issued an order saying anybody found in the village would be shot dead, leading the abbot to leave the village. Thus, the villagers had to flee from their village and were displaced in the nearby forest and farmlands. They faced shortage of food and other hardships. At the same time, all their belongings and rice in the village were regularly taken by SLORC soldiers. Some were hiding in the forest while others fled to refugee camps along the border. At last, the village was uninhabited. According to the villagers who escaped to a refugee camp, Ah Mae was a pleasant village with nice surroundings of various kinds of trees growing there. For that reason, the villagers did not want to abandon the village. It has not been sure whether they can return and stay in the near future.

On 16 April 1995, about 10 families from Ah Mae village arrived in Payaw Mon Refugee Camp and sought refuge for their safety and survival. Another 15 families arrived again at the end of April. *[Source: HURFOM]*
[*See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 140-143*]

5.5. Clearing the Way for Gas Pipeline

In February 1995, after signing a gas exploration agreement with foreign oil companies — UNOCAL of USA and TOTAL of France — SLORC have tried to relocate many local villages which were possible for the rebels to harbour and attack the gas drilling areas and gas pipeline route. To prevent such attacks in the furture, SLORC destroyed Mon-inhabited Kyauktayan village in Yebyu Township. From the point of view of SLORC troops, Kyauktayan village which was situated on the Andaman seacoast and housing about 250 families was regarded as a strategic position for the rebels to attack the gas drilling areas by boats.

On 16 February, about 100 SLORC troops from LIB 406 led by Col Aung Min and Lt-Col Win Aung penetrated Kyauktayan village, arrested all the village heads and took them to Natkyizin outpost. Then the soldiers ordered them to move their villagers to Natkyizin. As most of the inhabitants were fishermen, it was impossible for them to move. Although the village headmen insisted the impossibility of relocating their villagers, whose means of survival was fishing along the seacoast, their complaints were turned down by the military. Then, the commander issued an eviction notice, saying to move the village within one week without any complaint or, if not, the SLORC troops must destroy the village. As the villagers did not want to move, on 23 February, the troops

entered their village again and destroyed all the houses within two days and drove out all inhabitants. It was very inconvenient for the villagers to move into Natkyizin village because they had no money to afford for land and facilities. Therefore, the villagers were forcibly displaced in the nearby jungle and faced with innumerable hardships. It was impossible for them to take refuge in the border areas as the village was far away from the refugee camp. [*Source: HURFOM*]

After the survey team for the gas pipe line was attacked by the Karen troops on 8 March 1995, many local Karen and Mon villages were again vulnerable to forced relocation by SLORC troops. During the attack, five workers died and many others were wounded.

At night on 23 March, about 80 troops from SLORC IB 104 led by Lt Aung Nyein arrived at Taungchun village together with 40 porters. As soon as they arrived there, the soldiers attempted to arrest all the men in the village. This led to many men fleeing from their village overnight. At about 10:00 a.m. on 24 March, the village was totally reduced to ashes with the allegation of harbouring the rebels. All the villagers there were driven out and ordered to move to Kyaethonenyima village. There were about 60 households in that village which was inhabited by Mon and most of them were farmers.*[Source: HURFOM*]

5.6. Torture Leads to Displacement

During the military operation launched from November 1994 and March 1995 by combined SLORC troops of IBs 31 and 62, Mon villagers from Line, Kawkhalein, Kyaikabin, Palaingkamort, Kawgo, Kanni, Kawkyaik, Pinekamar, Kawjamalein and Kotkataw villages in Kyaikmaraw Township, Mon State, were constantly tortured and many of them fled from their villages and were displaced in the jungle or on the farmlands around the area along side of Gyaing River.

Combined SLORC troops based in Kawkareik Town and Kawbain village in Karen State and mostly led by Col Ohn Myint, Lt-Col Than Win, Capt Aye Min, Capt Thin Hlaing and Capt Aung Lwin, continuously accused the local people of being supporters of Mon troops and committed various kinds of human rights violations. *[Source: HURFOM]*

In the last week of January 1995, these combined troops of SLORC led by Col Ohn Myint ordered the villagers from Line, Palaingkamort, Kyaikabin and Kotkataw villages in Kyaikmaraw Township to relocate as soon as possible to Kawbain village where there is a military base. After they issued the order, a Buddhist abbot from Palaingkamort village approached them and appealed not to implement the relocation campaign. The soldiers were angry at the abbot and coercively disrobed the abbot. After that, most of the men in the villages dared not return to stay in their home community again.

In February 1995, SLORC troops led by Col Ohn Myint issued another order saying,

> "If the civilians were innocent or had no connection with the rebels, they must remain in their villages and then must relocate to Kawbain village as mentioned in the previous order. If the villagers refused to abide by the order, they would accuse those villagers of being rebels."

After the troops issued this order, they often came into the villages, destroyed some houses and took the villagers' belongings from the houses where there was no man as they accused those men of being rebels. Family members of those men were also afraid to stay in the villages and fled to join their husbands in some farmlands to escape from the dangerous situations. Later on, as the troops came and tortured the village headmen, many villagers fled into the jungle east of their villages. Some villages were nearly and totally destroyed as nobody wanted to stay any longer in the villages. [*Source: HURFOM*]

On 24 April 1995, SLORC troops from IB 62 confiscated the rubber plantation near Yaungdaung village in Mudon Township, Mon State, and planned to relocate about 400 families who resided in Kwankhabawe village and more than 300 families dwelled in Htonemine village. The owners of rubber plantations who were mostly from Yaung-daung village, did not receive any compen-sation from the military. Moreover, the military forced the villagers to cut down all rubber trees and to clear ground for the settlement of planned villagers. Of the villagers who were vulnerable under the military's forced re-location campaign, some fled from their village and hid in the forests near the Taungnyo mountain which lied in the east parallel with Mudon-Thanbyuzayat Motorway. Most of the villagers did not want to move away from their villages because they costly owned rubber plantations and low-rice farmlands which are close to their villages. *[Source: HURFOM]*

Thaung Khun, a Mon village in Yebyu Township was burnt down by SLORC Battalion 410.

5.7. Militarisation Leads to Forced Labour, Execution and Displacement

In January 1995, SLORC began Operation "Aung Tha Pyay" in Taungoo District with the aim of consolidating SLORC control over the district by driving all villagers into military-controlled areas, killing all villagers who failed to obey, and cutting off all possibilities of support to opposition organisations. The operation is led by Southern Command, currently under Brig-Gen Kyi Aung. 1st, 2nd and 3rd MSC under Southern Command are involved as well as 1st and 2nd MSC from Western Command. Battalions being used include IB 20 (from Akyab, Arakan State), IB 26 (Taungoo), IB 34 (Kyaukpyu), IB 48 (Oktwin), IB 55 (Sandoway), IB 232 (Akyab), IB 233 (Buthidaung, Arakan State), IB 234 (Buthidaung), IB 263 (Buthidaung), LIB 354 (Akyab), LIB 439 (Sandoway), and LIB 535 (Sandoway). Lt-Col Aung Naing Htun, head of 2nd MSC of Western Command, ordered the villagers to build his Strategic Command office in Bawgali, and demanded a total of 160,000 Ks from surrounding villages for the costs of the building. IB 234 demands 30 porters for the Strategic Command office at all times, and to avoid sending them the villages are forced to pay a total of 90,000 Ks per month.

The operation was severely intensified in October 1995, and by the end of October seventeen villages in Bawgali area had been partly or totally burned down, making almost 3,000 people homeless (villages: Saw Wah Meh, Maw Thay Der, Law Bee Leh, Beh Lo, Gaw Tu Toh, May Daw Ko, Si Kheh Der, Plaw Mu Der, Tha Kwee Soe, Bu Sah Kee, Ta Aye Kee, Saw Mu Der, Pway Baw Kee, Say Daw Ko, Kaw Lu, Zaw Ta Der, and Say Ta Der [Wah Mi Ber Ko]). In the course of the operation, villages, fields and harvested crops were burned and livestock were shot in a deliberate attempt to wipe out food supplies. Paddy prices in the area have soared to 1,000 Ks per basket, sometimes up to 1,500 Ks (double to triple the already badly inflated prices in urban Burma). Hundreds of villagers were taken as porters and others were routinely shot on sight. In 1995, over 40 villagers were shot dead on sight by SLORC soldiers in Bawgali Township alone, including 17 people who were executed just between 11 November and 2 December. After forcing villages to move, SLORC planted land-mines around the villages and along the paths, which have caused many civilian casualties. SLORC does not map its land-mines, nor do KNLA forces who also planted land-mines in the area. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.8. Visit Myanmar Year 1996 Leads to Displacement

As a preparation for "Visit Myanmar Year 1996", orders were given in Taungoo Town that every house along the Motorway must have a corrugated metal roof and a brick wall in front [Taungoo is on the Rangoon-Mandalay Motorway]. Any family which fail to obey has to leave their house. As part of SLORC's project to extend the Rangoon-Mandalay Motorway, many buildings close to the road have been torn down without compensation, including some famous

buildings such as Keh Ko Keh Ba Church and Burmese Church, which were in Ok Kyut Tan Quarter of Taungoo.

All along the Taungoo- Bawgali, Taungoo-Leik Tho, and Taungoo-Thandaung motorways, SLORC has been burning the roadsides (to clear killing grounds for road security), which has destroyed many plantations of dogfruit, coffee, durian and betel-nut. All the villagers living near these roads have been forced to work on them.

Most villagers in Mu Thaw Der, Kaw Thu Der, Law Bu Ler, Beh Lo, Saw Wah Der, Mu Daw Ko, Ko Daw Ko, Si Kheh Der, Plaw Mu Der, Tha Kwee Soe, Bu Sah Kee, Kaw Mu Der, Kaw Thay Der, Wah Law Tee, Saw Thay Der, Kaw Lu, Ha Toe Per, Thay Ko Der, Klay Kee, Ta Yeh Kee, Bu Kee, and other villages have fled into the jungle and are trying to survive there. Estimated population of the 21 villages listed alone is over 3,000. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.9. Recent Forced Relocation in Tenasserim Division

Since December 1995, with the accusation of having contact with the armed ethnic groups in the region, hundreds of specific villages in Tenasserim Division have been ordered to relocate to a designated area which is under SLORC control. As local people's former villages were closed to their fertile farmland, it was convenient for them. Recently, commander of Thayetchaung-based SLORC LIB 403 has ordered the villagers in Ait Ait village-tract — Ait Ait, Kyauk Takwa, Mee-laung-chaung, Malakar Chaung, Pa-on (Karen), Pa-on (Mon), Kyauk-Se, Kin Pun Chone, Se Taw, Kamar Ain, Pe-Chaung Pya and Padauk — to relocate or their villages would be burnt down if they do not co-operate with the army. [*Source: ABSDF*]

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 22-23, 26-30, 43-44, 75-76, 83, 87-88, 90-101, 103, 106, 113, 121-125, 130, 146-149, 153, 199, 211-213, 219-220, 223-224, 238-239, 258, 266-268, 276-277, 281-283, 285-291, 294, 300, 308-309]

5.10. List of Incidents

5.10.1. On 23 February 1995, Loikaw Township LORC in Karenni State ordered the people living in the main street, in front of the station, to rebuild concrete buildings or brick houses urgently. They were also ordered to build the wall by 15 November to meet "modernisation". It cost 20,000-30,000 Ks for building the wall of each residence. Due to lack of money, the common people who could not afford to carry it out had to move to a new area, selling their houses at extremely low prices. In July, SLORC also ordered to relocate some houses for road extension. SLORC never arranged to provide assistance for these distresses nor offered to pay compensation. That was attributed to the SLORC's programme which aims to attract foreign tourists for the planned Visit

Myanmar Year. Similar cases have been occurring throughout the country. *[Source: ABSDF]*

5.10.2. From 1 to 15 March 1995, the commander of SLORC IB 68 forced local people in 26 villages of Murng Keng, Warn Kart and Murng Tom village-tracts of Tanyan Township, northern Shan State, to leave their villages within 15 days and come to stay near the SLORC troops at Warn Kart village of Warn Kart village-tract. They threatened to burn down the houses of those who refused to leave their villages.

After the people had left their villages and gone to stay at Warn Kart, they realised that there was not enough space for them to live, to plant and to plough. They then had to get permission to go back to their old fields (some up to 15 miles away) to work, but they had to come back the same day. At the check point, anyone who did not have any permission was accused of being supporter of the MTA and was beaten savagely.

Table 6. List of the households that fled away from those three village-tracts:

1. Na Kor	50 households
2. Norng Ham	30
3. Norng Tsarm	35
4. Norng Lurm	25
5. Fai Lang	30
6. Nam Look	30
7. Koan Mon	70
8. Loi Lurm	30
9. Mark Kharm	80
10. Na Sorng	45
11. Ho Sor	30
12. Vein Kwaii	40
13. Parng Lor	40
14. Warn Norng Noo	20
15. Na tee	42
16. Na Leang	22
17. Koan Nim	33
18. Na Lao	41
19. Nam Sork	85
20. Norng Khar	34
21. Na Kong	30
22. Kor-leng	31
23. Kew Saii	65
24. Tse le	41
25. Ho Moan	42
26. Worn Korng	32
Total	1,043

[Source: S.H.A.N]

5.10.3. On 2 May 1995, ninety four families of Aung Tha Sa quarter in Kalemyo, Sagaing Division, were forced to move to a remote area and build a village there at their own expenses. The families of Maj Aung Khin, U Ba Ohn (ex-chairman of the SLORC Regional Administrative Council) and U Ngwe Thein (an Inspector at Kalemyo police station) were paid compensation by SLORC even though their houses had not been torn down. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.4. On 5 May 1995, DKBA troops entered Bwa Der village, south of Papun, towards the confluence of the Salween and Moei rivers in Karen State. The soldiers ordered the villagers to move to Noh Pu and Tee Nu Khaw Hta, then on to Khaw Taw (Mying Gyi Ngu). As the villagers refused to go, the DKBA troops burned down the church, all of the five houses and all the rice barns in the central part of the village. And they said that if the villagers did not move by 8 June 1995, they would take them by force. Later on, all villagers abandoned the village. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.5. At the end of May 1995, villagers remaining in Thay Ko Der village, Papun District, and other villages in Ka Lor Hta village-tract, including Meh Kya Po Der village, were forcibly moved to Pah La, located on the outskirts of Papun Town. SLORC forced the ethnic Indians living in the area to provide food to these villagers. Each Indian family had to contribute one basket [33.5 kg.] to two baskets [67 kg.] of rice monthly. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.6. In late May 1995, villagers from several village tracts were ordered or forced to move to Khaw Taw (Myaing Gyi Ngu), headquarters of DKBA. In Meh Nya Hta village-tract, the affected villages under the relocation campaign included Meh Ku Hta, Meh Nyo Hta, U Thaw Hta, and Klaw Hta. In Bwa Der village-tract, Paw Di Der, Saw Leh Der, Bwa Der, Meh Pa, and To Po Pwa Der villages were also subjected to forced relocation. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.7. In late May 1995, further down the Salween River closer to Ka Ma Maung, in Hlaingbwe Township of Karen State, villagers in Meh Prih, Tee Baw Kho and Tee Baw Kee villages were forced to move to Meh Prih Pa Doh. villagers in Tee Hay Loh, Waw Maw Loh, Kwee Law Ser and Paw Tah Kwee were forced to move to Mah Nyaw village. Villagers from Dta Thu Klah, Ban Kyo Hta, Boh Kyi, Meh Ka La, Ta Khaw Ko, Bwe Kay and Kyawpa Tah Po Bu villages were forced to move to Khaw Taw (Myaing Gyi Ngu). As all of these villages were far from the Thai border, they had no chance to escape. Each person who went to Khaw Taw got only four pyi of rice per month. [About 6 kg, less than half the ration for a single person in the refugee camps, which is less than they would eat in their village.] *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.8. During the first week of June 1995, the Buddhist abbot of Tse-dee Dhat Fung Lo Monastery (which is situated in the north of Sensai Quarter, Tachilek Township, at the foot of Loi Sathoon Hill) asked the Chairman of Township LORC for a large plot near the SLORC military base of LIB 311 to resettle over

200 homeless households. Permission was granted, and each family had to pay 4,000 baht for legal permission to stay at the site. However, three months later, new chairman of Township SLORC Capt Win Aung ordered them to relocate from that site. Their newly-built homes were destroyed; some families fled to their relatives' in Tachilek and some fled to Mae Sai in Thailand.

Those who had nowhere to go, almost eleven households in total, gathered together and settled west of Sensai Quarter, next to the cemetery. On 24 August 1995, Capt Win Aung ordered these people to move and destroyed their make-shift homes. All of them, therefore, had to shelter in Thailand as refugees. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

5.10.9. After 23 June 1995 attack of SLORC IB 25 on Thabyu Chaung village, Thayetchaung Township in Tenasserim Division, villagers from Thabyu Chaung and nearby Kyauk Htu village (800 population), Sin Ku Aing village (1,000 population), and Nyaung Pin Seik village (500 population) fled their villages and went to a KNU-controlled area near the Thai-Burmese border. SLORC troops then set the whole Thabyu Chaung village ablaze. The majority of the population were Karen in that village, which lies 45 km from Thayetchaung and 90 km from the Thai-Burmese border. Some 100 civilians ran for their lives and eventually escaped to Emara village, opposite Kanchanaburi Province 12 km from the Thai-Burmese border, on 29 June. About 500 civilians from the nearby villages left their home communities in fear of SLORC's persecution and proceeded to the Thai-Burmese border. Among the escapees were Buddhist monks, pregnant women and children. *[Source: ABSDF/KHRG]*

5.10.10. In July 1995, SLORC IB 92 drove out villagers of the following villages in Bilin Township, Mon State, from one place to another.
Table 7. Displaced Villagers in Bilin Township, July 1995

No.	Village	No. families	No. of people	Village tracts
1.	Ee Su Kee	44	253	Ee Su Kee
2.	Klee Taw Naw	20	86	" "
3.	Maw Kee	6	25	" "
4.	Thay Kee Klah	12	45	" "
5.	Htote Po Hta	35	n.a.	Meh Naw Ther
6.	Noh Key	57	" "	
7.	Pe Wah Hta	72	" "	
8.	Kaw Htee Kee	69	" "	
9.	Kaw Htee Hta	70	" "	
10.	Paw Ru Kee	25	" "	
11.	Meh Naw Ther Kee	17	" "	
12.	Ha Lay	17	" "	

[Source: KNU]

5.10.11. In August 1995, Capt Nyan Lwin from SLORC LIB 520 ordered the villagers of Tong Zu and Hui Zoi to move into town or nearby villages such as

Ho Phai, Nong Hee and Nyong Kham, where some had their relatives. The villagers from a total of over 70 households had to move within seven days. The order said, after the deadline anyone found on the road, in the woods or even in the farms and fields, would be shot on sight. The Burmese soldiers then moved away, leaving only seven households from both villages to look after the monks and the monastery (or to gather information for them).

The villagers, unwilling to lose their houses, cattle, farms, fields and other property, collected money among themselves to bribe the army. A total of 200,000 Ks was sent directly to Lt-Col Kyi Lin, Comdr of LIB 520. About half a month later, an order was issued that all the villagers who had moved to town had to go back to their respective villages of origin. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

5.10.12. On 25 August 1995, about 200 SLORC troops from LIB 520 led by Maj Kyi Lin came from Mong Pan to Ton Kwai village and proceeded to Nong Harn village in Wan Khook village-tract, Mong Pan Township, South Shan State, where they asked for two bullock carts. Two men — the village headman Loong Phong (56, husband of Nai Yane and son of Loong Ku and Pa Nang) and Sai Tame (37, son of Loong Yan Na and Pa Nang) — had to drive the carts for them. When they arrived at Hui Pah Leng Stream between Nong Harn and Wan Larn villages, about 3 miles from Nong Harn, they clashed with MTA troops. After that the soldiers forced the villagers from Wan Larn and Nong Harn to evacuate their homes. The villages are thus then deserted. There were 20 houses in Wan Larn and 37 houses in Nong Harn. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

5.10.13. In September 1995, SLORC troops under the command of Capt Thein Han from Mong Pan-based LIB 332 forced people from Lower Tong Kwai village, Upper Tong Kwai village, Wan Laan village, Nong Harn village, Wan Nam Wor Poong village and Kant Kan village to move into town. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

5.10.14. On 1 September 1995, IB 233 led by Lt-Col Soe Win Tin ordered Ka Sa Pa Doh (30 households), Tee Loh (20 households), and Beh Taw Day (40 households) villages to move to the side of the road from Baya Na Thi to Tha Pyay Nyunt army camp in Taungoo District. They were told they had 15 days to move, after which IB 233 would come to the villages and move them by the use of force. IB 233 also ordered Sah See Bone (400 households), Yin Hlaing (100 households), Zee Pyu Gone (150 households), and Taungoo (100 households, not to be confused with Taungoo Town) villages to move to Aung Mya Aye (between Zayatkyi and Taungoo). *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.15. On 1 September 1995, SLORC troops from Coy 1 commanded by Capt Thein of LIB 20, under the command of LID 77, combined with DKBA troops entered Ta Meh Kee village in Thaton District and burned down the house of Tee Maung Khin. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.16. Since the arrest and torture of 20 men from Kant Kan village, Wan Khook village-tract, Mong Pan Township, southern Shan State, by 200 SLORC troops led by Capt Gyi Myint from LIB 332 on 9 September 1995, the village has become virtually deserted. Only about 15 houses are still inhabited out of the original 68. Most of the villagers were hiding in the jungle and some have fled to Thailand.

The last group that crossed the Salween River heading for Thailand consisted of 5 families (including 11 women and children). Among the victims were Loong Sai Ya (had to abandon 2 fields, 2 farms, 18 buffaloes, 10 cows, 3 pigs, 80 chickens and 10 lang of paddy), Sang Or (lost 16 fields, three farms, five buffaloes, eight cows, 20 chickens and 40 lang of paddy), Sai Swe (had to abandon four fields, one farm and five lang of paddy), Nang None (lost three fields, two farms, six buffaloes, one pig, 15 chickens and 10 lang of paddy) and Sai Tame (had to leave one pig, 10 chickens, five lang of paddy and one bullock cart). *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

5.10.17. On 9 September 1995, the headmen of Kaw Mu Der, Klay Soe Kee and Ku Lu Der villages were ordered to a meeting at Bawgali Gyi army camp and given orders to move to Taungoo, Bawgali and Ye Tho Gyi villages by 30 September 1995. They were told that after that period their villagers would be shot if seen in their home areas. They were ordered to move in order to work on a new road. Wah Thaw Ko, Ku Plaw Der, Maw Pa Der, Beh Khaw Der, Der Doh and Maw Ko Der villages were ordered to move to Bawgali for the same reason. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.18. On 15 September 1995, Maj Ngan Lwin of SLORC LIB 332 ordered the villagers of Wor Hwe Tsoi Tung Tsu to abandon their village and resettle in the town of Mong Pan within one week. On 18 September 1995, some elderly villagers went and begged for permission to remain in their village. They were told that this would be granted if they could pay 220,000 Ks to Major Ke Lin from Coy 2 of LIB 332 in Mong Pan the following day. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*

5.10.19. On 16 September 1995, SLORC troops from IB 48 stationed at Bu Sah Kee [Bosar Khee] camp entered Bu Sah Kee village in Taungoo District and burned down the houses. As all the villagers fled into the forest, the troops looted their belongings. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.20. At 4:00 p.m. on 25 September 1995, IB 54 Column Commander Aung Myint burned down 11 houses in Bler Ghaw village, Yeh Mu Plaw village-tract, Papun District, and looted all the belongings of 12 families including their money, rice, clothing, blankets, cooking pots, plates, machetes and jewellery. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.21. On 26 September 1995, local SLORC authorities in Thandaung Township, Karen State, issued an eviction notice to all the ethnic villages in the area to relocate to the designated area called "Developed and United village" on 15 October 1995 by

the latest. It also harassed the villagers at gun point that those who failed to abide by the order would be regarded as illegal persons and faced harsh action.

As a first step, over 370 households in 18 villages — Ye Lone village, Greater Chin Poung Taung village, New Chin Poung Taung village, Amara village, Ngwe Taung village, Upper Myauk Nan Cho, Lower Myauk Nan Cho, Koe Dit Ywa Tan Shay, Koe Dit Nyaung Bin Taung, Koe Dit Thayet Taung, Min Lan Taung, Upper Kywe Kya, Lower Kywe Kya, Seik Phu Gone village, Tit Poke Pin, Hle Sakhan, Sin An Taung and Mi Ei Gyi — were ordered to relocate. The designated area is located near Shan Le Pyin and Baw Dhi Gone villages and those who were forced to relocate were Karen and Padaung (Kayan) [known as long-necked hill tribe ethnic whose women put metal rings around their necks giving them a long-necked look] ethnic nationalities with the intention to make money during Visit Myanmar Year in 1996 by having these ethnics "within reach" of tourists. As they were forced to move during the harvest, victims were faced with many problems of subsistence. *[Source: NLD-LA]*

5.10.22. On 21 October 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 20 commanded by Capt Thein Tun combined with DKBA troops entered Ta Meh Kee village and burned down the house of Naw Mu Tu. The following day they also burned down the houses of Naw Htoo Htoo, Naw Tut and Naw Sheh Mo. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.23. Western Command Strategic Comdr Aung Naing Htun and IB 233 Comdr Lt-Col Soe Win Tin ordered Hu Mu Der, Ler Kla Der, Kheh Der, Keh Po Loh, Ta Pa Kee, and Plaw Baw Der villages to move to Klaw Mu Der village (Yettagone army camp) in Taungoo District. They had to move by 30 October 1995 or be shot on sight. These villages have a total of 161 houses, population 817 including 234 children under age 10. Those who have gone to Yettagone camp are facing severe food problems. When they complained about it, SLORC told them, “We do this by order”. When some of the villagers still didn’t move as of 26 December 1995, IB 55 Bn Comdr Lt-Col Khin Maung Win ordered these 6 villages again to move to Yettagone camp or be shot. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.24. Brig-Gen Kyi Aung, Comdr of SLORC Southern Command, ordered 2nd MSC Comdr Lt-Col Aung Naing Tun to relocate the villagers from certain villages in Taungoo District to a designated area which is under their total control within the given deadline of 15 October 1995. The regions to be relocated are Thandaung Township in Karen State, Tantabin Township in Pegu Division, and other locations in Taungoo district, Pegu Division. According to this order, West Day Lor, East Day Lor and East Klin Wah villages in Thandaung Township were forced to move to a place near old town and new town of Thandaung.

On 25 October 1995, Brig-Gen Kyi Aung ordered Lt-Col Aung Naing Tun to forcibly relocate all the villages between the area of Day Lor and Ray Khat Guin to a new location, 13 miles away in new Thandaung Township. All the village

leaders who were forced to relocate were then forced to attend the basic military training by the order of Brig-Gen Kyi Aung. *[Source: KNU/KHRG]*

5.10.25. On 28 October 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 20 commanded by Bn Comdr Han Tint penetrated into Doh Ter Kee village in Thaton District together with DKBA soldiers and burned down the houses of U Pah Kyi, Maw Na and Pa Ta Khu. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.26. On 31 October and 1 November 1995, Bn Comdr Han Tint and Coy 1 Comdr Thein Tun from SLORC LIB 20 together with DKBA troops burned down 3 houses and stole 7 goats from Doh Teh Kee and Su Kee villages in Thaton District. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.27. At 8:00 a.m. on 19 November 1995, over 300 strong SLORC combined troops from LIBs 545 and 546 under Bn Comdr Thura Bo Ni, IB 230 under Coy Comdr Tun Myint, LIB 310 under Than Tun, and 5 DKBA soldiers, arrived at Pah Kyat village in Kyon Doe Township, Karen State, and fought with KNLA forces there for a short time. After the fighting the SLORC troops went to U Paun Moke's house and looted everything, including all clothing and blankets, plates and utensils, 4 1/2 tons of wooden planks, 4,000 Ks in cash, 20 chickens and 3 cattle. One of the SLORC officers took U Paun Moke (67) away from his house and interrogated him while continuously pricking him with the point of a knife and threatening him. When U Paun Moke was finally freed and returned to his house, the soldiers had burned it to the ground. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.28. At 6:00 p.m. on 21 November 1995, about 100 strong SLORC troops from IB 230 commanded by Bn Comdr Thet Oo penetrated into Win Kat village, Kyon Doe Township. The following morning, KNLA forces attacked the column at 9:10 a.m. After the fighting, the SLORC troops looted everything from 6 houses, shot two bulls and one buffalo, and burned two houses to the ground. In one house they didn't burn, they scratched "IB 230" on the walls with charcoal. From 23-25 November the same troops entered Tha May Doh village and looted cash, food, valuables and other belongings. Estimated loss from Pah Kyat, Win Kat, and Tha May Doh villages amounts to 755,000 Ks of property burned and 546,250 Ks of property stolen by SLORC troops, a total of 1,301,250 Ks. [Source: KHRG]

5.10.29. In Tantabin township, Sha See Bo, Ye Sa Say Pyu Kuang, and Taung Ku villages have been moved Taung Mam Heh and Kaser Doh, Htee Lor, Per Taw Din, Ple Sah Lor, Your Lor, Lay Oo Lor and Paw Pak villages were relocated to Pa Ra Ner Tho while Plaw Baw Der, Ta Pa Kee, Plee Lor, Ker Deh, Kaw Po Lor, Peh Lor, Hoo Mo Der and Kaw Kla Der villages had to move to Kaw Klaw Pe Der village. Moreover, Par Kaw Der, Deh Deh, Maw Koh Deh, Ku Plaw Deh, Kaw So Koh, Wah Tho Koh and Kah Koh villages had to move to Kler Lah (Bawgali).

Communication and transportation were under control of SLORC to separate the Karen rebels from their own people. Prices of basic commodities were hyper-inflated. Local inhabitants were facing survival problem as a tin of rice was 1,000-

1,500 Ks. Moreover, SLORC troops attempted to destroy their crops. Some villagers who were forced to relocate had to abandon their houses and gardens to avoid the accusation of SLORC that they harboured the rebels.

In 1995, SLORC deployed nine more battalions in Taungoo District in order to control the villagers. These troops were more active in Tantabin Township and were posted at several strategic points. Ten villages (1,750 people) had to leave their homes. They became homeless and had to hide in the forest. Wherever the SLORC troops arrived at, they burned, looted, and removed everything useful found in the villages. The soldiers created forest fires to destroy secret rice barns and household materials hidden in the forest. This caused many of villagers' possessions to be destroyed needlessly. Moreover, the soldiers were also ordered to shoot and kill any villager who refused to comply with their order. *[Source: KNU]*

5.10.30. Military columns from SLORC IB 55 and LIB 535 which has been penetrating Tantabin Township issued orders to the people living in the villages located on the west bank of Day Lor River in Thandaung Township to move to the area designated by the authorities between 12 and 30 December 1995. Moreover, the order also said that those who failed to abide by the order would be regarded as enemies. *[Source: KNU]*

5.10.31. Sel Pho Hta, Arnel Khaw Da, Kalaw Hta, Thay Phla Hta, Kala We Del, Maw Khaw Del, Bob Thay Del villages in Papun Township, Karen, were ordered by a combination of SLORC IB 391, LIB 10 and some DKBA to move before 13 February 1996. Those villages would be burnt down if they failed to abide by the order, which was issued by joint column of IB 391 and LIB 105. Local people from these villages fled to other places and became internally displaced persons. [*Source: KHRG*]

5.10.32. Under the command MSC headquarters (Western Command), IB 55 ordered everyone in Saw Muh Der and Play Sah Lo villages in Taungoo District to move to Tha Pyay Nyunt army camp/village by 17 December 1995. The order stated that after that deadline all villagers found in the villages would be considered as rebels [and shot]. [*Source: KHRG*]

5.10.33. On 29 December 1995, Kel Pa Hta village in Papun was reduced to ashes by a joint miltiary column of IB 391 and LIB 105 after accusing the villagers of having contact with KNU. [*Source: KNU*]

5.10.34. On 26 December 1995, Bn Comdr Lt-Col Khin Maung Win of IB 55 called a meeting at Klaw Mu Der and ordered Ta Pa Kee, Mwee Loh, Plaw Baw Der, Keh Po Loh, Kheh Der, Ler Kla Der, and Hu Mu Der villages in Taungoo District to move to Klaw Mu Der. All 7 villages were ordered to move to Klaw Mu Der on 30 December 1995 by the latest, and were told that after that period any villagers found in the village would be considered as rebels [i.e. shot on sight]. [*Source: KNU/KHRG*]

5.10.35. On 28 December 1995, a joint military column of SLORC LIB 105 and DKBA entered Kheh Pa Hta village in Papun District and burnt down some houses and all the rice barns they saw and looted property and livestock. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.36. At 2:00 p.m. on 29 December 1995, a combined column of SLORC IB 19 and DKBA entered Kheh Pa Hta village, burned down 44 houses and shot and ate the villagers' livestock. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.37. On 29 December 1995, SLORC troops from LIBs 391 and 105 (both are under LID77) led by Lt-Col Tin Yu entered Maw Lo Kloh valley in Papun District and burned some houses and rice in Kheh Pa Hta village. *[Source: KHRG]*

5.10.38. On 29 December 1995, SLORC TOC Comdr Myo Hla summoned the villagers at 13-Mile village of Taungoo and gave instructions that all the Maw Nay Pwa Karen villagers should be moved to Palaw Mee De village on 31 December 1995 by the latest. Then the commander of IB 55 repeatedly issued the eviction notice to the villagers. [*Source: KNU*]

5.10.39. On 30 December 1995, Southern Command Comdr Brig-Gen Kyi Maung summoned representatives of villagers in Shar See Bo and Ye Shan village-tracts to Taungoo and gave instruction that all the villages in the hilly region and nearby villages must be relocated to Shar See Bo and Ye Shan village-tracts. [*Source: KNU*]

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After the fall of Mae Narplaw and Dawn Gwin, many villages which were in Pa Pon District were burnt down by SLORC and DKBA. Several thousand people fled to Thailand.

A daily event -- people laden with boxes, sacks and baskets arrive at Moulmein port. Thousands commute daily to Moulmein from near by towns and villages to earn a living.

Woman tarching longyi fabric with rice. She mixes the rice and fabric with her feet.

Karen new year celebration, Wah Baw village (near Lamaing, 20 miles north of Ye Town in Mon State), 21 December 1995. Just a few minutes after this picture was taken, a SLORC column attacked the village while another SLORC column shelled the celebration field.

A girl shows a gunshot wound inflicted by SLORC troops in Taungoo District.

Villagers trying to salvage some of their rice harvest after SLORC burned the rest, Taungoo district, November 1995.

An overcrowded truck ferries people between Taungzun, Bilin and Thaton. Road accidents are frequently reported.

(VI) RIGHTS OF LIVELIHOOD

6.1. Serve for the Army or Punished

Throughout Burma, Village LORC, (VLORC or Ya Wa Ta) and Township LORC (TLORC, Ma Wa Ta) are SLORC administrative bodies at the village and township level. The Village LORC chairman, often referred to by villagers as SLORC village head, is normally a villager appointed by SLORC (often against his or her will) to be its liaison officer in the village. The VLORC chairman and his/her committee are responsible for constant reporting intelligence to the SLORC Army camps, arranging villagers for forced labour, and collecting money demanded by the military. While doing this, the VLORC chairman is entirely under the orders of the SLORC military, and all money he/she collects is passed on directly to them (though there are some VLORC chairmen who are willingly to co-operate with SLORC and use their power to gain wealth for themselves). Any time the VLORC chairman fails to send the ordered number of forced labourers or to meet the money demanded, he or she will be arrested and tortured, possibly even executed. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.2. Situation in Chin State

The living condition of the Chins has gone from poor during the pre-independence period to extremely poor under SLORC. The authorities from Burma had built a 15 mile long paved road for the Chins in 47 years.

The Chins have desperately tried to change their way of life. They built roads connecting villages but oil dried out in Burma. They produced silkworms but soon they produced too much and there was no market for it. They produced apples in good quantities but transportation eat up the earning. Orange rot in the fields because there is no buyer. Conservation of fruits was not known in the Chin Hills.

Inflation eats up the value of the Burmese kyat. The hardest hit are public servants whose salary is fixed by SLORC. The monthly salary of government servants are so low that a gazette officers salary just barely to buy rice for him and his wife. A clerk cannot buy rice to feed him and his wife. There is absolutely nothing to do for the people. Therefore, many people invest all their belongings and money to go out of the country and look for work.

For the last three years the SLORC authorities collected several hundred youngsters by deceiving their poor Christian parents by promising to give higher education to the children. These children were taken to proper Burma where they kept in detention and not allowing the parents, relatives, and friends to see them. These innocent children were forced to convert to Buddhism by making them Buddhist novices without the consent of the parents. SLORC is practising spiritual robbery to the Chin children. On 30 May 1994, the chairman of SLORC

in Thlanthlang demanded from the chairmen of village peace associations that youths under the age of 14 years to be sent to Rangoon or Thlantlang for purpose of giving them higher education. Emphasis was made on the non-religious discrimination irrelevance of their religion.

Thus six children from Thlantlang area were sent to the SLORC office at Thlantlang. SLORC sent the six children to Rangoon where they were placed in a monastery and were forced to become Buddhist novices. However, the girls refused their heads to be shaved. When the parents learned the fate of the children, they went to Rangoon to reclaim their children. SLORC refused to return the children. As the parents of three children brought letters of recommendations for the children to be returned to them, they were allowed to see their parents, although they were refused to return home. The other three, whose parents were without the recommendations from SLORC in Thlantlang, were not allowed to see the parents. They were held captive. All the parents pleaded with the SLORC authorities to spend Christmas together with their children. It was in vain. [*Source: Vum Son*]

6.3. SLORC's Offer of Brotherhood to the Chin

The SLORC army units in the Chin State roamed the country side. They accused young people in the villages of belonged to anti-government forces such as CNF. They beat up the young people. They went into people's homes and took anything they wanted: rice, beans, clothing, pots and pans. They told the villagers that they are "beggar soldiers" to justify their looting. They shot villagers' pigs and they caught chicken. They did not pay for anything. If somebody protested, the SLORC soldiers beat up that person. For example: The headman Pu Suan Khan Thang of Haicin village fled to Hiangtui village in Mizoram, India after he was badly beaten by the SLORC soldiers.

The SLORC Army also demanded porters and labourers from the villages. Forced portering and forced labour is the trade mark of SLORC. Their demands become more inhuman as they go farther away from the towns. For example: A SLORC Army unit went to the village of Laungadu in Paletwa district and demanded three girls. When the village headman refused to supply the girls, the headman was executed. The villagers then ran across the border to Bangladesh. Laungadu village was ethnically mixed between Chin and Arakanese. When the villagers fled to Bangladesh, the Chin village in Bangladesh welcomed the Chin group so they were given land for cultivation. The Arakanese were, however, not allowed to settle among the Chins, so the Arakanese moved to south of Mizoram where they settled for the time being. [*Source: Vum Son*]

6.4. Life in Sagaing Division

In Kalemyo Town, prices continue to escalate causing hardship: rice is 80 Ks per pyi, pork is 180 Ks per viss, chicken 250 Ks/viss, fish 300 Ks/viss, and sugar 150 Ks/viss [*1 viss = 1.6 kg.; 1 pyi is 8 small milk-tins, weighing about 2 kg.*]. Most of the people are farmers and average family income is 1,000 Ks per month. Furthermore, farmers are forced to supply 192 pyi [*24 big tins, about 16 kg. each*] of paddy per acre to SLORC at only 15 Ks per pyi. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.5. Life in Arakan

The power sector in Rakhine (Arakan) State can hardly meet the demands of its 17 towns, while not one single village is provided with electricity. Government generators produce about 2% of the actual demand and that is also for a few hours in the evenings, as it was done during the British time.

For the communications sector, the roads of Rakhine have always been poorly built and maintained. A mere 56 miles of earth road and about an equal distance of rock surfaced roads serve the road communication of the entire northern part of the State. Dilapidated jitneys and rickety trucks carry passengers on these roads taking a traveller into a journey of time warp.

The waterways offer much of the communications needed for the State. Yet the fleet of the Government Inland Water Transport Department consist only of nine motor launches, including three twin-deck remodelled versions of the Second World War vessels trudging at 5 knots an hour, and one twin-deck launch with a speed of 7 knots an hour. Though there is a demand for better and larger vessels, the public sector have not been able to come up with any investments since the absolute control by the military has made it financially unproductive. Therefore ancient rowing boats are heavily depended upon so that perishables can hardly bring enough money for the farmers and fishermen. The government vessels ply two days a week on Sittwe-Ann line, once a week on Sittwe-Taungup, three days a week on Sittwe-Buthidaung, and twice a week on Sittwe-Kyauktaw lines.

With military strategy in mind Prome-Taunggup, Minbu-Ann, and Ngathaingchaung-Gwa roads were built previously. Very poor conditions of these roads and dominance of military control have made these roads not much usable by the public. [*Source: ABYMU(Arakan)*]

The military authorities ordered each household in Kyaukpyu, Rambree and Ann townships to supply them the items mentioned below:

1. Fire wood to bake bricks (700 Ks per one 1 foot width x 2 ft length)- 80 Nos per home
2. Roofing thatch (2 Ks/unit) — 75 Nos per home
3. Timber for supporting home (120 Ks/20-ft in length) — one per home

4. Brick (1200 Ks per trench) — one trench per home
5. Chilli (150 Ks per viss) — One viss per home
6. Bamboo (2 Ks/unit) — 50 Nos per home
7. 5000 Ks per home for Township Law and Order Restoration Council

The price of rice has been skyrocketing and one pyi of rice costs around 50-60 Ks. Moreover, as SLORC has been building a new naval base near Thit Poak Taung village on Kyaukpyu Island in Arakan State by the help of Chinese experts, more than 300 acre of land from local people were confiscated without any compensation. More than 30 buildings have already been built on the island. [*Source: ABSDF*]

6.6. Life in Delta

Each family in 50 villages located nearby Hai Gyi Island has to send 5 viss (about 8 kg) of dried fish or dried prawn or fish paste for the rations of the Navy every month. Most of the villagers there earn their living by fishing. Some families who earn their living by other means of support have to buy these items at the market and send them to the naval base. The Navy purchases all the fishery products at the rate 30% lower than that of the market price and sells to other individuals. The products directly bought from the villagers is considered illegal. [*Source: ABSDF*]

6.7. Life in Magwe Division

In Seikphyu Township in Magwe Division, there are about 150 village tracts and nearly 300-500 houses in each village. Most of them earn their living by growing paddy, wool, peas, beans and onions. But majority of them are landless poor farmers and only 5% of local people own 5-10 acres . Local SLORC officials ordered them to sell their farm products on compulsory basis to SLORC's stores. Whenever the weather brings poor crops, some farmers have to buy the required crops from outside to meet the quota levied by SLORC.

The crops forced to sell	Production Estimate
For rice	
2 baskets per acre	30 basket per acre
(Price rated at 60 Ks per basket)	
For cotton	
30 viss/acre	200 viss per acre
(10 Ks per viss at the fixed price while it is 50 Ks per viss at the market)	
For bean	
1.5 viss per acre	12 viss per acre

[*Source: ABSDF*]

6.8. Situation in Mong Hsu Gem Land

Mong Hsu is a Township in Shan State where precious stones such as rubies and emeralds are found. All the armed ethnic groups in Shan State which reached cease-fire agreements with SLORC are allowed to dig those precious stones there. But block 5 and 6 which have produced good quality of stones are under the control of SLORC and IBs 43, 49, 65 and 66 and LIBs 11, 221, 225 and 227 were deployed for the security of the area.

Heads of the Mines (1994)

Block	Name	Organisation	Advance money to SLORC
1/b	Daw Mya Nyunt	individual	700,000 Ks
2/b	U Ba Shwe	"	1,400,000 Ks
3/b	U Kyi	"	1,200,000 Ks
4/b	Daw Kyar Fu	"	4,200,000 Ks
5/b	Law Sit Han	Kokang	20,600,000 Ks
6/b	Yan Moe Lyan	Shan special region 1.	20,800,000 Ks
7/b	Sa Khon Taintyein	Kachin special region 1.	5,000,000 Ks
8/b	Yan Moe An	Shan region 1.	10,800,000 Ks
9/b	.....	individual	10,000,000 Ks
10/b	E Bay	"	2,000,000 Ks
11/b	Sai Lin	Shan region 4.	4,000,000 Ks

[*Source: ABSDF*]

6.9. Student Sports Festival in Loikaw

Since the first week of September 1995, the students from High Schools and Middle Schools in Loikaw were selected for the opening and closing ceremonies of the Sixth Student Sports Festival, scheduled to be held from 5 to 15 December 1995. All the classes were closed to rehearse selected male students as standard bearer and female students as dancers and Miss Beauty. Those students who were absent for the rehearsals were not allowed to sit the examination and their parents were also taken actions by the authorities. The students were also forced to wear designated uniforms for the festivals so that their parents had to buy them with their own expenses. Five battalions were deployed to take care of security for the festival.

Local SLORC officials forced to get a donation of 200 Ks from each middle-school-level student, 500 Ks from each high-school-student and 200 Ks from every common people to cover the expenses of the construction. Some families had to pay even more amount than the fixed ones. The local officials also introduced forced collection of funds from the owners of motorbikes, trucks and bicycles. Owners of sawmills were also forced to cut the necessary timber for the constructions. As the roads in Loikaw were widened up to 25 feet, some monasteries and houses were destroyed for that purpose.

Moreover, civil servants, students and their parents were also forced to donate money or basic foodstuff for the festival. Furthermore, local people were forced to contribute labour in white-washing — cleaning, painting , building fences and extending roads — the town everyday.

Aiming to smooth the transportation in the name of self-help programme, SLORC forced the public to donate money ranging 250 to 350 Ks per household, without spending any government budget for the cost of repair and beautification of the city. Opening sessions of self-help road construction programmes by forced contribution of money and labour from the local people in Min Su, Shan Su, Daw Noe Koo, Daw Tama and Damayone quarters were held on 3 November 1995. [*Source: ABSDF/Khun Marco Ban*]

6.10. Life in Eastern Pegu Division and Karen State

The SLORC troops were more active in Shwegyin, Kyaukkyi and Mone townships in Pegu Division in 1995, compared to the previous years. Wherever they went, they did not carry rice or rations with them. They took rice or whatever food they could get from any village they came across and destroyed all the rest of food by burning down or scattering them on the ground, leaving nothing for the villagers. They also eat all domestic animals, including pigs, chickens and ducks. Many villages were totally destroyed. In Shwegyin Township, the hardest hit areas or villages were Htee Klay, Htee Blah, Maw Kee, Meh Yeh Kee, Reh Thaw Kee, Ler Way, Sa Mu Tar and Ko Pet.

In Kyaukkyi Township, the SLORC troops forcibly relocated many villages and most of the rural villages were destroyed. The rest of the villagers fled to the forest where they must play hide-and-seek with SLORC. They were facing a severe shortage of food.

In other townships, the SLORC troops launched a major offensive the whole summer. Most of the villages in the hilly regions were all destroyed or abandoned. Only a few villages in the plain remained un-destroyed. The villagers that fell under SLORC control have to provide porters. Each village-tract had to provide 150-200 porters, every week, regardless of gender basis. The SLORC sometimes conscripted porters. If they didn't get the men, they took the women and forced them into portering. If they didn't want to go, they had to pay 3,000 Ks as a ransom. Many of the villagers who fled from SLORC had no more pots or utensils at all. They didn't want to leave their homeland. If they left, SLORC would bring in Burman people to the Karens' land and take as their own. These villagers tried to buy rice from nearby villages at 500 Ks per kerosene tin. They had to sell whatever they had to be able to buy rice. Many of the villagers took refuge with their relatives in other villages.

Those villagers in Papun, Nyaunglebin, Thaton and Taungoo districts who fled from the SLORC troops had no adequate shelter or food. They were suffering from all kinds of diseases. One peculiar happening was that the villagers in all the villages that the SLORC troops passed through were suffering from a certain kind of disease, which was similar to dysentery. Many villagers died of this. Between March and mid-July 1995, more than 100 lives were lost in Meh Way village-tract in Papun District alone.

Most of the people in these districts earn their living by slash and burn farming. In 1994, as the rain came very early, those farmers did not have a chance to burn their plots, causing them having no usable land to cultivate. At the end of 1994, they had nothing to harvest or store. In Thaton Township, most people earn their living by cultivating paddy. As the rain came early and it was so heavy, all their fields were flooded for too long, destroying all their paddy plantation. They too ended up with very little to harvest.

Due to shortage of food and the activities of SLORC troops in the area, many schools were closed down in the 1995-1996 school year. In Papun Township, all the schools were closed. In Papun District, as many as 50% were shut down, and in other townships lesser numbers were closed. [*Source: KNU*]

6.11. Life along the Coast

6.11.1. Paddy Buying Centre

Local farmers in Burma have had to sell the paddy with low prices since the reign of BSPP (Burma Socialist Programme Party). Since December 1994, SLORC has opened "Paddy Buying Centres" at several places in Mon State and Tenasserim Division and forcibly bought paddy from farmers to meet fixed amount of the products. During the 1994 rainy season, as various crops were destroyed by the floods, the production of paddy reduced and many farmers could not supply their quota. Majority of the peasants there were not able to cultivate again because the rainy season was longer in 1994 than the previous years.

When the farmers from Klortsot, Htonemine, Kwankhabawe and Yaungdawn villages in southern Mudon Township, Mon State, failed to sell them as of February 1995, SLORC alleged these farmers of being encouraged not to sell the rice by Mon troops. As a consequence, in the second week of February, SLORC troops from LIB 209 and local authorities confiscated many baskets of paddy from those farmlands. [*Source: HURFOM*]

Each farmer in 4 Townships — Thayetchaung, Launglon, Tavoy, and Yebyu — of Tavoy District, Tenasserim Division, has to sell the paddy to SLORC at the price of 50 Ks per basket while its market price is 250-300 Ks. If a farmer fails to sell his quota, SLORC and Village LORC officials come to his/her house and

Selling brooms in Anin Thanbyuzayat Township.

force him/her to surrender the quota. If he/she still does not provide the required amount, they arrest him/her and stop him/her from working on his/her farm. As a result, many farmers were arrested and massive farms were confiscated by SLORC and Village LORC officials, forcing many farmers to become landless and jobless. [*Source: KHRG*]

In Kyun Su Township, Tenasserim Division, SLORC issued orders and forced the peasants to sell six baskets of paddy per acre at the price of 70 Ks. Those whose farmland were destroyed were not exempted from those orders. They were forced to buy hill-side-cultivated paddy and sell three baskets per acre to SLORC. [*Source: KNU*]

6.11.2. Forced Cultivation

In June 1995, Comdr Capt Thein Myint from Coy 3 of SLORC IB 97, stationed at Ku Dune Camp in Kawkareik District, Karen State, forced villagers from five villages — Hsan Pa Lan, Mi Pa Nya, Kauk Hsin Gone, Thein Pa Laing, Mi Pa Laing — to till three acres of land. The seeds had to be provided by those villagers themselves. On 11 July 1995, Capt Thein Myint was replaced by Capt Kyi Toe, Coy 3 Comdr of LIB 310. Before he went away, Capt Thein Myint ordered those villagers to pay him 10,000 Ks in advance for the rice to be reaped in the field and to distribute the crops among themselves. Therefore, the villagers had to collect 2,000 Ks from each village to meet the demand. [*Source: KNU*]

6.11.3. Illegal Rice Mills

Every private rice mill owner who has a registration receipt from Mergui Agricultural Inspection Authorities has regularly to pay 1,600 kg of unmilled rice as a tax to Tenasserim Agricultural Authorities for every year. The owners of rice mill who don't have the receipts from agricultural authorities are not allowed to operate their rice mills. Some owners of rice mills who do not register at Mergui Agricultural Inspection Authorities were arrested. Moreover, the owners of rice mills have to buy unmilled rice in the market and pay the authorities as the tax according to the fixed price. [*Source: KNU*]

6.11.4. Sell More Crops to the State

SLORC has also increased paddy quotas to be bought from farmers in 1996 up to 500%, from two tins per acre to ten tins per acre. SLORC only pays 70 Ks per tin while the market price at the moment is 410 Ks. This is partly to feed the expanding army, and partly to support SLORC for 500% increase in rice exports in 1996, from 265,000 in 1995 to 1.2 million tonnes in 1996. This increase in export intended for SLORC's profit and one of its international public relations move caused an extremely serious shortage of rice throughout Burma. Prices of rice have doubled in many areas and people are subsisting on rice-soup or starving. Traders from coastal towns in Burma are even coming to hard-pressed ethnic-controlled areas to see if they have any rice to sell.

Although SLORC is supposed to cease all kinds of forced portering and porter fees from the villages under the terms of the cease-fire deal between SLORC and NMSP, villagers confirm that all these things continue at least as much as before. SLORC has responded the NMSP's complaints about this by stating that porters are being taken by the Township LORCs, not by the army, and that this is acceptable because only the army is covered by the cease-fire terms. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.11.5. Army Farm

All villages in four townships of Tavoy District — Thayetchaung, Longlon, Tavoy and Yebyu — have been ordered to supply various domestic animals to the SLORC battalions for their animal husbandry projects. Each village was order to give 200 ducks, 200 chickens, three pigs and one buffalo or one cow without fail to the IBs 25 and 104 and LIBs 267, 268, 269, 273, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409 and 410.

Some local cattle traders were accused of smuggling cattle to Thailand and arrested and fined by the SLORC troops. Their own cattle were also seized and taken as ration for the battalions. [*Source: KNU*]

6.11.6. Compensation

The area along the railroad in Hnain Htway village in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, was declared by SLORC LIB 407 that cattle found on the embankment of the railway line would be shot and the owners of cattle would also be fined. Moreover, it said that if the owner wanted his/her dead cattle back, he/she must pay the current price of that cattle to the SLORC battalion. Everyday the soldiers from LIB 407 shot the cattle on the embankment of the railway line and the owners had to pay them 500 Ks for ammunition which those soldiers used for the cattle. [*Source: KNU*]

6.11.7. Exploitation

Since the construction for proposed gas pipeline has been re-started, persons very close to the SLORC officers are granted the contracts. Although TOTAL company pay the salaries to local workers in dollar, SLORC officers exchanged them into Burmese currency before given to the workers. Official exchange rate for US$ 1 is 6 Ks while it is as high as 120 Ks in the black market. [*Source: KNU*]

6.11.8. Check-point Fee

Each person who wanted to enter Thailand had to pay 300 baht to the SLORC army officers at Nat Ei-Taung outpost on the Burmese side of the border in Tenasserim Division. Sometimes those who wanted to enter Thailand were conscripted and forced into portering. [*Source: KNU*]

6.11.9. Collect More

There was a conflict between an officer and other ranks within the SLORC troops which were deployed from the mining area to Thein Daw village in Tenasserim Township. The troops were ordered to levy tax on the boats travelling along the Tenasserim River. In October 1995, there was a problem between the soldiers and their captain. The captain owed all the collected money and ordered the soldiers to levy tax again with the reason that the amount did not meet the demand. The soldiers returned their guns and refused to take further orders. [*Source: KNU*]

6.11.10. Life of Fishermen

Since SLORC has begun to sell the fishing licenses to the Thai companies to fish in the Burmese water, the life of traditional Burmese fishermen in Tenasserim Coast is deteriorating. Many Thai fishing vessels fish in shallow waters close to the coast and exploit the areas traditionally fished by the local people. The

Burmese fishermen there who have relied on local fishing resources for generations are now exactly facing starvation. Many of these villagers, displaced by the activities of Thai fishing boats, have been forced to move inland to seek a new livelihood. Many fishermen could not meet their daily need so they moved to other places working all kinds of odd jobs. The introduction of modern sonar, radar and electronic devices by the Thai vessels completely change the nature of fishing and cause the local fishermen who used small vessels and locally produced fishing gear unable to compete. Heavy mining in the seas has been reported killing all species in the areas and destroying the ecosystem for years to come.

After the brutal murder of Burmese fishermen by their Thai counterparts on a vessel, Burmese authorities has stopped renewing contracts or extension of licences to the Thai fishing companies. But the fishing licenses were re-granted in the beginning of November 1995 with some restrictions. Previously Thai fishing vessels could fish and sell without any restriction after they pay tax to the Burmese fishing authority. According to the new regulation, all the foreign fishing vessels operating in the Burmese waters have to be scrutinised one by one and have to sell the fishes to the Burmese Fish Buying Centres designated by the authorities, and any vessel found off-limits would be shot.

In reality, none of these regulations are adhered to. Hundreds of Thai fishing vessels are using one official license and duplicate to other vessels numbering from six to ten with the same name and size. Many are operating illegally in the Burmese waters and sometimes reach as far as Mon State. They sell very small amount of fishes to the Burmese authorities as mentioned in the regulation while large amounts are smuggled out by the Thai illegal vessels and sold in Ranong in Thailand. [*Source: ABSDF*]

6.11.11. Tax for Upgrading Tavoy College

Since it came to power, SLORC has been attempting to build new colleges in order to disperse the students who have been the sparks of popular uprisings in Burma's history. Some two-academic-year colleges have been upgraded into four-academic-year universities in every State and Division in Burma. It seems SLORC has been promoting the education sector and all the regions are in the process of development in the country. However, one of the main reason is to undermine the student movement and make the students scatter all over the country. The bottom line is to handle anticipated student-led movement easily in case of occurrence. Tavoy College was opened in 1977 and giving two-academic-year courses. SLORC has been upgrading Tavoy College into a four-academic-year degree college. Unsurprisingly, local people in Tenasserim Division have been ordered to contribute for the upgrading costs. All townships in Tenasserim Division are obligatory to donate 15,000,000 Ks. [*Source: ABSDF*]

6.11.12. Taxation for "Student Sports Festival 1996"

"Student Sports Festival 1996", a yearly festival since SLORC took over power in 1988 is scheduled to be held in Tavoy, capital of Tenasserim Division. As a preparation for the "success" of the festival, SLORC ordered each township in Tenasserim Division to contribute 5,000,000 Ks. A special fund collecting and receiving committee led by U Htay Aung (Secretary of Township LORC) in Palaw Township was formed. According to Order No 2/95 dated 22 December 1995, the committee would levy taxation on all businessmen and people in accordance with the fixed rate until the end of October 1996. Small business like tailoring, beauty saloon, hair-dressing, book rental shop, betel-nut shop have been ordered to pay 5-10 Ks daily while restaurants, grocery and stores are required to pay 20-30 Ks daily. All government corporations and departments are also ordered to levy the fixed rate such as 150 Ks for one trip of passenger car in the township, 500 Ks for one trip by boat to Rangoon, 50 Ks for one acre of rubber plantation per day. The rate depends on the size of business. Even the animal are not spared form taxation. Each pig or cattle that passes through the township is levied at 15 Ks. Anyone who need to get a recommendation letter from the Township LORC is forced to pay 500 Ks for the "Student Sports Festival". [*Source: ABSDF*]

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 3, 22-36,43-44, 47-84, 86-109, 111-131, 133-155, 157-159, 178-188, 191-196, 199-201, 205-224, 227-228, 231-242, 251, 255-263, 265-297, 299-305, 307-309]

6.12. List of Incidents

6.12.1. On 15 December 1993, SLORC troops led by Capt Tin Zaw Hla of Mareit-wa military outpost under the command of LIB 374 burnt down Khone village of Khami ethnic minority after accusing the villagers of having contact with the insurgents. The village was located inside Burma, 15 km south of the tri-junction of Indo-Burmese-Bangladeshi border. The whole village — a total of thirty seven households — was burnt down. The villagers, including women and children, were beaten and expelled into the triangle area. Two thousand and seven hundred baskets of paddy, 250 baskets of sesame, 50 baskets of rice, 64 cattle, 40 pigs, 300 chicken and all the furniture were plundered and brought to the Trawn-ai military outpost by the SLORC soldiers. The villagers were threatened that they would be shot dead if they were found in that area again. Thus the whole village with a population of 317 moved to India. The new site of Khone village is situated on the Indian side of the Triangle area.

Local people from five Arakanese villages — Khone village, Pagawa, Foaylawa, Kaki (upper) and Kaki (lower) — have recently sheltered in Mizoram State of India to escape from the harassment of SLORC troops. [*Source: ASC*]

6.12.2. On 28 October 1994, as SLORC troops from IBs 31 and 62 led by Deputy Comdr Lt-Col Than Win, Capt Aung Lwin and Capt Aye Min fired some artillery shells into Kyaukapin, Kawgo, Palaingkamort and Line villages in Kyaikmaraw Township, Mon State, Nai Nyein, Mehm Hla Tin, Mehm Kon Htaw and Mi Aye Kyi were hit and wounded. [*Source: HURFOM*]

6.12.3. Since December 1994, local SLORC authorities in Victoria Point (Kawthaung Township) in Tenasserim Division issued an order for the people living in Myo Pat Street to use zinc plate for roofing. In Mergui Township, such order was announced through loud speakers that those who failed to comply with the order would be fined raging 3,-6,000 Ks. [*Source: ABSL*]

6.12.4. On 3 December 1994, 80 troops led by Capt Maung Ngue from LIB 518 from Langhko arrived at Nong Oi village, Mong Nai Township, southern Shan State. They ordered all the villagers to gather in one place and looted the village; taking away over 3,000 Ks worth of rice, groundnut and two chickens from Pa Lake; one pig worth 2,000 Ks from Lung Ti; 2,000 Ks worth of two baskets of peanut and two tins of cooking oil from Lung Nya and Pa Ki; cane sugar, palm sugar, paddy and 4,000 Ks worth of household utensils from Lung Pan Aung and Pa Mart; a young cow worth of 1,000 Ks from Lung Tun and Pa Phit; and pots, pans, knives and 1,000 Ks worth of other household utensils from Lung Khan Ti and Pa Lake. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.5. On 6 December 1994, while 80 troops from led by Capt Maung Ngue from LIB 518 were heading for Non Tong Lor village, Langhko Township, southern Shan State, they met Lung Kyang Lee (80) on the way and without any provocation, they took away his betel pot, plastic sheet, knife and 400 Ks in cash. They then beat him with a stick before releasing him. [*Source: S.H.A.N.*]

6.12.6. At 8.30 a.m. on 9 December 1994, while an MTA unit was patrolling the area of Mongnim and Mongkut, Mong Hsat Township, eastern Shan State, they came across a SLORC soldier named Pvt Ye Lin Tet (Serial No. 906402; Kun Dy village, Dedaye Township, Irrawaddy Division) from IB 527. The soldier, who was seriously ill, had been abandoned by his fellow troops on 7 December after they had taken away his gun. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.7. In Mong Pan, at one night in January 1995, some SLORC soldiers and their pocket-militias came into Sai Po Yin and Nang On's Cafe and created a disturbance by banging tables, smashing tea-cups and other things into pieces, and then kicking all the young men who were about to drink coffee there at the time. At dawn, they came back and broke all the rest of the utensils, cursing and pointing guns at the owners. From that time onwards, the shopkeepers dared not open their shop during night time. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.8. From the beginning of 1995, SLORC ordered the farmers from every village-tract in Namsang Township, southern Shan State, to come and sell their

crops at the rate of 3.5 tins per acre at 70 Ks per tin while the outside rate was 150 Ks per tin. [*Source: SHRF*]

6.12.9. Since 7 January 1995, SLORC troops at Mong Nai have been forcing vehicles, including bullock carts, to convey stones to the site of Namsang-Mong Nai railway construction every day. [*Source: S.H.A.N.*]

6.12.10. On 17 January 1995, SLORC troops from Coy 4 of Laihka-based IB 64 led by Capt Aung Myo came to know that five owners — Long Yawt Sorn, Tsai Lurn Kham Poi, Kham Tsing Ngo, Tsai Yee and Long Khin — of rice mills in Laihka had closed down their mills. The captain then fined them 500 Ks each, and ordered each mill after the harvest to grind (15) tins of their own grain for the Burma army without charges. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.11. In February 1995, local people in Mergui District were forced to contribute labour by LIB 358 for the construction of a road that links The Phyu and Moetaung. A villager, age 35, from Kyauk Gone village, stepped on a land-mine on 12 February 1995 and one of his legs was hit. He was left for 2 nights at Nyaung Pin Kwin village where the villagers there were forced to pay an expense of 2000 Ks for treatment. Then the victim was transferred to Tenasserim Township Hospital. Although it passed 2 weeks, the victim was left as it was with the reason that SLORC has no money for the treatment. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.12. In Kalay Town, Sagaing Division, all the bicycle owners need to get licences from SLORC authorities. The authorities levy tax on each bicycle at the rate of 20 Ks. [*Source: Inside Source*]

6.12.13. In February 1995, the SLORC troops entered Lay Po Kaw Hteet, Keh Pay and Per Kee Der village tracts in Papun District and burned 545 baskets of rice (1 basket = 2 kerosene tins). [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.14. On 1 February 1995, 2 military columns from SLORC LIB 261 committed a robbery at Bel Si village and took away household utensils, livestock and 28,400 Ks in cash including other valuable items. [*Source: KNPP*]

6.12.15. On 4 February 1995, 2 military columns from SLORC LIB 261 [see 11.14. above] ransacked Dae Wah Htar village and took away household utensils and animals. On the same day, the same troops rounded up Hel Si village and looted three and a half tickle of gold, one gold chain, 40 silver coins, 13,000 Ks in cash, 2,000 Bt in cash, household utensils and livestock. [*Source: KNPP*]

6.12.16. On 11 February 1995, about 50 SLORC troops from LIB 525 entered Warn Tsa Larng village, Warn Hart village-tract of Langhko Township, southern Shan State, and shot two pigs belonging to Nang Kham (30) for their rations.

When the owner tried to ask for compensation, the soldiers threatened to fine her. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.17. On 13 February 1995, 50 troops led by Capt Khin Kyaw Thu from Coy 2 of SLORC LIB 525 raided Warn Parng Kho Yop village, Mong Nang village-tract, Laihka Township, ransacked Tsai Ne Win's house and took away clothes, livestock and 1,200 Ks in cash. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.18. On 18 February 1995, six-hour-long-fighting broke out between SLORC IB 32 led by Maj Min Aung and a military column from 16th Bn of KNLA at Shwe Toe village, Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Township, Karen State. After SLORC troops being suffered 20 men wounded, IBs 31 and 62 were sent as reinforcements. Because of the fighting, local people at Shwe Toe village left their belongings and ran for their lives. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.19. On 20 February 1995, a joint military column of IBs 31 and 62 razed Nyaung Gone village to the ground without any reason. That village was two hour's walk from Shwe Toe village. Seventeen houses and more than 2000 baskets of paddy were burned down and 20 families became homeless. Moreover, SLORC troops robbed valuable things from the monastery in the village. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.20. On 21 February 1995, about 150 troops from SLORC IB 68 arrived at Worn Na-kor village, Mong Tom village-tract, Tanyan Township, northern Shan State and demanded beef from the villagers. When the villagers delayed to give it to them, the troops seized two bulls worth 15,000 Ks each, and slaughtered. These bulls belonged to Parn Sarn Vi and Long Laii Tsarm. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.21. On 22 February 1995, about 50 SLORC troops from LIB 525 entered Warn Tsa Larng village, Warn Hart village-tract of Langhko Township, southern Shan State, again. They cut down all the 90 banana plants belonging to Loong Nu (55). The soldiers told the owner of the garden to collect all the bunches of bananas for them, and warned the victim not to steal any ripe ones. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.22. On 23 February 1995, SLORC troops from Lashio-based IB 68 raided villagers of Koon Morng village, Murng Tom village-tract, Tanyan Township, northern Shan State. The villagers ran away and hid themselves in the nearby fields. Unfortunately, one of the villagers named Nang Tsum, aged 20, was caught by the soldiers who later robbed a necklace (one bath weight) worth of 60,000 Ks and a ruby ring (1/2 bath weight) worth of 30,000 Ks that she had hidden in her hut. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.23. On 25 February 1995, DKBA troops took away 10 baskets of rice from Mae Paw Hta village in Pa-an Township, Karen State. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.24. Ma Khine Soe, a girl, from Ye Nan Dane village of Kyaukpyu Township went psychosis after a soldier from IB 34 In March 1995 opened fire close to her ear without any reason. [*Source: ABSDF*]

6.12.25. In March 1995, Lt Aung Naing and Maj Thein Zan from SLORC IB 96 came up to K'Tee Bu village in Thaton Township, Mon State, and ordered the parents or relatives of Karen soldiers in the village and all the nearby villages to give them 500 Ks per person. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.26. SLORC troops guarding prisoners working on the road between Mong Ping and Kengtung, eastern Shan State, since late March 1995 have been robbing the prisoners' belongings donated by sympathetic passers-by. Passengers passing along the motorway in trucks have moved in pity by the sight of the emaciated prisoners and given them food, cheroots and pocket money. However, as soon as the trucks pass, the SLORC soldiers force the prisoners to hand over all the donated items. [*Source: S.H.A.N.*]

6.12.27. On 1 March 1995, approximately fifty soldiers from SLORC LIB 525 raided Warn Na Kong village in Warn Hart village-tract, Langhko Township, southern Shan State, and looted rice and livestock from Sarng Loo, Nang Tsor Mung and Loong Oo. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.28. At night on 2 March 1995, a group of armed men from DKBA entered Maw Lu Khaw Refugee Camp, located near Mae Tha Wah village, Tha Song Yang District of Tak Province, Thailand. Then they took away five cassette recorder, one video recorder, one camera, 20000 Ks in cash and clothing. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.29. On 4 March 1995, 117 SLORC troops from Langhko-based LIB 299 with 17 porters and 7 mules led by Maj Myo Myint arrived at Worn Tsieng Kham village, Loi La village-tract, Namsang Township, southern Shan State, and accused a couple named Sai Wunna and Nang Sar of running a rice mill belonged to MTA. Their rice mill was confiscated without compensation and all the grains in barn were thrown into Nam Teing River. [*Source: SHRF*]

6.12.30. At 10:00 p.m. on 4 March 1995, SLORC Maj Tin Aung accompanied by 2nd Lt Aung Than Htway, Sgt Mya Sein and Sgt Soe Zaw Oo, robbed Sai Pang, who recently moved from Won Pui to Pok Goong Hor Ner, Ke-hsi Mansam Township. The victim lost valuable items worth about 150,000 Ks. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.31. On 4 March 1995, while a man named Sai Pang was attending a meeting at Mongtuan, Tanyan Township in northern Shan State, some soldiers came to his house and robbed his possession at the presence of his wife, Nang La Yin, and an elderly woman. When Sai Pang arrived back from the meeting, SLORC summoned him and tried to take action against him. But as he was innocent, SLORC could not charge him. SLORC then forced Sai Pang to take responsibility for building a local school. SLORC had been allocated 600,000 Ks for this purpose, but of this amount Maj Tin Aung had already taken a personal share of 400,000 Ks. Therefore, Sai Pang had to try and manage the building

with a budget of 200,000 Ks. As a consequence, Sai Pang became so fed up that he decided to enter the monkhood. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.32. On 5 March 1995, SLORC put up an announcement on a signboard in Nga Man Chaung village, Kyun Su Township, Mergui District, saying that each family in the village would have to give 3,600 Ks for "development". The first instalment 2,000 Ks was to be paid to the Village LORC chairman. It said anyone who failed to comply with the order would severely be punished. Since SLORC has planned to build a motorway in Kyun Su Township, the Township LORC officials have been collecting money from all the villagers to cover the expenses. As the villagers are poor and cannot afford to pay this money, they have to live in a state of fear because SLORC officers in the area never hesitate to punish anybody who fails to comply with their orders. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.33. On 5 March 1995, SLORC troops from Coy 4 of Laihka-based IB 64 led by Capt Aung Myo forced farmers from the following villages to come and sell their grains at the rate of 70 Ks per tin while the actual rate was 325 Ks per tin.

1. Warn Parng	120 tins
2. Norng Ya Sai	128
3. Norng Kar	8
4. Warn Mau	12
5. Nam Main	8
6. Norng Woe	8
7. Koong Tsam Kar	8
8. Mok Tsarm	8
9. Warm Heng	24
	324

[*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.34. On 19 March 1995, 80 SLORC troops from LIB 525 and IB 71 from Kengtung entered Wan Khai village, Kengtong village-tract, Mong Nai Township and destroyed a rice mill belonged to Loong War Ling (40). After that, they poured petrol on the rice and paddy in the mill and set it afire. Moreover, they also stole two pigs. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.35. On 20 March 1995, SLORC troops from Laihka-based IB 64 raided Warn Parng village, Warn Hen village-tract in Laihka Township, and took away livestock belonged to Nang Yoong, Loong Kham Hurng, Loong Zawana, Poo Loi Tsurn, Khing Oong, Pantamoo, Loong Dima, Loong Dima (short) and Loong Dima (headman). *[Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.36. On 26 March 1995, a land-mine exploded on the road that links Nyaung Pin Kwin and Moe Taung in Tenasserim Township. That place was about four miles from Tha Baw Leik village. Eight SLORC soldiers from LIB 358 who were responsible for the security of the road died while nine others

were wounded. On 27 March 1995, that column reduced the houses in Tha Baw Leik village to ashes and took away valuable things. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.37. On 29 March 1995, camp commander of Palaw Gone army camp demanded 1,200 bamboo posts and 100 wooden posts from Zarde Win village, Papaw Township. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.38. Since April 1995, each family living in any village close to motorway in Thaton Township has been forced to pay one pyi [about 1.5 kg.] of rice and 1/4 kilo of chillies every month. After collecting, they give them to the DKBA soldiers. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.39. On 3 April 1995, SLORC troops from Coy 4 of LIB 424 captured 20 cattle belonged to the traders in Ho-pong, southern Shan State, at Fang Porn, east of Loi Sao. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.40. On 6 April 1995, each household in every village-tract in Tachilek Township, eastern Shan State, was ordered to come out with 300 packets of candy and garlands in order to greet the SLORC soldiers from IB 331 which had an engagement with MTA at Khon Hsar and Ping Kor villages, 7-8 miles west of Tachilek. Anyone who failed to comply with the order had to pay a fine of 300 bahts. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.41. On 11 April 1995, Thaw Mena, a soldier from DKBA, ordered the villagers to go and take two big buffaloes from Noh Aw Lah village in Pa-an Township, Karen State. On the same day, another DKBA soldier, Saw Tha Gwih, forcibly took about 20,000 Ks from Maung Kyi Win of Moulmein and Maung Soe Soe of Du Yin Seit. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.42. On 12 April 1995, a column from SLORC IB 103 demanded 1,000 Ks from Zarde Win village in Palaw Township so that the soldiers could enjoy themselves during water festival [April 12-15]. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.43. On 13 April 1995, SLORC troops from Coy 4 of LIB 424 captured another 34 cattle belonged to the traders in the Parng Orn area, Hsi-hseng Township, southern Shan State. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.44. On 16 April 1995, Thaw Mena of DKBA ordered his men to go and take four oxen from Noh Aw Lah village, two oxen from Bo Kyo village and another two oxen from Ga Maw Ko village, in Pa-an Township. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.45. On 20 April 1995, camp commander at Palaw Gone army camp demanded 1,000 Ks from Zarde Win village, Palaw Township, for cement to be used in reconstruction of the army camp. On 2 June 1995, he further demanded 1,500 Ks from the same village for timber to repair the camp. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.46. On 21 April 1995, Thlamphei, as a village in Thlantlang District was burned down by the SLORC Army, the villagers not only became homeless but also their valuables were stolen by the perpetrators. Every Christian Mission throughout Chinland had to support them with essential commodities, money and food. It was estimated that the villagers lost at least 500,000 Ks in that incident. [*Source: Independent Chin Report*]

6.12.47. Throughout May 1995, SLORC troops moved around and committed looting, eating or destroying the rice, livestock and other belongings of villagers in the villages including Nya Pi Hta, Meh Way Kee, Naw Po Kee, Ku Ree Hta, Lay Klay Day, Ma Nyu Hta and Kler Ber Ko in Papun District. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.48. On 1 May 1995, Coy 1 from Mong Pan-based SLORC LIB 520 took away rice, whiskey and livestock from Long Per Ta (51) of Mai Poke village, Tongkwai Wolai village-tract, Mong Pan Township. [*Source: S.H.A.N.*]

6.12.49. On 9 May 1995, Coy 1 from Mong Pan-based SLORC LIB 520 took away livestock from Loong Kang (49) of Mai Poke village, Tongkwai Wolai village-tract, Mong Pan Township. [Source: *S.H.A.N.*]

6.12.50. On 9 May 1995, SLORC troops stationed near Tee Nya Baw and Ma Ee Sah villages in Thaton Township demanded one cow and other livestock. The villagers had to fulfil the demand and then pay money to the owners. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.51. On 9 May 1995, a column from SLORC IB 103 arrived at Kyauk Leik village, Palaw Township, Tenasserim Division, and demanded 500 bamboo posts to fence their camp at Pa Lan Gone village. The column also forced local people in the area to fence the camp. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.52. On 15 May 1995, Saw Tha Gwih from DKBA ordered the Mon traders in sampans to pay him 28,000 Ks at Kyaun Sein village in Pa-an Township, where there is a trading stop along the river. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.53. On 16 May 1995, Coy 1 from Mong Pan-based SLORC LIB 520 took away livestock from Pi Su Na (43) of Mai Poke village, Tongkwai Wolai village-tract, Mong Pan Township. [*Source: S.H.A.N.*]

6.12.54. On 16 May 1995, Coy 1 from Mong Pan-based SLORC LIB 520 took away a herd of cattle worth 7,000 Ks from Kaw Saing Ta (47) of Mai Poke village, Tongkwai Wolai village-tract, Mong Pan Township. [*Source: S.H.A.N.*]

6.12.55. On 17 May 1995, SLORC LIB 513 from Panglong ransacked Na Law village, Kho Oot village-tract, Mong Nai Township in southern Shan State, at which Pi Sang Su lost 4,100 Ks worth of rice and paddy, Pa Loi Ing lost 3,000

Ks worth of paddy, Pi Nan Taw lost 1,650 Ks worth of rice, paddy and cooking oil, Pi Nan Tar lost 10,750 Ks worth of livestock and rice and Pi Su Nan Ti lost 2,675 Ks worth of rice, paddy and cooking utensils. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.56. On 17 May 1995, SLORC troops led by Maj Sa Thun from Mong Nai-based LIB 518 arrived at Worn Loong Murng village, Worn Norng village-tract, Namsang Township, southern Shan State. The villagers were ordered to hand over five 4-gallon tins of rice, two bottles of cooking oil, two chickens and 15 viss of pork. [*Source: SHRF*]

6.12.57. On 19 May 1995, SLORC troops from LID 77 and IB 76, reached Thay Ko Der village, Papun District. They spent 3 days in the village and committed looting the belongings and livestock of the villagers. They also tortured some villagers they had captured in surrounding villages. On 20 and 21 May, skirmishes broke out between SLORC and KNLA troops in the area. On 22 May, the SLORC troops burned 12 of 15 houses in the village and several rice barns. Rice which was not burned was either taken by the troops or thrown on the ground. When they left, they took three men and five women with them. The victims were tied with rope and with soldiers' packs on their backs. The soldiers used them as guides, porters and human mine-sweepers along the way to their camp near Papun, and then released. On the same day, they also burned several houses in Lay Wah village. Later on, most villagers fled from Thay Ko Der. But they were blocked by SLORC troops on the way and along the road that linked Papun and Kyauk Hnyat to prevent the villagers from reaching the Thai border. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.58. On 21 May 1995, SLORC and DKBA troops came to Kaneh Haw Hta village in Papun District, burned down two houses and destroyed paddy, rice, fish-paste and cooking pots throughout the entire village. They took one gold chain and a pair of earrings from a family. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.59. On 25 May 1995, SLORC soldiers ordered all villages in De Kaw Poh village-tract, Pa-an Township, to pay a total of 272,000 Ks for the construction of a motorway between Waw Dreh and Ka Ma Maung. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.60. On 29 May 1995, Palaw Township LORC issued an order to nine villages — Du Yin Pin Chaung, Palaw Pya, Shan Doh, Mi Kyaun Thet Kyeh, Tamay Me Sa, Bee Cha, Wa Zone Owt, and Sin Toh (name of ninth village not provided) — around Palaw [50 km. north of Mergui] that each village must pay 10,000 Ks for "football fee" by 15 June 1995. In Palaw Township, there were 23 villages which had to compete in the "Palaw Township Rainy Season Football Match". Each village had to pay 30,000 Ks for its team while any village which was not able to send a team also had to pay the same amount. Each of these villages also had to pay 10,000 Ks for "Tenasserim Division Sports Fund". [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.61. On 30 May 1995, a new railroad that linked Tavoy-Yebyu in Tenasserim Division was opened by SLORC. The train ticket for each passenger cost 10 Ks which is the same price as the bus fare before the railroad was built. Local people are now very disappointed because they have expected cheaper fare than the private bus when the government-owned railroad finished. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.62. In June 1995, IB 17 Comdr Maj Tun Hla gave orders to the farmers, who cultivated rice on the hill-side around Ba Ta Nya village, Mergui District, that they were even in the daytime not allowed to go to or stay or sleep in their fields. Then he led his troops into the fields and burned down all the huts there. [Source: KHRG]

6.12.63. In June 1995, the SLORC troops entered Thay Ko Der village in Papun District, burned down all houses and rice barns, forced the villagers to move to Wah Mee Day village (6 miles away) at gun point and left them there without food. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.64. On 1 June 1995, about 150 soldiers from IBs 101 and 103 went to Mi Chaung Thike village, Palaw Township and column Comdr Maj Hla Kyi demanded ten chickens, five ducks, ten bottles of cooking oil and 2,000 Ks in cash. The village head had to collect these items from the villagers. On 15 June, the same column returned to the village again in order to conscript the villagers for portering. When the villagers escaped, the soldiers entered their houses and stole a total of 71,000 Ks worth of properties belonged to eight people. Losing most of their belongings plunged the people into a very difficult situation. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.65. On 4 June 1995, Township LORC office in Palaw demanded 10,000 Ks from Zarde Win village for "Rainy Season Sports Fund". [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.66. On 5 June 1995, SLORC Coy 1 of LIB 520 arrived at Mai Hung Ek village, Torng Kwai Wolai village-tract in Mong Pan Township, southern Shan State, and forcibly took away rice, paddy, livestock and household utensils belonged to Saw Ping Na (42) & Nang Hong (31), Nang Sai (29), Loong Sara Mard (55), Nang Kit (28), Ee Toong (25), Mae Tao Mone (66), Loong Rang Wuna (57), Pi Khin (46), Pi Kan Ti La (44), Pala (53), Pa Nang (54), Loong Khin Min Ta(59) and Loong Mong without compensation. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.67. On 8 June 1995, a SLORC Army camp in Palaw Township demanded 300 sheets of roofing thatch from both Kyauk Leik and Palaw villages to roof the buildings there. Moreover, each village had to provide 50 bamboo posts and 25 wooden posts for repairing of those buildings. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.68. On 9 June 1995, a column from SLORC IB 103 arrived at Bee Cha village, Palaw Township, and met with the Village LORC chairman and his

group. The column commander ordered the chairman to take responsibility in providing food for the soldiers. The chairman and his group collected money from about 150 houses and raised 15,000 Ks. Then they bought two pigs costing a total of 10,000 Ks. They had to send 2 pigs and the remaining 5,000 Ks to the major of the column. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.69. On 11 June 1995, about SLORC 50 troops form IB 103 led by Lt Myint Aung entered Oke Pone village, Palaw Township, and forcibly took seven baskets of rice, 50 chickens and two pigs from the villagers. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.70. On 12 June 1995, Coy 1 of SLORC LIB 520 ransacked Wan Mai Longtong village, Tong Kwai Wolai village-tract, Mong Pan Township in southern Shan State, in which Paw Tao Pan (58) & Pa Nyunt (54), Me Tao Leng (61), Pa None (57), Loong Kong Oong (53), Zaw Ta (46), Me Tao Larn (65) and Loong Sai (62) were victims who lost their livestock. [*Source: S.H.A.N.*]

6.12.71. On 15 June 1995, a column from SLORC IB 101 went into Bee Cha village, Palaw Township, and looted 64,000 Ks worth of properties from the villagers. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.72. On 16 June 1995, SLORC troop from Lai Hka-based IB 64 plundered Na Law village, Kho Oot village-tract, Mong Nai Township in southern Shan State, at which Me Pa Pe lost 1,170 Ks worth of rice and household utensils, and Pi Kaw Ling lost 600 Ks worth of cooking oil. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.73. On 20 June 1995, it was announced over the SLORC media that 200 viss of raw opium were seized in Tueng Taek and Thilalue villages, in Pinlaung Township, southern Shan State. It was not stated whom the opium belonged to. On 29 June 1995, S.H.A.N. was able to find out the reality — Maj Khin Yee and Maj Chit Than from Hpe Khon-based SLORC LIB 336 ordered local people from La Teng village to provide 37 viss of raw opium, those from La Ee village to provide 150 viss and those of Thilalue village to provide 50 viss, in a total of 267 viss. The villagers were ordered to gather the opium and hide it in a particular place in the forest. They were also threatened by the SLORC troops of searching houses and arrests in case of disobeyed.

The villagers were afraid of all their belongings being confiscated and of being punished for growing opium. They therefore had no alternatives, instead just placed the opium at the designed place which led SLORC to be able to fabricate the media a seizure of 200 viss of opium. The remaining 67 viss was kept by the SLORC commander himself.

The commander was apparently very pleased with the success of the operation, and he gave a speech to the villagers saying, “Don’t grow opium on your foreheads. Grow it in the backyard of your houses and keep it away from any camera.” [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.74. On 22 June 1995, SLORC troops from Kunhing-based LIB 196 and Namsang-based LIB 247 arrived at Loi Oon village, Loi La village-tract, Mong Nai Township in southern Shan State, and forcibly took away some cattle belonged to Pi Koo Na, Loong Yi, Loong Moo Ling, Pa Ong, Nang Lao and Loong Ong Kham. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.75. On 23 June 1995, SLORC IB 25 bombarded Thet Byu Chaung village, Tavoy Township, because some KNLA soldiers were harboured there. All the villagers ran away. The SLORC soldiers took away their belongings and burned down the village, including a primary school and a monastery. The loss was about three million kyats. There were about 160 families with 600 people, predominantly Buddhist, in that village. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.76. On 23 June 1995, farmland (three miles east to west and four miles north to south) located in the west of Hpe Khon Township, Shan State, was confiscated by SLORC and designated for a military base. Nobody is allowed to cross (or enter) that confiscated farmland. Local people and owners of that land not only lost about 8,000 acre of cultivating farm but also they were barred from entering into it. Nobody dared to complain anything since those who did so were sent to jail. [*Source: NLD-LA*]

6.12.77. On 26 June 1995, 100 SLORC troops from IB 17 led by Maj Tun Hla arrived at Tha Kyet village, Tenasserim Township. They entered and searched the houses of Naw Heh Naw and Saw Ben Jeh Moo under suspicion of having contacts with the rebels. They stole 10,000 Ks in cash and 5,000 Ks worth of properties from Naw Heh Naw's house, and about 10,000 Ks worth of properties from Saw Ben Jeh Moo's house. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.78. In July 1995, each owner of the private motorboat in Tavoy Township, Tenasserim Division, whose boats running in Gamon Stream from Myitta village to other villages was ordered to pay a tax of 1,000 Ks to No. 19 Military Intelligence Unit in Taung Thonlon area. The owners of 17 motor boats collected 17,000 Ks and sent to them. Unfortunately, members of the village LORC handed over the money to a battalion which was later known by MI 19. Then, owners of the boats were again ordered in October 1995 to pay the tax directly to MI 19. Therefore, they had to collect another 17,000 Ks again, and gave it to the intelligence unit. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.79. Local SLORC Army ordered the people from the entire part of Hpe Khon Township, Shan State, to give the equivalent money to buy 90 horses within the set deadline in November 1995. Therefore, each household in Hpe Khon was subjected to pay at least 350 Ks. The fees rose in the less populated quarters.

Similarly, the people there had to pay 300,000 Ks for the Student Sports Festival. The people from five quarters of Hpe Khon Township, including Nyaung Gone Quarter, in spite of poor living condition, were subjected to pay against their will for both porter fees and funds for sports festival. [*Source: ABSDF*]

6.12.80. On 9 July 1995, SLORC LIB 425 commanded by Bn Comdr Nyunt Aye and Deputy Bn Comdr Tin Nyein, forced each village-tract in Demoso Township, Karenni State, to pay five baskets of rice and five viss of cooking oil for the army ration. [*Source: NLD-LA*]

6.12.81. On 12 July 1995, 200 SLORC troops from IB 101 led by Coy Comdr Kain Za Lay penetrated Bee Cha village in Palaw Township and forcibly took 21,750 Ks worth of properties from the villagers. Moreover, the villagers had to pay a monthly porter fees of 5,000 Ks.

The following day, this company commander seized a motorcycle belonged to Saw Kwen Pho, 40 years old. He asked the village headman to find the key for him and then the headman did it. He accused Saw Kwen Poh of passing SLORC's information to the rebels. Then, the commander said if Saw Kwen Poh wanted to take his motorcycle back, he must pay 10,000 Ks at Pe Loh army camp. But Saw Kwen Poh had to spend 15,000 Ks for the demand plus food for the soldiers. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.82. On 23 July 1995, the SLORC troops ordered the villagers from Ee Heh and Kyone M'Thweh village-tracts in Thaton District to bring all their rice to Ee Heh village and gathered at an intended place. The villagers were then delivered the food on a daily basis. To get their food, the villagers had to go twice for everyday to cover breakfast and dinner. The villagers were told that the order came from Tha Htro Kyaw, a DKBO leader. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.83. On 24 July 1995, SLORC penetrated into Htee Pa Doh Hta and Kyone Waing in Thaton District and ordered the villagers to bring them wooden and bamboo posts and to build huts for the soldiers. Furthermore, the soldiers ordered local people from Ler K'Ter and Ker Po villages to make a fence for them. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.84. Between July and August 1995, a group of militia in Mong Pan accompanied with 60 troops from SLORC LIB 520 led by Bn second-in-command Maj Nyan Win penetrated into villages such as Tung Tsu, Warn Hwe Tsoi, Warn Torng Kaii, Warn Wo Laii and Warn Pung Khur of Mong Pan Township, southern Shan State. Accusing the villagers of supporting MTA, all the headmen and males were arrested. The militia acted as mediators between the captives and captors. Those who could afford to pay 20,000 Ks were released. From each of the captive, the militia got a share of 5,000 Ks while the captors got 15,000 Ks. Unable to bear this extortion, the villagers have now deserted their villages. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.85. Since August 1995, SLORC troops from IB 35 led by Maj Kyi Soe and DKBA have been staying in Meh Naw Ther, Ee Thu Kee and Wah Kay village-tracts in Thaton District. They have regularly entered the villages, eaten the villagers' rice and livestock and looted whatever they wanted. They frightened

the villagers by beating and accusing them of collaborating with KNU. Some villages have been forced to move to Ler Ka Sha. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.86. In August 1995, Cpl Sew Oo (Serial No. 565954) from LIB 401 had an argument with his officer over the unfair treatment between the officers and other ranks, and hit him. Cpl Swe Oo was sentenced to one year and a half imprisonment by the Comdr of LIB 401 and was sent to Tavoy prison. [*Source: ABSDF*]

6.12.87. On 2 August 1995, household utensils and money from villagers in Zarde Win village in Palaw Township, Tenasserim Division, were looted by a SLORC military column commanded by Maj Hla Kyi from IB 101 and Maj Soe Win from IB 17. Of which the following persons were the victims.

No.	Name	Loss of household utensils	Loss of money in cash
1.	Saw Thar Shell	5,000 Ks	6,000 Ks
2.	Saw Kya Lay	2,000 Ks	8,500 Ks
3.	Saw Me De	3,000 Ks	1,000 Ks
4.	Saw Pe Kay	15,000 Ks	1,500 Ks
5.	Saw Te De	4,500 Ks	1,000 Ks
6.	Saw Mu Say	4,000 Ks	500 Ks
7.	Saw Say Lwal	2,000 Ks	1,000 Ks
8.	Daw Taw Hla Myain	40,000 Ks	10,000 Ks
Total		75,500 Ks	29,500 Ks

When the SLORC military column went into the village, all the villagers fled in order to escape from portering. Then the SLORC troops entered the houses and took away money and household utensils such as radio, cassette recorder, traditional silver bowl, new clothes, sewing machine and etc. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.88. On 10 August 1995, Daw Naw Jew (40) from Myitta village in Tavoy Township was fined 10,000 Ks by a Company of IB 25 for absence to inform the army that two guests were sleeping in her house. The army fined her at 5,000 Ks for each guest. [*Source: ABSDF*]

6.12.89. On 16 August 1995, 80 SLORC troops commanded by Capt Than Sein from IB 101 penetrated into Nawbal village in Palaw Township and seized a 70-kg-weigh pig, fifty chickens, 16 kg of fish and 2,000 Ks worth of commodities from a small store, causing the owner lost about 12,000 Ks. [*Source: ABSDF*]

6.12.90. On 22 August 1995, more than 60 troops from SLORC IB 33 which was stationed at the camp of Larng, Mong Tom village-tract, Lashio Township, northern Shan State, forced the people in Mong Tum village-tract to buy them three horses. As each horse cost 40,000 Ks, different villages had to share for the

horses. Koon Morng, Fa Laii, Na Kor and Ho-kor villages were responsible for one horse and Norng Kham, Norng Tsarn, Korng Lom and Fai leng villages had to buy another while the third one went to Peng Karng Korng Kham, Norng Hee and Worn Kao Long village.

The rest of the villages had to submit their bullock-carts for use by the SLORC troops for five days. The Burma Army made their demands to the villagers by sending letters with bullets. If the villagers delayed in sending the letters, they would receive doubled punishment. If the bullets in these letters were lost, the villagers would have to pay 10,000 Ks for missing of a single bullet. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.91. In September 1995, SLORC LIB 408 confiscated about 750 acres of farmland and rubber plantation in Chaung Zon village, Yebyu Township, without giving any compensation. These confiscated lands were designated as belongings of the army. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.92. More than 200 troops from a joint military column of SLORC IBs 17 and 101 led by Bn Comdr Hla Kyi, Coy Comdr Soe Wein, Capt Tan Sein and Capt Than Tor Oo entered Zarde Win village, Palaw Township, Tenasserim Division, and committed looting to the families there. All the villagers were subjected to looting — 1,660 Ks worth of belongings and 8,500 Ks in cash from Saw Ju Lay, 1,480 Ks worth of properties from Saw Pan Dain, 6,560 Ks worth of valuable items from Saw Lah Shan, 15,340 Ks from Saw Pe Kain, 35,000 Ks from Saw Tan Dain, 2,960 Ks from Saw Mu Sain and 51,800 Ks from Naw Aung Lar Pyo. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.93. For the construction of a bridge between Kye Nan Taing and Pa Taung village, District LORC of Mergui ordered local people from Ma Zaw village in Mergui Township to send them 60 tonnes of timber under an ultimatum saying that failure to meet the demand would face harsh punishment. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.94. Local people from Ta Kar village in Mergui who were forced to contribute labour for the constriction of Mergui-Kawthaung motorway were also forced to send chickens everyday to the troops from IB 17 based at Khone Maw village. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.95. For the of construction of Kye Nan Taing and Ban La Mut village (Mergui Township) part of the road that linked Mergui and Kawthaung which is still under construction, needed rocks were ordered to be sent from village-tracts in Mergui Township on compulsory basic by Mergui LORC or those failed to meet the demand were fined 2,000 Ks for one stone pitch. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.96. Each household in Tenasserim Township was forced to pay a monthly porter fee ranging 500 Ks to 1000 Ks. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.97. SLORC IBs 267 and 269 have been making their new bases near Ze Lone, Ze Har and Tha Bye Chaung villages in Tavoy Township. To cover the required space, they have forcibly taken some of the plantations and farmlands belonged to the villagers. They have also cut down mango, durian and other trees in the villagers' orchards for wood. They have ordered the villagers to saw wood for them without pay. The villagers are forced to cut down their own mango and durian trees and then saw for SLORC. No compensation is paid for the land, orchards or trees. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.98. On 7 September 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 516 stationed at Namsang pillaged Nong Turk village, Wan Nong village-tract in Namsang Township, at which Loong Wi lost 45,160 Ks worth of belongings including two muskets, 20 silver coins, eight baskets rice, five baskets of soya bean, one Buddha image, one tape recorder and other household utensils; Pu Nyar lost 13,300 Ks worth of belongings including one musket and other household utensils and livestock; and Loong Ti Ya lost 1,775 Ks worth of household utensils and domestic animals. [Source: S.H.A.N]

6.12.99. In mid-September 1995, over 170 troops from SLORC LIB 516 patrolling from Keng Tung happened to meet with MTA at a place called Worn Loi Un village, Worn Norng village-tract, Namsang Township, southern Shan State. After a battle, SLORC troops demanded five oxen as a punishment from the villages for failing to inform them about the movement of MTA. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.100. On 16 September 1995, domestic animals and rice owned by Karen villages on Bosar Khee range in Taungoo District were seized by a SLORC column from IB 48 led by Maj Myint Han without any compensation. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.101. On 17 September 1995, a SLORC column from IB 35 torched Baw Naw Htar and Ah Le Gaw Htar village in Papun District, Karen State, and took away all the belongings of the villagers. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.102. On 18 September 1995, SLORC troops from Namsang-based LIB 247 entered Phar Sont village, Loi La village-tract, Mong Nai Township in southern Shan State, and committed a robbery at which Loong Ta lost 24,250 Ks worth of household utensils and clothing, two muskets and 6,000 Ks in cash; Loong Sun Ta lost 500 Ks worth of blankets, Loong Loi lost 1,500 Ks worth of one Buddha image; Pa Nyo lost 700 Ks worth of clothing and household utensils; Sai Thark On lost 2,000 Ks worth of rice-mill tools; and Ven. Saw Nan Ta, abbot of Phar Sont village monastery, lost 3,000 Ks in cash. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.103. At about 5:45 a.m. on 18 September 1995, Kho-lum-based 29 SLORC troops penetrated into Won Pha-Sorn village, Kho Oot village-tract of Namsang Township, southern Shan State, and found 5-6 members of MTA there when they swept the village. A fighting then broke out in the village. Being afraid of the villagers killed in the battle, MTA had to retreat. After the battle,

the SLORC troops savagely ransacked and looted property of the villagers which estimated at 200,000 Ks. The SLORC troops also arrested three girls — Nang Swe, Ee Lu and Ee Yuk, and asked the villagers to come up with five baht weight of gold in exchange for the girls within three days. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.104. On 25 September 1995, Bale Gaw village, Kyaukkyi Township, Pegu Division, was burned down and belongings of the villagers were seized by a SLORC column from IB 60. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.105. In October 1995, at Kler Ka, Kaw Thaway Do, Klay Sho Koh, Ler Joet, Wah Tho Koh, Ku Ler Doy, Maung Koh Do, Daw Doh, Pae Kaw Doh, Maung Pah Do, and Maung Sho Koh villages in the southern part of Papun Township, Karen State, each household had to pay a monthly fee of 200 Ks for ammunition baskets. If any household attempted to escape, his or her family would be fined double for every month. These villagers have been conscripted to carry heavy loads of ammunitions and pieces of artillery without food. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.106. In October 1995, Township LORC in Tenasserim Township issued an order that all villages in the township to gather and send necessary pieces of rocks to the places fixed by the authorities for the construction of a motorway that linked Mergui and Victory Point (Kawthaung). The authorities also warned that if a village was not able to send necessary quota of rocks to the fixed place, the villagers would be taken effective action. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.107. In October 1995, Ya Wa Ta (village-level SLORC authority) chairman U Kyaw Myint and his committee resigned following his conflict with the civilians. This problem occurred in Pa Hla village, Palaw Township, Tenasserim Division, when concerned Ya Wa Ta chairman was responsible to collect 6000,000 Ks from his village. That money was to be used as social welfare, porter fees to SLORC, donations for sports tournaments and for the military column which was responsible for security of the village. According to the account statement, 2,000,000 Ks was missing. The statement disclosed all the amounts of money forcibly collected by SLORC. Then, SLORC threatened U Kyaw Myint not to reveal the realities regarding forced collection of money. Therefore, U Kyaw Myint had to resign from his post as Ya Wa Ta chairman. According to the local source, the villagers were not satisfied with U Kyaw Myint and accused him of misappropriation. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.108. In October 1995, Brig-Gen Kyi Aung of Southern Command sent IB 26, strength five companies, with orders to destroy villages and food supplies in Taungoo District. Lt-Col Aung Naing Htun, Commander of 2nd MSC from Western Command, who based in Bawgali since August 1995, ordered all villagers in Bawgali, Kaw Thay Der, Klay Soe Kee, Ler Ko, Wah Tho Ko, Ku Lu Der, Maw Ko Der, Der Doh, Ku Plaw Der, Maw Pa Der, Gamu Der and Beh Khaw Der to pay 200 Ks per household per month as porter fees. Anyone who tried to refuse was fined 2,000 Ks. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.109. On 5 October 1995, about 60 men from a combined forces of Kunhing-based SLORC IB 196 and soldiers from a breakaway faction of MTA led by Phoo Mar plundered the Palaung village of Tard Lai, Wan Lao village-tract in Kunhing Township, southern Shan State, at which Loong Zerm (45) lost three horses which worth 60,000 Ks and Loong Kyong (50) lost 13 pigs, a National-model tape recorder, 56 baskets of paddy and one sewing machine. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.110. On 8 October 1995, SLORC LIB 244 from Kengtung forced people in Murng Puk area, Kengtung Township, eastern Shan State, to buy mules for them — one mule per village. Tong Long village, Kho Ken Na Noi village, Pung Sai village, Wan Ping village and Wan Urm village had to collect money among them. Each village had to pay 6-70,000 Ks. SLORC then forced the villagers to change any mule which was not in their satisfaction. The villagers had to feed and look after the mules and also had to serve as muleteers. Those who could not go were fined 200 Ks per day. If any mule fell sick, people had to buy a new one. This has been going on until now. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.111. On 14 October 1995, SLORC troops from IB 101 entered Taung Paw village in Palaw Township, Tenasserim Division, razed all houses and a church to the ground. It was burned after a clash between 7th Bn of KNU and IB 101 was occurred. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.112. On 17 October 1995, about 70 soldiers from IB 25 led by Coy Comdr Mya Nyin entered Pe Ta Ka village, Tavoy Township and took 3,050 Ks worth of properties from Saw Maung Toe, Saw Than Kain, Saw Kain Myint, Saw Tain Tong, Saw Tong La, Saw Tin Lin, Saw Thaung Nyo, Saw Tin Maung and Saw Than Myint. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.113. On 18 October 1995, after killing eight innocent villagers at Saw Wah Der village in Taungoo District, SLORC troops from IB 26 commanded by Lt-Col Myint Aung burned down seven huts, 27 paddy barns and paddy fields. Then, they went into Saw Wah Do village and took away everything belonged to the people. They killed 15 cows on that day for a big feast for themselves. The troops were also ordered to shoot, kill, and destroy every paddy field belonged to Karen civilians. [*Source: KNU/KHRG*]

6.12.114. On 23 October 1995, all the paddy fields and belongings of the villagers in Khaw Bu Htow village, Taungoo District, were destroyed by SLORC troops from IB 26 commanded by Maj Aye Kyaw. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.115. On 24 October 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 20 together with DKBA soldiers Mo Kyo, Maw Ler and Ber Kha entered Klaw Hta village in Thaton District and stole five cattle and two calves from Naw Kyaw. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.116. On 25 October 1995, the house of Kha Laela village headman in Thandaung Township was dismantled by SLORC soldiers commanded by Lt-Col Aung Naing Htun, Comdr of 2nd MSC from Western Command. Moreover, all

the houses from Wabo Kho, Kalay So Khee and Ka Pudae villages in the same township were also dismantled and moved to Kha Laela village. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.117. On 27 October 1995, after Columns 1 and 2 of SLORC IB 26 led by Lt-Col Myint Aung and Maj Aye Kyaw killing Saw Heh Tha Blay (male, 30) from Ta Aye Kee village, Taungoo District, they burned down the entire village of Ta Aye Kee, a Roman Catholic Church, and all the surrounding fields, and shot all the livestock they saw in the village. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.118. At the end of October 1995, township-level LORC (Ma Wa Ta) chairman held a meeting with village-level LORC authorities (Ya Wa Ta) in Palaw Township, Tenasserim Division. The purpose of that meeting was to collect "donation" from all the villages in Palaw Township in order to upgrade Tavoy College to a Degree College. Each village had to pay 22,000 Ks to Township SLORC office. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.119. Since November 1995, SLORC has intensified its campaign of attacking villages in Papun District, ordering the villagers to move to army camps, killing local people, burning houses, churches, fields and harvested paddy on the threshing floors, and stealing or destroying people's belongings. Villages subjected to attacks in November 1995 included Saw Wah Der, Maw Thay Der, The Ay Kee, May Daw Ko, Per Loh, Hoh Thu Toh, Go Heh Der and Saw Mu Der. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.120. In Saw Mu Plaw village-tract (northern Papun District), SLORC troops from IB 30 have been encamping at Lu Thaw Ko and Paw Day Ker villages. They moved throughout the area, taking the villagers' rice and burning down rice barns. Whenever they saw villagers outside the villages, they shot at them. Most villagers no longer dared to stay in their villages and had been living in hiding in the jungle, not daring to tend their rice-fields. They could not carry away enough food from their villages when they fled, and they were living on very little rice mixed with roots, fruits and leaves they were able to find in the forest. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.121. On 7 November 1995, Coy 3 of Lai Hka-based SLORC IB 64 went into Nong Phar village, Kho Oot village-tract, Mong Nai Township in southern Shan State, and robbed Loong Thoon Marn and Pa Thorn's house at which the couple lost 150,000 Ks worth of properties. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.122. On 17 November 1995, SLORC troops from Lai Hka-based IB 64 penetrated into Kieng Kham village, Loi La village-tract, Mong Nai Township in southern Shan State, and committed looting at which Loong War Ling lost a total of 44,190 Ks worth of properties including three horses, rice, livestock and other household utensils. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.123. On 20 November 1995, Capt Nyan Lwin, a Coy Comdr from SLORC LIB 520, ordered the people from Nong Lomke village (about 40 houses), Tong Zu village (50 houses), Hui Zoi (50 houses), Wan Kyong (20 houses), Pung Zun

(20 houses) and Nar Won (10 houses) in Mong Pan Township, southern Shan State, to provide horses for the army. Each village was responsible for provision of one horse or money which was enough to buy one horse within ten days.

Later on, LIB 332 again ordered the people from these six villages to do the same thing. Thus, each village had to provide money for two horses (2-50,000 Ks for one horse). SLORC told the villagers that the army would use these horses to carry their things instead of forcing people into portering. Even after they had received the money, they still asked for porters and no horse was seen.

The people from Hui Zoi village said that because of the disturbance created by SLORC, two scheduled and planned religious ceremonies to be held in October 1995 was cancelled. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.124. Starting from 21 November 1995, SLORC troops led by Column Comdr Tin Aye went to Saw Bweh Der, Day Taw Kee, Kaw Meh Law Kee and Toh Wih Der villages, Papun District, looted everything they wanted and destroyed everything they didn't want. Villagers in this area were not able to harvest their paddy this year (1995) because they had to run away and hide in fear of SLORC troops. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.125. On 26 November 1995, SLORC LIB 512 at Mawkmai, southern Shan State, ordered five village-tracts in the area to buy two horses for the army and bring four teak logs each to make boats to launch an offensive in the MTA-controlled areas. Unable to bear the burden, Nar Sai village headman, Pu Heng Thum Yane, had to abandon his house and flee. There are seven quarters and about 30 villages in Mawkmai Township. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

6.12.126. On 10 December 1995, SLORC troops led by Lt-Col Khin Maung Win of IB 55 ordered several villages in Taungoo District to move to a settlement at Tha Pyay Nyunt army camp, and said that any village failing to move would have to pay a fine of 30,000 Ks and a cow worth 5,000 Ks. On 19 December 1995, the villagers paid the fines as ordered rather than moving. But on 23 January 1996, orders were given that food and commodities were no longer allowed to flow to their villages. Villagers who had gone to Taungoo to buy supplies were not allowed to return home, and are currently living stranded in other villages. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.127. On 16 December 1995, Strategic Commander Myo Hla of Western Command called a meeting at Bawgali, Taungoo District, and ordered that all villages near the motorways will have to provide security for the road. In the area along the way from Bawgali to Bu Sah Kee, no sound of a gunshot or mine explosion must be heard — otherwise, they will cut off the flow of all food and goods between Taungoo and the villages, and all the villagers will be forced to move to the side of motorway. He ordered that no villager can sleep in their farm huts, and if seen there at night he/she will be killed. Moreover, local people from Kaw Thay Der village are not allowed to go to or stay in Taungoo Town, and those who are currently in Taungoo are not allowed to return home.

He said if the soldiers saw any villager from Kaw Thay Der village in the car to or from Bawgali, that car would be burned. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.128. On 17 December 1995, a column from SLORC LIB 551 led by Bn Comdr Kyaw Kyaw entered Yeh Mu Plaw and Say Peh Hta villages in Papun District and reduced some houses to ashes. One Church and 199 baskets of paddy were also burned. Moreover, some poultry and buffaloes were taken away by the troops. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.129. On 17 December 1995, SLORC troops from IB 53 entered Yeh Mu Plaw area, Papun District. At Dta Ku Der village, the soldiers looted the villagers' belongings, including 740 baskets of paddy, three baskets of rice, livestock and cooking pots. They stayed in the area until 23 December 1995. [*Source: KNU/KHRG*]

6.12.130. At 1:00 p.m. on 28 December 1995, about 30 armed men from DKBA crossed into Thailand and committed a robbery at Butukaloe village. They robbed a gold necklace from Nanta, 5,000 bhat in cash from schoolteacher Si Kya and arrested Lee Cha, son of Saw Phaw Thay. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.131. On 28 December 1995, SLORC troops which was attacked by KNU near old Khaw Phoe Pa Leh village and suffered one soldier seriously wounded took away two cows belonged to the villagers from Michaung Ai village in Thaton District. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.132. At 4:00 p.m. on 29 December 1995, about 150 SLORC troops from IB 63 led by Maj Than Win arrived at Saw Phoe Khee village in Papun Township, attacked the village and took away all the money donated during the Christmas, crops and other valuable belongings of the villagers. Some villagers who were not fast enough to escape were arrested by the troops and beaten up. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.133. On 29 December 1995, a joint military column of SLORC LIB 105 and DKBA arrived at Khae Par Htar village in northern Papun District, razed four houses and all rice barns to the ground, took away properties of the villagers and killed the livestock. [*Source: KNU*]

6.12.134. On 29 December 1995, SLORC troops from IB 63 entered Meh Way area in Papun District and looted the villagers' belongings, household items and rice from Meh Paw Kee, Pway Bwa Kee, Toh Meh Kee, and Noh Boh Law villages. [*Source: KHRG*]

6.12.135. On 30 December 1995, SLORC troops from LIBs 391 and 105 (both are under LID 77) led by Lt-Col Tin Yu went into the Yah Kee forest in Papun District and spent three days there in order to look for caches of rice, food supplies, and belongings hidden by the villagers [hidden to prevent them from being looted or burned by SLORC]. [*Source: KHRG*]

(VII) RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

7.1. Ethnic People on Display for Tourists in SLORC Zoos

On 22 May 1995, SLORC Lt-Gen Maung Thint, Minister for Border Areas Development, told the formal municipal meeting that SLORC would set up an ethnic village for tourist attraction near Syriam Bridge which links Rangoon and Syriam. The village would be decorated in accordance with the traditional lifestyle of different ethnic groups in Burma. After that, some ethnic people from different parts of Burma would be brought into that zoo-like compound to be placed on exhibit. Thousands of local inhabitants throughout Burma have been forced to contribute corvee labour and their lands been confiscated for the infrastructure development projects and for 1996 Visit Myanmar Year across the country. *[Source: ABSDF]*

7.2. Discrimination against Minorities

On 10 August 1995, Myint Thida, a Burmese woman who worked as a teacher in Ho-nam village-tract, Mawkmai Township, southern Shan State, was raped by three men from the same village-tract. On 12 August, she brought the case to Capt Sai Saii Pha, commander for Coy 2 of SNPLA 2nd Battalion. The three men were arrested and sent to Loi Sarm Sip to be put on trial. They were then fined for the crime.

Myint Thida, however, was not content with the sentence. She brought the case to Mawkmai-based SLORC LIB 332 on 14 August. They immediately sent about 80 troops with 40 porters to Ho-nam village-tract and asked SNPLA to hand over the three men. SNPLA refused by saying "We don't need to catch a dog with a tiger. We have already sentenced the men to death and executed them."

SLORC troops then headed for Loi Sarm-sip and asked the people to search for the dead bodies, but they could not find them. They then asked SNPLA Capt Sai Saii Pha to come and meet them, but he refused. The case was therefore left unresolved.

Local people felt very bitter at the knowledge that the SLORC troops, who were themselves notorious for having raped local women, were taking so much action to protect a single woman plainly because she was Burmese. *[Source: S.H.A.N]*
[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 72, 74, 88, 154, 239-240, 266-267, 272, 282-283, 289, 291, 304]

(VIII) TORTURE, AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT

8. 1. Background

In Burma torture, and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment has been widespread. Miliary intelligence, Police and Burma Army continue to torture political prisoners in detention centres or subjected them to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment and punishment. Such treatment are routinely practiced in the course of interrogation and forced the detainees to make confession or expose information or to give a lesson to the others and the victims themselves. Amnesty International has concluded that the problem of torture in Burma is pervasive, long term and endemic. Details of torture techniques well-documented by human rights organisations include beatings (with fists, combat boots, or rifle butts) of prisoners severe enough to cause permanent injury, shackling (both in the cells and in work camps), cigarette burns, the application of electric shocks to the genitals, finger tips, toes, ear lobes and else where, suffocation, stabbing, rubbing of salt and chemicals in open wounds, forcing to stand in abnormal position for long hour (e.g. forcing to "ride the motorcycle", standing with arms outstretched and legs bent for prolonged periods; the "helicopter", suspension by the wrists or feet from a ceiling fixture and then being spun around), deprivation of light and sleep, denial of medicine, food, exercise and water for washing, the "iron road (having iron or bamboo rods rolled up and down the shins until the skin is lacerated), solitary confinement in small cells for prolonged periods and psychological torture including threats of death.

Some prisoners had been forced to work as porters for the army, carrying ammunition and other supplies in front line areas. Of those victims, those managed to escape gave consistent accounts of extra-judicial execution, beatings, lack of food and medicines, and poor conditions. Most of these prisoners had only a few days left to serve of their sentences when they were taken to the front. Moreover, some prisoners were forced to work as unpaid labourers for the infrastructure development projects throughout Burma.

Porters who attempted to escape, those who could no longer carry heavy loads, and those who asked for some more food or water were subjected to torture, sometimes to death, and ill treatment, including gang rape mostly to ethnic women serving as porters, by the SLORC army.

Ethnic civilians in the remote areas were also not spared from being tortured when they were unable to provide porters, porter fees or other funds or failed to meet the demands by the SLORC troops. There were numerous cases of torture

to the civilians by the SLORC Army under allegation of being supporters of rebels and their sympathisers, harbouring rebels in their villages and establishing the administrative function.

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 1,3-15, 17-21, 24-26, 28, 30, 37-81, 84, 85, 88-91, 98, 100, 104, 106-111, 113-120, 127-129, 135-153, 155-158, 171, 174, 176, 182, 188, 190-193, 197-198, 200-203, 214-215, 217-218, 225, 231-232, 236, 239, 243-248, 250, 252, 255, 261-262, 264-265, 267-268, 270-275, 280-281, 284, 286-293, 299-300, 304-306, 309, 312-313]

8.2. List of Incidents

8.2.1. At 4:17 a.m. on 15 March 1994, a Burmese fishing boat carrying 1,000 tones of pawn from Kyein Ni Taung village was robbed by SLORC soldiers from No. 413 navy patrol boat near Ma Pu Taw (Dove), Tenasserim Division. A child, an elderly woman, two girls and 5 fishermen were kept in the scorching sun without giving anything for one day as a punishment. The owner of the fishing boat was fined 50,000 baht. [*Source: KNU*]

8.2.2. In September 1994, approximately 100 troops from IB 62 led by Col Ohn Myint penetrated Kotkataw and Line villages in Kyaikmaraw Township, Mon State, to search for Mon rebels. The SLORC soldiers arrested all men in the villages and tortured them to reveal who were rebels and supporters of rebels in their villages. Nai Phu, Nai Chit Palae, Nai Yu, Nai Hla Sein and Nai Hlein were severely tortured and detained for one week following the accusation of being supporters of Mon rebels. The SLORC troops also took some high-priced belongings such as video recorder and engines of a small rice mill from the villagers. [*Source: HURFOM*]

8.2.3. In the third week of November 1994, about 60 troops commanded by Capt Aye Min entered Kotkataw, Kawgo and Palaingkamort villages in Kyaikmaraw Township and arrested a number of villagers for portering. While the villagers were attempting to escape, the troops shot at them in Kawgo village, causing one villager, Nai Lon (25) to die on the spot. Some arrested villagers were accused of being supporters of the rebels and hiding arms for them, and the accused were subjected to severe torture as they tried to flee. SLORC troops also threatened the villagers that those who were not in the village would be considered as Mon rebels. [*Source: HURFOM*]

8.2.4. In last week of December 1994 and first week of January 1995, about 200 troops led by Col Ohn Myint penetrated Line, Palaingkamort, Kyaukapin and Kotkataw villages in Kyaikmaraw Township and arrested about 10 village headmen and many villagers. During the interrogation, the soldiers covered the victims' faces fixedly, poured water on their heads and engineered severe torture to force them to expose arsenal of the rebels and ordered the people to relocate the villages quickly. When the village headman replied it was impossible to relocate the villages, they were severely beaten by the troops. Since then, most

village headmen and the villagers fled into jungle and hid in a safer place. The administration of the villages became loose so that the villagers were no longer be able to tolerate staying in their villages. [*Source: HURFOM*]

8.2.5. Most people fled Klaw Hta village, two hours' walk west of the Salween River, in Papun District, Karen State, because SLORC troops advanced in January/February 1995. On 10 February, one man from the village returned to get some of his possessions. While he was there, SLORC troops suddenly surrounded and captured him. The soldiers tortured him and forced him to be a porter for three days before set him free. The villager's name was not provided, but the responsible SLORC commander was Coy Comdr Bo Chit Aung of IB 19. [*Source: KHRG*]

8.2.6. In March 1995, SLORC IB 62 entered those villages very often and ordered the villagers again and again to return to their villages and to relocate their whole community to another place. Because of the refusal of the villagers, on 10 March 1995, about 35 troops led by Col Than Hlaing arrested the village headmen from Kawjamalein and Pinekamar villages in Kyaikmaraw Township and severely tortured them under the allegation of having contacts with Mon rebel soldiers. On 11 March, SLORC troops further arrested the headmen Nai Seik (33) and Nai Chit (39) with the same allegation and tortured them. Other arrested village headmen in this area were chairman Nai Aung Khin (52) and secretary Nai Maung Chit of Kwannaeparae village. Moreover, village headmen from Kotkataw and Kawkyaik villages were also tortured by the same troops with allegation of supporting the Mon rebels. Then, many villagers fled into the jungle east of their villages and some villages were nearly and totally destroyed as no one wanted to nor were able to stay any longer in their villages. [*Source: HURFOM*]

8.2.7. On 16 March 1995, a company from SLORC IB 62 led by Capt Tin Soe arrested village headmen and villagers from the villages situated along and between the railway and motorway which connect Mudon and Thanbyuzayat. Most of the villagers there are local farmers who earn their household living by cultivating low-land rice and working on rubber plantations. On that day, the troops came into Yaungdaung village and arrested village chairman Nai Nee. Then they proceeded to Hneepadaw village and arrested village chairman Nai Boe Ni and secretary Nai Nu. Those village headmen were taken by the soldiers to their outpost in Klortsot village where the prisoner were severely tortured. The soldiers fixedly covered their faces with plastic bags and poured water on their head and beat them with rifle butts and combat boots. [*Source: HURFOM*]

8.2.8. On 17 March 1995, the same troops arrested Nai Myint, Doma village chairman; Nai Chein, Klortsot village Secretary; Nai Kwit, leader of Khapourhtaw village militia; Nai Pan Kar, leader of Kwankhabawe village militia; Nai Htuu, leader of Bae Dore village militia and Nai Maung Myint, Kmar-aii village chairman. They were brought to Klortsot Military Outpost and interrogated about the activities of Mon troops and members of the New Mon State Party in Mudon Township. The soldiers also accused those village

headmen and militia leaders of constantly supporting the Mon troops by harbouring them in their villages and establishing the administrative function of the New Mon State Party. The soldiers tortured them by using many atrocious means and detained them together with those headmen who were subjected to arrest on 16 March. According to the victims, they were questioned in detail by a team composed of personnel from Military Intelligence Unit and if they were dissatisfied, they ordered the soldiers to torture those arrested village leaders. After constant detention and torture for three to four days, the victims were released. Before their release, the soldiers warned them to cut off their contacts with Mon rebels or if such allegations are found, they will be punished more severely. Moreover, the troops also threatened them with relocating some villages presumed as bases of Mon rebels. No evidence was found that these accusations had any basis in meaning, however. [*Source: HURFOM*]

8.2.9. At 2:00 a.m. on 23 March 1995, the same troops from IB 62 [*see 8.2.8. above*] came into Kwankhabawe village in Mudon Township and arrested three villagers — Mi Say (43, female), Nai Jek (36, male) and Nai Khapue (35, male) by accusing them of being supporters of Mon troops. As soon as they were arrested, the soldiers forced the victims to confess the allegation made against them. The SLORC troops then fixedly covered the victims' faces with plastic bags for many minutes to make sure that they were suffocating and as a result were coercively forced to confess. Afterwards the soldiers continuously poured gallons of water onto the victims' heads and tortured them for one hour. Finally the military torturers tied up these villagers and brought them to Htonemine village. When they arrived there at about 5:00 a.m., the soldiers arrested other two villagers — Nai Saung (45, male) and Nai Gone (55, male) — under the same accusation. The new victims were subjected to the same torture as the first victims.

The soldiers tied up all of the victims and brought to their outpost in Klortsot village. There the tortured villagers were detained for four days and severely tortured in order to lead them "confess". The victims were also threatened that they must show the bases of the Mon troops and houses which harboured Mon soldiers. Moreover, while detained and tortured, the unscrupulous soldiers were demanded a ransom of 25,000 Ks per person. Therefore, the families of those victims had to sell their farmland, rubber plantation and other belongings to be able to pay the ransoms within a four-day deadline. They were released after their families paid the ransoms. [*Source: HURFOM*]

8.2.10. At 4:00 p.m. on 18 March 1995, twelve soldiers of SLORC LIB 359 raided Warn Ma Ka Ho Hkam of Tachilek Township, looking for porters. At the Tachilek-Taunggyi bus station they tried to catch five young men who were eating, but four of them managed to escape. Only one, who was a Thai citizen named Tsai Sarm Noi from Kor Saii, Mae Sai, did not escape. While he was being interrogated, they beat his head with a rifle butt and he had to receive 18 stitches at Mae Sai hospital

In June 1995, in Sittwe (Arkyab) Township of Arakan State, a son of Col Htay Win, Deputy-Commander of Western Command, died at the Sittwe summer resort tower. He and his friends lost consciousness and referred to the State hospital in Sittwe urgently. Col Htay Win arrested many young and tortured the people during interrogation about the case. He was angry when his son's friends regained consciousness and told him that they lost unconsciousness because of using morphine. As Col Htay Win with anger abandoned the body of his son at the hospital, the hospital authorities had to take responsibility for cremation. [*Source: ABSDF*]

8.2.11. From 20 March to 21 May 1995, following the attack of MTA against the SLORC troops in Tachilek, the Burmese army put up a barbed wire fence along the Nam Mae Sai Stream to prevent people from crossing. Out of those who were caught while trying to cross to buy goods, females were sent to the army camp on the hill, and then punished by being tied up flat on the ground and then left baking in the sun for three hours; males were sent to the jail for one night or sent to the front line as porters. Those who were able to pay the sum of 2,000 baht were released. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

8.2.12. When MTA attached Tachilek on 20 March 1995, 2 innocent young men and 3 women were arrested by Maj Thein Han and Capt Pe Than of No. 24 Military Intelligence Unit. They were:

1. Sai Yee (29, son of Loong On; his right ear was cut off and both legs stabbed repeatedly with a bayonet.)
2. Sai Moun (23, son of Loong Hsam Noi from Ta-le Quarter of Namkham; his upper lip was cut off.)
3. Nang Han Ni (25, daughter of Oo Te Ni, Yan Shin Quarter, Murng Koo village-tract)
4. 2 other young women from Hong Lerk of Mong Hsat village.

No news of these captives has been heard since their arrest. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

8.2.13. On 21 March 1995, a villager, who returned to Ee Thu Kee village in Papun District, Karen State, to save some of his belongings, was captured and beaten by SLORC troops from IB 19 before being released. [*Source: KHRG*]

8.2.14. On 21 March 1995, SLORC troops from IB 19 reached Thee Klu Hta village, Papun District, Karen State, and caught one villager who was not aware of their coming. He was tied up and severely beaten before being released. [*Source: KHRG*]

8.2.15. During the second week of April, SLORC troops from IB 62 summoned the village heads of Kwankhabawe and Htonemine villages in Mudon Township and interrogated them about the Mon troops being harboured in their villages. The village heads admitted that although they were aware some officials from New Mon State Party had ever come into their village, they were unable to resist the rebels, who were armed with guns. The military was not satisfied with the answers and severely tortured them by using atrocious means. At the end, the military did not accept any reasonable complaint of the village headmen and the SLORC

troops warned them for the second time that the village must be relocated if it continued to harbour Mon rebels. The military also issued an order to the village heads saying that if Mon troops or Mon officials come to their villages, they must kill those rebels or if not, their villages must be relocated. [*Source: HURFOM*]

8.2.16. At midnight on 17 April 1995, about 30 SLORC troops led by Maj Lha Kyoo of LIB 248 from Mong Nai arrived at Nar Lin village and accused the villagers of stealing two of their guns. The soldiers then arrested all the men and women and beat them up during interrogation. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

8.2.17. On 5 May 1995, DKBA troops entered Bwa Der village, south of Papun, towards the confluence of the Salween and Moei Rivers, captured Wee Saw Aye, Saw Nu, Ser Nay Htoo, Thaw Htoo, Kya Hay and Pa La Kyay [all Karen men] and beat them severely. They burned a plastic bag and dripped the burning plastic on Thaw Htoo's chest. [*Source: KHRG*]

8.2.18. On 25 May 1995, SLORC troops from Panglong-based LIB 513 raided Worn Na-Law village, Kho Oot village-tract, Namsang Township, southern Shan State, and captured the headman Loong Karng Thoon and a villager, Parn Ta Ke. They were accused of being supporters of MTA and were beaten until they lost consciousness. [*Source: SHRF*]

8.2.19. On 29 June 1995, Maj Soe Hliang from Langkho-based SLORC IB 99 came to Nam Tong village, Nar Won village-tract, Mong Pan Township, southern Shan State. He beat the headman Zig Ta (58) 5 times. SLORC officer also beat Loong Pan and confiscated property including one horse, three beds, blankets, food and household utensils. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

8.2.20. On 9 July 1995, U Myint Naung (55), a convict from Mandalay Jail who lived next to No. 1 State High School of Myaukpyin Tavoy Quarter in Mandalay downtown, fell down while carrying a rice sack. Because of heavy load, his backbone was broken and he was beaten by SLORC soldiers from LIB 426. [*Source: ABSDF*]

8.2.21. On 10 July 1995, Capt Thein Myint, Coy Comdr of SLORC IB 97, went into Thein P'Lein village, Kawkareik District and ordered a village elder, Daw Ah Yaing, to get him porters. Daw Ah Yaing pleaded that she could not get the required porters as all villagers were away on their respective farms. Capt Thein Myint accused Daw Ah Yaing of being very stubborn. He and Sgt Htoo Bweh beat the victim with sticks, hit her with rifle butt, and kicked her with their boots. Daw Ah Yaing had her nose broken by the soldiers, and then she lost consciousness. The beatings were so severe that her three-month-old pregnancy ended up with a miscarriage.

Another two villagers — Maung Ohn Shwe and Maung Khin Aye — who tried to plead for Daw Ah Yaing were also beaten almost to death. Moreover, Capt Thein Myint demanded the villagers to pay him five goats, five chickens, and

10,000 Ks in cash for failing to provide porters. The villagers had to collect the money among themselves to meet the demand. [*Source: KNU*]

8.2.22. On 13 July 1995, Nga Kyan, a Naga village in Somra Township, Sagaing Division, was raided by a SLORC platoon led by 2nd Lt Tun Tun Oo of IB 347. When the troops reached inside the small village, without any reason, they deliberately shot at the houses. Particularly two houses of U Tha Don and U Phon Mae was damaged of the shooting. Afterwards, the SLORC troops ordered the people from he houses to come down and they kicked U Tha Don. A village headman and six other villagers were also beaten up. The soldiers also took a village headman and another villager as hostages back to their military base. They were reportedly tortured by the SLORC soldiers for the whole night. The following day, the villagers were ordered to give one pig and 10,000 Ks in cash as ransom. When the villagers gave what they asked, the soldiers released the victims. [*Source: ABSDF*]

8.2.23. In the morning on 29 July 1995, four Pa-O shopkeepers who were arrested from Taunggyi and forced into portering by SLORC troops from LIB 249 were severely beaten by the soldiers while they were attempting to escape. They were beaten until they were very near to dying and then were left behind near the outskirts of Wan Yin Town, Hsi-hseng Township of southern Shan State. [*Source: NLD-LA*]

8.2.24. In July 1995, the following villagers from Thaton District were blindfolded, tortured, and forced to drink large amounts of water by a combined military column of SLORC IB 36 and DKBA.

Table 8. Torture in Thaton District, July 1995

No.	Name	Age	village
1.	Kyaw Moo		Kaw Htee Kee
2.	Saw Kwee Nee		Noh Keg
3.	Naw Peh Peh		" "
4.	Saw Po Kaw		" "
5.	Pah Keh		" "
6.	Thein Pe		" "
7.	Saw Pee Law		" "
8.	Saw Lay Day		Peh Wuh Hta
9.	Maung Lu Pyo		" "
10.	Maung Pyah		" "
11.	Saw Naw		" "
12.	Naw May		" "
13.	Naw Mu Lee		Htote Po Hta
14.	Saw Po Be		" "
15.	Saw Po La thin		" "
16.	Maung Tha Lone		" "
17.	Pu La Ber		Meh Naw Ther
18.	Saw Maw Keh		Kaw Htee Kee

19.	Saw Pwe Dah		" "
20.	Saw Be Ko		" "
21.	Saw Win Sein		" "
22.	Maung Cho		Noh Keh
23.	Naw Ther Myaing		" "
24.	Pu Ta Ku		Meh Naw Ther Kee
25.	Haah Kee		" "
26.	Maung Mait		" "
27.	Pah Eh Htoo		" "
28.	Kyaw Khin		" "
29.	Pu My	65	Maw Kee
30.	Hsa Der	38	" "
31.	Than Nyo	40	" "
32.	Htoe Po Tote	37	" "
33.	Saw Keh	28	" "
34.	Kwee Lah	51	Ee Su Kee
35.	Chit Po	30	" "
36.	Than Ngwe	35	" "
37.	Saw To Kya	32	" "
38.	Saw Ohn Shwe	35	" "
39	Chaule Lone	35	" "
40.	Saw Ta Ku	25	" "
41.	Kwee Che	27	" "
42.	Tee Tha Lee	50	" "
43.	Tee Pa Doh	50	" "

[*Source: KNU*]

8.2.25. On 16 August 1995, 20 SLORC soldiers from LIB 408 led by Coy Sgt Aye Hlaing and Sgt Hla Myint entered Zinba village in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division. As they asked money from the village headman, he had to collect the tributes — including porter fees, funds for forced labour and USDA — to be transferred to Chairman of Yebyu Township LORC. But, as the head of Zinba village refused to hand over the money, he was beaten by Sgt Aye Hlaing and a tribute of 28,500 Ks was seized. [*Source: ABSDF*]

8.2.26. On 25 August 1995, about 200 SLORC troops from LIB 520 led by Maj Kyi Lin came from Mong Pan to Ton Kwai village and proceeded to Nong Harn village in Wan Khook village-tract, Mong Pan Township, southern Shan State, where they asked for two bullock carts. Two men — the village headman Loong Phong (56, husband of Nai Yane and son of Loong Ku and Pa Nang) and Sai Tame (37, son of Loong Yan Na and Pa Nang) — had to drive the carts for them. When they arrived at Hui Pah Leng Stream between Nong Harn and Wan Larn villages, about 3 miles from Nong Harn, they clashed with MTA troops. Sai Tame ran away and escaped. Then the headman was beaten until he passed out. The soldiers dipped his head in the mud near the stream, washed it in water and then beat him again. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

8.2.27. On 9 September 1995, SLORC troops from LIB 332 led by Coy Comdr Capt Thein Han accused Sai Ne (37, son of Loong Sai and Pa Aung from the western quarter of Mong Pan Township) of having contacts with rebels and of involved in drug trafficking. The victim was arrested and beaten so badly during interrogation that one of his legs was broken. The victim was released only when his family brought 200,000 Ks as a ransom. His parents had to sell his house and land to obtain the money. The victim was then hospitalised and hard to walk properly again. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

8.2.28. At 4:00 p.m. on 9 September 1995, 200 SLORC troops, led by Capt Gyi Myint from LIB 332 stationed at Mong Pan, raided Kant Kan village, Wan Khook village-tract, Mong Pan Township, southern Shan State, and arrested more than 20 men. Some were released, but seven — Loong Phe (50, husband of Nai Sai and son of Loong Sai and Pa Yong), Sai Timan (38, husband of Nang War, 27, from Mong Kung), Loong Aung (56, son of Loong Phe and Pa U), Sai Aye (17, son of Loong Phe and Nai Sau), Sai Si Ha (32, from Nong Ler village) Sai Mong (38 son of Loong Lao and Pa Kham) and Loong Woon Na (47, husband of Pa Sar, 46, from Lai Hka) — were taken to the military barracks where they were beaten and interrogated about the rebels.

Sai Mong and Loong Woon Na were tortured to death. The others suffered several bruises on their heads, faces and bodies, and blood flow out of their mouths. As of 7 October 1995, they were still under detention. On the second day of their detention, Nai Sau, Sai Aye's mother, was told by the SLORC soldiers to bring 50,000 Ks for their release. But she was not able to find that much money. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

8.2.29. On 16 September 1995, about 200 SLORC troops from LIB 520 led by Maj Kyi Lin closed all the doors of "town fences" [The SLORC had forced the people of Mong Pan to build 3-4 lines of bamboo fences around the town several years ago. Spikes were laid along the fences and people have been forced to mend it every year.], ransacked every house and searched for rebel funds and walkie-talkies. [There are many quarters in Mong Pan Town]. The soldiers found a holster at the house of Sai Sang Or (39, son of Pu Leng and Pa Nyo) from Ho Phai Quarter and arrested him and all his family members. The soldiers later released the aged persons and children, but beat and interrogated Sai Sang Or. The perpetrators also found a toy walkie-talkie at the house of Sai Lu (23, son of Loong Kang Sar and Pa Lao) from Wan Mai Quarter. The victim was also beaten and interrogated. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

8.2.30. On 18 October 1995, Sai Kum (31, son of Loong Zing and Nang Leng from Wan Ping, Kengtung) went to buy a horse at Pang Nim village. On his way home, he met some troops from SLORC LIB 246 from Kunhing. The soldiers accused him of stealing an army horse, arrested him and beat him until he bled all over. The soldiers then took 12,000 Ks from him. The victim was released only when he had taken the soldiers to the man from whom he had bought the horse and explained the matter. But the money taken by the soldiers was not returned. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

8.2.31. On 18 October 1995, a company from IB 17 led by Sgt-Maj Toe Le arrived at Ko Sei Kwee village in Mergui District and arrested Saw Maung Poe (25, son of Saw Kyi Pai) and took him to Lo Kwen Doh for interrogation. Having suspicion of helping the rebels, the SLORC soldiers tortured him severely. In fact, Saw Maung Poe was an innocent farmer who was not involved in any organisation. [*Source: KNU*]

8.2.32. On 2 November 1995, Bn Comdr Han Tint and Coy 1 Comdr Thein Tun from SLORC LIB 20 together with DKBA troops captured a villager, Pa Yu Der, from Thaton District, tortured him severely, burned his paddy field and shot and ate two of his pigs. [*Source: KHRG*]

8.2.33. On 17 November 1995, SLORC troops from Lai Hka-based IB 64 penetrated into Kieng Kham village, Loi La village-tract, Mong Nai Township in southern Shan State, and conducted house-to-house search for walkie-talkies. They beat and forced the villagers to tell them who were parents of MTA soldiers, at which 12 women — Pa Wai (67), Pa La (58), Pa Nong (82), Pa Phan (59), Pa Thorn (41), Pa Mone (64), Nang Zarm (25), Nang Yoong (30), Nang Aung (17), Nang Mai (18), Pa Moe (43), and Pa Mart (66) — were victims. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

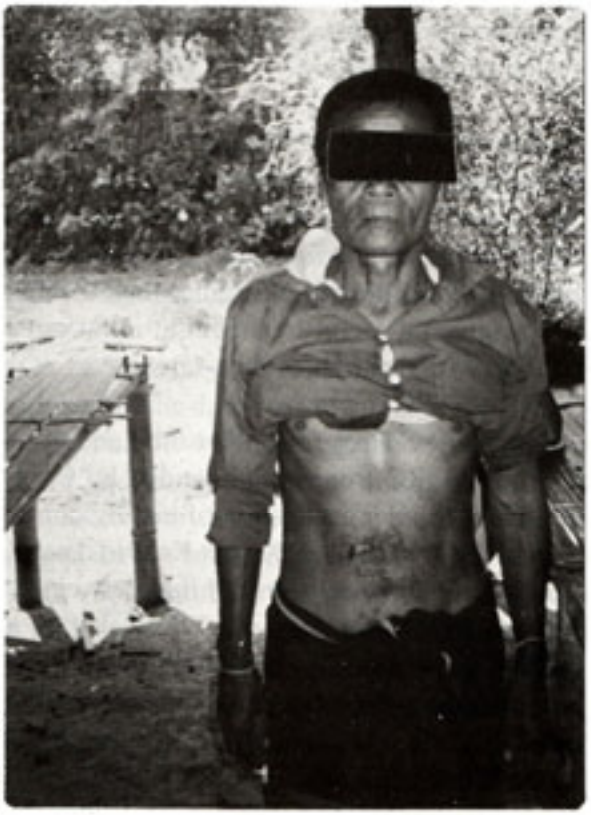
8.2.34. On 18 December 1995, Saw Htoo Khae and 4 other men from Law Tai village, Yebyu Township in Tenasserim Division, were arrested by SLORC troops with the accusation of having contact with KNU. Of them, Saw Htoo Khae managed to escape on the same day after being taken to Kyauk Ka Din village, where IB 104 was stationed. But he stepped on a booby trap planted around the camp and received injuries. Although he was given a secret treatment at a hut outside the village, he did not able to cross the river of death three days later.

At 9:00 p.m. on the same day, U Saw Htoo Thar, four other men and ten women were also subjected to arrest by the SLORC troops commanded by Capt Myint Kyaw stationed at Kyauk Ka Din village under accusation of having contact with Dah Lay's group from the KNU. (In the area around, Kyauk Ka Din, Law Tai and Kwe Ta Lin village in Yebyu Township, there has been fighting between SLORC troops and Dah Lay-led KNU guerrillas. Since August 1995, Dah Lay and his troops had been attacking the SLORC position at Kyauk Ka Din village where one of the military's sergeant and one prisoner were wounded. Following the routine attacks in the area by KNU, the SLORC troops accused local people in Law Tai village, where all the inhabitants are Karens, of harbouring the KNU guerrillas and committed persecutions against the villagers.)

Then, they were threatened, tied up and tortured. All the villagers were forced to stand in the scorching sun all day long. The women were forced to strip off their clothes before standing in the sun and, standing naked, were interrogated for the entire day without being given any food nor water. Among them were two infants. As they were not given any food, the remaining villagers in the village had to cook and send them food. Three days later, they were untied and detained in the camp again. On 20 December 1995, another seven men were arrested and subjected to

torture in the same manner as the former group by order of Maj Htaung Yar Zar who was stationed in the same military camp. On 23 December, U Saw Htoo Thar was interrogated by Capt Myint Kyaw because the SLORC troops knew that two of his sons — Saw Maw Lee (30) and Saw Htoo Maw (16) — were with the KNU. Saw Htoo Thar was ordered to call his sons back and to ask them "to return legal-fold" by using the threat of their father's further arrest as well as torching all the houses in the village. On that day, they were released. In fear of continued living in the village, Saw Htoo Thar escaped to Payaw Refugee Camp. [*Source: NLD-LA*]

8.2.35. On 20 December 1995, SLORC troops from Column 1 of IB 55 (Western Command), led by Lt-Col Khin Maung Win, captured villagers from Paw Yer Lo village in Taungoo District while they were carrying their rice at Chaung Ma Kyi. Saw Tay Kay Nay (male, 18) and Saw Maung Thein Dar (male, 22) were severely tortured and it was unknown whether they survived. [*Source: KHRG*]



Saw Hla Taw, 46 years, from Wun Aye village, Kyar Inn Seik Kyi Township, was beaten in the face, burned on the stomach and tortured during the interrogation after he was arrested on 24 October 1995.SLORC alleged him of having contacts with the rebels.

(IX) FREEDOM OF BELIEF: DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE RIGHT TO PRACTICE RELIGION, AND INTOLERANCE

9.1. Background

The population of Burma is predominantly Buddhist, the religion which is practised by the Burman majority as well as some other ethnic groups. Therefore, the military regime has historically associated itself with Buddhism, seeking to control it and to use it for its own political purposes. However, this has not always been possible.

In the popular uprisings of 1988, radical monks played an important part in publicly supporting students demonstrations early on. Consequently, numerous monks were forcibly disrobed, jailed, or killed by the troops. During 1990-91, SLORC dissolved many Buddhist orders, such as the All Burma Young Monks Union, leaving only the nine official Buddhist sects which are tightly controlled by SLORC.

The other religious groups in Burma have long suffered harassment at the hands of the military, who believe that non-Buddhist groups support the ethnic insurgency movements. The military's tradition of vicious and cynical treatment of Muslims, Christians, and other groups continues in today; the SLORC has only recently applied the same methods to Buddhists.

In Rangoon, the authorities recently issued an order to the Muslim community there that the government needed the burial grounds of Muslims in Rangoon for the development of a city project. SLORC has already confiscated Muslim graveyards, orphanages, and a residential building for aged Muslims, including a mosque, in Mandalay. Leading members of the Muslim community who were managing the trust properties were jailed when they protested.

Christians have also been heavily affected by the government's "buddhification'' of the whole of Burma. Military officers have forced villagers, mainly in Chin State, to build pagodas on hill-tops, after removing crosses on churches. Most of the Chin villagers in these areas are Christian. This started about four years ago and is still going on.

The reason many villagers are fleeing the area is to escape the forced labour, as well as to keep their faith and customs despite the SLORC pressure to "buddhify''. In all non-Buddhist, non-Burman areas, the military continues to define what is "Myanmar'' by destroying places of religious worship, religious burial grounds (Buddhists usually burn the bodies of their dead), and forbidding or obstructing worship ceremonies.

Examples also show that any religious activities, however, whether Buddhist or not, are always secondary to SLORC rules and needs. Forced labour is

demanded on even religious holidays; monks are forcibly disrobed, beaten, and shown disrespect by troops.

Recent tensions within KNU were exploited by SLORC, in order to create divisions within the leadership of a major ethnic resistance group. They successfully turned a Karen army leadership problem into an "internal religious conflict'', setting the Buddhist Karen soldiers against their Christian brothers, a strategy which led to the fall of the Manerplaw headquarters of the democratic resistance movement in Burma.

SLORC was clearly in charge of this so-called "mutiny" by the Buddhists. Even Buddhist monks trying to mediate the situation were taken hostage by the SLORC-sponsored DKBA, and the Buddhist monk who preached agitation against Christians became the organiser and leader of military actions in the Manerplaw and Kawmoora regions. Clearly, SLORC has little respect for any religion, and manipulates or abuses the beliefs of all peoples to insure their own goal of keeping all Burmese people under their omnipotent and omniscient control.

9.2. Religious Conflict and the Rise of DKBA

Since 1992 there have been reports from villages, particularly in Thaton and Pa-an districts, that local SLORC commanders and Military Intelligence Units are actively spreading propaganda that the Karen National Union is anti-Buddhist, that the Karen Revolution is a Christian revolution and that Karen leaders have told their Christian supporters that as soon as the revolution succeed they will kill all the Buddhists.

[*Note: Successive regimes in Burma has practised a "divide and rule" tactic not only in the field of politics but also in the course of religious freedoms to divert the attention of the common people from getting involved in politics or democratic movement. There had been experiences that once the dispute occurred between certain groups, the regime stepped in as pre-planned and cracked down all parties involved in the conflict. Sino-Burmese conflicts in 1967, Muslim-Buddhist conflicts in 1980s and in 1988 just before the 8-8-88 uprising, persecution on the Buddhist monks in the aftermath of 1988 uprising and May 1990 general elections, massive exodus of Muslims in Arakan State in 1991/92 to seek refuge in Bangladesh to avoid persecution of SLORC regime bear the concrete evidences of what has been happening in Burma.*]

Villagers were told that SLORC troops did not really want to burn and loot their villages and execute people, but that they had to because KNU was around, so it was all KNU's fault. They were told not to co-operate with KNU and to pressure KNU into a cease-fire. Despite the villagers' fear and hatred of SLORC, over time this propaganda gradually began to have an effect for several reasons. Two main factors were the villagers' complete lack of education, and the truth to the accusation that Christians were promoted over Buddhists in KNU. But perhaps most significant was the fact that KNU had never tried to politically educate the villagers or get them politically involved in the

revolution, so they did not even properly understand what KNU was fighting for; instead, they only knew they had to give rice to KNU forces, their sons to the KNU Army, and see their villages burned by SLORC in retaliation to KNU's military operations. They were fed up. Then in 1993 some monks began offering them an alternative: refuse to help KNU, come and stay at "refuges" around monasteries, all your food and other needs will be provided and, best of all, SLORC will not bother you. People began moving to these "refuges", where they received food and other needs from the monks — who were in turn receiving it all from SLORC. As the villagers did not know where the food was coming from, they started believing the monks such as U Thuzana must have "magic powers". U Thuzana and the other leaders sent their strongest supporters back into the villages to bring the others and when most people did not want to leave their homes, they started launching a campaign of harassment and intimidation. In late 1994 the situation became more serious, as the monks and villagers were ordered by U Thuzana to disarm KNU soldiers in the villages. The movement became armed. In December, it occupied Thu Mwe Hta monastery at the confluence of Salween and Moei rivers. In 1993-94, a huge new monastery was built there and it was later discovered that a large arms cache had been placed under it — indicating the apparent level of pre-planning which had gone into this sequence of events. At Thu Mwe Hta the group cut off a KNU's main line of supply and called all KNU Buddhist soldiers and villagers to come and join them. Many KNU soldiers walked away from hilltop positions which they had been defending, underfed and under-supplied, for years. SLORC walked into these positions, including Mae Nyaw Khei ridge, from which they could easily mount an assault on Manerplaw.

The movement became violent. Some KNU soldiers and villagers who did not join them were killed in several villages. KNU sent negotiating teams, including Buddhist monks, to Thu Mwe Hta but they were arrested and held hostage. Their release was negotiated, and on 15 December 1994 an agreement was struck between KNU and the new group. Its leaders had already retreated on 12 December to Myaing Gyi Ngu (Karen name Khaw Taw), near Kamamaung, where they set up headquarters at a monastery with a great deal of weapons stored around it. These leaders tore up the Thu Mwe Hta Agreement and the group at Thu Mwe Hta once again put the river under siege. On 21 December the leaders declared the formation of the "Democratic Kayin Buddhist Organization" (DKBO) and the "Democratic Kayin Buddhist Army" (DKBA), and demanded that KNU hand over Manerplaw. Negotiations at Thu Mwe Hta broke down. SLORC Commander for Special Operations Command Lt-Gen Maung Hla promptly visited Myaing Gyi Ngu and promised DKBA all required weapons and uniforms. SLORC immediately began providing DKBA with uniforms, a badge, food and other supplies — and apparently even wrote several of the DKBA's political statements, in the opinion of experienced Burmese dissidents who read them. KNU set a deadline of midnight 31 December for the "mutineers" to "return to the fold". The deadline passed, and a couple of days later Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) began attacking Thu Mwe Hta, which fell within a few days (shortly after KNLA scored a direct hit on the

ammunition cache under the monastery hall). The Thu Mwe Hta group withdrew to the Sleeping Dog Mountain area.

SLORC then took over complete control for the offensive. DKBA members were divided up, a small handful assigned to each SLORC unit as guides, and the offensive began on 20 January 1995. By 23 January SLORC established a foothold on the Manerplaw side of the Salween. Using DKBA guides to indicate all the back pathways and KNLA positions, they advanced quickly. KNLA decided to limit its defence to delaying actions, and torched most of Manerplaw before withdrawing. SLORC arrived in Manerplaw on 27 January and raised the yellow DKBA flag. However, on the hill below Manerplaw's monastery there was a more realistic sign: SLORC soldiers made huge white letters on the ground, visible from the air, reading in Burmese "[(661) & (10)" ["Tactical Operations Command 661 — Light Infantry Battalion 10"; a battalion in SLORC's LID 66]. Observers on the Thai side of the river got photos of the lettering, which a few hours later had suddenly been rubbed out and replaced with the English lettering "DKBA". [*Source: KHRG*]

9.3. Christian Nagas Forced by SLORC to Adopt Buddhism

Lashi Township in Sagaing Division is a hilly area with difficulty for communications where ethnic Nagas are living. In October 1994, SLORC IB 229 lead by Maj Khin Soe arrived in Lashi Township, told the people there that Burma is a Buddhist country and launched operations into Naga villages and forced the Christian Nagas to convert to Buddhism.

In December 1994, one platoon from IB 229 led by Lt Myat Kyaw arrived at Konkailon village and arrested the Christian evangelist U Maung Hlaing. A pistol was pointed at U Maung Hlaing and he was ordered to convert all the villagers from Christianity to Buddhism. It lasted all night long. The church at Konkailon village was replaced with a Buddhist Pagoda. The event happened on 20 December 1994.

A similar event was also happened in Kuki village. A platoon from IB 229 of SLORC came to Kuki village and arrested the Christian U Pa Khaw. He was released after being forced to sign at gun point that he would accept the Buddhism. Then, 85 villagers were queued up at gun point to sign on a paper stating that they would accept Buddhism. U Pa Kyaw was ordered not to get involved in any Christian missionary.

On 20 January 1995, a column of SLORC troops from IB 229 arrived at Pansat village, bringing a Buddhist monk from Pau Mai village, and ordered the Christian evangelist U Alan Paul to call all the villagers. When the villagers gathered, the military men took the Buddhist monk to the front of the gathering and forced the villagers to worship the monk who recited them sila (precepts). The villagers couldn't follow the Buddhist scripture language Pali very clearly

and then all of them were beaten by the army personnel. The soldiers also destroyed the Cross for the Memorandum for the year 2000 at the entrance of the village.

During the first week of January 1995, the SLORC troops came to Konkailon, Kuki and Nurnitmumpi villages along with the Buddhist monks. They left a monk in each village and forced the villagers to convert to Buddhism. The monks are staying in the churches of the villages and guarded by one section of army personnel in each village. The villagers have to send a pig or a chicken for the monk and the soldiers everyday.

Moreover, the villagers from Sumra, Phon Tharet, Leyon, Chatkaran, Ngakyan, Hinkut, Mitmumi and Pansan villages have been forced by the SLORC to convert to Buddhism. [*Source: Vum Son*]

9.4. Naga Baptist Council

Most of the Nagas who are members of the Naga Baptist Council (NBC) were also subjected to persecution by SLORC. In March 1995, when NBC called a meeting in Lashi, committee members of the council were detained in Lashi for two days. As a consequence, the meeting was only able to be held beginning on 15 March following the adjournment for eight days.

Moreover, all the government servants in these Naga villages in the Lashi Township were forced to convert to Buddhism. If they refused, they were forced to retire. [*Source: Vum Son*]

9.5. Religious Persecution of Christian Chins

Chin State is the only State where the people are of one ethnicity. While most of the people in the states and divisions profess Buddhism, Chin Hills is the exception. Even in Kachinland a substantial percent of the population are Buddhists. But not in the Chin State. Christianity and animists are the dominant religions with Buddhists counting to less than 0.01 percent. SLORC, therefore, is introducing its religious persecution. The number of soldiers stationed in Chin State have increased from about 100 soldiers in 1988 to some 7,000 today and there is a battalion in every major town.

The main purpose of the SLORC Army seems to be the "burmanisation" of the Chins. In the last two years Christian Crosses, which were placed as Chin landmarks, were torn down and replaced with Buddhist shrines. Moreover, SLORC has been attempting to divide them by coercing many to become Buddhists. Chin sources report that in Thantlang Township, 10 percent of the villagers have converted to Buddhism because the Buddhist villagers are never called for portering or labour. Buddhists can buy rice at a cheaper price: 300 Ks per pyi for Christians and 100 Ks for Buddhists. Sunday church services are not generally disturbed, but many villagers have been caught by SLORC and taken as porters upon leaving the church. As a result, many villagers are now afraid to

go to church. In some villages, SLORC is using the church compound as an army camp. There have also been reports of SLORC using the promise of education to take Christian Chin children from their families, then send them to monasteries and force them to become Buddhist novices. Government schoolbooks are sent to Buddhist monasteries instead of government schools. There are also reports that SLORC is resettling some Burman Buddhists from the Irrawaddy Delta into Chin areas in Tamu Township.

Christians from the northern Chin State send missionaries to the southern part, where most of the people profess animism, under the project of Chin Christianity in One Century (CCOC), The CCOC has been successful in converting the animists to Christianity until two years ago, when SLORC stopped the project. The SLORC Army then launched its religious persecution. They prohibit Christian missionaries and evangelists, including the CCOC from the northern Chin State, from going to the south. The SLORC then sent Buddhist monks to the southern Chin state. The SLORC soldiers on seeing the CCOC workers stripped them off their white uniforms. Some women missionaries had to walk to the next village wearing only their underwear as the Burman soldiers seized all their other clothing.

SLORC soldiers, who are posted in the Chin State, are promised promotions if they marry Chin women, and if they convert the women to Buddhism. The soldiers who are sent to the Chin Hills are young and single. Although these soldiers do not understand the Chin language, Churches in the Chin Hills are full of soldiers during the services. The soldiers attend the churches in order to come in contact with the girls. The same method of burmanisation was practised in the Shan State during the early 1950s, which was one of the reasons for the armed uprising of the Shan. It is possible the SLORC hope that through this kind of racial and religious manipulation, they could make the Chin angry enough to rise up against them.

The Chin people have not rebelled against the central government and the SLORC Army hasn't had any chance to destroy the independence attitude and life-style of the Chin Hills. Given the situation of having cease-fire arrangements with many resistance groups, the SLORC wants to show their dominance to the Chins. They have had to instigate and provoke the Chin to get angry. The instant the Chin show some resistant movement, SLORC is planning and prepared to strike. The mission of the SLORC authorities is to destroy cultural and religious differences inside Burma, and the Chin seem to be targeted. If the trend continues, a religious conflict is unavoidable. [*Source: Vum Son/KHRG*]

9.6. Religious Persecution and Conversion

Religious persecution seem to be one of the main targets of SLORC. As mentioned earlier the propagation of Buddhism is the main objective of stationing the SLORC Army in the Chin State. They look for clues to protect the interest of Buddhism thereby incriminating the Christian worshippers. Promotions in the SLORC Army or civilian departments were conditioned on

conversion to Buddhism. High-ranking Chin officers had to convert to Buddhism before they were given promotion. Prominent among them were Col Van Kulh, Brig-Gen Tuang Za Khai and Col Pau Khan Thang. Whereas they officially kneel and bow before the Buddhist statues, these high-ranking army officers pray in the name of Jesus at home. The SLORC clearly prefers Buddhism, claiming this as the national religion in Burma. [*Source: Vum Son*]

9.6.1. Pu Pum Khan Thang

In January 1995, an Assembly of God evangelist Pu Pum Khan Thang was arrested in Tiddim. The reason was the MIS confiscated a book at the Tiddim Bazaar and they traced the source of the book to the children of Pu Pum Khan Nang. The children had brought the book for sale at the bazaar. The pages of the could be used as wrapping paper. On the title page of the book, most likely printed in India, was a picture of Jesus on top of a Hindu clergy man in wrestling match. Pu Pum Khan Thang was arrested in Tiddim and bail was refused. He was transferred to Monywa jail, a noted MIS torture chamber, where the victim remains now.

9.6.2. Pastor Pauno

Pastor Pauno was an evangelist with no affiliation. He was free-lancing in the Naga-Hkamti areas. As he was very successful in converting the Nagas, it alarmed the SLORC authorities in the area. Thus the MIS sent out its agents and Buddhist monks in order to study how to counter his teaching. However in a short period of time Pastor Pauno converted the MIS agents and the Buddhist monks to Christianity.

The SLORC authorities therefore arrested him in Hkamti and transferred him to Monywa jail. Why Monywa jail? Because it has the MIS facilities of torture. This is the reason why these religious and political prisoners are sent to Monywa.

Pauno was in contact with jail mates U San Thein and U San Kyi Lwin, who were Christian evangelists from Arakan, and who were arrested in the Chin Hills (Falam) and also jailed in line with SLORC's religious persecution. U San Thein and U San Kyi Lwin were released at the beginning of 1995 after they served over a three years' term in Monywa jail.

Pastor Pauno was severely tortured that he has lost the will to live. He therefore requested U San Thein and U San Kyi Lwin to pray for his sooner death. [*Source: Vum Son*]

9.7. Observance of Religious Rites Forbidden for Forced Labourers

Most of local people from Ta Kar village in Mergui were forced to work for the construction of Mergui-Kawthaung Motorway seven days a week. They were not only denied the right to worship but also denied to be spared from working even on Sunday. [*Source: KNU*]

9.8. Religious Freedom of Expression and Censorship

SLORC has intensified a religious persecution by trying to change some words expressed in the Holy Bible. The Burmese version of Bible is normally printed in India and distributed in Burma. SLORC forced the inking over of the whole twenty-ninth chapter of Proverbs and has forbidden use of the word Toke Tan (the Burmese translation of Proverbs) which is the same meaning of cemetery. SLORC said that if the word Toke Tan could not be dropped, it should not be mentioned whenever preaching, as Buddhist cremate their dead.

Moreover, at a village in Irrawaddy Division, SLORC turned down a proposal for the construction of a Baptist Church with the reason that it could be connected with the political movement. After many appeals had been made by the religious persons who guaranteed that the Church would only be for the religious purpose, SLORC allowed the construction. But on every Sunday, the Church is responsible for advanced submission of the proposed sermon to be preached and numbers of persons supposed to show up. *[Source: Inside Source]*

U Wai Lin, a Muslim lawyer from Loikaw, Karenni State, was sentenced to five years imprisonment for holding a discussion over the issue of relocating a local Muslim cemetery after being ordered by Loikaw Township LORC. Loikaw-based No. 27 Military Intelligence Unit discovered the meeting of Muslims concerned over the issue and U Wai Lin was arrested. His five-year sentence, handed down in the third week of March 1995, was for violating the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act, which gives almost unlimited power to the administrative body to arrest and imprison anybody for security reasons. *[Source: ABSDF]*

9.9. Oppressive Measures on the Buddhist Monks

Of the 26 Buddhist monasteries with 250 monks in Kawthaung Township, Tenasserim Division, SLORC only recognises the existence of eight monasteries and the monks staying there were singled out for monsoon retreat. [*The full moon of Waso is the beginning of the three-month Buddhist Lent, which is the first day to commemorate Buddha's first sermon 2500 years ago. During the Lent period, monks are restricted to their monasteries for a prolonged period of spiritual retreat.*]

In accordance with the orders of SLORC, the Central Monks Body, on 8 July 1995, issued an announcement saying that the remaining 18 monasteries would be abolished before the monsoon retreat. The notification was issued only two days before the commencement of the Buddhist Lent.

All the monks staying in other monasteries which were listed for abolition called a meeting and submitted an appeal letter to the Central Monks Body and SLORC, asking for the suspension of the order. The monks requested them to allow their further stay in the monasteries for three months to be able to take part in the monsoon retreat.
The SLORC, however, turned down the appeal and ordered the monks to comply with the order. "If they fail to do so, we have to enforce the order by the use of "force", said a military authority. *[Source: ABSDF]*

9.10. Insult on Religion

On 1 February 1995, 40 troops led by Capt Myo Kyaw Lwin and Lt Thein Lwin from SLORC IB 258 tore down the spirit house of Kar Ha village near Mong Nai Township, Southern Shan State, because they wanted firewood for cooking. The soldiers then set fire to the remains of the house. When they had gone some distance from the site, seven of them were suddenly stricken with cramp in their hands and feet. They were sent to Mong Nai Hospital, where they later died. The remaining 33 continued their journey, then clashed with troops from MTA. Capt Myo Kyaw Lwin stepped on a land mine and lost a leg while Lt Thein Lwin was hit in the forehead and died on the spot. *[Source: S.H.A.N.]*

9.11. Religious Persecution by SLORC/DKBA

At 2:00 p.m. on 29 December 1995, a combined column of SLORC IB 19 and DKBA entered Kheh Pa Hta village, burned houses, shot livestock, entered into the Church, destroyed the Bibles and hymn books and scattered them all around the building. They took their meals in the Church and scattered their rubbish all around. *[Source: KHRG]*

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 22-25, 31, 51-52, 78-81, 90-91, 96-97, 99, 102, 224, 251, 292-294]

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(X) FREEDOM OF OPINION AND EXPRESSION

Everybody knows that the Burmese still cannot enjoy freedom of expression, although a free press existed before Ne Win's coup in 1962. SLORC censors the critical statements of poets, novelists, and short-story writers. SLORC, however, on occasions, allows criticism of corrupt civil servants and rising prices.

Seven years after the introduction of martial law by SLORC, the military junta is still holding absolute control over all means of expression of thought. Only the official media workers are authorised to read, listen to, or watch any outside publications: people caught reading underground newspapers are severely punished. Censorship laws require all publications, including movie scripts and song lyrics, to be reviewed by the government.

Minority languages are systematically blocked from print or media by these SLORC boards. Political thought is also suppressed. Those political parties which have not been "deregistered'' by SLORC must have permission from the military to hold meetings, even in private.

Representatives attending the "National Convention'' may not use any words that may 'damage' loyalty to the state, or 'disrupt' ethnic peoples. In addition, delegates can only discuss a SLORC-devised agenda and principals for the National Convention (547 out of 702 delegates were hand-picked by SLORC).

10.1. A Brief Background of SLORC-Controlled Media

State radio and television and the "Working People's Daily", official organ of SLORC, have an effective monopoly on information in Myanmar. Only one cosmetic change occurred in 1993: in April the "Working People's Daily" acquired a new look and was renamed "Myanma Alin" (The New Light of Myanmar).

The original "Myanma Alin", founded in 1914, was closed down by the junta in 1988 along with the rest of the country's newspapers except the "Working People's Daily". By reviving the old name the authorities hoped to give the daily a politically-neutral image, but in fact its editorial policy is still directly under SLORC management. Burma also has 100 or so non-government literary magazines which publish poems, drawings and many short stories recounting the details and problems of daily life; these magazines also have no freedom to publish what they choose. Officials of the state-run Press Scrutiny Board go through every item with a fine-tooth comb, especially the short stories.

Certain subjects cannot be mentioned, such as democracy, human rights, the events of 1988, and comments about the SLORC leaders, and there is a blacklist of authors whose materials must not be used. Pressure is so strong that the

magazine editors actually use self-censorship, rather than attract the attention of the government censorship workers.

Since mid-1991 another sort of publication has appeared in the country and has proven extremely popular. Magazines such as “Guide to Prosperity”, of poor technical quality but containing precious information from the outside world, offer a selection of carefully censored features from “Newsweek” and “Time” magazines, alongside the reports by local journalists.

“Myet-hkin-thit” publishes stories discrediting the opposition movements which operate in foreign countries, and gives vividly detailed accounts of crimes committed in countries that have criticised SLORC’s behavior.

10.2. Profile: The Voices The Regime Tried To Silence

As of December 1995, the following are some of the people who have been imprisoned for no reason other than the peaceful expression of their views.

U Win Tin, a former editor of “Hanthawati” newspaper, served as secretary of the executive council of the NLD, and vice-chairman of Sarpay Thamagga (the writers’ association). He was active in the pro-democracy demonstrations in 1988, and a key advisor to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. He was arrested on 4 July 1989, and sentenced in October 1989, to three years’ imprisonment with hard labour on charges of harbouring a woman who had had an abortion (abortion is illegal in Burma). However, his colleagues believe that the true reason for his arrest lies in his opposition activities. In September 1992, he reportedly was in poor health and denied medical attention. His sentence was reduced from eleven to ten years in a 1993 amnesty. But following the visit of Prof Yozo Yokota to Burma in October 1995, he was among the eight political prisoners who were kept incommunicado in "police dog cells under accusation of providing information on prison conditions to the UN Human Rights Special Rapporteur.

U Ohn Kyaing, also known as Aung Wint, was editor of “Bohtataung Daily”, He also worked with U Win Tin on “Hanthawati” before retiring in 1988 to become a member of the NLD’s Central Committee and a Member of Parliament for Mandalay South East. He was arrested on 6 September 1990, and, a month later, was sentenced to seven years’ hard labour for participating in demonstrations in Mandalay in August 1990. He is detained in Tharrawaddy Prison.

Nyi Pu Lay is a satirical writer and artist. He was arrested with six others on 25 December 1990, and was later sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment on charges of being in contact with illegal organisations. The sole evidence brought against him was the authorities’ allegation that, in 1984, he had once sold a ring that originally belonged to a member of the Burmese Communist Party. He was initially held in Insein Prison in Rangoon, but, in December 1991, he was moved to Thayet-Prison in Central Burma.

Myo Myint Nyein is the publisher and editor of the banned cultural magazine "What's Happening?" which was critical of SLORC. He and his colleague Sein Hlaing were both arrested on 24 September 1990, and both were sentenced to seven year's imprisonment because of their publishing activities. "What's Happening?" featured articles about culture and short stories, and contained a poem by a well-known writer, Min Lu, which lamented the killing of innocent civilians and deplored the brutality of the military (Min Lu was also arrested but has subsequently been released). He is detained in Insein Prison.

Ma Thida is a doctor and a short-story writer. She was arrested with ten other opposition activists on 7 August 1993. After a closed trial the following October, she was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment for "contact with illegal organisations, endangering public peace, and distributing banned literature to foreign-based opposition groups.''

San San Nweh, her daughter, and a journalist name U Sein Hla Oo, were arrested around 5 August 1994. San San Nweh is the author of more than five hundred short stories, twelve novels, and over a hundred poems. She has also worked as a journalist on several national newspapers. She was a member of the NLD's Central Committee and was previously detained between July 1989 and April 1990.

10.3. Burmese Basket

The well-known Burmese comedian Zargana (meaning "Tweezer", a nick name to a dental surgeon Thura) wore dirty clothes and stood in front of a propaganda billboard that reads "Visit Myanmar Year 1996" showing some traditional Burmese baskets, woven with strips from the toddy-palm leaf stalk or bamboo. The Burmese expression for basket is Hpa, which in Burmese refers to prostitute. After that he arranged the baskets in front of him, in a manner of street-side hawker, with different prices ranging 2-5,000 Ks stuck on each of them. Although the prices were higher than the actual ones, they did match the current price of prostitute in Rangoon. Under the billboard, he raised a big Burmese banner which meant "Burmese Hpa have to be made famous all over the world." Zargana's message is that promotion of tourism has made lives harder and Burma is becoming a Hpa country like one of its neighbours.

Many people, who later formed a big gathering, were amused to see Zargana's quiet one-man-show. But military intelligence officers were angry at him and later took him away for interrogation and detained for one night. [*Source: ABSDF/BIG*]

10.4. Censorship on Jokes

There are about 15 local traditional Burmese dramatic troupe in Tenasserim Division and most are based in Tavoy Township. According to SLORC order, all of them are under the control of Division-level Traditional Art Council. A new regulation saying to get permission from the local authorities before their performance was recently imposed on the Burmese comedians. No political or forced labour or human rights situation related jokes in the region are allowed during the performance. They are not allowed to make jokes which have not been permitted by SLORC. In December 1995, two well-known local comedians; U O. K (from Thitsa Oo Troupe) and U Pan Pwint (from Shwe Tharapu Troupe) were strongly warned by the SLORC authorities for their jokes about forced labour on the Ye-Tavoy railway. The regulation seems less restricted in the rural area but more restricted in the urban area, according to one comedian from Palaw Township. [*Source: ABSDF*]

10.5. Inked Over; Ripped Out

10.5.1. The January 1996 issue of Thintbawa magazine was heavily censored by the Press Scrutiny Board (PSB). Approximately, 58 pages — from page 5 to 12, from 35 to 52, and from 133 to 160 — were ripped out by PSB officials. The cover story about Burma's education system was completely torn out and the cover itself was conspicuously blotted out with black ink.

The main reason was the January issue contained articles and news about the Rangoon University Diamond Jubilee with analysis and comparison of colonial and national education systems.

Thintbawa magazine is one of the most popular magazine in Burma and is closely watched and censored by PSB officials.

In fact, it is not new to Thintbawa. Under the SLORC, privately owned magazines have been facing official censorship. In spite of heavy censorship, approximately 100 magazines and journals in Burmese are publishing. Interestingly, many writers and intellectuals recently said they have been trying to test the water. Even though they dared not ask for freedom of expression they are privately criticising restrictions and censorship laws.

The ruling junta, on the other hand, encourages publishers and writers for less threatening business-related magazines and journals. However, even business magazines cannot escape from heavy-handed censorship laws.

10.5.2. One of the articles in the December (1995) issue of Myanma Dana business magazine made officials mad. This article was about former South Korean strongman Roh Tae Woo who confessed he pocketed $ 221 million as President from 1988 to 1993. Roh Tae Woo wasn't alone. His corrupt generals

and government officials were also brought up in the article calling them 'former generals' and 'former president'.

At least four paragraphs were blotted out with black ink. One caption reads: "Students demanding to punish former president Roh Tae Woo marched to his resident and were blocked by riot police." This line was inked out. Furthermore, former generals or former presidents were blotted out with black ink.

Observers and writers in Rangoon suggest this article remind the people in the capital of the former president, party chairman and dictator Gen Ne Win and his cronies.

" You can see they have cold feet," says a writer in Rangoon. Ne Win and his former generals do not really want to see a "Roh Tae Woo episode" in Burma of course. [*Inside Sources/ BIG*]

10.6. Everybody is Under Watch

10.6.1. After the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in July 1995, the SLORC re-selected the "in charges" of streets, "in charges" of every 10 households and inquired about their political outlook. Most of the new "in charges" are pro-military USDA members. [*Source: ABSDF*]

10.6.2. In September 1995, Col Than Tun directed Maj Nay Soe, the head of MI security guards at the gate in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house, to give a warning to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, saying students inside her compound were planning for a poster and pamphlet campaign against the government. [*Source: ABSDF*]

10.6.3. After Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her party NLD's statement on 22 November 1995 concerning the National Convention, students and youth inside Burma have launched their activities in public. In the first week of November, at St. Mary High School in downtown Rangoon, a young schoolboy painted a slogan across the school saying, "Military Dictatorship Get Out". [*Source: ABSDF*]

10.6.4. On 24 November 1995, a statement was issued by a group of 23 veteran politicians (called Dead Tiger). Some of them who signed the statement were: Bohmu Aung, Thakin Chit, Thakin Khin Aung (BCP), U Chit Maung and Thakin Lwin (ex-defence minister of Aung San). They asked the SLORC to move towards the national reconciliation and have dialogue with the democratic forces.

On 26 November 1995, the representatives of the SLORC — Deputy Home Minister Lt-Col Tin Hlaing, Deputy-director of Defence Service Intelligence Col Kyaw Win, People's Police Forces Director-general U Soe Win, Criminal Investigation Department Chief Col Ba Hein — summoned those 23 prominent

politicians and freedom fighters who signed the 24 November letter and tried to intimidate them. Those 23 were repeatedly accused by Col Tin Hlaing of having been influenced by the West and told that SLORC would not tolerate "stooges" meddling in state affairs. [*Source: Inside Source*]

10.6.5. On 28 November 1995, at 10:00 a.m.(the same time National Convention started), at Wailuwon monastery nearby University Avenue in Rangoon, a gathering of around 60 people came to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of Rangoon University. Those represented were from the NLD, High School Students Union, and the University Students Union. The ceremony started with the arrival of the Sayadaw (Abbot) who prayed with the congregation. Then four students came to the front and started a ceremony. Statements from New Generation of the Students Union, and Democratic Association of Youth and Students (DAYS) were delivered to the crowd. Then they conferred to Aung San an award of historic honourable university student. Min Zeya (chairman of All Burma Federation of Student Union (Makatha), who was detained in August 1989 and released in July 1995) and Maung Maung Wan, also a leader of student union, who was detained in 1988 and released in 1994, were the organisers of this ceremony. Students then planned to have a special activities during 1-5 December 1995 in Rangoon marking the Diamond Jubilee of Rangoon University, including a ceremony for the martyrs and heroes of Burma's struggle for independence and democracy. However, SLORC detained 20 student activists before the planned ceremony, and warned them not to hold it. Since the MIS proved a detailed knowledge of the planned ceremony, it had to be cancelled. [*Source: ABSDF*]

10.7. Diamond Jubilee under Tight Security

SLORC-sponsored celebrations marking Diamond Jubilee of Rangoon University took place on 1 December 1995 and security was tight in order to prevent anticipated student protests, with army troops stationed both inside and outside the university campus.

Although local journalists and various news agencies were invited to the ceremony, only a small number of foreign press representatives were allowed into the campus and all were prevented form taking photographs. Personnel of Military Intelligence Unit moved conspicuously around the assembled students to prevent occurrence of any protest.

A small number of students from ABFSU chanted anti-SLORC slogans and distributed protest leaflets throughout the ceremony, appearing briefly then disappearing into the crowds before security forces were able to take direct action.

Following the opening ceremony, troops withdrew from the campus, but maintained their presence on the streets outside, while MI officers remained inside. It was reported that the students seen at the opening ceremony looked more like forcibly paraded prisoners of war than active celebrants.

On 5 December 1995, a small group of students gathered to read out protest statements near the site of the former student union building, destroyed by Ne Win's troops in the aftermath of coup d'etat in 1962. But SLORC troops dispersed the crowd. [*Source: ABSDF*]

10.8. POWER 54

In November 1995, POWER 54, the latest album by Burmese rock star Lay Phyu was released by producer Kyi Thaung. Lay Phyu rose to fame in 1993 with songs such as "Roaring of the Sea" (pinlae or than) and "Moon in the Desert" (kandaa ya la min). To advertise the new album, a large billboard was erected on the corner of 34th street (middle block) and Anawrahta road in Rangoon.

Before released, the new album was scrutinised by the Press Scrutiny Board (PSB) as usual for approval. When it was released, there has been whispering about the significant title of the album among the residents in Rangoon. 54 is of course the number of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house on University Avenue. At that point, that new album was confiscated from all shops, any people who belonged to even a single copy of it was forced through the loudspeakers to hand over to the authority for burning on a certain date, the producer and the rock star were summoned to show up at the PSB office for explanation while the IRON CROSS BAND was banned during the process. Only after being satisfied with the explanation from Lay Phyu who said that the title itself is nothing to do with Daw Suu's house as accused by the scrutiny board, just in memory of number of the songs played by IRON CROSS so far, and from the producer with a promise to ink over the 54, all the bans were lifted. The producer then put an advertisement in the SLORC-controlled Myanma Alin [The New Light of Myanmar] newspaper regarding the name of the new album.

As soon as the people saw the new advertisement in the newspaper, they figured out what was happening and were aware very much of SLORC's censorship regarding the album. Since then, the people were curious to know about the latest songs, which have blazed the album and the vocalist once again.

As a consequence, SLORC applied pressure on producer Kyi Thaung to stop distributing the tapes even in the name once they accepted: POWER, forced to change the name again, and all stuffs in the shops throughout Burma were confiscated. [*Source: Inside source*]

10.9. Forced Rally for USDA

According to SLORC media, about 4,5000 civilians from the four townships in Mergui District rallied on 27 December 1995 to express unanimous support for the successful conclusion of the National Convention. The rally was chaired by Maj-Ge Ket Sein, Commander of Southeast Military Command and chairman of

Mon State, Karen State and Tenasserim Division USDA (Union Solidarity and Development Association). The rally, mainly attended by members of the USDA, high school students and teachers, and civil servants, was held to show its support for a constitutional convention which has been boycotted by the National League for Democracy. But the people said most of participants at that rally were forced by SLORC.

> "All the students from my school were forced to joined the USDA. We would not pass the exam if we do not join the organisation. I was in the rally but I had no idea what was the reason for the rally. But the authority ordered us to join this rally...",

Naw Esther, a high school student from Palaw Township recalled her experience.

The USDA was formed on 15 September 1993 by SLORC as a social organisation which established at village tract, ward, township, district and division levels. Its central executive committee members are civilian but its high position in state and division levels are assigned to the high-ranking military officers. Although SLORC announced that USDA is only a social organisation and there is no political platform in its movement, people inside Burma believe that in the name of USDA, SLORC is strengthening its position in terms of grassroots mobilising to gain support for the military.

Ko Myint Oo, a high school teacher from Mergui said the USDA forced the people especially civil servants into supporting the military and National Convention. It is much worse than the BSPP's programme such as Lanzin youth (a BSPP youth wing during its time). People are threatened by dismissals from jobs and schools, or failure of examination in case of absence to participate the USDA rally. People in Mergui were ordered that one person from each household must attend the rally or pay 100 Ks if failed to do so.

Regard to USDA and forced participation, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said in her weekly People Forum that people can be coerced and their support can be paid but their genuine love and goodwill cannot be paid and threatened. She said at one of her weekend public addresses outside her house that the public had been coerced into attending the mass rally. *[Source: ABSDF]*

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 289]

10.10. List of incidents

10.10.1. At the beginning of 1994 musicians had to attend a meeting. They were told that they have to cut their hair short and that for their lyrics words as hell, heaven, kiss are forbidden. They also complain about all the festivals and ceremonies where they have to play. Although they do get paid for the performance they can not refuse the "offer". Crowd control is strict at concerts,

location is outside town, no dancing, barbed wire and lots of armed soldiers, police and MI around tried to take our guide to question him while we were walking around and taking pictures at a concert near Mingaladon. [*Source: An Eyewitness who travelled inside Burma*]

10.10.2. According to a priest two NLD MPs — U Tin and Mahn Johnie — from Kyone Pyaw Township, Irrawaddy Division, were harassed after Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was released 10 July 1995. They were visited and intimidated by the police in the night-time and their phone line and electricity were cut. [*Source: Inside Source*]

10.10.3. On 8 August 1995, a car carrying students from the Middle School at Wan Yin village to the High School in Hsi-hseng Township, southern Shan State, was stopped by the SLORC troops from LIB 413 who were looking for porters. The soldiers interrupted the students to enter the military quiz contest. The students became annoyed and expressed their antagonism towards the soldiers for forced portering by means of refusing to answer any single question asked by the military. [*Source: ABSDF*]

10.10.4. During the second week of October 1995, students from No. 1 State High School in Mergui, Tenasserim Division, staged a peaceful demonstration as they were dissatisfied with the education system, higher education fees, discrimination in the education sector and high prices of basic commodities.

Ko Sunny, a 10th standard student and also leader of the demonstration, and a number of students were arrested by MI 19 as soon as the protest occurred. That school was closed down for one week without any official announcement. [*Source: ABSDF*]

(XI) FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY/ASSOCIATION

11.1. Still under Restriction

After the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on 10 July 1995, the outside world might think that there has been freedom in terms of assembly and association. In reality, Martial Law announcement 2/88 which prohibits the outdoor assembly or gathering of more than five people still remains in force. The only gathering in Burma which is outside Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house every weekend since her release has been allowed by SLORC only for its public relation exercise and to save its tarnished image due to its abysmal human rights records. SLORC has allowed those gatherings in fear of being backfired by the NLD since the military regime has organised so-called mass rallies of USDA, to which thousands of people were forced to attend against their will. Mass rallies of USDA and its movements in support of SLORC-sponsored National Convention were much publicised in the SLORC-controlled media as a propaganda exercise

with the aim to undermine the efforts doing by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi-led NLD.

There have been reports of arrests to the people who were at these weekend gatherings, also known as People's Forum. Members of the NLD from remote areas in Burma have been subjected to harassment and threats by the military and local SLORC authorities and been disturbed from travelling to Rangoon to see or discuss with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. There has been a couple of times Daw Aung San Suu Kyi herself was barred intentionally by the military from travelling to attend certain occasions. The reformation of NLD was not recognised by both the regime and its hand-picked puppet Election Commission.

Moreover, any pro-democracy party which wants to hold a meeting or discussion needs to inform the SLORC authorities in advance and must obtain permission, according to SLORC's written regulations/papers. In reality, measures taken by MIS and SLORC authorities have always been beyond those papers and much tighter. Unavoidable presence of MIS clearly reveals there is no atmosphere for freedom of expression.

11.2. Curfew Imposed

A curfew from 22:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m. was imposed in North Okkalapa Township of Rangoon on 17 June 1995. All quarters in North Okkalapa (From Tatalay Junction to Mae La Mu Pagoda) were effected by that newly imposed curfew which includes a prohibition from gatherings of more than five people. The curfew was imposed because of two unusual crimes. The first one was a robbery which occurred at the house of a police officer from Shwe Pauk Kan Station where he was stabbed. Two criminals fled and hid at the house of a sergeant from the Fire Brigade. The army entered that area and surrounded the house. One criminal was wounded and arrested while the other escaped.

Not long after a police officer from North Okkalapa eye-witnessed a theft case while patrolling and arrested the thief at the market of No. 2 Quarter. The thief stabbed the policeman and then committed suicide by stabbing himself. In another development, a robbery case occurred near Hledan Junction, close to Rangoon University Campus in July 1995. These incidents were evident that people were unable to bear the SLORC-sponsored economic hardships and restrictive measures, resorting to any means for their survival. [*Source: ABSDF*]

(XII) FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

12.1. List of Incidents

12.1.1. On 13 December 1995, Strategic Commander Myo Hla from Western Command issued orders to Kaw Thay Der village in Taungoo District that the villagers are no longer allowed to go to Taungoo Town, and that people from Taungoo are no longer allowed to come to the village. Even the villagers from Kaw Thay Der who are currently staying in Taungoo are not allowed to go home. This measure cuts off all commodity supplies to the village. Myo Hla told the villagers that if any fighting occurs near their village, even harsher measures would be taken. [Source: KHRG]

12.1.2. On 26 December 1995, SLORC Strategic Commander Myo Hla of 1 MSC (under Western Command) gave orders that villagers from Kaw Thay Der and Bawgali who have trucks in Taungoo must come back to Bawgali by the end of December 1995. They will not be given permission to go to Taungoo any more. They can only go between Bawgali and Si Kheh Der, and only using the Naw Soh road. [This is most likely intended to make all vehicles available to be commandeered by Myo Hla's troops in the area.] [Source: KHRG]

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 3, 81-82, 242, 304]

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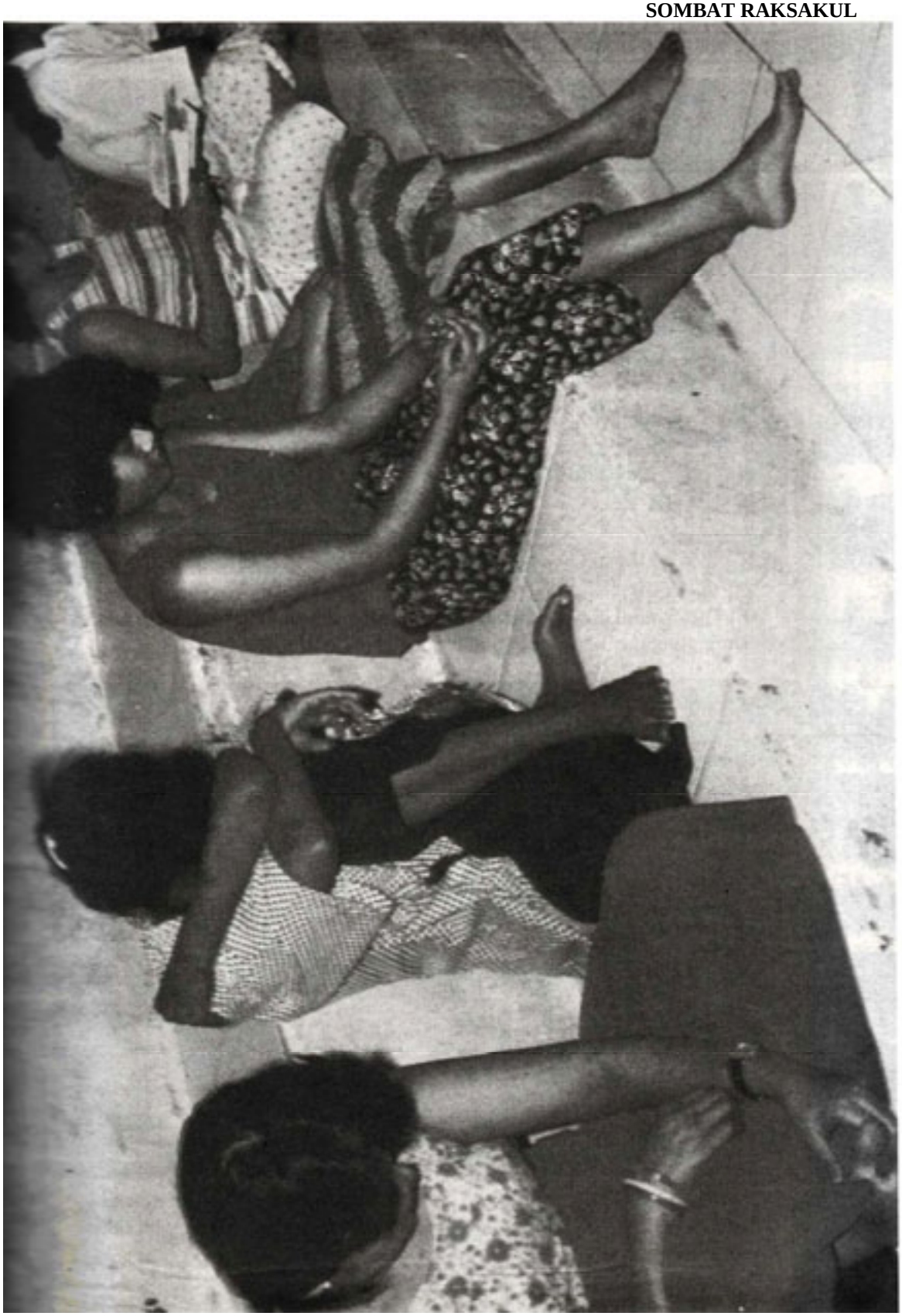
SOMBAT RAKSAKUL



Burmese women forced into prostitution at a brothel in Ranong cannot leave for fear of being arrested as illegal immigrants.

Burmese workers find it easies to work illegally in Thailand than to face SLORC troops. Some of them were burned and hospitalised when a truck smuggling them caught fire on the way.

Victim of Civil War -- A Karen refugee woman died during an attack by SLORC and DKBA while she was moving to new camp along with other refugees.

HRDU

A woman weaves a bamboo sheath to build a hut at a new satellite town in Mandalay Division. Ten thousand households were relocated from Buffalo Point to the new satellite town where there is no electricity and running water -- December 1995.

Grandmother forced to 'volunteer' on a road project in Pegu -- December 1995.

Wa woman with traditional ear rings sell opium openly in Pangsan, Febuary 1995.

Images Asia

A woman dyes a woven cloth in Mandalay city. 'Economic development' that SLORC claims has yet to reach the masses.

SAIN

Teenage workers -- young, woman with 'Thanakha', a traditional cosmetic paste, on their face pose for a photo during a break for mea l--Mandalay,1995.

A mother and child take refuge in a makeshift shelter at the Thai border.

(XIII) ABUSE OF WOMEN

13.1. Background

Burmese women have never had equal rights with men. Society and tradition in Burma tend to denigrate the role of women, as is also the case throughout much of the world. Under these circumstances, women in Burma have become one of the most vulnerable victims of abuse by SLORC. In Burma, women are treated equally to their fellow Burmese men. They too are subjected to summary execution, torture, arbitrary arrest, forced labour, forced portering, denial to participate in the political process, religious persecution and forced relocation. In addition, the women in Burma receive unique treatment from SLORC such as rape during military offensives, rape during portering and trafficking into prosecution.

In addition to their natural vulnerability, women face continual harassment if their husbands are suspected by SLORC. They are subjected to work the same forced labour as men, especially since it is the men who often run away from SLORC, leaving behind only women (even women who are pregnant or have children to care for) to face the soldiers' guns. All this in addition to the army's sexual violence.

Villagers have reported that when women come back from SLORC huts, "the married women openly tell if they've been raped, but the unmarried ones don't say anything. They don't dare, because they're too shy to reveal it. But we know they've been raped." In traditional Burmese society, a woman who has been raped is not desired by men for marriage. Rape and prostitution is not a common feature of Burmese society. The level of violence against women has dramatically increased since SLORC took charge, and rape seems to be encouraged and institutionalised by the military to keep control over the countryside and keep the low-paid, under-fed troops from getting restless and turning against their leaders.

Furthermore, women are now sometimes forced to marry soldiers, either by order of the commanders, or to hide a pregnancy that they got from being raped by the soldiers without their consent. The needs and wishes of the women are given no value by the military.

Although men are taken most frequently, children and women, including those who are pregnant or nursing their infants are arbitrarily seized. When SLORC troops enter a village, especially in liberated or conflict areas, they often find that all of the men have fled, either through fear of abuse or conscription, leaving the women with their children. Women have been sized much more frequently to act as porters and are subjected to the same human rights violations as men. However, in addition to beating and poor condition, women are risk of rape by troops during their detention as porters. SLORC soldiers then rape the women and/or conscript them to carry ammunitions and supplies to the front-line, serving as human mine detectors and shields for the troops. Sexual abuse

continue during the time of forced porting of the women. Women are forced to carry ammunitions and supplies in the day time and late at night, no time are give to them to take rest, but gang-raped. Women become to face all difficulties and for the unpaid labour while the breadwinner run the unjust orders but the military.

Woman in Burma also bear the brunt of SLORC's policies of forced relocation, where families are expelled from their homes to satellite towns which lack electricity, clean water, and access to transportation. Being the primary caretakers of families, women face great difficulties meeting the most basic needs of the household.

The number of HIV infected women has rapidly increased inside Burma recently. Without the special care or AIDS education programme for the women in Burma, the number of HIV infected women in Burma has significantly increased. The social, economic, education and political setback plaguing the country for so many years has left many Burmese girls and women with little choice but to enter the sex industry in Burma, Thailand or other neighbouring countries for their survival where they are subjected to constant humiliation and ill-treatment. They are lured or forced to work in the commercial sex industry in the foreign countries without any knowledge of health education. When their debt bondage period is over or repatriated back to Burma, most of them are infected with AIDS as they do not have the awareness for the deadly disease. Most of them returned back to the former occupation for the lack of education or rehabilitation programmes organised by the ruling regime. This become the only one alternative for them to survive for their future by working as sex worker. They has become the main source for the spread of HIV disease. The lack of power to say not have sex without condom to their partners or husbands is an another obstacle.

13.2. Repeated Gun-Point Rape by Soldier in City

At 8:00 p.m. on 20 December 1994, Capt Aung Zeya from Da-Ka-Sa (Regional Military Controlled Command) arrived at U Thu Reh and Daw Khaw Mo's house, located at Nar Nat Taw Quarter in Loikaw Township, to check the household registration list. As soon as he entered the house, he pulled out his pistol and raped their daughter, Ma Kye Myar, at gun point.

A court hearing on that case was scheduled on 30 March 1995. One day before the hearing, Capt Aung Zeya threatened the victim at gun point and forced her to close the case without giving any compensation.

Another victim, Ma Dah Mae, daughter of U Nyeh Reh and Daw Thoe Myar, was also threatened to close the rape case after being forced by Capt Aung Zeya to accept 2,000 Ks as compensation at Ba Wa Thit (New Life) tea-shop at Nyaung Yar (A) Quarter.

Regarding those rape cases, an innocent villager, Maung Bel Ni, who was living at Htay Ta Ma Quarter in Loikaw, was used as a scapegoat by the perpetrator and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. There have already been 24 victims from Loikaw downtown and nearby villages raped by Capt Aung Zeya at gun point. [*Source: NLD-LA*]

13.3. Soldiers Rape at Will in Countryside

In Chin State, there were already two rape cases at the beginning of 1995. In Haka, while a young girl, 12 years old, was cutting firewood with her mother on the outskirts of the Haka town, a group of SLORC soldiers raped both of them. The young girl died at the hospital from internal bleeding. The mother could not identify the rapists because she was blindfolded. The SLORC authorities did not pursue the case because the mother could not identify the rapists.

In Matupi, a female porter was raped by SLORC soldiers. When the girl reported to the SLORC authorities, she was given 5,000 Ks and was asked to keep quiet. [*Source: Vum Son*]

13.4. Institutionalised Rape and Slavery by Military

In Kyauktaw and Mrauk U townships in Arakan State, young girls were forced to winnow the rice, to pick vegetables for SLORC battalions — LIBs 374, 375 and 376 — and to work in the army camps until nightfall. The girls were not only treated very rudely but also subjected to rape by SLORC troops and forced to shut their mouths by a threat of torture. They dared not reveal their plights or complain to any village head or high-ranking officer as all the tribunals were under the control of the military and the officers were using young girls for their sexual pleasure. [*Source: ASC*]

[See also under "Personal Accounts", interview 14, 24, 28, 32-33, 36, 43-44, 46, 49, 51-52, 64, 71-76, 83, 85-86, 89-90, 93, 106-107, 109, 111, 113-114, 117, 120, 138, 149, 152, -154, 190, 192-194, 196, 201-203, 208-209, 221-222, 227-228, 230, 233, 239, 240, 254, 255, 260-261, 264, 266, 268, 270-277, 280, 283, 288-293, 295-297, 299, 301, 307-308]

13.1.5. List of Incidents

13.5.1. Since the beginning of 1995, SLORC troops have been reinforced in the area of Tha Pyay Chaung village and Zalun village in Tavoy Township, Tenasserim Division, to provide security for the gas pipe line being built there. LIB 267 and LIB 269 were recently deployed there as reinforcements for the previously deployed LIBs 401 and 402 and No. 957 Battlefield Engineering Corps. The presence of numerous SLORC troops and increased movements of military columns have created problems for local people. Many women in the area who used to earn their living by working in the rubber plantations have been subjected to rape or sexual harassment at their work sites by SLORC

troops. Women who were raped by the SLORC soldiers appealed to the Village LORC officials. But they turned a blind eye, leaving many women no longer to dare to work in the rubber plantations. [*Source: KHRG/KNU*]

13.5.2. On 29 February 1995, five soldiers from SLORC LIB 525 patrolling along the bank of Nam Yoom near Worn Tsa-larng, Worn Hart village-tract in Langhko Township, southern Shan State, saw an old lady Nai Sing (61) taking a bath. They captured her and gang-raped her until she lost consciousness. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

13.5.3. During the last week of April 1995, SLORC troops from IB 67 arrived at Koon Morng village, Mong Tom village-tract, Tanyan Township in northern Shan State and demanded a bullock cart. They forced Nang Khong (28, wife of Sai We, 30, and daughter of Loong Sarng Lern and Pa Say) to drive the cart for them.

They then forced Nang Yurng, (17, daughter of Khing Ywe Long and Pa Hurng) to accompany Nang Khong on the way. On arrival at the forest, a mile from Koon Morng, they savagely dragged the women away to different directions. Nang Yurng was dragged to Peing Nam Hurn, between Na-Kor and Koong Mong, while Nang Khong was dragged to Surn Neu, which is located to the west of Pha-Laii. Each girl was raped by at least nine to ten soldiers before they were released, leading their sarongs soaked in blood. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

13.5.4. Around midnight on 18 April 1995, about 30 SLORC troops led by Maj Lha Kyoo of LIB 248 from Mong Nai arrived at Nar Lin village and searched all the houses. Since all the men had left, they arrested Nang Tar Moi, wife of Sai Long, to sleep with their captain. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

13.5.5. On 26 May 1995, a group of SLORC soldiers from Mong Yai-based IB 67 came into Kor Leng village, Mongtuan village-tract, Tanyan Township in northern Shan State, and raped Pa Li, aged 40. [*Source: S.H.A.N*]

13.5.6. On 10 July 1995, Capt Thein Myint, Coy Comdr of SLORC IB 97, went into Thein P'Lein village, Kawkareik District and ordered a village elder, Daw Ah Yaing, to get him porters. Daw Ah Yaing pleaded that she could not get the required porters as all the villagers were away on their respective farms. Capt Thein Myint accused Daw Ah Yaing of being very stubborn. He and Sgt Htoo Bweh beat the victim with sticks, hit her with rifle butt, and kicked her with their boots. Daw Ah Yaing had her nose broken by the soldiers, and then she lost consciousness. The beatings were so severe that her three-month-old pregnancy ended in a miscarriage. [*Source: KNU*]

13.5.7. At about 3:00 p.m. on 21 October 1995, Ma Thuzar Myint, a primary school teacher from Kaleinaung village in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, was raped by 2nd Lt. Aunt Maung of SLORC LIB 409 when she came back from school. [*Source: KNU*]

13.5.8. On 23 October 1995, Warrant Officer Maung Gyi from IB 103 issued an order to local SLORC Chairman at Kyauk Taung Talai Tike village in Palaw Township, Tenasserim Division, asking him to send Ma San (35, married to Ko Win Kyaw with 3 children), who was in pregnant, to Tha Ya Bwin village in urgent as he needed to interrogate her. When Ma San arrived, she was forced to enter a house in the village and was subjected to rape. The following day, when that case became widespread throughout the entire village, Maung Gyi came to Ma San at night, accusing her of disseminating misinformation and beat her several times. Because of the rape and beatings, the victim collapsed and was hospitalised in Mergui hospital. [*Source: ABSDF*]

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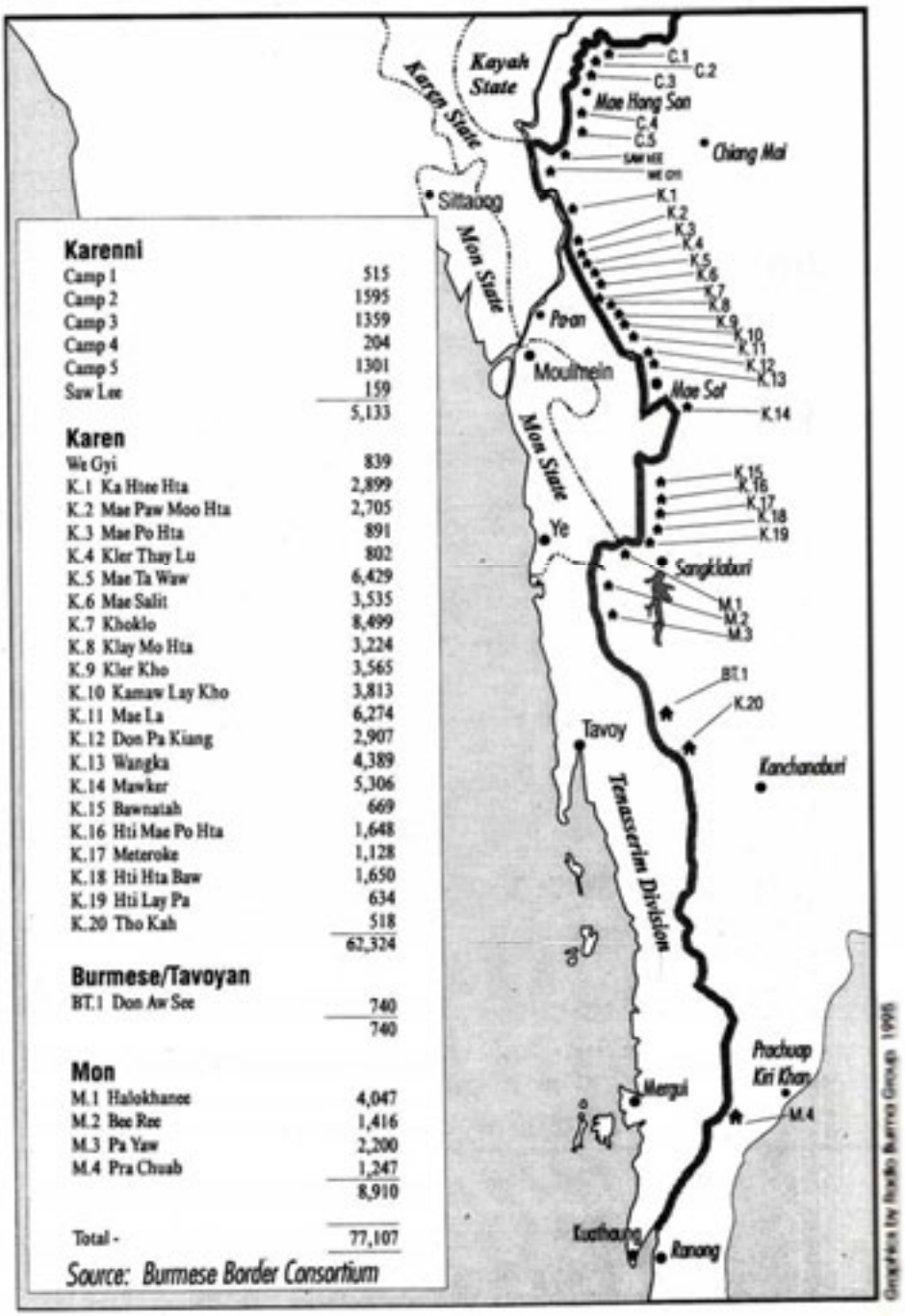
Independent Human Rights Monitor

A sick girl who collapsed while fleeing the SLORC attack on the Karen New Year celebration, Wah Baw village, near Lamaing, 20 miles north of Ye Town inMon State. (21 December 1995)

Some of the Villages Dislocated by SLORC's January 1995 Assault on Manerplaw

Burmese Border Camp Locations with Population Figures December 1994

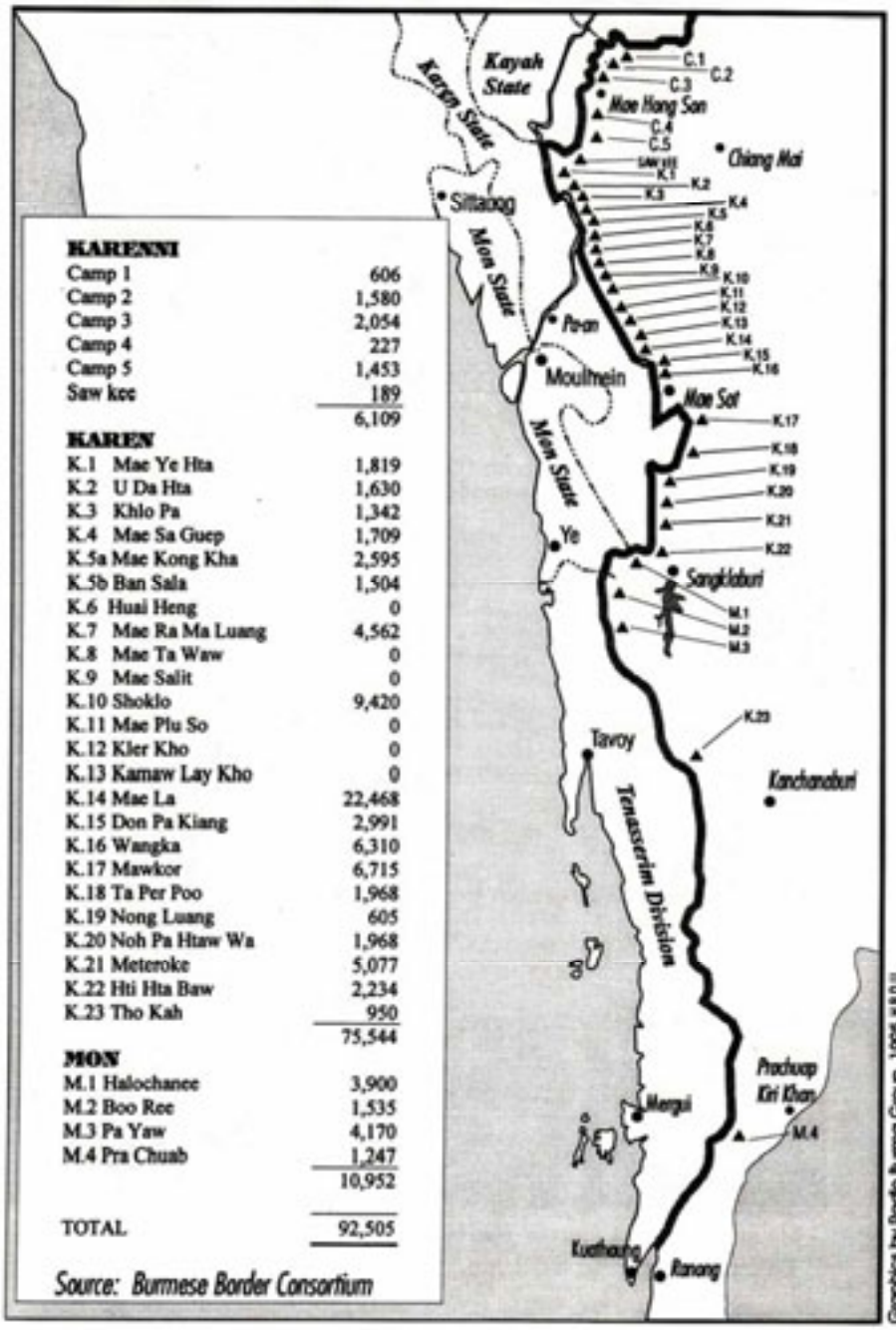


Karenni	
Camp 1	515
Camp 2	1595
Camp 3	1359
Camp 4	204
Camp 5	1301
Saw Lee	159
	5,133
Karen	
Wa Gyi	839
K.1 Ka Htee Hta	2,899
K.2 Mae Paw Moo Hta	2,705
K.3 Mae Po Hta	891
K.4 Kler Thay Lu	802
K.5 Mae Ta Waw	6,429
K.6 Mae Salit	3,535
K.7 Khoklo	8,499
K.8 Klay Mo Hta	3,224
K.9 Kler Kho	3,565
K.10 Kamaw Lay Kho	3,813
K.11 Mae La	6,274
K.12 Don Pa Kiang	2,907
K.13 Wangka	4,389
K.14 Mawker	5,306
K.15 Bawnatah	669
K.16 Hti Mae Po Hta	1,648
K.17 Meteroke	1,128
K.18 Hti Hta Baw	1,650
K.19 Hti Lay Pa	634
K.20 Tho Kah	518
	62,324
Burmese/Tavoyan	
BT.1 Don Aw See	740
	740
Mon	
M.1 Halokhanee	4,047
M.2 Bee Ree	1,416
M.3 Pa Yaw	2,200
M.4 Pra Chuab	1,247
	8,910
Total -	77,107

Source: Burmese Border Consortium

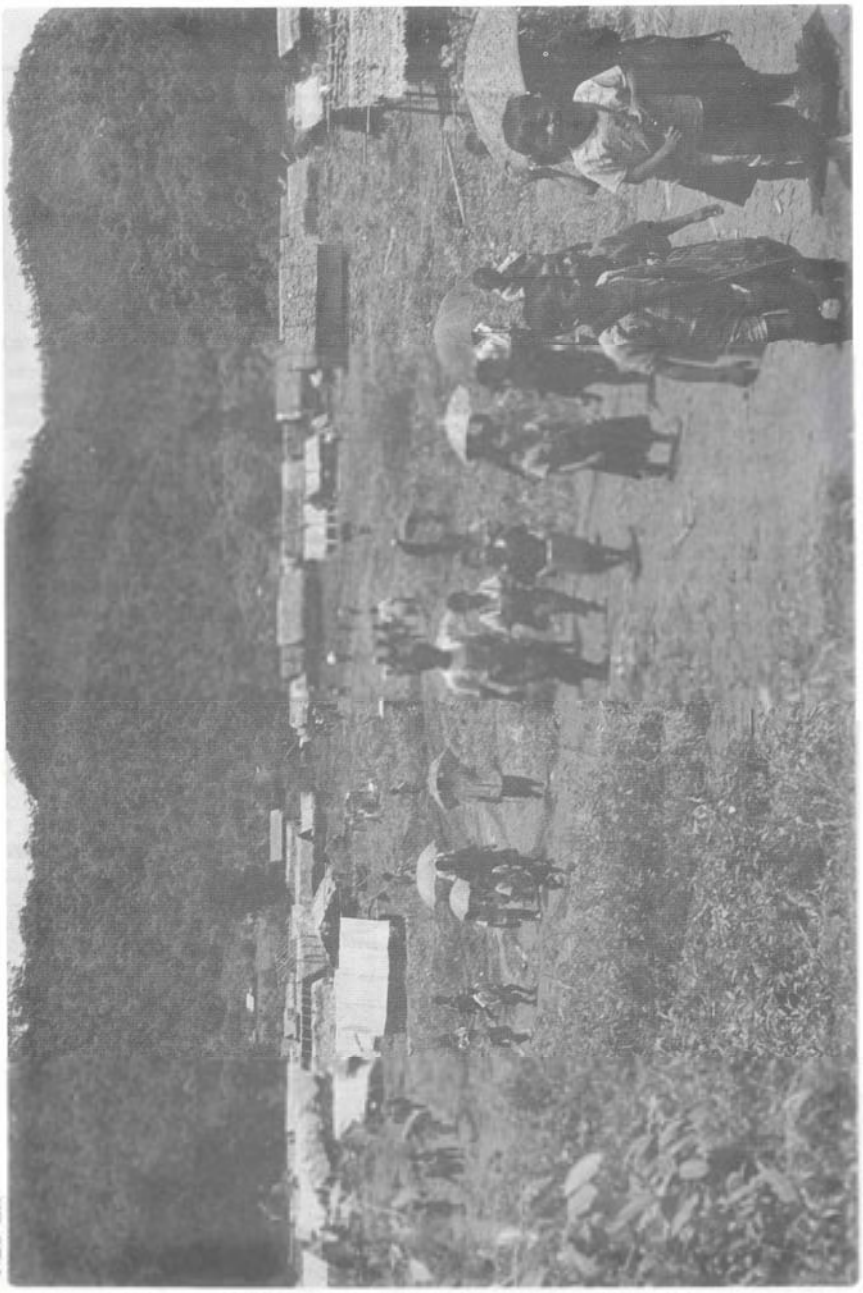
Graphics by Radio Burma Group 1995

Burmese Border Camp Locations with Population Figures December 1995



KARENNI	
Camp 1	606
Camp 2	1,580
Camp 3	2,054
Camp 4	227
Camp 5	1,453
Saw kee	189
	6,109
KAREN	
K.1 Mae Ye Hta	1,819
K.2 U Da Hta	1,630
K.3 Khlo Pa	1,342
K.4 Mae Sa Guep	1,709
K.5a Mae Kong Kha	2,595
K.5b Ban Sala	1,504
K.6 Huai Heng	0
K.7 Mae Ra Ma Luang	4,562
K.8 Mae Ta Waw	0
K.9 Mae Salit	0
K.10 Shoklo	9,420
K.11 Mae Plu So	0
K.12 Kler Kho	0
K.13 Kamaw Lay Kho	0
K.14 Mae La	22,468
K.15 Don Pa Kiang	2,991
K.16 Wangka	6,310
K.17 Mawkor	6,715
K.18 Ta Per Poo	1,968
K.19 Nong Luang	605
K.20 Noh Pa Htaw Wa	1,968
K.21 Meteroke	5,077
K.22 Hti Hta Baw	2,234
K.23 Tho Kah	950
	75,544
MON	
M.1 Halochanee	3,900
M.2 Boo Ree	1,535
M.3 Pa Yaw	4,170
M.4 Pra Chuab	1,247
	10,952
TOTAL	92,505

Source: Burmese Border Consortium



Naisoi Refugee Camp in Thailand. Villagers fleeing SLORC attack on Karenni areas are given temporary refugee here.

NLD-LA

Payaw Refugee Camp in Mon area. The camp was forced to move to a new site in Decembre 1995 for security reasons.

Karen Refugees flee into Thailand as DKBA/SLORC troops attack Manerplaw in January 1995.

Shan refugees: Mother feeds her daughter while waiting for relocation to a new village after fighting in Tachilek. (21 March 1995)

A pregnant woman walks by a charred village that, before an attack by the DKBO, was her home.

Images Asia

The village's stockpile of rice still in flames a day after the DKBA attack.

Burma Relief Centre

Images Asia

Two Karen men salvage the bare remains of what once was their home. Maramuklo Refugee Camp (30 April 1995)

Images Asia

Much needed provisions supplied by foreign NGO's are carried by Karen refugees following the incursion that destroyed their camp. April 1995.

What used to a police box checkpoint, now smoulders by the road after a DKBA attack on the refugee camp opposite. April 1995.

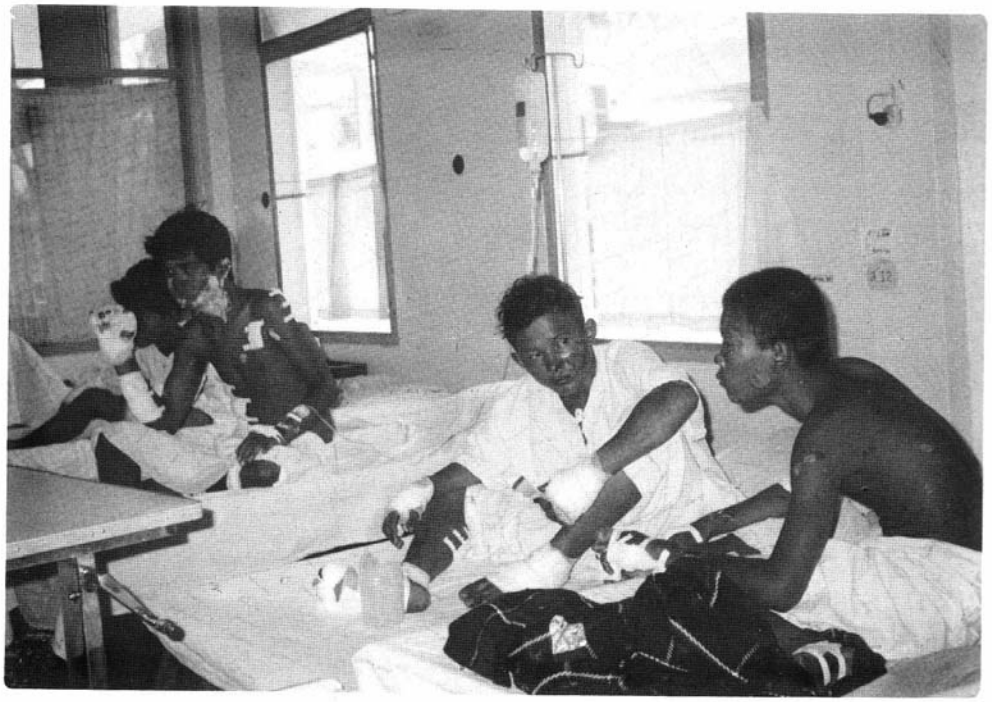
Burma Relief Center (28 April 1995)

Victims of DKBA attack on 23 February 1995, at which 3 died and 11 others wounded. A Thai driver and two Karen women refugees were killed during the attack on a truck by DKBA.

Karen refugee who was accosted by a group of SLORC soldiers on the Thai side of the Moei river between Huay Kalok and Huay Bone in December 1995. He and his friend were tied up, beaten, stabbed and thrown into the Moei river. His friend died. He escaped to a refugee camp and was hospitalised at a clinic there.

Some of the thousands of illegal immigrants from Asia, mostly Burmese, who were detained in Bangkok . The men had their shirts removed to deter them from escaping when they were taken to the Immigation Division compound.

Burmese workers find it easier to work illegally in Thailand than to face SLORC troops. Some of them were burned and hospitalised when a truck smuggling them caight fire on the way.



Rosalie T. McKernan

Thai police spare no one. A disabled Moe Kyaw who lost both his eyes and hands in a land-mine explosion was arrested by Thai police on 22 June 1995 during a raid in Nonthaburi, Thailand. Fourteen others, including two pregnant women and four babies were also arrested. This photo was taken in January 1995 while Moe Kyaw was in Mae Sot.

HURFOM

Illegal immigrants before being deported from Halockhani Refugee Camp.

(XIV) THE REFUGEE SITUATION AND FORCED REPATRIATION

14.1. Refugees in the West

Due to the harassment of SLORC army, 40 households from Khone-roa, 60 households from Poonhyongwa, 30 households from Pagawa, 25 households from Loungadv and 20 households from Theimoat-wa, Ngoaylak-wa and Quandaums, numbering a total 225 households with about 1,200 people fled into the Triangle area of Indo-Burmese-Bangladeshi border in southern Mizoram State of India. Over 180 families who fled in different waves into India in 1994 are scattering at the villages of Takpoat-che, Upper Khaki, Lower Khaki, Maungbuwas and at Musa area without having a name in the remote area of Indo-Burmese-Bangladeshi border. [*Source: ASC*]

14.2. Recent Refugee Influx into India

In January 1995, more than 300 Chin refugees fled into Bangladesh after the village head was executed by SLORC IB 376. They were not recognised as refugees by the Bangladeshi government. As they were taking refuge at CNF headquarters, CNF had to provide them with food and medicine. [*Source: Independent Chin Report*]

Due to the brutal killings of villagers by SLORC IB 376, more Arakanese people have recently poured into Mizoram State, India, as refugees. From February to May 1995, more than 60 families with 400 population fled from Arakan State to escape the killings of SLORC Army. Most of them are taking shelter in the Parava Camp in the southern-most area of Mizoram State, which is situated in the triangle area of the Indo-Burmese-Bangladeshi border. [*Source: ASC*]

On 8 February 1995, Burmese military and Indian authorities met at Rih Khuadar village, in Falam Township of Chinland. They issued a statement saying that all Chin refugees (who are all citizens of Burma) who have escaped to India should be forcibly sent back to Burma. [*Source: Independent Chin Report*]

On 1 June 1995, the only refugee camp in Mizoram, located in Champhai Town, was closed down by the Indian government. And on 15 June 1995, the Mizoram government started forced repatriation of all the Chin people who had taken refuge in Mizoram State. It was the third time the Indian government had deported Chin refugees to Burma. Hundreds of Chin refugees were handed over to the SLORC Army. [*Source: Independent Chin Report*]

In a statement released on 13 August 1995, Mr Ran Naing, representative of the Arakanese refugees at Parava Camp in India said:

"These refugees have been resettled in Parava Camp by the concerned local authorities. But assistance in the form of food and medicine is not still provided by anybody. When they (the refugees) fled into India, they could not bring anything with them except some essentials. They could not bring even enough pots for cooking. Now many of them have no pots, no plates, no blankets and no mosquito nets. They build their own makeshift bamboo huts for sheltering at their temporary locations. Children are dying of malaria, diarrhoea, dysentery and malnutrition in deteriorating conditions. Epidemics are threatening everybody. To keep them alive, they are in urgent need of emergency aids, medicines, food and clothing." [*Source: ASC*]

In recent months, about 1,000 villagers have fled their homes and made their ways through formidable jungles into Mizoram State in India. As Bangladesh is not much willing to accept and provide help to the Buddhist Rakhine refugees, in contrast with the Rohingya Muslim refugees, the escape to Bangladesh is still insignificant. [*Source: ABYMU (Arakan)*]

[See also under "Eyewitness Accounts", interview, 19-21, 149-156, 293-294]

14.3. Chief Justice Systematically Executed by Indians

At the invitation of Indian intelligence service, SIB, to a meeting at their outpost in Parva village, which lies at the southern tip of Mizoram State, on 31 March 1995, Salaing Sang Hlun and other two CNF officers — Mr Kung Ling and Mr Thawng Mang — went to SIB office. After a short conversation, the Indian authorities told them to come back the following day. However, the Border Security Forces (BSF) arrested them in that evening. The following day, the BSF handed over them to the Assam Rifles, who picked them up from Parva. The whereabouts of Sang Hlun, Kung Ling, and Thawng Mang was not known by the relatives and friends until 25 April 1995 when a friendly Zo soldier informed their relatives that the Indian Army (Assam Rifles) had a dead body, at the Aizawl hospital morgue. The soldier also informed that the Indian Army was planning to bury the body in secrecy. The Assam Rifles had dug a big hole in their compound and explained that they were going to bury a cow. That was how the friendly soldier found out how the body was to be buried. When the relatives including Sang Hlun's sister were shown only the lower part of the body at the hospital, with no doubt they could identified the body was Sang Hlun's. Sang Hlun's mother had come to Mizoram on hearing that her son had been taken away by the Indian authorities and his whereabouts was not known. What a shock to see her son's body! She had not seen him since he joined the CNF in 1988.

They learned from the hospital staff that Sang Hlun died on 23 April 1995 and an autopsy was done on his body on 24 April. When the people went back to the hospital the following day, the hospital was guarded by army personnel. At first they were not allowed to see the body but after pleading with the soldiers, the relatives were allowed to see the body. They were instructed to look only from a

distance, but they went and looked at the body closely. They were told that Sang Hlun had died of malaria. When the relatives of Sang Hlun insisted on knowing the cause of Sang Hlun's death, because he was very healthy before he was taken away, some soldiers gave the account of how he died.

Sang Hlun, Kung Ling and Thawng Mang were kept in the army barracks in Aizawl and they were allowed to talk freely with anybody in the barracks. They were questioned often by the authorities. Sang Hlun was very communicable and the soldiers liked talking to him as he knew a lot of things.

On 23 April, a dinner with mutton curry was served at 6:00 p.m. After a few bites Sang Hlun complained of stomach pain. So he asked for salt and said: " If I swallow salt I'll throw up all the poison, please give me salt." The Assam Rifles refused to give him salt, instead they took him to the hospital where he died at 8:30 p.m.

After the relatives pleaded with the Indian authorities, by applying to the Mizoram government, they were allowed to take the body for burial. They could see that there was no evidence of physical harm. The only strange thing they noticed was all the tip of his fingers were darkened. When Sang Hlun's sister asked for the belongings of her brother, the Assam Rifles returned his bag-pack, however, a note book and diary Sang Hlun kept constantly, were not among the returned belongings.

After the relatives went to court the hospital released the autopsy report, which stated the cause of death as cerebral malaria.

Born in Farrawn, Thlantlang District, Chin State, 38 year old Sang Hlun was a graduate of the University of Rangoon. Sang Hlun fled to India in 1988 from Rangoon to escape the brutal crack down on participants of 1988 pro-democracy movement. He immediately joined the Chin National Front and was elected vice-president of the CNF. He served until 1992 in that function. At the time of his death he was in-charge of the justice department (Chief Justice) of CNF and commander of CNF northern command.

The whereabouts of Thawng Mang and Kung Ling is still a mystery. The relatives of both of them believed, however, that the stench coming from the Assam Rifle's barracks, where the two persons were kept, to have come from the body of Thawng Mang. They believed that the big hole which was dug at the Assam Rifle's compound must have been dug for them. Sang Hlun, Thawng Mang, and Kung Ling were having the same dinner on 23 April 1995. [*Source: ZO CENTER*]

14.4. Rohingya Repatriation

In 1991-92 SLORC mounted a religious campaign against Muslim Rohingyas in Arakan State. It is unknown how many were massacred, but at least 300,000 fled to Bangladesh to become refugees. At least 200,000 of them have now been

forced back to Burma by Bangladeshi authorities with the support of the UNHCR. UNHCR made agreements with SLORC and the Bangladeshi government (but not with any representative of the refugees) to support this forced repatriation and tell the world it is "voluntary" as long as they can get a monitoring presence on both sides of the border. They now have that presence. On the Bangladeshi side, UNHCR cancelled the process of interviewing refugees to find out if they want to go back, instead holds mass "information sessions" encouraging refugees to go back. At these sessions they fail to mention forced labour, as they consider it to be an isolated occurrence. In its June 1995 Bulletin, UNHCR stated that SLORC had promised them to use returnees for forced labour only four days per month, and later said that SLORC had promised not to use returnees for forced labour in their first two months back home (i.e. while they still have their returnees allowance money to pay off the troops). However, there are reports that returnees are being used for up to five days per week of forced labour on road construction and other duties in the north of Buthidaung Township. UNHCR still does not mention this in its "information sessions". The vast majority who express personal fears of persecution upon return are rejected as not having "valid reason" to be afraid. Furthermore, refugees being sent back to Burma are not being told that UNHCR will only stay in Arakan for one year after the repatriation (this is standard UNHCR policy). Many are going back with a misguided belief that UNHCR plans to remain in Arakan until the situation becomes safe and stable.

Now there are still about 50,000 refugees in the camps in Bangladesh. Many are there because SLORC, with or without reason, has refused to take them or one of their family members back. UNHCR now plans to start splitting up these families in order to cut down the number to 20,000, sending back anyone SLORC will accept (with the exception of the spouse or children of those specifically rejected). In Asian society, breaking up the extended family like this is completely unacceptable.

In Bangladesh, UNHCR states that they have injected US$3 million into local communities. However, much or most of this money appears to have been spent donating four-wheel drive Land Cruisers to Bangladeshi officials and building a large and fancy new building in Cox's Bazaar to house the "Office of the Refugee Relief and Repatriation Commissioner". This impressive building was completely paid for by UNHCR and inaugurated in December 1995, with most of the refugees already repatriated.

In Burma, UNHCR has 14 expatriate staff, but only four of them are protection officers — the rest are development consultants. They work through SLORC, and people from the area said that most returnees with problems would never dare to be seen entering the UNHCR office in Maungdaw. Land was confiscated at only 10% of its value to build these offices, and villagers nearby have lost their second annual paddy crops because the irrigation water has been diverted to UNHCR. In response, UNHCR reportedly paid only 5,000 Ks one-time compensation for the farmers — only enough to buy the equivalent of one-third of an acre's crop at current prices. Buddhist Rakhines in the area say that

UNHCR is fuelling racial tensions by favouring Muslims for all jobs and contracts. Meanwhile, UNHCR is claiming that the Rohingyas who fled Burma never owned their own land, and therefore should not all expect to have their land returned to them (the return of their land was promised to them before their repatriation). Rohingya sources claim that since September-October 1995, SLORC has been issuing new identity cards in Arakan State: red ones for Burmans and Rakhine Buddhists, which is a full citizenship, and white ones for Muslims, which is a provisional ID card stating that the holder is not the national of any country. They report that some Muslims who received National Registration Cards between 1955 and 1962 have now had these confiscated and replaced with a white card, thus losing their citizenship rights. UNHCR admits that forced relocation of villages for military camps and to avoid Rakhine/Muslim clashes has occurred, but claim that SLORC has promised to stop doing this. Both Rohingyas and Rakhines have reported that SLORC is forcibly relocating Muslims from other townships to Maungdaw and Buthidaung areas, and that Buddhists are also being forced to move to border areas.

Some returnees have subsequently fled again to Bangladesh. Most of them go into hiding and do not bother trying to report to UNHCR, but some have tried. UNHCR refuses to discuss them. Rohingya sources report that there are also new refugees and that they also go into hiding in the towns. UNHCR says that some new arrivals have come to their office with "false claims" of persecution in Burma. [*Source: KHRG*]

14.5. Karen Refugee Movements

Even before the main Manerplaw offensive began in January 1995, refugees were already fleeing into Thailand. For example, Sho Klo Karen refugee camp (110 km north of Mae Sot, Thailand) reported the arrival of 75 new families in December 1994 and January 1995, primarily from Hlaingbwe area in Pa-an District. The families were a mixture of Buddhists and Christians, and they said that people were fleeing primarily because of SLORC troops' sweeping villages for porters, though some villagers (Buddhists and Christians) were also fleeing because they were afraid of the growing DKBA-KNU conflict. One woman commented that more families wanted to come but that it was difficult because SLORC was deliberately blocking the way.

Particularly since the fall of Manerplaw in January 1995, the refugee situation has because increasingly confusing, but it can be divided into three main aspects: new refugees arriving, the movement of existing refugees, and the return of some refugees to Burma. At the beginning of 1995, there were an estimated 10-12,000 new Karen refugees who arrived in Thailand from the area north of Kawmoora. Majority of them were form villages form the Manerplaw area northward all the way to the Karenni border. Many of them fled before SLORC arrived in their villages because they dread of being taken as porters and life in general under SLORC domination; others tried to stay in their village only to witness it terrorised or destroyed when SLORC arrived, so they fled; while others fled

because they feared religious persecution or forced relocation by the DKBA. Another small group of the new refugees fled from non-fighting SLORC-controlled areas because SLORC troops swept all such areas for porters. According to official figures, at the end of November 1994 there were 14 Karen refugee camps along that part of Thai-Burmese border with a total registered population of 50,356. By the end of February 1995, refugees from six of these camps fled to new locations further inside Thailand. Eight new camps were formed: some camps were totally filled with newcomers and some camps were occupied with the already-arrived refugees who had moved while others sheltered a combination of these two. A total registered population of those 16 camps was 61,257, an increase of 10,901. That number excluded hundreds of new refugees who did not register, and the numbers have continued to rise since then. This increase in the total has also occurred despite the return to Burma of about 1,500 refugees. The number of those in Thailand were only the tip of the iceberg; many more had fled into the forests or to homes of relatives, while new refugees estimated that at least 700 families were trapped west of the Salween River.

As new refugees keep arriving, existing refugee camps had also been on the move further into Thailand. All Karen refugee camps are unofficial, recognised neither by the Thai Government nor the UNHCR. The existing of those camps subject to understanding between Karen refugee leaders, local Thai villagers and officials, and the Thai Ministry of Interior. As such, they are not "closed camps" and have little or no security. They were all located within a few kilometres of the Burmese border; some of them were located right on the banks of the border rivers, in places where the KNU controlled the opposite bank. When SLORC occupied the Burmese side of the border, the civilians there felt no longer safe. SLORC troops have never shown respect for international borders, and since the end of January 1995 armed and unarmed SLORC/DKBA units have been crossing the border almost every day. Refugees from some camps moved in fear of being attacked while others moved after being shelled or penetrated by SLORC/DKBA troops. The situation has been getting worse than ever before as SLORC sends its troops across the border and then responds to any Thai Government protest by saying it is DKBA, which SLORC claims it does not control in any way. Witnesses have confirmed that SLORC troops have been involved in most of the border incursions. The Thai Army had almost no presence along this section of the border because it was never necessary while KNU controlled the other side. However, SLORC and DKBA have been taking advantage of the absence of Thai forces to cross the border with arms and with impunity, and to carry out their campaign to control the villagers in the refugee camps. Using threats, coercion and violence, SLORC and DKBA have been trying to frighten the refugees into returning to Burma. In some cases it is working as evidenced by the steady trickle of refugees who have fled the camps to return, usually crossing the border at Mae Ta Waw. There they are met by SLORC trucks and taken away either to DKBA areas or villages where SLORC chooses to keep them. SLORC has claimed that over 9,000 refugees have already returned, but the real total is more like 1,500-2,000, primarily from two of the largest camps, Baw Noh and Sho Klo.

Ever since the DKBO was first formed it tried to coerce Buddhist refugees into returning, seeing the refugee camps as a source of support for KNU and wanting the refugees as DKBA recruits. At first, their tactic was gentle suggestion combined with promises of an untroubled life at the Myaing Gyi Ngu "refuge", as promised to other villagers. Of course, only Buddhist refugees were invited. The refugees already felt insecure because of indications that Thailand and the UNHCR may have been preparing a forced repatriation programme for Karen refugees, so gradually about 350 people from Baw Noh camp made their way across the border. However, after the fall of Manerplaw the DKBA was not satisfied with those numbers, and in unison with SLORC their tactics changed to threats and attacks on the camps in an effort to terrorise the refugees back to Burma. In February 1995 the DKBO widely distributed a letter stating that "In order to dismantle the refugee camps, we have various plans. Therefore all nationalities must leave the refugee camps and return to Myaing Gyi Ngu. If you do not comply with this document, you will be considered as anti-Buddhists and KNU and we are going to uproot you." While this has worked to a certain extent, driving more people to return even as others were fleeing DKBA and SLORC areas for their lives, it has also backfired. At least some refugees who were planning to return changed their minds after the camps were attacked, while many Buddhists who were adopting a "wait and see" attitude because they are determined to stay in Thailand at all costs. After that Thailand has provided some limited security in the camps, many refugees feel they are safer with the Thais than taking chances with the DKBA. Most Christian refugees in particular feel that to return to Burma now would be suicide.

Table 9. Movements of Karen Refugee Camps

Camp abandoned (November 1994)	Population	Moved to	Remark
We Gyi	1737	Mah Ya Hta	Moved to location several kilometres inside Burma
Bo Ya Hta	1152	Mah Sa Ger	Moved to site of a 15 minute walk inside Thailand
Ka Htee Hta	2,891	Mae Kong Kha	Moved three times due to attacks; now three hours walk inside Thailand, but was attacked there as well.
Mae Paw Mu Hta	2624	Huai Heng Mae	Moved three times due to attacks Ra Ma Luang
Mae Po Hta 919	919	Baw Noh	Population scattered Ber Lu Ko, Sho Klo
Kler Thay Lu	802	Baw Noh	Population scattered Ber Lu Ko, Sho Klo
Kler Mu Hta	3224	new Klay Mu Hta	Camp was on the Burmese (Thai side) of Moei River, has now fled to Thai side.
Baw Noh	9374	Sho Klo, Other, Thai towns, etc.	(*)

(*) Figure of Baw Noh camp was as of February 1995. All but about 2,000 of them fled the camp in March 1995 due to escalating armed attacks on the camp by DKBA, but many later returned again.

Of the aforementioned abandoned camps, the first four were along the Salween riverbank. Mae Po Hta was on the Moei riverbank, and Kler Thay Lu was about one kilometre from Moei River inside Thailand. Klay Mu Hta was a refugee camp set up on the Burmese side of the border due to a Thai decree that no more Karen refugees would be allowed. Baw Noh is less one kilometre inside Thailand, but is east of a main Thai road and in an area populated by Thai citizens.

Table 10. New location of Refugee Camps

Name	Population	Location	Remarks (February 1995)
Meh Ya Hta	1,737	East of upper Salween	Relocated refugees
U Da Hta	1,137	"	New refugees
Klo pa	505	"	New refugees
Meh Sa Ger	1,313	"	New & relocated refugees
Mae Kong Kha	2,817	3 hrs. east of Mae Sam Lap	Relocated refugees
Huai Heng	1,800	2 hrs. east of lower Salween	Relocated refugees
Mae Ra Ma Luang	4,900	3 hrs. east of Manerplaw	New & relocated refugees
Klay Mu Hta (new)	3,659	Moei river near Mae Salit	Relocated refugees

14.6. Attacks on Refugee Camps

Attacks on Karen refugee camps in Thailand by groups of SLORC and DKBA soldiers have grown increasingly common and serious since the fall of Manerplaw in January 1995. Initially many of these groups crossed without arms, but later they were almost always heavily armed — with assault rifles and on many occasions with M79 grenade launchers or even RPG's (rocket-propelled grenades). The initial incursions were primarily for the purpose of looting by SLORC troops. Then the campaign of terror against the refugees camps began. The SLORC has long wanted to wipe out these camps, which are an international embarrassment to them and which provide civilians with a way to escape from SLORC control, while also providing a mean for information on the reality of political and human rights situation to the outside world. But destroying these camps was impossible until the DKBA came along. Now the SLORC can use the Karen DKBA to infiltrate the camps, and can send its own troops into Thailand under the cover of the DKBA. A major campaign to destroy the camps was introduced, first by gently persuading refugees to return, but since February 1995 by changing tactics of using threats, fear and violence, by SLORC/DKBA troops. The following is translation of a letter in Burmese received in several refugee camps in February 1995:

Stamp: Hlaing Bwe Township, Myaing Gyi Ngu Old Town

To:

———————————— refugee camp

Date:—95

Subject: All Buddhist people from the refugee camps are to leave and go back to Myaing Gyi Ngu

We will take care and responsibility for the family needs of all Buddhists who return from the refugee camps. You will be accepted as the families of Myaing Gyi Ngu. Already many families from the refugee camps are joining us every day. We have learned from people who have returned that the KNU is harassing and frightening the Buddhist community in the refugee camps.

To continue living in the refugee camps means to prolong the existence of the KNU and its harassment of the Buddhist community, and is a hindrance to peaceful resolution. In order to dismantle the refugee camps, we have various plans. Therefore all nationalities must leave the refugee camps and return to Myaing Gyi Ngu. If you do not comply with this document, you will be considered as anti-Buddhists and KNU and we are going to uproot you.

Families who return will be received at Myawaddy and will be sent to Myaing Gyi Ngu free of charge.

Soe Thit Sa Ti (Kyaw Win)
DKBA (Special Forces)

SLORC and DKBA troops have learned that they can move into Thailand at any time without being attacked. At present, the number and intensity of attacks against the camps is increasing, and at the same time cross-border robberies are happening every night all along the Thai border from Mae Sot to Mae Sariang. Rather than limit these robberies to impoverished refugees, the SLORC/DKBA troops are increasingly committed robberies on Thai citizens at gun point in the areas such as Meh Dan and Mae Ta Waw.

Making the situation worse, most of the new refugee camps are in remote areas which is completely cut off from outside access by road or river (now that SLORC controls the rivers) in rainy season from June to October.

The following report details some of the significant border incursions since January 1995, confirmed by KHRG. This is by no means a complete list.

14.6.1. Manerplaw Area

Several days before SLORC overrun Manerplaw itself, much of the civilians in Manerplaw area had already sought refuge in Pway Baw Lu, a village two kilometre. Even so, as soon as SLORC took a hill from which they could see Pway Baw Lu, most families began fleeing further into Thailand, fearing a ground attack or artillery barrage. The day that SLORC troops arrived in Manerplaw, they immediately began a mortar barrage against Thai territory on the other side of the Moei River as a form of pursuit of the Karen soldiers who had withdrawn to Thailand and disarmed themselves. Thai soldiers form Task Force 35 had already been flown in to take up positions to secure their border, but this did not affect the SLORC troops' actions. As the concentration of Thai troops increased, many of the refugees trickled back into Pway Baw Lu, but the atmosphere was very tense. Most refugees felt that if a massive SLORC forces crossed the river, the Thai troops would simply withdraw to avoid fighting. SLORC/DKBA units began crossing the Moei River to loot abandoned villages on the Thai side such as Htoo Wah Lu, Ka Paw Lu and Mae Po Hta. There were reliable reports that they opened fire on a refugee trying to recover some belongings in Ka Paw Lu, and that they had come across to have lunch with Thai troops in Htoo Wah Lu. Then there was a rumour that the SLORC/DKBA troops were about to launch ground attack on Pway Baw Lu, and the village was completely evacuated further into Thailand. The refugees camped along dusty roads near a Thai Karen village of Meh Taw La and eventually established a camp, about three hours' walk into Thailand, at Mae Ra Ma Luang (also called Mae Ra Mu Klo). The continued strong presence of Thai military and Border Patrol Police between the camp and Manerplaw has thus far prevented any attacks on the camp.

14.6.2. Mae Paw Mu Hta/Huai Heng Camp

Mae Paw Mu Hta camp, with a population of 2, 624 in November 1994, was on the bank of Salween River less than 10 km. south of Mae Sam Lap. SLORC occupied the opposite bank of the Salween and shelled this refugee camp on 4 February 1995. At least three shells landed in the camp, followed by about 10 minutes of machine gun fire. The refugees fled the camp in a panic together with Thai Border Patrol Police who had been stationed there. On the same day, as SLORC troops crossed the Salween a few kilometres further downriver and looted a shop in a Karen village of Pu Mya Lu (displaced Karen from Burma who farmed on the Burmese side of the river, but not a refugee camp), the villagers there had to evacuate as well.

The Pu Mya Lu villagers fled to Mae Ra Ma Luang camp, while the refugees from Mae Paw Mu Hta fled inland an hour's walk to Meh Po Kee, which was a temporary shelter. As that place was unsafe, on 22 February, aid organisations sent five small cargo trucks to help move the refugees and their belongings to a 30-minute-drive to southeast permanent site at Huai Heng, further inside Thailand. The move continued throughout 22-23 February. At 5-5:30 p.m. on

23 February, when most people had already been moved, one of the trucks left Meh Po Kee with 4-6 families and some of their belongings. A few minutes along the road, it was forced to stop by a group of uniformed and heavily armed soldiers, who appeared out of the forest and immediately opened fire on the truck with AK47 assault rifles and one M79 grenade launcher. The Thai driver and two women on the truck were killed and 11 others wounded, including a five-year-old boy who had to have surgery in the field before being referred to Mae Sariang hospital, but survived.

Following were casualties of the shooting.

Name	Sex	Age	Remarks
Udorn Khieumool	M	40	Killed by multiple bullet wounds
Naw Peh	F	36	Killed by gunshot in the back, large exit wound in the belly
Naw May Paw	F	36	Killed by gunshot in the head
Saw Ma Lay	M	5	Bullet wound in the left chest; bullet punctured the pleura and the spleen, then came to rest in the stomach. Doctors on site had to perform a field transfusion and splenectomy and removed the bullet from the stomach, then referred to Mae Sariang hospital. Saw Ma Lay is Naw May Paw's son.
Naw Mu Heh	F	25	Wounded on right shoulder, piece of M79 shrapnel embedded
Naw Krit Heh	F	27	Wounded behind left ear, three small wounds on the back
Pa Nga Bya	M	35	Superficial wound on the right cheek
Nay Hta Ghay	M	3	Wounded superficially by flying glass
Pa Naw Mu	M	7	Superficial wound on the left cheek
Naw Shwe Roh	F	42	Wounded on right knee, also hematoma
Saw Kwa	M	49	Multiple wounds on the back, including one deep wound
Naw Meh Ta Ker	F	17	Superficial wounds
Saw Wih	M	30	Superficial wounds
Naw Nya Gu	F	30	Superficial wounds
Saw Ber Cher Ler	M	47	Superficial wounds

All of those who suffered were Karen refugees, except Udorn Khieumool, who was the Thai truck owner/driver, a well-respected resident of Mae Sariang Town in Mae Hong Son Province. The other Thai national on the truck, the conductor, escaped without serious injury. The shooting appears to have been an act of pure terrorism to intimidate the refugees, although there has been speculation that it

was also a form of warning to aid organisations to leave the camps, because the trucks had been hired by aid organisations.

The rest of the refugees fled that evening to Huai Heng on foot, where the atmosphere became one of extreme fear. Saw Maw Si, an educated and soft-spoken medic in his mid-forties who served as camp leader, had been targeted for execution by DKBA in December 1994, when he had to live in hiding in the forest for a week. After the attack on Mae Paw Mu Hta and shooting of the truck, he was close to a nervous breakdown and was no longer able to function as a camp leader. Without guidance, many refugees fled to Mae Ra Ma Luang on foot or by small truck.

14.6.3. Ka Htee Hta Camp

Ka Htee Hta refugee camp, with a population of 2,891 in November 1994, was located on the bank of Salween River about one hour's walk north of Mae Sam Lap. On 7 February 1995, SLORC troops started shelling Oo Thu Hta, on the Burmese side of the river opposite Ka Htee Hta. They entered Oo Thu Hta in the late afternoon on the same day. At that point most of the villagers had already fled Ka Htee Hta to Meh Wih Kloh, five kilometre further inside Thailand. By 10 February, everyone had left main Ka Htee Hta camp and only about 50 families remained in Section 1 (Meh Wih Der). That afternoon, a group of armed soldiers — about 15 SLORC and three DKBA — crossed the river. The DKBA men went up the hill and spoke to the refugees telling them to go to Khaw Taw (Myaing Gyi Ngu) without threat. Fifteen families went with them. From 10 to 12 February, armed SLORC troops then came across the river and looted Ka Htee Hta, taking all the livestock and belongings they could find, 400 fifty-kg. sacks of rice from the storehouse and 100 sacks which had already been distributed to the houses. The refugees had planned to return for these, but became too afraid once SLORC had occupied the other side of the river. Soldiers, porters and conscripted refugees had to carry the rice to three stolen cattle-boat which SLORC used to transport it to Oo Thu Hta. After this period, the remaining families in Section 1 also left the camp for Meh Wih Kloh. On 12 February, three armed DKBA men went to Meh Wih Kloh and forced five more families to go back with them at gun point, threatening to shoot anyone who refused. They told the rest of the refugees they had better return to Burma or the SLORC would shell their camp. The refugees panicked and fled to Meh Paw Kloh, another one hour's walk into Thailand. They later learned from a monk who was still staying in Ka Htee Hta that SLORC shot dead two men — Win Oo (28) and Than Myint (20) — who returned on 10 February and three more — Meh Ka La (26), Maw Bee (38) and Pa Da Kee (32) — who returned on 12 February. One 18 February, the same monk came and told the refugees that 30 SLORC soldiers were preparing to attack Meh Paw Kloh at night if the refugees didn't return right away. The refugees fled again, this time to Mae Kong Kha, near a Thai Karen village, three hours' walk from Salween River. SLORC troops never came to Mae Paw Kloh. On 21 February, it was reported that a young woman, Ma Nyay (18), who had crossed back to Burma on 10 February

was sent back across the river at Mae Sam Lap for treatment after being raped by 20 SLORC soldiers.

At 2:00 a.m. on 10 March, armed DKBA soldiers came to Mae Kong Kha and abducted the camp leader, Saw Ghay Ploh (in his late forties, a Christian) and the camp security leader Aung Lay (a Buddhist). In the process, Aung Lay was beaten up and suffered one rib broken as the DKBA men disarmed him. Both victims were taken back to Burma with their families, totalling nine people. They have reportedly been taken to Kyaw Taw and not too badly treated along the way because Ghay Ploh knew the DKBA soldiers involved. Two days later, 54 more families left the camp for Burma, either with the idea of following the camp leaders or in fear of further attacks.

14.6.4. U Da Hta Camp

At U Taw Hta near U Da Hta on 8 February 1995, SLORC and DKBA reportedly crossed the Salween River, looted rice, pigs and buffaloes and burned down five houses.

14.6.5. Ber Lu Ko

Ber Lu Ko is a Thai Karen village just north of Mae Ta Waw, but when several refugee camps had to be evacuated, 27 refugee families from Kler Thay Lu and Mae Po Hta camps came to stay there. At about 9:00 p.m. on 2 March 1995, six armed DKBA men entered the village while an estimated 20-30 DKBA or SLORC troops waited around the village perimeter. DKBA sought out Pu Kyaw Li (or "Jolly"), who had been a former KNU official and camp leader of Kler Thay Lu. He, in his late 60s, is a Christian Seventh Day Adventist, a religion particularly hated by the DKBA because it is Gen Bo Mya's religion. When they found him, they beat him with a torch-light and kicked him, tied him up and took him away. They also left a letter saying that everyone must leave the camp by 5 March or it would be burned down. They took Pu Kyaw Li across the river to Burma. His daughter and his bodyguard followed him the following day, and when his bodyguard returned he reported that Kyaw Li was held at Meh Baw Plaw and was still alive. The 5 March deadline passed with no action being taken against Ber Lu Ko camp. No further word has been received regarding Kyaw Li, and there is strong fear that he might be executed because of his religion.

14.6.6. Baw Noh (Mae Ta Waw) Camp

Baw Noh camp with a population of 9,374 in February 1995, just south of Mae Ta Waw, had increased in population by about 3,000 because it was a well-established refuge for people fleeing camps such as Kler Thay Lu and Mae Po Hta. However, it was a prime target of the DKBA and SLORC because of its

large population, its proximity and accessibility from the SLORC border post of Mae Ta Waw, and its mixed Buddhist/Christian/Muslim population. Even before the fall of Manerplaw and shortly thereafter, a total of about 350 refugees from Baw Noh were persuaded or coerced into returning to Burma by DKBA supporters who infiltrated the camp. DKBO leaflets were distributed encouraging people to go back. However, in February 1995 they introduced a new tactic of armed incursion and fear in Baw Noh as well as elsewhere.

At 1:15 a.m. on 28 February 1995, about 30 armed men from SLORC and DKBA came to the camp. Nine of them entered the front section of the camp while the others stayed in the surrounding small hills. The nine came to the main gate and found people there sleeping. Other witnesses later said four of them were Karen in DKBA uniform and five were Burmese in SLORC uniform. They captured San Htun Kai (age 57-58 years, Buddhist and married with three children) who had formerly been a low-level KNU official in Burma. As they were capturing him, two people walked into the camp from the direction of the main road. They were Thai Karen traders — Thai citizens who sell goods in the camp while their families live in Mae Ta Waw village. When the traders saw a group of people at the gate, they shone a torch-light at them, and two of the soldiers opened fire. Both men were wounded in the legs. Ah La (21, married with no children) was hit by one bullet in the ankle and Pa Dee Thu (35, married with four children) was hit by several bullets: one in the lower leg, one just above the knee and one hit his hip from the rear and exited from the front beside his groin. The armed men then left, abducting San Htun Kai to Burma and leaving the two wounded men laying there on the ground. Ah La was later sent to Meh Dan Hospital, while Pa Dee Thu was referred to Mae Sot Hospital. No news has been heard of San Htun Kai.

According to camp officials, "They left behind a letter that said, 'Buddhists must all came back between now and 15 March. If you stay you'll be considered bodyguards of Christians and under their command. On 5 March, we'll come and burn the whole camp. All the Christians will be buried here."

On 2 March 1995, an armed group robbed a shop in Klu Me Nee Hta, between Baw Noh and Mae Tha Waw. At about 9:00 p.m. on the same day, three people — two armed and one with a radio — were seen carrying a red sign with black letters was found posted in Baw Noh saying (according to camp officials), "After 6-7:00 p.m. you can't cross the river. Anyone crosses the river will be killed. If we come to the camp don't shoot us. If you do, we'll burn the whole camp. If you shoot, you'll see what happens.", signed by "Soe Thein, Soldier of Religion". Some of the former sawmills across the Moei River from Baw Noh had already been burned after 28 February attack. Less than one kilometre east of the river is the north-south Mae Sariang-Mae Sot highway with a Thai police post, and the camp started on the eastern side of this road, stretching east about one kilometre where the camp ends and open paddy-fields begin. Between 28 February and 5 March, the front part of the camp (nearest to the road) had largely been cleared out. Many people were staying in their houses by day but leaving at sunset to sleep in the bush and the paddy-fields to the east of the

camp. Some had sent their families to stay in nearby Thai Karen villages. People in the back end of the camp had many of their belongings packed. Everyone was waiting to see what would happen, afraid but also somewhat defiant. Every day small trucks carried people moving south to Sho Klo camp, as well as those going to Mae Ta Waw to return to Burma. Thai authorities kept promising to send security forces and everyone was hoping for this, but they were slow to arrive. People were doubtful of the DKBA's threats but unsure what to believe. About noon on 4 March, a large number of SLORC troops appeared on the Burmese bank of the Moei River directly opposite Baw Noh, and the fear increased. Finally, a few Thai soldiers arrived on 5 March, but not nearly enough to defend the camp. However, the threatened attack did not happen. As with most of the DKBA's threats, its purpose was only to intimidate people into fleeing the camps.

At about 5:30 a.m. on 15 March, a heavily armed group of about 20 Karen and SLORC soldiers entered Section 2 of the camp, coming out of the forested hills and across the paddy-fields. It appeared that they might have already been encamped in Thailand for one or more days, as they had passed through a Thai Karen village and told the villagers not to say anything. The armed men approached the camp leader's house, which faced onto the paddy-fields. The camp leader and his family were staying in another house, but there were some camp security (refugees on security duty) outside the house. The soldiers shot and killed a camp security man who was sleeping on the ground outside the house, then opened fire on the house. Two other security guards were wounded — one in the back and another in the hand. The soldiers fired an M79 grenade which hit the house to the left of the camp leader's, totally destroying the front wall. Fortunately the house was empty. Then they entered the camp leader's house, shot it up, took the Bible and tore it into pieces as they ran away. They ran up a hill behind the house shooting, and hit a woman and child in one of the houses, wounding her in the arm and the hip and the child in the neck. People in the houses on the hill fled their houses and ran away from the armed men and down into the paddy-fields . The soldiers arrived at the pastor's house and opened fire on it, but the pastor and his family had already run. Then the soldiers ran in the same direction as the refugees, but more camp security and some Thai soldiers arrived and fired on them, killing one DKBA soldier and wounding two or three other Karen and SLORC soldiers. They captured an M1 rifle from the dead man. Camp security witnesses said the armed men were definitely a mixture of DKBA and SLORC, armed with AK47 and M79. Some carried two weapons. The soldiers then fled onto the hills. The armed men made their way 10 km. to the north through the hills and crossed the Moei River into Burma just south of Mae Ta Waw. At 3:00 p.m. on that day there was further panic in the camp because a rumour said that DKBA and SLORC were coming back to retrieve the dead body of their comrade, but this never happened. One of the four wounded refugees died that afternoon.

After this attack, about 2,000 refugees fled Baw Noh, most of them going 20 km. south to Sho Klo camp, scattering to Thai Karen villages or the hills and forests, or camping in the paddy-fields immediately surrounding the nearby

Thai Army position. Later on an order was issued asking all Baw Noh refugees at Sho Klo to return to their former camp. Many had already done so, especially among the Muslim community. Some said as they could no longer stand the cramped conditions where they were all kept in two open warehouses in Sho Klo, they returned to stay at Baw Noh whatever was the cost. As the camp leader dared not return, a new camp leader has been appointed in Baw Noh. Another letter was then received at Baw Noh, threatening to burn the entire camp on 27 or 28 March.

At about 7:30 a.m. on 28 April 1995, Baw Noh camp was attacked by a group of about 100 men, most of them DKBA but apparently with a few SLORC soldiers among them. The armed men launched attack from two direction: one came from the south and across the highway while the other came down the highway from the north and brazenly marched right across a large highway bridge just in front of the camp. Without provocation, they then opened fire on the Thai police post along the highway in front of the camp. The post was manned by its usual contingent of five police, plus an additional seven Border Patrol Policemen. They exchanged fire with the attackers for five minutes, wounding two DKBA, but Thai police had to flee because DKBA were outnumbered. Two policemen ended up having to hide under the highway bridge while one Border Patrol Policeman, Sgt Thawatchai Wanond, was captured, tied up and taken to Burma as a prisoner when the attackers withdrew. He was released unharmed the following day. The attackers later burned down the police post, destroying an estimated 200,000 baht (US$ 8,000) worth of equipment and personal belongings.

They then advanced to the front part of the camp, while troops (probably SLORC) on the Burmese side of the Moei River (one kilometre to the west) began shelling the back half of the camp with 81 mm mortar, probably to stop the refugees escaping into the paddy-fields behind the camp and to deter any attempt at defence by the camp security force. Over ten mortar rounds hit the back half of the camp, wounding two people. As the attackers entered the camp, they fired RPGs (Rocket-Propelled Grenades) and small arms. They began looting and then burning houses. They arrested three refugees but released them before leaving. They looked for the camp leader but he was up the road in Mae Ta Waw village, and they looked for Saw Abraham (also known as Ah Kya), the Seventh-Day Adventist pastor. He and his family had to hide in two covered holes under their house, and did not come out in fear of being shot. Their house was then set on fire. As the house began to collapse, the pastor, his wife and their youngest son managed to escape with bad burns, but their 18-year-old daughter Naw Geh Moo Paw, a 10th standard high school student, was alone in a separate hole. The house collapsed on her and she was burned to death. Her screams were heard by people throughout the camp.

The attackers stayed in the camp for about one hour. They set half the camp on fire and then the fire spread to the whole camp. An estimated 700 houses were burned, including the school and the camp hospital. Only the monastery and a few houses were left standing at the front of the camp and on the low hills

surrounding. They threatened the refugees that they would come back again in a few days, and next time they would kill everyone who remained.

Five refugees were wounded and one (Naw Geh Moo Paw) was killed. Pastor Abraham (47), his wife (39-40) and their youngest son (12) suffered from burns and were sent to hospital. Two others were wounded by shrapnel from 81 mm mortar shells — one was hit by fragments in both shoulders and the nose, and the other was hit by two or three fragments in the lower leg. They were also sent out to hospital for treatment.

At 8:00 p.m. the night before the attack, Karen camp security already had notification that DKBA troops were in the monastery directly across Moei River and were preparing to attack the camp, and they immediately notified the Thai police at post. Thai police said they had notified their superiors repeatedly and in detail that the camp was about to be attacked, but their superiors had never responded or sent reinforcements. Instead, the policemen were notified to disarm the Karen security at the camp. The evening before the attack, they told the camp security leader that a senior Thai Army officer was coming and that on 28 April all houses would be searched for weapons, so camp security must either hand over or bury their weapons (the then Thai Army Commander-in-Chief Wimol Wongwanich did in fact visit the camp two days after the camp was burned). At 5:00 a.m. on 28 April, the Thai officer in charge again notified camp officials to get rid of any weapons. As soon as the camp security had finished disarming themselves, the attack began.

14.6.7. Mae Salit (Tala Thaw, Gray Hta) Camp

Mae Salit, with a population of 3,573 in February 1995, initially seemed to be quieter and safer than the other camps. The relocation was 119 km. north of Mae Sot, between Sho Klo and Baw Noh, about 30 minutes walk into Thailand from Moei River. However, later on it was the subject of threats and reported infiltration by DKBA posing as refugees. At 1:30 a.m. on 9 March, armed soldiers came to a hut alongside the Moei River near Gray Ht, the home of a refugee family that had farms on the Burmese side of the river but they used to sleep in Thailand for safety. The elderly couple and two of their sons were there. Three men stayed under the hut while three others, armed with an AK47 and two knives, entered. They threw away the family's Bible and went through the house, stealing jewellery and the family's entire savings of 10,140 baht. When Saw Htoo Htoo (61) swore to God that this was all they had, the man said, "There is no God any longer" and shot him twice, killing him. The perpetrator then shot his son Tamla Htoo twice and killed him. The younger son had already had already escaped from the back of the house when the men arrived. They then left without harming the boys' mother.

On 20 March, another house, located at one end of Mae Salit camp, was looted. Two or three men came with guns and a grenade at night but they did not shoot. They robbed 7,000 baht and a radio/cassette recorder.

14.6.8. Sho Klo Camp

Sho Klo camp, with a population of 8,523 in February 1995, is 110 km north of Mae Sot, a short walk from the Moei River. Although DKBA sent a lot of leaflets and propaganda to the camp's monastery with orders to the monks to distribute it, no serious attacks was reported as of March 1995. Letters threatening to destroy the camp if everyone does not return have also been sent. At night on 2 December 1995, about 60 armed men from DKBA attacked this refugee camp, robbed the people there, taking an estimated 10,000 baht and seized three KNU officials. The raiders also threatened to burn down the camp before they fled. At 1:00 p.m. on 26 December, about 30 armed men from DKBA led by Chit Nu entered Section 7 of Sho Klo refugee camp and committed a robbery. Because of shootings, Saw Aye Tun, in charge of Section 7, and his two- year-old daughter was wounded. Some houses were destroyed and all the valuable belongings which worth more than 510,000 baht were taken away.

14.6.9. Mae La (Beh Klaw) Camp

Mae La camp, with a population of 6,907 in February 1995, is 60 km. north of Mae Sot and the back end of the camp is about one hour's walk from a major SLORC base at Maw Pa Thu. About 9 p.m. on 9 February, seven armed men entered this back section of the camp and went to the house of Pado Mahn Yin Sein (55), former KNU governor of Pa-an District. Armed men abducted him, his nephew Saw Sim Bo, Sia Jed (a former of KNU judge) and Aung Maung Aye, who is Mahn Yin Sein's son-in-law and second vice-governor of Pa-an District. The perpetrators tied up them and at gun point they took Mahn Yin Sein's pickup truck, parked in a shelter near the house, and forced Aung Maung Aye to drive them southward along the main road toward Moei River opposite Maw Pa Thu. They told Aung Maung Aye that if Thai police stopped the car, they would shoot them. Unused AK 47 cartridges were later found in the car shelter, and the soldiers also had an M79 grenade launcher. Aung Maung Aye, a Christian, tried to stop the kidnapping by driving the car off the road into a tree. He then managed to escape with a wounded leg, and was later admitted to hospital. However, the kidnappers escaped with Mahn Yin Sein and the others on foot. There has been no further news of those abducted.

After the kidnapping, families stopped sleeping in the outlying section of the camp near Mahn Yin Sein's house and the car shelter and moved their belongings to houses in other parts of the camp. At 4:00 a.m. on 28 February, people saw the light of a fire from that part of the camp but dared not go to inquire. At daybreak they found that the house of U Pa Dwa (40, married with four children) was completely razed to the ground. The family had already abandoned the house at that time. But after it was burned, U Pa Dwa was so afraid that he was targeted and he took his family back to Burma.

At night on 2 March, some DKBA members reportedly entered the camp to force some of their relatives to go back to Burma. However, the women refused

to set off with the children in the middle of the night, and when other refugees arrived on the scene the men fled. Since then there have been several reported incidents of families being robbed at night in outlying sections of the camp, and automatic rifle fire has been heard throughout the camp on at least two occasions. There is a report that one refugee was injured in one of these incidents; however, camp authorities have been trying to prevent general panic by withholding information on such incidents.

14.6.10. Huay Bone (Don Pa Klang) Camp

Huay Bone camp, with a population of 2,919 in February 1995, is 19 km. north of Mae Sot near Moei River. It has also been the subject of threats, and at some time in March 1995 there are reliable reports that two men were arrested in the camp by security and found to be carrying one or more hand grenades.

14.6.11. Huay Kalok (Wan Kha) Camp

Huay Kalok camp, with a population of 4,448 in February 1995, is only five kilometre north of Mae Sot and is three kilometre. from Moei River and the former KNU stronghold of Kawmoora (Wan Kha). During the final assault on Kawmoora on 20 February, SLORC fired several artillery shells three kilometre into Thailand at a Thai Army artillery position just outside the camp. No one was hurt. The day after SLORC occupied Kawmoora on 21 February, SLORC soldiers in civilian clothes started coming into Huay Kalok camp every day after about 11:00 a.m. At first they only came to the market on the outskirts of the camp, but then they started wandering around the camp, looking around the clinic, the school and other parts of the camp, in some cases even asking people question in Burmese. Refugees recognised them without a doubt as SLORC soldiers, and sometimes they were accompanied by Thai Border Patrol Police. Camp officials and religious leaders began sleeping in different houses every night, general panic began to spread through the camp, some families began fleeing to other refugee camps and talks began with Thai authorities about moving the camp. Then after about ten days, the incursions suddenly stopped. Presumably, Thai authorities had given SLORC a strict warning. However, there is still a lot of fear and uncertainly in the camp. By 27 March, some Thai citizens had erected makeshift drinking stalls on the Thai bank of the river opposite Kawmoora, less than three kilometre from Huay Kalok. SLORC soldiers have been coming across to these stalls every day to get drunk, in uniform but with their epaulets undone and hanging over their shoulder badges. At least some of the soldiers were from LIB 3 of LID 44.

14.6.12. Mae Ra Ma Luang (Mae Ra Mu Klo) Camp

Mae Ra Ma Luang camp was newly formed in 1995 to house refugees from Manerplaw area and the lower Salween who had fled SLORC's Manerplaw

offensive. It is home to about 5,000 refugees and is about 10 km inside Thailand, with hills and Thai forces between it and the Moei River borderline. It was not attacked until 25 April 1995, when 40-60 soldiers entered it from the north along the main stream which passes through the camp. They crossed the Moei just upriver from its mouth at the Salween River and followed a main path for 2-3 hours to the camp, taking a few villagers as captives along the way. Despite the fact that there were heavily armed Thai and Karen security deployed to protect the camp, the force was not attacked and the refugees had no warning of their approach. They arrived at noon or 12:30 p.m., probably having planned to arrive in the heat of the day when houses burn most easily. Most of the attackers were Karen and spoke to their captives in Karen, but there were a few who looked Burmese and never said a word, only pointing and signalling. They entered the Section 1 end of the camp and immediately began looting, taking refugees and shooting. They quickly opened fire on the Thai army station at the other end of Section 1. The Thai forces fled, and later the attackers stole their radio set and took it with them. While refugees fled into the surrounding forested hills or were taken captives, the attackers advanced slowly through Section 1 and into Section 2, telling refugees they were going to burn the camp shortly. After looting half of Section 2, they began an orderly retreat back to Section 1, one group setting the houses afire while another group covered them, shooting all the time and taking the refugees as they went. Houses were set afire by cigarette lighters on the roofing leaves or burning tracer rounds fired from assault rifles.

By the time they got back to the place where they had entered the camp, they had at least 100 refugees, young, elderly, women and men. They told these people they were taking them to DKBA headquarters at Khaw Taw (Myaing Gyi Ngu) and set out back along the path with villagers interspersed with soldiers to act as a human shield. Along the way a few people were released and a few escaped, then when they reached Tee Ler Baw there was a brief burst of fire from camp security forces in the surrounding hills. In the confusion, many villagers escaped. By the time they reached Moei River and crossed back into Burma, the attackers reportedly had only two refugees left: Deh Mu (about 60, a Christian), who used to be a KNU official in Papun District and Johnny (personal details not available). These men were tightly tied with rope, and DKBA specifically wanted to take them back. They had also planned to take back Hla Tin, a former Karen Army training officer, but he managed to escape.

Ten people were wounded during the attack; eight by gunfire & shrapnel and two by burning:

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Remarks
1.	Aye Day	M	42	Hit in the right upper back and the bullet was lodged inside. Referred to Mae Sariang Hospital.

2.	Sa Mya	M	32-33	Deep flesh wound across the back muscle. Referred to Mae Sariang Hospital.
3.	Ma Aye	F	21	Shot in the back of her left shoulder while trying to run away with her three-month old infant. The bullet went through her shoulder and exited out the front, leaving a hole the diameter of a finger. Being treated in the camp.
4.	Kyaw Myint	M	32	Hit in the thigh with M79 grenade shrapnel which became lodged inside. He was having great difficulty in walking but was treated in the camp.
5.	Hla Aye	F	30	Small wound in her left heel from M79 shrapnel, Kyaw Myint's wife was treated in the camp.
6.	Name not available	M	about 22	Hit by an exploding M79 shell while running away, many wounds on his right upper body and head. Referred to Mae Sariang Hospital.
7.	Hsa Po Htoo	M	24	Hit by the same shell as No. 6 and suffered one bone broken in his right forearm. Referred to Mae Sariang Hospital.
8.	Name not available	M	about 15	grazed on one toe, was treated in the camp.
9.	Mya Maung	M	84	Badly burned across his forehead, elbow, buttocks and heel. Mya Maung is deaf, can not see well and cannot walk on his own. He did not know what was happening and was caught in his house when they set it on fire. He was treated in the camp.
10.	Pu Pu	M	82	Badly burned on his face, back, arms and all over his body. Pu Pu is blind. He was under his house when they set it on fire. He reportedly died of his wounds on 27 April.

In the attack, 170 houses were completely destroyed — all of Section 1 and half of Section 2 (the camp has seven sections). Storehouse of Section 1 was burned, completely destroying 905 sacks (90,500 kg.) or rice, 1,500 kg of salt, 2,640 blankets, 1,760 mosquito nets, fish paste and other miscellaneous items. The food supply had just been stockpiled for rainy season (until November 1995), because the monsoon rains were about to wash out the road to the camp and it would be inaccessible. Since the attack, Thai security forces have been slightly increased to a total of 10 or 20 in the camp, but there is no evidence that any further security measures are being taken. The camp could easily be attacked again.

14.6.13. Kamaw Lay Ko Camp

Kamaw Lay Ko camp was a long-established camp on the west side of the main north-south highway 76 km north of Mae Sot. As of February 1995, its official population was a relatively stable 3,961.

At 5:00 p.m. on 25 April 1995, four Thai Border Patrol Policemen assigned to guard the camp received information from a KNLA officer operating on the Burmese side of the border that DKBA would attack the camp at 11:00 p.m. that night. The police immediately reported this to the Thai Army base near Mae Dan, only ten minutes by car, but there was no response and no reinforcements were sent. At 11:00 p.m. approximately 100 soldiers attacked the camp from at least two directions: the southwest end, entering near the school, and the northeast end, entering from the highway past the Thai post. Refugees claimed up to half of them were uniformed SLORC soldiers. All the soldiers, SLORC and DKBA, were wearing SLORC Army hats, boots, and SLORC-cut uniforms. Four Thai guards, grossly outnumbered, hid inside their post. The group from the northeast went into a shop beside the Thai post owned by a Thai Karen and looted it. Among other things, they stole some beer and paused to drink it while they argued over whether or not to burn the camp. According to the shop owner, Karens with local accents argued against burning it while some with Irrawaddy Delta accents wanted to burn it. They then went into the camp, and later came back to burn the Thai Karen's house and shop. Meanwhile, the other group stopped by the school (which is on a hillside) and began firing small arms, RPGs, , M79 grenades and 60 mm mortars down the camp. They then went into the camp and began setting houses ablaze with tracer bullets and lighters to the roofing leaves. The fire spread among houses. One refugee reported that the DKBA soldiers let people try to stop their houses burning, but the SLORC soldiers did not let them. Only one man, Eh Pree Pa, age about 32, was slightly wounded in the leg by RPG shrapnel. All other refugees managed to escape to the surrounding hills, while some took refuge in the camp monastery. About 300 houses were completely destroyed. The soldiers arrested three teenage boys, took them to the camp cemetery and then released them after giving them the message that all the refugees must return to Burma within three days or they would come back and kill all those remaining. They then left at about 12:30 a.m. with no refugees, carrying the items they had looted by themselves.

14.7. In Search of a Heaven

There have been reports of attacks of various kinds at every Karen refugee camp north of Mae Sot. In summary, every camp north of Mae Sot has been received written and verbal threats by DKBA coercing them to return to Burma or their camps will be destroyed. The refugees whose homes have been destroyed or who felt insecure in their former places have scattered into the hills surrounding their camps, where they always face great difficulties. Many of them joined their fellow refugees in other camps at which once again they seem safer enough

for them. As of December 1995, six Karen refugee camps — Huai Heng, Baw Noh (Mae Tha Waw), Mae Salit, Mae Plu So, Klor Kho and Kamaw Lay Kho camps — once each of which housed thousands of refugees has already turned into place with no inhabitant. Most camps still do not have enough and effective security provided by the Thai authority, instead the Thai forces there are even under orders to evacuate if the camp is attacked as the Thai military wants all the Karen refugees be forcibly repatriated as soon as possible.

[See also under "Eyewitness Accounts", interview 22-36, 47-58, 72-82, 89-100, 256-260]

14.8. New Influx of Karenni Refugee

Despite the cease-fire agreement reached between KNPP and SLORC— less than three months later on 15 June 1995 — Rangoon's troops started collecting porter fees in SLORC-designated areas of Karenni State. The Tatmadaw also started rounding up porters, horses and tractors for corvee service. The first round of fighting between KNPP and SLORC which started in the last week of June 1995 prompted a fresh exodus of some 1,500 Karenni refugees — adding to the toll of the displaced Karenni by more than 6,000 at refugee camps on the Thai side of the border. [Source: ABSDF]

[See also under "Eyewitness Accounts", interview 276-283]

14.9. BPP Orders for Repatriation of New Arrivals

On 25 April 1995 the officials from Thai Border Patrol Police ordered leaders of Halockhani Mon refugee camp to quickly repatriate the refugee families of new arrivals who built their houses along the edge of the camp in Thai territory of the border.

Because of the consistent human rights abuses in Mon areas by SLORC troops and hardships for survival, hundreds of local inhabitants had to flee to the refugee camps on the Thai-Burmese border during February and March 1995. But since the location of the refugee camps along the Thai-Burmese border is very far from their native villages, only a few of them arrived at the camps. Nearly 200 new comers arrived during the second week of April and May. As the location of Halockhani is at the edge of Mon and Karen states, many new arrivals were from Kyaikmaraw and Kyar Inn Seik Kyi townships.

The Halockhani camp has not had enough space for new arrivals to build their huts as the camp is situated in the mountainous area which has already been occupied with the houses of the refugees. During the first week of May, some BPP officials said the new arrivals could build their temporary shelters in the site, which is at the edge of camp, in Thai territory, without fencing them. They were also barred from the right to cultivate on the land temporarily provided to

them. During the second week of May, after the houses were built and the families settled, a different order saying to move from Thai territory to Burmese soil as soon as possible was issued. After they issued the order, the camp leaders and MNRC had appealed them not to move those refugees until the next dry season. But their suggestion was refused. Although the refugees did not have any desire to move, being afraid of measures taken by Thai authorities, they had no alternative. During the second week of May, about 40 families moved from Thai territory to unsafe Burmese territory, causing the refugees facing with hardships to build new shelters again.

Most of them moved to Halockhani main camp. Though the site is inconvenient to build many shelters there, the camp leaders have arranged possible settlement for those new arrivals. Then they cleared and dug hillside areas in the main camp. Because of the narrow space in Halockhani main camp, very few families of refugees who have no choice for making shelters went to Baleh Dunphai section where they would have enough space for buildings but less safety, as the site is very close to the route which connects Three Pagoda Pass and SLORC military headquarters in Mon State or Tenasserim Division. As that route has been used by SLORC for military purpose, they are living in Baleh Dunphai in fear of another attack by SLORC troops.

Baleh Dunphai is one section of Halockhani camp and about four kilometres from the main camp. In July 1994, Baleh Dunphai section was attacked by IB 62 of SLORC troops and the whole Halockhani refugees fled and attempted to seek refuge in Thai territory.

On 5 April 1995, when 200 SLORC troops from LIB 403 retreated to their headquarters in Tavoy, there was a small fighting between Mon troops and Burmese army. The fighting broke out near Baleh Dunphai and many refugees had fled to the main camp because they were afraid of another attack and arrest by the SLORC troops as in July 1994. After the Burmese troops moved down to their headquarters and the situation came to stable, the refugees returned to their former site again. [*Source: MNRC April/May 1995 Report/ HURFOM*]

More than 1,000 local people from Tavoy District escaped to Payaw where they thought it was safer than that of Halockhani refugee camp. Local people in Tavoy District were also subjected to atrocious human rights violations committed by SLORC troops. Payaw Camp is situated more than 50 km from Sangkhlaburi, while Bee Ree camp is far about 80 km. [*Source: MNRC April/May 1995 Report/ HURFOM*]

[See also under “Eye-witness Accounts”, interview 106-108, 110-114, 117-120, 123, 125-128, 133, 136-142, 144-148, 206, 221, 238, 255, 208, 261-263, 267-275]

14.10. Enforcing Immigration Act: Crackdown on Refugees and Illegal Immigrants

At 3:00 p.m. on 19 April 1995, Thai police came in a very violent way and captured "illegal emigrants" in Wat Prok, the Mon monastery in Yannawa District, Bangkok. Two victims' heads and another person's leg was broken as a result of violence practised by the Thai Police. Altogether 13 people, including the wounded persons, were arrested and brought to the police station. After that they were subsequently sent to the Immigration Detention Centre (IDC) on Suanplu Road. Brother John Beeching, a Canadian Maryknoll father, went to the police station and asked for allowing at least some assistance to the wounded but he was not taken in account. Among those who were subjected to arrest were Naing Bai and her eight-month-old baby girl, We Lai. Naing Bai was separated from her desperately ill baby who was listed in serious condition at Lertsin Hospital. She had symptoms of illness at time of raid. She was diagnosed as suffering from pneumonia, malnutrition and other complications after spending several days at IDC where the temperature soaring to 43(C during the day. She was noted to have a high fever and was breathing in great difficulty. The baby was rushed to hospital after immigration authorities thoroughly checked her documents. She was then placed in an oxygen room with a nurse to assist her breathing.

Although Naing Bai's husband is a Thai national, he was said to suffer from mental illness and was unable to support the family. We Lai and her five-year-old brother are Thai citizens. But Naing Bai did not have a resident permit nor was being recognised by UNHCR as a person of concern. On 25 April, Naing Bai was transferred to the detention centre in Kanchanaburi as a the first step of her deportation.

Also arrested was Maung Kyan — a Mon national who lost both arms and both eyes in a land mine explosion ten years ago — along with his wife and two children. Before arrest, Maung Kyan underwent a cornea transplant operation to regain some of his vision. Since Maung Kyan had been officially listed as a "person of concern" by UNHCR, he and his family were the Safe Area for Burmese refugees in Ratchaburi Province, Thailand. [*Source: MIS*]

14.11. More Arrests on Burmese Asylum-seekers

At night on 1 May 1995, there were raids on the residences of the Burmese refugees in Bangkok and 29 were arrested by Thai Special Police Force 191. Most of them were recognised by UNHCR Bangkok office as person of concern, bearing their papers for refugee status in Thailand, while others applied at the UNHCR for recognition as refugees. Their papers were refused and most of them, who were former members of NLD and ABSDF, were handcuffed and sent to a police cell of 191 in Bangkok.

Name	Age	Organisation	Sex
1. Tun Tun Oo	25	NLD-LA	M
2. Tin Saw	27	"	"
3. Thaung Tan Cho	24	"	"
4. Ko Ko Nai	28	"	"
5. Kyaw Nyunt	25	"	"
6. Myint Htay	28	"	"
7. Banyar Aung	25	"	"
8. Kyaw Soe Moe	25	"	"
9. Ma Myain	32	ABSDF	F
10. Zar Ni	23	"	M
11. Maung Win	31	"	"
12. Ma Than	19	"	F
13. (Their one-year-old son)			
14. Soe Nai	28	"	M
15. Mar Mar Aye	18	"	F
16. (Their eight-month-old son)			
17. Nai Nai	23	"	M
18. Kyu Kyu Win	20	"	F
19. (Their nine-month-old daughter)			
20. Chit Ko	27	"	M
21. Mya In (Pregnant)	21	"	F
22. Soe Chit	25	"	M
23. Ma Thaung Yin	19	"	F (Pregnant)
24. Hla Win	38	"	M
25. Aung Nai Soe	27	"	"
26. Aung Nai	29	"	"
27. Soe Myint	31	"	"
28. Soe Lwin	29	"	"
29. Ngwe Htun	33	"	"

14.12. Life in IDC of Thailand

Following story was told by one of the detainees who was arrested during the raid.

> "The cell was only 15 x 40 ft wide and at that time, there were nearly 240 detainees including 40 women. The smell from three toilets in the cell made us very impatient and we were not able to take a bath. Later we were detained in an outside room with 40 Khamer women. In the evening, as the room was full, we had to stay with other illegal immigrants who were arrested on that day. Unfortunately, there was no toilet in this room and when we asked for using toilets in the next room, we were scolded by the policemen. We slept there at that night.

The following day, 2 May 1995, approximately 300 detainees, including us, were lined up according to the areas where we were arrested and feed on the floor. Then, all of us were ordered to get on to three air-conditioned buses which headed to 191 police headquarters. When we arrived at their headquarters, we were lined up in the scorching sun for an hour while police chief and officers were checking us and a video crew was making records. When they reached in front of our line, we talked to them that we are Burmese students and we have got the refugee status from UNHCR. After showing our papers, we were sent to IDC in Bangkok.

At about 2:30 p.m., we arrived at the floor of IDC in Bangkok and had to wait for something that we did not know. As it was in the afternoon, we felt thirsty and we asked the policemen for water. The police responded that if they could survive without drinking water in the afternoon, why not us. Then, one policeman, carrying some plastic water bottles, asked who felt thirsty. As soon as we replied, we were beaten by another policeman. And then, all of us were lined up according to our numbers. Some refugees who did not understand what the police were talking about or calling their names in Thai were repeatedly beaten. Then, we were put in a cell under the main IDC. They took our shirts off and made our finger-prints in the record book. That room was too crowded for those 300 people, no fresh air nor enough space to sit down or squat. Fifteen minutes later, some people fell down after being suffocated. Until 6:00 p.m., we were not given any food. At that time, a policeman came to us and asked us to sit down. As there was not enough space for everybody to sit down, some of us were subjected to beatings.

Late in the evening, all the detainees were put in different cells depending on the areas where they were arrested. My friends and I myself were detained in Cell No. 6. Our cell was only 20 x 80 ft wide and normally it was suitable only for 100 people. But, at that time, exactly 318 people were there.

Two toilets in this cell was only for urinating because all were broken. When we arrived, we found that there was no drinking water in the room. Every detainee was getting bad smell from the toilets and suffocating. Dinner was not provided until 10:00 p.m. A refugee who fell down on sight because of lack of fresh air was moved to down stair and was never seen again.

At about 6:30 a.m. on the following day (3 May), police gave us some pea-milk for breakfast. But, most of the people in the room have suffered from sore throat because of no water and bad smell from the toilets. At about 10:30 a.m., we were given some prison-typed sticky rice for breakfast. But no drinking was given. Neither was water in the toilets, we were not able to use them in that morning.

Finally, we hit the floor with tin plates and some policemen came up and asked us why we did like that. We answered them that there was no water to drink or to use in the toilets. They gave us a response of broken pump and beatings. After that, they sent eight gallons of water for 318 detainees in our cell. No water was left for the rest after nearly 60 people drank it. At about 5:00 p.m., we had have a meal for lunch, but no water again. When we were curious about water from senior refugees, they said," If we want water, we have to pay them (policemen) some money."

After breakfast in the next morning, water was scarce as before. There were eight sick detainees in that morning in our cell. Finally, we collected money amongst us, totally 500 baht, then we dealt with a policeman for water with that money. During our dinner, water coming up to our room for a while, then it was stopped. On the next day, as there was no water as usual, we hit the floor with tin plates again and some policemen came up and ordered us to line up and then some 20 detainees were beaten. But, we requested water from the police, and in that evening there was some drops of water and run out of again. If new detainees were about to be put into our cell, we were ordered to get up and line up at least 2-3 times even night.

The next morning, a female representative from UNHCR named Ms. Khun Wadani came and asked us whether there were Burmese students or not. When we heard that we were really happy. She asked our names and our NI numbers given by UNHCR when we applied for the refugee status at the UNHCR office in Bangkok. We told her about some students who want to have interviews with UNHCR in the IDC, if possible. She said she couldn't. She told us one thing that those students who passed the UNHCR interviews should enter Safe Area in Ratchaburi. She used to come to IDC for some time, but she did not help us anything. As more and more people got sick in the cells day by day, a doctor named Dr Khaziya came to IDC. But she emphasised only those who were severe enough or who were dying.

When there is time for the detainees to be sent back to the IDCs in border towns like Mae Sot and Sangkhalaburi, every refugee need to pay the police for his/her transportation charge. For example, it costs 500 bahts per person if transported to Mae Sot. Those who cannot afford have to spend more time in Bangkok IDC. When 100 detainees were sent to Mae Sot or Sangkhlaburi, their former room was filled with more than 100 new arrivals again.

During my ten days in the cell in IDC, I suffered from sore throat as I was not given any pill. During these days, I got a chance to take a bath for three times. But drinking water for me only comes from the tap.

Although the time for transfer to IDC in Kanchanaburi was drawing near, I myself could not afford to pay money to the police. Before we were sent there, some detainees wanted to go to Mae Sot. But they could not afford the transportation charges. At that time, police reduced the amount to 300 baht per person. But later on they were denied to be sent to Mae Sot. Some detainees were beaten until bloodshed on their backs for changing their prison cards with others. As a result, three refugees were moved to Cell No. 10 (A) where criminals were detained.

At noon on 12 May 1995, when approximately 100 detainees were about to get on the bus, the police asked us whether we wanted to have lunch. When we said, "Yes", they laughed at us and said, "Just joking, no food for you today". When we arrived at Kanchanaburi IDC, those detainees who changed their prison cards in Bangkok were beaten again.

Later, they delivered rice packages, but they said we were not allowed to eat until each of us had paid 100 baht for bus fare to Halockhani Deportation Point. Finally, each of us paid them 100 baht. After lunch, the police said that if we wanted to stay upstairs, we would have to pay 100 baht each. The police said that we were not allowed to stay in the room downstairs and then they switched off all the ceiling fans and running water. A few people who could afford were moved to upstairs, but most of us remained downstairs.

At 5:00 p.m., two female detainees were searched by the police for money. First, they thrust their hands into the women's chest and breast. These two women explained them again and again in tears that they had no money. Impatience rose from our hearts and we shouted at them (the police) not to do like this. They replied that if we did not want to see, we must pay for those two women. Then, the policemen came into our room and beat us again.

After that, they started searching the women again. The police thrust theirs hands into the women's pants and moving here and there. Sometimes they prodded their batons into the women's groins. Finally, all of us in the room collected money amongst ourselves and paid the police. After that, 20 women were moved upstairs.

But some detainees and I myself were ordered to line up, and then the police hit and kicked us one after another. We did not defend them because our situation would be getting worse if we did so. Blood oozed from the mouths of some detainees because of violent beatings by the police. At 6:00 p.m., each of us got one plate of rice. Then, the police asked whether it was enough or not. When one detainee answered it was not enough, he was taken out of the room. He came back with his face swollen and was not able to speak a word. When I

arrived, there were more than 200 detainees in a room of 60 ft x 30 ft. One plate of rice there was 5-10 baht. The prison workers took some cooked rice from quota of the detainees and made money by selling it again at the price of 5-10 baht per plate.

Men and women detainees were separated into two cells. If someone wanted to move to the women's cell, he needed to pay 100 baht. Some men moved to their wife's place after paying 100 baht. Those who wanted to stay freely and comfortably paid 100 baht to the police and moved to the women's cell.

The prison authorities persuaded the girls whom they liked to sleep with by offering more food and threat. They always persuaded the girls they desired by saying, "If you sleep with us, you will be released in Kanchanaburi and sent back to Bangkok". If the girls scolded at them, they always hit and kicked those girls with intimidation, "You will be killed; what do you think of me".

Some women who were very afraid of them and who tried to accommodate with prevailing condition were finally raped by the prison authorities. Some girls were even re-arrested at the bus terminal while they were trying to sneak back to Bangkok.

The Burmese who left Bangkok for Kanchanaburi were also arrested at the Kanchanaburi bus terminal or nearby places. They were then kept in the detention centre in Kanchanaburi. All possession of the detainees were always seized by the police as soon as they were in Kanchanaburi IDC. Whenever high-ranking officers visited the prisons, these unlisted detainees were forcibly moved to a hiding place as ordered by the police.

Any detainee who can afford to pay 8,000 baht is released in Kanchanaburi. Some employers used to come to Kanchanaburi and take their labourers out by giving a bribe to the police. Some Thai employers also came and bought the detainees for working on their vessels at sea or at their workshops. The employers buy the Burmese detainees at the price of 8,000 baht per person and cut all their salaries in the beginning months, and after the repayment period, they are promised to receive the monthly salary again. So some agreed to follow the employers for working instead of staying under uncertain future in prisons and detention cells. The number of detainees released were filled in with the new detainees arrested in Kanchanaburi on the same day by listing the same names of those released.

One day before release, we were moved into the women cell with others who had paid for transportation charges. All women detainees who cannot afford to pay were moved into the men cell. All detainees

who cannot afford to pay the transportation charges were not released even if their terms are expired in accordance with the Illegal Immigrant Act of Thailand, instead their terms are extended at least two-three weeks or so.

As a girl whom the police desired was in our group to be repatriated at Halockhani Point in the following morning, she was referred to the new cell. At midnight, she was replaced by a new girl and taken out by the police. On the wall of the cell, there was a notice in Burmese, suggesting all Burmese girls and women to pretend as those who got married in order to escape from the rapes by Thai police. At that time 220 released persons had to sleep for one night in that cell. She was not seen among those released detainees when we arrived at Halockhani on 29 May 1995.

At 6:00 a.m. more than 200 people were put into two prison lorry trucks which were roofed and surrounded with no waterproof, except prison-styled iron bars, and all of us were sent back to Halockhani. We got a package of rice per person before leaving. Because of heavy rains on the way, all the people got wet and cold. All cars could not reach Halockhani and we had to stop at a point one and half hour walk from Halockhani as the road was damaged by the rains. We were ordered to get down from the trucks and walk to Halockhani after being divided into four groups of 50 detainees. After half-an-hour walk, we were ordered to sit down on the ground in front of a Thai border check point to listen their words of not try to enter Thailand again as they had planted land mines along the border and to go back inside Burma.

Thai Border Patrol Police (BPP) singled out five girls from our group to help them cook in this afternoon while they were pressing the released detainees ahead to the border point with a promise that they would be sent back after cooking. The girls refused to cook and explained BPP that they just wanted to go back to Halockhani. The other prisoners also helped these girls in explaining the BPP. Therefore, BPP allowed them to go back to Halockhani along with other released detainees. It was 3:00 p.m. when we arrived at Halockhani and the rains came to cease. We had to sit again in front of the Refugee Camp Committee in row and in groups to be recounted the numbers. Village headmen asked whether any of the released detainees was left behind by Thai police. Then the Refugee Committee in the village arranged accommodation for all of us at different homes there.

Meanwhile, Thai police arrived at this village and asked for 600 baht per person to bring the refugees back inside Thailand in a safe manner. Some persons who were able to pay the money managed to get back to Sangkhalaburi of Thailand in a police car. There are four main Thai check points on the way from Halockhani to Sangkhalaburi. If anyone

who does not have a Thai identity card or travelling document want to pass these check points, he/she need to pay 600 baht to Thai police and travelled in a police car and back within one day. Normal bus fare from Halockhani to Sangkhalaburi is 150 baht.

A friend of mine and I had an opportunity to stay at the hut of one of village leaders. After dinner, I did have a talk with him and he requested me to explain a little bit about my experiences regarding the situation in IDC and on the way back there. I explained details to him, including how Thai police targeted five girls at the check point before arriving this camp. When I asked him about the experiences of others which he had ever heard, he said they were the same, but sometimes the girls who were of good looking and whom the Thai police desired were forcibly left on Thai soil. Then all the girls remained at the Thai check point were raped by Thai police and then sent to Sangkhalaburi instead of a refugee camp in order to black out what happened to the victims."

14.13. Monks Disrobed

On 26 May 1995, about ten Thai police raided Wat Jei Dee Hoi, a Thai-Mon temple at Pathum Thani, Thailand. Three monks and four novices (all are Mon national) who were ordained in Burma, but did not possess identity cards as Thai monks were forcibly disrobed by the Thai police and made to put on lay clothing. [*Source: MIS*]

14.14. No Longer Assistance for Burmese

On 1 June 1995, UNHCR Bangkok branch office issued two announcements for 52 persons of concern from Burma regarding their new policy to cut off assistance in Bangkok.

"UNHCR has determined that the Safe Area meets accepted international standards for the protection and welfare of refugees. It is a semi-open camp administered by the Ministry of Interior where the residents are provided food, accommodation, comprehensive medical care, educational/vocational training opportunities and a monthly allowance. The residents of the camp can request the camp commander to leave the camp for one week every month for any destination in Thailand and are granted opportunities to study in Bangkok on UNHCR-sponsored scholarships. The residents also have permanent and unhindered access to the UNHCR staff member who is based there."

The UNHCR have provided financial assistance for food and accommodation and also medical care and educational/vocational training through Foundation in Support of Refugees Assistance in Thailand (FISRAPT) to the refugees who have been recognised as persons of concern since late 1988. UNHCR provided

special social assistance to each applicant for refugee status until late 1990 and has granted 3,000 baht (US$120) per person per month. In August 1991, by echoing the policy of Thai Government, UNHCR reduced the allowance to 2,500 baht per month. Although Burmese refugees staged sitting demonstration in front of ESCAP building in Bangkok, it did not effect to change the policy to grant 3,000 baht per month.

Later, UNHCR introduced a new policy to the refugees of ethnic nationalities from Burma that there would be no mean of assistance for them in Bangkok and they should go back to the border and receive assistance over there. Although UNHCR suggested them to go back to the border, it had not issued any recommendation letter for travelling to the border. Moreover, UNHCR fails to provide any assistance to them once they are at the border. The survival of these refugees much depends on Bangkok-based relief organisations — Burma Border Consortium and COEER — which contribute some rice, salt and fish paste. Chilli is available some time..

Thai government have been putting so many kind of pressure upon the refugees living in Bangkok and along the Thai-Burmese border to achieve good relation with the military junta in Burma, SLORC. In the late 1995, all persons of concern from Burma were asked to enter the Safe Area in Ratchaburi.

14.15. The Plight of Burmese Students in SDC

As of 21 December 1995, a total of 20 Burmese students are still behind the bars at Thai Special Detention Centre (SDC), Bangkok. Among them are Toe Kyi and Tin Maung Htoo, both of them are leaders of All Burma Basic Education Students Union (Thailand), who were arrested in Bangkok along with other eleven students by the Thai police on 3 December 1993 while they were attending a "Conference on Human Rights in Burma" organised by the Students Federation of Thailand (SFT), Action Committee for Democracy in Burma (ACDB) and Students Committee for Human Rights in Burma (SCHRB).

All of them were sent IDC in Bangkok and were held for two months. They were informed that they were charged with illegal entry to Thailand under the Thai Immigration Act. On 4 February 1994, all of them were transferred to SDC. They were joined by the Burmese students arrested in front of the SLORC embassy in 1994 and those from the safe area arrested after the march-out from the camp on 17 January 1995.

Life in the SDC is terrible. No one was allowed to see visitors except a medical doctor from FISRAPT, an organisation affiliated with United Nations in Bangkok, who appeared once a week.

The detainees were separated into small groups and kept in tiny cells. Some of them were not allowed to physical exercise. Zaw Moe, one of the Burmese students in SDC, died in a police hospital on 13 June 1995. He suffered from

brain neurasthenia which caused him half-body-paralysed two weeks before he passed away. Medical doctor from FISRAPT came and visited him on 8 June 1995 and recommended the police to send the victim to a hospital. But he was hospitalised just one day before his death when his condition was fatal.

Some students left for the third countries under the refugee resettlement programme and a number of students were transferred to Safe Area in 1995. All of them revealed their terrible stories during their time in SDC. Among them, Maung Maung Oo is now suffering from some mental problems in Safe Area. The fate of the remaining students remains unknown.

List of the first group released from SDC on 29 June 1995 is as follow.

No.	Name	NI No.	Entry to SDC	ALLEGED OFFENCE
1	Tun Tun Oo			
2	Saw Myint Aye			
3	Ba Hein Kyaw			
4	Aung Naing Tun			
5	Hla Soe			
6	Aung Myint Than			

List of the second group released from SDC on 21 July 1995 is as follow.

No.	Name	NI No	Entry to SDC	ALLEGED OFFENCE
1	Latt Ko Ko	1236	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
2	Hein Htat	3377	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
3	Maung Maung Pyone	3520	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
4	Yaung Ni Oo	3781	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
5	Han Zaw		19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
6	Myint Wai	5853	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
7	Maung Maung Tun	6081	19.02.1995	staged protest in SA

List of the third group transferred from SDC to Safe Area on 18 October 1995 is as follow.

No.	Name	NI No.	Entry to SDC	ALLEGED OFFENCE
1	Zaw Lat	1370	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
2	Zaw Wanna	1372	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
3	Zaw Min	1608	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
4	Hla Kyi	2614	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
5	Zaw Lay	2966	19.02.1995	staged protest in SA
6	Kon Balai	#		
7	Charly	#		
8	Maung Maung Oo	#		
9	San Lwin	3903	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
10	Win Tun Lin	5340	19.01.1995	taged protest in SA

List of the fourth or group transferred from SDC to Safe Area on 24 November 1995 is as follow.

No	Name	NI No.	Entry to SDC	ALLEGED OFFENCE
1	Tun Lin	1181	19.02.1995	staged protest in SA
2	Yan Naing	1574	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
3	Kyaw Thu	1593	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
4	Paing Htoo	1828	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
5	Kyaw Zay Ya	1873	19.02.1995	staged protest in SA
6	Toe Toe	1883	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
7	Soe Oo	3309	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
8	Tin Htut	3799	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
9	San Tun Aung	5070	19.02.1995	staged protest in SA
10	Htun Htun Oo	5689	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA

Following persons left for Australia directly form SDC for the resettlement.

1. Khin Maung Aye
2. Phone Myint
3. Aung Kyaw Moe
4. Soe Soe Oo
5. Tin Htay
6. Ms. Mi Mi
7 Par Pa (a) Nyi Nyi Soe
8. Maung Maung Than

List of the detainees remained in SDC before a 21 December 1995 release of ten students.

No.	NAME	NI No.	Entry to SDC	ALLEGED OFFENCE
1	Han Thein	1149	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
2	Myint Lwin Oo	1185	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
3	Win Naing Tun	1187	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
4	Nanda Kyaw	1319	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
5	Ye Hein	1340	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
6	Pho Shwe Hla	1359	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
7	Thet Oo Naing	1360	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
8	Aung Tun	1397	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
9	Naing Tun	1587	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
10	Win Htut	1852	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
11	Aung Myint Kyi	1864	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
12	Win Myint	2093	27.01.1994	violation of SA rules
13	Tin Kyaing	2000	19.02.1995	staged protest in SA
14	Tint Zaw Oo (a) Toe Kyi	2500	03.12.1993	staged protest in BE

15	Ye Moe	2702	17.12.1993	violation of SA rules
16	Nyi Nyi Lwin	3218	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
17	Kyaw Soe	3276	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
18	Min Khin Kyaw	3360	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
19	Myo Aung	3659	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
20	Min Naing Aung	4103	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
21	San Oo	4274	09.02.1995	violation of SA rules
22	Tin Maung Htoo	4311	03.12.1993	staged protest in SA
23	Kyi Win	5209	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
24	Than Naing	5725	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
25	Aung Zaw	5850	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
26	Tint Lwin Oo	6204	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
27	Thant Zin Htun	6929	19.01.1995	staged protest in SA
28	Myint Soe	7295	03.12.1993	staged protest in SA
29	Aung Kyaw Moe	7296	03.12.1993	staged protest in SA

Myint Ko Ko (5688) has been hospitalised in emergency from SDC for full-blown AIDS on 22 November 1995.

They all seem to be faint and particularly they have been suffering from scabies, eye & ear problems and mental illness. Possibility of HIV infection is also a serious problem.
* BE = Burmese Embassy
* SA = Safe Area

NOTES: Tint Zaw Oo (2500), Tin Maung Htoo (4311), Myint Soe (7295) and Aung Kyaw Moe (7296, who have been detained there since December 1993), have been charged with illegal entry and for staging protest in front of the SLORC Embassy in Bangkok and got sentenced only 40 days imprisonment or 2,600 baht fine since 12 January 1994. But their release has not yet come out up to now. Among them, Myint Soe and Aung Kyaw Moe haven't recognised status of person of concern by UNHCR but they appealed to UNHCR for recognition.

Ye Moe (2702) has been put in SDC, without having any court processing for violation of Safe Area's rules since 17 December 1993 and Win Myint (2093) has been in SDC for the same case since 27 June 1994. All students staged protest in Safe Area were detained in SDC such a long time without having any court processing. How long they need to serve there for such violation of Safe Area's rules and what are the sentences in terms of implementing those rules?

A group of ten were released from the SDC on 21 December 1995, but the release orders for Tint Zaw Oo (Toe Kyi), Tin Maung Htoo, Myint Soe and Aung Kyaw Moe did not come out yet. A total of 20 Burmese students, including Myint Ko Ko, are still remained in SDC.

14.16. Chronological Report of Safe Area

Empowered by section 17 of the Ministry of Interior 1979 Immigration Act, the then Annand Panyanachun Administration made a Cabinet decision on 24 September 1991 to establish "a Burmese Students Centre".

The Burmese students initially refused to enter the Area in fear of forced repatriation to Burma as the Tak Repatriation Centre, which opened on 19 December 1988 and deported over three hundred Burmese dissidents to Rangoon, some of them against their will. Many subsequently disappeared and were reportedly tortured to death following arrests by SLORC authorities after being deported. But the Burmese students were forced to enter the Safe Area against their will based on the following facts:

1. The monthly allowance of 2,500 baht to the Burmese students were cut off by UNHCR.
2. Thai Interior Ministry announced through the media, stating that any Thai citizen who shelter the Burmese students would be fined 50,000 baht and six months imprisonment.
3. The students would be detained at SDC and IDC without time limit if they were not willing to enter the Safe Area.
4. The authorities of IDC psychologically and physically harassed the students to enter Safe Area.
5. Regarding resettlement or scholarship programmes, it is compulsory for Burmese students to enter the Safe Area to get exit permit.

14.16.1. Incidents Taken Place

In late June 1993, while Ko Peter Win Pe and some friends were sitting at shop in front of camp gate, Ko Peter Win Pe was beaten by a villager with an iron bar, losing consciousness and was hospitalised with eight stitches. In September 1993, window mirror of UNHCR office's in Safe Area was broken. On 16 September 1993, some papers from UNHCR office there were set on fire and someone wrote a death threat to Khun Villaiwan, UNHCR's representative for Safe Area, on the office notice board.

As a result, UNHCR office there was closed and its allowance for the Burmese students in Safe Area were cut off for two months. A suspect student Bo Tar was not only arrested and detained three months in jail without any charge or trial but also he was revoked from Safe Area. He was later released, the official finding was that the fire had probably been started from an electric shock. Meanwhile, the Thai authorities imposed a curfew and deployed security forces around Safe Area.

On 6 October 1993, while a Burmese student, Maung Toe Toe, was watching TV at recreation centre, he was beaten by a drunk security man with butt of his assault rifle. When the victim reported to the commander the offending security

man was not prosecuted, instead the curfew order was extended up to 2:00 a.m. on Fridays and Saturdays. On 12 October 1993, Thai registration officer (Pi Mu) and some security men lunged the barrel of their guns into stomach of Min Khin Kyaw who was watching TV at the recreation centre and Myint Aung was beaten twice — on the thigh and on the shoulders by Thai security guards with the butt of their guns. Meanwhile, Maung Oo who came out to see what was happening because of the noise was also beaten without questioning by the security guards. Not only the registration officer (Pi Mu) did not compromise but shouted "Ying Ying"(Shoot Shoot!!!) at the security guards as he wanted the students back to their beds.

On 15 October 1993, while Soe Min and Bader were walking on the main road of the village, they were beaten by two villagers with bottles. Soe Min was hospitalised with seven stitches. Bader was forcibly pressured to return to Burma. Now he is in a SLORC's prison. In late October 1993, while Ye Moe was attending an invited wedding ceremony held in front of the camp, he got an injury of four stitches on the head after beaten by some villagers. On 24 January 1994, Kyi Win was called over in a friendly manner and was slapped across his face without any apparent reason by one of the Thai security men by the order of the camp's officer (Pi Mu) Therefore, all Burmese students in Safe Area staged a protest by not participating in the inauguration ceremony of COERR school and demanded the transfer of registration officer (Pi Mu). On 13 April 1994, the Burmese students, who were celebrating the traditional water festival, were disturbed by some intoxicated youths from the village with a threat, "You just stop your water festival, if you don't stop, we will come and make you stop." So the Burmese students had to stop it.

On 16 April 1994, while Zaw Latt and Tun Tun Kyaw were returning to the camp after releasing fish at a monastery, two villagers on a motorbike approached and beat them. Then the two students complained to the camp's official and Pak Thor police station . The police officer told them that fine for this offence is only 200 bath and when the two accused were released, the victims would be in danger.

On 2 June 1994, a Burmese female student, Lay Lay Nwe received a sexual assault by a security man (whose nick name is Udom) who asked, "Can we sleep together ?" (Non deuakan dai mai ?). Aung Kyaw complained to the camp's officer about that case. They replied that was only a joke without any action by a security man. Moreover, the camp's officer said, "You just complain for joking case. So you have no chance to go outside for shopping and religious ceremonies at church by car driven by a security man." There is only one driver for the Burmese students' ferry to go outside. So it was stopped.

At night on that day, around 8:00 p.m., while Pai Htoo was going for shopping outside the camp, he was beaten by a villager with a broken bottle. He was wounded and taken to a hospital to be treated with two stitches on forehead, four stitches on eyebrows and another twelve stitches on nose.

On 3 June 1994, Tun Lwin, who was a volunteer English teacher at Maneeloi village school, was accused on charges of molestation. Then, some Burmese student leaders met with the deputy governor of Ratchaburi Province, educational authorities and immigration officers who agreed to discuss about the case. Tun Lwin was not found guilty. The Burmese student leaders requested the Thai authorities to explain about misunderstandings among the villagers.

But at that night, while Win Naing Bo and Nyi Nyi Lwin were returning to the camp after shopping, they were hacked with small axe by the two villagers. Win Naing Bo got seriously injuries on the left hand that required 16 stitches, but luckily escaped from being murdered. No sooner then, Aung Kyw was hit on the protuberance of the occiput with a large farming knife. He required four stitches. Luckily, as he was wearing a hat, it helped him to get only a soften blow. On account of brutal torture, their friend, Nyi Nyi Lwin drank some petrol in an alleged attempt to commit suicide and had to be hospitalised. Later Tun Lwin was sentenced for two years in jail without any appeal.

On 16 January 1995, around 11:00 p.m., while five Burmese students — Phone Myint, Win Htut, Min Khin Kyaw, Thet Oo Naing and Myo Aye — were watching TV at the recreation centre and while the latter two were warming up, five over-drunk Thai security guards came and kicked the fire as well as Myo Aye's body with jungle boots. While Min Khin Kyaw was compromising, he was punched by a security guard. Then, the camp's driver, Phi Sant caught Min Khin Kyaw's body from behind and four other guards beat him with belt buckles. As Min Khin Kyaw was brutally tortured, Phone Myint and Min Khin Kyaw repeated to the camp's acting commander (Pi Mu) to solve the problems. Min Khin Kyaw was beaten by fifteen security guards with torches and batons, but the acting commander did not try to stop brutal torture in front of MOI office. In the meantime, The already drunk acting commander and a female staff had left the camp by car without solving the problem in Safe Area.

Then some police from Pak Thor police station arrived at Safe Area. After that, the injured student, Min Khin Kyaw was sent to Pak Thor hospital by a Thai police accompanied by two Burmese students — Mi Mi (female) and Phone Myint. The Burmese students requested the police officer to solve the problem of brutal torture, but they received no response from the police. Then, some security guards catapulted the roof of dormitory 1A, 1B , 1C and 1D, where a number of Burmese students were gathering. When the injured student and his companions returned to the safe camp, the police left the camp compound and took position on the main road in front of the camp. Since the threat to their security had intensified, Burmese students in the Safe Area held a meeting and decided to leave for UNHCR office in Bangkok as the incident proved that Safe Area was no longer safe as guaranteed by the Thai government.

At 11:00 a.m. on 17 January 1995, all the Burmese students including children, women and those in pregnancy, left the Safe Area peacefully. They were holding posters that read, "We should not disturb any other people, we are peacefully going no our way". The Burmese students leaving the camp on foot were blocked by 150 police forces, soldiers and firemen who were armed with batons and firearms. The students were blocked three times. The final block was when the Burmese students arrived in front of the Wat Sa Wang monastery where they were surrounded by the Thai security forces.

Then, the Burmese students discussed the problem with the responsible persons of Ratchaburi Province and asked the deputy governor to allow them meeting with the officials from Ministry of Interior, who can solve the problem and can decide. Also, the students explained to the deputy governor that it was impossible for them to return to the Safe Area since it was not safe for the Burmese students as the last incident proved that it was not secure there. When one of the police officers said that the MOI officers should arrive within one hour, the Burmese students were waiting quietly there. Then, in a few minutes, the UNHCR officer, Mr. Sonsit arrived, but he could not solve and decide the problem. At that time, some Thai villagers brought some food for Burmese students. But Thai police did not allow those food to reach to the Burmese students. Burmese students were threatened by Thai police who said that Thai villagers did not agree with the Burmese students.

Finally, about 20 women and children were forcibly sent back to the Safe Area while others were detained at Pak Thor police station and town hall. On 18 January 1995, some of Burmese students were forcibly loaded on a pick-up by the Thai police and brought back to the Safe Area. Once in the Safe Area, the Burmese students were kept under house-arrest-like situation and they were not allowed to make any telephone call or to go outside. Moreover, they were surrounded by the Thai police. At noon on 19 January 1995, 55 Burmese students from the Safe Area were transferred to SDC while 13 others were charged with illegal entry into Thailand and detained at Ratchaburi Police Station.

14.17. Cheap Labourer or Illegal Workers

There are thousands and thousands of illegal Burmese working in Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore because of deterioring economy inside Burma. Some of them using Thailand as a stepping stone and try to go and work in Malaysia and Singapore while a number of Burmese have been sneaking into the latter two countries by sea directly from southern Burma. Among them, Thailand has housed majority of these refugees-turn-workers who unwillingly have to be in Thailand without any paper or document. The number of illegal Burmese working in Thailand dramatically increased after 1990 as a result of gross human rights violations and economic hardships in Burma which forced many Burmese to leave the country. Political turmoil and grave human rights violations against the rural inhabitants led the massive influx of refugees and migrant workers into

Thailand. The root cause of unmerciful poverty in Burma is corvee labour, forced portering, forced taxation and forced relocation which uproot most of, if not all, their home community. The only way to escape from such brute burdens for them, especially able-bodied young men and women, is to leave for Thailand where they think that they can survive from the circle of oppression one way or the other round.

At this point, a serious shortage of unskilled labour in Thailand has paved the way for the refugees (according to the international standards) or illegal immigrants (as defined by the Thai government) to seek job opportunity rather than to remain in the refugee camps where they have little or no guarantee for their survival. Although they are aware of how risky for them to be working illegally in the cities without any paper or document, they have no alternatives because their consideration is that whether in the refugee camps or in the cities, recognition to them as persons of concern from UNHCR office in Bangkok still remains out of question.

Approximately 300,000 Burmese nationals from all ethnic backgrounds have been working in Thailand. Those who want to work are usually trafficked into Thailand's cities or work site as promised via a safe passage arranged by the traffickers who deal with some Thai police at every check-point before hand. They are usually trafficked by vans or tracks which are fully covered with tarpaulin sheets, tightly tie with ropes. In one case, about seventy Burmese men, women and children trafficked in one ten-wheeled truck were caught in a fire on the truck and more than fifty were injured.

Once they are in Thailand, they have no say regarding the work or pay or working condition because the bottom line for them is to get a job, whatever it is. As a consequence, many are working for much lower than the minimum wage and in deplorable working condition. Illegal workers are most common in ten border provinces — Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Mae Hong Son, Tak, Kanchanaburi, Ratchaburi, Chumphon, Petchaburi, Prachuap Khiri Khan and Ranong — where they work mostly as unskilled labourers at construction site, fishery, rubber plantation and farming. Other workplaces for the Burmese girls range from restaurants, construction sites, factories, sweatshop, and brothels.

Most Burmese illegal immigrants, who are sold at the work-site for approximately 8,000-10,000 baht per person, after being trafficked into Thailand, have to work without any pay for three or four months in the work-site like debt-bondage. Repercussion of their vulnerability and willingness to work for whatever they can get is "cheap pay". Their employers are known to pay 50-60 baht a day to each Burmese workers, compared with an official minimum wage for Thais of 145 baht. Illegal workers from Burma share apartments, living together ten or twenty people in one apartment to cover the expenses — rental charges, electricity and water.

Moreover, in Thailand, their status itself is vulnerable to the abuses and exploitation by the police and their employers. From their lower pay is deducted a sum of

money for an extra protection fee in order to bribe the local police. The Thai employers pay the bribe which is collected from the Burmese illegal workers to some police to make sure they turn a blind eye. Once the police are aware that they are illegal, they are always hounded or their places raided by the police. They can be released if they can bribe as demand by the police before reaching the station.

To avoid from paying wages, even though which is less than half of the minimum, sometimes the employers deliberately inform the police to arrest his workers on pay day. In case of special operations launched by the police, victimised workers are directly sent to IDC soon after being arrested. Normally they are sent to the police station where they have to wait for trail at a court where the victims were charged with illegal entry to Thailand and received a regular sentence of two months or equivalent fines. Those who can afford to pay are sent to IDC in Bangkok and detained for two weeks in minimum. Once at the entrance of their cells, all their possessions are normally seized by the Thai police. The expired date of their sentence, if not being renewed, and expectations for being released can come true one day, but the return of their possessions is beyond their hope.

Prostitutes from Burma also suffered the same condition because illegal workers are penalised while their employers and the pimps go free. While detained, they faced appalling overcrowding, sexual harassment and inadequate food rations.

Their release and chances to work depends on the willingness and demands of their employers or saviours who wished to buy them at the bottom price as well as depends on how cheap the victims themselves are able to offer.

As in Thailand, illegal Burmese workers in Malaysia are hunted by the police. In Malaysia, the police deported these illegal workers directly to Burma via the airport. Some escaped deportation by bribing but many Malay police did not accept bribe.

Circle of working and subject to arrest forms their way of life. Even though their life in Thailand or Malaysia or Singapore is getting worse, they dare not return to Burma where the question of survival and right to live is unequal. Where there is no right to life, there is no way to survive and, victims are forced to leave in such a situation. Only very few per cent of Burmese are coming to those countries merely for better job opportunity and money.

14.18. List of Incidents

14.18.1. On 19 April 1995, approximately 200 troops of SLORC and DKBA from Mae Ta Waw garrison troops crossed into the village of Meh Wah Kwee in Thailand, burned down 30 houses where Karen refugees were staying and abducted about 10 families to Burma. [*Source: KHRG*]

14.18.2. On 23 April 1995, approximately 300 SLORC and DKBA troops, largely SLORC, crossed Moei River at Kler Thay Lu (20 km south of

Manerplaw) and attacked Mae Law village and burned down refugee homes there. On the same day, another large SLORC/DKBA forces crossed Moei River and attacked Karen refugees in Mae Wih Kee, 10 km south of Manerplaw, set up roadblocks along a dirt road and threatened Thai security forces in the area. [*Source: KHRG*]

14.18.3. On 24 April, these forces (approximately 300 SLORC and DKBA troops) again attacked Mae Wih Kee and took a large number of refugees back to Burma across the border at gun point. [*Source: KHRG*]

14.18.4. On 25 April 1995, 40-60 SLORC/DKBA troops hit Mae Ra Ma Luang, which had not been attacked before, and Kamaw Lay Ko camps. On 28 April, SLORC/DKBA troops attacked and burned Baw Noh camp. These attacks were completely different from those preceding them: they attacked brazenly with 50 to 100 heavily armed troops, in broad daylight in all, except Kamaw Lay Ko, and they showed no hesitation to attack Thai forces even without being provoked. At Baw Noh, they even had supporting fire from SLORC's 81 mm mortar from the Burmese side of the border. Furthermore, the attacks aimed to destroy the camps as a whole by burning them down. One hundred and seventy houses were burned in Mae Ra Ma Luang, 300 in Kamaw Lay Ko and over 700 in Baw Noh. Over 6,000 refugees were left homeless and destitute as the monsoon season was about to begin. [*Source: KHRG*]

14.18.5. In August 1995, a SLORC-appointed chairman of village LORC from Yin Gyi village in Longlon Township, Tenasserim Division, fled to the Thai-Burmese border area with the reason that he could not continue to collect money from the villagers monthly to present the Township LORC chairman and IB 104. [*Source: KNU*]

14.18.6. On 26 November 1995, the driver of a tour van was killed instantly and 10 tourists injured when the DKBA fired with small arms and grenades. The party was ambushed at Tha Song Yang District along the 150 km scenic road paralleled the Moei River in Tak province, Thailand. [*Source: ABSDF*]

14.18.7. At night on 2 December 1995, about 60 armed men from DKBA attacked Sho Klo refugee camp where approximately 10,000 people were sheltering. The perpetrators robbed the refugees, taking an estimated 10,000 baht and seized three KNU officials. The raiders also threatened to burn down the camp before they fled. The camp has been in existence for 10 years. [*Source: ABSDF*]

14.18.8. At 1:00 p.m. on 26 December 1995, about 30 armed men from DKBA led by Chit Nu crossed into Thailand and committed a robbery at Section 7 of Sho Klo refugee camp. Because of shootings, Saw Aye Tun, in charge of Section 7, and his two- year-old daughter was wounded. Some houses were destroyed and all the valuable belongings which worth more than 510,000 baht were taken away. Other perpetrators were Hla Win, Kyi Win, Maung Win,

Pattamya, Soe Oo, Shwe Kyaw Myaing, Pha Naw Pa Leh, La Kaba, Paw Lo and Maung Aye Myint. [*Source: KNU*]

14.18.9. At night on 27 December 1995, a group of armed men from DKBA attacked U Thu Kloh, killing an eight-year-old girl and wounded an elderly woman. Both victims were Thai Karens. The armed men not only committed a robbery but also destroyed the properties of the villagers. At 10:30 p.m. of the same night, that armed group reached at old Ka Ye Htar village and opened fire on the villagers, causing three Thai Karens wounded. [*Source: KNU*]

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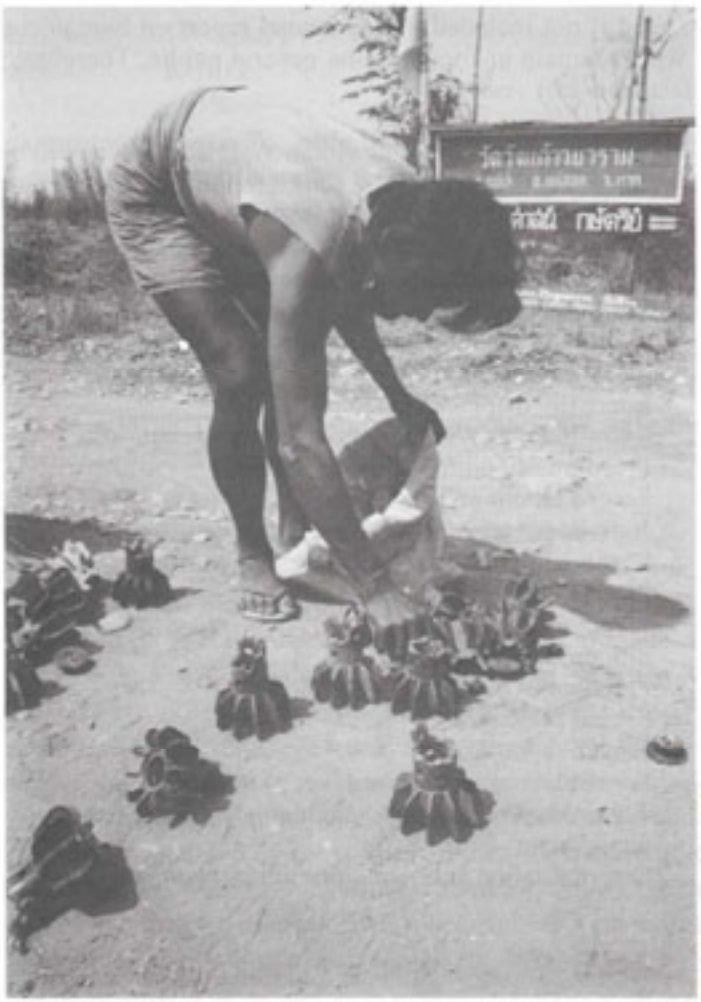


People living near Wankha (Kawmoora) are collecting the shells fired by SLORC into the Kawmooram stronghold in February 1995 to make money. Some shells landed into Thailand.

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS

Note: 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 information. While some events presented here may have occurred in late 1994, many were only first recorded in 1995, and if not included in this annual report on human rights violations in Burma, would remain unknown to the general public. Therefore we have included some data from last year.

The following keywords describing human rights violations (HRV) have been used for indexing and cross-referencing the reports, and can be found at the beginning of each interview.

Assembly -	Freedom of assembly and association
Child -	Rights of the child
Detention -	Arbitrary detention and enforced or involuntary disappearances
Displacement -	Internally displaced persons
Execution -	Extra-judicial, summary or arbitrary executions
Expression -	Freedom of opinion and expression
Forced Labour -	Forced labour and slavery
Judicial -	Judicial System and Unfair Trail
Livelihood -	Rights of livelihood (i.e. pillaging, extortion)
Minorities -	Protection of minorities
Movement -	Freedom of movement
Refugees -	Situation of refugees
Religion -	Freedom of belief
Relocation -	Forced relocation
Repatriation -	Forced repatriation
Slavery -	Forced labour and slavery (i.e. portering)
Torture -	Torture and other cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment or punishment
Women -	Discrimination and violations against women

Interview: 1-HRV: Detention, Execution, Slavery, Torture

Name :	Than Myint
Age:	21
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Construction worker
Address :	Thaton Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	17 January 1995
Source:	KHRG

I was arrested in Thaton Town at a bout 11:00 p.m. [*Thaton is a long 150 km northwest of Kawmoora.*] It was more than one month ago. I was walking on the road, coming back from the cinema. I went to see Rambo, the first one. The police arrested me and they detained me for two days. During that time they asked me no question. Then they just handed me over to the soldiers from LIB 118 under the command of LID 44. From Thaton we were taken to Pa-an where we spent one night. They kept us in a monastery called Ye Tha. The monks didn't say anything. Then we were taken to Thingan Nyi Naung and directly on to the army positions in front of Kawmoora. From Thaton to Thingan Nyi Naung we were formed a group of five and tied together. We were put on the trucks like that.

First I had to carry ammunition. It was really big *[his gesture indicated probably more than a 100 mm. large-calibre shell, possibly the 106 mm. recoilless gun shells being used against Kawmoora]*. We had to carry one per person from Hill 1450 to Ga Lu, in front of Kawmoora . Each day we had to make three round trips. We started at 6:00 a.m. and finished after dark, about 7:00 p.m. Other porters cooked for us and gave us our food wrapped up to carry along the way -- one cup of cooked rice, beans and boiled papaya trunk. Every time it was the same. Beans were good to receive, but they were in much watery soup. Sometimes we also got leaves from the jungle, but I didn't know what they were. We had to build a bamboo fence and sleep inside it, guarded by the soldiers. When we tried to go out, we were beaten. We had to sleep on the ground with no blankets. They gave us nothing. We had to sleep tied together in groups of five. Whenever we went to the toilet, five of us had to go together.

Being a porter was harder than my construction work. There were more than 50 porters in my group — maybe 55. Most of them were rural villagers living around Myawaddy. We had to carry ammunition, including 60mm mortar shells, food, soldiers' pack, as well as Sprite in green bottles and other soft drinks. I saw beatings and I was also beaten when I was not able to carry my load. The soldiers always pointed their guns and threatened us. Along the way a man died of exhausting. It was near Hill 1450. I saw him myself. He had been beaten on the side of the path just before we arrived. There was a wound on his head while more were found on the shoulders. He was over 30, maybe 40 years old.

Usually after dark, the soldiers ordered us to take the ammunition right to the hilltop. I saw *[Karen]* shells falling on the hill and one bunker was smashed by a direct hit. Sometimes SLORC soldiers also made us cut down trees and take the logs there to make new defences. The soldiers told us not to run away, but the work was so severe, the food was so bad, and we got no shelter, so I couldn't resist the opportunity to escape. I ran with three others at 6:00 a.m. on 16 January when the soldiers ordered us to go and cut wood. Although a guard was with us, we all started running as soon as we reached some distance from him. He shot at us so we all separated. I don't know what happened to the others. One of them was in his 30's, one in his 20's and the other was old, his hair was grey — maybe over 50 years old. He was from Kyaik Don. I think they probably didn't get away. (*No sign has been seen of the others, so they were probably recaptured. The usual penalty for attempted escape is beating, torture, and sometimes death*.)

Now I have an itchy skin disease (*some kind of fungus*), by not serious. I have no money to go home, but I will try to go.

Interview: 2-HRV: Detention, Slavery

1)Name : Nyi Nyi
Age: 26
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Address : Thaton District, Mon State
Interviewed: 17 January 1995

2) Name : Khine Soe
Age: 27
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Arakanese
Religion: Buddhist
Address : Thaton District, Mon State
Interviewed: 17 January 1995
Source: KHRG

Nyi Nyi: We came to Myawaddy District to harvest in the paddy fields. But we hadn't been there long before we were arrested. Two of us came together and we were staying with friends. All of us — five persons — were arrested. Three of our friends are still with LIB 118. While two of us were walking home for lunch in a midday about one month ago, we were arrested. I didn't know what army unit it was. They went around and arrested many people. They transferred us to LIB 118. Sometimes, they made us carry logs to the front-line and sometimes we

had to dig holes (*bunkers or foxholes*). There were about eight big guns positioned near us and I saw more than 200 soldiers around. Last night the (*Karen*) shells fell quite close to us. We ran away early this morning (*on Jan 17*), crossed the river and met Thai soldiers.

Khine Soe: We were there about 25 days. We had to carry logs, and then they ordered us to bury one of the dead soldiers. The dead soldiers was young, maybe about 18. One soldier from LIB 118 died from the shelling on the 16 *[January]* and one on the 15 *[that he saw]*. The soldiers called out things *[propaganda broadcasts over loudspeakers toward the Karen troops]* like, "We are all like brothers- in- law". Then they spoke again. Then they shot again. Like that. Then the Karen soldiers shot back, and they went silent. Two or three shells fell on the positions of LIB 118 and all the soldiers laid down and were quiet. *[Note: In Burmese, "We are like brothers-in-law " can have a double meaning: the friendly " we are like relatives " or the insulting " I've had your sister ".]*

Interview: 3-HRV: Detention, Movement, Slavery, Torture, Child, Livelihood

1)Name : U Myat Soe
Age: 35
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Address : Rangoon
Interviewed: 14-17 January 1995

2)Name : Maung Htun
Age: 23
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Address : Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed: 14-17 January 1995
Source: KHRG

U Myat Soe: I was living in Myawaddy. Around 15 December, at night, I was arrested because I had no permit to stay in Myawaddy. We were in the first group arrested in Myawaddy. I was arrested by police and handed over to LIB 118 at Thingan Nyi Naung. The soldiers took me to their positions opposite Kawmoora. Along the way we were tied together in groups of five.

Maung Htun: I was arrested in Myawaddy. I had been working at a river jetty. Being a person from Kawkareik, I needed a permit from the section leader to

stay in Myawaddy, and I didn't have one. I was arrested by soldiers on the road at 7:00 p.m., as I was walking home. We were both arrested on the same day. We slept in the barracks of battalion base for one night. More than 100 people *[all porters]* were there. Then we were sent out from there.

U Myat Soe: We were transported by trucks and there were about 40 people in the truck where I get into. When the truck stopped, we walked with soldiers until the night fell, travelling in two groups of about 20 people each. When we arrived at Meh Pa Leh at that night, we slept there. As porters, we had to carry ammunition and rice. They had 10 donkeys there for the first few days, then they were gone. Each person had to carry one very big shell *[probably 106 mm. Recoilless Gun shells]* or two 120mm *[mortar]* shells or rice. For rice, two people had to carry one sack. It was very tiring. One porter died a long the path. It was round about 16 or 17 December 1994. I didn't know how he died. When I saw him the last time he was alive and groaning. Other porters who came along later told me he was dead.

The biggest shells we carried were about four feet long, with writing in English on them. We usually had to carry ammunition to a hilltop opposite Kawmoora. Sometimes, we had to cut trees to make bunkers. We had to make two trips per day. We started at 7:00 a.m. and returned from the first trip at about midday. We got no food. We rested a short while and made the trip again. We had a meal in the evening. We didn't even get enough rice. In the morning, the soldiers had tea to drink, had *[meat]* curry and money to buy things. But whenever we asked for more salt, they beat us. We were not be able to take even a cup of water without permission. The sergeant in charge of us was Win Tin. We were with LIB 118, and sometimes we saw soldiers from LIB 1 *[also under the command of LID 44]*. We had to carry the shells to the hilltop. From there we could see the river *[the Moei River, the Thai border just beyond Kawmoora]*. Just before we reached the very top of the hill, the soldiers took the shells from us. We saw big flashes *[explosions]* on the hilltop, and to the side of us, and sometimes even behind us.

Maung Htun: At 8:00 or 9:00 p.m., the soldiers made their broadcasts *[propaganda over loudspeakers to the Karen troops]*. Before speaking, the soldiers ordered us to be silent, not to talk, not even to cough .

U Myat Soe: Sometimes they played songs on cassettes in Karen language. Maybe it was Christian music. They made speeches in Burmese, sometimes about Jesus Christ. They said, "Come to God's side, come to the Lord's side and stay in peace". They said they were praying for good health and prosperity of Karen people. Sometimes, they said, "You are on the wrong side. Come to the Lord Buddha's peaceful shelter." It usually lasted at least 30 minutes.

We didn't see any soldiers killed in battle *[LIBs 1 and 2 have mounted the full scale assaults, not yet LIB 118]*. One soldier died from malaria. There was also

one suicide because that soldier just couldn't bear it any more. We heard the other soldiers talking about him. He was 15 years old.

It was cold at night *[it was cold season, and nightly temperatures on the hilltops often dropped below 10 degree centigrade]* and we only had our longyis *[sarongs]*. We had to ask for permission to go to the toilet and the soldiers guarded us all the time. We were allowed to bathe sometimes. If you were very seriously sick, the soldiers would call for a medic. If it was not so serious, you must keep working. *[U Myat Soe then poked his leg with his finger, and the flesh bounced back very slowly .]* See? I am suffering from jaundice. But I got no medicine. It was very difficult to get a medic. If the soldier you asked was in a good mood, you could get one. But if he was in a bad mood, then you would be beaten. Once I told Sgt Win Tin about my jaundice, and he just said, "I'm not a doctor, don't talk to me about it". Some porters who got malaria were given medicine if their fever was very bad, but usually not. Our main problems were constipation, piles and jaundice.

Maung Htun: When we got sick it was very difficult to get treatment. Many people had bad constipation, and maybe piles. Blood came out in our faeces. Out of about 200 porters we were around, nearly 50 were suffering from this. If it wasn't serious, the soldiers did nothing. Some were very serious and bleeding while they were working. At this stage, they were allowed to rest. Most of us tore our longyis to transform into blankets and those were all we had at night. They wouldn't let us make a fire, because they said the Karen soldiers would see the light at night or the smoke in the morning.

U Myat Soe: They beat us like dogs and cows. To escape from them was all that matter. Trying to escape was very difficult. One man tried before us. He was caught and beaten very badly until blood oozed from his nose and shoulders. But after a few minutes, they made him work again.

Maung Htun: I hurt my leg when I dropped the bomb I was carrying. I saw a lot of beatings. They beat the people regularly and they ordered us to be quick when carrying our loads. If we were too slow, they beat us. They beat us with whatever weapon they saw and were available. They scolded us using the foulest dirty language, but they were very young, younger than my youngest brother. Around 16, mostly, but even 14-year-olds. The one who committed suicide was around 15 year old. I'm telling the truth. They were scolding us, their elders, and some had voices that hadn't even broken yet. Little boy soldiers, swearing at us. In the morning they would call us "Mother fucker". We were swore like this without doing anything except sitting in our fence.

U Myat Soe: We didn't know when we would be released, but the soldiers said it would be after they captured Kawmoora. I ran away because they treated us like cattle. So we didn't want to work anymore. At 2:00 a.m., I crossed the fence and ran. I didn't know where to go. I could see the way by the moonlight that I

was crossing old paddy-fields. I was taken as a porter to Wah Lay before. In town, I also had to clean the roads and repair them when it was my section's turn. In the previous years, the permit to stay in Myawaddy cost 5 Ks per day, but in the following year it was charged 45 Ks. That was the reason why we didn't have permits when we were arrested. Since SLORC came in, inflation rate has been very high, and this has made living very difficult. Also, we always have to be afraid of the soldiers.

Maung Htun: Yes, we are afraid of their guns because they usually say, "We are the army and we can do anything". But they only do things which are benefited for themselves. Whenever there's a dispute between a civilian and a soldier, the soldier will always win, no matter the civilian is right. And that civilian will be sure to spend at least three days in detention. SLORC say many good things about themselves, but they do only bad things. Between Myawaddy and Kawkareik they normally stop vehicles and demand money, 300 Ks for each truck and 150 Ks for a pickup truck. They threaten to shoot if they don't get the money. It's true! Last year, they shot at one pickup because it didn't stop when they ordered. A bullet hit a woman in the leg. If the soldiers beat the travellers along that route and the travellers go tell their commander, he'll only say, "Yes, they beat you because you did something wrong, so go away".

U Myat Soe: I don't want to say anything more. We want to go back and I don't want to be in trouble by the soldiers, because my parents are old and I have six brothers and sisters, some of whom are young. It's very difficult for my family now and I only want to find a way to get some money. I must support my younger brothers and sisters who are still students.

Interview: 4-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture, Execution, Disappearance

Name :	Ko Tint Way
Age:	20
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Address :	Thaton Town, Mon State
Interviewed:	16 February 1995
Source:	KHRG

I was arrested by an army patrol unit around the end of December 1994 while I was walking on the road in Thaton. That unit was responsible for guarding the road. They handed over me to LIB 9 *[under the command of LID 44]*. First, I was detained overnight in the police station by the patrol unit that arrested me. The following morning, soldiers from LIB 9 came and took me from there. They took me to Wan Kha *[Kawmoora]*. Along the way, we slept one night each in

Pa-an, Kawkareik, Thingan Nyi Naung and at Black Stone'. Then we reached Hill 66, close to Hill 1450 *[Hill 1450 is directly in front of Kawmoora]*. The Operation Commander *[of the Kawmoora offensive]* there was Tin Thein. I knew because Cpl Thein Zan mentioned his name.

There were 45 porters in my group. I had to carry rice, condensed milk and sugar. *[LIB 9 was responsible for guarding the rear and supplying the other battalions]*. We only got a small plate of rice and salt per meal and were fed twice a day. As it was not enough, we had to drink much water and stole handfuls of beans while we were carrying the soldiers' rations and ate them with water. We stole them when the soldiers weren't close by. Whenever it was possible we tried to get empty milk tins and cooked the beans in them. It's the truth. If we even asked for fish paste they hit us in the face and said, "This is not your mother's house."

Usually the soldiers scolded us, and then if that didn't work they beat us. In my first days there, I was beaten 10 strokes with a branch of a tree. I was not able to climb the hill. I begged them to allow me to rest. But when the soldiers saw some porters in front of me could do the work, they said, "If they can do it , why can't you?". And then they beat me. They explained, "We are in a hurry, because Karen soldiers can appear at any time and they'll shoot at us, not at you. So we must beat you." Pvt Khin Maung Thein beat me at my head, body and hands. While we were climbing the hill, some of the elderly porters couldn't go easily, and then the soldiers hit them and beat them with riffle butts. If porters were very tired, they would just lie down on the side of the path. Some of the soldiers would show mercy and let them escape. But some would beat them and the porters died because of this. One died right in front of me. He was from Paung Township, Mon State. He pleaded that he couldn't climb anymore and asked to be excused. Then he said, "Do as you like to me." The kindly soldiers told him to try to run away. But the others arrived there, they beat him, kicked him down the ravine from the hilltop and he was dead. Then the soldiers warned us that he died because he had tried to escape, and that when they caught him he'd tried to resist them. He was over 40 years old.

At first I was told that after all the goods were delivered I could go, and that this would be a maximum of 20 days. But I was a porter for two months. After Hill 66 I had to spend one and a half months at Thet Ka Ya *[about 15 km further north]*. We had to cut trees, carry water and every two or three days we had to carry rations for the soldiers at Thet Ka Ya. At Hill 66 we could get some beans, but at Thet Ka Ya we could only get salt. Then I was sent to Wan Kha. A lot of rice had arrived at Wan Kha so we were sent to help.

I had nothing, just a shirt and a pair of pants. In the cold nights there were many of us, so we all slept very close together *[it was cold season, when nightly temperatures often dropped below 10 degree centigrade]*. We could only make a fire at dawn and dusk. But after sunset, it wasn't allowed because it would give

off light. One time a sick porter had to defecate in our compound *[the fenced enclosure where porters are kept under guard]*, and then the soldiers beat all of us. If one person breaks the rules like that then everyone gets punished. But amongst the porters a few are paid porters *[hired by villages to go in place of their own people]*. They know how to deal with the soldiers very well and can get whatever they want *[probably by paying for it]*. There was one like that in my group, a 45-50 year old man named Meh Zan from Thingan Nyi Naung.

I was at Wan Kha-1, and the fighting zone is at Wan Kha-2, We had to carry wounded soldiers to two trucks. They were carried back by other soldiers, then we had to carry them the rest of the way to the trucks. I saw the bodies of about 100 soldiers who were killed *[this was in the major SLORC assault of 8 February, when about 200 SLORC soldiers were killed, many of whom were left to rot on the battle field]*. We ourselves had to dig the holes and bury them at the foot of a hill, near their positions. The elderly porters dragged the bodies over, and we younger porters dug the holes. There were at least 100 bodies, because I myself helped digging two holes. We put seven or eight bodies in each hole, because the ground was so hard that we couldn't dig one hole for each corpse. Our group of porters dug six or seven holes like this, and there were three group of porters doing the same thing. I was an eyewitness to all of this.

I didn't see any porters die in battle, but porters who couldn't do the work died, as I said before. It was from Wan Kha that I planned to escape. Altogether three of us, but I don't know what happened to the other two because we disagreed upon which way to run so I lost touch with them. That day there were 65 porters and 10 soldiers, so we could run away. Before there had usually been 20 porters with 15 soldiers, so we couldn't. We started to run between the line of rice supply and Wan Kha. I spent two nights in the jungle, then another night after I crossed the river *[the Moei river, which is the Thai border]*, and now I've been here for one night. *[He was interviewed on 16 February, so he escaped on 12 February. At this point LID 44 was being withdrawn and replaced by LID 22, so the withdrawing soldiers were probably less concerned about escaping porters.]* As a porter I had to carry at least 15 viss *[24 kg]* and a maximum of 25 viss *[40 kg]*. My shoulders are torn because of the straps on the bamboo baskets — I had only one thin shirt underneath them. Now I will try to go back home.

Interview: 5-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture, Execution

Name :	Kyaw Win
Age:	24
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Day Labourer
Address :	Kyaikto Township, Mon State

Interviewed: 3 February 1995
Source: KHRG

On 2 January 1995, the village headman summoned me and took me to the police station in Kyaikto together with my cousin Lu Maw. We were detained there for five days. Then LIB 207, under the command of LID 22, took us by truck beyond Pa-an and Hlaing Bwe to where Battalion 962 has a camp. When we got there, every porter had to carry six 81mm mortar shells from Battalion 962 to Manerplaw. We were fed two meals a day, but we only got a canteen-lid full of rice for two men. On the way to Manerplaw, there was fighting at Bo Laung hill. When we got near Manerplaw, we only got a short rest and then all the porters had to move on with soldiers patrolling a road. Later we found out it was the road to Mae Tha Waw. We had to stay for three days with the soldiers who were guarding that road. The soldiers wore uniforms with a badge on one shoulder showing a fan, and number 99 on the other shoulder *[indicating LID 99]*. There were about 50 soldiers carrying short guns.

Whenever we couldn't carry the loads, we were beaten brutally. On 26 January, Lu Maw was beaten with a two-inch-thick cane stick because he couldn't carry his load of 81mm mortar shells. He got many bruises on his thighs so he couldn't walk, but he still had to carry ammunition. On 28 January, when we reached a hill, he was really feeble and couldn't walk or carry anymore. As he begged to stop, they only beat him more. The soldiers said my cousin was not useful anymore, "so we'll kill him and then we can pay the compensation for his life". Finally the soldiers had to support him on each side so he could reach top of the hill. When we reached the hilltop, they kicked him back down. Then the soldiers dragged him up the hill again. They tied a piece of cloth over his mouth, and then Sgt Toe Toe killed him by bayoneting with Carbine rifle in the left side of my cousin's ribs. Seven soldiers held the foot of the dead body, dragged away, and nobody knows where they buried him. Another Sergeant saw me secretly watching my cousin being beaten and stabbed by Sgt Toe Toe, so he kicked me with his combat boot, beat me with a piece of bamboo, then took the knife he was using to slice up banana stems for food, and cut off my little finger.

My cousin's name was Lu Maw, his nickname was Zaw Zaw Htoo. He was 18 years old. He was a Burman Buddhist and worked as a day labourer. He was not a member of any group. He was killed by Sgt Toe Toe from LIB 205 of LID 22.

Interview: 6-HRV: Child, Detention, Slavery, Torture

Name : Hla Maung
Age: 14
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burmese Muslim

Religion: Islam
Family: Father alive, mother deceased, have one younger brother and one younger sister
Address : Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed: 4 February 1995
Source: KHRG

My father is a trishaw driver. I was not in school. I had to work to help my family. I do cooking and house work. I went to school up to third standard. They came at about 3:00 a.m. on the 25th *[of January]*. While I was sleeping in my house with my brother, they came to our house to check the guests *[all house guests must be registered with the local SLORC, though it appears that in this instance the soldiers were there only to take porters, as they had no guests]*. I opened the window to get out while my father ran away through the back door. They caught me and put me in their small truck. There were four or five soldiers, together with the police. They pointed a gun at me. They took me to Pa-an and then transported by a TE-11 truck to Hlaing Bwe near the Taung Galay army camp. We slept one night there and I was ordered to carry a load. I had to carry three mortar shells. It was heavy. I had to carry for seven or eight days, both at night and in the day time. I couldn't sleep nor rest. When we arrived to the place where we could lay our loads down (*they were making trips back and forth from army camp to front-line*), we just got to rest for a short time and then we carried on. We only got one or two hours every two days to rest when we arrived at their camp. We couldn't sleep, only sit down. I only got one meal in five days. It was only plain rice. Along the way, there was water and I could drink my ration of water with a small cup. They brought the water and sometimes they gave me some. But sometimes they didn't. I saw some porters very exhausted. They didn't get any medicine.

I wasn't beaten, but I saw others. The soldiers kicked them with their boots, hit with rifle butts, and if they had a bamboo stick they used it. When the porters couldn't carry or walked too slowly, the soldiers beat them. They beat both old and young men. Some porters in my group were even younger than me. They were about 10 or 12 years old. I saw four, five, six or seven young boys like that. They carried the same load as me. I saw old men about 50, 60, 70 or 80 years old. I saw a dead man. He was old.

We were with SLORC LIB 205. There were four or five, sometimes 10 porters for every soldier. The other porters were carrying bullets and other things. I didn't know exactly. I didn't see any fighting. After eight days, I went to fetch water, crossed the river and ran away with nine other men. We slept one night on the way and the following day we arrived at the Thai border. I didn't know where. We crossed the river by boat and walked to a village, then we came here by car. I will go back home together with the others.

Interview: 7-HRV: Child, Detention, Slavery, Torture

Name :	Tin Htun
Age:	14
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese Muslim
Religion:	Islam
Family:	Father & mother alive, have one elder sister and five younger brothers and sisters
Address :	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	4 February 1995
Source:	KHRG

We live outside the town. My father is a trishaw driver and I look after my family's cow. I mowed one basket of grass every day, and that was enough for our cow. I went to school — I was a 5th standard student. None of us in my family had ever been a porter before. Between 3:00 a.m. and 4:00 a.m. on the 25th *[of January]*, the soldiers came to arrest us. My father heard them coming and he ran away. When my mother opened the door, I was sleeping. There were about seven soldiers. They pointed their guns at me and took me to their truck. They didn't say anything. They just pushed me into the truck. There were many people there. Hla Maung *[see interview 6]* was already in the truck.

They took us from Kyon Doe to Pa-an, then to Taung Galay and we had to change the trucks. We arrived at a place where there were shops and we had to start carrying the loads. I had to carry three mortar shells. We couldn't sleep, and we got one meal for four days. The soldiers kicked me once at the hip because I walked too slowly. I saw other people were kicked with boots, hit with rifle butts and sticks because they couldn't carry. The soldiers swore "Kalar!" at them. Many porters, both young and old men, were beaten.

We also had to cut bamboo for them. Twenty porters had to cut 200 bamboo. I didn't know what was the bamboo for. Maybe they sold it. I managed to escape with nine other people when I went to carry water. The soldiers were guarding the people who were carrying the water. I was lagging behind them, ran away and crossed the river together with the others. I'm going to go back home. I'm not afraid because I'll go back together with the others. My mother must be worried for me.

Interview: 8-HRV: Child, Detention, Slavery, Torture

Name :	Maung Chit Lwin
Age:	16
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Pa-O

Religion: Buddhist
Family: Father & mother alive, have one elder sister and one elder brother
Occupation: Farmer
Address : Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed: 4 February 1995
Source: KHRG

I went to school up to 3rd standard. Now I am a farmer and also a bricklayer. While my brother and I were coming home from the farm, we were arrested by the army near a police checkpoint. They grabbed me at the collar and pushed me into their truck. They took us by truck directly to Kyon Doe. After driving all night, we arrived at the army camp in the following morning. Then they made us carry bullets and loads. I had to carry three 81mm mortar shells. While we were carrying, they did not give us any food or water. We could only get some when we arrived at their camp. I only got one meal in four days. I was a porter for 10 days and during that time I had three meals of rice and beans.

Our group didn't carry at night. But I couldn't sleep because it was too crowded. We had to sleep on the ground, in a fenced area beside the army camp. There were soldiers around the fence. As it was so crowded, we had to lean against each other. They guarded us around the fences to make sure we were not able to escape.

Although I wasn't beaten, I saw soldiers beating others. They beat with a stick, at the feet, back, head, everywhere. I saw people who died. I didn't know how they died. I just stayed behind the fence. But I saw when they carried the corpses. I didn't see what they did with the bodies. I saw people get sick. The sick had to carry along with everybody else. Those who were very sick and weak could stop carrying for a few minutes. Then they had to go again.

We had to carry shells and bullets, no food, only ammunition. We also had to cut bamboo. I didn't know what was it for. I was with LIB 207 the whole time. There were about 20 porters for every solider. One day, I pretended to fetch water and I tried to escape. But I came back as they saw me. At that night, I managed to escape again together with my brother. I was in the jungle for two days and I've been here for one day *[he escaped on 1 February 1995]*. I'm afraid, but I want to go back home.

Interview: 9-HRV: Detention, Forced Labour, Slavery, Torture

Name : Maung Than Oo
Age: 29
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Pa-O
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married with one child (age one month)

Occupation: Trishaw driver
Address : Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed: 4 February 1995
Source: KHRG

When I was going home from work on 24 January 1995, they caught my younger brother and me. Their truck was already stopped in the street. When we passed near it, four or five soldiers jumped out and grabbed us. They said, "You have no way to run!" and they pointed their guns at us and pushed us to get into their truck. I didn't know that we were being forced into portering. I only knew it when we arrived at the police station because I saw many people were being arrested. Usually you can give them a bribe to avoid from being a porter. But since they needed many porters at that time, it was not possible to deal with them. As they needed so many porters they didn't even care how old or how young the porters were.

We had to go all day and night by truck and finally we arrived at Pa-an. After that, we were headed to Hlaing Bwe and then to their camp where we slept for one night. The following day, I had to start carrying about 1,000 bullets. It was too heavy but I had to carry it. If I couldn't carry it, they would beat me. So I had to try. Everybody had to carry heavy loads. I had to carry about 23 viss *[37 kg]*. We had to keep on going until we reached the place they needed us to be. If it took two days, then we had to carry without stopping for two days. We had to carry in the hot sun, no time to take a rest and only a little time to sleep. No food. No water. The soldiers had water but they wouldn't give us any to drink. If you really needed to drink, you had to buy water: one tinful *[about 200ml]* for 30 Ks. Because of having no money, we were thirsty and hungry. But we had to obey their will. Because if we didn't, we would be beaten. The first day we were very thirsty because we had to climb up to the top of a mountain. The following day, we walked in the plain and we got some water form a stream. I only got three meals within 10 days. We had to cook when we stopped. Sometimes, while we were eating, they ordered us to keep on walking. And sometimes we had to throw away the rice because we were not able to finish cooking it. The soldiers had two meals, in the morning and evening, almost every day. They had ready-made food. They had many rations. But they shared us nothing.

I just had to carry whether I could or not. I was with my brother *[Maung Chit Lwin — see interview 8]* all the time because he was so young. He was very much afraid of the soldiers. I tried to help him because I was afraid that if he couldn't carry his load the soldiers would beat him. He was in front of me. When he couldn't carry, I helped him. When we were climbing up the mountain, I slipped down and bumped into a soldier. He kicked me in my back with his boot and I fell down. It was painful, because my load was very heavy and it fell down upon me. I still have sores on my shoulders.

Whenever we slept or ate, we never had enough. We never had enough time for sleep, and they wouldn't even allow us to speak out loudly. Four hundred to five hundred porters were kept inside the fences. Sometimes, we had to stand when they called our names. For food, they gave me only rice. Sometimes, they gave some beans. When they ordered us to work, it was very hard. At their camp the soldiers said, "For the moment you have no journey to make" and they ordered us to cut bamboo. But I didn't know what they used them for. I think it was to build fences for all the new porters who were coming, to make sure that they couldn't run away. Every 20 persons of us had to cut 150 bamboo and we had to carry them to the front of the soldiers who were sitting and counting the numbers. I supposed they were making a new temporary camp. They ordered us to clean the camp and carry rice and mortar shells. We had to clean the mess around the camp where they slept. They kept changing the soldiers many times. They forced us to work whether we could do or not. They treated us as slaves. They treated us as their cattle, as their buffaloes. They didn't treat us like fellow human beings. They only cared about their job, they didn't want to know about the people, about whether they could carry or not. They forced us to do everything whether we could do or not. I saw men who couldn't work well — the soldiers beat them and they were bleeding. They kicked them, hit them with rifle butts, punched them and beat them with sticks. I dared not look at the people bleeding. The soldiers felt satisfied when someone was bleeding and lost conscious. At that stage, they stopped beating him. We couldn't complain to the soldiers because of their guns. If I'd complained, I would have been beaten. Whatever they do, we had to bear it and give up.

After beating some one until he lost conscious, the soldiers just left him. Every group of 40 or 50 porters had one "leader" and if someone was beaten unconscious the soldiers ordered that "leader" to look after him and carry him to the camp. They said, "It is your duty to carry him yourself. This does not concern with us!" They didn't care about the unconscious people, just abandoned them and went on their way. But we felt we couldn't just leave them. so we shared their loads: half their load each. Someone who didn't have a load carried the body. We couldn't abandon them because we all live together in the town. But the soldiers didn't even turn around to see.

There were convicts in blue clothes: the soldiers called it "convict clothes". The men explained to us, "We were called from jail and ordered to work as porters for a long time. We want to go back, but they don't allow us. Now some have already been here for four or five months. We are eager to go back."

After eight or nine days, we pretended to fetch some water at night and ran away. We didn't know if others kept carrying further, because we didn't want to carry any further. We didn't want to die in their hands. We knew many people who had already escaped. About 400 or 500 porters, including us, had run away. There were over 5,000 porters, and also many convicts. The soldiers said that

LID 77 and 99 were also going to arrive with their own porters. We were with LIB 207. When we were carrying the mortar shells, we realised we were going to Manerplaw. On the way, we met porters coming back from Manerplaw. They said, "They got Manerplaw already, the rebels already withdrew." So then we were walking in the mountains three or four more days and arrived back at their main camp. All the solider were SLORC *[i.e. he encountered no DKBA' at all]*.

If I go home now, I know I may face danger. But I have a one-month old child and I am worried about him. My wife had a baby very recently. But I'm worried about her health or how they can get money and food if I don't go back. When I was arrested, I called some girls in the street, " Please go tell my family. I don't know where they're taking me." My family didn't know where I'd been taken. If someone form here can show me the way, I may get back home. If not, maybe I can't get there. I also had to work for them four or five years ago. The soldiers already had a camp in Kawkareik, and they called us to work for them. They said, "If you don't come, we'll arrest you". We had to go in turns: for example, out of every 500 households, 200 households had to go every day. We had to go 18 or 19 times within that three to four months. We had to cut wooden posts to build their camp, dig the ground to erect the poles, and build barracks for them. We had no choice because they had power in their hands. If we didn't want to do it, they forced us. So we just had to do what they say.

Interview: 10-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture

Name :	Sein Than
Age:	30
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese Muslim
Religion:	Islam
Family:	Married with four children (age from one week to 13 years)
Occupation:	Trishaw driver
Address :	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	5 February 1995
Source:	KHRG

I am a trishaw driver, and I also repair trishaws. I was arrested about 14 days ago. While I was sleeping at home at about 8:00 p.m., they woke me up and ordered me to follow them. They said, " Wake up! Come and follow us for a short time." I said, "I have done nothing wrong. What will you do, Sir?" Then they put me in jail. They said, "You will be a porter." Then they brought me to the battlefield. They brought me by truck directly to the Strategic Command located between the mountains. I got out and started to carry rice. My load weighed about 20 viss *[32 kg]*. When some porters were not able to carry, the soldiers beat them. There was a 'porter centre' with a fence. It was like a pig sty. More than 1,000 porters were there. The soldiers said to us, "You will be transported to another place called Taung Phaung *['barren mountain']*. Then you

will come back and be released." Nobody believed them.

I was arrested by the police, the militia and section leader of the town. I had to carry rice for LIB 207. They fed us only rice and a bit of fish paste. Sometimes, I had breakfast but no dinner. Sometimes, I had dinner but no breakfast. I couldn't sleep at night because they put us together on the ground and it was very crowded. Once when I wanted to go the toilet, one solider told me, "You can go there." But another soldier beat me up with a bamboo stick which was four-finger thick. He said, "You didn't see the toilets. This is not the porter place." I saw a porter beaten because he could not carry his load. Another one died of exhaustion on the hills. He was about 18 or 19 years old. I saw him with my own eyes. The soldiers told us they would bury him, and then they said, "Go back to your place!"

There were over 2,00 porters and about 600 or 700 soldiers. I didn't see any DKBA soldiers. Some porters carried rice while others carried ammunition. We had to carry the whole day, from about 7:00 a.m. or 8:00 a.m. until we reached the other place. We slept there and we returned at 5:00 p.m. or 6:00 p.m. on the following day. We had to carry back and forth. We had no rest time while we were carrying. We could see water, but we couldn't drink it. Sometimes, one of the commanders distributed water to all porters. At that time each of us would get one milk-tin *[about 200ml]* of water. I didn't get enough water nor food. While I was cutting bamboo, I ran away with nine others. We went downstream. I saw a man who was fishing and he showed us the way. We climbed a mountain and we saw the soldiers again. They shot at us. We arrived at a small village near the Moei River, then we crossed into Thailand three days ago. We were porters behind Mae Tha Waw *[about 25 km south of Manerplaw on the Thai border, SLORC's supply base for the offensive from the south]*.

Interview: 11-HRV: Force Labour, Slavery, Torture

Name :	Maung Min Thein
Age:	30
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children (age from one month to 12 years)
Occupation:	Water seller
Address :	Pa-an Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	5 February 1995
Source:	KHRG

I was not arrested. It was my turn for labour. They told me that I have to go do labour for the monk at Myaing Gyi Ngu *[U Thuzana, the monk who is leader of DKBO]*. They said I had to go with 44 other men to clear the ground and build a fence around his monastery, and that if I went this time I wouldn't have to go the

next time. But instead, they sent me here. We left from Taung Galay barracks, they sent me to Strategic Command and from there I had to start carrying ammunition to Taung Phaung hill *['barren mountain']*. I was very afraid, and I only thought about going back home. I was with a SLORC Signal Corps, I think the number was 201. I asked them their names but they didn't reply. On the way to Taung Phaung, there was fighting on the hill. I had to bury SLORC soldiers and "Ringworm" *[SLORC name for Karen soldiers]*, one hole for two men. I saw five or six dead people. The porters were behind the soldiers, carrying the shells. During the fighting, we could hide. Three porters were killed. Some lost their legs, and some were injured in the eyes. They carried the wounded in hammocks down the mountain to the clinic. After giving some medicine, they sent them away. But I didn't know where because I had to return to my place to carry. I saw about four or five men who lost their legs. The fighting started early in the morning and the Karen soldiers withdrew at 3:00 p.m. Then, the commander shouted at his soldiers, "You should wear women's longyis *[sarongs]*! Why didn't you catch them?" The SOLRC soldiers captured some guns, pistols and bullets from the rebels. They made the porters carry all of these further to another place: Bo Laung Gone and Kye Pyaut Gone.

I had to carry mortar shells, two long ones. It weighed 20 viss *[32 kg]*. I got two meals each day but it wasn't enough, and I missed food for two days. At night, I had to sleep on the ground. At 7:00 a.m., we started to carry down the mountain, then back up. Then they gave us some food and I could rest, and then I had to carry water up the mountain for cooking in the evening. At night, I got some rice with just a fingertip of salt. I had to carry every day for about a month, back and forth. I was beaten twice on my back with a bamboo stick along with three other porters because we tried to follow some soldiers who were being sent back. The others called us back and beat us. If I stayed with them a longer time, I would die. I didn't get enough food and I couldn't carry anymore.

One day, we had to bring the rice rations. There were 40 porters in our group but there were no soldiers escorting us for a time. We ran, and then we mixed together with a group of traders. But we met SLORC soldiers, they beat me and sent me back to the Strategic Command. When I got there, I didn't see any solider so I ran away. I passed through a bamboo grove, along a stream and then I arrived here after one day. I arrived here two days ago *[on 3 February]*. I had never been a porter before. I am going back to Pa-an. I think it is dangerous, but I have to go back because maybe my children don't have any food. My wife has no job. I am the only breadwinner in our family.

Interview: 12-HRV: Child, Slavery, Torture,

Name : Hla Myaing
Age: 16
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: ½Shan ½Indian Muslim

Religion: Islam
Family: Parents both alive, one sister and two brothers
Occupation: Student
Address : Kawkareik Town, Karen State
Interviewed: 5 February 1995
Source: KHRG

I am a 8th standard student *[just before high school]*. About 10 days ago *[around 26 January]* the soldiers came to my house at 4:00 a.m., checked our family registration list and took me. There were three soldiers and two militia. They arrested one person from each family in the whole quarter *[part of town]*. I was alone with my mother because my brothers were in Myawaddy. I didn't know where the soldiers took me, because I've never been there before. They took me by truck to an army camp where they were gathering porters. They made us sitting there together with porters from the other groups. Then, they made us carry loads to the operation *[battle]* area. I had to carry seven *pyi [about 15 kg.]* of rice. As we are children, they didn't order us to carry very heavy loads. They beat me with a stick as big around as a bamboo. They kicked me in my stomach and it was very painful, and they hit me in back with a stick, and I kept going. We got one meal a day. If they fed us in the morning, then they didn't feed us in the evening. If they fed us in the evening, then we got nothing in the morning. They gave us uncooked rice and we had to cook it in a milk tin. We had to sleep on the path. I brought a very thin blanket with me when they arrested me. I couldn't sleep because my stomach hurt very much from the beating. They didn't give us any medicine. We had to buy it. When they arrested me, I had more than 20 Ks in my pocket, so I used it to buy two tablets for my stomach pain and took them. Sometimes it is okay, but sometimes it still hurts.

There were many young boys of my age, and some of them were students. I saw seven students from my school there. Most of them were about my age, but some were only 13 or 14 years old. There were also old men, about 40 or 50 years old. Some boys of my age couldn't carry so they were beaten. I saw several people beaten, and two killed. I thought they died from starvation and dehydration. They were 42 or 43 years old. The soldiers just threw their bodies into the valley.

Two of us escaped while we were cutting bamboo. We slept one night in the forest, then we found a path and footprints. We followed them up to the *[Moei]* rive. I saw other porters there, and we crossed the river by the help of a fisherman. He took us to a monastery, and then some Thai police brought us here. There were 24 of us who arrived here yesterday *[4 February]*.

Interview: 13-HRV: Slavery, Torture, Forced Labour

Name : Win Maung
Age: 35

Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with four children (age from 2 to 11 years)
Occupation:	Vegetable seller
Address :	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	5 February 1995
Source:	KHRG

On the 25th of last month *[January]*, a village LORC committee member called me in the morning to help in the village. I said, "I am not free." Then he said, "It's only for a short while". So I went with him, and then I was to be a porter. I did not realise until they sent me to the military column in Taung Galay village. Then, they took me by truck to Hill 962 at night. The following morning, I started to carry rice. I had to carry about 10 or 12 viss *[16-19kg]* for two days. We got one milk tin of uncooked rice for two men in the morning and we had to cook it ourselves in the evening. We had to drink water from the stream when we could. While we were carrying, we asked for water but all we got was punches. I couldn't sleep at night because we had no blanket. I had to sleep on the ground in the dust. I didn't bring anything with me because I didn't know that I would be a porter. I saw many porters. I arrived with a group of 24 porters and I saw many others. The soldiers divided the porters into four or five groups with fences. Not only porters, also convicts. They were in a separate group. They got the same treatment as all of us.

They ordered me to go and cut bamboo, and then I ran away. I had to sleep one night in the jungle, then two nights in Mae Tha Waw. Then, I was brought here by car. Now I want to go back home.

Interview: 14-HRV: Child, Slavery, Torture, Women

Name :	Zaw Zaw Htun
Age:	35
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese Muslim
Religion:	Islam
Family:	Married with four children (age from five to 12 years, but one child already deceased)
Address :	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	5 February 1995
Source:	KHRG

I was a conductor/mechanic on a passenger car, but now I am a fisherman in the local ponds. I didn't get enough food from that, so my wife had to sell things in the market. I was arrested by the village militia and some policemen while I was

sleeping. There were five of them. It was about 12 days ago on a Friday, at 3:00 a.m. I was sent by a police car. Then I had to carry about 16 viss *[25 kg .]* of rice. I was with LID 22. They changed. When one battalion finished, another came and they changed duties. First I was with LIB 209, and then LIB 203, both of which are under the command of LID 22. I had to carry the rice for one day until we arrived *[at the front-line]*, then I had to cut bamboo for one day and then I escaped. When we first started walking, we got no food for three meals. I was thirsty but water was very rare. Then, I received only a small plate of rice. At night we could only sit down and lean against each other to sleep. It was a very narrow space. I saw over 1,000 porters, not counting the convicts. I saw 13 year-old boys and men 40-60 years old. I also saw over 50 women being sent back on a truck. We were at Kye Byone Hill, near Manerplaw. I arrived after the fighting had already ended.

I wasn't beaten, but I saw other porters beaten. We also had to go at night too. When some young porters couldn't carry their loads, the soldiers beat them. I dared not look. They divided the porters into the weak and strong, and those who couldn't carry were beaten. I saw some porters being punched almost to death. After they beat them, some porters were wounded and others were slightly hurt. They divided them again: the weak porters and the strong porters. My brother-in-law N— was also a porter, and I had to help him carry his load. The soldiers didn't allow us to take a rest. Some young porters who couldn't carry dropped their loads and ran away, so the others were beaten. I saw somebody in front of me being beaten. I dared not look and I passed them. My brother-in-law is younger than me, he's just an 8th standard student. Last year he didn't sit his exams and quitted the school, and now he had to go as a porter with me. He had to carry five mortar shells. When he couldn't carry them, we shared the shells. Otherwise he would have died because of the weight. A soldier was about to hit him when I took some of the shells and helped him. He is 17 years old, my wife's younger brother. He escaped with me. Now he is here.

I saw one person being buried but I didn't know if it was a soldier or a porter. I also saw some people lying on the ground, but I didn't know if they were dead or not. After I was cutting bamboo, they gave some rice to the porters. After eating it, I ran. I went through the valley and I saw some soldiers with porters. They saw us and tried to shoot at us, but we all managed to escape: 33 of us. A group of about 10 people ran first, then eight more, then 18 others behind. I was in the middle group. After passing three mountains, we all joined together. It took four days to get here. *[They must have been lost, as it is not a great distance.]*

Interview: 15-HRV: Child, Slavery, Torture, Execution

Name : Nyunt Swe
Age: 35
Sex : Male

Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with two children (age 7 and 11)
Occupation:	Bricklayer/Trishaw driver
Address :	Hlaing Bwe Town, Karen State
Interviewed:	5 February 1995
Source:	KHRG

I was arrested when I was pedalling the trishaw. I was on my way to give it back to its owner at about 6:30 or 7:00 p.m. and I wanted to go home to see my wife. But the militia, policemen and Hlaing Bwe army units were co-operating to take people to go as porters, and they arrested me. I pushed the trishaw into a ditch in front of my friend's house and I shouted to my friends: "Here is my trishaw. Please save it ." It was on 25 January 1995.

I was taken from Hlaing Bwe by truck directly to the jungle at Hill 962. The trip lasted all night long and we arrived there in the morning on the following day. As soon as we arrived, we started to carry. I had to carry rice. We had to carry for five or six miles, up a very high and barren mountain *[back and forth, again and again]*. We got only rice to eat, and it was not enough. At first, the soldiers cooked the rice and gave a handful of it to each of us. Later, they gave us one milk-tin *[about 200 ml.]* full to cook for ourselves for two meals. Sometimes we didn't get to eat for 1½ days, form the morning until the following evening. I was a porter for over one week. I couldn't sleep at night. I was sick and I felt cold. I was suffering form malaria. They gave me no medicine. I had back pain and my whole body was hurting because of beatings. They beat me with a stick and also with a rifle butt on my back. The bamboo stick was big, like this *[he indicated about two-three-inches diameter]*. I was beaten twice — five times and two times each — by the soldiers. I could hardly walk as the mountain was very steep. So the soldiers said, "Why can't you carry like us?", and they beat me. I was sick, my back was injured from beatings. I was bleeding. I still have one wound, but the others have already healed. When I crossed the river, the Thai police in Mae Tha Waw gave me some medicine. I saw many porters that the soldiers were beating. The soldiers kicked some of them down the mountain side. I dared not look at the people who were kicked down the slope. The soldiers didn't allow us to look, they said they would beat us. But I peeked. After beating them, the soldiers kicked them down. I also saw three dead bodies. Some of them died from lack of food and some were beaten to death. The oldest among them was 60 and the youngest was about 28 or 30. In my group, there were boy ports as young as 15 or 16.

Many battalions were all combined together. I didn't remember which ones. I dared not look at them, because if you looked at them they said, "Why do you look at us?" and they beat us. There were many porters. I think about 1,000 excluding convicts. There were at least 300 or 400 convicts as well. The soldiers divided in two different groups, and kept the convicts on the other side of us. We

had to work harder than the convicts. They arrived before us and had already done a lot of work, so they were given some rest. After carrying all the rice, we had to cut bamboo. The soldiers said it was to build a new camp at the foot of the hill near Hill 962 Strategic Commend. While I was cutting bamboo, I discussed how to escape with some other porters, and then we escaped. We slept one night in the jangle, two nights at Mae Tha Waw and one night here. *[He was interviewed on 5 February.]*.

Interview: 16-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Force Labour, Disappearance

Name :	Zaw Mya
Age:	42
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	½Mon ½Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with five children (age 6 months to 16 years)
Occupation:	Sarong weaver
Address:	Mudon Town, Mon State
Interviewed:	5 February 1995
Source:	KHRG

Thirteen days ago, I was arrested while on my way back home from my sister's house. It was about 4:00 or 5:00 p.m. A fireman and a policeman told me to go to the office of Town Council to discuss something, and as soon as I arrived there they arrested me. At night, I was sent by train to Moulmein. After that ,they sent me by boat. People called them the "Moulmein boats". There were about 500-600 people on the boat from different places. The boat took us to Pa-an *[Moulmein is near the mouth of Salween River, and Pa-an is further up river in Karen State]*. Then they took us from Pa-an to Hill 962 [by truck]. At first I had to cut bamboo, then I had to carry rice from Hill 962 to the barren mountain, back and forth. I saw some 20 other people there from Moulmein. The soldiers divided us into various groups. I didn't have to carry weapons because of my age, but I saw other porters carrying weapons and ammunitions. I didn't see any one being beaten, because it was mostly elderly with me. The eldest was 60. We had to work in the morning, or if they need something to be done then they called us. We didn't work all the time because of our age, but the younger men had to work all the time. I had to carry bamboo to make fence or about ten viss *[16 kg]* of rice. The food was mostly rice and salt. They gave one milk-tin of rice for one day. Most of the night I couldn't sleep because of the space. There wasn't enough space to lie down.

I was with a battalion under LID 11. I carried for five days, then I wanted to run away. I discussed with other porters. At about 6:00 p.m., while we were taking a rest, five of us started running into the jungle. Some soldiers shot at us with their guns, and we split into two groups. I was alone, and the other four went together. I didn't know whether they were here or not. I arrived here alone. I had to sleep

one night in the jungle. Early in the morning, I started walking and I arrived at the [Moei] river near Mae Tha Waw at about 11:00 a.m. I arrived here and met the Karens. I don't know how to go back. I will go along with the other porters until we reach a town, then we'll separate. They took 700 Ks in cash from me which I brought from home when I was arrested. But I supposed they would give it back to me when I go home. If I am arrested again on my way home, that's my bad luck.

Interview: 17-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture, Disappearance

Name :	U Than Htay
Age:	48
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese Muslim
Religion:	Islam
Family:	Married with one child (age 14 years)
Occupation:	Trishaw driver
Address:	Kawkareik Town, Mon State
Interviewed:	4 February 1995
Source:	KHRG

I was arrested on 25 January. The police, the section headman and soldiers came to my house and said they wanted to check how many people were staying in my house. Then at about 3:30 p.m., they stopped their TE-11 truck beside the road and ordered me, "Please come to the police station. If you have any problems, come and we'll discuss them at the police station. Get into the truck." At that time, I could see my house but I couldn't contact my family. I asked them, "Why are you arresting me?". They said, "We don't know. We just have an order to arrest you." I didn't have any guest in my house, only my family. I hadn't done anything , but at that time they were doing the same to all other houses. I didn't know. There were many soldiers surrounding our area between 3:00 and 4:00 p.m. When they saw people, they arrested them. They wanted to catch all the men in the whole area. They also arrested some women, but when I arrived they had released them.

I was arrested by the soldiers from IBs 230 and 231, and the police. They took me to the headquarters of LID 22 at Myaingalay. There I had to stay on the truck, and after a short time they drove off. We went to a place where they already had a camp for porters. They called it Klo Ka Dee. There were about 5,000 or 6,000 people there. The camp was fenced and surrounded by soldiers. I slept one night there, then I had to carry six 81mm mortar shells. I had to carry for eight days. I didn't know where we were going, because I had to carry at night. I had to carry the shells as soon as the night fell until early the following morning. Then when we arrived there, we put them down and we had to carry other loads back to their camp. We had to go back from different way. Even in the day time, we had no free time and I haven't slept. We had not time to sleep because we had to carry back and forth to the hill all the time. Even if we had

some rest time, I could not sleep because the soldiers kept calling us to check on us. They called out our names every ten or fifteen minutes. We only got a rest at cooking time, for about two hours. We got no rest but the soldiers could rest by turn. Whenever they went to a new place, the battalion commander let the first group of soldiers rest and called another group of soldiers, and we had to go with them.

We got one meal after four days, only a little rice. When I got a chance to do water-carrying duty I could drink water, but this opportunity was very rare. When I could get this duty I had to buy water from the soldiers, 30 Ks for one milk-tin *[about 200ml]*. When I had no more money, I couldn't drink water. If a porter tried to drink water while crossing a stream, the soldiers would beat him. If you didn't get permission from them, they would kill you.

I saw porters being beaten because they couldn't carry. The soldiers beat them with sticks and rifle butts on the body, wherever they can hit, on the head or back. I was beaten. I couldn't see the path very well at night, so I missed the path and went into a bamboo grove and then I couldn't catch up with the other porters, so I was beaten on the back of my head with a rifle butt. The strap of my basket was protecting my head, but still it was painful. Then, they showed me the right way to go to catch up with the others.

I saw people burying dead bodies beside the path, but I could not tell weather they were soldiers or porters. I was afraid to ask them *[as he saw no fighting along the way, it is almost certain that the dead were porters]*. I saw one porter getting seriously ill, and he was too weak to take medicine. I thought, "He will die for sure." The soldiers did nothing for him. The porters reported about him to the officer, but he didn't do anything. He just kept walking around. They left him behind along the way when we rested near the camp.

We were with about nine or ten battalions — LIBs 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208 and 209. Sometimes there were seven porters for one soldier and sometimes ten porters per soldier. I didn't see any fighting. When the soldiers were playing cards, I escaped with two other men from Kawkareik. Ten of us escaped altogether, and then we met two more on the way. We went upstream to the hills, then I looked from the top of the mountain and saw the direction of the sun, so I thought I could find the way to Thailand. It took us two nights, then we arrived at a place *[on the Moei river]* with huts and a boat station. I spent one night there, then I went to Baw Noh monastery *[in Thailand]*. We got food and cooked there, then we came here yesterday. The soldiers didn't say where we were carrying, but I think it was around Manerplaw. All the soldiers were SLORC. We had to carry for many different battalions. I had never been a porter before. At home I had to pay 100 Ks every month for porter fees *[protection money to avoid from being taken as a porter]*. Every week, I also had to pay three separate fees' of seventy-five, one hundred, one hundred and fifty kyats. Now I'm going back home because of my child. I'll have to ask and check with people which way is safe.

Interview: 18-HRV: Child, Detention, Slavery, Torture,

Name :	U San Kyaw
Age:	48
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Pa-O
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children (age 19 to 30 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kawkareik Town, Mon State
Interviewed:	4 February 1995
Source:	KHRG

My eldest son has been a monk for 10 years. My youngest daughter has already finished her 10th standard exam. I own a plot of land. I was arrested in January 1995, I'm not sure the date. Early in the morning, while I was threshing the paddy with my cow, soldiers from IB 97 came and arrested me. They didn't say why. They pointed their guns at me and told me to get into the truck. They arrested six men, but later on we were separated. They sent us directly to Kyon Doe, then to Jai and Hlaing Bwe by truck. We changed trucks, and that truck took us into the jungle. I didn't know the name of the place, I only knew it was a camp of the soldiers. We had one day rest, then the following morning we started carrying. I had to carry six 81 mm mortar shells. It was very heavy. My shoulders are still very sore *[he still has scars on his shoulders]*. They kicked me in the waist with their boots twice, and it is a bit painful now.

We had to carry by day and by night. I didn't know where we were carrying to. We just climbed up and down one mountain, again and again. There were many porters from Kawkareik. There was not enough space to sleep. We were like cows in the corral. Some porters had to sleep standing up. It was very crowded and the soldiers were surrounding us. There were two gaps in the fence, and there were two sentries at each gap. If a porter needed to go to the toilet, he had to ask permission from a solider. Within four days, they only gave us one meal. There was not enough to sleep, to eat and to live. Every day two or three people died. I was lucky to arrive here. Porters who had already walked many days died of sickness or exhaustion. I saw two dead porters. We had to bury them. One was from Kyon Doe Nga Dah, and the other was from Yebyu Township *[in Tenasserim Division]*. One was the same age as me, and the other was about 40. If a sick porter asked for medicine, the soldiers swore at him. They said the medicine was for the soldiers, not the porters. To get a cup of water cost 20 or 30 Ks. I bought a cup of water once. I only had 100 Ks. I'd sold some paddy but I hadn't given the money to my family because I was keeping it to drink some toddy juice *[palm wine]*. But I had no chance to drink toddy juice because they arrested me.

The youngest porters was about 13 years old and the eldest was 71. There were over 2,000 porters — about 1,500 civilians and the rest were prisoners. There were over 200 soldiers. The ratio was one solider for every 10 or 15 porters. I went in front of them. The porters who were behind were beaten worse than me. I was with Thein Zayat-based LIB 207 which is under the command of LID 22. I carried for four days, then I escaped while we were cutting bamboo and the soldiers were playing cards. I talked to the other porters, and six of us ran away, then we split up and there were two of us. I felt so hopeless. I didn't care where I went, I just ran. If the soldiers saw me they would have killed me. I climbed up the mountains, big and small, again and again. On the way, I expected to see some villages so I could ask for food, but I didn't see any. We had to sleep one night between the mountains and we were very hungry. Then we saw a steam. We drank some water, then climbed up a mountain and back down again. The following morning, we followed a stream, then we saw a river *[the Moei]*. We crossed the river and slept on the sand-bank. I couldn't see any village. I'm 48 years old, but I'd never been there before. The following morning, I found a place that had many banana plants and I asked for food. They guided me to a village where I had a meal and went to the monastery. Then they sent me here by car. Now I'm going back. There is no man in my family. My only son is a monk, and my daughter who has already passed her exam will go to college. I'm worried for them. I can't even eat very well. Nobody knew I'd been taken as a porter. I've never been a porter before. We had to pay them 80 or 100 or 150 Ks each time, four times a month. The highest amount was 500 Ks. But this time they didn't ask. They didn't want money, they only wanted porters.

Interview: 19-HRV: Detention, Refugees, Torture, Disappearance

Name :	U Mya Aung
Age:	28
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Chin
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Longkadoo village, Paletwa Township, Chin State
Source:	KHRG

Two days before we came here, Coy 1 of SLORC IB 376 called us to Doh Chaung Wa village. They called 12 villagers to go, but only three people could go because the villagers were very busy in their fields. So only three of us went. The other two were Maung Sein from Ohn Thee Wa village and Tin Soe from Paut Htoo Wa village. Then the soldiers said, "We called for 12 villagers. Why didn't you comply with our order?" So they started beating us. Then they forced three of us to saw wood to build their fence, but we didn't know how to saw it. Then, the soldiers accused us of being against them, they tied up two of us with our hands behind our backs and punched and kicked all of us several times. They beat me worse than the other two. At that time, we were so scared and we tried

to give them a bribe of 1,000 Ks for our release. After they got 1,000 Ks, they released us.

When I got back to my village the situation got worse. Because the wife, daughter and niece of the Paletwa police inspector, U Law Her, who came to our village and stayed at the village headman's house disappeared. These women said they came to trade. We didn't know where they went after they stayed in our village. Maybe the rebels kidnapped them. Because of this, our village headman U Ram Doh was arrested by Capt Htun Way from Coy 1 of IB 376. They took him to Pone Yaung Wa army camp, and after they got there they asked him questions: "Where are the three women?" The village head told them he didn't know anything about it, and they tied his hands and his legs and sank him in water again and again, so many times. After he couldn't say anything anymore, the soldiers punched him, kicked him and beat him with rifle butts so many times. We heard that they broke his nose and that he was bleeding all over his body and his face. Now we don't know whether he's dead or alive.

The day after the arrest of our headman, the SLORC Army sent a message with a man to our village telling us to send these three women back to Paletwa Town as soon as possible or else they would kill all of our villagers *[this messenger (a conscripted villager) also described how the headman was tortured by them]*. As we didn't know anything about these three women, we couldn't do anything. At 9:00 p.m. on 28 December 1994, the villagers decided that we would all have to flee from our village. Some went to India, some went to Cha Krau and we came here to Kessephai together with 20 families, 123 of us altogether. We reached Kessephai *[in Rarjamati Province, Bangladesh]* the following morning, on 29 December. Most of the people in our group were elderly and children. After we reached here, we had problems to live. We stayed at the village head's house and another house, and they collected rice from the other villagers to feed us. They would finish collecting it within one or two days. We didn't know how we would survive. We had to leave all of our belongings, cattle, rice, and other crops in our village. We couldn't carry anything with us. We heard that the soldiers came to our village the following day and took everything. The village where we are staying now is still very close to the Burmese border, so we still have to worry for our safety and we had to plead to The Hi Ni village militia to help protect us from Burmese soldiers. Some of our people are sick *[it is a cold winter in the Chin Hills]* and there is no medicine. We don't know how we will survive.

Interview: 20-HRV: Detention, Refugees, Torture, Disappearance

Name :	U Myo Thant
Age:	40
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Chin
Religion:	Buddhist

Occupation: Farmer
Address: Longkadoo village, Paletwa Township, Chin State
Source: KHRG

For a long time, we lived comfortably in our village and we had no problem with our farms. But last week, just before we fled here, our headman went to Paletwa Town. When he came back, three women followed him. These women were the wives of policemen. They said they were coming to the village to trade. They slept one night in our village and then they disappeared. We didn't know where they went. Then Coy 1 of SLORC IB 376 called our headman to their Pone Yaung Wa camp because of the disappearance of three women. When our headman arrived at their camp, the SLORC Army asked him where the three women were. He told them the women had slept one night at his house, then the following day he didn't see them anymore so he didn't know where they had gone. Then the soldiers tied his hands behind his back and sank him in water. Then they asked him more questions. The headman told them he didn't know anything about the situation of the three women, so they pushed him under the water many times and started beating him. They tied his arms and his legs with a rope, and they punched him and kicked him many times. They hit him with a rifle butt. After the last blow one of his ribs was broken, his nose had been crushed by the rifle butt and his whole body was swelling up. Then the army ordered him to send the three women to them. "If not", they said, "We are going to kill all the villagers."

The following day, on 28 December 1994, the army sent a man named Mao Char Mu, 40 years old, from Pone Yaung Wa village to our village to give us this message and to take back our answer *[he also described how the headman was tortured by them]*. They ordered the villagers to send the three women immediately to Paletwa town, and threatened "If not, we are going to kill all the villagers." We didn't know how to solve this problem. There was no choice for us. We were afraid we would be killed that night, so we had to run away. Some of the villagers ran to India and some to Kessephai [in Bangladesh]. My family and 12 other families ran here to Cha Krau [a village in Bangladesh]. We are 97 altogether. We left Longkadoo village on 28 December at about 8:00 p.m. We had to walk the whole night, then we arrived here at Cha Krau on 29 December. We had no relatives here, and we had no food, so it was difficult for us to stay here and we had to face many troubles. A man from the village let us stay at the primary school. As we had to flee immediately from SLORC, we couldn't carry any food or blankets or clothing. We had to leave behind our cattle, pigs and paddy.

Right now I just get too tired trying to think about how to solve our problems and continue our lives. We don't even know if our headman is dead or not. It is impossible to go back to our village. We dared not try to survive there anymore. *[The 97 people are currently staying in the primary school, a building of 16ft*

wide by 24 ft long, in Cha Krau village, Rarjamati District, Bangladesh. Many of them have bad colds from a particularly cold winter, and some are also suffering from malaria. They have no access to medical treatment, and no food except what the local villagers can give them.]

Interview: 21-HRV: Detention, Torture, Refugee, Judiciary

Name :	Maung Ko
Age:	27
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Chin
Religion:	Christian
Occupation:	Student
Address:	Matupi Township, Chin State
Source:	KHRG

Two of my friends — Thin Lian Klai and Thin Lian Sun — and I went to Mizo Yapet in India to make some money during the school holidays. At that time, I was studying at the high school of Matupi Township. Along our way between Paletwa and Phai Chaung, we saw many other people going as well. When we reached Phai Chaung, we met with SLORC IB 20 led by Capt Zaw Win. They interrogated us, accused us of being collaborators with the rebels and detained us. We denied that we were collaborating with rebels. Although we tried hard to explain to them that we were just going to trade chickens in Mizo Yapet to get money for school, they didn't accept this. They started beating and torturing us. After punching and kicking us many times, they covered my head and sank me in water, then they pulled my ribs apart *[they reached around him from behind, grabbed the right and left sides of his lower ribcage and tried to wrench them apart]*. They used the "riding a bicycle" torture *[a common SLORC torture — the victim is forced to squat in a riding position and pretend he is riding a bicycle or motorcycle, often also being forced to make honking noises, etc., under the torturer's instructions such as "Turn left! Stop! You didn't stop soon enough!" — the victim is then severely beaten]*, and they also forced us to squat as if we were shitting or pissing for a long time. They forced us to stand for the whole day and said, "You have to confess. I am going to beat you up until you confess." They put three bags over my head and then they beat me on the back several times with a rifle butt. Then they beat my legs 100 or 200 times with a cane stick. Finally we had to confess. We said that we were collaborators with rebels.

Then Capt Zaw Win sent us to the court and charged with four criminal offences under Section 17/1 [of Unlawful Association Act]. We had no opportunity for defence. The Paletwa court said, "We cannot sentence for political offences", so they transferred us to Sittwe [Akyab] Township in Arakan State. In that court, we had an opportunity to defend ourselves. In the court, we told them that we were not collaborators with the rebels. The judge said to the army men, "You must show evidence. Unless you can produce any evidence, we cannot convict

them of being against the country." Then the SLORC Army sent a man to the court. The judge asked him, "Can you give any evidence against them? If not, we can't convict them under this Section, and we can't detain them. If you can't produce any evidence, we will release them." The army had no evidence. Then the judge said to us, "I'm sure that you are not rebel collaborators. I could release you now by my authority. But I am so sad. I cannot do that for the time being because the army ordered me not to release you and to put you in jail. According to the law, you are clear of the crime, you are not guilty. But as you know, our country is governed by the army and we cannot do anything against their orders. Therefore, I will have to go along with this Section. It says you can be detained for three to seven years. I am going to sentence you to three years, because this is the shortest possible period of time. I am sure you are not guilty, and they couldn't produce any evidence. But I am daunted by the military authorities." So the judge sentenced us to three years and they sent us to Sittwe jail. They put three of us in a 10 ft by 5 ft dark cell for six months. They gave us one pot to be used as a latrine. Nothing else, only bare cement. When the pot got fuller and fuller, we asked them to empty it but they wouldn't. The smell of shit was all over the room. We had to suffer that for six months. In the dark room, my friend Lian Sun died of fever he got from being tortured. We tried to report it to the authorities before he died, but they ignored us. After he died, they took his dead body to the hospital and the doctor said that he died of a heart attack. After six months in the dark room, my other friend was transferred to a normal cell, but he was not allowed to meet or talk to any other prisoners. We could talk to each other during the shifts of labour, but the chains on our legs were very strong.

In the jail, an MI *[Military Intelligence]* man came to us and interrogated us often. Before he interrogated us, he made us spin around 20 times. We gradually got dizzy, and sometimes we vomited *[Note: in their weak condition, the effect of this would be much stronger than on a healthy person]*. Then they blindfolded us and took us walking for 20 minutes, but we didn't know where we were going. They brought two or three pills and forced us to swallow them. We couldn't protest. Half an hour after taking these pills, we gradually became very frightened and afraid. They always did this to us before interrogating us. The way the MI interrogates people is really terrible, not only to me but to the other prisoners as well. They put pins under our fingernails. They used nail-clippers to pinch our skin, and they poured very cold water on our foreheads. They have several ways of torture and interrogation. Even though you are not killed, you can never be normal again. The food in the jail is really bad. They fed us twice a day, half paddy [unhusked paddy, which has indigestible husks on it] and half rice. Whenever they could, they put soda in the rice gruel, so that if you leave this rice for one hour, it becomes liquid. If you eat only the rice they give you in jail, you cannot be alive for long. If you want better rice you have to pay at least 100 Ks per month to the jail warden. There was so much bribing going on in the jail. Unless you could bribe them, you had to suffer. In these conditions, at least four people died every month from starvation in Sittwe jail.

By the blessing of God, I was released from jail on 27 November 1994. I planned to go and stay very happily with my family. But that was impossible, because the authorities gave me a card. The card means, "This person can be arrested at any time." It said I had to report to the police station every two weeks, and they could arrest me anytime, so I had no freedom. I don't want to be arrested again. I am so afraid of that. So I just stayed with my family for one day, and then I fled and came here. [*"Maung Ko" (from Matupi Township) and Thin Lian Klai (from Thantalang Township) were both released after serving their full sentences. Both have then fled to Bangladesh. Thin Lian Sun, from Chaung Do village, Kalay Township, died in the first six months in prison.*]

Religious Intolerance:

On 30 May 1994, copies of the following letter from Thantalang Township LORC were distributed both in Burmese and Chin languages throughout Thantalang Town and to all villages in Thantalang Township:

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Thantalang Township
Letter No. 01/3-1/TLORC (Thantalang) Date: 30 May 1994

To:

Chairmen
Quarter/Village Law & Order Restoration Council Groups
_____ Town /village

Subject: Announcing the provision of higher education to children

1) Regarding the above subject, with the purpose of giving higher education to the children for the development of areas in the State, those below the age of 14 years are to be provided with food and clothing, provided education, and trained to be refined individuals without any racial or religious discrimination.

2) Therefore, nationals should send their children either to Rangoon or to Thantalang Town in order that they may be educated. Bearing in mind the well-being of their children, they should announce the giving of higher education to the villages.

Remarks:
(1) The State will provide lodging, board, clothes and all other necessities for the children who enrol for higher education.
(2) These children should bring with them all their particulars: date of birth, names of parents, National Registration Card number, name of village, and religion.
(3) These children should be sent to Thantalang Town before the end of July 1994.

(4) They will be allowed to worship and practice their own religion.

Attached is a copy of a translation in Chin language

[Sd.]
(for) Chairman
(Chin Za Bone, Secretary)

Some of the Christian Chin in the township believed the announcement, and at least nine children were entrusted into the care of SLORC. They were taken first to Thantalang Town, then to Rangoon. Since the end of July 1994 there has been no communication whatsoever from or about them. They have been completely cut off from their parents. When the parents inquired, they learned that all of their children were living at Ka Ba Aye Buddhist monastery in Rangoon. This was communicated to the Chin Christian community in Rangoon. In the first week of December 1994, they went to the abbot of the monastery and asked permission to see these children, but permission was refused.

In the third week of December 1994, two representatives from Chin State went down to Rangoon to attend the SLORC's national convention and learned about the Chin children. They went to the authorities and asked permission to see the children, and they were granted permission. When they met the children at Ka Ba Aye monastery, they found that the boys had had their heads shaved to become Buddhist novices, while the girls had repeatedly been pressured to have their heads shaved to become Buddhist nuns, but so far the girls had refused. All of the children cried and begged to be taken home when the two representatives met them. However, the children are still being held at the monastery. [*Note: Not only is SLORC using the promise of education to steal Chin children, Burmanise them and coerce or force them to convert to Buddhism, but there is also a further danger that as soon as the boys reach the age 14 or 15 they are very likely to be conscripted into the Burma Army. SLORC has used similar tricks in the past in the areas such as the Irrawaddy Delta, where it has invited young Karen boys to sporting tournaments only to kidnap them and force them into the army. The Tatmadaw has a history of grabbing orphans and other small boys and housing them at army camps, indoctrinating them and using them as errand boys until they are big enough to be soldiers. As Cambodian civilians learned from the Khmer Rouge, such kidnapped and brainwashed children can make the most terrifying of teenage soldiers.*]

Interview: 22-HRV: Relocation, Religion, Execution, Displacement, Livelihood, Refugee

Name : Saw Kwa Lah
Age: 62
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Karen

Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with two children (age 24 and 30)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Bwa Der village, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State
Source:	KHRG

Saw Kwa Lah's village was in a KNU-controlled area which had later been taken by SLORC. He is now a refugee in Thailand.

I lived in Bwa Der for 17 years. I first came there because of the activities of the Burma Army. Now I've come here because the Yellow Headbands [*DKBA*] shot and killed a man. They couldn't stand the sight of the Baptists. There were 30 or 40 Christian families in Bwa Der. We had to evacuate in 1992 because SLORC came and fought against the KNU. But in 1993, we could go back. In 1993, people had built a new pagoda at Lay Kay Ko. When they dedicated it, many people went. It was the same month that they wanted to build a pagoda somewhere around Meh Leh Kee and Walter forbade them [*at that time, some villagers and monks from inside Burma insisted on building pagodas at some key KNLA ridge-top positions. KNLA Maj Walter did not allow it because the pagodas would be used by SLORC soldiers atop Sleeping Dog Mountain to sight their mortars on the KNLA positions. Many people believe the instigation to build these pagodas originally came from SLORC. After permission was refused, SLORC capitalised the incident as religious persecution, and spread rumours in the villages that Walter had "killed monks and destroyed pagodas"*.] At the dedication, monks said to the Buddhists and Animists, "The war has been going on for many years. Do you want to carry brick and sand for a pagoda, or do you want to keep carrying the revolution's load of ammunition and go to war? If you carry the pagoda's load there will be peace. If you carry the revolution's load, war will go on." So in 1993 they stopped helping the revolution because of what the monk told them. Then in 1994 the KNU tried to explain and organise them, but they refused to listen. People said the war was caused by the Christians. In the end, it entangled the Baptists, and we were all unhappy.

People went around organising in each village, and villagers went and stayed at the pagoda. If they went and stayed at the pagoda, they didn't have to do anything, no work. The whole families from different villages went and stayed near the pagoda, at Da Ko Law Kloh. There is a monastery near the pagoda. There are 40 monks. The monks said that if the young people put on the yellow robe and become novices, they won't have to join the KNU army or be soldiers. So, young people and even some of the soldiers became monks.

The village headman and the village Buddhist leader said the Christians must go also. They said if we didn't go, we'd be killed or harmed. They went round and threatened the people, so Christians as well as non-Christians got scared and went. If they didn't go and they didn't become vegetarians, they'd be killed. That's what the leaders said: "Someone will kill you." They frightened the

villagers, so people didn't know what to do. They are just hill people, Christian and non-Christian, so some of them moved. I stayed in the village.

This monk [*apparently U Thuzana, now DKBO chairman*] wanted everyone in our area to be vegetarians. They started forcing people to be vegetarians, so the other monks didn't agree with them. They kept trying to organise all the villagers in the hills. They started becoming more and more violent. They threatened us all: "It won't be easy for you if you don't go. We'll cut your throat, we'll mash you like chillies". The people are hill people, so they don't understand anything. This started in September or October 1994, then it became worse in November. It got worse and worse. They said, "Christianity is white man's religion. We must drive them away. White man's religion is not good."

The big trouble exploded in December 1994. They organised people by force. They threatened people, so people followed them without knowing anything. They confiscated KNU soldiers' weapons. A lot of people came through and were going to Thu Mwe Hta and Myaing Gyi Ngu [*the two DKBA bases at the time*], hundreds of people. They had no understanding, they were just told to go so they went. Later they started killing people. At first they were threatening the Christians with words, not guns, then in December they confiscated KNU guns, and their villagers [*converts*] took up arms and went to villages. Everyone was scared. They shot people, so we didn't know what to think. Would they harm us? We were nervous. When the monks start to carry guns — what can we do? In my village, one man was killed, but they also killed others at Thu Mwe Hta. After they killed Bo Kyaw Aye and Ner Ghaw [*captured Karen soldiers*] at Thu Mwe Hta, they became very rough. The man in my village was a soldier in civilian dress, just staying in the village. He was a Christian. First they confiscated the guns in the village — some villagers had shotguns that they had bought [*for hunting*]. Then they went to the upper village, called Maw Leh Meh Hta. The village man was standing and chatting close to his house after breakfast, and they recognised him so they shot him. He was Pah Day's son, his name was Saw Lweh Mu. He was 18 years old. I heard they also killed one man in Meh Ku Hta and one in Meh Nyo Hta, on the other side of the mountain. They also threatened the people there and shot at their houses, so the people were afraid and couldn't stay.

They stole things from the shops whose owners were Christians, and didn't pay for them. They stayed near the village. Then later when we evacuated a short distance away, they came into the village, took away our things and ate up everything. They rummaged around and tore up our books and Bibles. They poked the pictures of Christ through the eyes. They also threatened the Animists with guns. Some followed them, but some didn't understand so they just stayed in the village. They forced them to follow and said, "If you don't follow, we will kill you." They shot their guns. The situation got worse day by day so that people began to flee. The Christians ran away. I left in the first week of January 1995, because I heard the SLORC troops were coming. I heard SLORC were in

Paw Hta, quite nearby. I fled to Mae Paw Mu Hta [*refugee camp on the Thai side of the Salween river*]. I brought my family because I was worried for them. We managed to bring cooking pots, rice and blankets. Each member of the family carried whatever they could. Many things were left behind.

Then on 26 January 1995 we had to leave Mae Paw Mu Hta because DKBA came into the camp and started to shoot, torture and force the people to go back with them as they pleased. They shot with their guns, even though our refugee camp is on the Thai side. They came and took sacks of rice and threatened the people with their guns. So the people ran in all directions and were not able to take the rice. They fired their guns in the air. When people went back to get their rice, the soldiers shot at them. Then we came step by step to Tee Law Thi Kloh and we had no idea what was happening later.

Every able man who joins DKBA gets a gun. I heard they give 600 Ks per month. People who join DKBA but don't want to carry a gun have to sign a paper promising that they will not do anything against DKBA, and they have to carry this paper with them all the time. Some people joined them, soldiers and villagers, and later on they didn't agree with DKBA's rules and wanted to get out. But they're afraid of DKBA and its rules, so they were in despair. DKBA promised that families who follow them would receive rice and other help from SLORC. Many people who followed them had to go to Papun and they were given rice at the SLORC Army camp of IBs19 and 35. They receive it for free. DKBA got guns and uniforms from SLORC. I heard they had a yellow, white and blue badge on one shoulder, and a SLORC badge on the other. When they were in my village, they didn't have uniforms yet. Some wore yellow headbands around their head, and others tied them around their guns. I saw their monks carrying guns in the village. They carried AK47's, M16's, the guns that the soldiers confiscated.

Interview: 23-HRV: Religion, Execution, Relocation, Displacement, Livelihood, Child, Slavery, Refugee

Name :	Saw Kaw Mu Heh
Age:	26
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with one child (age four months)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Meh Bpa village, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State
Source:	KHRG

Saw Kaw Mu Heh's village was in a KNU-controlled area which had later been taken by SLORC. He is now a refugee in Thailand.

That group that joined with SLORC [DKBA] came into our village. They distributed leaflets to the villagers. The leaflets said the Christians oppressed the Buddhists, so young Buddhists were revolting against the Christians. A monk named Pa Ni Sa said he would disarm all KNU soldiers and disbanded the KNU organisation, after that he would go against SLORC and take all their weapons too. They said as the leaders from Headquarters [Manerplaw] killed many hundreds of Buddhists, they were going to kill all the Christians in our village. They said that the people in our village should only be Buddhists. Kyaw Kaw said that. He used to be a villager. He said the leaders from Manerplaw had killed 10 monks. Kyaw Kaw and other people who were vegetarians said people who eat meat must stop eating meat or else they would be killed. This happened when the fighting started [*in December 1994, when the DKBA started fighting against KNU*]. Kyaw Kaw passed through the village, going house to house to tell these things to all Buddhists. He didn't tell anything to the Christians, but when he found us he quarrelled and abused us. There were only two or three Christian families in our village. We had a [Buddhist] monastery there, but we didn't have any monks. After Kyaw Kaw threatened us, some of the Buddhists threatened us. Not only with words — they also stole our things such as clothes and boxes. They came when we were at home. When the villagers came to take my things, they pointed their guns at me. Some were soldiers and some were villagers who joined DKBA. They wore Burmese soldiers' uniforms and Burmese soldiers' boots, and their insignia was also Burmese. They had Burmese insignia on one arm and DKBA insignia on the other. They had AK [*AK47*], AR [*a shortened version of an M16*], and RPG's [*shoulder-launched rocket-propelled grenades*]. About 20 of them came to my house in the daytime. It was round about 27 or 28 of January 1995, just after Manerplaw fell. I arrived at Pu Mya Lu [*on the Thai side of the Salween*] on 30 January. One Christian family became Buddhist, and they didn't do anything to them. The other Christians escaped. Pu Law Eh's family came with me. In other villages like Paw Mu Der, I knew for sure that some Christian families there had to become Buddhists too.

They made problems for Buddhists who eat meat, too. They killed my elder brother. He was Animist. He was killed after we fled our village. My brother who became a monk was under threat because of not being a vegetarian. The man who saw it said he was shot dead. His name was Saw Ghay Say. He was over 30. He was not my real brother, he was my wife's brother. The Buddhist families who didn't join DKBA fled to Law Say Naw. There were about 20 families. They were planning to run further to Taw Tee Kwee, but I heard they were driven away by DKBA [*possibly forcibly relocated to Myaing Gyi Ngu area*]. I didn't know what happened to them. Almost half of the villagers became vegetarians. All the men took guns to fight. They disarmed the KNU soldiers who didn't join the DKBA — that's how they got the guns. I didn't see any Burmese soldiers in the village when it all started, but other people said they did. Fighting started behind the village, Karen soldiers against DKBA. All the ones

who joined DKBA went to the fighting. I was afraid, so I ran into the forest. After staying several days in Way Baw, I went to Mae Let Hta. As my wife was staying in Meh Bpa, I went back to get her. In Mae Let Hta, they tried to catch me and I ran away. They shot at me. I ran with four friends. None of us was hit. We went to Ma Mu, then to Wah Der, and then I crossed into Thailand. In Wah Der there was also fighting, so I couldn't stay there and I crossed over at Mae Paw Mu Hta. We had to sneak across because SLORC had already occupied part of Meh Paw Mu Hta [*Meh Paw Mu Hta village on Burma side of the river, not the refugee camp opposite on Thai side*]. Then we went to Meh Po [*the Mae Paw Mu Hta refugees moved to Meh Po*].

When the truck was shot [*en route to Huai Heng*] we were leaving Mae Po. We were in the fourth truck, behind the one that was hit. I didn't see anything, I only heard the shooting. When we arrived there I saw the dead bodies. They were in the truck, and the driver was dead on the steering wheel. I saw a child on his mother in the back. The other people from the truck had gone already. We went back and we did not hear any more shooting. My first cousin is Buddhist. His name is Taw Kho and he is 20 years old. He joined DKBA. He witnessed the deaths of his three companions who joined DKBO. SLORC accused the three men and created misunderstandings, then all three were killed by their own group. They were shot dead. Taw Kho had to shoot one of them himself. Then one time when they met with SLORC, he was accused of having Christian relatives and they threatened to kill him, so he fled. Taw Kho was just a villager, not a soldier.

Members of DKBA get salary from SLORC. Every single man was given 1,000 Ks per month [*note: this is 250 Ks more than SLORC private receives*], and those who got married were given 300 Ks plus every arrangement for their families. But the villagers received nothing. My wife's younger brother had to go as a porter for DKBA but he was not paid any money. He had to carry a very heavy load, and he didn't get enough food. He had to find food in the forest. He was a porter for 10 days. He is Buddhist.

Interview: 24-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery, Execution, Torture, Women, Child, Religion, Refugee

Name :	Saw Htoo Thaw
Age:	33
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with three children (age 2 and 7 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Hlaing Bwe Township, Karen State
Source:	KHRG

Saw Htoo Thaw was a refugee in Thailand who returned to Burma in January 1995 and was sent to Myaing Gyi Ngu. He escaped and returned to Thailand after one month and a half there. Now he is living in a hideout in Thailand in fear of DKBA reprisals.

I came to stay in Thailand because of the civil war, maybe 12 years ago. My older brother was living there too. He went back to Burma first, then he came back and called me to go with him. He told me that the situation in Burma was improved then, so I followed him. But when I arrived there, it was not improved like he had told me so I was afraid to stay and I came back here about 15 days ago [*10 March*]. This time my brother could not come back. I was not afraid in the refugee camp in Thailand, but my brother told me it was okay back in Burma so I went. First, I crossed at Mae Tha Waw [*SLORC position across the Moei river where refugees have been told to return to*]. At Mae Tha Waw, all the soldiers who checked us were Burmese, exception of three members of DKBA who are Karens. The Burmese soldiers looked and searched our bags. They took everything and they asked questions. They asked, "Are you a good person or a bad one? Did you come here to be good or to be bad? Did you come here to demonstrate?" Oh, many many questions. Along the way, whenever we reached a place, they asked questions, again and again. When we reached Pa-an there was a checkpoint, and when we reached the monk's place they also asked us questions. They took all our belongings and our blankets. We were left with only the clothes on our bodies. They wouldn't let us take even a sewing needle to the monk's place.

At Mae Tha Waw, there were more than 200 of us. There were four trucks and more than 50 persons in each truck. I was with my wife and children. To get into the trucks is free of charge. The trucks proceeded directly to Pa-an Town. We were hoping to live around there and farm, but our plan was not successful. They didn't help us anything. We stayed in Pa-an only one night and then the SLORC sent all of us to Khaw Taw [Myaing Gyi Ngu] by boat [up the Salween River]. At Khaw Taw, I saw many things. I couldn't remember or tell it all. I saw many soldiers, SLORC and DKBA mixed together. There were only bamboo grove and car roads, and bamboo grove and car roads, and they marked a plot of land for each house. The Burmese soldiers said, "It will be like a town". Each plot was about 40 plah [*60 feet*] across. Some people who arrived there before us had already built houses, but not so many. Some of them came from Thu Mwe Hta [*Confluence of Salween and Moei River*]. The people from Thu Mwe Hta and Naw Ta [*near SLORC's southern front against Manerplaw*] arrived first. There were about 200 or 300 houses. When we arrived we had to find a place by ourselves. Some quarrelled with others and started threatening each other with knives because they didn't have enough space. You had to stay in your place for some time until the Burmese came and measured it. Only after that you were allowed to start building a house. We had to live in the bushes. The Burmese gave construction materials only to the families of DKBA soldiers so that they had a chance to build the houses. But it was not for the people. We had to build houses for the soldiers first. We cut bamboo one by one for our house. After we

had cut them, the soldiers came and took them and made us build the soldiers' houses first. We weren't allowed to build our own houses. There were many more soldiers' families than families like ours. For the people like us, if we had two sons or two daughters then one of them had to go help the soldiers. As my children were too young, I had to go myself. Only when all the soldiers' houses were finished you were able to build your own house. There was only one stream and we were all using it. People were taking bath and washing clothes in it so it tasted of detergent and soap when we drank it. Then we dug a well. To get food we had to walk a very long way to the monastery. The Burmese gave it. It was only rice, salt and sesame paste. One family member had to go and get the food for the family. Each family got three big tins of rice for one month [*this is enough to feed three persons only*]. It was not enough. They only gave it to us once [*because he was only there 1½ months*]. Rice was all gone one day after it arrived as there were many new comers.

Everyday, they took 30 people from each section to go with the Burmese and be porters for two weeks. They didn't give anything to the porters. It was "voluntary work". If people didn't go they would be subject to beating. They're not afraid to kill us. They killed many of us. I didn't have to go because my child was sick, but otherwise I would have had to go. Instead, I had to help in the camp. I had to carry weapons and rice. The rice and the weapons transported by boat along the Salween River and we had to carry them to the monastery. We were ordered by the monk, but the Burmese soldiers were also in the monastery. The soldiers were also under the monk's command. [*Note: there has been speculation among the KNU that some of the "monks" may be SLORC officers.*]

They took other porters to 3rd Brigade [*Nyaunglebin District, far to the north*], Kloh Wah and Wan Kha [*Kawmoora*]. The porters had to carry weapons, not rice. Because whenever the soldiers arrived anywhere they took rice from that place [*porters had to carry rice at the front-line, but not when they left Khaw Taw*]. The people were gone for 15 days as porters. Sometimes the soldiers killed them secretly. When I was coming back to Thailand, I saw two dead people along the way. I saw that they had killed these two people, but the soldiers had told us they got sick and died. They didn't take women as porters, but the women had to build pagodas at Khaw Taw. They had to carry sand and rocks.

Each family also had to give one person to be a soldier, man or woman. They forced us. They said I had to become a soldier. They even registered my name in the book to become a soldier. When I saw that, I was afraid to be a soldier so I fled at night and came back here. When people became soldiers they had to sign a paper and make a vow with medicine. The monk gave them some medicine to drink, to all the soldiers. A man like me with a family received 1,000 Ks per month as a soldier. Each boy or girl who went as a soldier get 500 Ks per month. They must be 15 years old. The girls got training together with the boys. I knew that before I came back, they sent some to Meh Bpa [near Manerplaw]. Men and women mixed together. The women had to cook for them at the front-line. They

also sent many women to Wan Kha [Kawmoora] to cook. If they were forced to go, they had to go. If they were forced to cook, they had to cook.

It looked like a refugee camp. There was no school or hospital yet, but they planned to build them. There were many people from everywhere. They are Karen, Burmese and Muslims. There were people from Pa-an and Rangoon who were living there as traders. Most of the Karen villagers there were Buddhists, but there were also Christians. All the Christians who came there converted to Buddhism except my family. All were the same, it was not dangerous to be Christian there. They forced everyone to be vegetarians. Some people ate meat secretly, but most of them obeyed. When they caught people eating meat they put them in a place like a jail, near the monastery. They bound them in the stocks [*mediaeval-style leg stocks*]. I saw it myself. They kept them like that for one or two weeks. People who drank a lot got one or two warnings, then if they didn't obey they got the same treatment.

They didn't allow anyone to farm or do anything like that. We didn't farm, but we had to help the monks in the monastery. The monk normally stayed in the monastery. Only once, he came out of the monastery for a walk. He had three bodyguards in front of him, three behind him and three on either side, altogether 12 bodyguards. The bodyguards were soldiers. The monk had two pistols and a walkie-talkie. There were many, many monks in the monastery but we couldn't go and see them because there were three rows of guards around it. I only saw the leader of the monks. There were a lot of soldiers in Khaw Taw, Burmese and Karen all mixed together. One house for one soldier. The Burmese soldiers slept nearby but not in Khaw Taw itself. They organised training for the Karen soldiers. In Khaw Taw the monk gave military training, with guns. I didn't know his name.

They always told bad stories about our home areas. They told them in Burmese. I didn't know what they said, because I didn't care. In the camp, I knew there would be a mass uprising between DKBA and SLORC. While I was there, I saw DKBA soldiers fighting among themselves once or twice. DKBA made false accusations against each other. DKBA fought SLORC three times. They shot at each other right in Khaw Taw. Lots of them were wounded and many died.

I was unhappy living there and I was afraid to live there. We left at night time, hiding then going, hiding then going further. I went with my family first, then another family followed us after we left Khaw Taw. If they captured us they would kill us right away, so we were hiding and then moving. I gave money to a person who can speak Burmese very well, and two of them guided us. I gave them 6,000 Ks. When we reached a checkpoint, the soldiers asked us, "Where are you going?" We said, "We're going to visit another place". The guide could take one of us through the checkpoint at one time. It took us three days on foot. We arrived at the bank of the Moei River. We are happy to be back in Thailand but we are afraid because the spies are looking for us. I am afraid to go into a refugee camp. The two guides are still here. They are afraid to go back, because after they came here the Burmese followed to look for them.

Interview: 25-HRV: Detention, Torture, Slavery, Livelihood, Execution, Religion, Refugee

Name :	Pa Ngeh
Age:	42
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with four children (age 3, 5, 10 years and 10 months)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Klaw Hta village, Papun District, Karen State
Source:	KHRG

Pa Ngeh's village was in a KNU-controlled area which had later been taken by SLORC. He is now a refugee in Thailand.

I brought my children here because of the Burmese troops. The Burmese troops captured me in February 1995. I am just a villager, people in my village are mostly farmers. The Burmese troops had to pass through our village on their way to Oo Po Hta. They took villagers with them on the way, then they took a different way back and they let the villagers go at 2:00 p.m. I went to look for a friend who had run away. On my way back after two or three days, the Burmese caught me on the way. They took off my shirt and found that I was wearing a military-colour T-shirt underneath. They asked, "Are you a soldier?" I said, "I'm not a soldier." They said, "How can you not be a soldier, when you are wearing military clothes? All of us are soldiers and we wear military clothes. If you are not a soldier, then you are an officer or NCO." After they asked two or three questions which I answered without thinking, a soldier started kicking me. Then another soldier kicked me and another came up and punched me two or three times. All the soldiers came up and beat me as much as they were pleased. Another one tied me up because they were worried that I would escape. Then another one came and touched me with a bayonet. He said, "Don't move. You see this bayonet." I thought they would shoot me, but they didn't. They asked me many questions. Then they said, "Stand up and move." I went together with them. When we arrived outside my village, one of them said, "Tell me all the secrets about your village." I said, "I don't know any secret". Then they told me to close my eyes. They kicked me on my chin and I fell unconscious. I didn't know anything for a while. After that, my arms and legs felt very weak. The soldiers told me, "Put on your sandals and we'll go back to the village." When we got there, they destroyed everything in the village. They came to catch porters. They burned houses and killed all the animals. After that they left and went on their way.

Because of kicking my chin and head were bleeding. The Burmese soldiers hit me like this, like that, like this and like that. They were all SLORC soldiers. There were 31 soldiers who caught and beat me, but there were about 400 others

with them — I'm not sure exactly how many. The commander saw his soldiers beating me and told them, "Don't beat him like that." If the commander didn't say that, I would have died for sure. Their commander who let me go was Bo Kyi Aung. Bo Kyi Aung was a Karen soldier, but not long ago he gave his weapon to SLORC and became a SLORC commander. When he did that twenty of his soldiers followed him. Now he has 400 SLORC soldiers under him [*SLORC soldiers and about 20 Karen defectors; it seems unlikely that SLORC would give such a command to a recent defector, so it may be in appearance only — so that SLORC can claim the entire battalion is DKBA*']. Bo Kyi Aung and his 20 friends wore soldiers' uniforms but a little different from SLORC soldiers. They went to the monks and got their yellow badges from them. On his other arm he wore the number "33" [*for SLORC LID 33*]. He and his friends wore yellow headband-scarves. All of Bo Kyi Aung's second lieutenants tried to organise the villagers to follow them. In the village, they didn't hurt the villagers but they took the people's rice and other things. If they found KNU soldiers, they took their guns if they didn't follow him. None of the villagers I knew follow them. Instead they'd all fled the village. If they captured Buddhists they let them go. If they captured Christians, they killed them. All Christians ran away when they heard he was coming. Bo Kyi Aung hated Christians very much, but I didn't know why. In the village, Bo Kyi Aung said that Karen women were all like rats, and that when the cats are at home, the rats can't stay at home. Some of the Buddhist families joined them, but some didn't join because they are afraid of the Burma Army. Most people say that the power is in SLORC's hands and they are leading the DKBA on a rope. Even the families who joined DKBA did it because they are afraid of SLORC. They organised villagers to join with gentle speeches, but if the villagers didn't want to join then they ordered them to join. If the people didn't join them, they threatened to burn their houses and take their things. So the families who didn't join them had to run away. Now there are troubles between the Christians and Buddhists because of the Burmese. They are spreading rumours and gossips to turn the people against each other. They put up notices on the trees, on the roadsides, at forks in the road and where people stop to take a rest — written orders from SLORC. They said, "If you see us, don't flee from us. Just stay at home." They said something against KNU, and that if villagers found out someone was co-operating with KNU, then that person would get into trouble. Families who join DKBA got assistance, but not enough. They only gave salt and rice, but not enough. They didn't give blankets or things like that.

Interview: 26-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Execution, Slavery, Refugee, Displacement

Name : Pu Eh Phe Su
Age: 53
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Christian

Family: Married with four children (age from 9 to 26 years)
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Klaw Hta village, Papun District, Karen State
Source: KHRG

Pu Eh Phe Su's village was in a KNU-controlled area which had later been taken by SLORC. He is now a refugee in Thailand.

They fired guns in our village and we couldn't stay anymore. At one time, they came, fired their guns and then left, so we could stay. But the last time, they shot a lot more and we couldn't stay. The first time was at the beginning of last month [*February*]. The second time was only two weeks later. The second time there were about 400 soldiers. I think they came to catch people, but they couldn't catch anyone.

They used to fire their guns, arrest people and beat them if they couldn't answer questions. Two or three years ago [*during their last major offensive into the area*], they shot two people dead from our village. This time one person was killed at Klaw Hta. They shot him dead. He was a villager. He was over 70 years old, so he couldn't run. While the villagers were fleeing the village, he met them in the forest and they shot him. His name was Pu Hlu Poh. They shot him, hit his stomach and his intestines came out. Pa Kyaw saw it.

This time when they came to our village they fired their guns around. They didn't have time to say anything and we didn't have time to listen their voices, because we ran before they arrived. We hid on the other side of the village. A shell landed very close to my house. Nobody was hurt. They caught some porters, and these porters had to go and carry. None of our villagers joined DKBA. Everyone just fled the village. We couldn't carry anything when we ran, so we were in deep trouble along the way. I think we're safe here [in Thailand], but I'm not sure exactly.

Most of the people in our village were Buddhists, but there were many Christians too. There used to be so many houses, but by the time we fled there were only seven households left, four Buddhist families and three Christian families. Everybody ran away.

Interview: 27-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Repatriation, Disappearance

Name : Saw Klo Wah
Age: 29
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Christian
Family: Single
Address: Papun township, Papun District, Karen State (Refugee in Ka Htee Hta camp for five years)

Source: KHRG

Saw Klo Wah was left behind in Ka Htee Hta by the camp leader to monitor events after most of the refugees left.

On 7 February 1995, SLORC and some DKBA soldiers arrived in Oo Thu Hta [*on the Burmese side of the Salween River, opposite Ka Htee Hta*]. At 4:45 p.m. on 10 February, some of them crossed to our Ka Htee Hta camp. Seventeen of them crossed by boats and three others came from the mountain [*these three must have crossed elsewhere to approach the camp from behind*]. Three of them were Karen, and the other 17 were Burmese. They were all wearing Burma Army uniforms and carried weapons. Three of them came up the hill to the Meh Wih Der section [*most of the refugees had already fled the camp, but about 50 families were still staying in this outlying section of the camp*]. They were Karen, and they had weapons. Two of them had G2 rifles [*Burma Army assault rifles*] and the other had an M16. All of them were wearing Burma Army uniforms, but I didn't see the number on their badges. They weren't far away, but as I was afraid and running, I didn't see the number. They asked, "Don't run away". But I was afraid and I continued running. After 15 minutes, many villagers from the refugee camp went to talk with them. More than 20 people went to talk, and they talked together peacefully. They told the villagers to come and follow them to Oo Thu Hta and Thu Mwe Hta, and said there wouldn't be any problem. I didn't go to meet with them, but I sent people to go and listen and then come back and tell me. On that day, 15 families followed them. They ordered those families to stay in Khaw Taw, in Ka Ma Maung area. They promised those families everything. They said that there would be no problem to stay there, and that no one would be allowed to stay here [Thailand]. They said that to stay here was very bad. They said, "Burmese leaders and soldiers have prepared a place for you on the Burmese side where everything is easy." SLORC was lying to them. Some people believed them while some people didn't understand. They didn't know about SLORC lies, so they followed them. They weren't afraid because the three soldiers were Karen. About 30 to 50 families didn't go with them. They left that evening to move to Meh Wih Kloh and Meh Paw Kloh [*further inside Thailand, where the other refugees had already moved for safety*]. It's five kilometres from Ka Htee Hta. Then Ka Htee Hta was empty. That first time they didn't point their guns at people, they just organised them together. But later, the second, third and fourth times were very bad. During those times they ordered people to follow them, and if some people did not follow then they pointed their guns at those who refused. That was after 10 February. After that the camp leader sent me here. Then I got information every day from the monk who was still staying at Meh Wih Der [*after 10 February, the monk and his helpers were the only ones who dared stay there. SLORC and DKBA used him to pass messages to the camp leaders, while he provided the camp leaders with information on SLORC and DKBA activities*].

Interview: 28-HRV: Refugee, Detention, Livelihood, Porters, Execution, Displacement, Women, Torture, Repatriation, Disappearance

Name :	Saw Ghay Ploh
Age:	45+
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married, several children
Address:	Ka Htee Hta refugee camp for about 10 years
Source:	KHRG

Saw Ghay Ploh was camp leader of Ka Htee Hta refugee camp. He was abducted and taken across the border with his family by SLORC/DKBA less than one week after this interview was conducted.

Between 6 and 10 February 1995, everyone left Ka Htee Hta camp to go to Meh Wih Kloh [*five kilometre inside Thailand*] because it wasn't safe anymore, except about 50 families in Section 1 [*Meh Wih Der section*]. On 7 February 1995, SLORC was shelling Oo Thu Hta [*across the Salween River from Ka Htee Hta*] the whole day. They first entered Oo Thu Hta at 4:00 p.m. On 8 February, SLORC went to Thaw Let Hta [*Mae Sam Lap, a Thai side trading village a few kilometres down-river*] by boat to get more diesel. On 9 February, the Thai Army left a boat with us because they couldn't get back to Thaw Let Hta [*the Thais were heading back down-river from further north, but had to go overland the last stretch because of the risk of SLORC attack on boats in the river*]. That day SLORC and DKBA stole that boat. We couldn't do anything to get it back. Then on 10 February, DKBA and SLORC entered section 1 of our camp. They were wearing army uniforms. They were from SLORC LIB 5. The four DKBA were Pa Pyaw, Pa Doh Deh, Swee Swee and Lway Say. I know all four of them, because they used to stay in the camp. They had uniforms with DKBA badges, a yellow Buddhist symbol with no number -- but their shirts are Burma Army shirts. Pa Doh Deh had a G2 [*Burma Army assault rifle*] and the others had M16's. They came to take the villagers back. Fifteen families went back. I think they went because they were afraid. Most families didn't go. Then from 10 to 12 February, the Burmese came into the camp and took all the villagers' belongings, livestock and rice from the storehouse. Three boat-loaded soldiers came across the river. They took 400 sacks [*100 kg. each*] from the storehouse, and 100 sacks that had already been distributed from the houses. [*When the refugees first evacuated the camp they planned to go back for these things, but once SLORC began crossing the river they didn't dare*.] They brought porters to carry these sacks. The porters were Karen and Burmese. They took them across to Oo Thu Hta. They had three big boats which were normally using for cattle trading. They took Bo Kyaw San's boat. It took them three days. The Burmese soldiers were carrying the sacks too.

The monks shouted at them not to take the rice, and they just shouted back. They also took 300 blankets from the storehouse that were to be distributed in the camp. The monks asked some people to go and carry some of the rice to us so we'd have something to eat [*these people went to take some rice out of the storehouse to carry it to the refugees at Meh Wih Klo. For some reason the Burmese didn't stop them doing this.*] On 12 February, they killed two of the Buddhist refugees who went back on 10 February. We knew because the monk and the people who carried the rice told us. The men they killed were Win Oo and Than Myint. Win Oo was 28 years old, married with three children. Than Myint was 20 years old and single — he was a Burmese student with ABSDF [All-Burma Students' Democratic Front]. I thought maybe they killed them because they wanted Win Oo's wife, but I didn't know. He hadn't done anything. They were from Ka Htee Hta, Section 5. Win Oo and Than Myint went across with the 15 families on 10 February. Then on 12 February, they were staying in Oo Thu Hta, and the Burmese killed them by the riverside. The monk went across to visit Oo Thu Hta to see if he could get any of our things back. He saw the bodies of Win Oo and Than Myint. They were shot to death, and their bodies were floating in the Salween River. On 12 February, they took five more families, so altogether they took 20 families, 113 people. Three DKBA came to Meh Wih Kloh, five kilometres from the river. They came with guns to take people. This time they didn't ask, they said they would shoot the people if the people didn't come. They took five families with them. They said the Burmese would shell the place, so after they left everyone was afraid and cried and we ran away again. Everyone left that night and took their children with them because they were afraid of DKBA. Everyone went to Meh Paw Kloh [*another hour's walk further into Thailand*]. We found out that on 15 February, the Burmese killed three of the men who DKBA took with them on 12 February. Their names were Meh Ka La, age 26, married with two children; Maw Bee, age 38, married with five children; and Pa Da Kee, age 32, married with two children. The monk heard the gunshots across the river, and then he found out from DKBA. On 18 February, the monk came to Meh Paw Kloh from Meh Wih Der and talked to us. He said, "The Burmese told me that at the end of this month they will take the Meh Paw Kloh area [*the new refugee camp, over five kilometre inside Thailand*]. They will shell this place and force you to go back to Burma." He said the Burmese came to his place at night with their weapons and gave an order for all of us to return by the end of the month or they would shell and attack us. I came and met the Thai Amphur [*government administrative district chief*] of Mae Sariang here at Mae Kong Kha and he said, "Don't run to here". I told him we needed to come here because we are afraid. So we just came here, and then the Amphur said it's okay. That's funny. Now we are here, but there are still 50 families to come from Meh Paw Kloh. They will come here tomorrow. So far [*as of March 2*] the Burmese have not come to Meh Paw Kloh. When the monk comes again we will get more news. Now he stays in Meh Wih Der. He is very charismatic, so he acts as a messenger both for us and the Burmese. Maung Than Myint also told me something. His niece Ma Nyay went with DKBA on 12 February. She is 18 years old. Maung Than Myint was staying at Thaw Let Hta [*Mae Sam Lap*], and he said on 21 February the DKBA brought his

niece across the river and told him what happened to her. DKBA said she had been raped by 20 Burmese soldiers, all on the same night. He said DKBA was very angry. They brought her across and asked the Thais to send her to Mae Sariang Hospital, but he says now she is hospitalised in Chiang Mai. I'm not sure.

Interview: 29-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Slavery, Displacement, Repatriation

Name : Saw Tha Htoo
Age: 28
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Single
Address: Ka Htee Hta refugee camp
Source: KHRG

On 10 and 11 February 1995, I was at Meh Wih Der. I had to take care of the rice in the storehouse, but the Burmese soldiers wouldn't listen to me. They took the rice, and they made me carry it also. They took the rice to the river. Then I started taking rice out of the storehouse so we could keep it. I took the rice to the monastery. The soldiers were all Burmese except one Karen from Yan Gyi Aung [*another witness gave his name as Maung Lay*]. He was in DKBA uniform. There were eight or nine Burmese with him at the storehouse, but there were many more Burmese waiting at the riverside. They were wearing uniforms. The Burmese at the storehouse weren't carrying weapons, they were carrying rice. But the ones by the riverside had guns to protect them. Five or six refugees had to help them. The others were afraid and ran away. While we were carrying, the Burmese asked us to go back to Burma. They said if we went back they wouldn't do anything to us, and they asked us to take them back across the river by boat. When they were searching the houses and got angry, they started bayoneting the floors. On 11 and 12 February, although we were few in number, they were many and they emptied the storehouse. They came with many people. There were about 20 Burmese, and six or seven of them came to the monastery with guns. Some DKBA came but stayed down at the riverside. On the 12 February, the monks told us not to go to the storehouse. Only a few people were still in Meh Wih Der — most were afraid to stay there anymore. After the 12 February, nobody stayed there anymore.

Interview: 30-HRV: Detention, Torture, Refugee, Displacement, Livelihood, Repatriation, Disappearance

Name : Saw Kaw Muh
Age: 38
Sex : Male

Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Christian
Address: Ber Lu Ko refugee camp
Source: KHRG

When SLORC took the area south of Manerplaw, refugees from Kler Thay Lu and Mae Po Hta camps along the Moei river had to flee further inside Thailand. Most went to Baw Noh and other camps, but 200 or more fled to the Thai Karen village of Ber Lu Ko, where they set up an impromptu refugee camp. Saw Kyaw Li, or "Uncle Jolly", was staying there. He was formerly camp leader at Kler Thay Lu, but at Ber Lu Ko he was only in charge of transport and communication.

Uncle Kyaw Li was kidnapped on 2 March 1995. They came at about 7:30 p.m. Altogether there were 30 of them, and six came into the village to catch Kyaw Li. I saw six, then I ran from the house. They were Karen, wearing uniforms but without badges. They had guns, M16 and AK47. They came in two groups, one from the east to Uncle Kyaw Li's house and the other from the west, to Ko Lay's house. Uncle Kyaw Li was visiting his niece. He met DKBA here, in front of my house, after he left his niece's house. They caught him and beat him. They kicked him and beat him with a torch-light. Uncle Kyaw Li is 70 years old, maybe 80. He is not too unhealthy, but he has high blood pressure. I think they said to him, "We asked you to come back with us and you didn't come back. If you stay here you have a lot of power, so we've come to get you." Then they tied his hands and took him to Mae Tha Waw. They left at 10:00 p.m. All the other soldiers came from around the village and they went to the car road. We knew there were about 30 because we saw them sitting and smoking outside the village, and later we saw their footprints.

They left a letter in the village. It said, "Everyone must go back. You will get into trouble if you stay here." It said we all had to go back by 5 March, two days from then. I didn't see the letter — the camp leader got it, and he burned it. I don't think people will go. Buddhists won't go, and Christians won't go. They create problems for everyone. If they were just Buddhist soldiers we would go, but they have joined with the Burmese. If they come again we'll go to another place. There are 27 households of new refugees here.

Now Uncle Kyaw Li is being held at Meh Baw Plaw. His bodyguard went after him with his daughter, and the bodyguard came back and told us. He is not dead. I don't know if they will kill him. I don't know what DKBA's ideas are, joining with the Burmese. They are both the same. Kyaw Li is Christian SDA [*Seventh-Day Adventist, which is particularly hated by DKBA because it is Gen Bo Mya's religion*]. His wife already died. He has four children. At Kler Thay Lu, he was a camp leader. Now his daughter is with him. She is also a Christian.

We don't know about DKBA's relationship with Rangoon government or why they've joined with the Burmese, but we know that they hate the Christians and

if we go back we'll surely have trouble. If we thought the situation were safe and okay, we would go back.

Interview: 31-HRV: Refugee, Religion, Execution, Livelihood

Name :	Naw Paw Nwee
Age:	49
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with six children (age between 13 and 27 years)
Address:	Hlaing Bwe township, Karen State (now a refugee in Thailand)
Source:	KHRG

Naw Paw Nwee's family lives just outside Gray Hta refugee camp in Thailand.

I have been living on the Thai side for 18 years. [*The other night, on 9 March*] we were at the hut in our field. They came at 1:30 a.m. We were sleeping. They pointed a gun at us and said, "Don't move". When they entered the hut there was a cross, a Bible and a hymn-book on the table, and they threw them away. Three men entered the hut, and the other three stayed outside. Only one man had a gun — the other two had no guns, they had knives. I don't know about the others outside. People told me the gun was an AK47 [*Thai soldiers told her the following day after finding the cartridge cases*]. Only one man wore an army uniform — the others wore black T-shirts and black pants, but the one with the gun wore shorts. They had cloth over their faces, with holes for the eyes. I think they were Karen. They spoke Karen and Burmese, each spoke a different language. They pointed their gun at all of us: myself, my husband and my son. They said, "Just don't move and keep your mouths shut". Then they asked for money. While one of the men was pointing the gun, the remaining two went to look around in the other rooms. When they came back, the one who had the gun went into the rooms and looked again. Those men took all the new clothes from our house. They took my two necklaces, my ring, one pair of earrings and 10,140 baht [*about US$ 406, their life savings — note that poor people in Burma use jewellery as a form of savings, because banks are inaccessible and unreliable*]. My husband gave them the money and said, "We only have that money, I swear to God." Then the man said, "The situation is not like before. There is no God any longer." He said it in Karen. Then he shot my husband in the mouth and in the shoulder. He shot my son in the jaw, and again in the chest. The bullet came out through his back. He shot them two times each. After that they just left. After a few minutes I heard the sound of a car on the road.

My other son ran away when they entered the house. He was sleeping in the kitchen. He is only 12 years old. When he ran away he saw the men who were outside the house. They had torch-lights. They were shining them on the house, and telling the others in Burmese not to fire their guns. My husband's name was

Saw Htoo Htoo. He was 61 years old. My son was Tamla Htoo. He was 27. He had a wife and four children. The eldest is seven years old, the youngest is four months. Before, we planted tobacco, and my son sold the tobacco. That was all the money we had saved. My son was a good boy. He never asked for clothes. He never made any trouble for his parents. He was helping his father because our younger sons are still in school. [*The family farmed tobacco and vegetables on the Burmese side of the river, but stayed in a hut on the Thai side of the river for safety. This is where the attack took place.*]

Interview: 32-HRV: Refugee, Execution, Livelihood, women

Name :	Pu Taw Ploh
Age:	60
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Wife deceased, five children (age from 6 to 28 years) and a grandchildren
Address:	From Mae Let Hta Area, Papun District, Karen State; later a refugee in Mae Paw Mu Hta, Thailand (now a refugee in Thailand)
Source:	KHRG

Pu Taw Ploh's wife Naw Peh, age 60, was killed in the shooting on 20 February 1995.

We have been in Thailand for one year. We came through Mae Let Hta and stayed in Mae Paw Mu Hta, then to Kaw Mu Der, Meh Po and Htee Loh Tee Klo [*after they had to flee Mae Paw Mu Hta because SLORC troops were across the river*]. When we lived in our own place, nothing happened to us. Now when we moved to Thailand, the Burmese troops shot us. There were six families on the truck, five Christian and one Buddhist. Many brought their things with them. Our belongings were put in another truck which went earlier. I was at the back of the truck, but my family was in the middle, all our children were in the middle. I saw three men appeared, wearing military uniforms. They were around a curve in the road, on the bank alongside the road, on the driver's side. It was higher than the truck, so they could see us on the back. All of them had guns — one AK47, one Carbine and one mortar [*M79 grenade launcher*]. They said nothing. When they saw us, they stopped our truck and started shooting immediately. I saw the man on the hillside raising his hand to stop the truck, then the truck stopped, and when it stopped they came running down shooting. I couldn't do anything, just ran away. If we didn't run away, we would all be killed. They came running down, and they were shooting while they ran. I was the first to jump out. When I jumped out of the truck, I didn't care how I fell, I wasn't afraid of being hurt by falling, I was just afraid of shooting. They were shooting dat dat dat dat dat, then automatic fire. My wife was afraid and tried to jump out of the truck. When she was about to jump, the bullet hit her. She was

shot in the back. The bullet came out her front together with all her internal organs. Her name is Naw Peh. After we jumped down, they fired their M79. The glass of the windshield was smashed. It hit the front of the truck, and most people were hit by the shrapnel. Four of our children were hit. Of five in our family, four were wounded and my wife died. All of my children were wounded by splinters. One of my nieces, my wife and the driver were hit by bullets. My niece was hit right where she was as soon as the shooting started, she was the first one hit. The bullet hit her forehead, and split her head apart. The others were wounded by splinters. Each of them was seriously wounded. One was hit in the temple, my grandson Kya Ma Lay. As soon as we jumped down, we went down a steep bank into the gully. When the soldiers came down to the road we were already in the gully. We ran away any way we could, we went towards Kaw Thu Mwe village and slept there that night. I was carrying my grandson on my back. There is a medic there who can treat small wounds, but not big ones. Then they sent my grandson to Mu Yu [*Mae Sariang*] Hospital [*before sending him, foreign NGO staff who arrived had to do a transfusion and splenectomy in the field to save the little five-year-old boy's life, because he had also been hit badly in the abdomen*]. The others were not so serious. They stayed in other people's houses [in Mae Ra Mu Klo camp] and went to the clinic every day to get dressings.

An mahout was hurt too. When he saw the attack he jumped off his elephant and ran, and he was hit by a splinter in his back. Ours was the only truck that got shot. There were five trucks, we were the second and there were three more behind us. The people behind saw, and they stopped their trucks and ran away [*they went and notified the camp leader, who went to the scene together with Thai soldiers the following morning*]. I didn't go there in that morning.

I was aching all over. My son-in-law went to see at about 9:00 a.m. The men had searched my niece's bag, took her earrings and 80 baht [*Thai currency*] and tore up her bag. My wife also had money in her bag, but it was still there. She used her bag to cover her wound. She was laying face down and stuffed it against her wound. They [*the authorities*] took pictures of her, then her body was brought back and we buried her.

The men didn't shout anything, just raised their hand to stop the truck and shot. Their clothes were dark green, like usual, like SLORC uniforms. They looked like they could have been Burmese, but not for sure. Maybe DKBA, but they looked like SLORC because they were wearing SLORC uniforms. They didn't talk so I couldn't tell. Two of them had nothing on their heads, and the other had a cap. [*DKBA men often wear yellow headbands.*]

Interview: 33-HRV: Refugee, Child, Livelihood, Execution, women

Name :	Naw Krit Heh
Age:	27
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married, had a three-year-old child and in pregnant
Address:	From Mae Mweh Hta Area, Karen State; later a refugee in Mae Paw Mu Hta, Thailand
Source:	KHRG

I came to Thailand one year ago, first to Pway Baw Lu and then to section 4 of Mae Paw Mu Hta. We left Mae Paw Mu Hta, and last Thursday [20 February 1995] we were being moved here. We were on the truck with our belongings. I was with my husband and child, and also my parents. I was in the back, just behind the cab. I saw soldiers, Burmese. Three of them, with guns. They were in military uniforms. The colour was green, Burmese green. They were Burma Army uniforms, but I didn't see the badge. [*Note: the cut and colour of Burma Army uniforms are noticeably different from KNLA and other opposition uniforms.*] They looked like Burmese soldiers. They said "Stop", in Karen. Two of them were by the side the road and one was in front of us. The two by the side of the road stopped the truck. After we stopped, they started shooting at us. The one in front of the truck shot first. I couldn't count the shots. They shot constantly, and while they were shooting we tried to run away. They shot their mortar [*M79 grenade*] at the truck. When it exploded, I was hurt by a splinter and I jumped out and ran. My child was in my arms, and my husband ran in front of me. They kept shooting. I didn't follow my husband, I ran another direction. I ran down the slope and then crossed the field. My child was wounded just a little. When the mortar exploded, a splinter hit the glass windshield of the truck and a piece of glass hit him [*his name is Nay Hta Ghay, three years old*]. We ran to Tee Law Hta. Then the following day, people took us by car to the clinic [*at Mae Ra Mu Klo camp. Naw Krit Heh had a wound behind her left ear and three small superficial wounds on her back*]. My husband was also wounded. My mother Naw Peh died in the truck. We were sitting down together in the truck. When she stood up to run, the Burmese shot at her. When the mortar exploded, I looked for a second at my mother and then I ran away. May Paw was my sister-in-law. I saw when she was shot. She was shot in the head and she died on the spot. They were both shot by AK47 bullets. They shot us at Thay Wah Der, just a few minutes from our old camp [Meh Po Kee]. We left everything in the truck. I dared not go back to get them. People who went back saw my belongings and said they were all stained with blood.

Interview: 34-HRV: Refugee, Repatriation, Execution, Livelihood

Name :	Saw Kwa
Age:	49
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with four children (age from 8 to 24 years)
Address:	From K'Thay Kee village, Karen State; later a refugee in Mae Paw Mu Hta, Thailand
Source:	KHRG

We used to cultivate paddy in the plains and on the hill-side. I'm also a carpenter. We came to Thailand three years ago, first to Thu Moei Hta camp [*forcibly repatriated by the Thai Army in mid-1992*], then to Mae Paw Mu Hta.

I was in the truck. I was in the cab, wedged between the driver and the conductor [both Thais]. There were three of us in the cab. I'm not sure how many people were in the back, maybe 13 or 14. Also some belongings, and six goats and two pigs. The people were from four families, but only some members of each family. I was the only one from my family, except my one sibling. The men blocked the way, stopped the truck and pointed their guns. I didn't hear whether they shouted or not. They just pointed their guns and then opened fire. We didn't hear anything, we didn't have time to listen. As soon as they pointed their guns we just ran. I didn't have a chance to look. But listening to the gunfire and looking later at the place, I think there were about 20 of them. I only saw one myself. He came out of the jungle, a small gully around a bend in the road. He was at the right side of the road, the driver's side. He stopped the car and then he shot the driver. Then the other guns followed. I saw him and then I couldn't see anymore, but I heard the sounds of six or seven guns. There was an uphill slope on the road, and they shot down the hill at us. When I was running, a bullet just grazed my back. I think the driver was hit instantly, but I didn't have time to look. He died. Then a grenade from M79 exploded and injured the children. It was 5:00 p.m. [on 20 February 1995] and we were between the hills, so I didn't see him very clearly. It looked like he had a soldier uniform. The others were up the slope. They fired at the car, and they fired at those who were running. As soon as I was out of the truck I went down the gully and followed the stream. The [Thai] conductor caught up with us, and the others came up one by one. Small children were running by themselves until others saw them and helped them. Eleven or twelve people were wounded by the M79 shrapnel. I had a bag on the truck, one or two machetes and a bag of rice. I was so scared and I never went back. Nobody asked about their belongings. The following morning people found them, and one of the small goats was playing with the child who had been left behind [*Naw May Paw's child, about four years old, who stayed alone beside his mother's body all night.*] These men were not robbers. The yellow headbands [*"Ko Per Baw", the common name people have adopted for the*

DKBA] rebelled against the Christians, and now they have joined the Burmese. The two groups have become one. We are refugees and we are in a KNU area, so they attacked us.

Interview: 35-HRV: Refugees, Livelihood

Name : Naw Shay Roh
Age: 42
Sex : Female
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Christian
Date: 20 February 1995
Source: KHRG

I was standing in the back of the truck holding on to the side. I saw two men shooting, but I didn't see the man who stopped the car. I saw them standing and crouching and shooting their guns down. I had no time to look — when they shot, I ran. All five of my children were on the truck. My youngest is five years old. As soon as I jumped down, I heard an explosion. I grabbed my youngest child and ran. I fell down into the gully. I didn't even know I was wounded until I got to the stream and I saw the blood running down from my knee. The others were the same too.

Interview: 36-HRV: Refugees, Livelihood, Women, Child

Name : Naw Meh Ta Ker
Age: 17
Sex : Female
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Christian
Date: 20 February 1995
Source: KHRG

When they started shooting, I was so afraid that I went like this [*she hid her head in her arms*] and I didn't see anything. I dared not look up. Then I looked. I didn't see the one who stopped the truck, but I saw the ones on the hillside. They were wearing army green, like Tatmadaw [*Burma Army*] uniforms. They shouted "Whay!" [*this could be either a Karen or Burmese shout*]. The young woman died near me, and the old woman too. Naw May Paw was laying like this by her bundle, and her child was sitting there. I was afraid, I saw people die, I saw Naw May Paw's brain coming out and I saw blood so I slid down out of the truck and ran. [*According to other witnesses the child, about four years old, was left behind and stayed by his dead mother all night long, until he was found along with the bodies the following morning.*]

Interview: 37-HRV: Slavery, Torture, Disappearance

Name : Mya Sein
Age: 28
Sex : Male
Occupation: Trishaw driver
Address: Moulmein Town, Mon State
Interviewed: 18 March 1995
Source: KHRG

I was taken on 7 March 1995. I was on the street with my trishaw. I was taken to an army base at Thein Zayat, near Thaton. I was then sent to Pa-an and then to Thingan Nyi Naung with other porters. I had to carry 75mm shells for IB 2 under the command of LID 44. I was kicked twice by a soldier when I was getting tried. One 60- year-old man asked for extra food, so the soldier hit him in the eye. His eye was bleeding. A 70-year-old man died because he had to work too much and the soldiers did not give him water. His body was left under a tree. When people die they are just crossed off the list of porters. The soldiers never tell the family that they died, instead they say they escaped. I fled on 14 March when there was fighting around Wah Lay. I was taken as a porter once before, three years ago, and taken to somewhere across from Mae Sot *[i.e. near Myawaddy]*.

Interview: 38-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture

Name : Than Myint
Age: 35
Sex : Male
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Thanbyuzayat Town, Mon State
Interviewed: 18 March 1995
Source: KHRG

I was taken more than 20 days ago. The village headman called me and I was put on a truck by the IB 31. I was held for eight days in Thanbyuzayat and had to work building roads, breaking stones, and digging trenches. Then I was sent to the base of the LIB 104 near Moulmein. I was sent by boat with LIB 104 to Kyon Doe and then by car to Thingan Nyi Naung. We were then taken south to Palu Area. I carried goods for two days and then I got sick as we were walking through the jungle and the soldiers threw me under a tree. I got up continued walking slowly. Win Tin and Mya Sein saw me, helped me and gave me water. We escaped together. I still have pains in my chest.

Interview: 39-HRV: Slavery, Torture, Execution, Disappearance

Name : Hlaing Wai Oo
Age: 20
Sex : Male
Occupation: Trishaw driver
Address: Moulmein Town, Mon State
Interviewed: 18 March 1995
Source: KHRG

On 9 March, I was in a cinema hall watching a foreign movie together with about 70 other men. I was taken by boat to Kyon Doe, then one day later we were transported by truck to Thingan Nyi Naung, and then went with the other by truck to Palu Area. We were given very little to eat, just a small plastic bag with cooked rice, and it was very salty. I saw there men killed while we were moving with the army. One man was lying by the road, his head was bloody and he had been beaten to death. I saw another body, an old man, beside the road. We cannot stop and look at people who have been injured or have died, we have to keep walking and looking straight ahead when we see a body. The third man could no longer carry anything, so a soldier hit him on the chest and head. Then the soldier started hitting him on the shoulder with a 75mm shell. The porter said to the soldier, "Kill me, I can't go on anymore." Then the soldier just kicked him down the hill, so we don't know for sure if he died, but I think so. The soldiers told us that if we tried to run away we would be killed. I ran away on 14 March, during the fighting between Wah Lay and Kaneh Li.

Interview: 40-HRV: Slavery, Torture

Name : Naing Win Lwin
Age: 26
Sex : Male
Occupation: Trishaw driver
Address: Moulmein Town, Mon State
Interviewed: 18 March 1995
Source: KHRG

On 9 March, I was in the movie theatre with my family *[the same as Hlaing Wai Oo,interview 39]*. The soldiers from LIB 104 brought a truck up to the entrance of the theatre and they told all the men to stand on one side and the women to the other. Then the men were tied together and put on the truck. We were taken to the dock and put on a boat to Kyon Doe, then put on a truck and taken to Thingan Nyi Naung. On the truck to Thingan Nyi Naung, I was hit on the back of my head, my face, and my back when I lifted my head to look around. We were supposed to keep our heads bowed down. We were not given any water on the truck. If people asked for water they were beaten. Most of the people on the truck were beaten at least once. The soldiers kept their guns pointed at us in case anybody tried to jump off the truck and run away. Many people were being

taken as porters, even patients discharged from the hospital, although they were so weak to carry anything. Many porters ran away during the fighting a few days ago. Many have gone into Thailand. All of us want to go back to our homes as soon as we can.

Interview: 41-HRV: Disappearance

Name : Win Htun
Age: 22
Sex : Male
Occupation: Firewood hawker
Address: Pa-an Town, Karen State
Interviewed: 18 March 1995
Source: KHRG

In mid-February 1995, I was taken to be a porter. I was on my way to a coffee shop with my wife when I was taken. Many other people on the road were taken, especially a lot of bus drivers. Only men were taken. I was held in Pa-an for five days in the jail. I was taken by car from Pa-an to Thingan Nyi Naung where I was held for five days. When we were in Thingan Nyi Naung, we stayed in a monastery. We were then taken with the soldiers in convoy of 100 trucks from Thingan Nyi Naung and went somewhere near Palu. I was with 200 other porters and about 500-600 soldiers. I had to go with IB 2 of LID 44. I had to carry food and ammunition. I saw many people being beaten by the soldiers. One man was too tired to carry anything so a soldier kicked him down a hill. I don't know if he died or not. I escaped on 14 March during the fighting around Wah Lay.

Interview: 42-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture, Child

Name : Win Tin
Age: 26
Sex : Male
Occupation: Truck mechanic/Conductor
Address: Pa-an Town, Karen State
Interviewed: 18 March 1995
Source: KHRG

In mid-February 1995, I was taken to be a porter. I was taken by car from Pa-an to Thingan Nyi Naung, where I was held for five days along with other porters. Then I was taken by truck to Myawaddy and then to somewhere around Palu. I then had to carry food and 75mm shells for IB 2 under the command of LID 44 as they moved to attack the KNLA. I escaped on the 13 March while the soldiers were moving through the jungle. I was only given food two times a day and it was not enough. I was not beaten but I saw many people beaten around me as we were moving through the jungle, about three or four people were beaten within a

few hours. Some people were very old, about 60 and others were very young, between 13 and 16.

Interview: 43-HRV: Detention, Livelihood, Slavery, Women, Torture, Disappearance, Displacement

Name :	Maung Ko Lay
Age:	28
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with two children (one already died)
Occupation:	Seller at the market
Address :	South Okkalappa, Rangoon Division
Interviewed:	7 March 1995
Source:	KHRG

I sell things in the market. Sometimes, I work as a bricklayer or dye clothes. I do whatever work I can get. They arrested me in the afternoon, about 1:30 p.m., when I went to watch video. That day my wife went to work, but there was no work for me. I went to look for work at the clothes dyeing place but they already had enough workers, so I had nothing to do in the afternoon. I went to watch a video called, "Hong Kong Jetma". It started at 1:30 p.m., and 15 minutes later soldiers closed the doors of the video hall and guarded every door. They surrounded the back, then they came in to the video hall and looked for men of my age. There were police together with soldiers. They picked up all the men of my age. They took about 25 or 30, I think — a lot of people. They left the elderly and women with children. They sent us to the railway station by truck. I saw a lot of people at the railway station, but I don't know where they were arrested. I think there were 150 or almost 200 people, all sitting on the ground. I didn't see any women or elderly. Later I saw some women in the jungle, but I don't know where the soldiers arrested them.

We slept at the railway station. Early in the morning we had to get up, and the soldiers kept us sitting there but didn't give us any food nor water. I wondered if they were waiting for their officer. I think it was 3:00 a.m., but I had no watch. Then the train arrived. They put us on the train and closed the doors, and no one who passed by could see inside the train. Inside, there was an iron grid cage. We had to stay inside the cage while the soldiers stood around outside of it. Then, the train left. At another railway station the soldiers made us get off, and I knew it was Thaton. Some trucks were waiting for us at the Thaton football ground. I saw a lot of people, about 300, and about 60 military trucks. Some people bribed the soldiers. I don't know how they got the money or how much. I just saw them going back. The soldiers said, "Don't try to escape. You won't get free if you try to escape. If even one of you tries to escape, we've already received an order to

kill you. Wait and see what will happen to you!" When they were talking to us, they looked as though they really would shoot us.

We were divided into many groups, five or seven or twelve in each group plus soldiers on each truck. There were five porters along with every four or five soldiers. At about 1:00 or 2:00 p.m., they sent us by truck to a village. We slept there one night. I didn't know where because I've never been that area before. We went to a camp. It was a big camp. I saw many battalions, a lot of warehouses and an airport. At night, we had to sleep beside the airport. Early in the following morning, they came and took us by truck. After ten minutes' drive, we got to the edge of the forest and we had to start carrying for LID 33 and LIB 216. I had to carry loads including beer, alcohol, Lucky Strike cigarettes and food. These loads were in a box 1½ feet high. The soldiers swore at me: "You won't see the rest of your life if you drop it! We'll kill you!" While they were walking, some soldiers often fired their guns to make noise. I was frightened, and looked back because I have a heart disease. Once, I almost dropped the box from my shoulders. A soldier saw me and kicked me in the back and the chest like a Kung Fu fighter, and he said rudely, "It is very important. It is not your mother's husband! [*a rude Burmese expression*]. If you do like that again, you'll see what will happen!"

I saw a man with us who was in bad health, and he died later. The night before he died, we reached a village, had a rest and then continued to another village. He couldn't carry anything so we helped him to carry his load. A soldier asked, "Why can't you follow us, even without your load?" He looked as if he couldn't follow them anymore. He said, "I really can't follow you, Sir. You can leave me or kill me." The soldier hit him in the forehead with his rifle butt, and his skin was broken and bleeding. He said, "Don't delay our journey!", and another soldier said, " Kill him! Don't waste time for only one." But other porters said they would help to carry the man — they said, " We have one man who is very strong." While we were saying this, the soldiers were pulling the man by his hands, dragging him cruelly. It was a horrible scene. A strong man came forward and told the soldiers that he would carry the man. The soldiers asked him, "Can you carry him?" and he said, "Yes". He took the man on his shoulders until we got to the big camp. Just before we got there, there was some fighting and two soldiers were killed. When we got to the camp they gave us some rice, just one canteen-lid full, put in some plastic or spooned into the longyi [*sarong*] of each porter. That night, we slept at the camp, located on the hill. The sick man couldn't eat anything, even when we gave him food. He couldn't move his mouth. We found him dead in his place the following morning and we covered him with a blanket. And we left, I don't know where he was from, but he was about 19 years old.

We had never climbed mountains like this before. We couldn't follow the soldiers because we were very tired of climbing. One or two out of each group were left behind in some places, so the soldiers swore and drove them along to

catch up. We saw about 150 women at the top of a hill. I've never seen so many women in the jungle before. They were Burma, Indian, Karen, various nationalities, may be Shan too. I saw them among the soldiers but I don't understand why. We stayed apart from them. I think the women didn't have to carry heavy loads, but I don't know how much they had to carry. At night before I went to sleep, I saw the sentry and asked him, " Where do we have to go, and when are we going to be released?" He seemed to be good-tempered. He said " The deeper the forest, the worse things are going to be. It would be a good idea for you to escape from here." But then he said, "Don't run away because the Karen soldiers will cut your head off when they see you, and there are many land mines." So we dared not escape. We had to keep following them into the deeper jungle.

Getting food and water was difficult. There were a lot of troops and all of them had water. I asked them for a bit of water but they refused it and said, " We don't have enough water to give you any." As for us, even though we had to carry their loads, we would have carried water as well if we'd had any containers. But we didn't. We had to throw away our own things, like our slippers and other things, because we couldn't carry anything extra. When we walked down hill with our slippers, sometimes we slipped and fell down, and then the soldiers hit us. That's why we threw our slippers away. The soldiers gave us rice once a day for two meals at a time, but we ate it all at once and couldn't keep any food for the next meal. It wasn't enough and we ate it all, so at night we had no food and no water. We were very hungry. When we were sick, we went to ask for some tablets but they said, "We have no medicine for you, only for us." I saw fighting only once. We just had to walk and walk, and carry their supplies.

One morning I was talking to the soldier I mentioned before, and he said, "You will get the worst later on." Then I saw a 50-year-old man who was left like the other man who died before. I didn't know if he is still alive. His name was U Tun San. The following morning, when we were carrying rice, we were looking for the opportunity to escape all the time. We were all waiting for the one who would escape first, but I didn't see anyone escaping. Then we saw a fork in the path, and one of the men in front of us started running down the hill. We followed him, throwing away our rice. There were eight of us, and we ran down the hill and were silent for about 1½ hours. While we were hiding, the soldiers were swearing at us and then they left. They didn't shoot any bullets because they didn't know where we were.

We climbed any mountain we saw and we searched for food and water. We were losing our strength and becoming weak. We didn't have any food for the whole day, but our priority was water and to continue our journey mountain after mountain. Along the way, we met four Indians who said, " You are very lucky." They told us that as SLORC was advancing ,we were following behind them. Then, we saw the river from the top of the highest mountain. Now we know it is the Salween River, but at the time we didn't know. We noticed that the SLORC

troops had cooked and eaten on top of that mountain. Some food was left over on the leaves, and I saw a lump of rice and I was so glad. I shared it with my comrades because we had escaped from hell together, although I could have eaten it all myself. We can really say that we were lucky. It took us three days to that mountain, then two more days to the river. We had to use flambeau to see our way at night. We passed through some villages, but we didn't see anyone in those villages. Everything inside the houses was in chaos and overturned. We slept in a village after the SLORC troops had left it. In that village, I could see that the SLORC troops had shot the pigs and chickens and taken whatever they saw. I had never seen this situation before.

We found some paddy in a village, so we husked it and cooked in a big tin that we found. We'd been three days without good until we found the paddy in the village. The following morning, we set out straight for the river. We imagined that once we got to the river, we'd build a raft to cross and escape from them. We couldn't think of anything else but escaping from them. When we reached the river, we saw Myo Thant [see his story in *Interview: 45*]. We first saw him from a distance, and we knew he wasn't a soldier because he was wearing a longyi [*sarong*]. We went towards him. He was moving a little bit, so we turned him over and found he was still alive. We gave him some boiled rice we'd saved from the village, and we carried him. We decided we would look for a village for help, and explain to the villagers our tragedy as porters. When we proceeded along the river, we saw a floating house in the river. We were surprised and happy because we thought we could use it to cross the river. But we were worried that someone would see it because it was so big, so we planned crossing. We cut some bamboo at 4:00 or 5:00 p.m. to carry with us, so that if the house broke apart we could use the bamboo. We carried Myo Thant and we put the bamboo in the house. Then we saw the students [*the All Burma Students' Democratic Front, calling from Thai side of the river*]. They shouted, "Who are you?" in Burmese. We thought they were Burmese soldiers because they spoke Burmese, so we didn't answer anything and we got ready to hide. Then they shouted again, "Are you porters?" with a different tone, so we came out and answered, "Yes, we are porters, and we are going to cross the river." They called, "Come quickly. You will die on that side." We tried to push the floating house but it was too heavy and it didn't work, so we crossed the river on small bamboo rafts. Each raft had five bamboo and two or three people could use it. There were 10 of us, four Muslims and six Burmans. On the other side of the river, the students gave us some rice and we made a fire freely and cooked it. They gave Myo Thant some medicine and noodles, and after that he got better. Then we came here. On the way, we could never make a fire because we were afraid the SLORC soldiers would see the smoke [e*ven though they were in Thailand*]. Now I still have this injury on my foot from tripping over something while I was carrying. I couldn't heal it, because I knew I would be given their [the SLORC soldiers] fists if I asked medicine for my foot.

Interview: 44-HRV: Force Relocation, Displacement, Livelihood, Detention, Slavery, Torture, Women, Disappearance

Name :	Nyunt Swe
Age:	23
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Single
Occupation:	Clothing dryer
Address :	Dagon Satellite Town, Rangoon Division
Interviewed:	7 March 1995
Source:	KHRG

Dagon and other "Satellite Towns" have been set up by SLORC as part of their forced relocation campaigns in urban areas. Some of these forced relocation aim to eliminate parts of cities which are traditional starting points for civil unrest, but more recent forced relocation have usually been to make way for modern foreign-owned hotels [90 of these are currently slated for Rangoon alone] and various tourism and other "development" projects.

I have lived in Dagon Satellite Town for about nine months. Before I stayed in Sin Ma Leit [*a district in Rangoon*], but the SLORC authorities relocated the people from Sin Ma Leit. The whole quarter had to move, about 300 households. Some people were sent to Hlaing Tha Yar Satellite Town and some to Dagon. At Dagon, they gave us a plot and we received 300 Ks [less than US$ 3 at market rate], but we had to pay for the new house ourselves. There was no electricity and no water supply. We had to dig a well ourselves. It was very hard. Some people had to buy water. The ground used to be a paddy-field. There were a lot of people moving there from different places. It is very far from my work. I have to take a truck to Thingankyun for one hour, then to Rangoon downtown at Sule Pagoda, then another bus to work [in South Okkalappa]. In our old place at Sin Ma Leit, they built a plywood factory. It belongs to the government.

My father died. Now, there are five people in our family, my three younger siblings, my mother and I. My mother sells things. The younger ones are still very young, they are going to school. The situation is not good. We have to live day by day. I work one day, buy the food for one day and eat it all, then the following day I have to work again. Sometimes, we have to pawn our things to borrow money to buy food. And the price of rice is increasing. Today, maybe 60 Ks, the following day maybe 70 Ks. The more the government increases the pay of civil servants, the higher goes the price of rice. I earn about 50 or 60 Ks a day. Combined with my mother's earnings, we can buy food. Right now, the price of rice is between 60 and 70 Ks [*per pyi, about equivalent to 2 kg.*] Sometimes I have no work. The bus to Thingankyun costs 2 Ks, but after 4:00 or 5:00 p.m., the government bus stops

running and we can only take a private bus for 10-15 Ks. From downtown Rangoon to Dagon, it costs at least 30 to 40 Ks at night time.

The government provides rice for civil servants monthly at their work place, but I don't know how much they have to pay for it. Moreover, the civil servants can live in government houses. There are lots of civil servants in Dagon, in government houses with water and electricity. They sent all the people who are not civil servants to southern Dagon, and in northern Dagon there are only civil servants [*Note: from all other accounts, civil servants are also struggling to buy enough rice to survive. However, they are somewhat better off than Nyunt Swe, so by his standards they are rich.*]

In Dagon each plot is 20 ft by 60 ft. There is no public clinic, but we can go to a private clinic. There is one school, up to 9th Standard. The school is right in front of an army camp. It is LIB 303. Some of the school teachers are Captains' or Majors' wives. There are only a few civilian teachers. Some children go to that school, but most are sent to the monastery. The monks teach the children. We have to give them 25 Ks a month. We can send children to the government school but they have a strict quota. This year they didn't accept my younger sisters so we sent them to the monastery. The same for my neighbours' children. I cannot pay fees for high school. I myself had to leave school after 3rd Standard [*grade 3*]. Now my younger sister is in 3rd Standard. She is 10 years old.

I was arrested on the way back from work. An ordinary bus appeared in front of us and someone called us, "Get on! Get on!" We thought it might be a cheap fare bus and we got on. It took us to Thingankyun jail. There were about 15 of us — the others didn't get on the bus. They sent back the elderly and the children, and then there were 10 of us left in the jail including me. It was in January or February 1995, I think in February. I slept one night in the jail, then the following morning we were sent to the railway station. I saw about 80 people there. Some were sleeping and some were sitting on the floor. I was crying, bending my head down on my knees. They ordered, "Don't look up! Keep your heads down!" They put us inside iron cages inside two carriages of the train and took us to Thaton. Then they sent us to Thaton football ground. I saw a lot of porters there, 400 or 500, mostly men of my age. Some were between 30 and 40. There were no women. I saw about 80 army trucks, including 10 civilian trucks. After cooking, they ordered us to get into the trucks. Then they whistled for the convoy to get moving toward the jungle. The soldiers were talking to each other on radios. When they put us on the trucks I realised we would be porters.

I saw a lot of sentries along the way. We got to Pain Ne Gone village and slept there. They gave us some rice, one canteen lid of rice. A soldier said "Don't go anywhere! I'll shoot you if you go out!" Pain Ne Gone is in Papun Township. The following morning, we were sent to Papun by trucks, and when we got there they gathered us in a warehouse. Then three trucks sent us to the foot of a mountain. It took about one hour. From there the soldiers forced us to carry

loads, like jerry-cans full of alcohol, dried fish, and cheroots. There were about 150 porters. At night, we had to carry the rice sacks. They were very heavy. We were forced to carry them to top of the hill by kicking and beatings. We had to come down from the hill at the same night. They stopped and put us in one place on the ground and then they said "You can have dinner now!" But we had no food, because we only got two canteen lids of rice per day without any curry, fish paste or salt and it wasn't enough [*so they'd already eaten it all for the day*]. We asked the soldiers, "Are we near our destination?" He said, "No. There's been some fighting in front of us." Later we saw an overturned military truck, two dead bodies covered in blankets and blood all around. When we were walking we saw many trucks coming back. I asked a soldier and he said, "There was fighting with the convoy we saw."

At Pa Hai camp I saw a lot of soldiers and about 100 women. They were Indian women and some Karen women. Some women were from the cities. The following morning, the soldiers were swearing at the women because they couldn't carry, but the women kept smiling. But it wasn't easy for us. At night, the soldiers gave us the rice sacks to carry the following day. Every morning we had to carry the rice sacks [*from Pa Hai camp up the mountain*] and the soldiers said, "Don't run away. You will be beheaded by Karen soldiers". We couldn't bear this any longer. We were put between groups of soldiers when we were walking. They were from IB 4 under the command of LID 33. They had many officers. At 7:00 a.m., we started to carry. We had a rest at 1:00 p.m. and we received one canteen lid of rice and continued. We weren't allowed to drink water after we ate [*usually in Burma people don't drink anything with a meal, but drink a glass of water as soon as they finish*]. After five or six hours we had a rest. I was carrying for about six days. We had to carry all day from place to place, and even at night time. They threatened us, "There are lots of land mines around. Don't run away!" Sometimes soldiers were very drunk, and they talked to us stupidly so we couldn't sleep well. Then the soldiers said, "We'll kill you when you pass in front of us." The soldiers chose a leader from among the porters for each group of 50 porters. Sometimes, that leader punched us too. He just had to carry one soldier's bag on his back, and he got more food than us. He got two canteen lids of rice when we got only one.

I saw one porter beaten with a rifle butt, but I didn't remember his name. Afterwards, the soldiers were talking to each other and said, "It will be better to abandon him here." Another one said, "We could get into trouble if we leave him here, so it would be better to kill him now." But they didn't kill him, and we carried him to Pa Hai camp. In the morning, I think he had died because he didn't move any more. When we left the camp, they left him lying on the ground covered with rice sacks. After we left the camp we escaped. Eight of us escaped, but along the way we saw one porter on the riverbank and another at the students' place. At night on 19 [February], we built a raft 7 ft long. We saw something moving across the river and we stayed quiet on the raft. We thought it

might be SLORC soldiers. They asked, "Who are you?" from the Thai side, the first in Burmese and the second in Burmese but with a Karen accent. So we answered, "We are porters". We went to them, and we saw one dead body in the river near the Thai side. They asked us, "Did you put the dead body here?", and we said we didn't [*the body was most likely a porter killed by SLORC troops further up the river — such bodies are a common sight in the Salween*]. They said, "We have rice for you". That night, we got two pots of rice. We ate it and slept. The following morning they said, "The situation is not good here", and Kyaw Kyaw sent us to this place by car.

I saw DKBA, but they weren't with our group. Kyaw Kyaw told me about them. We saw them wearing yellow headbands and shouting at the Burmese side [*of the Salween River*] from the Thai side. They were shouting at the boats in the river to come to them. They shot two or three bullets, then they burned down one house and went back uphill. The following morning, they came back to the riverside wearing red scarves around their necks. We were hiding in a house on the Thai side. They drove upriver in a boat, arrested one man and asked for a ransom of about 10,000 baht. There were about 20 of them in two boats.

Interview: 45-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture, Disappearance

Name :	Myo Thant
Age:	29
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children
Occupation:	Seller at the market
Address :	Taukkyan, Rangoon Division
Interviewed:	7 March 1995
Source:	KHRG

They arrested me at Taukkyan market, at about 6:00 p.m. They sent us right away on an army truck to Rangoon railway station. We slept one night there, then the following morning we left for Thaton. They made us sleep one night at Thaton football ground, with no roof or anything. There were 400-600 of us, only men. They gave us just rice and fish paste, each an equal amount of rice. I think they said, "Tomorrow, you have to go as porters". They never offered to pay us. I don't think we could have bribed them. Some men were sick.

The following day, they took us to Papun in an army truck. Finally we reached the end of the road. We couldn't go any further, and we had to start walking. They forced us to carry shells. We had to go to the top of the mountain. I had to carry six shells, longer than one plah [about 18 inches] each. There were 200 people just carrying their heavy weapons. There were elderly men between 50 and 60 years. Sometimes I had to carry three big tins of rice. We started early in the morning.

We got to eat between 12:00 noon and 1:00 p.m., but it depended on the situation. They gave us some food, then we had to continue until 5:00 or 6:00 p.m. and then we could take dinner. At about 12:00 noon or 1:00 p.m. they fed us one canteen-lid of rice with fish paste. If there was no fish paste we got a bit of salt. We couldn't ask the soldiers for water. When we were walking and we saw a stream we could drink some water, but we had no container. Everything depended on the situation. Sometimes we could rest, sometimes we couldn't. When they lost their way, we could rest while they were looking for the way.

When they were shooting heavily, I laid down on the ground and hid behind the paddy-field dike. I was struggling for my life. I didn't see anybody who they were fighting, because I had to stay on their side. I only heard about the fighting at Manerplaw. I met the DKBA. They were guides for SLORC, to show them the way through the jungle. There were about 30 of them, carrying guns. They tied yellow pieces of monks' clothing around their heads. I saw them talking to SLORC on walkie-talkies.

The Burmese soldiers' badges said 3 on one side [*probably 33, for LID 33*] and 116 on the other [*for LIB 116*]. We had to walk in procession — one group of porters behind each group of soldiers. There were 10 porters in one group, then five or six soldiers. When a porter was too weak and was staggering, the soldiers lost their patience and kicked them down the hillside. I saw this about six times. I saw it with my own eyes. When the soldiers had finished attacking Manerplaw, I had no more energy and I didn't get any food. On the way to their camp, I couldn't walk anymore. I told the soldiers that I couldn't follow them anymore, but the soldiers thought I was lying. They swore at me and hit me with rifle butts. They hit my knees three times, and my back and chest several times. Then they left me alone in the forest. I stayed in that place in the jungle for about one week without food. Then I felt very hot and thirsty so I went to look for water. I found water and took a bath and a drink. I was very weak so I couldn't sit up at all. I didn't have any food for one week. I wanted to go back to a hut but I fell down on the sand. Then I fell asleep, and some other porters found me and carried me. [*Other porters said they found him unconscious along the riverbank — see interviews 43-44,* 46.] I couldn't walk, so they had to carry me all the way to the students [*the ABSDF*]. We crossed the Salween River. Now I still have scars [*he showed scars on his chest, back and legs*]. I want to go home. I don't know how to survive here at all.

Interview: 46-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture, Women, Child

Name :	Khin Myint
Age:	25
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with one child (age 19 months)

Occupation: Hawker/Day labourer
Address : Henzada, Irrawaddy Division
Interviewed: 7 March 1995
Source: KHRG

I was arrested at 8:00 p.m. on 10 February. I was watching a video in another quarter of the town. The army arrested 17 of us. They didn't say anything to us. They just took us to LIB 17 on the other side of the river. Then they took us across the river to Tharawaw, and then to Rangoon. We stayed one night in Rangoon but didn't sleep. They sent us by train from Rangoon to Thaton football ground. We arrived at about 11:00 a.m. There were 80 trucks there and they put about 12 porters and four or five soldiers in each truck. They sent us to Papun. We slept two nights on the way to Papun. We started walking from Papun. I had to carry salt, canned meat, dried fish, alcohol and other supplies. The dried fish bags were light but the salt was very heavy. The other bags were even heavier, but I don't know what was inside. We had to carry those between two of us.

They gave us one canteen lid of rice and salt. If they were in a good mood, sometimes they gave us dried fish and some oil. When they didn't give us any food, they said they would give us curry the following day. We started walking at 5:00 a.m. and we reached the military post called Pa Hai camp at 5:00 p.m. Some porters couldn't carry on the way and they were beaten with rifle butts. One of them, Hla Tin, pleaded, "Just leave me. I can't carry anymore." But they didn't leave anyone, they just dragged him. I didn't see them killing anyone, because I was in the front group. Before we reached Pa Hai camp, each soldier had ten porters. After Pa Hai camp they didn't follow us like that. They only had five or ten soldiers leading the way. Altogether there were about 80 soldiers. There was a man who was not a soldier. The soldiers told him to be a leader for 50 porters. He had nothing to carry. He beat and kicked all the porters who couldn't carry, who refused to carry or who tried to rest. The soldiers kicked the porters who were close to them. There were about 500 porters altogether. The youngest were about 18 years old, and the eldest were about 50 or 60. Our group had 100 or 150 porters. Over 10 soldiers went in front of us, and about 100 women porters were behind. Then some more soldiers were behind the women. They usually kicked us two or three times on the back. While they were beating us, we tried to avoid it and just go faster. One of those times, a porter who was wearing yellow shorts dropped his load and tried to escape. I also dropped mine and tried to follow him to escape. I only carried for two days. We also had to carry water sometimes. We had to walk very far to get it. We couldn't sleep very well because as soon as we got back to their camp they always forced some porters to go and get water. They also forced 50 of us to go to a place where their truck went off the road and pull it back onto the road. So we only had a short time to sleep.

The women had to carry the same as we did, but their load was not as heavy as ours. When the porters were getting ready to leave Pa Hai camp, I saw them

yelling at an old woman who was laying down: "Wake up and start carrying!" But she didn't get up. She and the other women were about 60 or 70 years old, and the soldiers yelled and shouted at them. Some of them were Karen, some Indian and some Burmese, but all of them could speak Burmese. Among the elderly women, I saw a child aged about 14. He was staying with the women. I think they were sick. We also saw five or six women who had fair complexion and didn't look like porters. They looked at us smiling and laughing. I'm sure that they were not porters. After escaping we passed some villages. We slept three nights on the way, and we had no food to eat for three days. There were eight of us. We saw houses but there was nobody in them. We reached the highest mountain and saw that the soldiers had just left there, and then we saw a small stream and continued. We saw a small village, but no one was there. I went in a house and saw empty boxes and things spread all over, and we found some paddy. We cooked it and slept there one night. The following morning we left. We saw a big stream and found a field hut, and we slept there one night. We found some more paddy, we pounded it and cooked it and then we continued. We saw a village — there were many houses, even some big houses, but there was nobody there. We found a man lying on the riverbank [Myo Thant]. We gave him some boiled rice and some banana and asked him about the SLORC troops and he said, "They left in that direction. They left me on the way 10 days ago. I had no water, so I came to the river to get water and I couldn't make it back." We planned to make a bamboo raft, but then we saw a floating house. We put our rice soup pot on it and tried to cross the river, but we were drifting. After a few minutes, a group shouted at us, "Who are you? Where are you going?" We jumped into the river and went to them. They were students. We reached them on 19 [February]. It was five days after we escaped. Now we don't know which direction to go or how far it is, but we will try to go home.

Interview: 47-HRV: Livelihood, Detention, Refugees, Repatriation, Disappearance

Name :	Saw Kaw Ghay
Age:	21
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Single
Address :	Mae Ra Mu Klo (Mae Ra Ma Luang) Refugee Camp
Interviewed:	27 April 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*Saw Kaw Ghay shared a house in Section 1 with two foreign teachers who were away at the time of the attack. The house is right at the end of the camp, the first house the DKBA encountered*.]

The DKBA came the day before yesterday, at 12:00 noon on 25 April. I was in the house ready to take a bath. One of my friends said "ko per baw, ko per baw!", and they were outside the house. I looked for a way to escape. They said, "Don't escape. If you escape, we are going to kill you." They didn't trust people in our house, they thought maybe we were soldiers. I went and stayed next to a big tree there. There were more than 35 of them. Some were wearing uniforms. They had AK47, AR [*a smaller version of M16*], and some had hand grenades — I think maybe they were the leaders, controlling the group. They almost all looked Karen, but some looked a bit different. Different face — maybe Burmese, or maybe just villagers. Some spoke Karen, but some never spoke a word. They only pointed their guns and didn't say anything.

Two of them pointed their guns at me — one was very young, and one was an elderly. Most of them were elderly. They didn't look much like soldiers, but they had badges on their arms, and scarves that said DKBA'. Their badges were yellow and said DKBA', and they also had necklaces with a monk amulet. They went inside the house, took the suitcase and bags and everything and carried them outside. They didn't know how to open the suitcase, so they called me and said, "Give us the key to open this." I told them, "This box has no key", then they were going to shoot it open so I said, "No, no, wait a minute" and I got the key. They pointed their guns: "Okay, open it." When it was open, they took my cassette player, clothes and some belongings. It was my suitcase. Also, one of the boxes that was belonged to the foreign teachers, and many bags. They took those teachers' belongings too. They said if they find any foreigners they will take them to Khaw Taw [*Myaing Gyi Ngu, DKBA headquarters*]. I don't know why. Their faces were a bit red. They seemed like people who have drunk alcohol. They acted a little bit drunk — very brave, and pushy toward people. All of them. I heard one of the villagers said that before they came down to the camp they took some tablets, all of them. The villagers up there saw them, in the village upstream from Section 1 — not far. One of the villagers said they took it when they arrested him. Then they came down to the camp.

Then they left two soldiers to guard me. They said, "Sit next to the big tree there." They said, "Are you a soldier or a student?" I said "I was a student". "From where?" "From Pway Baw Lu." "Most of the Pway Baw Lu students are soldiers", he said. I said, "Aw — no, no." I thought if they know we are soldier-students they would kill me and some other people [the Pway Baw Lu students and others used to help in supporting roles such as carrying rice, village sentries and occasional soldiering, during major SLORC offensives in the area]. I saw the other soldiers going inside the people's houses, taking cassette players and other things they needed. They told people, "If you need some important things in your house, take them now because we are going to burn it." The people went down out of their houses and ran up into the hills. They started to burn the houses when they were coming back from Section 2. They shot AK47's. They fired a kind of bullet [tracer rounds] that make fire. When they shot the gun and it touched something, everything was burned. The houses were very close. It was easy to burn them. The

camp security guards couldn't shoot because the DKBA had villagers all around them. They were taking people just to cover them, women and children, and some of the women were pregnant. When they started to burn the houses, some of the camp security guards on the mountain shot their guns into the air, and Em Marta [a senior KNU health ministry official] rushed into a toilet and hid and escaped. Some of the Yellow Headbands were running, some were shooting at the houses and some were shooting at the people or the security guards. They came back [to Section 1] step by step. One group withdrew while one group covered them, and so on step by step like that. When we saw that we knew they'd had training. And all the time they were shooting the fire-bullets. One woman with a baby was wounded by a bullet here, in the shoulder. I didn't see the other wounded.

Then they went to the refugees and said, "Now we're going to send you to Khaw Taw." They said, "Why do you want to stay here? It's no good. In Khaw Taw, we have a big place, and rice and fish paste and oh, it's full of many things. And here, nothing!" Nobody believed them, but they were afraid so they just said, "Yes. I see. Mm-hmm" Like that. They took many people, I don't know how many — with all the children and grandfathers, maybe more than 100. They tried to tie up some of the important persons. They wanted to tie us all up, but they didn't have enough rope. The villagers had to go with them just for cover, so that the security guards couldn't shoot the DKBA, so they told the villagers, "Go, go, go, go, go! We're going to take you to Khaw Taw. If you go to Khaw Taw you'll have special food. Here you don't have anything." At that time, I was a little afraid and couldn't say anything. I was very sad to look at the people. For some people, it was very hard to carry their very heavy loads [which they'd saved from their houses]. I tried to help them carry. Some people lied and said, "I have a stomach ache" or "I have a headache", they gave many reasons to the DKBA soldiers, and then they went slowly and the DKBA couldn't wait for them. They were going back very quickly. They had DKBA, then villagers, then DKBA, then villagers, to cover them. I went with them not far away, maybe only 10 minutes. After we passed the village, we crossed a stream and I said, "Oh, please give me permission to go help my father". He said, "Where is your father?" I pointed to one of the grandfathers there who couldn't walk, and he said, "Okay, okay. Follow me later." Then that guy couldn't wait for me, and I ran down and hid by the stream until they were gone. All the people were trying to escape when the DKBA couldn't see. They all escaped sooner or later. Many people came back to the camp. Some people escaped into the hills and hid in the forest, and maybe they'll come back in a few days. DKBA said, "If someone doesn't want to go now, we'll come back and take them in a few days." Maybe they'll come. We don't know.

Interview: 48-HRV: Detention, Refugee, Livelihood, Slavery, Repatriation Disappearance

Name : Saw Lah Mu
Age: 36

Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with four children
Address :	Formerly at Mae Paw Mu Hta and now at Mae Ra Mu Klo (Mae Ra Ma Luang) Refugee Camp
Interviewed:	27 April 1995
Source:	KHRG

The Yellow Headbands came the day before yesterday, on 25 April. They arrived about 12:30 p.m. I was in a paddy field looking for some wild vegetables. They met me in the paddy field and took me with them. They were going to tie me and I said, "No need to tie me", but they said, "We have to tie you, otherwise you'll run to the camp and tell the others that we're coming". I said, "How can I escape from you? We're in an open field." They tied one of my hands and took me back to the camp. My fishing basket was full of vegetables and I left it in a house. When they caught me I was alone, but they'd already caught three or four villagers before me at a place called Tee Ler Baw.

They asked me, "Are there any soldiers doing security for the camp?" I answered, "No, there are no sentries." The Yellow Headbands said, "Answer our questions truthfully. You must realise that your life is in our hands." I said, "Yes, I am speaking the truth. When I left the camp, there were no soldiers guarding it, but I don't know about now. Maybe if they heard you are coming there are soldiers there now." Then they took me along with them to the camp. Four or five soldiers were walking ahead of me. With me, there were another two villagers, the sons of Bo Hla Taing. They were caught when they went fishing. There were 30 or 40 Yellow Headbands. They all looked like Karens. I knew most of them. They used to stay at Thee Tha Hta sawmill [*just across the river from Mae Paw Mu Hta refugee camp*]. The leader of the group was Maung Shwe Lone. He used to be a villager before, a monastery elder, not a soldier. There were also two villagers with them from Kan Nya Naung and a [*Buddhist*] hermit. This hermit used to stay in a place called Ta Kho Law Kyo, then he got married and joined DKBA. They were wearing uniforms. They looked happy. They didn't look afraid.

When we arrived at the camp, they all went rushing into the camp and fired their weapons. They had AK47, M16, also G3 and G4 automatic rifles and M79 grenade launchers [*AK47 and M16 assault rifles and M79 grenade launchers are used by Karen troops, but G3 and G4 are strictly Burma Army weapons*]. They fired mostly in the air. The Yellow Headbands said that when they were coming to the refugee camp they met Thai soldiers who shot at them [*this never happened*], and that's why they had to shoot a lot. They said they wouldn't harm or shoot the villagers. At the camp, they tied me to a tree and left there. I couldn't move and I didn't see any Thai soldiers. Then they started looting and burning the houses in the camp. They ran here and there in the village. It lasted about 30 minutes, and then they left. They took me along with them. They made me carry three or four

cassette players [*which they'd looted*]. They took about 200 people with them, young and elderly, as far as Tee Ler Baw. The women and children were all carrying their own belongings, and some people were also made carrying the things the Yellow Headbands had looted. Everyone carried their belongings except me — I had nothing. Later I looked for my small basket of vegetables, but I couldn't find it anymore.

The Yellow Headbands didn't beat anyone, but when people complained that their belongings were heavy and when they wanted to rest, the soldiers forced them to keep going. They wouldn't let them rest. The villagers were in the middle — some soldiers were walking ahead of them, and others were behind. But there were also soldiers in the middle, so they could watch that nobody tried to escape. Near Tee Ler Baw, some shooting started and everyone started running here and there. They shot just one magazine each, then the fighting was over. No Yellow Headbands were hurt. Everybody escaped at the fighting spot except Deh Mu, Johnny and I, because we were tied up. I have no idea why those two were tied up — maybe the soldiers were afraid they were trying to escape. I told the soldiers that my wife and small children were left behind. I said, "My children are small and my wife is not well. Please let me go home". They said, "That's okay", and they let me go.

They said they would take Deh Mu to Khaw Taw [*Myaing Gyi Ngu, DKBA headquarters*] to the monks. They said they will give him magic medicine to drink, and after that the monks will send him back to take all his family with him down to Khaw Taw. If you drink this medicine, you have to obey whatever they order you to do. And if you don't obey and do things against the monks, then bad things will happen to you. They crossed the river [*back into Burma*] near Thu Mwe Hta [*the junction of the Moei and Salween Rivers*]. I saw them take Deh Mu with my own eyes. It was near a Thai outpost — surely the Thais saw them crossing the river.

The group I was with, they were all Karens. I have known them. But there were other groups which I didn't know. According to what the soldiers said, there were surely some Burmese. They did this operation by the help of SLORC. They said, "This time we come to burn the village without the Burmese. But next time, they'll come along with us and it will be worse than this time." I think the Burmese will come along, destroy the village, harass the people and try to catch important KNU leaders. When they catch the leaders, I don't know what they will do. When the Yellow Headbands arrived at the camp they asked, "Are there any foreigners here?" I said, "There are", and they said, "We're going to arrest the foreigners." I said, "Don't do that. Have pity on the foreigners. It will be very hard for them." They said they would take the foreigners down to Khaw Taw. What they will do with them there, I don't know! My house was not destroyed — I live in Section 5. They said they will come back and completely destroy the whole camp. I'm afraid to stay here, but I can't go anywhere else. I don't know the way, and I don't speak Thai. I can only stay here, even though I am afraid. If all the others move, I will follow them.

Interview: 49-HRV: Women, Refugee, Livelihood, Repatriation

Name :	Naw Eh Htoo
Age:	36
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with one baby (age three months)
Address :	Mae Ra Mu Klo (Mae Ra Ma Luang) Refugee Camp
Interviewed:	27 April 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*Naw Eh Htoo was hit in the back of her left shoulder by a bullet, which left a half-inch hole and exited through the front of her shoulder.*]

I lived in Section 1. My house was located only two or three houses from the Thai police station [*army post*]. The day before yesterday, the Yellow Headbands came and I tried to run away. They were shooting, and I was hurt. When they came, my husband and I were giving the baby a bath. I told my husband to run. My baby was naked, and I wrapped him in a piece of sarong and started running. I was hit just a few steps from my house. I had to carry my baby in only one arm [*because of her wound*]. I tried to run, run, and run until I reached the foot of a big rock, and the wound became worse and worse. I was bleeding a lot — even my baby was stained with my blood. I rested near the big rock. My wound was bleeding and painful. I tried to stop the bleeding by tying the cloth from my baby around my shoulder. It was very painful. I could only use one arm. While I was resting, I saw them go up to the place where the Thai troops stayed, and they cleared the place. Then they came down from the hill and saw me and told me, "Don't be afraid. Come with us." I was afraid, so I went along with them. I went and stayed under my house. Then they started blowing a whistle, and they rushed and fired into the village and after that they started burning down the houses. They burned the houses with [*cigarette*] lighters, by lighting the roof [*the roofs are made of leaves*]. When they burned the houses I was under my house. I saw them start fires on other houses, and then the fire spread to my house. I started running to escape from the fire. They were also leaving the camp. They told me to go upstream with them, but I told them I couldn't because I was wounded. I sat down on the bank of the stream and rested there. They didn't do anything to me. They just left me behind.

My wound still hurts now. The bullet penetrated from the back and came out to the front. At the back you can put your little finger in the wound, and in the front you can put your thumb in. The bone is okay though. The medic put some medicine and a dressing on it and wrapped it in a bandage. It hurts when I move my arm up and down.

I am afraid to stay here. I feel there is no safety anywhere in this area. There is nothing bad between me and the Yellow Headbands, but I'm afraid that when they come to the camp and people run here and there a bullet could hit me. But they will never torture me. When they set fire to the other houses I told them, "I will go into my house to get some things". They didn't say anything so I went into my house, but I could only get a few belongings. The rest burned along with my house. I saved as much as I could — only two cooking pots, three plates and some blankets. Now I have nothing. I have no money to buy clothing, and I can't sleep twice in the same place. I move every night from one place to another [*she is still staying close to Section 2 and is afraid of further attacks*]. I just have to stay like this.

Interview: 50-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood

Name : Saw Wah
Age: 32
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Family: Married with four children (age 8, 5, 2 years and 2-month-old baby)
Address : Mae Ra Mu Klo (Mae Ra Ma Luang) Refugee Camp
Interviewed: 27 April 1995
Source: KHRG

[*Both Saw Wah and his wife Htoo Htoo (see below) were wounded by shrapnel in the attack. He was hit in the upper leg and could only walk with great difficulty when interviewed, while she had a very small wound in the heel.*]

We live in Section 2. The day before yesterday I was in my house by the school [*in the part of section 2 which wasn't burned*]. I didn't see anything, I just heard shooting. I was cooking rice at the time. When they shot, they hit me, and then I started running. I was hit in my leg, from a big gun. The shell exploded right at my house. I don't know how many shells, I just ran away as soon as I heard shooting. After that they arrived at our house. They burned the house. They didn't see me because I had run away. I went to the clinic, but I saw nobody there so I kept going. I never saw the Yellow Headbands.

Now my wound is very painful. My house was burned down and I have nothing left. Now I am going to live in Section 3. If they come back again, I can't run anywhere because I can't even run. My wife was also wounded. I don't know what to think about the Yellow Headbands. I can't do anything about it.

[*His wife, Htoo Htoo, age 30, added the following:*]
I was staying in my house with my husband. I was taking care of my baby. I heard the sound, gunshots. I ran. When the explosion came I was still in the house. As soon as I got hit, I started running. Now I can walk, but it is a little bit painful. If they come back we will run, even if we cannot run we will run.

Interview: 51-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Repatriation, Execution, Women, Detention, Religion

Name :	Ma Htway
Age:	20
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen Muslim
Religion	Islam
Family:	Single
Address :	Baw Noh (Mae Tha Waw) Refugee Camp
Interviewed:	29 April 1995
Source:	KHRG

Yesterday the Yellow Headbands arrived at 8:30 or 9:00 a.m. They came and fired their guns. When we heard the shooting, we ran and hid under the houses. We didn't know where they were coming from, so we couldn't run outside the camp [*mortar shells were being fired into the back half of the camp while DKBA entered from the front, so to the refugees it probably sounded like they were coming from all directions at once*]. We couldn't run anywhere. When they started shooting, we tried to run anyway. After they entered the camp we couldn't go back to get our belongings, so they burnt our houses and our belongings too. We just ran for our lives without anything. My sister and I, we didn't know where to go. One shell exploded behind the monastery. Many shells exploded inside the camp. I can't say exactly how many but some exploded close to me, so close I thought I must have been hit. One of my nephews got a lot of debris on his head from an explosion and I thought that he was hit, but after I wiped off his head I realised that he was okay. Shells were exploding around other families too. They fired a lot.

Some people were burnt in the fire, their whole bodies. One was burnt to death. She was a young unmarried girl. She was 18 years old, and was a 10th standard student. Her name was Geh Moo Paw. Her two younger brothers are also schoolboys, her mother is a schoolteacher and her father is a Christian pastor [*her father, Saw Abraham, is the Seventh Day Adventist pastor, a sect particularly hated by DKBA because it is Gen Bo Mya's religion*]. The Yellow Headbands told them not to run: "If you run, we will shoot you". So they stayed under the burning house because they weren't allowed to run anywhere. They could get away only when the Yellow Headbands left there, and when they left their daughter was already burnt to death. All the family members were burnt.

The Yellow Headband soldiers said, "We will come back again. Now, who dares to come and face our challenge?" Everybody is afraid to face them. Some [*Thai*] soldiers were near the camp, but when they saw the Yellow Headband troops they ran away. Then the Yellow Headbands took the villagers' belongings, and after that they burned their houses. They also burned our hospital. They were yelling in loud voices but I don't know what they were yelling at. After that,

they left the camp. A few minutes later an aeroplane came and circled around, and they started shooting at the plane. The plane shot back two shots and then left. The soldiers didn't take anyone from the refugee camp, but they took one Thai policeman with them together with all his belongings, even his gun. We heard that later they released him with all his belongings. When the Thai police knew that one of their comrades was taken hostage they sent a message. That's when the plane came. After the plane left we watched and waited for the fire to stop. We were very hungry because we hadn't had any breakfast, but the fire kept burning on. Most of the people lost everything. After all the Yellow Headbands were gone, we started heading towards the main road and we went towards Paw Pa Hta to stay there [*the main road is the Mae Sot — Mae Sariang highway which passes Baw Noh, and Paw Pa Hta is about 20 km to the south*].

Six people were wounded. Some were burned by the fire and some were wounded by gunshots. The ones who were burnt were sent to Mae Tha Waw [*a big Thai village a few kilometres to the north*], and the others were taken to Sho Klo hospital where the doctor stays [*Sho Klo refugee camp, 20 km south, has a few foreign doctors*].

I saw maybe 40 soldiers. Only that many came inside the camp but many more were waiting outside. Some were wearing uniforms and others civilian clothes. There were no SLORC soldiers that I saw, all were Yellow Headbands. They said they would come back again. We dared not stay in this camp anymore. I can't bear anymore what they are doing to us. We don't want to go back to stay under SLORC anymore, so we have to try to face whatever we have to face right here.

[*The day before the attack*] the Thai police showed up and told all the refugees, "If you have any guns in your camp go and get them, because helicopters will come and more police will come too, and if they see that you have guns then there will be trouble for you." And [the following morning] they collected all the guns from the camp security forces. Then they left, and just a few minutes later the Yellow Headbands came in and started shooting and burning the camp.

[*An elder Karen woman refugee, married with small children, at Baw Noh added the following:*]

I want to move to another place but I have no money. I can't pay for my bus fare. I have to rely completely on my sister, because she has a small shop. We don't have anyone else. If we had some money we would flee to another place that would be safe for my children and I and where our house, our clothes and our belongings won't be burnt again. Yesterday, we moved to another place — Paw Pa Hta. We took nothing with us. The villagers at that place gave some food for us and the children. If we didn't have someone to give us food, we'd have nothing to eat. We stayed at Paw Pa Hta last night but we heard rumours that the Yellow Headbands will come and attack there, so now we have moved to

another place again. We run and run and run, and we can't do anything about it. Without food, without money, now we are surely refugees!

[*Another Karen Buddhist refugee woman from the camp, a widow over 50, whose house was burned added the following:*]

One of the soldiers said to the villagers, "Now you see DKBA soldiers! Are you afraid of us? We are going to continue burning your houses!" I said to them, "Why do you do this to us? We have only small houses. I am a widow. Please don't burn down my house. I have no husband and I am very poor. If you burn down my house, what will I do? Please don't." When they were leaving, one of them said, "These houses right here are Buddhist. Don't set them on fire." And they didn't. When they left the camp, I followed them with my little son in my arms, and when I reached the big bridge [*on the highway*] I ran to hide under the bridge. I saw two Thai policemen under there. They were calling me, "Come here. Come here." They were also afraid of the Yellow Headbands. I went to them. There were only two of them, and they were afraid. Our camp leader was in Mae Tha Waw [*village*]. If he had been in the camp they would have killed him for sure. He was lucky.

The Yellow Headbands said we all have to go back to the Burmese side. They said if we do not listen to their orders, they will come back again in the next few days, and then they will not burn anything down, they will just kill all the people they find in the camp. We are afraid to go back, and we are afraid to stay here. If we go back to Burma, we will have no money to survive there. We hope that our [*camp*] leaders will arrange another place for us to stay. We know that our leaders love us and we hope they will arrange another place for us where these people of our own national who oppress us cannot reach us, cannot touch us, cannot oppress us. I will say the truth. While we were staying in Burma, the Burmese were oppressing us in many ways. That's why we fled to Thailand, and while we are staying in Thailand we thank our [*refugee*] leaders very very much for the way they try their best to look after us. We don't want to go back to Burma to be oppressed and suffer so much pain. We want to stay here.

We have hope in our leaders and we thank them because they look after us. Now the Burmese want us to go back. If we go back, they will oppress us like before. We don't want to suffer like that anymore so we don't want to go back to Burma again. Now they've attacked our camp and taken everything from us, they didn't even leave us our torn longyis [*sarongs*]. More than that, they burnt everything. They didn't even leave a milk-tin of rice for us. Even when we wanted to run away for our lives because they'd set the village on fire, they wouldn't let us go. They wanted us to be killed in the camp. They said if we ran they would shoot us. That gives me so much pain. There are no longyis, no cooking pots, nothing left for us. They burned down everything, and they wanted us to be consumed by the fire too because they wouldn't let us go. We can't do anything. My heart is shattered into pieces. Our own national is oppressing us.

Interview: 52-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Execution, Religion, Child, Women, Detention, Slavery, Repatriation

Name : Saw Steven
Age: 36
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion Christian
Address : Baw Noh (Mae Tha Waw) Refugee Camp
Interviewed: 29 April 1995
Source: KHRG

My responsibility is security of the camp. The Yellow Headbands came into the camp at 9:10 a.m. yesterday. I think there were 100 of them. They were all wearing uniforms. They spoke to each other in Karen, but some didn't speak at all. I'm sure there were Burmese, because whenever they come there are always Burmese soldiers with them. This time I think the Burmese stayed on the other side of the [*Moei*] river, ready as reinforcements. They didn't come into the camp. Instead they were helping the Yellow Headbands by shelling into the camp. The shells exploded here, and there. All over the camp [he indicated the back half of the camp]. The Yellow Headbands entered the camp. They asked for money, gold and other belongings, and they took them. They were shooting their guns, AK47, M16, M79 grenade launcher and RPG [*rocket-propelled grenade*]. They shot everywhere they wanted, at the side of the mountain, at the trees, everywhere.

There was a little shooting with the Thai soldiers, and then they fled. The Thais had no casualties, but the Yellow Headbands suffered two wounded near the Thai police station. At the time, the Karens had been informed that a high-ranking Thai army officer would come to Baw Noh and the Thais told the Karen soldiers who provide security of the camp to hide their weapons, so we hid our weapons by burying them. Just after that, the Yellow Headbands came. There were five refugees wounded and oned eath, six casualties. The dead person was burnt to death, she was the daughter of Pastor Abraham. A group of Yellow Headbands came and asked, "Where does Abraham live?" They asked a lot about Abraham. The family was afraid to come out so they hid under the house, and their daughter was burnt to death. The Yellow Headbands set the house on fire. Geh Moo Paw was afraid to come out from under the house because of them, and she was burned to death. They also set the hospital, the school, and all the houses afire. Three people were wounded by fire — Pastor Abraham, his wife and their youngest child, a boy. The pastor is about 47. His wife is 39 or 40, and their son is 12-year old. They were sent to hospital by MSF [*Medecins Sans Frontieres*] team. They were staying under their house in holes with overhead protection, and they were afraid to come out because of the Yellow Headbands. Two people were wounded by splinters from 81 mm mortar shells [*which were fired from Burma*]. Each person was hit by two or three pieces of shrapnel, here, here, and here, one person by fragments in both shoulders and the nose, the other in the lower leg.

The Yellow Headbands were in the camp about one hour. They took three people with them — two Indians [Burmese Muslims] and one Karen. They released them all later. They also took some women to carry back the things they'd looted. They said that all people in the camp have to go back to the Burmese side. They said if we go back there will be peace for us but if we stay here there will be no peace. But the people in the camp realise that if they go back to Burma they surely cannot live peacefully, so they don't want to go back. They scattered in the jungle — some went upstream [*east into the hills further into Thailand*]. One or two families went back to Burma. I will stay here. I was given a responsibility and I will continue to carry out my duty.

DKBA soldiers are being used by SLORC. They were former KNU soldiers [*in reality, most of them are conscripted villagers — only a small percentage are former soldiers*]. They joined and co-operated with SLORC, and now SLORC is using them to attack us. DKBA soldiers have no political ideas. They are religious extremists and they are against us. They don't listen to KNU policies anymore. They are only fighting over religion. They are not fighting for their people anymore.

Interview: 53-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Repatriation

Name :	Thra Kaser Doh
Age:	54
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion	Christian
Family:	Married with six children (age from 10 to 30 years)
Address :	Kamaw Lay Kho Refugee Camp
Interviewed:	1 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

I am a refugee in this camp. I work as a member of the school committee. The Yellow Headbands came at 11:00 p.m. on 25 [April]. I was in my house, and I saw them. There were more than one hundred, wearing uniforms. About 50 or 60 soldiers entered the camp. Half were DKBA, and half were SLORC soldiers. I can't say exactly how many because we couldn't follow them and check, but with my own eyes I saw 10 SLORC soldiers. Some of them were also hiding in other places. I could tell they were SLORC because they had different arm badges. I could see the difference in the arm badges, but I couldn't see their division or battalion numbers because we were running from them. It was night time and I could only see from a short distance. SLORC arm badges were red. DKBA soldiers' badges were white [*SLORC badges are red with a white symbol on them, and DKBA badges are pale yellow with white*]. I heard the Yellow Headbands talking, sometimes in Sgaw Karen, sometimes in Pwo Karen and sometimes in Burmese. Some had western Pwo Karen accents.

The soldiers entered the camp from every direction. They came in from the school side, they stood at the school and started shelling the camp with RPG-7, RPG-2, M79 grenade launchers and 60 mm mortars [*RPG-7 & RPG-2 are two types of Rocket Propelled Grenade*]. They also fired small arms. Some shot into the air and some shot at the surface of the ground. There was so much shooting. My house was hit by several bullets, and some shells exploded very close to me. When they started setting fire to the houses, some Yellow Headbands allowed people to try to stop the fire but the Burmese soldiers did not allow it — they did not even allow people to get out of their houses, but people jumped down and ran away anyway. Most of the Burmese soldiers were in the market [*section of the camp*]. Some soldiers shot the houses and made them burn [*with RPGs, grenades or tracer bullets*] and some set fire to the houses with lighters. They started by setting the middle school on fire, then they came into the village and set fire the houses afire. The fire spread because of the wind. One person was slightly wounded, Eh Pree Pa. He is about 32 years old. He was wounded in his leg by RPG shrapnel.

The soldiers stayed in the camp until 00:30 a.m., maybe a bit earlier, then they left. They tried to look for the camp leaders but everyone had run away so there was nothing they could do. All the refugees ran away — some took refuge in the monastery. The soldiers took everything they found in the village, even the biscuits for small children. Later they carried their looting back by themselves. They captured three young boys, took them to the village cemetery and released them there. They released the three boys with a message that all the refugees have to go back to Burma within two days. They said if the villagers do not listen, they will come back again and then the refugees will see!

After they left some of the refugees came back, but most slept outside the camp. Some haven't come back yet, even now. We don't know what to do. If our leaders ask us to stay here, we will stay. We've decided to stay because if we move to a new place, it will be very difficult for us to build new houses and also for other things. We have to find leaves for our roof, bamboo for houses and things like that. So we hope our leaders will arrange for us to stay here the whole rainy season. We don't want to go to any big camp [*referring to the Thai plan to move all the refugees into big closed camps*]. We want to stay here. If they treat the refugees like in Bangladesh or the Cambodian border, then we can't go outside the camp to get vegetables or hunt. It will be hard for us to get enough food, and we won't be free.

[*When the soldiers came*] there were four Thai police staying at the checkpoint [*along the highway at the north-east end of the camp — one group of soldiers entered the camp this way*]. They didn't shoot, they were afraid. Now there is no Thai soldier here, and there is no Karen soldier either. DKBA are SLORC's slaves, and SLORC are using them. When they realise that they cannot use them anymore, they will kill them all. If we go to live in Khaw Taw [*Myaing Gyi Ngu, DKBA headquarters*], we will have to drink the monk's medicine and worship him — otherwise you cannot go there.

Interview: 54-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood

Name :	Thra Baw Po
Age:	46
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion	Christian
Family:	Married with nine children (age from 18 months to 30 years)
Address :	Kamaw Lay Kho Refugee Camp
Interviewed:	1 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

When they came, I was in my house. I was sleeping with my children. I didn't see them at first. After they started shooting and came into the camp I saw them. I woke up and put my children in a hole in the ground. They entered the village and kept shooting more. Then we went outside the camp and up a small hill. I could see them start moving everywhere through the camp shouting, yelling, cursing, and they started setting the houses afire. They did whatever they wanted in the camp, and we could only watch them from a distance. My house was completely burnt down. I have nothing left. This bag is my house now. [*He showed his small Karen cloth shoulder bag.*]

Interview: 55-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Repatriation,

Name :	Naw Say
Age:	46
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion	Christian
Family:	Married with one child (age 23 years)
Address :	Kamaw Lay Kho Refugee Camp
Interviewed:	1 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

When they came on 25 [April], I was in my house. We were all in our houses sleeping. I woke up and heard gunshots at about 11:00 p.m. and ran away. I saw them. They were wearing uniforms. I saw one Yellow Headband soldier with a porter. I think there were some SLORC soldiers with them because some of them could not speak Karen. While I was running away from the camp, one Yellow Headband soldier stepped on my foot. I told him, "Are you blind?" Then I looked up at him and saw the yellow headband on his head, and I didn't say anything else and ran. Then I saw another one just wandering around the camp. He asked me, "Where did all my friends go?" I told him, "I don't know. Maybe they went that way", and I pointed to the river [*towards Burma*].

I saw them setting the houses on fire. I managed to come back and stop the fire at my house. I could save some of my belongings. I can still live in my own house, because it didn't burn completely. If they come back again, I will run away. If they tell me to go to Khaw Taw, I will not go. If they [*refugee leaders*] arrange a place for us where we don't have to be afraid of the Yellow Headbands, I will go and stay there.

Interview: 56-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Disappearance

Name :	Saw Lah
Age:	34
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion	Christian
Family:	Married with three children (age from 4 to 8 years)
Address :	Kamaw Lay Kho Refugee Camp
Interviewed:	1 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

We rely on our leaders to arrange something for us. Many people are going back to Burma, but not me. I will wait and see what our leaders will arrange for us. DKBA and SLORC soldiers are the same. We do not believe them. So I have decided not to go back. We want to live in peace. We hope that big countries in the outside world will help us to live in peace.

Interview: 57-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Execution

Name :	Saw Lar Wah
Age:	30
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion	Christian
Family:	Married with three children (age 3 months and 3 to 4 years)
Address :	Hlaing Bwe Township, now at the Don Pa Kiang (Huay Bone) Refugee camp, Thailand
Source:	KHRG

[*Saw Tha Po, age 41 and father of 3, was a Karen Buddhist refugee in Huay Bone (Don Pa Kiang) refugee camp, 20km north of the Thai border town of Mae Sot. On 25 March 1995 he crossed the Moei River to gather charcoal and never came back, shot dead by SLORC troops only 500m from the border.*]

I am from Pee Ta Ka village, Hlaing Bwe Township in Karen State. Now I have been in this camp four years already. On 25 March, I crossed the other side *[of the Moei River, which is the border]* to burn wood to make charcoal. We went 10 minutes' walk from the river. There were only two of us. While we were

collecting our charcoal, the SLORC troops came. It was 11:00 a.m. We'd only finished filling two sacks. I heard footsteps because I was sitting facing toward them. My friend was facing the other way so he didn't see them. Me, I saw one soldier. He shouted, "Don't run!" and started shooting at the same time. I was already running. We were scrambling to get away on all fours, like dogs. I ran and I didn't know what happened behind me, what happened to my friend. The soldiers were yelling but I couldn't understand because I was running. I can't say how many shots there were, just Bang Bang three shots, and after that a lot, I can't say. I saw only one soldier. His face was blackened and he had a carbine. First he fired three shots from his carbine, and those shots were for me. The first, second and third shots were at me. Then I heard the sounds of G2 or G3 *[Burma Army automatic assault rifles]*, a lot. I ran straight back to the camp without hiding or resting on the way.

I didn't know or see that Tha Po was hit. I didn't know anything. We were separate, he ran his way and I ran mine. The same day at 4:00 p.m., some of my friends and I went back to search for him. Oh, so many of us went. We found his body very far from the place where we went for charcoal, about as far as from here to the church *[over 100m]*. He was laying on his side with a wound just on his leg. He was hit on his left *[lower]* leg. The flesh and the bone were blown apart — there was only one bone left. It had bled a lot. He bled to death. I can't say if they tortured him because the body was black and swollen. I didn't see any injury on the other parts of his body. Presumably, he tried very hard to get back *[to the river]*. He'd taken off his shirt, grabbed some leaves and tried to warp them around his wound. But when we found his body, it had fallen off his leg. The wound was so bad and the bone was torn apart.

I don't know how many soldiers were there. We dared not check because we were afraid they might still be staying nearby, so we only looked for the body and didn't stay long. I passed the place where they were when they shot at me and I saw some rounds from carbine but I didn't look closely. We were afraid so we only hurried to find the body. Now I'm afraid to go back again. I went back anyway to get my charcoal, but all of it had already been taken.

[Halfway down Tha Po's left shin had been blow apart — the flesh was shattered and the bones were sticking out sideways several inches. This was probably caused by a type of G3/G4 assault rifle bullet that essentially is shattered on hitting something, causing it to rip people to shreds. It is quite common to bleed to death or die from shock after being hit by such a bullet even in the arm or leg. According to a nurse at the camp hospital, when they got Tha Po's body back to the camp and washed it, it was bluish-black, presumably because he had bled to death. After shooting him the SLORC troops probably never even looked for the body — they generally only look for a body if they think it may be someone with a gun they can capture, but as for unarmed villagers they just shoot them and leave them to die in the bush. A group of

people from another village saw the soldiers after the attack, and reported that they were seven soldiers from SLORC LIB 9 of LID 44, commanded by Coy Comdr Khine Zaw Lin. LIB 9 has since been rotated out of the area and replaced by IB 81, under the same Division. SLORC has recently moved 1,500 more troops into the area, despite the fact that there is no fighting going on there.]

Interview: 58-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Execution

Name :	Naw Chit
Age:	35
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children (age 5 to 15 years)
Address :	Don Pa Kiang (Huay Bone) Refugee camp, Thailand
Source:	KHRG

[Naw Chit is the widow of Saw Tha Po. See Interview: 58]

My husband was about 40 years old. I woke up in the morning and my husband said we had no charcoal left, so he would go to the other side of the river and bring back charcoal. I told him, "Wait for awhile. Don't go now." I tried to stop him because my injured leg was shaking a lot, and he said the skin on his body was also shaking [*this is a bad omen*]. I told him, "We both have shaking in our skin, so don't go." But he said, "Do you have any charcoal?" I said, "No", so he said, "We have no charcoal in the house, so I'll have to go." Even that morning we had no charcoal to cook, so my husband told me to go borrow some from the neighbours and tell them we'd pay it back when he returned. He said he had to go in a hurry because if the Burmese came around then he dared not go anymore.

A while after they'd gone, Saw Ler Wah came and asked me, "Sister, has my friend come home yet?" I said no, and he said, "Eh, when we were over there the Burmese soldiers came and shot very close to us." I went to the river back and I saw many people there. So I asked them to go across with me to look for my husband. But they said, "We don't dare go across because maybe the SLORC soldiers are still there". So I didn't force them to go and I came back home. We waited a few hours, then at about 3:00 or 4:00 p.m. we went across the river to search for my husband.

With three children, now that my husband is dead I don't know what I'm going to do for the future. Now I have only my eldest son to rely on. I can't do anything.

Interview: 59-HRV: Execution, Livelihood, Torture, Slavery, Disappearance

Name : Ko Sein Myint
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Address : Nyaunglebin District, Pegu Division

[Ko Sein Myint has now left his village to stay in Karen-controlled area.]

On 21 November [*1994*] the SLORC soldiers killed Saw Bee. He was 59 years old. His father's name was U Maung Nyo and his mother's name was Daw Thu. He lived in Gaw Tha Zin village, P'Deh Gaw village-tract, Shwegyin Township. He was a Karen Christian. He had a paddy field, growing paddy and growing crops. There are eight members in his family. His wife is Naw Dee Heh and they have six children. The eldest is a girl, 28 years old, and the youngest is a boy, 11 years.

Ko Saw Bee and I had lived together in Gaw Tha Zin village since our childhood days. We were friends since childhood, going everywhere together. He didn't encourage or support any political group, he was just a simple and honest man. He worked in his fields to grow paddy and other crops to feed his family. Then, he was killed very cruelly by SLORC. It's not just at all. On 18 November, he went to Nyaunglebin Town to buy provisions for his family. He returned on 20 November. When he crossed the Sittang River by a ferry it was about 6:30 p.m., a little late. SLORC troops from IB 351 were near Nga Deh village and he encountered them there. That group is from Bo Dah camp, they are controlled by Bn Comdr Lt-Col Kyaw Kyaw. The patrolling column officer is Capt Hla Myint. When they searched his bag they found cakes for his children and a little medicine. The SLORC men were suspicious. They asked him if he was a "ringworm" [*Karen soldier*]. They tied his hands and brought him to Gaw Tha Zin village. They took him to Tamla Wah's house, ordered everyone in the house to come out and then took Ko Saw Bee into the house. It was about 8:00 p.m. SLORC soldiers came one after another and hit and punched Ko Saw Bee all night long. I heard them the whole night long until the morning. Ko Saw Bee asked them to call the village elder, but the SLORC soldiers did not call him. The beating and shouting went on the whole night. They kept him in the house, and I saw four young SLORC soldiers in the house. I heard their beating and swearing and also Ko Saw Bee's shouting.

On 21 November, I didn't hear Ko Saw Bee's voice anymore. About 6:00 p.m. a sergeant went into the house. This sergeant was drunk. Then at about 8:00 p.m., they took Ko Saw Bee away from the village about 250 yards, towards Kyun Su village. About half an hour later, I heard five gunshots. A little while after the shooting the same group of soldiers returned to the village. They called the village elder and told him that the rebel they'd captured had escaped. They ordered the village elder to go search for him, but he said he didn't dare. The

soldiers spent that night in the village and took all the villagers' chickens and ducks without paying. The following morning, when the young cowherds went out past where Ko Saw Bee had been shot, they saw his corpse not completely buried. They came back and told the village elder. When the troops heard about this they said, "Don't go to that place. If you go near that place then you are rebels or relatives of rebels". They threatened the villagers.

At about noon on that day, they said they would clear all the trees near the village. They rounded up men, women, and even schoolboys from the village. They took a lot of rice and fish paste from the villagers by force and set out towards Bone Tha Dah. On the day Ko Saw Bee was arrested, his family was so scared that they ran away from the village. I don't know where they went.

There are about 40 house in Gaw Tha Zin village. Most of the people are Karen. Only a small number work on the land to grow paddy and other crops. The rest are just living from hand to mouth. They go to the hills to pick dog-fruit or pan for gold. Some buy and sell things. This is how they survive. Now the people who gather food from the hills are forbidden from going there by the SLORC soldiers, so they can't get enough to live. In 1994, all the paddy crops were destroyed because of flood. So it is not easy to survive. Moreover, every week six villagers have to go to do sentry duty. If they can't go they have to pay 300 Ks to Lt-Col Kyaw Kyaw at IB 351. Now they are also recruiting porters by force. If you can't go you have to pay them 2,000 Ks. If you can't pay, you have to go as a porter, and you suffer from diseases three to five months after your return. Among those who return to the village, some are crippled. Some die from exhaustion, and some have lost their legs. Two people from the village lost their legs this way, and the rest who come back are too feeble to live normal lives anymore.

Gaw Tha Zin village is on the road from Kyauk Kyi to Shwegyin, about nine miles from Shwegyin. We have a primary and middle school and also a church. The school has seven teachers. The villagers hire them and pay them. Since 1993, nobody wants to be a village elder, so people have to take turns serving as elders for one week. Under SLORC, nobody wants to be a village elder. Our village is at the foot of the hills, so SLORC regards it as a "black" area [*rebel-infiltrated area*]. If anything happens, they summon the elders and abuse and curse them. Depending on their mood, they sometimes immerse the elders in water. We must send information to Bo Dah camp. Every day, they ask if we have any news to report. If we say there is no news but they say there is, then if they are drunk they beat us and punish us.

When the patrolling column comes, there is another problem. They say they are in difficulties so they force the villagers to buy their rations. They sell their rice at 40 Ks for one pyi [*about 1.5 kg*]. When they've eaten what's left of their rations, they collect provisions from the villagers. So nobody wants to be a village elder. Before under the Ma Sa La [*Na Win's Burma Socialist Programme*

Party] and now under SLORC we lose all our rights. Under this bad regime some die, some starve, the lives of people are ruined — we suffer different kinds of hardships. Everyone suffers. If we can be free from this bad regime, in the future we want to live like our ancestors, our families together with our whole village — we want to be able to work in our fields, free in our hearts and in our bodies. This is my longing and my hope.

Interview: 60-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture, Livelihood

Name :	U Nyunt Thein
Age:	56
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion	Buddhist
Occupation:	Hairdresser
Family:	Divorced, four children (age 14 years and up)
Address :	Letpadan Township, Tharawaddy District (about 100 km, northwest of Rangoon)
Source:	KHRG

On 5 February [*1995*], as I was returning from Atee Pine at midnight, I was captured on the road by a policeman from Tharawaw. There were about six of them. He said he wanted to see me at the police station for a while and would release me in the morning. He took me home and I packed a bag with a blanket, then I was taken to the police station and put in the lockup with sixteen others. We were all from different villages. I knew just one or two of them, from Ye Shan, Weh Gyi and Thayet Chaung villages. As soon as the dawn breaks, at about 4:00 a.m., we were sent to Meik Ta Ma and Letpadan by train. There were five policemen accompanying us, but we were not handcuffed. We stayed in Letpadan lockup for two days, then we were sent to Kyauk Kyi by truck. It took the whole right. In Kyauk Kyi, we were put in a big warehouse. The place was packed — there were about 200 of us. Some slept upstairs and others downstairs. There were only men. We stayed there for three days. We were fed at 1:00 p.m., but mostly we had to buy rice packets at the price of 35 Ks per packet from the stall.

From there they sent us to Moo Thet. I had to carry a 40-pound-weight rice sack with my hands tied. All of our hands were tied to the porters in front of us. We were with Kyauk Kyi-based IB 60. There were a lot of them, I couldn't guess how many. From there we were sent to Baw Ser Ko, and we were kept there for three or four days locked up in a pig sty. We couldn't escape. Four or five porters ran away but they were recaptured in the morning. Then, they were interrogated and tortured in various ways by the soldiers. One officer from IB 48 poured hot water on the five porters. A sergeant beat their legs like he was mincing meat and said to them, "Run away again. Run away again." They beat the porters around their waists and punched their faces, and please pardon me but they swore "*Nga loe ma tha*!" [*literally translates as "you were born by my*

fucking", i.e. "you're my illegitimate bastard"]. Some porters lost their teeth.. Some of the porters were elderly men too.

They fed us rice and salt. Seven men had to share two mess-tins, twice a day. Sometimes, there wasn't even salt. When the soldiers rested, we could rest — when they didn't, we had to go without rest. When we tottered from lack of rest they beat us. When we lagged behind, we were flogged. They yelled, "Catch up. Stay close. Catch up and follow close. If your stepfathers see you, you'll die! Follow close!" [*in Burmese idiom, stepfathers are always cruel to their stepchildren.*] I walked on gravel and hurt my feet. The medics gave me two pills and applied yellow liquid [*antiseptic*] just once, then they never treated me again.

From Baw Ser Ko, they divided [*into columns*]. I was with Heavy Artillery Company of IB 264. There were about three porters for every soldier. We went very far, and for several nights we slept on the mountains, but I didn't know what mountains they were. After three nights we ran out of food so we had to take paddy from the rebel camps, pound it and eat it [*there is no way SLORC could take rice so easily from "rebel camps" — they were probably stealing rice from Karen villages, and the soldiers were calling the villages "rebel camps" to justify looting them. This gives an interesting insight into the way SLORC troops consider villagers*]. From there, we had to go halfway back to Baw Ser Ko for supplies, then to Papun District [*to the south*] to carry provisions. Eight porters ran away and the salt bags they left behind then had to be carried by the porters who were left. If we couldn't carry, we were kicked from behind by their boots or beaten with sticks. They said, "You have to carry what the other porters have left behind". I was kicked, and so were about eight or nine other elderly men. Whenever we couldn't climb, we were poked with carbines [*M1 carbine rifle barrels*]. They struck us with carbines and hit us in the belly. The following day at about 1:00 or 2:00 p.m., I couldn't carry anymore, so I said, "Officers and sergeants, I can't carry anymore". They said, "What? Can't carry? *Nga lohe ma tha*! You ate our provisions, you took our money. Why can't you carry? Go on, carry!!" I wasn't paid, I was conscripted. They thought I took money to come as a porter! Two soldiers then put a jacket around my neck and started pulling me along. I was being pulled and beaten all along the way. One of the soldiers had stripes [*sergeant or corporal*] and the other had none. I went on for one more mile. I begged in various ways. I was beaten and kicked with boots all the way. I was struck not less than 30 or 40 times. The officer hit me from behind with my own walking stick and broke it over me. I too became stubborn. I said, "If you want to kill me, go ahead!" As I could no longer go on, I threw myself down. The soldiers just said, "Die then, You just die. Let the ringworm kill you". And they just left me behind. My friends tried to take me along. They said, "Do come along. Just come slowly, slowly uncle", and the elderly men said, " Try, elder brother." But the soldiers didn't say anything encouraging. Instead they said, "Let him die. This old man, just leave him behind". They took my bag which had my blanket, three 90-Ks notes and a lighter and made one of the porters carry it. They said, "He'll

only come after us if we take his belongings." The soldiers took away the two bombs which I had tried to carry with such difficulty.

I couldn't go on. I just stayed where I fell. I was angry in my heart. They deliberately call the civilians and then torture us. It is the same as killing us. I don't even want to look at them again. In my heart, I feel this way. After that I saw the revolutionaries and they fed me and provided medical treatment to me, so I really want to thank them. If they hadn't rescued me, I'd be dead because SLORC left me behind. I'll never forget their kindness. Compared to what SLORC says, it's like the difference between black iron and silver [*night and day*]. The SLORC troops said, "We have to attack the rebel camps. We have to cut their supplies, and they'll surrender." They told us, "They [*rebels*] won't even spend one bullet for your life. They'll hate you for helping us to attack them." But the reality is that they fed me, cured me and took care of me. I'll never forget that. I wish and I pray that SLORC will collapse soon and that the revolutionaries will win the war. I want you to send me back when I'm cured, and then I will explain to the civilians that I myself saw that the SLORC's stories are wrong. I'll share all my own experiences.

Interview: 61-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture, Livelihood

Name :	Kyaw Htun
Age:	19
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion	Buddhist
Family:	Single, three brothers and sisters
Address :	Taunggyi Town, southern Shan State
Source:	KHRG

I left Taunggyi for Rangoon on 4 January [1995]. When I arrived at Nyaunglebin [*about 150 km north of Rangoon*], IB 59 parked a truck at the railway station. I was hungry so I got off the train, and when I was buying some rice a soldier came and grabbed my collar. I asked him, "What have I done?" He said, " Don't say a word". And he took me to the back of the truck and tied up my hands. "Why do you tie me up?", I asked. "Shut up", he said, and he kicked me and hauled me onto the truck. It was about half past twelve when we left. There were about 30 of us on the truck. We crossed the Sittang River, then we reached to the barrack of IB 60. We slept one night there, then in the morning I was forced to carry ammunition and rice. It weighed about 24 viss (about 38 kg). We slept one night on the way, then we came to a place called Moo Thet, I think. There were about 600 porters and 1,200 SLORC soldiers. Then we went to Baw Ser Ko and slept there. The following night we slept in a field, then we climbed the top of a mountain and slept there. That afternoon, there was fighting. We came down into a valley and then to a village. In the village, we had to slaughter pigs and chickens. Then the soldiers cooked them, but they didn't give us any. We never got enough food. Four people had to share one mess-tin of rice. At the beginning they tied us up at night, but after 15 or 16 days they didn't tie us anymore. There were seven in my group, and we were all tied together.

Later, we returned and spent seven nights on the way back. On the eighth day, the Strategic Command changed [*new battalions were brought in*]. There we set out in the afternoon and kept going until nightfall. At about 8:00 p.m. I could no longer climb the mountain, and I was beaten with a bamboo. There were elderly men with us too, and 13 of them were beaten. One elderly man couldn't go on. They beat his head with a gun and his head was injured. He was not treated or left behind, we all just kept going forward. When we got sick and asked for pills they just said, "They are not sweets!" Later as we continued, we came to a mountain range and there was more fighting. Then we continued, and it was about 4:30 p.m. when we heard someone stepping on a land-mine. One elderly man porter was killed and one soldier disappeared. Another porter's foot was blown off, and a third porter lost one foot and had his other foot crushed. We continued on our journey. The following morning we came to a village, and the soldiers took all the paddy and rice and made us slaughter the chickens and pigs. Then we cooked and they ate, but we weren't given any of them. Two days later, we came to a village where we made a temporary camp. About 7:30 p.m., I told an officer I was going to relieve myself, and I escaped.

The following day at 3:30 p.m., I saw a village and I met rebel soldiers. They were good to me. We ate together, and they brought me along. I asked them for clothes and they gave me some. All my clothes were left on the train when I was captured, and Capt Ba Thein took the money -- 2,400 Ks in cash — I had. He said he would pay it back when I returned home. There were three SLORC columns that came along — IBs 59 and 264, and the Strategic Command. I was a porter for one month and seven days. I want to go back home to see my mother.

Interview: 62-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Livelihood, Disappearance

Name :	Ko Tin Tun
Age:	19
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion	Buddhist
Occupation:	Deep sea fisherman
Family:	Single, four brothers and sisters
Address :	Bassein, Irrawaddy Delta
Source:	KHRG

I left home on 1 January [*1995*]. My father was ill, so I went to see my aunt at Oktwin. I took the Bassein launch to Rangoon. I slept one night in Rangoon, then at 3:00 p.m. the following day, I left for Oktwin by train [*Oktwin is just south of Taungoo, about 250 km north of Rangoon*]. I travelled by train the whole night. At Oktwin, a policeman checked my ticket. Then someone else came and took me to his house. There were six others there besides me. I was kept in the house for two days. Then we were taken to the Police Station where

we slept one night. At the Police Station, they took away my spare clothes and my National Registration Card. Then in the morning, we were sent to Kyauk Kyi by truck . We spent one night on the way, then we arrived at Kyauk Kyi at 3:00 p.m. the following day. At Kyauk Kyi, all the porters had to sleep in a field. There were about 50 of us, all men, but some escaped. After one night, we had to carry rice sacks and other provisions. I had to carry rice, not quite one basket [*one basket weighs about 33 kg*.]. We went forward and reached a jungle camp. We slept there one night, then continued our journey. There were about 60 soldiers from IB 59. We reached to a large village, and there was fighting between the rebels and SLORC. We spent two nights in the jungle, then we reached another village. There was shooting again. After the shooting, we slept there one night, then we went on to a small village, and then to this village. We arrived here at about 9 O'clock. I was seriously ill and fell unconscious. We had to sleep in the pig sty, nine of us. I was unconscious the whole night. When I awoke I didn't see anyone. Then I saw a rebel soldier. When they found I had no food, they gave me some. I was afraid to go anywhere, so I still stayed in the pig sty. Now I want to go home. I don't know if my father is dead or alive.

Interview: 63-HRV: Livelihood, Torture

[*The following report was received from a human rights monitor in the Kya Inn Seik Gyi area*]
Source: KHRG

Pee Setan village is 10 miles north-east of Kya In Seik Gyi Town, Karen State. Soldiers of IB 62 have a camp five miles from the village, so they often come to loot the village.

On 21 February 1995, a mobile column from IB 62 led by Major Ohn Myint came into the village. There was some fighting with Karen forces who were in the village at the time, and the SLORC troops withdrew to the Nyaung Gone quarter of the village and burnt that part of the village down. While the village was on fire the villagers fled, including U Bu Ghay, male, age 52, a Karen Buddhist farmer. While people were running, the SLORC troops arrested him, tied his wrists behind his back and tortured him in many ways — kicking his head and chest with their boots and beating him with a stick. He suffered head injuries and his face was covered with blood. The soldiers walked on his legs and rolled a bamboo up and down on his shins [*a particularly painful form of torture*]. They forced his head back, put a thin piece of cloth on his face and poured water into his nose.

The soldiers then took him to his house in the village. In his house, they searched for belongings and arrested his wife, Naw Ler Moe. They tied her wrists behind her back with a rope, walked on her legs, covered her face with plastic and poured water into her nose. Then they took U Bu Ghay and Naw Lar Moe back to Nyaung Gone quarter of the village. They released her but took him

to Kyaung Hna Kwa village. The following day, the village head along with U Bu Ghay's sister and daughters went to Kyaung Hna Kwa, and the SLORC troops demanded a bribe of 10,000 Ks to release U Bu Ghay. The villagers apologised the soldiers [*that there had been fighting in the village*] and paid 5,000 Ks. Then U Bu Ghay was released. He couldn't get back to his village because of his injuries, so he was given treatment by the villagers at Than Pa Yah village. He and his wife dared not stay in their home village any longer.

[*Note: IB 62 gained notoriety in July 1994 when it attacked Halockhani refugee camp, a camp of four to six thousand Mon refugees who had been forcibly repatriated by the Thai Army to a site just inside Burma south of Three Pagodas Pass. The attack on Halockhani was also led by Maj Ohn Myint. At the time, he and IB 62 were being rotated out of their station at Three Pagodas Pass to Ye. They are now based in Kya Inn Seik Gyi township, and Maj Ohn Myint has obviously not been demoted or otherwise discouraged from continuing his burning and torturing ways.*]

Interview: 64-HRV: Detention, Women, Torture, Execution, Livelihood

Name :	Pi Eh Wah
Age:	54
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Pwo Karen
Religion	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Family:	Married with two sons and five daughters
Address :	Kawkareik Township, Karen State

Name :	Naw Paw Htoo
Age:	35
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Pwo Karen
Religion	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Family:	Married with four sons and three daughters
Address :	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Source:	KHRG

[*Pi Eh Wah used to be village LORC chairperson (SLORC-appointed village head) in her village. Naw Paw Htoo is Pi Eh Wah's eldest daughter, and Aye Myint, age 23, is her youngest. All of them, as well as Pi Eh Wah's son Saw Htoo Klih, were arrested and tortured after people in her village helped two young SLORC Army deserters to contact a Karen army unit.*]

Pi Eh Wah: On 8 December 1994, SLORC came at night. They wanted to catch my husband but he wasn't there, so they caught me. I said, "My husband went

out to catch prawns with his son". When my son came back they asked him, "Where is your father?" My son said, "He wasn't with me, he went to the lake." The soldiers stayed all night around our house to catch my husband. Then they ordered my son to go look for his father. I wanted to go look but they wouldn't let me. They told my daughter to go. She found her father in the fields, but he was afraid and wouldn't come, so she came back alone. When she came back, first the soldiers arrested me. Second, my son Saw Htoo Klih, and then [*my daughters*] Aye Myint and Naw Paw Htoo. They took us away separately in different directions. I said to them, "My son and daughters don't know anything. If there is a problem, it is with my husband and I. If you want to do something do it to me, not to my children." First they took me to Ma Nyo's house. There they caught Ohn Kyi, tied him and beat him. Later, he managed to untie the rope and escaped. He ran away and never came back. Then they said they were taking me to the monastery. When we left the house, the commander took my son [Saw Htoo Klih] and tied his hands behind his back. They took us to the school, but different parts of the school — one up and one down. They also took Aye Myint to the school, but then they took her to Ywa Dan Shay village. There they treated her badly in many ways. They put a plastic bag over her head and poured water on it [*so she couldn't breathe — the bag may have been nylon, which becomes airtight when wet. SLORC often uses this form of torture because it is more convenient than constantly having to remove and replace a plastic bag*]. At the school they tied me, they covered my head with plastic and poured water on it. Then they interrogated me. They asked about two soldiers: "Did you send the soldiers?" And I said, "Yes, I sent them." Then they threatened me. [*two SLORC soldiers had deserted and asked to be taken to a Karen unit, and the villagers had helped them.*] I told them truthfully. Then they beat me, and they covered my head with plastic and poured water into my nose. I pleaded with them not to beat my children. I said, "If you want to beat them, please beat me instead", because I was only worried for them. But they beat my children anyway! The soldiers were interrogating and beating me behind the bushes while their leader Zaw Ko Ko was waiting in the school. He could hear when I was screaming. The soldiers said, "Your husband fled, so we've got you and we can do anything we want to you!" I just said, "Don't hit my children, because they don't know anything." I don't think the two soldiers who fled were from Zaw Ko Ko's group, they were from Coy 3. They were simple soldiers, privates.

At 7:00 p.m., the troops combined together and took us toward Ywa Dan Shay village. The commander's name is Aung Khaing. When we got to the bridge, he left my son behind, tied to the bridge. He said to me, "Go quickly!" Then I met my daughter [*Aye Myint*]. She was paralysed with fear and she said she didn't want to live anymore because the soldiers hit her and she was in much pain. Aye Myint said, "My life is not like other people's. They sank me in a well, they beat me and did many things and they almost raped me." What had the soldiers done to her? I don't know. From 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., I don't know what they did to her. At about 10:00 p.m., she came back to the village. We met there after we

were released. The soldiers told us to go back to our house and sleep quietly, so we went back and slept.

Naw Paw Htoo: When they came to my house [*in another village*], they asked for my father and asked whether he was living there or not. My husband was sick on his bed and the soldier asked how long he'd been sick. I said, "Over one month, so I never went to my mother's house, and my father rarely comes here." I said, "If you want to arrest me then arrest me, but please release my sister because she is not well." My sister had a new-born baby and she had malaria. The soldier said, "If we release her, what will the commander say when we get back to the camp?" He was a sergeant. He said, "Go and ask some other sergeants to release your sister!" They told us they were punishing us under Section 17/1, and that we were collaborating with Karen soldiers [Section 17/1 bans any contact with "illegal" parties or organisations]. They took me along with my sister and her baby. When we arrived at the stream the baby vomited and my sister gave him water. The soldiers and I walked along the paddy-field dikes, but my sister followed the stream. When the commander saw the baby vomiting, he allowed her to go back. He told her, "If you see your father, tell him to come to us", and they took only me. When we got to the soldiers' place, they sent me to the medic and he gave me an injection, then they sent me to Aunty Phone's house. I heard they had already taken my mother to Ma Nyo's house, and I was afraid. At 7:30 p.m., they came and took me. They kept me near Naw Aye's house for a long time, then my mother came and they took us to Hlaing Yu Kee. They released us at 10:00 or 10:30 p.m.

The soldiers said, "Go and sleep well at your home!" We were very happy because they were releasing us. When they released my brother they asked, "Is your family now together?" "Yes", I answered. We went to our house together with two village headwomen, then the soldiers called the headwomen and went away, so for a moment our family was alone at home. We put candles in the altar. Later, the soldiers came back, and there were soldiers around and under the house. When one of our candles had died out and the other was nearly gone, the soldiers called us, "Please wake up because our commander calls you." So we thought the commander would ask us questions. They said, "Wake up quickly". My sister [*Aye Myint*] couldn't get up quickly because she was still in pain. I took a sarong and went to her. The soldier called, "Is she sleeping?" Then my sister woke up immediately and she was very afraid. Then I heard a gunshot, and I fell down.

Pi Eh Wah: She was standing and her leg was hit. My younger daughter [*Aye Myint*] fell back and I saw her intestines come out. She was hit in the leg also. She was screaming, and she rolled over again and again until she died. The following morning, I saw that the bullet had gone right through her body. She was laying face down and she was dead. Aye Myint was 23 years old.

Naw Paw Htoo: She was between my mother and me. I told her to try not to roll on top of her baby. I said, "Try not to scream, or maybe they will come and

shoot us again." The soldiers were outside the house. When they fired, one bullet hit the frame of the house and a splinter of wood hit me in my belly — later the doctor removed it at the hospital.

Aye Myint had two children, both girls. Her husband had already died. The villagers held a funeral for her the following morning.

Pi Eh Wah: I was hit by one bullet near my breast which came out in my back. Naw Paw Htoo had six wounds in her right leg, and a bullet also passed right through her left leg. She also had a bullet in her stomach [*probably the wood splinter Naw Paw Htoo mentioned*], and later they had to operate on her stomach to get it out. My grandchild was sleeping with us and his blanket was torn by a bullet but luckily he wasn't hurt. The blanket of Aye Myint's baby was also torn by a bullet but she wasn't hurt either. My son [*Saw Htoo Klih*] laid down over me while they were shooting, and he pretended that he was dead. When it was silent again, Naw Paw Htoo called him and asked, "Are you hurt?" He said, "No." She said, "If you aren't hurt, please go!" After he left, he could hear us moaning from the other side of the river, but he couldn't come back [*to warn us*] because he had to run. [*His sister told him to run because being a young man, the soldiers would accuse him of being a Karen soldier, use this as an excuse for the shooting and probably execute him as well.*]

The soldiers released us at 10:00 p.m., and they shot us at about midnight. They were from IB 231. Their battalion commander is Bo Aung Khaing. The troops who shot us were with Zaw Ko Ko, he was the operation commander. He is a company commander. When they called us, one soldier came into the house and three or more stayed under the house. Two of them were Myint Zaw and Thein Win. They have two stripes [*Corporals*].

For the whole night, we didn't receive any treatment. Two other villagers looked after us and Naw Paw Htoo's daughter. In the morning, the other villagers came to give us some injections. When the doctor [*probably not a real doctor, just the person in the village who knows something about medicines and therefore acts as a doctor*] came to give injections, he was very afraid. The villagers went to An Kong army camp and asked the soldiers to allow us to go to hospital, but the soldiers were afraid. Then, the villagers asked the commander. They wouldn't allow us to go in the morning. Then at 5:00 p.m. the commander, Aung Khaing, gave permission for us to go. He was in Ywa Dan Shay. He wrote a letter [*the villagers cannot be admitted to hospital without a letter from SLORC*] that said, "We don't know who came and shot them". We stayed the whole day, then at night we went to the hospital. The following morning, Bo Aung Khaing sent another letter that said the Karen came and shot us. We didn't show them the second letter. We suffered a lot in the hospital. The police came and interrogated us. They asked all the details about what happened. We said we didn't know who shot us, but that the soldiers called us that night shortly after they released us, and that's when they shot us. The following morning the soldiers had said,

"Karen soldiers came and shot", but it was SLORC soldiers who were staying in our village. The police asked, "Then why didn't the SLORC soldiers attack the Karen soldiers the next morning?" I said "I don't know". The commander came to the hospital and gave 1,000 Ks for our needs. He said he didn't know the soldiers who had shot us. He told the village headwoman to tell people the Karen soldiers had come and shot us. Later the soldiers punished the village headwoman because they said she hadn't warned them there were Karen soldiers around. She had to give them 5 viss [8 kg.] of chicken.

About 10 days later Bo Aung Khaing came back and gave another 1,000 Ks. I didn't want to accept it, but we needed the money so I took it [*hospital patients in Burma must buy medicines from local black market with their own money, because the military takes all the hospital's medicine and uses it or sells it*]. In the hospital, we heard that the commander Bo Aung Khaing asked the doctor to kill us with medicine. A woman there told me she overheard them talking while she was eating. So every time the doctor came to give us medicine I paid him, because we worried that he would kill us. We gave him whatever he needed, daytime or night-time. Later the doctor said, "We never kill our enemy. If we kill the people in our hospital, then nobody will come to our hospital." Then I felt better. At that time, we were the only two patients — everyone else had left.

The doctor took X-rays, but my daughter could feel and touch the bullet in her leg. The doctor could see it too, but he couldn't tell if it was an AK or G3 bullet [*an AK47 bullet would be fired by Karen troops, whereas a G3 bullet would be from SLORC troops. The women were afraid that when the doctor found a G3 bullet in Naw Paw Htoo, they would be accused of being rebel collaborators. SLORC hospitals often refuse to treat gunshot victims until they sign a declaration claiming that they were shot by Karen soldiers.*] One week after they took X-rays, Naw Paw Htoo had an operation. Her face was covered but she heard the doctor say it was a G3 bullet. After the operation, they uncovered her face and a nurse showed her the bullet. Naw Paw Htoo asked whether it was from AK or G3, but they said she didn't need to know and maybe the doctor would tell her. Then the doctor came again and asked her name, age, and parents' names. He said he had to correct her admission papers. He took another two X-rays of her and one of me. I didn't know if he would send them to SLORC or the village headman.

Naw Paw Htoo: We had nightmares in the hospital. I was unconscious twice, and once my mother was unconscious for the whole day. The doctor said clearly that the bullet in me was a G3 bullet. He said, "It's easy to know whether this bullet came from Karen or Burmese soldiers". After they found the G3 bullet in me, the doctor came and interrogated me. He asked all my personal details and took them to the office. We were in hospital over one month. We left on 3 January 1995. The doctor gave us a card to leave. When we got home, we found out from the villagers that the soldiers were threatening to put us in jail. So we left right away and came to stay in a safer place. I still don't feel well.

Interview: 65-HRV: Detention, Torture, Livelihood, Slavery

Name : Maung Tin Win
Age: 39
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Mon/Indian
Occupation: Porter labourer
Address : Moulmein Town, Mon State
Interviewed: 28 April 1995
Source: KHRG

I am from Moulmein. While I was returning home from my job, a military truck suddenly stopped in front of me, and soldiers grabbed and put me on the truck. I saw there were already about 16 people arrested on the truck. We were taken to Kyaik Pa Nei jetty. We slept one night there. I don't remember the date — it was nearly two months ago. I had never been a porter before. Our family always pays all their fees and 'donations'. But this time I never got a chance to contact my family. Later, I found out that SLORC was sending five battalions to attack Maw Kee village, so they needed many porters. That's why the soldiers were arresting everyone in Moulmein, Mudon, Martaban, etc. In Maw Kee, I saw LIBs 104, 118, and 1. LIB 2 was there but they went back. On the way, I had to carry six 81mm mortar shells. I had to carry them too far. I have scars on my back. It's been a long time now, but they're still not better. On the way, our group carried the heaviest ammunition and the soldiers always ordered us to move quickly, so we were very tired. One porter could not walk anymore, so the soldiers beat him on his head and body. It looked like they would beat him to death. His hands were crushed. He was still alive, but they just left him near the path. I saw three other porters like this while we were carrying the supplies and ammunition.

From Ka Neh Lay to Maw Kee we were cut off because of the Karen resistance, and then I saw four porters die without anyone helping them. The dying porters asked for water but we had no water bottles — only the soldiers had them. Some porters bought water from the soldiers. One of the hired porters [*paid by villagers to go in their place*] had malaria when the Karen attacked the soldiers. He was too weak and thirsty, and he could not get up. There were no streams nearby. He asked water from the soldiers, but they ignored him. Then he offered 200 Ks for a bottle of water, and a soldier gave him water and took the money. The porter drank all the water and then he seemed better. I am telling the truth. We were all so thirsty. Later, we found a stream. If we hadn't, I think I would have died of thirst.

Interview: 66-HRV: Detention, Torture, Livelihood, Slavery

Name : Ko Zaw Zaw
Age: 24

Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Occupation: Trishaw driver
Address : Mon State
Interviewed: 28 April 1995
Source: KHRG

I was arrested at about 8:00 a.m. on 10 March [*1995*] near the railway station and then was sent to Moulmein. There was a steamer, and many porters inside the steamer. We went to Kyon Doe, Kawkareik and Thingan Nyi Naung. At last we reached the army base in the jungle. We had to carry rice baskets and mortars from the base. They were 81 mm mortars — six of them each. It weighed about 20 viss [*32 kg*]. I saw fighting twice. When there was fighting, they kept us in one place and told us to hide in the bushes. If the front-line soldiers [*advance unit*] asked for more ammo, we were sent to give it to them. It was very hard. They beat us from the back and forced us to go. The hardest job was carrying 25 gallons of water from the stream up the hill [*to the encampment*]. They treated us like animals, not like human beings. They never accepted that we could not do something. We must do everything. Sure they beat us — if we were tired, if we couldn't carry, if we were sick or so on. Every day, at least three or four porters were subject to beatings. Soldiers checked the porters every morning and night. If some porters tried to talk to each other or were late, the soldiers beat the whole group of us. The soldiers were very young but very rude. They had no respect for age at all. They never called the elderly porters "U" [*common respectful form of address to a middle-aged or elder man*].

We were all in one group. The curry was jackfruit, with not enough rice. If we asked for more, they beat us. We got three pieces of boiled jackfruit for each meal. The soldiers ate tinned fish, tinned beef and dried fish. For every meal they had at least beans with rice. We didn't get anything. The porters had to pay five kyats just to get a roll of cheroot from the soldiers. One soldier said we were supposed to get eight kyats per day [*about US$ 0.07 at market rate*]. But I never saw anybody receive any money from them. I served them nearly two months just for jackfruit. If I'd stayed any longer, I would have died. That's why I ran away from them.

Interview: 67-HRV: Detention, Torture, Livelihood, Slavery

Name : Ko Maung Gyi
Age: 24
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married with two children
Occupation: Day labourer

Address : Kawkareik Town, Karen State
Interviewed: 28 April 1995
Source: KHRG

I was arrested near the cinema hall. Many people there were arrested by LIB 104. Sixteen porters were arrested with me. It was more than 20 days ago. My family didn't know. I asked permission to tell my family before we went, but they refused. The soldiers said it would just be a few days to carry supplies and cheroots. We slept one night at Thingan Nyi Naung on a truck, then one night at an army base. Then, the porters had to start carrying supplies. I carried biscuits and cheroots. In Maw Kee, we made fences, bunkers and trenches. I didn't know their officers' names. The one in charge, the soldiers just called him "Ga-tone" ["*Baldie*"]. We just got jackfruit and salt to eat. The soldiers got tinned fish, beans and beef. It was worse than living like cows. We had no extra clothes. We slept on the ground, with no blankets. We slept in the rain for four or five days. If we were sick, we were ignored. They beat us many times. Beat and smash. I told the soldier that my leg was in pain, then he smashed me. So I said, "I work for the soldiers but the soldiers beat me. Why?" Then, three soldiers came and they all beat, kicked and punched me. I think they do it because they want everyone to be afraid of them. My leg was stiff. They didn't allow me to rest. My shoulder also hurt from carrying logs. I just wanted to go back home. I am married with two kids. So I ran.

Interview: 68-HRV: Detention, Torture, Livelihood, Slavery

Name : Maung Hla
Age: 20
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burmese Indian Muslim
Religion: Islam
Family: Married with an infant son
Occupation: Trishaw driver
Address : Kawkareik Town, Karen State
Interviewed: 28 April 1995
Source: KHRG

I was arrested in Kawkareik 20 days ago. The section LORC leaders [*town ward administration*] and militia arrested me at night because I had a dispute with the section leader. They sent me to IB 97. The following morning, LIB 104 took me to Thingan Nyi Naung. Our group of 11 porters had to carry supplies to Maw Kee. My load was a basket of dried fish. Five porters escaped along the way. At Maw Kee, my duties were cutting down bamboo, making fences, digging the ground, collecting jackfruit and carrying water.

I have been a porter twice. The previous time was last month near the Thai border with the same LIB 104. I ran away and reached a Karen refugee camp — I couldn't remember its name. Two days later the village [*camp*] authorities handed me over to the Thai Police. They took me to Mae Sot and made me cross the [*Moei*] river to Myawaddy. When I got home, I found that my son was sick, so I went to the section leader, explained how I had been a porter and asked for some money to take care of my son. So he collected money from the people in our ward, but then he said that money was not for me. He said, "Now that money has become public property". I got angry and told him that he was silly. That's why he arrested me and sent me as a porter again. Unfortunately, I ended up with LIB 104 again and they remembered me. The soldiers tied me up with a rope and beat me. Then, they warned me not to run away again.

The soldiers scolded and beat us, and the officers said nothing to them about it. The officers said, "You porters are bad and do not obey the rules. That's why the soldiers beat you." Some porters have been hired [*hired by villagers to go in their place*]. They had money so they didn't have to work, they just sat and played cards with the soldiers. We only got jackfruit and one plate of rice to eat , not enough. There were many jackfruit trees in the village. The soldiers said there was no extra food for the porters. If a porter asked for an extra cup of water, the soldiers beat him. They beat for any reason they want. It is no joke! We can die from their beatings. The captains said nothing to the soldiers while they beat us, they just watched.

Now I will go back to Kawkareik. I know they will arrest me again, but I have no choice. I'll discuss it with my wife and if she agrees we'll move somewhere else.

Interview: 69-HRV: Detention, Torture, Livelihood, Slavery, Forced Labour, Execution

Name :	Min Htoo
Age:	26
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Porter labourer
Address :	Moulmein Town, Mon State
Interviewed:	28 April 1995
Source:	KHRG

I was arrested in Moulmein at night on 9 March [*1995*]. I was arrested by the soldiers from LIB 104. They sent me to Kyaik Pa Nei jetty. We were kept in a steamer for one night. Then to Kyon Doe. We went to Kawkareik and Thingan Nyi Naung by trucks. Then we walked. We carried supplies like rice and ammunition to Maw Kee. We had two meals per day: one plate of rice and some jackfruits. There were plenty of jackfruits in the villages. Sometimes the

soldiers gave us salt. The soldiers were from LIB 104. They ordered us to dig bunkers and trenches around their camp. My hands were torn open, so one day I told them I could not do it that day. Then a soldier beat me again and again, at least 10 times. I saw porters beaten every day. They beat us every day. The porters who tried to escape were beaten very severely. During a short battle near Ka Neh Lay, supplies were cut off. All the porters got very thirsty and hungry, so some porters asked for water. The soldiers scolded them and beat them so badly that two of them died. One of the men killed was in his 50's, and the other was about 30. Also, four or five porters couldn't walk anymore and were left laying there when we left. I'm telling the truth. I ran away because I couldn't work anymore. They always beat us, and the food was very bad. We ate boiled jackfruits every day with not enough rice. If we were sick, the soldiers didn't allow us to rest. They beat us with sticks. I tell you the truth. Now I don't know how I can get home.

Interview: 70-HRV: Detention, Livelihood, Slavery, Forced Labour, Torture,

Name :	Win Hlaing
Age:	31
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese Muslim
Religion:	Islam
Occupation:	Day labourer
Address :	Kawkareik Town, Karen State
Interviewed:	28 April 1995
Source:	KHRG

Three weeks ago I was arrested at my house by the section [LORC] leaders and militia. They said I had a debt of 600 Ks for porter fees [*protection money which everyone has to pay to SLORC to avoid from being taken as a porter, although many people are taken even after paying*]. Usually we have to pay 35-40 Ks per month for porter fees, but sometimes after 10 days they come and demand it again. Sometimes, they even make us pay again every three or four days. They said it was my duty for the country, so I must go with the soldiers. I said I was afraid, so please excuse me from this. Then the militia arrested me and sent me to the cells at IB 97. I had to carry potatoes, onions, dried fish and cheroots for them. Then, at Maw Kee, I had to make fences and dig trenches. The soldiers always beat us. I was beaten twice. One time I asked for a second cup of water so a soldier kicked me in the chest. The food was only jackfruit, salt and a plate of rice — not enough. I was thin, but I got even thinner at Maw Kee. Jackfruit again and again — every day was jackfruit. They gave us jackfruit to eat, then they beat us. Sometimes, it was very hard to stand up anymore. They used bamboo to beat us. When we left Ka Neh Lay, I saw six porters laying on the ground groaning with bad wounds from beatings. Some of their hands were broken. [*These are the porters who asked for food when supplies had been cut off — see Min Htoo's testimony at Interview 69.*] If you send me back to Maw

Kee, I will die. When I get home now, I will pay my porter fees regularly. Whenever the section leader asks we must pay 40 Ks. Sometimes, he asks several times per month. When we were in Moulmein, sometimes we had to pay four times a month, 150 Ks each time. I don't know where the money goes, but if a person joins the SLORC administration he gets rich. My neighbour is that kind of man. [*At this point Ko Maung Gyi added: "In Kawkareik, Tha Dun is very famous. He was poor before he became a local LORC committee member, but within five years he became a rich man. Now he has retired."*]

SLORC doesn't care about anybody. They think they can run everything. In Kawkareik, when they need porters the militia surrounds the slum area. Then they arrest the poor. They never arrest the rich. The authorities just go to the rich and demand money, about 2,000 Ks. The rich man will never be a porter. But the poor and the jobless like us are always afraid of them.

Interview: 71-HRV: Torture, Livelihood, Children, Women, Slavery, Forced Labour

[*The following testimony was given by a woman who used to be a village headwoman in Kawkareik Township, and is now a refugee in Thailand.*]
Source: KHRG

Village heads are not directly appointed by SLORC but rather are elected by the villagers themselves. They are usually women, because men cannot survive the repeated beatings and punishments by the soldiers [*whereas women are beaten and tortured somewhat less often*]. Therefore, nobody wants to be a village head throughout the whole region. Some villages operate a rotation system for the position, and change the village head as often as every two weeks or every month. As a result, even 17 or 18 year old girls sometimes act as village heads, but they can control the villagers and will be obeyed because everyone knows that they are being instructed and guided by the village elders, usually monastic leaders, and so they never misuse their powers.

The main duty of village heads to SLORC is to give them information on the situation in the village, especially the security situation [*meaning intelligence on KNLA movements*], at a specified SLORC outpost in the area before 7:00 a.m. every day. Usually these bases are on hilltops overlooking the villages. Attendance is compulsory whenever called for and all orders from them must be followed, especially when they order "community service" by the villagers, or money. The level of soldier dealing with the village head is usually a captain, who is also usually the battalion intelligence officer. Typically, he will call the village headwoman "Mother" and himself "Son", even if he is older than her. If he doesn't like the village head he will treat her badly, but if he likes her he will speak politely and be pleasant — "No need, one action; need, another action" [*this means that how he treats her depends on what he wants, and how harsh he feels he has to be to get it*].

Punishments of village heads vary. Beatings are usually inflicted with 1" diameter bamboo sticks, especially on the waist, hips and legs, for a minimum of five strokes. If a village head gives "false" information she will be locked in the stocks [*crude mediaeval-style leg stocks of wood or bamboo*]. In one specific situation, the soldiers from IB 230 dug a hole in the graveyard of a village, about the size of a child's body and seven feet deep, and they placed a set of stocks at the bottom. The captain in charge then warned the village head that if exact information on KNLA activities was not given, she would then spend a minimum of three days at the bottom of the hole, with no protection from sun or rain. He said that on the first day she would receive only water, on the second day a little rice and water, and on the third day, nothing. He said the more serious the digression, the longer the time in the hole, up to six months. I'm not sure whether or not anybody had actually been forced to suffer this. A more common threatened punishment is to force the village head to lie face up in the midday sun for one or two hours. I know of at least one case where this was done. In that case, a regular officer came and let the woman go, then the intelligence officer came back and argued with him for doing so.

As a result of such treatment, if there is a land-mine blast, battle or gunshot in the vicinity of the village the village head is usually too afraid to report it in fear of the consequences. If the SLORC units find out about such an occurrence, they usually send an order demanding that the village head come to their camp immediately. When she gets there, their usual procedure is 1) beat, then 2) abuse and ask questions, then 3) demand money. Scolding and abuse is usually something like, "You are all Karens, therefore you must know about these things but you are liars". There was one amusing case of an elderly village head who, after SLORC demanded information from him, went directly to the KNLA officer in the area, Lt-Col Johnny, and asked, "Hey, what numbers of men and weapons do you have and what are you up to, because the Burmese are asking me so I need to know." And Johnny gave him enough information to keep them happy!

Porter fees demanded are like this: for "rich" class, such as people who own a television, 300 Ks per house per month; for "middle" class, such as people who own paddy fields or cattle, 150 Ks per house per month; and for "poor" class, people who are living day to day, 80 Ks per house per month [*she is from a fairly well-off village in the plains; in hill villages, no one would count as "rich" or "middle" class*]. Villages must also provide "rice for porters". Owners of televisions must also pay an extra tax of about 200 Ks per year to the SLORC office in Kawkareik, plus the local soldiers also demand 150 Ks per month per television, even if it is the oldest, smallest, battery-operated black-and-white version.

Another duty required of the village head is to arrange for villagers to go make and repair roads, fences, man-traps and barracks for the battalions. Previously, Kawkareik Township was run by IB 230 plus another battalion, and Myawaddy Township by IB 97 plus another battalion, but this is now being changed to accommodate DKBA. SLORC soldiers now are worse than the ones who were

under the Ma Sa La [*Burma Socialist Programme Party, Ne Win's pre-1988 dictatorship*]. If an officer is angry, his letter will be typed or written in red ink, and it may have a bullet or charcoal enclosed [*a bullet enclosed with an order means the village head and others will be shot for failure to obey; a piece of charcoal means the village will be burned*]. If a village head fails to obey after an order like this then her village may be shelled. Five years ago, this happened at Ta K'Rah village. Fortunately nobody was hurt.

As for Ko Per Kit, it was established in the rainy season of 1994, maybe June or July, by a Karen Buddhist holy man [*of the group who do not cut their hair and wear a flat-topped conical hat*]. Their base was at Ta K'Rah. They said their aims were to preserve Karen culture, to build many pagodas, and to oppose the SLORC troops by spiritual activities and supernatural powers. The first two aims were stated from the beginning, but the last aim was not clear until the end of 1994. At the time it was still a completely civilian organisation, mostly made up of elderly people but also with some children. Pa Tha Da was active in it from the start. Regarding his character, he was otherwise a generally lazy person who really doesn't like to do physical labour, or so it is said, anyway. Then as the "supernatural powers" part of the organisation became more obvious, members began to wear swords across their shoulders and carry strange bows with very short arrows, only about one foot long. These arrows could only reach 50-100 ft at most, but the leader of the organisation claimed that if one of these arrows was fired at a village or town at the same time that appropriate prayers and ceremonies were observed, then the place would be destroyed. This led most villagers to begin considering him as something of a crackpot.

I was not in the area when the Ko Per Kit joined with Ko Per Baw, so I don't know exactly how it happened. Before, when Ko Per Kit members heard that Ko Per Baw were coming they were afraid and tried to hide like everyone else. Maybe Ko Per Baw forced Ko Per Kit to join them, or maybe Pa Tha Da changed the organisation. I only know that most of the Ko Per Kit members have left and have been replaced by fighters. [*As noted by other witnesses, Ko Per Kit members now carry long samurai-style swords in scabbards, with Buddhist prayer beads wrapped around the hilt. They regularly tell villagers that once they draw their sword they are obliged to kill someone with it.*]

Interview: 72-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Minorities, Judicial, Refugee, Repatriation, Execution, Women

[*The woman who gave the following testimony is now a refugee in Thailand.*]

Name :	Naw Thalay Paw
Age:	37
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Bee T' Ka village, Kawkareik Town, Karen State
Interviewed:	7 July 1995
Source:	KHRG

My family and I arrived here five nights ago. We came with another family and spent six nights along the way. If we had come straight the journey would only take one day, but we had to go the long way around so we wouldn't be caught by SLORC soldiers. We are from Bee T' Ka. It is a big village of about 400 or 500 houses. The Christians live on one side of the stream while the Buddhists live on the other. The relations between them are good. Whenever the Christians have a feast they invite the Buddhists, and whenever the Buddhists have a feast they invite the Christians. They are all friends and relatives.

Now there are 40 to 50 SLORC and DKBA troops staying in the village. Most are staying at the monastery, but some are staying on the Christian side too. The SLORC troops are from LIDs 22 and 44, and from IB 28. Bo Aung Win is the SLORC commander in the area [*actually she is mistaken — he is the Intelligence officer of IB 230 which is commanded by Kyaw Myint Taun*]. The SLORC troops seem to be there only temporarily, because they haven't built any bunkers or permanent buildings and they only demand rations for two or three days at a time. Their main base is about an hour to an hour and a half walk away.

When the SLORC soldiers came to my house, my family and I fled. They went in and took all my paddy stored for the whole year. They took all my pots and pans, and our furniture and clothing. When I went back to the village and asked the SLORC troops to give back my food and furniture, they refused. I said, "If you don't give me my things back, I will go to the refugee camp." They said, "If you go there, then in three days we will come after you and make all the refugees come back with us." They robbed many other houses too — especially those whose owners had fled, but some who were at home were also robbed [*for example, the other family who fled to Thailand with hers was robbed while at home*]. They took their clothing, rice, pots and pans, even their bullock carts. I didn't have any money, but those who had money were robbed too. At night, they surrounded people's houses and went in and took everything, even people's necklaces. They did the same to Christians as Buddhists.

People must take turns going to work for SLORC. If one person doesn't go, he has to pay 500 Ks per day. Those who go don't get any pay or food. The village is divided into seven sections, and five men from each section have to go very month to work for SLORC for the whole month. At the end of the month, five new men must go. Also, five more men from the section must work for them for five days at a time, and every five-day a new group of five men must go. In addition, the SLORC troops often order 100 men and women per day to go and work for them. One day, 100 men and women were ordered to go to a place where SLORC troops had stockpiled their rice. Then they were supposed to carry it back to the village. They were told it would only take one and a half or two hours to get there, but it took the whole day. Then when they got there, they found out there was not much to carry, and many people came back carrying only two or three kilos or nothing at all. Then when they arrived back at the village, the SLORC troops said that some of their rice was lost. In reality, no villagers had taken any. They wouldn't dare, because there were armed SLORC soldiers with them the whole way. But the SLORC soldiers forced two people to say they had taken the rice, and then sentenced them like this: they must each pay 150 Ks, and they must stay at home for two months so they can work for the SLORC troops any time the troops need them.

SLORC troops also demand money for their rations or for pigs and chickens. They demand money at least two times a month, but sometimes three or four times. Each time every family must pay 10 Ks or even 100 Ks. SLORC troops also steal chickens at night. The SLORC officer in charge said to report any thefts but the villagers don't dare, because one time when someone did, even more things were then stolen from his house. SLORC and DKBA troops take the rice they have stolen from the villagers and sell it at a nearby rice mill. They get 300 Ks per basket, but they don't give any of that money to the villagers.

Every day, two women have to go to the SLORC commander to report all information about KNLA troops' movements in the area. If a KNLA soldier enters the village, they must report it right away. If they don't, they will be punished. There are some families of KNLA soldiers in the village. In the past these families were not in danger if they stayed in the village, but now it's too dangerous for them to be there.

The village has a Burmese government school, but before there were also two Christian Karens who were supported by the village to teach in a small school at the other end of the village. These teachers taught Karen to the small children. SLORC forced this Karen school to close and ordered all children to attend the Burmese school. They also collected money from the villagers to make a new roof for their school. There is no clinic in the village. The SLORC troops have medics with them but they only take care of their own men, not the villagers.

Now there are 20 DKBA in the village with SLORC. They have a leader who is Karen, Pa Tha Da, but all his orders are given by SLORC. When SLORC troops go out, they have one or two DKBA go with them as guides. They also use DKBA to call the villagers and demand things from them. There are three

DKBA soldiers who are from our village. Pa Tha Da and Nuh Po are brothers, and they are sons of a former KNLA soldier. There's also Buh Duh, who was just a villager. Only Pa Tha Da has a rank — he has been given three stars [Captain]. SLORC changed Pa Tha Da's name to Ko Daw Gyi and Nuh Po's name to Ko Daw Lay. SLORC commander Bo Aung Win is MI [*SLORC Military Intelligence*], and he gives them their orders. I don't know why they joined DKBA. DKBA told the villagers that if we joined them, it would be easy to ask SLORC for our own state. At first the villagers believed them, but later we saw it wasn't true. They said they wouldn't ask for anything from the villagers anymore. In the past, the KNU also asked for porters, food, and young men to join the army. The villagers were tired of it, but now SLORC and DKBA ask for much more. KNU people tried to live together with the villagers, and if one of them did something wrong he would be sent to court. But if SLORC soldiers do something wrong, they are not sent to court.

The monks in the village do not like DKBA. They say DKBA is a religious group, and religious groups should not take up arms. This group does, so it is bad. The abbot, who is over 70 years old, was very disappointed with the DKBA so he called a meeting of the villagers, both Christian and Buddhist, before DKBA came. He told the villagers to beware of DKBA. He said, "They will ask your children to join them." When DKBA came, they did ask the villagers to join, and some did. The abbot was disappointed. DKBA told us they will damage all the Karen refugee camps on the Thai side of the border so that people would be afraid to go there. They said there is no more KNU, that only DKBA exists now. They said that if all the people come back from the refugee camps, the Burmese would give the Karen our own country. The SLORC troops said that if all the KNLA troops join with them, that they will leave the KNLA troops in Kaw Thoo Lei and they will go back to town.

DKBA has to follow SLORC's orders. I don't see any sign that DKBA troops want to help our people. No one in the village wants to support the DKBA, but they have to because they are all afraid. Even the monks don't like the DKBA. The first group of DKBA soldiers who came ordered all the villagers to abandon all their old animist customs. They forbade people from healing ceremonies when we tie strings around people's wrists. The people were afraid and ran away. So SLORC transferred that group out and brought in a new group. The new group doesn't say anything about the animist traditions. In my own village, SLORC killed one DKBA soldier while he was taking a bath in the river. They said they had accidentally mistaken him for a KNLA soldier. On our way out to the border, we heard that SLORC had also killed one DKBA soldier at Bu Dah Klo village and two DKBA soldiers at Naw Dah Kee village. On the way out, our family and the other family slept five nights in villages and one night in the forest. We met one porter on the way. He said he and some other Karens had been forced to carry loads that were extremely heavy. When they couldn't go on, three or four were killed. He managed to run away.

Even though SLORC troops forbid people to go to the refugee camps, I had to go because they had taken my whole year's rice supply, and I couldn't work to

support my family because I had to work for SLORC so often already. Five other families left one or two weeks before us. Many people want to leave, but they are afraid of what will happen if they leave. If I went back now and they knew I had been in a refugee camp, they would punish me. I have been here five days already and they haven't come after me, so they were lying when they said they would.

Interview: 73-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee, Women, Torture

[*The following couple recently arrived in Thailand as refugees.*]

Name :	Saw Htoo Pa	Naw Lwee Paw
Age:	50	43
Sex :	Male	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist	Buddhist
Address :	Kawkareik Township, Karen State	
Interviewed:	20 May 1995	
Source:	KHRG	

We have come from a village of about 100 houses in Kawkareik Township. Last month DKBA and SLORC soldiers from IB 230 came to our village. We can't recall the exact date. The SLORC soldiers stayed outside the village while the DKBA entered and ordered everyone to gather, because they said they would give a speech. They told us that if anybody tried to run then the SLORC soldiers would shoot them. Therefore, all the villagers gathered together.

Four people gave speeches. One was Pa Nwee [*a former KNLA NCO, now prominent among DKBA in the region and ranked as a Lieutenant-Colonel or Colonel*]. Another said he had spent 2 months as a monk and is now a major in DKBA. The third was Thra Pa Doh [*a well-known civilian in the area*]. The last was a monk who was wearing prayer beads around his neck, had a pistol, a walkie-talkie and a wristwatch, and had no knowledge of any Karen language [*there have been many reports of SLORC dressing military officers as monks to control DKBA, particularly in Myaing Gyi Ngu*]. In general, the speeches were to encourage us to join the DKBO. They said if we join we needn't be afraid of SLORC or KNLA soldiers, as DKBA would guard the village. They said families who joined would not have to pay any porter fees or serve as porters. They said that now Karen and Burmese are brothers, and therefore we Karen and Burmese brothers should all join together to fight against the KNU. They said that many villages had already joined them, and that it was now our turn to decide.

In our village everybody is Buddhist, but anyway nobody agreed to join with them. This is because we were afraid of them, because they seemed unreliable and they came with SLORC soldiers. Also, the abbot [*of the monastery*] in our

village does not like DKBA. SLORC IB 230 controls the region around our village and they have deceived us for a long time. Because of the things they do, no men will be village head in fear of their beatings, so all the village heads in the area are women. Some villages rotate women as village heads as often as every 15 days.

Not long before the DKBA reached our area, soldiers from IB 230 came to our village at 1:00 a.m. The commander ordered us all to be outside together. He said nothing, but then he began to beat all of the male villagers. After that he carefully examined all of the women. He said they had come to arrest a woman who was the wife of a KNLA soldier, but they must have had false information because there was no such person in our village. So they couldn't find her. Then they grabbed one woman who was in her 30's. The village head vouched for her, and pleaded with them that she has a small baby to take care of. Then the soldiers opened her shirt, squeezed her breasts and sucked her nipples [*presumably this was their warped way of verifying what the village head had said*]. Then they released her.

Generally, the duties of our village are that every house must regularly provide one person to work at the IB 230 compound, cleaning the compound, digging bunkers and trenches for the whole day. We are only allowed to return home at nightfall. We are also ordered to repair the roads around their camp. And if a land mine explodes on a road, then the nearest village will get into big trouble. Once a land mine exploded far from our village, but even so the SLORC soldiers still demanded 50 viss [80 kg.] of pork as compensation. The villages closer to it had to pay money. There has not been any fighting around our village, but now it is too difficult to stay at our village any more, so we came here.

Interview: 74-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee, Women, Torture, Minorities

[*The following three women recently arrived in Thailand as refugees.*]

Name :	Naw Wah Wah	Naw Htoo Htoo	Naw Lah
Age:	45	42	30
Sex :	Female	Female	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen	Karen	Karen
Religion:	Christian	Christian	Christian
Address :	Kawkareik Township, Karen State		
Interviewed:	2 June 1995		
Source:	KHRG		

In the first week of May, the Ko Per Baw came to the area of Bee T' Ka and Ta K' Rah villages. The SLORC soldiers guarded around the villages for them. Pa Nwee spoke at a public meeting. He said that everything about Ko Per Baw is good and nothing is bad, therefore we should join or else they would burn down

our houses, our school and our church! After the meeting, three Ko Per Baw monks went to visit the abbot of Bee T' Ka monastery. They all had guns. Later, two of them left and only one stayed on in the village. They disputed with the abbot, because he said, "This is politics, it doesn't belong to us. Revolutions and religions follow different paths." Then they went away.

Later, very few people joined with Ko Per Baw — only about 40 villagers. So they were angry, and they planned to burn down the church. They went to the monastery [*which has a generator*] and asked for petroleum so they could burn the church. The abbot said, "I will give it to you, and you can burn the church down, and then you can also burn my monastery down. Because we [*Buddhists and Christians*] in this village have lived together for a long time and we live together peacefully, understand each other and drink the same water from the river. To burn down the church and not the monastery would be unfair." But the Ko Per Baw still wanted to do it, so the abbot said, "If you do that, then I will leave here and go to the town to tell everyone about everything you did in our village." Then the Ko Per Baw went away again.

Then Pa Nwee offered a new salary for anyone who would join Ko Per Baw from the village. For one month it was one basket of rice, plus 3,000 Ks, plus no porter duties or fees required of the family, but still the villagers were afraid and untrusting.

Not only is there Ko Per Baw, but also Ko Per Kit in our area. Ko Per Kit usually wear Karen shirts and other traditional clothes and carry swords. Many of them have drums slung across their backs which they beat while walking. They have their own leader whose name is Maung Shwe Kyo, but he is under the command of Pa Nwee, and Ko Per Kit usually stay and work together with Ko Per Baw. Ko Per Kit say they are from Tha M'Nya monastery, but we saw no actual orders or paperwork from there nor any other direct connections. [*Tha M'Nya, near Pa-an, is the largest monastery in Karen State, and the abbot, the Tha M'Nya Sayadaw, is one of the most beloved monks throughout Burma. He is Pa-O but also has a great love for the Karen, and thousands of people have settled in a refuge around his monastery where he feeds them through donations and neither SLORC nor KNU can touch them. Two or Three years ago it appeared that SLORC was trying to corrupt him, initially by inviting him to Rangoon to accept great honours, but he refused.*

He is completely unpolitical. In light of later events, it is possible that SLORC envisaged him as the leader of their planned DKBA' as early as 1993, but when he could not be influenced they found U Thuzana, the current DKBA leader, instead. The refuge initially set up at Myaing Gyi Ngu looked suspiciously like a copy of Tha M'Nya (until the forced labour, military conscription and other abuses began there). By claiming to come from Tha M'Nya, Ko Per Kit/DKBA/ SLORC may be trying to create an impression that they are supported by the Sayadaw there, despite the fact that he would certainly not lend his support to an armed political group.]

Both groups are generally vegetarians, but we heard that their monks have now granted them eating of two-legged animals and fish four times per month. They say, "two legs are good, four legs are bad" [*this has now become a sick joke among some Karen, meaning that the DKBA likes to kill people but not animals*]. In our village, they arranged for four people to work finding vegetables in the forest for them. We heard that Ko Per Baw soldiers went to a woman's house in Bee T' Ka and asked for her ox and cart so they could carry rice. The woman told them, "My ox is now in the fields, it would be difficult to find", so the Ko Per Baw said, "Now you are not willing to help us." The woman said, "Everything you have asked I have given, but now my ox would be hard to find." The soldiers were not pleased, and they went and told their officer Pa Tha Da. Pa Tha Da was just a civilian in our village, but after Ko Per Baw came he became a Ko Per Kit with one star [*2nd Lieutenant*]. A few days later some SLORC officers visited him, and after they left he suddenly had 3 stars [*Captain*] and became Ko Per Baw. So, Pa Tha Da came to the woman's house, searched it and arrested both her and her two sisters, aged 30 and 29. Altogether there were about six Ko Per Baw. They tied up the eldest sister in front of the house and Pa Tha Da slapped her in the face. The second sister was tied up and poked in the legs with a fishing spear, making her legs bleed. The third sister was tied up on the top of an ant's nest, and the ants bit her all over. Then their brother came, begged for their release and promised to provide an ox and cart, so they were released.

There was also an elderly man there who has some relatives in KNU and some relatives in Ko Per Baw. Despite that, Ko Per Baw soldiers came and abused him and said, "You'd better call back your son who went to the KNU." Then he was afraid, but he is too old to go far. So he left and now he stays somewhere outside the village. Ko Per Baw especially hate families with relatives in the KNU, and they usually tell them to call their relatives back and threaten to arrest other family members and hold them as hostages if they don't come. KNU village leader fled but left his family behind. They arrested his 35-year-old wife and told her she'd be released if he returned, but he didn't and so she was sent along with her four children to Myaing Gyi Ngu. There used to be two schools in Bee T' Ka, a primary school run by SLORC and a middle school by KNU. Ko Per Baw closed KNU school, the headmaster had to flee to Thailand and the teachers also fled to other places.

About 100 SLORC soldiers from IB 230 are usually stationed around our village. Because of this and all the other problems and events that have occurred, we were too afraid to live there any longer, so we planned to flee together. We started on 20 May, along with a young novice monk in his robes [*for protection*] and his father. We passed through many Ko Per Baw checkpoints along the way and said we were going to buy food supplies at Meh Bleh. We kept going all the way to KNU 6th Brigade area [*KNU-held territory far to the south*] before we crossed into Thailand, so to reach here it took us 13 days altogether, and we don't intend to go back.

Interview: 75-HRV: Livelihood, Refugee, Women, Torture, Execution, Displacement

[*The following woman is now a refugee in Thailand.*]

Name : Naw Paw Thu
Age: 45
Sex : Female
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Christian
Address : Bee T'Ka village, Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed: 3 June 1995
Source: KHRG

On 2 May, two soldiers from SLORC IB 230 at Naw Bo camp [*called Naung Bo Dike Kyi by the Burmese*], came to a village near our village in order to defect. They were taken through our village to another, where they met with a KNU officer and defected. In the afternoon on 3 May, IB 230 commander Kyaw Myint Taun came from Naw Bo to Bee T' Ka village and asked questions about the missing soldiers. After that Aung Win, the Military Intelligence officer at Naw Bo, gave an order that Bee T' Ka village must pay 150,000 Ks as compensation for the lost soldiers.

That same day soldiers from IB 230 who were patrolling east of the village stopped Saw Ket Doh and interrogated him. Saw Ket Doh was a little drunk, as he was returning from a wedding ceremony. The soldiers asked if he had seen any KNLA soldiers and he told them he had not. But not long after, KNLA soldiers ambushed another SLORC unit [*actually it was a DKBA unit which was ambushed*]. So the SLORC soldiers returned to Bee T' Ka and arrested Saw Ket Doh. They accused him of helping the KNLA. They took him to Naw Bo camp, and there they beat him and cut his throat. They also arrested one villager from Naw Bo village and one from Baw T'Raw Kaw village, accused them of helping the two defectors and executed them.

At about 6:00 a.m. on 7 May, there was fighting between Ko Per Baw and KNLA soldiers. Later that day, a group of Ko Per Baw went to Tee Wah May Kee and executed a KNU administrative officer there. Then they went to Naw Ter Kee, but the villagers were afraid and fled. On 8 May, Ko Per Baw arrived at Bee T' Ka village. Then Pa Tha Da met with Pa Nwee and they signed a paper and drank promissory liquid' together [*to seal a vow; this is often water with a bullet or piece of a bayonet in it, the idea being that if the promise is broken, the weapon will come to kill you*]. Then Pa Tha Da went to the monastery and asked the abbot, for permission to burn down the church. The abbot said, "After you burn the church, come and burn the monastery — and if you don't then I will burn it down myself, because we have lived together here for a long time and we drink the same water from the river. When the Christians have a festival we help them, and when we have a festival they help us"

After this Pa Tha Da lowered his head and went away. Later in the day, he went back and asked again, but the abbot told him the same as before so he went away again. On 10 May, Pa Tha Da went to Naw Mu Mu's house. She is over 70 years old. He accused her of helping the KNU in such ways as letting them stay and store materials in her house. He took all her rice supply and ordered her to come to Ko Per Baw in Bee T' Ka once a month in order to receive one large tin of rice [*a little less than enough for one person*]. At about the same time, Ko Per Baw were confiscating things like bullock carts, goats, pigs, and chickens from KNU families, but some of them who lost things were not KNU families. [*By KNU families, she means the families and relatives of KNU members. Other witnesses claim that when the vegetarian DKBA members are asked why they are stealing livestock, they reply that they will give it to SLORC soldiers.*]

Ko Per Baw waited until Sunday, 14 May, to hold their public meeting in the village. When Pa Nwee spoke, he said that there is a need for all Karens to stay united and that there will be freedom of religion. Pa Tha Da spoke and said KNU families are the same as KNU members, and therefore they must all be arrested and killed. After hearing this, most KNU families were in fear for their lives and fled the village.

Interview: 76-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Refugee, Women, Torture, Execution, Displacement

[*The following woman is now a refugee in Thailand.*]

Name :	Naw Muh Ghay
Age:	33
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Address :	Bee T'Ka village, Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	6 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

Now the Burmese are demanding porters. Every house must send one person and when we go, we aren't allowed to come back. I was staying at my parents' place. When the demand came for people to go, I had to go for our house. It was after the water festival [*which is in April; these events happened in early May, after two SLORC soldiers deserted*]. Everybody in Bee T' Ka was called together because the Burmese said that the villagers had erred. Some people in Naw Bo and Saw Kat Kyo told them that Bee T' Ka villagers had guided two of their soldiers [*deserters*] through the village, but I didn't know anything about this. Then the Burmese demanded that one person from every house must go to their camp. So one person from every house went, because otherwise their house would be burnt down. [*From subsequent details of her story, it appears that only one part of the village was involved; Bee T' Ka is a very large, spread-out village, so this is expectable.*] When we went there we saw one headwoman who

was being punished severely by the Burmese — they were pushing a bayonet against her temple. But they didn't put us together with her.

It was LIB 230. There was an NCO who beat me. Other people told me he had three stripes [*sergeant; others also claim he is with Intelligence*]. When he beat me I cried and became afraid, so I started to shake. He could speak Pwo and Sgaw Karen languages. He told us, "You must tell the truth! You are families of Karen soldiers!" When they question us like this we answer with only one word, "Yes", because if we answer otherwise or give different answers, they'll ask many more questions and we'll have much more trouble. He asked, "Who guided the two men?", and we replied, "We don't know, we didn't see", and he said, "You are liars! What you tell me isn't true! You are Karen soldiers' families!" Some of the women replied, "I have a family but my husband is not a Karen soldier". Neither is my husband, but I couldn't say this because my husband doesn't stay near here, so if I said that and they told me to call him and I couldn't, then they would say he is a soldier and I might be killed.

I didn't remember how many times they beat me, but until I was blue in many places. They used a heavy length of bamboo [*she named "wa klu", the thickest variety there is*], and both ends of it were sharpened. For me they used just one section [*probably about two feet long*], but longer pieces for some people. I said, "Please, we are not Karen soldiers' families, if we were we would never have come here, we are all just normal villagers". Then a new soldier who could speak Karen came and said to us, "People have told us things already, you don't need to lie to us. We already know who guided the two soldiers and where they went and we know their village." [*a basic SLORC interrogation tactic, get people to talk by telling them you already know anyway.*] Before they asked more questions they beat us first, then I cried. Because of crying they beat us again so that we went along with whatever he said, agreeing with everything and saying, "We know the people who guided them, they went to Noh Law Bler, and the Karen soldiers are staying there and if you go there they'll attack you". They believed that, but even so we didn't get any food and then they made us sitting in the sun. Then they told us that we were going to be taken back to our village because they had no food to give us there. Before we left, one person was taken aside and again beaten severely by the soldiers, and they tied the men together in pairs. Then they marched us to Taw Tharee Bu, only a few minutes away, and in that place we saw a pit which had written above it, 'Anybody who makes a mistake will be put in here', and then we were very afraid. Then we saw some soldiers boiling water in a very big pot, and they showed it to us and threatened us that any person who made a mistake would be put in the pot with the water! Oh — boiling water!! Then we were very afraid and we prayed for ourselves, all depending on our different religions, and we cried. The soldiers said, "Anybody would die" and we agreed and said together that surely nobody could hope to live through that. We didn't see any other villagers in that place, only soldiers.
In the afternoon we set out for Bee T' Ka . We had to carry the soldiers' rucksacks but we hadn't eaten any food, so we were very tired because they were very heavy. All the way from this place near Naw Bo the soldiers ordered us to run, always run, not walk, until we reached Bee T' Ka, and it took about

two hours by running. I saw one woman who had a mouth ulcer, and after we started our journey, it broke and fluid was running out of her mouth and she was crying. They called to us and we had to hurry as much as possible, even if there were many bushes and obstacles, even if we didn't have slippers on our feet. Really, this wasn't a pleasant scene for us, because all we could see was people getting beaten, and we felt terrible inside. The headwoman [*who had been badly tortured*] couldn't walk, and two people at a time took turns carrying her. We'd had no food, and we'd all been beaten. We took a rest at Tee Wah Ker, and we thought we would die! We reached K'Ner Ko, and when a soldier asked me, "What village is this?" I replied, " Bee T' Ka ", because I was so tired. But they ordered us to continue pass it. I was so tired, and I decided, "No, I don't want to go. If I die now, that's all right." The pack was so heavy, and we couldn't put the packs down or take a rest even for a few minutes. Then when we reached the outskirts of Bee T' Ka they wouldn't let us drink any water even though we were very thirsty, and even then we had to keep running because there are Karen soldiers around Bee T' Ka, and we told the Burmese, "Don't go! If you go they will shoot at you, and if you make us walk before you then we will die!" Then nobody went into the centre of the village — instead they called us together again. We saw only women and children from the village there, but the soldiers called for everyone to join together with us, whether women or children [*possibly as a human shield*], and the people begged them, "Don't shoot, we are only villagers", and they didn't shoot. Then we came to a place in the village where there was a wedding on that day, where there was a lot of pork and other foods, and suddenly it was all full with Burmese soldiers! Some food was given to us too [*by the hosts, not the soldiers*], but because of the beatings my sides were sore and I could hardly eat any.

After that we arrived at the monastery and I found I couldn't move easily because it was so painful. They ordered us to stay together at the monastery. We all thought we would be allowed to eat there, but they still did not let us eat. Only at 10:00 p.m., they let us eat, and then only because the abbot demanded that the soldiers let us eat. Even though we'd had a rest by then, we could not eat rice easily. We only took a very small amount at a time. We hadn't eaten for one day and one night. And then after eating the feeling was unpleasant, and they still did not allow us to go anywhere — they said to us, "You cannot go back — if you try to go free you must die". For no reason! No trial or anything! Then two village elders came and we begged them, "Please help us, or we will die now". They told us, "We know the soldiers have beaten you and we have been trying to find out your situation, so we have come to you and we know that the soldiers can't kill you now." They brought with them mothers and fathers of people in our group, to encourage and strengthen them. We heard we were all still in trouble because the Burmese had demanded 150,000 Ks, and they begged the soldiers that this was too much because we had already suffered very hard punishment for this. Since they had forced us to go where we didn't want to go and had beaten us, they then reduced the amount by 10,000, to 140,000 Ks. Then all of the village leaders had to sign agreement to pay this. They demanded the money because their [two] soldiers joined the Karen with two guns and ammunition. After the leaders signed, we were all released and we could return

to our homes. When we started to go the soldiers yelled at us "Go! Quickly!" So we went quickly, and then after we got to our homes we couldn't do anything, because of pain. I was still very afraid, I couldn't think clearly and I couldn't sleep.

A man from Baw T'Raw Kaw was also called to go with us, together with his wife and children. He was beaten very much by the Burmese soldiers. They accused him of guiding the two soldiers, and they were sure about him. They wouldn't let his children take their mother's milk so they cried a lot, and the other women there tried to get the children to take milk from them but they didn't want to and they cried. Their mother was there, but when she tried to give them milk the Burmese soldiers beat her very badly and her body became swollen. Then they left her together with us. Her husband was also beaten very badly, and after we got back to the village they burnt him with fire and did so many things to him. When I saw it, I couldn't even think anymore. I stayed alone and didn't talk to anybody. In the end, he was dead. Dead for no reason. His name was Boh Nee [*named as either Pati Po Mah or Manein Kyi Bah in the testimony of Naw Thay Wah — Karen and Burmese often have more than one name*].

Then [*a few days later]* Ko Per Baw came, and people said, "We'll go and see them together", but I said, "No, I don't want to go" because I was afraid and I didn't dare. Whenever people said the Burmese were coming we all ran together, even without our pillows. Now we stay here [*Thailand*] we never want to go back to our place and face all these problems and dangers. My parents are still there, because Ko Per Baw are not as strict for us [*as SLORC*], because their leader is Pa Nwee and he knew us before. Ko Per Baw said, "Don't be afraid, if you live in unity with us you don't have to worry about giving things to the Burmese", and they said, "When the Burmese came and beat you we were not here", but some people said, "When they beat us you didn't want to be here". Anyway, after they stayed in the village the situation got a little better, but there is still fighting between Burmese and Karen soldiers. [*Her friend then described how some Karen soldiers had shot at the DKBA's Pa Tha Da and his brother in the village during the fighting, and how afterwards Pa Tha Da blamed the villagers for this*.] Then Pa Tha Da and his brother said, "If nobody had been in the village, they could not have shot at us" [*meaning to imply that the villagers are supporting the KNLA*], and we said, "We can't tell them not to shoot at you, because they're your enemies. So they came and shot at you, and they'll do that wherever and whenever they see you." This made them angry again, and they said, "We will kill you until none is left!"

On our way here [*to Thailand*] we saw Nuh Po. He was wearing a striped headband [*he is Pa Tha Da's brother, and is with either Ko Per Baw or Ko Per Kit*], and he asked us, "Did you come from Bee T' Ka? Have any Christians come with you?" We said we'd come from Bee T' Ka but there were no Christians among us, and he said "If any Christians come we will kill them all!" At the time he asked us we were sitting together with a monk under a tree, so he assumed we were Buddhist! [*They laughed*] He said, "If I go to Bee T' Ka I will

do something terrible there!" His brother stays in Bee T' Ka already, and they know the Christian leaders' houses and families because they have stayed there and they used to help the Karen soldiers before. So they know all the secret weapons caches and can find everybody and everything. They know the Karen soldiers' families, so those families are living in fear and without safety. Many troubles! At night as they move around outside the Karen soldiers' houses and threaten their families, the soldiers' families have trouble, can't stay or sleep at their homes and then have to flee. Also, Ko Per Baw has told the Burmese soldiers to take things from houses, like rice, pigs or chickens, but they say, "Only if it is the house of your enemy [*KNLA*]". Everyday Ko Per Baw take rice for themselves from houses. They found some bullock carts, ordered the owners to give them and then went to take rice from Karen soldiers' families. One woman whose rice was taken away is Htun Kyi's wife, whom I know. I didn't even know Htun Kyi was a soldier, but they already knew all about it. So we were all afraid, we couldn't stay and we came here.

The Burmese soldiers always leave villages before Ko Per Baw come and then come back again afterwards so that it will look like they are not together, but I think they are doing things together. The Burmese soldiers go first, they are not polite and they are the first to be shot at by the Karen soldiers. Ko Per Baw always say, "We will do good things and live in unity and peace." Yes, they say like that, but we don't know what might happen. I never went to their place because I was especially afraid of their beatings. As for the Burmese, whenever people said they were coming I always ran away, because they beat us very much before they even asked us anything. Then when they asked, we couldn't say anything because we were afraid and shaking and we don't understand Burmese language very well. One of the men from the village was walking on the road with a bottle of pig fat because he was coming back from his cousin's wedding ceremony, and when he met Burmese soldiers they asked him, "Did you see any Karen soldiers?" He said, "No", but after they had passed him the Karen soldiers attacked them. He hadn't seen the Karen soldiers waiting for the Burmese. But then the Burmese accused him of working for the Karen soldiers, and they killed him. They beat him to death. Another one, dead for no reason. His name was Nyo Sein [*mentioned as Saw Ket Doh in other testimonies. He was killed on 3 May*].

We came here bit by bit. We saw people from Kyaw Ko going to buy rice mills, so we asked them to please tell any other people along the way that we were also from Kyaw Ko. Then if we met soldiers we told them, "We are from Kyaw Ko, going to buy rice mills. Please let us go to get things for our farms. Please don't give us trouble." We lied like that to the Burmese soldiers along our journey! We could not tell them we were coming here, or they would never have let us come. I came with my family, including my four-month-old child, and four other people. [*Her friend who came with her added: "We came here and we can't go back, because if we try to go back we have no documents, and if we get back people will tell the Burmese. So we cannot go back, even though we really don't know any Karen leaders."*]

Interview: 77-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Refugee, Torture, Child

[*The following man is now a refugee in Thailand.*]

Name : Saw Tee Ku
Age: 21
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Christian
Address : Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed: 2 June 1995
Source: KHRG

I was travelling to Pah Klu along with my friend. Starting on 6 May, I was staying in K—. Five people, three middle-aged women and two men, arrived from Bee T' Ka village and I went to talk with them to get news. They said that Ko Per Baw were in their village, and although Ko Per Baw had encouraged them to stay they had all got passes from Ko Per Baw to go and visit their family at K—. The passes cost 10 Ks each and bore a Ko Per Baw stamp. In spite of this, when they met SLORC soldiers from LID 22 on the road leading out of their village, the soldiers beat them with sticks on the legs, back and shoulders. They had bruises. This SLORC unit is usually called "M'may thon kyeh" because they always beat people they meet, even if they don't have any questions to ask [*"M'may thon kyeh, may thon kyeh" is a Burmese proverb, meaning "Ask nothing, three blows; ask, three blows", usually used to describe general conditions of life in Burma*].

They described to me the current situation at Bee T' Ka. Ko Per Baw have ordered the people there not to drink alcohol and to become vegetarians. They told the villagers to surrender their hunting rifles and fishing nets, and warned that if they searched houses and found these things then people would be in trouble. They said KNU members must surrender their walkie-talkies, but only four walkie-talkies were surrendered. They also said the villagers should always wear traditional Karen clothes, and although this was not an order some Ko Per Baw told villagers that they planned to punish people later who did not obey this. Most of these rules were made at the beginning when Ko Per Baw arrived in Bee T' Ka and made speeches to all the villagers. They also gave out pieces of paper detailing the rules. The villagers especially remembered what Bo Kyaw said in his speech. He said that the villagers must not try to run away, especially to Thailand, because DKBA is in control everywhere and to attempt to escape is useless. He said that their plan is very good, that they will close up all the border areas and open big resettlement camps for the refugees to return to Burma. He said they would arrest all KNLA officers and demanded that the villagers point out their houses and property. Later some people had their possessions confiscated, including paddy fields, cattle and other livestock. Eight pairs of cattle which were being kept under the church were taken, and the DKBA sold them for 5,000 Ks per head.

The villagers said that about 14 Ko Per Baw came to Bee T' Ka, and although there is a SLORC base nearby the SLORC soldiers just hung around the edge of the village and kept a low profile. Pa Nwee is Ko Per Baw commander, Bee T' Ka is to be their headquarters, and their unit is called No. 333. Bo Kyaw's unit is to be based at Kyaw Ko and is called No. 999. At the time, Ko Per Baw hadn't made a separate camp yet, they were staying in the villagers' houses.

On 19 May, I stayed at Ker Ghaw, and the following day SLORC soldiers came to the village. I was in my uncle's house. I didn't see them because they entered the village from the other end, but I saw people running so I jumped down and ran too. As I ran out of the village, I saw the SLORC soldiers entering from the other end. I crossed the Meh Bleh River and climbed up to the top of a hill on the other side. At the top there were about 50 or 60 other young men like me. We could see back to Ker Ghaw. We watched while the SLORC soldiers waited for about an hour and then moved off to Taw Oh. We stayed on the hill for about an hour until a woman came with a message from the villagers that it was all right to return. When I got back the villagers said about 1,000 SLORC soldiers who came from IBs 356 and 357 of LID 44 took 45 people from the village as porters. The headman said to them, "If you want porters, tell me and I will arrange it, but don't just grab people", but they didn't listen to him. All of the people taken were male, but some were elderly and others very young. I know some 14-year-old boys who were carrying rice along the roadside when they were taken. After this, the headman had to spend all day arranging for food, alcohol and other things to be taken to the soldiers at Taw Oh, and he spent all day going backwards and forwards between Taw Oh and Ker Ghaw.

Because of these events I was afraid of the Burmese soldiers and wanted to come back to Thailand, but the villagers advised me to wait because there were many SLORC soldiers on the move so it was not a good time for travel. In the morning on 29 May, the headman received a written order from SLORC at Taw Oh to send four carts and oxen. Taw Oh has many small sawmills, and the SLORC soldiers had demanded 2,000 Ks per engine [*small engines used to run the saws*] from the owners. Four machines had not been paid, so SLORC had confiscated them and now wanted the carts to transport them for resale.

Interview: 78-HRV: Religion, Slavery, Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee, Children

[*The following man recently arrived in Thailand as a refugee.*]

Name : Saw Thaw Thi Wah
Age: 42
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Buddhist
Address : Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed: 31 May 1995
Source: KHRG

In April [1995], about 140 soldiers of DKBA, along with SLORC soldiers, came to my village in Kawkareik Township. We didn't see the SLORC soldiers because they stayed outside the village, so I don't know what unit they were from. DKBA ordered villagers to go and gather people from the small clusters of houses throughout the village and bring them together. When we were all together they made speeches. I recalled that there were five people on the platform: Pa Nwee, Bwa Thay, a civilian and two monks, both of whom were armed. Pa Nwee talked about why DKBA was started — because the KNU oppressed Buddhists. He said the KNU didn't allow Buddhists to paint pagodas with lime or allow monasteries to use galvanised metal roofing, and so on [*note: the KNU never actually did these things*]. One of the monks also gave a speech in Karen language, but the other said nothing. The speeches encouraged us to join DKBA. They said a married person in DKBA could get 1,000 Ks per month and a single male or female soldiers could get 500 Ks. In order to join we would have to eat only vegetables and we should move to Myaing Gyi Ngu, where they said they had plenty of rice and we would be treated well. They said that the village would no longer have to send porters, do other labour or pay fees. But in reality this is not true, because not long after that the SLORC soldiers demanded 200 porters. Most of the single young men in our village have gone to find work in Thailand and nobody else wanted to go as porters, so the village head collected money and paid to hire some 'professional' porters from Kyon Doe to go in our place. First each household gave 40 Ks, but then this was not enough so there had to be two more collections of money. There are about 300 households in our village.

There had also been two other calls for labour we had to obey. The first was twice in April and twice in May, when IB 230 called for 50 people to go and work at their camp, repairing buildings and roads and gardening. The duty lasted five to seven days, and in that time the people had to stay in a place near the camp. For each person who was not able to go, the village had to pay 100 K per day to IB 230. The other thing is that every village in Kawkareik Township must send 50 people to work on the reconstruction of Mya Pa Dine-Na Bu road. I had to do my round of duty there last month. Many people throughout the township

were staying there along the roadside, and we had to bring our own food and other necessities.

In their speeches, DKBA never demanded that we help them, but they did ask that we assist voluntarily to carry their things to the other villages, where we would be free to go. But they did have some permanent porters with them, people they had arrested while trying to cross the border out of Burma without their authorisation. DKBA seemed to be well armed. Out of 140 soldiers, 40 had RPGs [*rocket-propelled grenades — this was determined by drawing and description of the weapon by the interviewee*] with spare rounds on their backs, and maybe 50 had M79's [*also deduced from his description and drawing*]. Most of the soldiers were young, the youngest being 13-14, but some were aged about 40. Despite this, they seemed disciplined. They brought their food with them, including beans and Burmese-brand condensed milk, chillies and vegetables [*Burma Army rations other than the vegetables*]. They cooked curries themselves, and before going to sleep they meditated in the villagers' houses [*they billeted themselves in the houses of the village — the meditation is probably ordered by their leaders, as the DKBA rank and file are very uneducated*]. I have heard that around Pa-an SLORC has now withdrawn the regional militias, such as the People's Army militia [*SLORC forms most militias by conscripting villagers, arming them and then taking them along to force them to fight the KNLA when extra numbers are needed*], and replaced them with the DKBA.

Interview: 79-HRV: Religion, Livelihood, Refugee, Torture,

[*The following woman is the wife of a KNLA officer and is now a refugee in Thailand.*]

Name :	Naw K'Paw Muh
Age:	35
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Address :	Bee T' Ka village, Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	3 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

In the evening on 7 May, Ko Per Baw entered the village, and when I heard this I left during the night. Later that night, a villager came and told me that Ko Per Baw were asking and looking around the village for me and that I shouldn't stay, so I changed the places again. Later, they said Ko Per Baw had called a meeting and said that they wanted to find all Kaw Thoo Lei [*KNU*] members and their families, and if they found them they would kill them all. So I was afraid to stay.

Ko Per Baw went to the house of Saw Ku Taw Mo [*a form of address meaning "Saw Tu Kaw's mother" — her actual name is Naw Mu Mu, as noted in other testimonies*], who is not a Kaw Thoo Lei wife. Pa Tha Da was their leader. He

accused her of sharing her rice with Kaw Thoo Lei and letting them store things in her house. When they searched they didn't find anything, but anyway they said to her, "Your son works for Kaw Thoo Lei". They told her she must go and bring him back and then they abused her and said that for this reason they would take her possessions. Then they took all her rice supply and ripped the gold necklace off her daughter. They tied up her eldest daughter, Naw Kuh Po, who has a baby, and they took her to the monastery but left her baby at her house. They kept her at the monastery for one night, and then her mother and another woman went to talk to them. They said, "She is just a villager, why do you keep her?", and Ko Per Baw said "You must find your son, otherwise we must kill another member of your family instead." After that I heard that the abbot of the monastery spoke with them and she was released, but I'm not sure because I moved at about that time.

The same night that they came looking for me, Ko Per Baw together with SLORC caught Saw Kaw Muh [*the son of a local KNU civilian administrative official*]. They tied him up and beat him and didn't release him [*Saw Kaw Muh was held until late June when he escaped and fled to Thailand*]. Many villagers were captured like this. Other villagers who were afraid ran away, and Ko Per Baw also confiscated the village's rice supplies. Pa Tha Da was in charge. They searched many houses. They took a villager's video player and generator [*his means of income was operating a video cinema* in *the village*] and they told him, "Whenever we want to watch a video, you must bring the video cassettes and petrol and play the video for us" [*they probably don't know how to operate the machine*]. At that time his wife had just had a new born baby and it was only a few days old, but still he had to go and serve them like this. They also threatened to burn down his house because they said he was using Kaw Thoo Lei money, but he denied this and told them all he had got was his traditional wedding present from his father-in-law.

Along our way to Thailand, every time we heard that SLORC were coming we ran into the bushes. At night, we slept in the bushes covered with plastic sheets. There were lots of rainstorms and mosquito and leeches, and my son cried to me, "Mother, I don't want to sleep here, let's go back. Go back now", and he asked to drink my breast milk, but I was dry for a long time and I couldn't do anything for him because we were in the jungle at night.

Interview: 80-HRV: Religion, Livelihood, Refugee, Torture, Execution

[*The following woman is the wife of a KNLA officer and is now a refugee in Thailand.*]

Name : Naw Thay Wah
Age: 27
Sex : Female
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Christian

Address : Bee T' Ka village, Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed: 2 June 1995
Source: KHRG

Ko Per Baw wanted to burn down the Church in Bee T' Ka because they want all people to become Buddhists. Pa Tha Da went, but the monk said, "Before you burn down the church I offer you the opportunity to also burn down the monastery". He is the abbot at Bee T' Ka monastery. He said, "You should burn down the monastery first and then the church, because in the past we never argued with each other, we have lived together peacefully. When they have a festival we help them and when we have a festival they help us, so if you burn down the church you will break my heart. You must treat all churches and monasteries equally." Then Pa Tha Da lowered his head and went away.

He went to Naw Kuh Po's house, tied her up and said he would burn down her house. He tied her up around the neck and the waist. They killed three people in Bee T' Ka: Saw Ket Doh, Pati Po Mah, and Manein Kyi Bah. They were all just workers. They did it because the Karen [*KNLA*] soldiers shot at Ko Per Baw. One of the men [*Saw Ket Doh*] was stopped coming back from a wedding, on the road near Bee T' Ka. They asked him if he knew anything about Karen soldiers, but he said he didn't see anything. After they left him, the Karen soldiers shot at them in the east of the village. The Burmese came for Saw Ket Doh, not Ko Per Baw. Then when Ko Per Baw met with the Burmese, they told the Burmese to execute all three people. Later I talked to two Karen soldiers, and they said they had ambushed the Ko Per Baw because the Burmese had attacked them while they were eating. Another person they arrested was Naw Muh Pee, and she was beaten. Before she was released, she was bleating like a goat! They also beat Naw Htoo. She was beaten so badly that she had to be carried by Kalah Ma Nyein, who had also been beaten.

I know about the two defectors [*the two SLORC deserters from IB 230 who came through their village, also mentioned in the testimony of Naw Paw Thu*]. Their officer had cut off the tips of their pinky fingers [*the officer had reportedly done this earlier that day as a means of "permanent identification" of his troops*]. I know because the officer came and called a village meeting and told us this. He was very angry at the Bee T' Ka villagers for helping the deserters. He demanded that the village pay 150,000 Ks as compensation for them.

I came here because my aunt told me not to stay there. She said Ko Per Baw were looking for me, and she said, "Don't be discovered — if they see you they will order you to find your husband within three days, and if you can't then they will beat you instead of him, and maybe they will kill you instead of your husband."

Interview: 81-HRV: Religion, Livelihood, Refugee, Torture, Slavery, Movement

[*The following testimony is from a Karen soldier from Kawkareik Township.*]

Name :	Saw Thay Po
Age:	24
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Address :	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	5 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

Ko Per Baw call the people who don't join with them "Ta Bee Met" [*literally, "closed eyes"*]. Their idea is to be against the "Ta Bee Met". They always call Christians this — not rebels or Kaw Thoo Lei, just Ta Bee Met. They say that if they see Christians they will "break them apart". At first [*when DKBA was formed*] we heard that Christians had killed Buddhists, but that was not true. None of those things had happened in the places they said. Really, this is just action by the Burmese in order to cause conflict among Karens, so that we will fight each other. Even though we are not leaders, we all have feelings and sympathies about this.

At their meeting in Noh Baw Heh, Ko Per Baw said, "We must have unity". But after that they demanded some porters for two or three days at a time. I heard that at Bee T' Ka some people were tortured. Ko Per Baw salaries are 1,000 Ks for married people and 500 Ks for single, but I heard that at Ta M'ha they demanded money for wages from the villagers. My brother was there at the time. Now, if people in Noh Baw Heh want to go outside the village to plant paddy and such, they must ask Benyah Tha Nee [*a Karen who was a monk several years ago and is now with either Ko Per Baw, Ko Per Kit or Ko Per Wah*] for permission. He gives them a written pass, and they cannot stay out after dark. Before, many people slept in their huts in the fields and they could do a lot of work that way [*this is also essential when the harvest time is drawing near to protect the crops from animals*], but now they cannot do that. Everybody is especially afraid of SLORC IB 81, which they call "M'may thon kyeh" [*"M'may thon kyeh, may thon kyeh" is a Burmese proverb, meaning "Ask nothing, three blows; ask, three blows", usually used to describe general conditions of life in Burma*], even though there is no fighting right now. Before, when the soldiers from IB 81 stayed in the village for a few days they said that if they saw anyone breaking the rules or fleeing from them then they could treat them as the enemy, and execute them or do as they like to them.

Interview: 82-HRV: Livelihood, Refugee, Slavery, Movement

[*The following has been summarised from an interview with a Karen man who returned from Myawaddy area in May 1995*]
Source: KHRG

I started travelling Pah Klu on 2 May. I went through a trading gate just north of Myawaddy and paid 250 Ks to the SLORC soldiers there from LID 44. Then I walked to Htee Sa Rah and on to Pah Klu, where I stayed for about two weeks. There the news was that DKBA were in Bee T' Ka village, where they were making a district headquarters and are constructing a camp. This is because SLORC has given DKBA legal and administrative authority in this region, although SLORC still seems to be collecting all the money like before. The news was that after they are finished in Bee T' Ka, DKBA will come further across the hills and make another new district named Meh Bleh Toh on this side [*eastern side of the hills*], possibly with a camp at Ker Ghaw. Because of this, the people in Pah Klu were very worried. They are very afraid of DKBA, even though of the 50 or so houses in the village about 45 are Buddhist. We heard that DKBA hates district or township officers who were appointed by KNU most of all, and will kill them if they catch them.

On three occasions in the time I was there, when we heard the news that DKBA soldiers were coming, we all, except the elderly women, ran into the forest. Especially on 13 May, everybody thought they were coming for sure and we hid in the forest until nightfall. I became afraid that the first thing DKBA would do would be to block the route to Thailand, so on 18 May I started coming to Thailand. On 19 May, I stayed at Ker Ghaw, and the people there said DKBA were only five hours [*walk*] from their village. They had heard that there had been a fight between DKBA and SLORC in which one DKBA medic had been killed, but they didn't know any other details. They had also heard that about 200 porters had just been taken in Myawaddy, but they weren't sure where they had been sent.

Interview: 83-HRV: Livelihood, Displacement, Slavery, Women, Child

[*The following interview was conducted with villagers from Thay Ko Der village on 26 May 1995, after the village had been burned down along with Lay Wah village by SLORC troops from IB 76, and they were preparing to flee. Puh, Saw, or Pa prefixes men's names, Pi or Naw prefixes women's names.*]:
Source: KHRG

Puh Tah Muh: Twelve houses were burnt down [*out of 15*], and four rice barns as well. Not all of the paddy was burnt. Pi Wah's house and rice barn were burnt down. She is an elderly woman.

Pi Wah: There is nothing left for me to eat. It's all gone. I have a small paddy field, but there's nothing left for me until the coming harvest.

Puh Tah Muh: Naw Muh also has nothing left. Pa Noh is my son-in-law. His house and his rice barn were burnt down by the SLORC troops and he had nothing left. They destroyed everything and spread it around on the ground. The same for Pa Wih Ber. He had nothing left. He is not here anymore. And Pa Hser Geh, everything of his was burnt down. Naw Kee Paw Heh is from Lay Wah village, and all of her things were destroyed too. Saw Yeh is also from Lay Wah village group. His hut on the farm was burnt down, and he also did not have enough food for the rainy season.

The SLORC entered our village on 19 May, then they burnt it down at 9:00 a.m. on 22 May. There were about 300 or 400 men, and we saw two DKBA soldiers. When they entered the village, only the women and the elderly men stayed in the village. The other men went to hide outside the village. The soldiers ordered us to move to a place they said they had prepared for us [relocation camp]. They ordered us to go stay at Klaw Hta, near Baw Kaw Der village. They said if we didn't go there, they would destroy, burn, and kill. They said we had to go there to make peace with them. We don't know how we can make our living there, we have nothing there. We will not be allowed to come back and work our farms here. We are afraid of them, so we ran away from them. We don't want to go to the place they asked us to move to. Even if we have no food, we will run away from them.

When they entered our village they took so many things: machetes, spades, hoes, and knives, and destroyed clothing and baskets. You don't even need to ask about our livestock — they regarded it as their own. They took everything. They didn't even leave a needle for us.

Naw Say Paw: The SLORC soldiers came to my house and took everything. After that, a soldier took me to the bedroom and ordered me to lie down. He was pointing his knife at me. I started shouting and yelling, and another woman came in so then the SLORC soldier left.

Naw Tha Ghay: One woman had only one daughter and her daughter was staying in Papun, but she was still staying in the village with her elderly mother. When SLORC came they destroyed everything, all their belongings. They had nothing left, so the women had to go to Klaw Hta to stay with relatives. The soldiers destroyed everything, pots, clothing, and so on.

Naw Lah: I have a younger brother. I can't escape by myself, because my brother can't run. Even if I escape, I'll have no food in the jungle and no waterproof for shelter. Then, the SLORC troops came and destroyed everything. I have nothing left. I don't know what I'm going to do. I have no choice but to go stay with relatives in Klaw Hta and obey SLORC. Whatever they ask, I will have to do.

Puh Klo Thu: I saw some soldiers. They came to my house and destroyed everything, even the rice threshing basket. A soldier pushed my wife and I thought he wanted to rape her. I told myself that if he raped my wife, I wouldn't care about my life, I would fight him. But he teased her and then he left.

Naw Eh Po: I had to be a porter when the soldiers left to go back. They made me carry their bags. There were five women altogether. We were all muh k'naw [*unmarried teenagers*]. The loads were very heavy, and we had to carry them back to their base in Papun. When we arrived there, some Karens who live in Papun went to see the SLORC officers and got us released.

Puh Tah Muh: When they left the village, they said, "We will come back to your village and kill everyone we see here if you don't obey our order." If we had security and enough food, we would like to stay in our own area with our own people. But if we have no food nor security, then even though we don't want to go, we will have to go and stay with them. There is nothing more we can say. We have heard a lot about the place they have prepared for us. There we will have no time to rest. We will have to work for them all the time. Even the women and children there have to be porters. For now, we will share what we have. We have very little but we can share what we have among us. If we are rich, we will be rich together. While we are poor, we will be poor together.

Interview: 84-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Torture

[*The following was told by a Karen man from N— village in Papun District, Karen State who was taken as a guide and human mine-sweeper on 19 May 1995*]
Source: KHRG

I was eating sticky-rice in my house. I got up to chase the chickens out of the house. Just then I heard a strange sound so I turned to look, and I saw a SLORC soldier. He said, "Don't run!" and ordered me to sit down. Another one came and grabbed me by the collar, and another tied my hands behind my back and ordered me, "Go!", and then I had to go in front of the column. Soldiers talked to me in Burmese but I didn't understand, so one pointed his gun at me and said, "Boom". I guessed that it meant if I ran away they would shoot me. They told me to take them to Thay Ko Der village, and when they arrived at Thay Ko Der they started shooting at people because the people were running away. They ordered me to lift my hands as high as I could behind my back, and then they tied me very tightly to a house. I was in much pain because of the way they tied me. Then they asked me so many questions, and while they were asking they slapped me in the face, grabbed my hair and shook my head. No matter what they did to me they didn't get any answer, because I don't speak or understand Burmese. After that they stopped and left me there like that for the whole night. The following morning, they untied me. In that morning, the Karen soldiers shot at them in the village so they came and tied me up again and moved me to

another place. There they didn't tie me up as tightly. I slept another night like that, then the following morning, we went to Maw Lu. Then they didn't tie me anymore. When they returned from Maw Lu they passed through Thay Ko Der, and the last group in the column started burning down the village. Then they moved on to Toe Kaw Der and we slept one night there.

The following morning, the soldiers told me that they were going to release me. At noon, one of the DKBA soldiers who came along with SLORC came to me and I told him, "Please help me to tell the soldiers to release me". He said he would help me but that I would have to go and stay in the place that SLORC prepared for us. But they didn't release me. They took me all the way to their camp south of Papun, and they released me there.

Interview: 85-HRV: Women, Slavery, Torture

[*The following woman is from N— village near Thay Ko Der, the same village as the man interviewed above. She is married, but all of her children have died.*]
Source: KHRG

SLORC captured me in my house. They ordered me to come down out of the house and to go to the school compound. They asked me some questions: "Did you see any Karen soldiers?" — I said, "Yes". "Did they ever come to your house?" — I said, "No, they passed through the village on the road." Then they tied me up and ordered me to walk in front of the column. They told me, "If the Karen soldiers ambush us along the way, we will kill you on the spot." They put their backpacks on our shoulders, and we went to Thay Ko Der village. When we arrived there they put us [*the women*] in one house and let us warm up near the fireplace, but they tied us to the bamboo post. They tied our whole bodies. It was so tight across my breasts, it was so painful that I started crying. When they saw me crying, the soldiers loosened the ropes a little bit, and then we slept there one night. The following morning, they untied us and they said, "Don't run away. We will release you." But when some Karen soldiers shot at them, they tied us up again and we spent another night there. In the daytime, they untied our hands and ordered us to pound paddy for them. At night, they tied us again. That evening, Karen soldiers came and shot at them again, and SLORC had one dead and one wounded.

Interview: 86-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Livelihood, Women

[*This woman is from the same village and was also taken.*]
Source: KHRG

I was captured by SLORC in my village. They ordered me to go to the school compound, then they accused me of being a Karen soldier's wife [*she is not*]. They tied me, grabbed my collar and made me carry a soldier's backpack. Along the way, we saw soldiers setting the villagers' rice barns on fire. First they took some rice and made us carry it, then what was left was all burned. That place

was very near Thay Ko Der village. When we arrived at Thay Ko Der, they pushed us all into one house and tied us in a standing position to the bamboo post. One of my friends started crying loudly, so they let us sit down and tied us very tightly to the post again. They tied our whole body, our legs and our chests, to the post. We had to sleep one night in that house. In the morning, the SLORC soldiers came to untie the rope and said they would release us. Then Karen soldiers came and fought them, and they tied us again and moved us to another place. We saw a man from our village tied up like us, and the soldiers said, "Don't try to talk to this man or we will kill you all!" The man was tied up very tightly, worse than us.

The soldiers fed us. The food was enough because we couldn't eat very well, but if we were at home that amount would be too little. They gave us some chicken and pork. I knew that they killed those animals in the village, because I saw them killing many of the villagers' pigs. At noon, one officer came to us with one DKBA soldier. The DKBA soldier said to us, "We DKBA soldiers want peace. So tell your brothers, mother, sisters and all your relatives to come and join us. We will have peace." We said nothing but nodded, "Yes". They didn't untie us for the night — we had to sleep with our bodies tied up with rope [*but hands and legs free*]. During the night, a SLORC soldier guarded us because they were afraid we might run away. One of them tried to unbutton a button of my shirt, so I made a movement and he stopped. A moment later, he tried to pull up my sarong. I pushed his hand off and pushed it back down. Then he tried to grab my leg, and I pushed him away and started to light the fire. The soldier blew the fire out, but after that nothing happened.

We spent two nights at Thay Ko Der, then the column moved to Maw Lu. We slept one night in Maw Lu and we were still tied with rope. During the night, a SLORC soldier tried to remove my sarong again. He tried another girl first, but she hit him with a piece of firewood so then he tried me again. When he tried to remove my sarong, I kicked him. Then a sergeant came around and he went back to his place. The following night, we slept beside an elderly man that they'd captured along the way. The sergeant also slept close to us. A soldier came again to try to rape me. I kicked him and made noise and he left.

The following morning they made me pound the rice for them, but they didn't give us any breakfast. We had to move to another place and they gave us food on the way. Along the way we had to carry their backpacks and we were tied with a rope. I had to carry one and a half big tins [*25 kg.*] of rice, and the other girls had to carry soldiers' two big backpacks each. They took us to T'Kung Taing army camp [*near Papun*]. I don't know how many villagers they had with them [*because there were several hundred soldiers in the column*]. Then they released us the following morning, because a DKBA soldier went and asked the SLORC officers to release us. We were released and sent to a Buddhist monastery in Papun. There we saw a monk from Myaing Gyi Ngu [*most likely a follower of U Thuzana*] and about 10 [*DKBA*] soldiers there. They said they came to work together with SLORC because they want peace. I don't believe them — I only nodded, "Yes" to them in Thay Ko Der because we were tied up in front of

them. Because of what they are doing I don't believe them. They act the same as SLORC soldiers.

Interview: 87-HRV: Livelihood, Displacement

[*The following written SLORC order was received by several Karen villages north-east of Papun.*]
Source: KHRG

[Stamp:]
Village LORC
xxxx village Tract

To: U xxxx Chairman
xxxx village
yyyy village
zzzz village

All the villagers from these villages must move to Kler O Der and Wah Mi Day and settle down there. In the future, there will be so many difficulties and problems in your present home area. I inform you with this letter because I have sympathy for your villagers. After you move, you can come to shop in Papun on Mondays and Fridays.

[Signed]
Chairman
village LORC
xxxx village tract

[*Note: These villages are in the hills, and are being forced to move to the plains, about three kilometres outside of Papun near a SLORC Army base. Not only will the adaptation to life in the plains be difficult for them and probably result in disease, but they will have no land to farm and will be used almost constantly as forced labour for the army base.*]

[*The following interview is with a villager in one of the villages affected by the aforementioned order:*]

According to this order we will have to evacuate our village, but we can't because we have no food. We know that this has been planned by SLORC. We don't want to go and stay under their control. We don't want to be SLORC slaves. We have no food, and we don't know if our leaders [*KNU*] can help us. SLORC came to our village to burn it down, and they have done so many evil things already. They say that they want to make peace, but each time they come to our village they destroy our belongings and burn down our houses. Now we have to face so many difficulties.

If we move there, they will not give us any food. We will have to find our own food. They won't allow us to come back and work on our farms. After that, they will kill us. They will make us work for them until we all die. So we can't do anything, just hide and run into the jungle and eat the food we took with us. This will be very difficult for us. That's why we hope our leaders will advise us.

If they find us in the jungle, SLORC will burn down our huts and destroy our food and belongings, just like they did to Thay Ko Der village. If they catch the women, we don't know what they will do to them. But if we go to the place that they have intended for us, they will treat us as they wish. Even if they want to kill us, they will kill us, just as easily as we would kill a chicken under our houses. The places SLORC wants everyone to move to are Klaw Hta, Wah Mi Day, Maw Thay Der and Ler Kyer Ko villages. But those villages don't have peace. SLORC says they will make peace but this is not real peace. If they really want peace, they have to treat us differently from this. If we stay like this, there will only be more and more problems.

If we go to the new place, we will suffer the same as the others who have gone [*referring to forced labour and lack of food*]. We don't want to face these difficulties. We villagers, every morning and every evening, discuss this situation each other, but we can't come to any decision because there is nothing we can do in this situation. We can't stay like this any longer. They want to force us to go to the relocation camp. If we stay here, they will beat, torture, even kill us. We have to choose how we will stay alive, but we have no choice. That's why we need our leaders to guide us. Our leaders started the revolution with only five bullets. Now, we feel very sorry if after all this we have to go and stay under SLORC's control.

Interview: 88-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Displacement, Torture, Minorities

[*The following is from an interview with a KNLA security officer in the area.*]
Source: KHRG

From my point of view, I can see SLORC saying that they are going to make peace with us, but theirs is not an honest way. If they want real peace with the Karen people then they need to stop attacking the KNLA troops. We received an order [*in late March*] from Headquarters that we are not allowed to go and attack SLORC, so we haven't attacked any SLORC positions. KNU leaders are trying to find a way to genuine peace. On the other hand, SLORC has destroyed villages in this area and has tried to locate and attack our troops. Every villager they catch, they take as a porter and torture them. They are always talking about peace, but what they do is very different from what they say. That's why even though we were ordered not to fight against the SLORC troops, we have to. We don't go and attack them. We just attack to protect and defend when they come.

If they want real peace, they should talk to our leaders. Instead, they come and destroy our villages, make problems for the villagers and try to use Divide and Rule tactic in our area. If they regard themselves as a good government and regard all the ethnic peoples as equal to the Burmans, then they must accept the KNU's approach for genuine peace. This is the only way they can get genuine peace in Burma. But they only want to crush our struggle and give more problems to the villagers. They must know that they can't destroy our Karen struggle in this way. The only way they can stop the struggle is to give equal rights to the minorities and listen to the voices of the minority groups. If they don't, the struggle of the minority groups will never cease.

Interview: 89-HRV: Refugee, Slavery, Livelihood, Displacement, Torture, Detention, Women

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Saw Robert
Age:	28
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with three children (age five months to five years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Wah Mi Day village, Papun Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	26 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

I came here together with my wife and children. We arrived on 20 June. It took us three days to come directly here. We slept in villages along the way. Our village is seven miles from Papun. Life over there is very hard. We are farmers, but every month we have to go for 10 days as porters for the [*SLORC*] army. If we can't go for 10 days when our turn comes, we have to pay 2,500 Ks. We can't afford this because we are poor, so we fled to the border. When you can't pay, the SLORC soldiers come to the village, take you by force and never release you. You have to take risks and escape from them. If not, you will be a porter until you die. The other reason we came here is that SLORC told us we could only stay one more year in Wah Mi Day village and in coming year they will move us to Khaw Taw Pu. [*note: right now, SLORC is forcibly relocating villages from remoter areas to Wah Mi Day. See SLORC order and related interviews. "By coming year" he means sometime after rainy season.*]

We have had to work for the soldiers for almost 10 years. At first it was more or less okay for us, but the longer you work for them, the stricter the rules become. Now it is the worst. The soldiers are from Papun. IB 19 always asks for porter fees. We have to pay porter fees to three battalions in Papun: IB 19 and LIBs 341 and 434. You have to pay 2,500 Ks every time your time as a porter comes

and when you can't go. Each family also has to pay 200 Ks every month as regular porter fees. We tried to get this money by working hard. All the money we can get, we have to give all to them. We have to pay whichever battalion requests the money. The soldiers come to the village very often, and they never bring their own food with them, they just take the villagers' food by force. They don't bother to ask for permission, they just take whatever they want. We dare not stop them. Whenever they catch villagers outside the village, if it's a man they beat him. If it's a woman, they don't beat her but they take her along as a porter to their camp, like Ku Seik camp near Papun.

DKBA don't do anything to our villagers, but some villagers who had connections with the KNLA troops were arrested, had their guns taken away and they were taken to Khaw Taw, where they were made to drink the Buddhist monk's medicine. I heard that after drinking it a person changes, but whenever I saw DKBA soldiers I didn't notice any difference. Both SLORC and DKBA gave us the order to move. SLORC told us first, then DKBA. The villagers said we don't want to move, we want to stay in our village. So they said they will come and take us by force to Khaw Taw. They sent us an order letter and they also told us. After the headman read the letter, he burned it. They ordered all the village heads to go to Papun and explained it to them at the beginning of this rainy season [*June*]. The [*SLORC*] Strategic Commander in Papun called the meeting. The villages ordered to move were Klaw Hta, Kaneh Haw Hta, Baw Kaw Der, Thay Pler Hta, Kler Der, Wah Mi Day, Htee Kay Der, Thay Ko Der, Lay Wah, Ya Ploh Der, Maw Thay Der, and ..., altogether 12 villages. They are to move after rainy season [*after October*]. The villagers have no idea at all what to do about this. Some think about running away, some think about trying to stay in their village anyway, and some try to flee to the border. In Wah Mi Day village, there were 20 households. Now three families have come here [*to Thailand*]. The rest are still living in the village, but all of them have made up their minds to come over here because they cannot bear the suffering any more. If there are no problems along the way they will all come here, because there is nowhere else they can go. The whole area is full of SLORC troops. I think no one can survive in Wah Mi Day village anymore. Even if people could survive there, life will be just too difficult for them. Only if there is no more fighting in Burma, then I will want to go back.

Interview: 90-HRV: Refugee, Slavery, Livelihood, Displacement, Torture, Women, Child, Forced Labour, Religion

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Saw Hla Kyaw
Age:	38
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with five children (age 11 months to 15 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Thay Ko Der village, Papun Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	25 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

My whole family came together. It took us three days to get here, and we have been here for eight days. We came because SLORC came together with DKBA soldiers and destroyed all of our belongings, so we had nothing left to eat. They burned the houses just recently, at the beginning of this month [*actually on 22 May*]. There were more than 200 soldiers. Ten were DKBA and the rest were SLORC troops from LID 77. When they entered the village, they saw the villagers running away from them so they shot at the villagers but didn't hit anyone. Then, some of the soldiers took positions outside the village and some right in the village. They slept three nights in our village. After the first night, there was fighting [*with KNLA*] in the morning. Then, there was fighting again in the following morning. On the third day they left, and when they left they burned down the village. There were 15 houses in Thay Ko Der, and they burned more than 10 of them. Three houses weren't burned. They also burned our rice. Some of the rice was not consumed by the fire, so they threw it around onto the ground [*rendering it useless*].

During that time I ran away from the village. All of us were staying in the jungle while the Burmese were in the village. We stayed together and slept in one place, and we had no food to eat. While they were in the village they captured three men and five women together with their children, and they tied them all up. I don't know exactly what they did to them all. After they tied up the men they kicked them, punched them and beat them. I know they tried to rape the women, but the women stopped them. They didn't release the women. They made the women carry their loads and took them to Papun, then they released them there [*see the related testimonies of two of the women from a village near Thay Ko Der*]. They also released the men in Papun, but some of the men ran away first. Papun is nine miles from Thay Ko Der. Two of the men were quite young, and the eldest was about 40. All the women were about 25 or 30. Three of the women are married and two are single.

Now we don't know what to do, we just wonder what we can do for the future. Some of the villagers tried to get some rice from their neighbours by exchanging whatever they had left. [*Most villagers keep some rice and other belongings hidden in the forest for eventualities like this.*] People cannot last long living like that. They can't do anything. They said if possible, they would all come here. Now, three households have come already. The others are still staying in that area, but not together at the same place. There was are no family left in Thay Ko Der village.

Before this happened, DKBA already asked us to go back with them [*to Khaw Taw*] and co-operate with them, and said if we did not go they would come and burn and destroy our village. SLORC had already ordered us to go to Wah Mi Day village, but we didn't go. They called the village head to meet them in Papun. They also demanded money from the villagers, and when the villagers couldn't pay they didn't dare stay in the village anymore. They [*SLORC*] also demanded roofing and bamboo for their camp, and they made us go down to their camp. Now, they say they're going to pave a motorway from Papun to Klaw Hta after rainy season. I don't know what for, maybe to send supplies for their troops. They'll make the villagers build it for them. There are also problems for the people in Papun Town. They have to be porters and pay porter fees, and they have to work for SLORC just like us. As for DKBA, they asked for soldiers, but we paid no attention. DKBA also said they were going to get all the Christians [*the word translated here as 'get' can mean either 'wipe out' or 'capture'*].

I didn't have much to bring along here with me. This is all I have [*the clothes on his back*]. I have one old blanket, and I carried cooking pots with me. Now we stay here with others, and eat together with them. If there is no more fighting and all is stable there, then I hope I can go back and stay. I don't think I can stay with SLORC. Also, I'm afraid of DKBA. I'm not afraid of KNU. We don't have to be afraid of them.

Interview: 91-HRV: Refugee, Slavery, Livelihood, Displacement, Torture, Religion

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Saw Shwe Hla
Age:	44
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with three children (age 6, 16 and 23 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Bwa Der village, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State
Interviewed:	26 June 1995

Source: KHRG

We arrived here more than three weeks ago. We came together with three families. It took five days, because on the way we had to carry some belongings and people had to carry their children. There were small children with us, and it was raining. We came because if SLORC or DKBA capture us they make us carry very heavy burdens, then when we can't carry it they kick us, beat us, punch us. So we were afraid and dared not stay in our village anymore. For our food we had to look for a little bit here, a little bit there. It was very hard for us. There are many more people who want to come here, but now SLORC is blocking their way and they cannot come.

Even before DKBA [*before January 1995*], SLORC used to come. They took porters, and they forced us to go for free labour. At the time I was ill, so my juniors went instead of me. Sometimes we had to go for one month, sometimes one week or 10 days. Those who can't carry, the soldiers drag them to the side of the path and kick and beat them and throw them by the side, and they manage to come home by themselves. Some die, because the soldiers kick and beat them until they can't make it back by themselves. SLORC also asked us for porter fees when we couldn't go, and we had to sell our cattle to get money to pay their porter fees. Some had to pay 50 Ks, some 200 Ks, some 400 or 500 Ks. They forced us to pay. Even if we had no money they wouldn't understand, we just had to pay. If you cannot pay, they do to you whatever they wish. This has happened since 1975. Before, we could pay the money and stay in our village. Life was hard, it was hard to live in our village, but we could stay there. We had to worry for our food and fear SLORC, but we could survive. But now the situation has changed, it's not like before. Whenever they come they kick, they punch, they beat us and they burn down our houses, so we can't stay there anymore.

Now DKBA are together with SLORC, and they treat us the same as SLORC do. The first time SLORC and DKBA came, they said they would kill all the Christians. Then they ordered us to go live at Khaw Taw, and we said, "We won't go, you will kill us there". So they beat and kicked people. That was in March. Some people from villages near Bwa Der who were not Christian went, but no Christian went. We heard that any Christians who go there are treated very badly or killed. Ko Per Baw said Christians also have to go, but when they get there Ko Per Baw will force them to put on the robes of Buddhist monks. If the Christians refuse this, I have no idea what they'll do to them. Last month in Bwa Der, they burned the church and many houses both where the sun rises and where the sun sets [*in both eastern and western parts of the village*], and rice barns and huts in the fields or on the farms. They took all our things that they wanted. Whatever they didn't want or couldn't carry, they burned all of it. When they burned it, they came together with SLORC. There were seven Ko Per Baw, and more than 100 SLORC soldiers [*although according to the testimony of several others, these two groups were separate and did not arrive at the village together; DKBA arrived first on their own*].

The first time when SLORC came they burned down some houses in Bwa Der, people dared not stay in the village and moved to the jungle around the village. Then when Ko Per Baw came together with SLORC they burned down all the houses in the village. They burned 40 or 50 houses in the area. In Bwa Der [*main village*] there used to be 10 or 20 houses, but villagers had already moved to here and there, so there were only six households remained in the main village. The church was the first building they burned! Ko Per Baw and SLORC took the big church bell away to Khaw Taw [*actually they were taking it to Meh Kay Kyaw, a pagoda on the Salween River*]. It was a big bell, like this [*he showed about a half metre diameter*]. This bell wasn't bought by the villagers, we couldn't buy such a bell. It was donated by an old white missionary. While they were burning the houses and church, no villagers were in the village. We had all run and were hiding in the forest around the village. That night, the soldiers captured seven people who went back to get their belongings. I knew three of them — Pa Day Bu, By Wah Pa and Bu Ghay. The following morning, the soldiers left the village. There was fighting not far away to the west, and all seven men managed to escape.

My house was burned completely! We came with only the clothes on our bodies and a few small things. Everything else was burned and destroyed. *[The village was burned on 5 May*.] We came and crossed the Salween [*river*] and waited in Klay Hta to see if we'd be able to go back again. But the situation was only getting worse and worse and we couldn't go back, so eventually we moved here to the camp. Along the way we just asked the Karen people we knew from Thailand to help us. We managed to get a little bit of rice. Also I had a little bit of money with me and I spent it, but now I have nothing left. Now there are six families here, but others have gone to two different camps [*At the time of the interview, there were at least 26 families from around Bwa Der who had just arrived in the camps*]. Some are still left there because the way here is blocked. Life for them will be very hard, but I think slowly, slowly, they will find some way to survive. I won't go back. To go back now would only be looking for trouble. If there is no peace and they don't give us independence, nobody will go back. Dead or alive, we will stay here.

Interview: 92-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Displacement, Execution,

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Pa Ler Muh
Age:	47
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with no child
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Toh Nya Der village, Par Haik village-tract, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State

Interviewed: 26 June 1995
Source: KHRG

We arrived more than two weeks ago. We spent five days on the way. We came because SLORC was going to attack Day Pu Noh and our village is along their way, so we dared not stay in the village anymore and we fled. Day Pu Noh is two hours' walk from Toh Nya Der, just the other side of the mountain. [*Day Pu Noh is about 20 km north of Papun, and Toh Nya Der is just east of Day Pu Noh. The SLORC troops have advanced through Toh Nya Der area and are now attacking Day Pu Noh from the east. This is the beginning of an offensive on the traditionally strong KNU area of B'Nay Per Ko and Ler Mu Plaw, north of Day Pu Noh along the Bway Loh Kloh (Yunzalin) River.*] SLORC came to our village just two weeks before we left. Fighting occurred very close to our village at that time. Now they're organising so many troops in Papun, five hours' walk away. They say they're going to take the strong Karen position at Day Pu Noh, and it's very close to us so we dared not stay. All the high points behind our village [*to the east*] like Thu Kyo and Muh K'naw Lay have already been occupied by SLORC troops. If they start shelling, most of their shells will explode near our village, some right in our village, so we dared not stay there anymore.

When SLORC came to the villages around there they took everything, chickens, pigs, they didn't even leave people their underwear, they took it all. SLORC sent a letter that said all the villagers have to stay in our villages, and if they find anyone hiding in the forest they will regard those people as their enemies and kill them all, even the children. Two weeks ago SLORC arrested two parish leaders from Pa Maw Heh from Par Haik parishes, and the Kaw Boke Parish head whose name I didn't know. They were arrested for working with KNU. They killed the Kaw Boke parish head and they took Pa Maw Heh to Papun — we didn't know if they planed to kill him or not. [*A later report came in that Pa Maw Heh has also been executed.*] We had to hide all our rice and other things in the jungle, so we have to be afraid of fire or elephants destroying them. And if SLORC finds it they will destroy it. I haven't seen Ko Per Baw yet and we didn't get any word yet, but they will come.

When we came here we had to face problems from avoiding Burmese troops, travelling at night, and then when we crossed the motorway we had to do it at night [*the road from Papun northwest to the Salween River at Kyauk Hnyat, where SLORC now has a massive presence*]. There were about 50 houses in Toh Nya Der, but there are probably no villagers left there anymore. Those who remained have probably scattered into the forest by now. Most of them want to come here.

Interview: 93-HRV: Refugee, Women, Child, Livelihood, Displacement, Slavery

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Naw Lah K'Paw
Age:	17
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Single
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Baw Kaw Der village, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State
Interviewed:	26 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

My parents are still alive. They've gone to look for food. I have three brothers and sisters. We got here one week ago — no, two weeks. We ran from the Burmese. We saw Ko Per Baw. As they came with the Burmese who came to my village and took all our things, we ran and came over here. They came recently, took everything and then they left. They are from LIB 341 [*based in Papun*]. There were 100 or 200 or 300 of them. They ordered people to come down out of their houses. I was under our house. They pointed their guns at me, and they said nothing at all. They took our torch-light, plates, and cooking pots. They took three boxes from our hiding place, and they took the two pairs of earrings, two rings and the clothes that were in the boxes [*this would be their best hand-woven clothes and their gold jewellery, which represents their entire material wealth — Karen villagers keep money in the form of gold jewellery, colonial-era silver rupee coins, etc., not cash*]. They took all our rice that they could, and the rest they threw and scattered on the ground. There were many porters with the soldiers, there were Karen and also Burmese porters. They were carrying plates, cooking pots and things. The Burmese arrested one man in our village, tied him up and took him along as their guide until they reached Papun, then they released him there. His name is Po Kyaw, he is 30 or 40, an ordinary villager. On their way, whenever the Burmese saw a rice barn, they ripped the roof off. They always do this. [*Villagers hide unhusked paddy in barns in the forest to save it from SLORC. Once the roof is ripped off, the paddy will be destroyed by rain or animals.*]

After they left we didn't have any blankets or things any more. We just stayed in the village like that for three days. We still had paddy to eat [*unhusked paddy from their barn in the forest*]. But we were afraid and we had nothing left with us, we had no cooking pots, so we left. From Baw Kaw Der to here, we slept three nights along the way. There was only one problem, when we had to cross the motorway. When we got here, an uncle over there gave us three plates, and

someone gave us a pot. [*Question: So can you go back to your village now? She answered:*] Can we go back? Have all the Burmese left?

Interview: 94-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Displacement

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Pa Bleh
Age:	35
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with five children (age 1 to 10 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Baw Der village, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State
Interviewed:	25 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

I have been here over three weeks already. I am with my children. My wife is in hospital in Chiang Mai. She was wounded by the attack of a helicopter. I wasn't there when it happened. You can ask her father. [*After their group had crossed the Salween River into Thailand, they were attacked by a Thai Army helicopter gunship and his wife was shot and badly wounded in the hip. Other refugees and villagers managed to get her to Chiang Mai for treatment. The Thais claimed they were attacking DKBA troops in retaliation for border incursions into Thailand (this may have been one of the fake attacks when they claimed to be attacking DKBA bases in Burma). See her father Puh Klo Htoo's testimony.*] We left our village because of DKBA. They came and gave us trouble, and ordered us to go stay at Khaw Taw. People didn't know what to do. We came here.

Interview: 95-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Displacement

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Phu Klo Htoo
Age:	60
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Widower for almost 20 years, four children and many grandchildren
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Baw Der village, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State
Interviewed:	25 June 1995

Source: KHRG

I arrived here three or four weeks ago. I dared not live in my village anymore because I'm afraid of Ko Per Baw. They said that they will destroy us completely because we are Christian. They said they will wipe us out. They came to the village often. Whenever they came they ordered us to go to Khaw Taw, ordered us to give them guns, and they asked for food, rice, whatever they wanted. We had to go as porters for SLORC as well as Ko Per Baw. They didn't fix the number of people. Whenever they asked, they just asked for however many porters they wanted, and we had to give to them. Men only had to go, but they didn't take me. They had to go for two or three days, sometimes more than that. For the time being we can't go back to stay in our village, because DKBA has not finished their task yet. They are going to continue their programme in the future [of wiping out the Christians].

We left before they burned the village. I came with my daughter's family. We were on the Thai side [*of the Salween River*], and it was in the evening. We were resting in a village, preparing to move. The helicopters came — I saw two helicopters. They were very low. The soldiers from the helicopters saw us. There were six families in our group. They saw us. I was right there. They shot, and my daughter was wounded in her hip, like this [*he demonstrated the bullet entering the back of her hip and exiting from the front beside the groin area*]. She was seriously wounded. I asked people to send her from one place to another, step by step, until she got to the hospital. I asked one person to take care of her on the way to the hospital. That was one month ago, and we have no news of her. Her name is Naw Bee Sah. She is 30 years old. You already spoke to her husband. Please send us news of her if you can find out. [*A medical aid organisation has now looked into her case and notified the family. Naw Bee Sah was shot by a Thai Army helicopter gunship in an abandoned Karen village on the east bank of the Salween River south of the Thai trading village of Mae Sam Lap. During that time, the Thai Army claimed that it was repelling all SLORC and DKBA forces who crossed the border and attacking DKBA bases on the Burmese side of the river in that area with helicopter gunships, though it appears that these attacks were probably faked to appease Thai public opinion over SLORC and DKBA's incursions into Thailand. This very attack may have been one of those reported in the Thai media as a great blow against DKBA. Puh Klo Htoo says others in the group of refugees told him a group of either DKBA or KNLA soldiers had crossed the river into Thailand shortly before the attack, although he never saw them. He is adamant that the helicopter was close enough to see that it was firing on villagers.*]

Interview: 96-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Displacement, Forced labour, Religion

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Saw Po Thu
Age:	35
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with four children (age 3, 5, 7 and 9 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Baw Der village, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State
Interviewed:	26 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

I came with my whole family. We have been here for 32 days. I came to stay here because over there we have to face so many difficulties. One of our problems is that Ko Per Baw came and pushed us to go down to Khaw Taw. Another problem is food and clothing, because all our belongings were burned along with our houses. Also, several times each month SLORC ordered 20 or 30 people to go work for them, sometimes for three days, sometimes for one week. We had to send the people, or they came by themselves and took them. For Ko Per Baw we had to provide rice, but they didn't take porters.

Nobody in our village went to Khaw Taw, but in villages near us some people went. Ko Per Baw took them away, they didn't go of their own will. Some went by themselves because of the order, but some were taken along by Ko Per Baw. They came to the village very often. Every time they came the village had to give them one basket [*about 33 kg.*] of rice. The first time, they came together with SLORC and didn't give any trouble to the villagers, just ordered us to go down there. But the time after that we didn't see SLORC with them. There were about 50 or 60 of them. Before they came, we got their message that they were coming and everyone must stay in the village and wait for them. The people did as they were told, stayed and waited. When they arrived, they told the villagers to go down and stay at that place [*Khaw Taw*]. The Burmese also told us to go there, but they came to our village in a separate group. These different groups gave so many different orders to us! But all the groups told us to go down and live there [*in Khaw Taw*]. They said all the Buddhist villagers must go there, and if the villagers don't they will find their teacher [*a Karen expression, meaning you'll meet someone who will punish you*]. They also ordered people to become vegetarians. One group came along with a Buddhist monk and slept one night in our village, and that time they gave us a "final warning". They said, "All the people in your village must go down now. If you don't, this time you will really find your teacher. All the Buddhist villagers have to go, and if they don't then the next time we will burn down all their houses." We told them some of us are

Christian, and they said, "If the Christians don't want to go, okay, no problem. But one day you too will surely find your teacher."

Ko Per Baw said we had to go right away, but then the Burmese troops came in later and said, "No, not right away, you can stay here for now". The officer from LIB 434 said that. So between the groups, we didn't know what to do. At the time, we still had our belongings in our houses and some food to eat. Ko Per Baw came several times together with SLORC soldiers. Every time they were going to burn down the village but SLORC stopped them. But then Ko Per Baw came because we didn't pay attention to the order they gave us, and they destroyed everything so that we wouldn't be able to stay anymore and we'd have to go to Khaw Taw. That time there was also a SLORC group, but they weren't together. Ko Per Baw shot into the air, and they burned and destroyed our houses. They burned the church and they took the big bell away to Meh Kay Kyaw [*a Buddhist pagoda to the south overlooking the Salween River near Sleeping Dog Mountain*]. What could we do? We just stayed and watched them doing it. In Bwa Der, they burned five houses — there are only five houses in the old village, but around the village there are lots of places, one or two houses here, one or two houses there. Most of the people are Animists, not Christians. I was staying in my father-in-law's house, and it was burned down. We didn't know what to do then, so when they left our village we stayed a few days in a house that wasn't burned, then we left and came here. When we came over here some families had only one cooking pot, some had two. So when one family cooked, the other family had to wait. We had no spare clothing, only the clothes on our bodies. Now there are 24 [*actually 26*] families here from Bwa Der.

Interview: 97-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Displacement, Forced labour, Religion

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Naw Sah Lwe
Age:	50
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with six children (age 13 to 30 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Baw Der village, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State
Interviewed:	26 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

Our whole family came here together, one month and two days ago. We came because of Ko Per Baw, they were going to move us. They already burned our houses and our paddy, so we had nothing and we couldn't stay there anymore. Ko Per Baw soldiers came and treated us wrongly because of the difference in

our religion. They came often, and so did SLORC. Sometimes they came together. Whenever Ko Per Baw came they told us to go down to Khaw Taw, but we didn't want to go. If we go down there we'll have to worship Lord Buddha.

My house was burned, and my paddy barns were also burned. I lost one big tin of rice [*16 kg.*], paddy, three pots, three blankets, sleeping mats and other household utensils, a bible, a hymnbook, and everything people need to live. After that as I couldn't stay in the village anymore, I went to stay at Noh Pu village, located beside the mountain. Then Ko Per Baw soldiers came to Noh Pu and told us to go down to their place [*Khaw Taw*], and they came more than once. So we dared not stay there anymore, and some of our nationals [*meaning KNLA soldiers*] came and took us along the way here. Some of the Noh Pu villagers are still there, and they have to work for SLORC. There's no problem for us here, but there were many problems in Bwa Der and Noh Pu. Here the only problem is diseases. Dare we go back? If SLORC and DKBA over there don't disappear, can we go back? If the foreigners say we have to go, we'll go back, but if they say we can stay here then we'll stay here. Even if the fighting stops I dare not go back, because Ko Per Baw still persecute the Baptists and other Christians.

Interview: 98-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Displacement, Forced labour, Slavery, Torture

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Puh Kaw Taw
Age:	63
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with seven children (age 11 to 28 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Baw Der village, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State
Interviewed:	26 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

We arrived here on the 12th [of June]. We came over here because we had faced so many problems. It was the way the Ko Per Baw treated us. They said they were going to drive us all down to Khaw Taw. They said if we didn't go down to Khaw Taw, they would hand over all the villagers to SLORC. If they do that, SLORC will use us as they wish. They can order you to work for them for one month, or for one year. They will treat us as slaves.

I've had to go as a porter for SLORC two times this year. They sent a letter, and I had to go. They ordered 40 people from Toh Nyo, Paw Hta and Bwa Der together. One person from each house. My children were not around, so I had to go. The first time was about two months ago. They made me carry about 20 viss [*32 kg.*] for one day. I was carrying sarongs, shirts and other things they had taken from villagers, to Ho Kho. They took 12 of us from Bwa Der that time, and there were also people from other villages. The second time I had to be a porter from Paw Hta to Thaw Let Hta [*opposite the Thai trading village of Mae Sam Lap*], about one month ago. We had to carry supplies for SLORC for two days. If a person couldn't carry his burden and fell down, they ran to him and kicked him immediately. I saw. The porters were middle aged, getting old already. Most were from Paw Hta. We ate with the soldiers, but they only gave us prawn paste.

When Ko Per Baw burned the village [*on 5 May*], my house was already destroyed so they couldn't burn it. They destroyed it when they came for the first time. They even ate my birds and chickens. Some Karen soldiers used to stay with me, and some of my children and nephews were Karen soldiers. So first Ko Per Baw fired a shell at my house [*most likely an M79 grenade*], then they shot their guns, rushed into my house and started tearing it down. They ripped off the whole roof of my house. When they started shooting, I ran into the jungle. There was no one fighting against them, they were just shooting into the village. I went and stayed with my relatives in another part of the village for two months. Then I came here with them. Twenty six families came. We organised our things by ourselves, but we got help to come here from KNU [*an escort of soldiers part way*]. We heard that Ko Per Baw would try to stop us. On the way they came close to us, but we managed to avoid them and arrived here. If possible we want to go back, because it's our home and we want to make our living there. But if there's no opportunity to go back, we'll have to stay here. There are other families from Bwa Der and other villages who I think want to come here, but they can't get across the road because SLORC is on the road.

Interview: 99-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Displacement, Religion, Execution, Child

[*The following interview was conducted in a refugee camp in Thailand with recent arrivals.*]

Name :	Saw Kaw Lah
Age:	30
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married with one child (age 11 months)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Baw Der village, Papun Township, Papun District, Karen State
Interviewed:	26 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

I have been here since 30 May. When we first heard news about what was happening [*at Thu Mwe Hta in December 1994, when the DKBA began to form — Bwa Der is not so far from Thu Mwe Hta*] we dared not stay in our village. At that time my wife was staying at her village, Maw Kee. The other villagers and I went and stayed in the forest near our village. Ko Per Baw shot at two men, one escaped and one died. His name was Pa Lweh Mu, he was my cousin, a Karen soldier. He was 17, and both his parents are dead. They shot him on 29 December. They threw his body into the river and said, "Now, Christians, do you understand?" We ran and tried to hide in the jungle. Later we heard news that they were killing the Christians [*though there was never any extensive or systematic killing of Christians*]. When we heard this news we realised that it was not good news for us, and that the situation would get worse and worse.

Another time they came and burned the village [on 5 May]. That time I was hiding outside the village. There were only women and children in the village. Ko Per Baw came and fired their guns but they didn't hit anybody, then they burned the houses. I heard from others that my house was destroyed, but I never went back to see it myself. I stayed hiding in the forest between my village and the Salween River for nearly the whole summer, borrowing food from others or getting some from the village, trying to find out the news about what would happen next in my village and the area. I thought maybe I could go back and plant a crop, but I realised it was hopeless and I couldn't stay there anymore, so I came here. This problem is too much for man, I can only hope for the help of God to solve this problem. But for now, I dared not go back.

Interview: 100-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Displacement, Forced labour, Torture, Execution

[*The following has been summarised from an interview with a Karen teacher who recently left Nyaunglebin District to be a refugee in Thailand*:]

I was working as a teacher in the middle school run by KNU in Nwa Lay Ko, in Nyaunglebin District, since May 1994. Nwa Lay Ko is the administrative headquarters of the KNU for Moo Township and is close to KNLA 8th Battalion headquarters.

The situation in our area was peaceful until the problems on the Salween River had already begun. In early January 1995, SLORC units started mobilising, and some of them from different places came together in Th'bin Nyo village. I only know that one of them was IB 54. After two days there they travelled to Yoo Lo, K'mo Lo, Keh Bwo Der, where they spent three days, and then up the ridge-line of Play Ba mountain, which is beside Nwa Lay Ko. I don't know how many of them there were by this time, but on 11 January we got a message that they would attack the village soon. So on 11 January, we all fled Nwa Lay Ko. The KNLA soldiers stayed in the hills around the village to make defences while the rest of us kept going, escorted by a few of KNLA soldiers. Some people took everything they could from their houses, but others couldn't take much. After

three hours we stopped deep in a river valley. The [*KNU*] district leaders came with people they had instructed to carry rice supplies and gave us orders to remain very still and quiet. They said not to cut trees to make shelters because it would be too noisy, and that if a cock crowed they would have to kill it. They said it was all right to make cooking fires only at dusk and dawn and only in caves or under rock overhangs, because of the smoke.

We stayed there and slept on leaves on the rocks. Although some people had blankets, it was very cold at night. We ate mostly rice, salt and vegetables from the jungle. Each day we could do nothing, only sit quietly and listen and wait for news. I think there were about 200 people there. Three people died there, two elderly people from sickness and one person by accident. After one week we heard that the SLORC troops had moved away without attacking, but people were not allowed to go back to Nwa Lay Ko. After about 11 days a [*KNU*] district leader came and told us that the way to Mah La Daw was open, but the way to K'mo Lo was not possible to travel [*due to SLORC troop presence*]. He said people who could get back to their villages should go, while others should make huts and stay in the jungle. Some people went home to get supplies and then came back. After about two weeks there were approximately 150 people still in the jungle. Some were going back to Nwa Lay Ko to tend their farms in the daytime, then coming back to their huts in the jungle at night. They stayed like this for more than one month. About two weeks later I went to another place with about 25 others.

It was about the end of the first week of February that I went to Mah La Daw village for three days, and there I heard that the SLORC soldiers had come back again. I heard that they had killed six people in Taw Po Kee, a village about one hour [*walk*] from Nwa Lay Ko. It was 11:00 a.m. and the people, who were from different families, were all together in one house eating rice when the SLORC soldiers came in and shot them all. I didn't know why. There were two men, one woman and three young boys. Then those SLORC soldiers went to 2nd Brigade [*KNLA*] area, which is about five hours' away. I went back to K— and stayed there for about a month before deciding to come to Thailand. I went back to Nwa Lay Ko and found that most people were choosing to stay there only in the daytime, even though the KNLA soldiers were there. Fifteen other civilians and I left and went with 30 soldiers from 102th Battalion of KNLA who were going to K—, and we went on to Thailand. The hardest part was between S — and D —, where we had to cross the motorway. It is being used by SLORC troops, so we had to travel throughout the night without any torches or other source of light. We passed very close to a SLORC base at K —, a nearby hill.

Along the journey, I got the news that SLORC soldiers had approached Nwa Lay Ko for the fourth time. At Day Taw Kee we met with a group of 15 households, about 300 people. They had come from Mudraw [*Papun*] District, and they told us of many problems there because SLORC and DKBA are operating together. Most of that group of villagers were Christian or Animist, and they told how DKBA and SLORC soldiers are ordering them all to move to Khaw Taw [*Myaing Gyi Ngu*] and harassing them. One man told me he'd been

beaten for refusing to go. They also said the SLORC troops are actively taking or destroying all of their rice supplies. I heard that all the rice in Kay Hta, Paw Hta, Kyaw Nyo Hta, Bway Hta and Keh Bah villages were destroyed. We all crossed the river into Thailand together. There is nobody travelling up or down the river anywhere anymore. Many, many people are crossing to this place for shelter. The people who crossed the river with me said many more still want to come.

I have also heard that some villages in Kler Lwe Htoo [*Nyaunglebin*] District have now decided to make peace with the SLORC troops. The people there are too tired to run away any more, so they made agreements with SLORC that if they no longer run away and they give SLORC everything they want and nothing to the KNLA, then the SLORC soldiers will no longer shoot them or give them other big troubles. I heard of four villages in my area that have done this: Mah La Daw, Yoo Lo, K'mo Lo, and Baw Bee Der.

Interview: 101-HRV: Livelihood, Displacement, Forced labour, Slavery

[*The following interview was made with a KNLA officer following his return from Papun and Thaton District at the end of June 1995*]
Source: KHRG

I usually operate in [KNLA] 1st Brigade area, on the west bank of the Salween River. [*That area is west of Pa-an and Ka Ma Maung, towards Bilin and Thaton; there the Salween does not form the border with Thailand*]. In 1st Brigade there are four townships -- Pa-an, Thaton, Bilin, and Kyaikto. I didn't have any information from Kyaikto Township, but I know about Pa-an, Thaton and Bilin townships. People there were not running and hiding in the forest. If they hid in the forest, they were not able to work on their farms, so they stayed in their villages. Some went and worked for SLORC whenever they were ordered, and whenever the KNU asked their help they helped. They worked for both sides. Sometimes if the situation was a little bit better and there was not much movement of SLORC troops, then even if SLORC ordered them to go and work they did not go. But then if SLORC came and forced them, they had to go. Usually after they finish the harvest, the men go and hide themselves in the forest until the next ploughing [*this is the period from January to May -- the men hide to avoid forced labour and other abuses by SLORC. Usually they seek out a column of Karen soldiers and stay with them for protection.*] Only the women, children, and elderly stay in the village.

For the time being SLORC and DKBA have been working together. Then they made separate camps for DKBA. SLORC took only about three or four soldiers from DKBA as guides when they moved in the area. This is not only to guide them but also to give them more information about links between KNU and the villagers. Even when DKBA operate by themselves, they aren't allowed to move freely where they want, and SLORC also keeps a group near them to watch

them. If DKBA soldiers move into an area, say about 30 or 40 men, then SLORC makes three or four groups of 30 to 40 men each and sends them into the area where DKBA is operating. All this is because now the Burmese have issued an order that whenever Burmese troops move, they are not to move along together with DKBA soldiers, they can only take two or three DKBA soldiers with them as guides and to collect intelligence. The reason SLORC issued this order to its soldiers, they said, is because DKBA soldiers are very hard to control, they only listen to their monk [*U Thuzana in Myaing Gyi Ngu*] and do not pay any attention to the orders of SLORC. Also, because DKBA have done so many evil things to the people, but as long as they move along with SLORC troops the people blame all these things on SLORC and not on DKBA. That's why they don't operate together anymore.

In the beginning the Buddhist monk at Khaw Taw [*U Thuzana*] was given quite a lot of money by SLORC to support his men. At first, each DKBA officer got 10,000 Ks per month and each family got two sacks of rice [*50 kg per sack*] per month and two bottles [*750 ml each*] of cooking oil. After that they reduced the officer's salary to 1,000 Ks per month and soldiers to 500 Ks per month. Then officer's salary was reduced again to 800 Ks per month, and soldiers to 300 Ks. [*Note: this may be intentional on the part of SLORC, either to force DKBA men to loot villages and thereby lose their political advantage over SLORC soldiers, or to gradually destroy DKBA now that it has served its main purpose. SLORC could easily print the cash if it wanted to.*] And now the families only get one sack of rice and one bottle of cooking oil per month .

At Khaw Taw, there were two groups of "refugees" [*i.e. the civilians who have been willingly or forcibly moved there*] — one group stayed inside the Buddhist monk's compound, and another group outside the compound. At first the two groups could go outside Khaw Taw to find food or go shopping, but later the families who stayed inside the compound were not allowed to go outside. But now they are letting them go out again to find food, because they can't provide them anymore. I didn't know exactly how many people are staying there, but most of the people from 1st Brigade area have returned to their villages. Perhaps only about 10 families from that area are still left with the monk. Now the people who stay outside the monastery compound get nothing from the monk, no rice or cooking oil. [*All families which went willingly or forcibly to Khaw Taw were promised that they would be cared for in terms of food and everything for at least one year, but this promise has been broken.*] Before, DKBA soldiers and their families got their food from SLORC, but now SLORC orders the villagers in the area to provide food for DKBA soldiers and their families. Each family in all the villages near the motorway has to give one pyi [*about 1.5 kg.*] of rice and a quarter kilo of chillies per month [*these are large villages of several hundred houses each*]. SLORC soldiers gather all this rice and chillies and stock it in P'Nwe Kla village [*Burmese name Pein Neh Daw, a SLORC stronghold position one hour's drive from Thaton*]. Then the monk sends his men to gather it in P'Nwe Kla and take it back to Khaw Taw. Then he gives it out, but only to the families of soldiers — nobody else gets anything. As for the people from Paw Hta, To Nyo, Meh Bpa and other hill villages who have gone down to Khaw

Taw [*these are the hill villagers from near the Salween River who have been forced or terrorised into moving there*], they've made a different compound and put them in there, and they get different food. This past summer [March-June 1995] there have been so many children and others at Khaw Taw who have died of cholera and other diseases, because of the change of place and change of water, and because there is no medicine there.

DKBA soldiers who stay in 1st Brigade had to go and get their food where SLORC tells them. SLORC has camps in those townships, so they tell DKBA soldiers to come to their camp to get their food. In Pa-an Township, DKBA has several checkpoints, and they have about 20 or 30 men stationed at each checkpoint. DKBA is going to build their camp at Khaw Po Pleh for 30 or 40 men. SLORC gave them money to build it, but they took the money and ordered the villagers to work for them free just like SLORC. They even demanded rice from the villagers.

The monk at Khaw Taw issued an order that in every village with less than 300 houses, even if there is a Buddhist monastery in the village, all the villagers have to go down to stay at Khaw Taw. So DKBA soldiers started moving villagers living in Maw Kyo Draw area down to Khaw Taw. [*This area in Papun District, a triangle from Ka Ma Maung 40 km north to Ka Daing Dee and 40 km northwest to Tee Pa Doh Hta (Pyinma Bin Seit), includes several big villages, like Pa Lone, Baw Kyo Let, Baw Kyo Hta, Pa Keh, Muh Wah Kwee, Bo Mah Heh, Tee There Lay, Lay Po Hta, Boh Gha and others, but none of them have more than 200 houses*]. When SLORC found out about this they issued an order telling the villagers not to move, that they must stay in their place. They told them that if DKBA tells them to move, not to listen. They gave them a letter and told them to show to DKBA. [*Because of this many villagers were caught in the middle, facing retaliation from SLORC if they moved and DKBA if they didn't, so they had to flee.*]

In my opinion, SLORC wants to destroy DKBA. I think a SLORC high-ranking officer sent a letter to the monk telling him to issue this order, so he issued it, but then the same SLORC officer issued different orders to SLORC's own soldiers. I think this is a plan to make DKBA look bad to the villagers, and the SLORC soldiers look good, so that DKBA will not get any support from the villagers. Now some villagers are already saying, "The Burmese soldiers are good. Because of them DKBA don't come and order us to move anymore."

I haven't heard news about SLORC and DKBA fighting each other, but near Khaw Taw we often see bodies floating down the Salween River. We don't know if it is SLORC killing DKBA, DKBA killing SLORC, or what it is. There are more than 100 SLORC soldiers disguised as monks staying in Khaw Taw. They include officers and non-commissioned officers. SLORC put these "monks" in Khaw Taw to stay with the monk there, because they want to get every piece of information about what is happening with the DKBA troops and what are their plans. Even when SLORC attacked Manerplaw, one time they had no gunners for their mortars so people saw them take one monk, take off his

robe and then he was the gunner for the mortar. There are so many SLORC soldiers disguised as monks that now they have spread themselves among DKBA troops.

Now the people as well as the KNLA soldiers in 1st Brigade area are very upset with this Buddhist monk [*U Thuzana*]. They say Buddhist monks have nothing to do with guns, but he has soldiers and guns in his monastery compound. Most of the people who went to stay at Khaw Taw are coming back to their villages already, including some DKBA soldiers. The people say this monk is bringing dishonour down on the monkhood. Most of the soldiers and officers in Ko Per Baw right now realise that they were wrong and they want to fight back against SLORC, but because of the disguised soldiers among DKBA troops [*there are also Karen-speaking SLORC soldiers disguised as DKBA soldiers*] they dare not talk about it openly. So to some of them, right or wrong makes no difference anymore, they just do whatever they like because it has no meaning to them anymore. At Khaw Taw, every person who says anything like "We were wrong" or "What the Khaw Taw leaders are doing is wrong" always disappears, so people cannot speak their minds openly.

At first SLORC tried to get a cease-fire with KNU but KNU didn't accept. So SLORC started planning and making misunderstandings between Christian Karen and Buddhist Karen, and they planned that once they could split the Christian and Buddhist Karen they would form an organisation to rival the KNU and then watch the result. If DKBO got more followers and support from the people, they would treat DKBO as the organisation for the Karen people and make a deal with them. But instead of becoming an organisation like SLORC wanted, DKBA could not manage to increase their numbers. Moreover, the people have gradually turned away from them. None of the top leaders from KNU went over to DKBO. Now Kyaw Than [*formerly a sergeant-major in KNDO (militia) organisation, now a DKBA General*] is the only one who is working very closely with SLORC. The other high-ranking officers in DKBA are unhappy where they are but see no opportunity to move. Now they can survive because SLORC can use them. If SLORC cannot use them anymore, they'll be finished.

In 1st Brigade area, DKBA came to Pa Ya Raw village [*Burmese name Myint Kyo*], about 200 men led by Maung Kyi, and they started organising people to support, help and follow them, but nobody listened to them and they left after four days. Again one month later, DKBA combined with SLORC, more than 500 men altogether, moved around in Thaton Township organising people and asking for soldiers. But people there answered, "We can't support you because you are working with SLORC". DKBA tried to organise people in Baw Kyo Draw area and in 1st Brigade. They explained to the people, "We are going to make peace in the whole land. So you'll not need to give porters or money or rice, and your property will not be looted anymore. So each and every one of you, come down to Khaw Taw and gather there as our monk has ordered you. Our monk is trying to do good for Karen people and to make all Karen people live in peace." At first most people talked to each other and said this is good.

They said, "We have a good monk to do good for us, and we need not be afraid anymore." But later they found out that things were different from what DKBA said. They had to give porters, they had to give rice, they had to go and work for them. Even villagers in the remote areas got letters from DKBA saying, "If you do not come down to live in Khaw Taw, we will ask SLORC to go burn and destroy your village." Some were very afraid and went down to stay in Khaw Taw. But now the people in Baw Kyo Draw area are helping KNLA troops to attack DKBA troops, and DKBA don't come any more to Baw Kyo Draw. Now people everywhere have started laying blame on the monk by saying, "He said he will do good for the Karen people, but he brings more trouble to the Karen people. We have to work for both of them [*DKBA and SLORC*]. They always force us, harass us. He is not a good monk, he has weapons and soldiers in his monastery compound."

Now only small numbers of real soldiers remain with DKBA. Now they recruit lazy men, men with too much debt, and men who have committed crimes, and many of their soldiers are this class of men. Most of the real soldiers from the beginning have left, but they didn't bring their guns with them. One strange thing is that if you ask them to fight back against DKBA they always refuse. They know the monk is wrong, but they have no intention to go against him. Some say that this is because of the monk's "medicine". Whether it's true or not, I have no idea. Some people say that three years after you take the monk's medicine you will either die or become a madman, and that there is also another medicine that does the same thing but after five years. I have no idea whether this is true, but many people believe this and say it. [*There are many reports of Thuzana forcing people to drink "medicine" on arrival at Khaw Taw. We have no evidence as to whether or not this is a drug; it appears more likely that it is a harmless liquid taken together with a strong and binding vow not to oppose the monk in any way, or one will die or become mad. It is then the strength of people's superstition, rather than any effects of the liquid itself, which bind them to the monk.*]

Interview: 102-HRV: Livelihood, Religion

[*This letter was written by a human rights monitor who interviewed a resident of Khaw Taw (Myaing Gyi Ngu):*]
Source: KHRG

On 14 May, I met with a person who came back from Khaw Taw. [*And he told me the following:*]

1) On 23 April 1995, he met with Saw xxxx and learned from him: that there are 500 households that are registered [*in Khaw Taw*]; that he estimates that including those from nearby and those from the western side of the Salween River, there are about 1,500 households; that there are about 3,000 households altogether, including the previous residents of Khaw Taw. [*In light of other information, this is probably an overestimate*.]

2) Saw xxxx is a section leader, so as the person responsible he sent a request to U Thuzana [*DKBA chairman*] to make arrangements to get more rice, as there is not enough for the population. U Thuzana replied that he is not responsible, that this is the responsibility of SLORC — that SLORC had told him to call back and gather all the refugees, and that they would then take full responsibility for them, so the food is their responsibility.

3) U Thuzana made a comment saying, "Do not force the people who do not want to come here anymore, leave them to their own fate. But people who are against me, even if they are monks, burn their monasteries, arrest them and send them to me."

4) U Thuzana said, "Do not pay attention to people who do not behave according to the law, leave them to their fate. If you want to stay in peace, build more pagodas and monasteries. But if you get involved with other [*religious*] sects I will not take any responsibility for that. I will divide people into two groups: those who are vegetarians will stay with me in Khaw Taw, and the rest will be sent to Ka Ma Maung to their own fate.

5) Abbot U Thuzana of Khaw Taw gathered his reliable followers at Saw xxxx's house on 25 April 1995 and gave them instructions as follows. He said that in the beginning he never thought such things [*the fighting and suffering*] would happen. He said he had no intention to cause these things, but that many people urged him into doing it. He could not foretell what would happen in the future. He said, "You must be very careful. You have fought SLORC before, but now you are staying among them. I have cooked rice for you, and you only have to eat it. If you cannot eat it, that is not my fault. I have eaten SLORC's food, but I do not love them."

6) The Abbot from a monastery in Mandalay came to Khaw Taw and told U Thuzana that what he is doing is not according to the teachings of religion. U Thuzana answered that what is happening now is not concerned with religion, it is only a conflict between Karen people themselves. Monks from A Lan Thaya [*a large and famous monastery in Thaton Township, about five miles from Thaton*] and monk U Thu Menya also came and told U Thuzana that they had led vegetarians before without any conflict between vegetarians and KNU or vegetarians and SLORC. U Thuzana told him that it was only the Karen who created the conflict among themselves.

7) U Thuzana told his armed forces, "Enemies are enemies. SLORC are not your people. You have been fighting them but now you are staying among them. It is a good opportunity for you — keep the fishing-hook inside you. I have cooked rice for you. If you cannot eat it in a proper way, it will not be my fault."

8) Saw Kyaw Heh [*a DKBA commander*] made an understanding with two SLORC battalions from Ka Daing Dee, I don't know the battalion number. They made an agreement not to start fighting no matter what happens.

9) There are now great difficulties for those who went to Khaw Taw by force or voluntarily, because there is not enough food and it is very expensive to build a house. One piece of bamboo for building a house costs 50 Ks. It costs so much to build a house, so how can poor people build a house? Many children in Khaw Taw have died because of insufficient medicine.

[*Notes: According to this information, it appears that U Thuzana himself may be having doubts about the past and future of DKBO and DKBA. It is most unusual to hear a Buddhist monk trying to back out of his own deeds and repeatedly talk about things not being his "fault". At the same time, he gives the impression that he may foresee problems between DKBA and SLORC, possibly including a withdrawal of SLORC support, a purge of DKBA, or even open fighting, with his indirect comments telling people that SLORC is still his enemy and that of his followers, and that his soldiers should see their presence inside the SLORC camp as an "opportunity" and keep the "fishing-hook" (the bitter memories) inside them. By making his own local agreement with SLORC battalions, Saw Kyaw Heh may be expressing the same fears. The information in this letter comes from a reliable source, though we have yet to get secondary confirmation on many of its details.*]

Interview: 103-HRV: Livelihood, Displacement, Forced Labour, Slavery

Name :	U Hla Win
Age:	60
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with five children
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Maung Mei Shaung village, Tavoy Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	19 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*U Hla Win has now fled his village and become an internally displaced person.*]

There are about 700 houses in our village. We have to send 100 villagers as railway labourers every 15 days. If a person's turn comes and he cannot go, he has to pay 1,300 Ks to the village chief of SLORC . We also have to pay 200 Ks per month for porter fees and we have to send six people every month as porters. If you can't go when your turn comes, you have to pay 7,000 Ks. We also have to pay 90 Ks each month as a "village development fund".

Now SLORC is constructing a "telephone exchange" station at our village, so we have to pay 300 Ks every month for this [*per family*]. We had to start paying this money in January 1995, and we still have to pay it. [*Note: the telephones will only be available to the military and their supporters.*] The village LORC also collected 1,000 Ks from each family and 2,000 Ks from each businessman [*small traders*] for reconstructing the village school. SLORC soldiers from LIB 401 came and took the raw rubber belonged to the villagers by force when it was ready to be sold. The villagers whose rubber was stolen went to the SLORC village head and told him what the soldiers had done, but he took no action.

Now SLORC IBs 267 and 269 are constructing their new bases between Tha Bye Chaung and Ze Lone villages [in Tavoy Township]. Our village has to provide them with forced labourers for this every 15 days in rotation. If a person can't go when it is his turn, he has to give 1,500 Ks to SLORC village headman.

The District and Township SLORC officials are planning to build a dam on the Maung Mei Shaung River, very close to our village. Their plan is to get hydro-electric power. They finished their feasibility studies in April. French engineers included in the survey team. According to their survey group, Maung Mei Shaung, Ye Waing, Kyat Inn, Kaung Taing Pyin, Kan Koo, Daing Chaung and Chaung Oo Doh villages, along with thousands of people's farms and orchards, will all be covered by water. The people in all these villages have already been told by the District and Township officers that they will not get any compensation for the loss of their property.

Interview: 104-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Detention, Torture

Name :	Ko Than Htun
Age:	37
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children
Occupation:	Fisherman
Address :	Thayetchaung Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	2 July 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*Ko Than Htun was taken as a porter for SLORC's major rainy season offensive against the KNU's 4th Brigade area.*]

I was arrested by village LORC authorities and police on 4 June 1995 while I was ploughing in my field. Then I was handed over to LIB 404 from Thayetchaung. The other villagers and I who got arrested spent four days at the LIB 404 base. We were not allowed to go outside and we were guarded. Altogether there were more than 500 porters. We left Thayetchaung on 9 June. I had to carry a bag containing about three tinfulls [*50 kg*] of rice. I served 22 days as a porter.

Porters had to carry about 25-30 viss [*40-48 kg*] of ammunition or supplies. The rice [*to eat*] was not sufficient and if we could not walk or carry, the soldiers beat us. I saw some porters who were beaten and left along the path. Two days before escaping, I was suffering from fever so I fell down with my rice sack. For a moment, I couldn't wake up. But the soldiers from LIB 404 said that I was faking, and I was kicked. Being a porter for the SLORC column was, I think, the same as being in the hell. That's why all the porters are always thinking about escape.

My friend Maung Myint and I ran together. We are from the same village. After that it took me five days to get here to the Karen office. Along the way we couldn't get any rice. Two days after our escape, we met five other [*escaped*] porters and joined with them. The following day, we reached a place where we could see that LIB 404 had stopped for a rest and then left. At that place, Maung Myint was wounded by a land mine. His left leg was blown off from the knee down. We carried him and tried to save him but two days later, before we reached the Karen office, he died.

All our lives under BSPP [*Burma Socialist Programme Party, Ne Win's pre-1988 dictatorship*] and SLORC, we have served as "volunteers", operations porters, or emergency porters, and then we have to pay "voluntary funds" and porter fees every month to the village LORC. So living from day to day is very difficult, and people do not like SLORC but we are afraid of them. They can put you in jail without trial. Now my situation is better, and I thank the [*Karen*] authorities here for helping and treating us as friends.

Interview: 105-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour,

[*The following is summarised from an interview with a schoolteacher from a SLORC school in Tavoy District which was conducted on 21 March 1995.*]
Source: KHRG

I am a primary school principal. My salary is 1,150 Ks per month. Deductions from this are 90.80 Ks for the insurance policy, 10 Ks for miscellaneous fund, and 2 Ks for pension, a total of 102.80 Ks. Sometimes there is also an "emergency fund" they collect whenever they need it. We have to withdraw our

salary in Tavoy. It has been three months since I have withdrawn my salary because I took a loan of 6,000 Ks from the Tavoy Loan Association [*a government-run enterprise*]. The interest rate is 5% per month. I have six members in my family, so my salary is not enough to support them and that's why I had to take a loan. Now the district educational officer has sent an order through the township officer that we have to do overtime teaching. The students have to pay 30 Ks each per month for this [*but this money goes to the authorities, not the teachers*].

There are 150 students in my school and three teachers — it is not enough teachers. The school was built by the villagers with their own money. It is made of bamboo with a leaf roof. It is not so good in the rain. We reported this matter many times to the education authorities, yet the school is just as you see it now. We have no books, the students have to buy them from the market. Usually, only about 80 to 100 of the 150 students are at school. The main reason some are absent is that their parents are poor. Some people live by having an orchard, some live by dry cultivation of paddy. Aside from the government staff [*only a few people*], other villagers have to go to work on the railway construction. Some students have to stay at home while their parents go to do the labour, and some have to go themselves if their parents are sick. No excuse can be given. Some students are also absent because they do not have enough rice to bring for lunch.

We open our school every day, but whenever the SLORC troops enter the village our school is closed because the villagers have to flee porter-chasing. We have no plan to repair our school because the villagers are already weary of porter fees and railway construction. They have trouble with finances and also with their time. Therefore, we have decided not to repair our school this year.

Interview: 106-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery, Displacement, Torture, Refugee, Women, Child

Name :	Maung Kyi
Age:	32
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married to a Karen Christian and then converted to Christianity
Occupation:	Fisherman
Address :	Ye Bu village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	17 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

I've been here [*the refugee camp*] for more than 20 days. We faced so many difficulties because they always asked for free labour, that's why I'm here. They're building the railway so we have to send "volunteer" workers every day. Although our families are very poor, we have to pay many taxes. We have to

work every day just to eat on that day, that's why we can't pay their taxes anymore. Pay or not pay they don't care, you still have to work. When we go we have to take our own food, pay our own money for transport and everything. The problems for our families — food, taxes and everything — are all increasing.

In our area there is a mobile column of SLORC. They demand tax from every village because they say they are providing security for the area. And when they rest in the village they say the villagers has to give them money for their food. They come very often, all the time, several times a week. When they are in the village, if you have to go to your farm or orchard they would not let you go. They don't allow us to go to our orchards, but they stay in the orchards and take all the fruits — betelnuts and all kinds of things. Some of them trade the fruit for alcohol, some sell it and when they get money they make a big party for themselves. At the time to harvest the fruits they just go to the orchards, and they tell all the villagers, "You're not allowed to come here because our troops are deployed here." No other reason. Then when they leave they take everything with them. When they come into the village they demand chickens, pigs, ducks, everything, and they just shoot them with slingshots. They do not care about the owner. When they want to abuse us, they accuse us of co-operating with KNU. Then they beat us and kick us. We face so many difficulties. When they come they ask for people, they are not there, instead they are in the fields or orchards or in the stream to get fish because the people have such trouble getting a living. But the soldiers say if they are not there then they have gone to contact the insurgent groups, and then when any person comes back the following day he receives beatings, blows and kicks from SLORC. This year at harvest time they beat 10 of us at once. They came and called us one by one to come to them, then they asked, "Where did you go? Where did you stay?". One started beating and kicking, then the others all joined in. For five minutes, some hit us with the rifle butts, some kicked us with their combat boots and some punched us with their fists. People who were hit with the rifle butts suffered the worst. Their flesh was split. People who were kicked with boots and hit with fists were bruised and swelling up. This has happened several times. That time it was LIB 409, but LIB 403 also comes to our village.

Our village has to go work on the railway. As there is a mobile column in our area, we also have to keep three people on standby for use by this column. They have to cook, find firewood and carry water for the column. When we're on this duty they don't think of giving us time to rest. We have to carry water, then as soon as we get back they send us for firewood, then when we get back they look at their watch and say, "Now it's time to cook." If we don't finish in time or don't get back from wherever they've sent us [*as messengers*] on time, then sometimes they beat us and punch us. We never get a rest, and we also have to take our own food for the day. Every time the column comes into the village, if they ask for "50" then every house has to pay 50 Ks. Now, we have to pay it almost every week. Moreover, we also have to pay labour fees. Some of the villagers cannot go for railway labour because they are ill. Then if the soldiers say that will cost 3,000 Ks then we have to pay 3,000 Ks to the mobile column.

Whenever they find young girls along their way they take them by force. I don't know what they do to them because I never saw it with my own eyes.

We have to give three people as standby porters, rotating every five days. We have to do this for both LIBs 409 and 403. We have a village head and he gives us a list of who will go on standby for which days. Suppose a husband has to go work on the railway and it is his turn, then if he has a son his son will have to go as a standby porter; if not, his wife or daughters have to go.

At the railway, first we had to clear the forest — cut down the trees and dig out the stumps. Later, we had to carry the stones that they brought on trucks and put them all along the route. The work is very hard. Then we had to carry logs [*sleepers*] to make the railway. We had to cut down trees near our village to make sleepers — they even made us cut down our durian trees to make sleepers. The railway is about five miles from our village. There are 60 houses in our village and 20 people have to go for one month at a time. It is arranged by the village head. We have to take our own food. We have to start at 6:00 a.m. and we can only stop at 6:00 p.m. At 12:00 noon we have time for lunch, but as soon as we finish our lunch they blow the whistle and we have to go back to our assigned places. The youngest people there are eight or nine years old, and the eldest are over 70, nearly 80. If you are sick when your time comes you have to send someone else from your family. If you can't, you have to hire someone to go in your place. There is no way out! You just have to find some way to go. I've been there three times myself. We built small shelters by a stream to sleep. We were always guarded. At night they did not let anyone go anywhere, and in the daytime they always had sentries during working hours. Nobody tries to escape. If you try to escape, the following morning they send an order to the village head to pay a fine.

People are punished for not working well. The soldiers say, "You didn't come here to rest or to get ill. You came here to work. Get on with your work!" They beat and kick people. Some people have worked there a long time and they are elderly and tired, so they just try to rest for a minute, but the soldiers come yelling, "You're not here to rest! Get on with your work!" and beat and kick them. This happens all the time. Even me, I've received their blows. Sometimes I was too tired so I tried to sit down and rest. Then three or four times they came and punched and kicked me. Sometimes they hit very quick, pa-pa-pa-pa-pa! I didn't know how many punches I got. Even if you cannot work after that, you have to work. I saw some people seriously injured from beatings by the soldiers, because they hit people on the head with rifle butts and their heads were cut open. When you go to the railway you have to take some medicines, because if you get sick they never give you any. If you are too sick to work anymore someone has to go work in your place. LIB 403 is in charge of the work. There are about 4,000 villagers from our area working on the railway line in Yebyu Township. Every village has to send people according to SLORC's demands.

We'll have to work on this railway until it is finished. I can't guess how long it will take. Eight or nine people's orchards in Yebyu Township have already been

destroyed for the railway. Pati Saw Da Thay, K'Plah Wah, U Ya Yee, U Kalah, U Pe Thein, and Saw Pay Way from my village lost all, their orchards were completely destroyed. [*Villagers often have fields a few miles from the village, as in this case.*] They got nothing for it. Because of that some of them fled to the border, some went to stay with their relatives in other villages. There used to be more than 80 houses in our village, now just over 30 are left. The inhabitants were Karen and Burmese, no other groups. I don't know where all of them have gone, but about seven families have arrived here. Our family took three days to get here with our small children. Now we've decided to stay here in the camp.

Interview: 107-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery, Detention, Torture, Refugee, Women

Name :	Nai Ba San
Age:	43
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with seven children (age 6 to 22 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Paukpinkwin village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	5 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

I arrived here [*the refugee camp*] in February [1995] because of the oppression by the Burmese soldiers. I don't want to stay in Burma, so I came here with my family. First I worked on the railway, and then while I was working there the soldiers arrested me to be a porter. The soldiers came to our village and took the people to work on the railway. They took 20 people for five days, then they took another 20 people for the next five days. If a villager did not want to go, he had to pay money to the soldiers. They beat people who did not go with sticks and guns, and if people did not go, the soldiers arrested them and held them for two or three days, then when the villagers went and gave money they were released. The railway is very near our village, so we slept in our village while we worked there. We worked from 6:00 a.m. until 11:00 a.m., then we got a rest and then finished work at 3:00 p.m. We had to dig and carry the ground to make an embankment. We had to carry the dirt about 30 metres. We didn't receive food from the soldiers. I had to bring food and tools from my house. The soldiers didn't pay us either. LIB 410 was on the railway. There were 10 soldiers guarding 20 people. Sometimes they beat us. They always had a stick. I was beaten. While I was carrying dirt, the soldiers kicked me with their boots and I fell down. I was hurt. I also saw people punched, beaten with sticks and sometimes with rifle butts. I heard that some people died because of beatings, but I didn't see it. Some people got very sick, but they didn't get any medicine. They could go home and buy some medicine in their village. Then as soon as they were getting better, they were called to work again. When I was sick, the soldiers didn't say anything but they came and checked me every day, and when I was better they called me back to work on the railway.

They took both men and women. There were also women working on the railway. They didn't take children, but they took elderly men and women. People all went with their children. Sometimes women with babies were allowed to come back to the village, but their husbands had to stay at the work-site the whole day. In our group, there were 20 people led by a Buddhist monk. We had to work for five days, then we could rest two days, then work for five days again. Then two weeks later they changed the workers.

In February, while I was working on the railway, a soldier came and arrested me to be a porter. He said, "Follow me!" They took five of us. I had to follow the soldiers through the villages for 10 days, carrying rice. Those soldiers were from LIB 410. In the villages, when the soldiers stole chickens and pigs we had to carry those too. I carried continuously and it was heavy, over 20 viss [*32 kg*]. The soldiers ate the chickens and only gave us a little bit. We didn't get proper food. I got sick with malaria. They said to me, "You are lazy!", and beat me. They kicked me with their boots. I saw them hit other porters on the neck with sticks. They shot them in the back, shoulders, and legs with slingshots, and beat their legs with sticks. Some porters were badly hurt, but later they could walk again. After 10 days, I came back to my village. They called five more people to go as porters, and they called me to work on the railway again. I didn't go. The soldiers arrested me and took me to their camp. They accused me of being a Mon soldier. They wanted money from me. I was there for three days. Then my daughter and my wife had to sell their earrings to get money, and my wife gave the soldiers 1,500 Ks so they released me. Then I fled and came here. This place is better than my village — there are no Burmese soldiers here. In my village there are always Burmese soldiers, so I couldn't stay.

Last year it was worse, but this year is still not good — last year the villagers had to work 10 days without rest, then they changed the people. This year we work for five days, then get two days to rest, then five days more, then they change the people. Last year I had to work about seven weeks on the railway. I also had to pay taxes on my farm: four baskets of paddy per acre. SLORC gets everything for free from the villagers, and whenever they want money the villagers have to pay. I don't think this railway is good. I don't agree with it. By the time it's finished, the soldiers will have taken everything from the villagers for themselves. I don't agree at all.

Interview: 108-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery, Detention, Torture, Refugee

Name :	Nai Lon
Age:	33
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with four children (age 3 to 12 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Paukpinkwin village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	4 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

I came here [*the refugee camp*] two months ago because of the Burmese troops. I had to be a porter and I had to work on the railway, and if I didn't want to go when they called me I had to give them money. There are 400 houses in our village. Some people had to work on the railway line and some had to cut wood while the others had to be porters. Last year, I worked on the railway for one month. After each 10 days of work, I had two-day rest and I could sleep at home. Since then, I had to work for a whole year cutting wood for them. I had to work all the time, every day. I had no time to work for my family, leaving us nothing to eat. That's why we came here.

I worked for one month, then I could take only two days' rest and then they called me again to cut the wood. It was valuable hardwood. We were ordered to cut ironwood, all hardwoods, all wood with an expensive price. I don't know all the names in Burmese. Sometimes they [*the soldiers*] used it to build their houses and sometimes they sold it. We had to cut the wood into planks. After we finished cutting it, the soldiers took it away on carts. I didn't know where they took it. There were six people in each group who were cutting wood. There were many groups. Some people had to cut the trees down, and others had to cut the planks. I saw 60 people working in the same area. Sometimes it was near the railway, sometimes far. We had to do it for LIB 404. They have moved now. They didn't give us anything, no salary. When I couldn't go to work, I had to give them money. I had to give 200 Ks per day. Every evening, all the workers had to go to the soldiers' camp and they told us what we had to do the next day and how. If we were cutting trees near our village we could go sleep at home, but sometimes it was far from the village and we had to sleep under the trees. I had to bring rice, fish paste and salt from my home.

Once while I was cutting the wood, some other soldiers [from IB 104] came and took me as a porter. I was a porter for 20 days, carrying their food, rice, etc. We went many places in the jungle. In villages they took everything they could — chickens, pigs, etc. When they disliked a villager, they beat him with a stick. When they met people outside the villages, they arrested them to get more porters. Sometimes they beat them with a stick, so hard that they had to be

hospitalised. After my time as a porter, I had to go right back to cut wood for them — no rest.

Once when I was sick and couldn't go to work, the Burmese soldiers arrested me, accused me of being a Mon soldier and put me in jail. They beat me at my home and tied me up, then they took me outside the village and hit me again, with sticks and guns. They hit me at the head. Ever since the beatings, my brain has not been well, even now. They hit me many, many times on the head and on the neck with a G3 rifle butt. They also hit me in the stomach, and they hit my legs with my own knife while I was tied up. I wasn't bleeding, but it hurt a lot. After the beatings, they held me at their camp for two days and three nights. Each night they beat me more and asked questions. They asked, "Are you a Mon soldier?" Then they said, "You have a gun in your house, so you are a Mon soldier!" I have a hunting-rifle, but I have a licence for it. I am just a villager. But they also accused me of having a walkie-talkie. Then on the third day, my family gave them 15,000 Ks and the soldiers released me.

I went back home but my brain was not well. I felt like a madman. I treated myself with jungle medicine, then after about one month I felt better. Then I came here. I walked four days from my village to arrive here with my family.

Interview: 109-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery, Torture, Women, Execution

Name :	Ko Kyaw Thein
Age:	20
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Single, six brothers and sisters, both parents deceased
Address :	Insein Town, outskirts of Rangoon
Interviewed:	3 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

[Ko Kyaw Thein was a private in the SLORC Army for three years before deserting in late 1994.]

I was in the army for three years. I was a private. I got 650 Ks per month. Soon I was to receive 700 Ks. I had only monastic education as a novice. My parents died before I joined the army. When they died I stayed with my grandparents. They were farmers. I was very sad and depressed after my parents died, so I ran away from home [*apparently in 1991 at the age of 16, though he is not sure*] and I met my friend from the army at Insein railway station. He advised me. He said many good things about the army, and that I would get a gun and a uniform. He told me many stories about the soldier's life, and it was all very exciting. He took me to IB 16 at Kyo Gone in Rangoon. I had to wait two or three months until they had enough recruits to start the training. The training was four months

and a half, and altogether there were 251 of us. We learned hand-to-hand fighting, how to use small arms, and we had demonstrations of heavy artillery. At first they tortured us, and then it got lighter. I couldn't sleep well. But the training was only part of it — we also had to do labour at a rubber plantation. The owner gave money for our work but we didn't receive it. They [*the officers*] took it all. If we were late or could not report for work, we were beaten, usually about 20 or 30 times on the hips with a stick. Sometimes a sergeant beat us himself, sometimes he asked the his men to do it.

After the training, I was posted at LIB 409 at Ala Chaung in Yebyu Township. When I arrived there, they gave us a refresher course on small arms. I was at the camp for three months, and we had to do hard work like building barracks. After that we had to go to the front-line two or three times. There were two major clashes, one at Nat Ein Taung and another at Kawza near Paukpinkwin, against combined groups of Mon, Tavoyan, and Burmese student soldiers.

In the camp we had sentry and patrol duty, and duty to build roads and bridges. My group's duty was to collect porters for the army. We had to collect porters not only in the villages but also those on their way to work or in the jungle. The officer ordered us to collect every man we met, so we did. We collected only men, no women. We had to fill a quota of porters, so we often had to collect elderly over 40 to meet the number we needed. If they didn't want to go we beat them. If we didn't bring back enough porters, our officers would beat us. Therefore even though we didn't want to beat the porters, we had to do it. Usually there were eight or nine of us and we had to collect 20 or 30 porters whenever the army needed them, which was very often. I was in the group to collect the porters while the duty of other soldiers was to make them work. The porters are forced to do very hard work in the camp, on the roads and road construction work. We had to force the villagers to work. Almost all the villagers were Mon.

Yes, we collected workers for the Ye-Tavoy railway. If we didn't bring enough workers, our officers beat us. They kicked us and ordered us to collect one person in each family, regardless of their sex or ages. That was last year, in the rainy season [*June-October 1994*], near Paukpinkwin village. Those people had to work under the heavy rain, digging and carrying the ground to make the embankment. When the weather was dry, they smoothed the embankment and repaired it. They had to clear and cut the trees and bamboo, causing them very tired. Sometimes workers were bitten by snakes, and others hurt their hands and legs. But there was no medical treatment for them. They were just allowed to go home. Those who could afford to go to hospital would not die. One third of them were women. We didn't collect children. But the children couldn't stay at home alone and had to come along. As the workers couldn't go home, they built shelters for themselves near the work site. They had to work there for two or three months. They were replaced by people from other villages. They rotated. First one village, then another, and after all the villages in an area had been taken then we started with the first again. My duty was only collecting workers. Guarding them was the duty of other soldiers. I was staying in a camp near

Kyauk Ka Din. For the villages far from the railway line, they sent orders to the headmen to send workers. For the nearby villages, we had to collect the villagers ourselves. Very often, I beat and punched people if they didn't want to go. Sometimes I kicked them with my boots, sometimes I punched. I ran away at the end of rainy season. But the workers were continued to be collected. They will be collected until the railway is finished.

Each day we got bean soup and fish-paste for every meal. There was enough rice, but bean soup and fish-paste were scarce [*the battalion receives much better rations than this, but they are generally taken or sold by the officers and NCOs*]. On Sundays we could get passes to go visit other places. But the officer never gave us leave. In three years, I never saw my family. I contacted them by sending letter, so they knew where I was. The officers didn't let us listen to the radio. If anyone bought a radio, they would seize it and pay back the cost. From our salary they deducted money for uniforms, boots, hats, belts, etc. So sometimes I received only 15 Ks or 5 Ks per month. They deducted so many things. I didn't even understand what some of them were! The junior soldiers had to do everything for the senior soldiers. If we refused, we were punched. Sometimes I got punched, and sometimes beaten with a stick. Sometimes, the beating cause the soldiers to have a broken nose, a black eye or broken teeth. Sometimes we were punched in the ribs and we couldn't walk for two or three days. The soldiers also beat the villagers severely every time they didn't do their work properly.

In the front-line, if soldiers were seriously wounded and there was no chance to send them back, then they were shot dead. The other soldiers carried his gun and equipment back. Each section [*6-10 soldiers*] had one or two porters and the Artillery Company had many. Sometimes during the fighting we were worried for the porters because they were in the wrong position. So we called them. But usually they did not come because they were afraid of the fighting. Then some soldiers punched them and beat them with rifle butts. Some porters were even beaten to death. I saw this and I did this too. Once I told a porter to stay with me, but he disobeyed and ran away. So I beat him with my rifle butt and ordered him to stay beside me. I beat him on his shoulder. It was not serious. He was about 23 years old.

The officers always gave a lot of heavy duties and they usually punched and beat us. I didn't want to collect porters or workers for the railway anymore. The officers didn't even give them rice, oil and salt. Moreover, they got neither medical treatment nor money. For example, the labourers hurt their legs, their hands and their heads from digging the ground, but they were not treated. They received nothing. So, we felt pity for them and we didn't want to collect them. Sometimes we discussed it. Then we decided to run away. There were three of us. Then at the battalion base, more joined in the discussion. A sergeant said that he was going to join a revolutionary group and we agreed with him. Altogether six of us ran away, but two were captured. Four of us arrived here. It was very difficult. We escaped very secretly and we chose a secret route. But we had nothing to eat on the way except raw banana-stems. We surrendered in a Mon

village. The villagers sent us to the Tavoy district office and then here. We got information that one of our two friends who got caught was shot dead and the other was put in jail. At first when we ran away, we were very afraid to meet the Mon soldiers because our officers had threatened us. They said, "If you try to run away you will meet the Mon soldiers and they will kill you all slowly with a bamboo string. The surrounding villages are all full of Mon soldiers." We escaped from our camp at the end of the rainy season last year [*about September/October 1994*]. I despised collecting porters. It is very inhumane. I hated that. But I was ordered to do it by the officers. My commander was Col Kyaw Zan Hla. He is Arakanese. My company commander was Capt Han Maung. I was in Coy 1. Now I have no worry because of being here. I will stay here and serve the PDF [*People's Democratic Front, a small armed opposition group*]. I am a soldier here, but my duty here is just sentry duty. I want to fight them.

Interview: 110-HRV: Forced Labour, Torture, Execution, Detention, Judicial, Refugee

Name :	Nai Win Hlaing
Age:	20
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Single
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	An island in Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	1 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

Before the railway, I was in Moulmein jail as a prisoner. I don't remember the exact date I went in, but I spent one year and six days in the jail. I was a Mon soldier. I was arrested in my family's house in my village on an island by the police. I was visiting my family. While I was eating, they arrived and arrested me. When we reached the police station, they beat me. They made a fire around me and burned me, then they filled a plastic bag with water, put my head in it and tied it around my neck. They beat me with an iron bar everywhere except on my head, especially on my back. They beat me every night for three days. At night time, they always came and beat me. One time, for three hours! There were many policemen. Then I confessed that I was a Mon soldier and they stopped beatings. They put me in the lockup. They made me sign some papers and forms, then they took me to court. I was sentenced to four years' imprisonment and they sent me to Moulmein prison. I was sentenced under Section 17/1 [*Unlawful Association Act*]. I had a lawyer who said a lot to defend me but the judge didn't listen to him. The judge said, "This case is a serious case". Then he sentenced me to four years. He was not from the military.

In the jail I was put in a big room with about 100 prisoners. We got one plate of rice for one meal. If we said it wasn't enough, they shouted, "Go and die!" We slept at 9:00 p.m. on the concrete floor, with no pillow. Nobody could stand up except for the toilet, and then you had to shout for permission. Each prisoner was allowed seven bowlfuls of water to bathe, with no soap. There were a few political prisoners, but mostly criminals. They mixed us together. We all wore white prison clothes — white shirt and white longyi. We had to work in the morning and afternoon, making pathways inside the jail, making baskets and growing vegetables. They also sent some prisoners to work in Mandalay. The guards beat the prisoners, especially for fighting. Also, as soon as new prisoners came, the guards ordered other prisoners to beat them. But there was no more beatings on the following day.

They took me to the [*Ye-Tavoy*] railway before the end of last rainy season — maybe September [*1994*]. They took 250 of us by train. We were kept separate from the passengers, with chains on our legs, and they locked the carriage. We were sent to Ko-Mile [*9-mile*] labour camp. When we arrived, we were the only ones there. They made us dig the ground and prepare it for the railroad. The trees were already cut down but the railroad [*embankment*] was badly damaged, so we had to rebuild it. We were not with any villagers. We worked in chains. We wore them the whole day and night. It was not possible to take them off. They were attached to our waist. We had to walk slowly. [*They are heavy metal leg shackles which lock around each ankle, with a short chain between, and are also attached to a metal ring encircling the waist — worn constantly, they cause fatigue and friction sores.*] I have scars from the chains. We had to start work at 7:00 a.m. after having breakfast with boiled rice. From 11:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon we got a break for lunch, then we worked until 4:00 p.m. We got no water except at lunch time. Every lunch we got beans with rice and vegetables in the evening. But it was not good. In the evening we could rest. We were allowed to go to the toilet, but only in front of the guards. There was a latrine. For cooking the guards selected five prisoners, and they didn't work on the railway, they just did the cooking.

We worked every day, except one day a week when we had to clean the camp compound. Sick prisoners could rest but I never got sick. There were about five guards: two soldiers and three policemen. All the prisoners were from Moulmein jail. There were about 10 political prisoners like me among the 250, but there were a lot more in Moulmein Jail. These 10 had all belonged to revolutionary groups and were sentenced to three or four years. They were all Mons. Other types of political prisoners [*he means those who speak or write against SLORC*] have been heavily sentenced for many years, so they are not allowed to go outside the jail [*prisoners with heavy sentences are generally not allowed to go outside for forced labour, in fear of their escape*]. The prisoners at the railway were all 20 to about 30 years old. The guards didn't beat us, they ordered the warder to do it. He had no chains. He beat us a lot, but he had no choice. If he didn't beat us, the guards would beat him. I was beaten a lot, on the body with a cane stick. Five blows at a time, then stop, then again five blows, almost every day. Whenever anyone did anything wrong, everyone was beaten. Sometimes

the warder was also beaten by the guards. Some prisoners were beaten very severely so they were allowed to rest on the following day. Then soon afterwards they died. Five prisoners died on the way to the camp from beatings. Three died of sickness at the camp. Even prisoners who got sick, if they could move they had to work. If they couldn't move, they were allowed to rest. Prisoners who got sick were treated, but I don't know what medicine they gave them. All the prisoners who got sick died. Nobody survived. The doctor gave them the medicine. There was a doctor in the clinic in the village nearby — but not a very good one! Most of the sick died on the way to Ye Hospital. And their bodies were brought back to the camp.

Two men tried to escape, but the guards saw them and chased them. One was captured in the forest and the other reached a village but the Karen villagers sent him back. The guards ordered the men to lie down and then made five prisoners walk on their bodies. Then they took them to their office and put them in the stocks [*mediaeval-style leg stocks of wood or bamboo*], and beat them everywhere, including the head. When they were done, both of them had broken arms and were unconscious, but they didn't die. Then they were left there in the sun for more than one month. Each night, they were moved and slept with the other prisoners. They didn't receive any treatment, even for the broken arms. They just put some leaves on their heads where they were bleeding. They were about 30 years old. They were not political prisoners. At night, the guards ordered us to sleep close beside those two [*to prevent another escape attempt*]. More than 100 prisoners were sleeping in a building which was the size of this rice barn, with two windows. There was a guard inside and other guards outside, and there were three fences of sharpened bamboo sticks and one of barbed wire.

On a Sunday [*their day off railway work*] while we were working in the vegetable garden, the guards took nine of us to carry water. It was just after lunch time, and the police guards were drinking alcohol. We were outside the camp. The guards told us not to run and we said, "Yes". Then they said we could eat the layer of rice crust from the bottom of the pots, so I went to get it. The kitchen was also outside the fences. I saw that the guards there were sleeping. The prisoner-cook asked me, "What are you looking for?" I said, "I want to pick some jackfruit for the meal". He said, "Good — go and get them." The guards were all sleeping or drinking. A guard told me to take off my slippers and shirt, so I did and laid them down [*as a guarantee to prevent escape*]. Then I went into the jungle and ran away. Just 13 days before that, the order had come from Rangoon to remove our chains because it was too difficult to work in them. So I had no chains. A lot of people were trying to escape at that time. I heard that two others tried to escape that day after me, but they were recaptured. I knew the way so that I arrived at a village. That was three months ago. I'm not sure what I should do. Maybe I'll go and report to my regiment again, but I'm not sure.

Interview: 111-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Torture, Execution, Refugee, Women, Child

Name :	Mi Ong Son
Age:	23
Sex :	Female
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with one child (age 2 years)
Occupation:	Farm labourer
Address :	Mockkanin village, Ye Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	19 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

We arrived here [*the refugee camp*] two weeks ago because we couldn't stand the SLORC's oppression any more. Both my husband and I had to work on the railway. When my husband was working on the railway he was ill and he couldn't work, so I had to go in his place. I went once but my husband went three times. Altogether we had to work two months. I was working there in February. I had to carry rocks and dirt on my head in pans. I had to carry it about 50 yards, up to the top of embankment. I carried my son [*two years old*] on my back. The men broke the rocks. At first there were only men. But many men got sick because of hard work, so they had to ask their wives to help. Every woman had to go if her husband could not go or was sick. Some girls I saw there were only 6 to 10 years old [*most likely the six-year-olds had come along with their parents*], and there were women about 60 years old. Some women were pregnant, and some even delivered babies there because they weren't allowed to go home until their work was finished. The children also had to carry the dirt, but a little less.

There are about 2,000 houses in my village. It is a big village. Every fifty families had to send someone else for each rotation [*two weeks*] up to a period of three months. The headman collected the people. I had to take the train to Ye [*her village is north of Ye*], then the car and then on foot to the work-site. The journey took about four hours by train, then two hours by car and 24 hours' walk. The train and the car were free of charges. At the railway construction site, each family was assigned about 50 yards [*of embankment to build*]. It had to be about two times the height of this house [*i.e. about 8 m*]. They gathered three or four families to work together. They could only go home when it was finished. After that they had to go work at another place. They can rest at home for about 10 days, then they have to go to another place.

We got no salary or food. Every month or every two weeks, our families sent food for us. We had to make shelters to sleep in. If we didn't make one, we'd have to sleep on the ground. We had to use our own tools. The soldiers were spread along the railway, guarding. My husband was beaten. They hit him in the back with the wooden part of the gun. They beat him because he was ill. They didn't allow people to rest. They ordered the labourers to work all the time.

Everyone who was sick was beaten. One woman and one man died. The soldiers beat them because they were sick and they could not work. The woman was about 60 years old. The sick got no medicine. They had to buy it themselves. They were not allowed to go home. The soldiers teased the women, especially the young girls. One girl was raped. She was 24 years old, from Gom Sai village. She died. They killed her. I didn't know her name. That happened while I was working there. There were also about a hundred prisoners from Moulmein. They were in chains. They broke rocks and carried rocks.

Lots of people tried to escape. If they were caught, they were beaten. While we were working, I ran out of food and ran away. I was tired and hungry so that I went into the forest near the railway. The soldiers caught me and forced me to work again. Later, I escaped back to my village and met my husband who was sick, and we fled together. We left our house and came here. [*She came together with her sister, 22, who was also forced to work on the railway.*]

As a farm worker I made 50 Ks per day. If you can't go work on the railway, you have to pay 500 Ks per day. I don't see any benefit to this railway.

Interview: 112-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee

Name :	Ko Hla Shwe
Age:	33
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children (age 16 months, 3 and 14 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Sin Swe village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	1 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

I served as a village headman for two years. The villagers chose me to be a headman. But now I have run away from my village. I arrived here [*the refugee camp*] about 20 days ago. I am going to tell you why. They demanded a lot of things from the villages in our Min Tha village group, so we couldn't pay anymore. We asked them to reduce it but they refused. I felt a lot of pity for my villagers. They demanded money for porter fees and forced labour fees. In short, we are now paying money to buy their longyis [*sarongs*]. For our own families, it is not much. People in our village group have to work a lot for them. There are six villages in Min Tha village group — Min Tha is the biggest. The orders come from Min Tha camp [LIB 406], and we must always follow the orders. They demand 20 people for labour. This is for railway construction. There were about 30 houses in our village. Excluding the elderly and the very poor, there are about 20 houses. So each of these 20 houses has to send one person for forced labour. You have to pay 2,500 Ks for every week you fail to show up. This is not just one day's work. [*The labour is rotating, so each house has to provide one*

person constantly.] So we have no way to eat, no way to make money, but still we must go for their labour. It is very difficult.

When people had no money, they borrowed from others. But we couldn't borrow any anymore. We had no more gold. We could only give our clothes or pots to the soldiers as a deposit. Some people sold their pots. The soldiers said, "If you can't contribute labour, give money. If you can't give money, find a way. You must solve it by yourself, but you must give money." If not, they arrest us. They sent many [*order*] letters. Every week. One month we received a demand for our village to give 135,000 Ks. I can't remember all the smaller demands. Each year, we had to give them 155,000 Ks for the food supply of their camp alone. Moreover, we also had to pay uncounted amount of money for construction costs. The headmen of all six villages got these orders through the village group.

The railway is three or four miles from the village. We had to send 15 people each week. As there were 30 houses in our village, we sent people from 15 houses for the first week and another 15 the following week. When it rained heavily, they stopped. When the sun shined, they started again. We have been gathering people for the railway over the past two years. Last year they demanded 10 labourers, but 15 for this year. But the money is the same. If we can't send a man, we have to pay 2,500 Ks per week, the same as before. The places we have to work are close to 7-mile, 8-mile, and 9-mile villages. We had to dig and carry the ground. Now, the labourers have to sleep in huts which is as big as the rice barn here [*20 ft x 40 ft*]. There are more than 10 barns. As almost 100 labourers have to sleep in each barn, it is quite crowded. We worked. But the following day the rain usually destroyed our work.

Now nobody lives in Sin Swe anymore — maybe only one or two households are still living there. We couldn't bear their demands, which have been continuous for the past five years. They don't care about us. Wherever they go, their only duty is to make demands. As we couldn't give them anymore, we moved. Even after the families left, their demands remained the same. Then when we couldn't give, they would arrest and punish us. And the families left one after another. Most people destroyed their houses themselves and gave the materials to others. Otherwise, the soldiers destroy it if nobody is left in a house. For the future, I think it will be no better for us. Month after month, they just make more and more demands. If the situation improves, I will go back. For now, staying here is the only way to survive. Ten families from my village are already here [*in the refugee camp*].

Interview: 113-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee, Torture, Child, Women, Displacement

Name :	Nai Win Maung
Age:	58
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children (all died from illness more than 10 years ago)
Occupation:	Farm labourer
Address :	Du Ree village, Ye Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	19 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

I came here because I couldn't stay there. I couldn't stand their torture and I couldn't pay all the porter fees and taxes for the railway. I came with my wife, about 20 days ago. I had to work on the railway in October, November, and also December [*1994*]. I had to work for two months and a half. I was breaking rocks and ground and carrying them, and levelling the way [*embankment*]. I worked from 7:00 a.m. until 11:00 a.m., then from 1:00 to 6:00 p.m. After that, I got a rest. We had to pile the dirt, 20 armspans [*about 100 feet*] long and as high as this house. There were 24 of us. It took us two months and a half, then we could go home. I brought food from my village, and sometimes I had to buy some. Some tools were given by the soldiers and some, like baskets, we had to bring ourselves. We slept along the railway, under a shelter made with leaves. We had to build the shelters by ourselves. We had to build one shelter after another when we finished one section and moved to a new place. There were about 10,000 people working on the railway in that area.

The soldiers were deployed along the railway. They always guarded us in groups of 15 to 30. It is difficult to escape. They keep rotating. They came and checked us twice a day. I was not beaten because I worked all the time. But I saw other people were beaten up. Some people were beaten when they couldn't work due to sickness. I saw a man from Kot Dot village who was badly beaten. After they kicked him he couldn't work. But he was forced to work. He was hurt internally. He was about 20 years old. Some women had husbands who had gone to Thailand [*to find work*], so they were alone with their children and they had to go work on the railway. The youngest children were about 13 or 14 years old. The eldest were over 60. A lot of people got sick. Some died. When they were sick, they were provided with no food, no supplies and no medicine. If we needed medicine, we had to get it from our friends. The SLORC troops had medicine for themselves, not for us. They said, "If you can't work, no problem. You stay here until your duty is finished either way." Then the sick had to stay a longer time to finish their assignment. Pregnant women there also had to work, but not as hard as the men. I heard some delivered babies there, but that was at other places. I didn't see. When they were digging the mountainside, some people died of a landslide while one man from Ye broke his back.

Some people escaped. They fled because they knew that they could never finish their job and as a consequence they would be subject to beatings. After they escaped, the soldiers made trouble for their village headman and their families. Therefore, people were afraid to flee because they have their belongings and their farms in their village. Since last year LIB 343 as well as two or three other battalions have come to our area. Mostly it is LIB 343 that supervises the labour for the railway construction. Sometimes they change the troops.

After I finished my work on the railway [*after December 1994*] I worked in my village. But we had to pay so many taxes, and I couldn't. Here if I need to go to the hospital I don't have to pay, and I receive rice. It is better than in the SLORC-controlled area.

Interview: 114-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee, Torture, Child, Slavery, Women,

Name :	Nai Tin Shwe
Age:	64
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, "I had 12 children, six are still alive but only four stay with me (age 14 to 33 years)"
Occupation:	Farm labourer
Address :	Damin Seik village, Ye Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	19 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

I arrived here [*the refugee camp*] three weeks ago. I had to work on the railway for two months this year, and I had to pay for railway sleepers. We had to pay 200 Ks every month for other things as well. We had to pay all the time. The headman said, "If you can't pay, you can't stay here. We will take your house. You can go and stay wherever you want where you don't have to pay." That's why I came here, as I couldn't pay the money for the sleepers and other things, he said I couldn't stay in the village. If someone can pay he can stay in his house. But I couldn't, so I had to leave. I had nothing to bring — no blankets, no mosquito nets. I came with nothing. I came more than 20 days ago. My daughter, whose husband also had to work on the railway, came with me. Her husband couldn't get any money to live. My 14-year-old son came. I am 64 years old. I had to go and work at Mitaw Lah Gyi, Mitaw Lah Lay and Paukpinkwin. These places are close to Tavoy! [*i.e. far from his village; the villages mentioned are not all close to Tavoy, but villagers around his area use the expression "close to Tavoy!" to mean any place which is very far away.*]

I worked from November until January — more than two months. The work site was so far away, I couldn't work the whole time until May. I couldn't carry. We had to carry dirt up to a height of 27 ft from the hole [*to build the embankment*]. It was too hard for an old man like me. They forced the prisoners to do it too. We couldn't dig the ground [*the ground can be rock hard in dry season*]. They dynamited the ground and we had to carry up the dirt. We had to work for the government, but with our own food. They sold one bowl [*about 2.5 kg, uncooked*] of old and bad rice for 15 Ks. We didn't receive any money from the government. They didn't beat me because I am old. But some young people were beaten very often. There were many elderly. Some were even older than me. There were also some women of my age. They collected anyone who could carry a basket of dirt. Even widows had to go work. Some people who couldn't go were forced to pay money to them. It was about 1,500 Ks per household. It led us facing so many difficulties. Some labourers were got malaria and died on the work-site. Last year at our work-site, four people were buried in the same hole because the ground collapsed on Kyaik Mei Ma Lok mountain. Last year, I also had to work hard. Normally, we had to work 15 days for each time. But this year we had to work for two months continuously.

Then in February and afterwards, they re-started the work and they took labourers again. But after 15 days, the people fled to their village because of fighting. All the work-sites had to close. The fighting was with Karen or Mon soldiers, I'm not sure. Maybe Mons. I didn't have to go that time. After that, I came to the border. Just before I left the village, every household had to pay 200 Ks per month. The money was to buy food for about 200 prisoners who were still working at the work-site. If I'd stayed there, I would have faced so many difficulties. I had to pay so many fees like porter fees, construction fees, and etc. I am an elderly, so I can't earn a lot. I had nothing to eat. That's why I had to leave. I lost my way during the trip. Some people guided me here.

Before it was worse because so many people had to go and work. This time they had troubles and they stopped. They already stopped, and I heard they won't work this year. They will probably start again at the beginning of coming dry season. I'm very happy that they closed the work-site this year. Otherwise we would be almost dead. It was really lucky that fighting started soon after they started the work. They [*the Mon or Karen soldiers*] came and opened fire for three or four nights, everyone fled and the work-site closed down. But now they [*SLORC*] ask for money. Even if we work very hard, we can't afford to pay. We don't even earn enough to eat. They took so many people as porters, even the elderly. People were released only after bribing them at the rate of 10,000 Ks. They take everything we earn. There is no reason to stay there any longer.

More than 10,000 people were taken as porters to Bo Mya's area [*far away for SLORC's offensives in the Manerplaw and Salween areas*]. They took about 20 from our village, and more than 500 in Ye Township. Some were captured while they were working on their farms. When I left the village, I still hadn't seen any of them come back yet. I think they are still in the jungle in Bo Mya's area. They even took the civil servants, like schoolteachers. They arrested elderly, and then

their sons had to go in their place. Old or not, they don't care. They take everyone and force them to carry according to their strength. If someone can carry shells, he has to carry shells. If he can't carry shells, he has to carry rice. So many porters have died, but I didn't see it myself. The living conditions are very bad. We are never in peace.

Now I have heard that they will build a new railway in the dry season at Nat Ein Taung [*this is the gas pipeline route — it will not be a railway, but clearing for the pipeline. SLORC may try to cover up forced labour for the pipeline by pretending they are building a motorway or railway*]. We will have to go and work there also. It is a five-year project. If we have to go and work there, we will not be paid. We will have to buy our own food and go for 15 days each time. The headman told us they will build this new railway. He learned it from the higher ranking officers. There is a government order that the villagers will have to work on that new railway. It comes from their office. They will start clearing in the dry season [*November-May*]. For this, they will use bulldozers. These machines can clear everything, even the clumps of bamboo, everything! They can pull down big trees and take away clumps of bamboo very easily. [*Nai Tin Shwe had clearly only seen a bulldozer once or twice before, possibly on television*]. After that, the people will have to dig the ground and build the embankment. To get to Nat Ein Taung is very far, four days' walk. That is for a young man, and elderly like me will need more time. I heard that after finishing the [*Nat Ein Taung*] railway, they will start the pipeline. The ones who will build the pipeline are foreigners, because the Burmese can't do it themselves. The foreigners will tell them what to do and the Burmese will do the work. Last year [*November 1994-January 1995*] there were so many foreigners at "14-mile", one day's walk from Ye [*south of Ye, north of the pipeline route*]. They slept at the army camp. Whenever they went out for measuring or surveying, they were escorted by many soldiers from LIB 343, IB 62 and other battalions as well as soldiers from Tavoy. They were using something like a telescope and tapes to measure. Only they can use these — the Burmese can't do anything by themselves. They built a microwave tower, same as the one in Thanbyuzayat, nearby the small airstrip at "14-mile". They made a temporary one. I think they will build a very big one. Maybe it is a receiver to contact all over Burma. [*In this area, the surveying was most likely related to onshore exploration work, though the microwave tower could also be useful to the pipeline project.*]

Interview: 115-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Torture, Child, Slavery

Name :	Maung Aung Htay
Age:	20
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Single, parents alive and have five brothers and sisters
Occupation:	Farmer

Address : Pyu Pat, Paung Township. (between Martaban & Thaton), Mon State
Interviewed: 4 June 1995
Source: KHRG

I was working in Kyauk Ka Din village as a caretaker on a rubber and betelnut plantation. Then the headman collected workers and I was taken to work on the railway for the SLORC Army. The villagers from whole village, regardless of sex, had to go. As they collected all the adults, the children couldn't stay at home alone and they went along with their parents. It was five months ago [*in January*]. We had to walk two hours to the work-site, carrying our own rice and other belongings.

Each person had to dig the ground into holes 10 square feet by one foot deep, dig four and a half holes like that and carry the dirt. If my family had four people, we would have to do this work four times — two people would dig the ground and the other two would carry it up and pile it on the railway [*embankment*]. It took nearly one month. We got no food and no salary, and we had to bring our own tools. People who didn't want to do this work had to pay 300 Ks for each hole — 10 square feet by one foot deep. We worked eight hours a day. We got up early and started. At 10:00 a.m., we had a break until 2:00 p.m. Then we had to work again until sunset, about 6:00 p.m. They didn't allow us to leave until all the work was completed. Soldiers were guarding us during the work. There were so many workers and about 10 or 15 soldiers from LIB 403 guarding us. If a villager took a rest too long, they forced him to get back to work. I didn't see anyone being beaten, but people got sick. The soldiers didn't give any medicine. I saw some people seriously ill, but I didn't see anyone dying. They let those people go home, but they had to hire other people to come and replace them if their work wasn't finished. At night we slept in our own shelters. We had to build our own shelters at the work-site, or else sleep on the ground. The children stayed in the shelters while their parents were working. No one looked after them. The youngest worker was about 10 years old, and the eldest about 60. The place was near Yah Pu village. The area had already been cleared.

I was there about one month. After three or four months I was back in the village, they called me as a porter. LIB 409 ordered to send two or three porters from every village, and the headman ordered me. I had to go with the army to the nearby villages, carrying pots and other cooking equipment. I had to work the whole day. The duty was for one month, then other villagers came to replace us. We ate the same food as the soldiers, like rice, beans and fish-paste. If porters couldn't carry they were beaten up. I didn't see it in my column. But I saw it happening in other columns. Some elderly who couldn't carry their burdens were punched and kicked by the soldiers. It was very painful. I saw one who couldn't walk because of the beating, and they abandoned him. Nobody took care of him. I didn't see whether he died. Some of those who couldn't carry anymore decided to run away. Those who were caught were beaten very severely. But most of them were never caught.

After one month as a porter I stayed only another one month in the village, and then they called me again for the second time to go for IB 104. The second time I was a porter for only two days, then I ran away. Three of us — another porter, this SLORC soldier here [*he arrived together with deserter Ko Ko Maung — see his testimony, 115.*] and I — ran away from the camp at about 10:00 p.m. We had planned for escape together. The soldiers chased us but they were not able to find us. Therefore, we escaped. The following morning, we reached a village and met Mon troops in a betelnut plantation. We explained our situation to them and they took us to their district office. We escaped on 6 May. Now I would like to stay here as a DPA soldier [*Democratic People's Army, a relatively small armed opposition group*]. I have never been a soldier before. I can't manage to live in Burma [*meaning 'down in Burma' as opposed to Mon territory*]. There are so many taxes, like porter fees and others.

Interview: 116-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Child, Slavery, Execution

Name :	Ko Ko Maung
Age:	23
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, no children
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Hlegu Township, near Rangoon
Interviewed:	4 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*Ko Ko Maung was the Burmese soldier who escaped with porter Maung Aung Htay. See interview 115.*]

I was in the army for four years. I was a private, and I got 700 Ks per month. I stopped studying when I was 8 or 10 years old, in 4th standard. When my mother died, I went to stay with my aunt in Rangoon. One of my cousins failed his examination, and my aunt scolded at him and beat him. He ran away from home. We all searched for him, and I found him at Mingaladon recruiting centre. I couldn't manage to bring him back home. So I decided to join him to stay together with him, and both of us joined the army. That was in December 1990. I joined, but I had to wait for one year before the training. I stayed at Mingaladon and worked for the army as a labourer in an army plantation. They were vegetable gardens for food for the army. Then I was in training for about six months at No. 4 Central Training Centre in Weh Ga Li, near Thanbyuzayat. I learned how to use assault and small arms. After that I was posted to a unit, I had to learn about heavy weapons. There was nothing about how to treat civilians. During training we were beaten by the commanders, very often. They punched us and slapped us when we couldn't follow the lessons.

I was sent to IB 104 in Tavoy. I was there for one month and then they sent me on duty to Nat Ein Taung camp. We had to dig holes, build trenches, overhead

bunkers and fences in the camp. We stayed at the camp and didn't go fighting. Only sometimes, we went patrolling outside the camp. Then I returned to my base [*in Tavoy*] and stayed there about six months. Then I was deployed with a mobile unit at Kawza village area to search for enemies and fight them. I have many experiences of fighting rebel troops. Sometimes we lost 30 or 40 soldiers, including some officers. I was wounded slightly once, in my leg. Sometimes we arrested villagers. When we arrested the suspects, we interrogated them and if it was evident that these villagers had contact with rebels, we killed them. If there was no evidence, we released them. The commander gave the orders. I was ordered to kill villagers twice. One was from Kawza village and another was a rebel whom was caught while living in a village. We never took the villagers' property, but sometimes we shot their chickens for our food. My unit was a mobile unit so we didn't deal too much with the villagers. Our officers ordered us to reach certain places by certain times. If the porters couldn't carry the ammunition, we wouldn't reach the place in time. So we beat the porters to go faster and to be able to get there on time. Sometimes we beat them, sometimes we didn't. I never beat porters. The officers didn't beat soldiers but they punished us. Soldiers who made mistakes had to carry seven or eight bricks in a backpack and run around for at least half an hour. Most of the soldiers were young. The youngest was 16, and the eldest was about 30.

I didn't like the behaviour of the army on the villagers. When elderly were treated badly, I felt like it was my father or my mother. What would they feel? If the soldiers treat people like that in other areas of Burma, maybe my relatives are suffering the same. Twice before I tried to escape from the army with a friend. The first plan was discovered by the officers. When the officer asked my friend, "Who will desert the army with you?", he said, "Nobody. I am alone." Because he shut his mouth, I was safe. This time I had decided to flee and I discussed it with two porters. When we had been on patrol, these two porters had been with me all the time. So I thought they might have the same idea as me. It was 16 [of May] and we were in Kyauk Ka Din village. I told them that I would join the Mon army and asked them, "Will you follow me?" They said, "Okay, we will follow you." Then during my sentry duty, we ran away from the camp.

My wife and I were staying at the family barracks in the camp. I left her at the camp. I think now she will be sent back to her parents' house, not too far away. That's usually what happens. Another time, Cpl Tin Myint Oo escaped from the camp with five of his soldiers. I was part of Column 2. My commander was Maj Aung Kyaw Oo and the Battalion Commander was Lt-Col Zaw Win Myint. Now I would like to stay here and serve as a soldier with these troops [*Democratic People's Army*]. If I have a chance to fight the SLORC Army, I will be happy.

Interview: 117-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Slavery, Execution, Refugees, Forced Labour, Women

Name :	Nai Nee
Age:	41
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children (age 7 to 19 years)
Occupation:	Day labourer
Address :	Kwan Dut village, Ye Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	19 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

I arrived two weeks ago [*at the refugee camp*]. I couldn't stay in my village anymore. We were afraid. They take the men as porters. They take people for the railway. We can't work for ourselves, we have to work for the army all the time. Last year I had to go and work for the railway line three times, and once just before I came here. This year is much worse than last year. There are 60 houses in my village. One person from each house had to go. We had to dig a 50-feet-long hole. To measure the depth, the soldiers gave us a stick. This year, there is no chance to stop working. Last year, we worked for one month and we could stop for two weeks. This year over 10,000 people worked there. Every village had to go. The headman ordered me, and I started in March. He didn't say how long I'd have to work. Last year I worked three times, sometimes for two months, sometimes one month. This year I only worked for one month, then I fled to the border.

There were seven work-sites in the area. I worked at "7-mile". From my village [*north of Ye*] I had to walk four hours to the motorway, then I took a bus to Ye. Those who didn't have money couldn't afford the 45 Ks for the bus fare. They had to walk from my village to Ye — it takes 24 hours. We had to sleep one night in Ye. Then from Ye to the work-site, 24 hours walking again. There were 60 people from my village. We had to work there. We had to build our own shelters. We built a shelter for 10 people, very small and crowded, but we could sleep. There were no toilets, we had to go to the bushes. We drank water from a stream. We had to find our food ourselves. We didn't have a specific place to work — every day they told us where to work. We worked from 6:00 a.m. until 11:00 a.m., then lunch. Then from 1:00 to 6:00 p.m. Then we had dinner and we slept. There were about 10,000 people in "7-mile" area. We had to bring food from our village. As there were many shops around the area, we could buy food there if we had money. If we had no money, we couldn't buy anything. There was no clinic, no medicine. Somebody from Ka Law village came to sell medicine every morning and evening.

Q: Were you paid any salary?
A: Are you crazy? No money!

Q: SLORC says you can watch videos at night.
A: [Laugh] No, no — we were in the jungle there!

Q: SLORC says the villagers enjoy staying there and don't want to go home.
A: We were working hard on the railway to finish as soon as possible, so we could go home to do our own work. SLORC never gave us even one milk-tin of rice!

Our group stayed together in one area. Once a day the soldiers came to look around, but they didn't stay. Maybe they stayed hidden in the bushes, I didn't know. We dared not escape because the soldiers would inform our headman. If a person tried to escape and was arrested later by SLORC, he had to go as a porter for a long time and serve as a human shield for the troops. In March, I was beaten because I couldn't work. [*Soldiers caught him sleeping during the day when they came around.*] I was sick and wanted to go home. I didn't have any more food, but they didn't give me any and they accused me of pretending to be sick. They said, "Why are you sick now? You were not sick when you started to work here. You are pretending to be sick." They beat me. They punched me in the stomach so many times. "Why are you sleeping?" the soldiers said, and, "What kind of animal are you to think you can sleep like this?" [*a very rude expression in Burmese*] Pah...Pah...Pah... I couldn't count the punches. They punched me very hard, and they also kicked me but that was not as bad. One soldier beat me, then I went outside and other soldier beat me. After that, I couldn't carry any heavy load anymore. I had internal pain. When the work was finished, I went to get treated at the hospital. It still hurts.

I heard about one person from Thaung Prang village, who was beaten to death, and that SLORC soldiers from "9-mile" work-site raped a woman from Thaung Prang at night and then killed her. The soldiers always teased the women. Sometimes they touched them with their hands. The women dared not say anything. About half of the workers were women. We were all together, breaking rocks and carrying the dirt. It was the same work as last year. I was the only one from my family, because I didn't let my wife or my children work there. They sold vegetables in the village to live while I was gone. At the railway, I had no more food so I asked the leader if I could go back home to get some food. I went back, but my wife and children had already left to come here. So I followed them. In the village we also had to pay 50 Ks per month per family for porter fees. They also collected money for the railway to pay the technical supervisor. Both soldiers and villagers had to guard the railway. So we had to pay 300 Ks for that too, because those villagers are SLORC followers.

Interview: 118-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Slavery, Execution, Forced Labour, Refugees, Detention, Child

Name :	U Myint Gyi
Age:	56
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Tavoyan
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with eight children (age 10 months to 27 years)
Occupation:	Fisherman
Address :	Kyauk Gone village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	1 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

I arrived here [*the refugee camp*] in the middle of April. We couldn't stay in our village anymore because we had to pay 250 Ks per week. So we hid in the jungle, and then I couldn't do my work. That's why I couldn't stay. If I worked all day I could only get food for one day, and I have a big family. I couldn't stay with them because I always had to run. I slept in the jungle for four months. If I have many normal problems, I will face them even if I have to die. But I couldn't pay and I couldn't run away from the soldiers, so I couldn't stay in my village. I brought my whole family with me. I've never been here before, I'd only heard about this place.

The soldiers don't care about the elderly or the young — if they see you they will arrest you and force you to be a porter. If you can pay 3,000 Ks, they will release you. But I couldn't pay, and I couldn't go as a porter. Whenever they arrested an elderly man, they held him and demanded the villagers sending five young men for five days before the elderly was released. But after five days, they still didn't release him. I've been a porter five times: two times last year and two weeks for each time and three times just before coming here, in February, March, and April. The last time was from Natkyizin to Yah Pu, Kyauk Ka Din and Alah Sakan, over the hills. The other times were to Kyauk Ka Yan and Mine Yan and back. The battalions that come to my village are LIBs 410, 404 and 408. But I was a porter for IBs 104 and , and then LIB 409. We got a milk-tin of rice and beans twice a day. When we reached the camp, sometimes we got better food, like bits of coconut in our beans. It was not enough. If we had money we could buy more food. We slept in a monastery compound. The soldiers guarded us, and if we needed to go to the toilet we had to ask their permission.

I had to carry two soldiers' bags, about five viss [*8 kg*] each, but I don't know what was inside. The others had heavier loads. Those who couldn't climb were severely kicked and beaten. The porters who carried ammunition got tired quickly. They were often kicked and beaten, and the soldiers scolded at them badly. Some fell down and pretended they couldn't get up again. Some fell down the slope on purpose so they could try to escape. But some were beaten with sticks and kicked with boots to death, and they also hit them with rifle butts and

rifle barrels. There was an elderly Mon man who was about 60 years old. He was on his back, and they poked him in the belly with rifle barrels and hit his back with rifle butts. Also, the porters who got sick had to die. If they couldn't go or couldn't move, the soldiers pushed them down the mountainside. If there was a ditch, they pushed them into it. Sometimes they threw them into the bushes. If somebody found them later, maybe they'd have a chance to live. We passed someone moaning in the bushes, and the soldiers never paid any attention or even looked. So the porters' saying is, "If you can't walk, you die. You walk, you will live." Some of the porters were teenagers -- 16 or 17 or 18 years old. Some were in their 60s. There were about 100 soldiers and 80 porters or so, from different villages. I didn't try to escape because I was afraid. They usually shot at the ones who tried to escape. I only went back home when they released me.

There are 150 houses in my village, mostly Mon with some Tavoyans and Burmese. Many people came here already, and a few are still arriving. I heard from the newcomers that now the people in our village are not being allowed to grow paddy, instead the soldiers are forcing them to build a road from Pyu Gyi to Kyauk Gone. The road is half finished. Our village is far from the railway, but last year I had to work there for 15 days near Natkyizin, digging and carrying the ground. Compared to being a porter, I want to refuse both kinds of labour, but being a porter is harder. At the railway we stopped working at 5:00 p.m., but as a porter I got no rest. They didn't call again for railway labour this year. They stopped the work, and now the railway route is damaged. We heard that they will call us for the pipeline project too, but they have not done it yet. Maybe they stopped that project already. Before leaving my village I heard they were working on it, both porters and villagers, and that there are soldiers there. But I didn't see, because there is a river between my village and that place.

Now things in my village are getting worse. It started getting worse about two years ago. The villagers are forced to work but they don't receive even five pyas [*0.05 kyat*]. We heard that foreigners give money, but SLORC gives no money to the villagers. This government is like a giant beast that tortures human beings. I came to stay here, so I will stay here. Here, there are also many problems [*with the Thai authorities*], but I think we will have to stay at least five years. If the situation doesn't get better in my village, maybe 10 years.

Interview: 119-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Forced Labour, Refugees

Name :	Nai Maung Hla
Age:	28
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children (age 1 to 8 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Aru Taung village, Ye Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	19 May 1995
Source:	KHRG

I got here [*the refugee camp*] two weeks ago, because we couldn't bear oppression from SLORC any more. I had to go work on the railway twice: in January and February. Before they took people from other villages, but now they have started to take people in our village. It is our turn now. They also asked 100 Ks per month per family -- 50 Ks per month as porter fees and 50 Ks for the railway. They said the money was to hire people to guard the railway. They also ordered the villagers to go and guard the railway, but I didn't have to go for that. I had to dig the ground and build an embankment which was over 16 ft long and 9 ft wide. I wasn't beaten, but if people couldn't do the work for them then they were beaten. The railway is nine miles from our village. By the railway, the SLORC troops will be able to move more easily in the area. They will build camps and make more problems for the ethnic people, so it is not good for the villagers. I heard that they will build a fence along the entire way from our village to Taung Moon. Maybe they will relocate our village to another place. I don't think we will be able to travel peacefully. So many of them will come there soon.

This year it is the same as last year. But we are worried more than last year, because it is almost rainy season so we are worried about our paddy fields [*i.e. that if they are called for labour they won't be able to plant a crop*]. I have a farm where I grow durian, jackfruit and pineapple. But now I have come here with my family and I feel better here. It took us about three days. We couldn't carry anything with us. Many people have already left our village. Some are here, and some more are planning to come here. There are 450 households in my village. I've met about 10 of them here so far.

Interview: 120-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Judicial, Child, Forced Labour, Women, Refugees

Name :	Maung Aung Shwe
Age:	26
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Single
Address :	Rangoon
Interviewed:	7 June 1995
Source:	KHRG

[Escaped convict Maung Aung Shwe arrived in a Mon camp in February 1995 after escaping forced labour on the Ye-Tavoy railway.]

I am from a big family of eight brothers and sisters. I am in the middle. All are single. I was a 10th standard student. We went to Myitkyina [*Kachin State*] and Hpakant to look for jade. We went happily and legally. One day, we were drinking and eating at a small shop. A policeman came and demanded money

from my brother, but my brother said, "I don't want to deal with the police. Don't ask for money. Go away." A quarrel broke out between my brother and the policeman. The policeman started swinging a stool. I was hit on my head, and I stabbed the policeman's belly with a fork. I went back to my house. Then I went to the hospital and got seven stitches on my head. My brother stayed with the policeman, took care of him and took him to the hospital. I went into hiding in Mandalay. After 26 days, the policeman died. I returned home in Rangoon to see my mother. I arrived home at 1:00 p.m. I sent someone to buy a packet of cigarettes while my mother slept and I waited upstairs. Then 12 policeman in civilian clothes came in, went upstairs, broke the door of my room and arrested me. I was amazed at how they caught me. My mother didn't even notice them coming in.

They took me to the police station, beat me and asked me many questions. My whole body was painful, especially my stomach. I could neither lie down nor sleep well because of the pain. It was difficult to urinate for about 12 days. They made me "ride the motorcycle" [*a standard SLORC torture — the victim is forced to squat on the floor for extended periods, pretend he is riding a motorcycle and make motorcycle noises, while the officer gives commands like "Turn left! Stop!" The victim has to make honking noises when his ear is pulled. Meanwhile, he is constantly being beaten with clubs*]. They blindfolded me and beat me. They made me stand on needles. The police beat me continuously for 12 days. They ordered me to give them the murder weapon, but I couldn't give them the fork. They asked questions about the fork. I was detained for one month in a special room, then I was brought back to cell at police station for 14 days. Then they sent me to court. I explained the truth about what had happened. The only problem was that I couldn't show them the fork. The judge said I was trying to hide the evidence. I was sentenced under Section 201, and also for causing death. That was in March 1993. They sent me to Insein jail. I was there for one year and three months. In jail we had to work. If you bribed them, they allowed you not to work for a few days. Some paid 900 Ks to get 14 days rest. Some gave 1,500 Ks for several months at a time. Those who couldn't pay were called in the morning and assigned duties like cleaning the compound, cleaning the toilets, working in the kitchen, etc. The food was not good but it was enough. Everyday, we got yellow-bean soup in the morning and vegetable soup in the evening. But no soup taste good as they were lack of seasoning. Pork or fish was seen once a week.

I was in a huge room separate from the main building. About 120 prisoners stayed there, sometimes fewer, but normally at least 90. When there were 120, we only got a very small space to sleep. My family came once a week. They gave money to the prison officers and sent food. I could speak to them, but there were guards around. We weren't allowed to write letters but I did it secretly. I paid money to borrow books. If prisoners fought each other, the guards put them in the dark room, the hot room or a room filled with water. I found some prisoners stabbed with a sharpened iron bar. I didn't know how that quarrel started. Iron bars were easy to get in the jail. I also heard that some prisoners killed themselves.

The youngest prisoner was 12 years old. The eldest was about 80. There were many old prisoners. Usually, murder was sentenced to five years. Premeditated murder and rape could be 15 to 20 years. An accident causing death is at least one or two years. A torturer could get three or four years, and a car accident one or two years.

After 15 months they took me to Hlegu Township, on the Rangoon-Mandalay highway project. We dug and carried the ground. We were tied with chains. We were chained day and night. At forced labour places, rapists were chained for one year while convicts for murder, robbery and burglary cases were chained for six months. Villagers were also working on the road. But prisoners were separate from the villagers. Not only the prison authorities but also the soldiers and police guarded us. There were Lon Htein [*riot police*] from Pegu, and soldiers from LIB 217, under the command of LID 11. They watched us from behind. We were always working. Prisoners who worked slowly or got tired quickly were beaten and kicked. It was hard work to carry stones or dirt up the bank. Once there was a dispute and the guard hit me twice with a stick, on the shoulders and the back. If a prisoner couldn't pay them, they beat him too much. Therefore, I gave them 2,500 Ks. If prisoners fought each other they were beaten severely, and sometimes even put in a cell or put in stocks in a building of the camp. Some had to stay in the stocks for 15 days, or a maximum of one month. The prisoners slept in a barracks that was built for us before we arrived. There were about 250 prisoners in one barrack. From Insein jail, there were 250 of us on the highway. There were 200 more prisoners working on the nearby farms. We had half a day's rest in the morning on every Sunday and I had to work on the vegetable farm. I was there in 1994. I didn't remember exactly which month.

I was there for two months and then transferred to the prisoner camp at Thaton. We had to crush stones in a quarry, at Yin Nyein in Thaton Township. In front of our camp was a plain with many huge stones laying on the ground. We worked in chains. The prison authorities administered the camp. They had rifles. There were only prisoners working there. Some died because of explosions, and rocks hit them. Some died of disease because they couldn't get to the hospital in time. During the time I was there, about 17 or 18 prisoners died, mostly on the way to the hospital. We had a "medic". He was chosen from among the prisoners. If a prisoner could give money to the medic, he could rest. According to the rules the authorities should pay the prisoners 10 Ks per month, but they never do. They just gave the prisoners some cheroots and MSG [*for cooking*]. I worked there for six months [*from the rest of his testimony, it appears that it was actually only three months*]. Then I was sent to another place with some other prisoners.

I was sent to Ko-Mine [*"9-mile", on the Ye-Tavoy railway*] camp. I was there for more than four months. I was promoted to a Guard. My duty was to make sure that no prisoners escaped. I also had to dig and level the ground, and cut into the hillside. Sometimes we had to clear the ground for the railway and sometimes we had to clear it to make space for more prisoners to stay. We

started at 6:00 a.m. We had a lunch break between noon and 1:00 p.m., and we finished at 5:00 p.m. I was still in chains for one month, then they untied me. [*His six months in chains for forced labour were up — convicts of murder cases are chained at forced labour camp for six months, as he said above.*] Until your time is due, they never take off the chains. In some cases, although a prisoner's time to be shackled with chains is over, the authorities don't take off the chains until they receive the order from higher authorities. The work at the railway was a bit harder than at the other places. We were surrounded by three lines of guards. There was a line of barbed wire, then sharpened bamboo stakes and traps. Behind those, the police and then the soldiers were guarding,. The prison authorities usually stayed in their barracks outside the fences. They arrested people and demanded money, and then with that money they hired women. The soldiers were from LIB 343. At the other side of Ko-Mine bridge, there were troops from LIB 406.

There were 350 prisoners in the camp from many jails: Sittwe [*Arakan State*], Mandalay, Myaungmya [*Irrawaddy Delta*], Bassein [*Irrawaddy Delta*], Moulmein, etc. There were three prisoners' barracks for 350 prisoners. The latrines were just inside the fences, out the back door of the barracks. At night there were sentries near the toilets — we had to announce ourselves with our prisoner number, name and what we wanted to do. Twice a day we got rice, less than one milk-tin full [*very little*], and banana stem and salt in water which was not boiled, just hot. There was no clinic in the camp, only in the village [*9-Mile village, nearby*]. We had to wear white shirts and white longyis [*prison uniform, of very coarse material*].

There were villagers there too, doing the same work as us: digging and clearing. Our work was harder, but theirs was also hard and they had to bring their own food as well. They also were guarded. Some of the girls aged 12 or 13 or 16 or 18 were raped. The officer who raped them was [Capt] Nyi Nyi from LIB 343. The girls were from Han Gan, Thaung Byin, and villages just south of Ye. I heard about some of these cases, and some I saw. He called the girls while they were working along the railway in the daytime. When I was going to the toilets, I saw one. She didn't shout because they had guns. They threatened her. They released her after they raped.

I saw people who were beaten. Me, I was beaten on my head for fighting. Most of the guards were drunk, so they beat and kicked us all over. Sometimes they forced us to lie down and beat and kicked us from above. Sometimes they jumped up and down on us. After being beaten, we went to the clinic in the nearby village to get medicine when the working period was over. Then the following day when they counted the prisoners, we could ask for lighter work if we were injured. I couldn't work after that. They allowed me to work slowly, but not too slowly. If I was too slow they would beat me, so I kept working. It was quite difficult to move after the beating, especially in my waist. Some were beaten badly and died later. They couldn't be cured. I knew three of them. Four died of beatings altogether. The day I left, one died of cholera. He was sent to the clinic but his body already smelled bad, so they put him in a car to sent to the

hospital. But when it started moving, he died. Win Naing from Myaungmya died of starvation. He was 22 or 23. He died on the way to the clinic after being beaten badly. Kyaw Kyaw died of disease. He was 19. Also, Zaw Oo. In the past he was a Corporal in the army. He tried to escape and the soldiers shot him. He was around 20 years old. [*He was in jail for attempted desertion.*] Another one tried to escape and the soldiers shot him too, but I didn't remember his name. He was from Bassein and drugs addict. His sentence was five years.

My family came to visit me twice at the railway construction site. They could give money for me, but they had spent a lot on me already. My father is a mechanic for the Railway Corporation and my mother makes food and sells it. Of eight brothers and sisters, only two are working.

I escaped from Ko-Mine camp in February [1995]. I heard that some people in the villages would help people on the way. I was helped by a policeman. That day I didn't go to work. I pretended to be sick, and asked permission for absence. That day there were only two policemen near our barracks, and both of them were my friends. One of them left for the hospital to send a sick prisoner. But the sick man died on the way. So another policeman was left alone. We made a trick, and told him, "The Intelligence Officer wants to see you". He left, and we took our chance. We crossed the fences. We went over the barbed wire, then we cut the woven bamboo fence with a knife. Then we crawled through the fence. We hurt ourselves doing that. We went to an area and, then we crossed the mountains. Now I want to go to Bangkok and I want to contact my parents. My parents don't know I've escaped. I am very afraid to go back to Burma.

Interview: 121-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery, Displacement

Name : Ko Hla Myint
Age: 30
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Occupation: Farmer
Address : Kanbauk village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed: 11 May 1995
Source: KHRG

Q: How did they find labourers for the gas pipeline project?

A: They have application forms. We had to buy them for 15 Ks from the village head. We tried, but we were not accepted. They brought their labourers from Rangoon and other places, about 1,200 or 1,300 or more. About 500 villagers wanted jobs, but only about 100 were accepted. It was by decision of the authorities, I think. Only a few were accepted. Anyone who failed the medical check-up was refused a job. I don't know how much the people paid to pass the medical check-up. They

were only the ones who were close to the authorities. Ordinary villagers were refused. We were not happy. We had no work except forced portering and forced labour [*for SLORC troops*]. Most of their workers were brought from Rangoon.

Q: What did the paid labourers do?

A: They built houses and some buildings along the Onpinkwin road. There are about 30 buildings at their camp, between Onpinkwin and Kanbauk. Foreigners live there, and also labourers from Rangoon. They repaired the road, some worked for the surveying and some cutting the trees [*clearing the way for survey work*]. There were forced porters too. The forced porters cut down the trees, then the paid labourers cleared them away. The paid labourers get 200 Ks for one day, but the porters get nothing. The route has been cleared from Kyauk Sa Ywe to Thon Taung Gwin.

Q: What about the road?

A: They repaired the road from Kaleinaung to Kanbauk [*Kaleinaung is east of Kanbauk, near the junction with the main north-south road*]. About half of it has now been tarred. Some farmers lost their land. Now they are planning to build a new army camp at the entrance to our village, and many more farmers will lose their land. [*The battalion is for pipeline security, and no land compensation is ever paid*.] They have not built it yet, it is just their plan. I've already had to work one, two, three, four months for the soldiers without getting any money [*at army camps and as a porter*], and I have no time to work for myself. I heard if the gas pipeline comes, our situation will improve. But actually, we only have to work for them [*soldiers*] more without getting any pay. We have to take our own food and build their barracks, bunkers and so on. Before, we had to give them about 100 Ks per month as porter fees [*extortion fees paid to avoid even more forced labour*]. Every family. But now, it is 400 Ks. They said if I could not pay the money, they would take me as a porter for the whole month. If we don't pay the money, they will take action.

Q: TOTAL Co. said they will have health programmes — have you seen any result of this?

A: No. I think there are no changes. No programmes. There was a building the council started building under the Ma Sa La [*Burma Socialist Programme Party, Ne Win's pre-1988 dictatorship*], but it was never completed. Now SLORC has forced the villagers to give money and labour to finish it. Then they said it will become a village clinic. As there is no medicine nor doctors, no patients go there. That is why we chose to leave our village.

Interview: 122-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Displacement

Name : Daw Than
Age: 38
Sex : Female
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married with four children
Occupation: Farmer
Address : Kanbauk village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed: May 1995
Source: KHRG

Q: Why did you leave your village?

A: I was working for the Mines Department. My salary was 650 Ks per month. But I had to pay porter fees, and "gas pipeline fees". It cost me about 1,200 Ks per month, sometimes 1,400 Ks. Then if the villagers would be summoned to contribute labour for the railway, I had to pay 400 Ks more. But for now, it was mainly fees for the gas pipeline and to avoid portering. Once I quarrelled with the authorities. I said I could not give the money, and they replied that if I could not give the money then I have to go and work as a porter. It got too difficult to stay there. All the prices and fees are so high. So I resigned from the Mines Department, and then I came directly to the border.

For the pipeline, now they are clearing the ground and surveying. The buildings where the foreigners are staying, about one and a half miles from Kanbauk, are nearly finished. Three girls are cooking for them. They also brought in three or four pickup trucks.

Interview: 123-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery, Displacement, Refugees

Name : Kyaw Win
Age: 28
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married with three children
Occupation: Farmer
Address : Kanbauk village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed: 11 May 1995
Source: KHRG

Q: When did you leave Kanbauk?
A: On 8 May 1995.

Q: How much did you have to pay to village LORC for porter fees?
A: Every month 150 Ks per family. For each turn, 10 porters are demanded. Anyone who fails to go has to pay 4,000 Ks fine for a replacement. We also have to pay 60 Ks for Ya Wa Ta [*Village Law & Order Restoration Council — local SLORC administration*] development fund and 30 Ks for USDA each month. [*USDA is the "Union Solidarity Development Association", created in 1994 by SLORC in an attempt to artificially create a mass support organisation for itself.*]

Q: What about the procedure to apply for pipeline jobs?
A: Our village was limited to 200 applications. Most of the employees are from Rangoon. Only those who are close to the officials are accepted, only close hands and money-givers. Those with no money are not considered at all. The application forms were sold for 20 Ks each by Ya Wa Ta [Village LORC] officials. We had to give our applications to TOTAL head office. Each applicant had to pay 1,000 Ks to get a good result on the medical check-up. When they first arrived, the company promised to give us priority. We are really disappointed. They only think about giving priority to those from Rangoon. There are about 1,000 workers from Rangoon and 200 from Kanbauk. TOTAL pays them 200 Ks per day.

Q: What kind of work is being done?
A: Building construction, around Onpinkwin and Ka Daik villages. Some are doing survey work, some building roads and some repairing buildings. The road construction is from Kaleinaung to Kanbauk. Farmlands are being damaged, but what is worse is that a new army base is to be built. We hear that it will be at the entrance to our village, at Baw Di Gone [quarter]. If it is sited there, then most of the orchards and fields will surely be destroyed.

Q: Do the villagers have to do forced labour to build the camp?
A: No, not yet, but they will have to for sure. The base is just being planned right now.

Q: Who is doing the [pipeline-related] work?
A: Mostly 200 workers who were selected by TOTAL, and many [forced] porters too. The porters are from the outskirts of the village. Some are rounded up by the army, and some are on rotating porter duty. The porters are mostly ordered to do clearing work which is harder than survey work. Many porters have fled, that is how we know. Except for the officially hired workers, no workers are paid. That is what the fleeing porters told us.

Q: How do you feel?

A: We have had to pay many kinds of fees to Ya Wa Ta since 1988. The porter fees have increased annually. When TOTAL first arrived the fee was 400 Ks, but now it is up to 500 Ks [*per family per month*]. We were promised work to make us prosperous but now we feel cheated. Besides destroying our gardens, SLORC soldiers help themselves freely to our fruit so we face many hardships. That is why we have come here to the refugee camp.

Interview: 124-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Displacement

Name : Ma Nyi Nyi
Age: 30
Sex : Female
Address : Kanbauk village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed: May 1995
Source: KHRG

I am from Kanbauk. A lot of villagers from Kanbauk and other villages around there are working on the gas pipeline, about half of them along the Onpinkwin—Kanbauk road, and some at their base. Now they are paying money. Adults get 125 Ks per day. They are paid every five days. [*They are supposed to get 200 Ks per day. Either she has heard wrong or SLORC is taking part of their pay.*] I depend on my husband's salary. He gets 1,000 Ks per month working for the Mines Department. It is not enough to survive [*because of SLORC fees*], so we left.

There are about five or six foreigners at the pipeline base. It is difficult to describe them, because we only saw them in their cars. The soldiers were always with them. We heard they were French.

Now there are a lot of forced labourers working at Heinze Bok Island. Some villagers from Kanbauk went there, and they haven't come back. I don't know what they're doing there.

Interview: 125-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery, Displacement, Refugees

Name : U Sein Myint
Age: 65
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married with six children
Occupation: Farmer
Address : Kaung Hmu village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed: 10 May 1995
Source: KHRG

Q: When did you leave your village?
A: On 7 May 1995.

Q: Why?
A: We could no longer pay the porter fees or contribute all the labour ordered by Ya Wa Ta authorities. I don't mean railway labour. Our village is one of the seven small villages that make up Hpaungdaw main village [*on the coast*]. We were ordered to go to work on construction of military camps on Heinze Bok Island. [*These are apparently being built to secure shipping of pipeline supplies or a possible offshore pipeline-related facility.*] Every month 30 people from our village had to go for seven days. We were not paid, we even had to take our own food for those seven days. Anyone not going for his turn had to pay 3,000 Ks. There are about 250 houses in Kaung Hmu village.

Q: Were there porter fees?
A: Yes, every family had to pay 200 Ks per month for porter fees. They also collected five people as porters every week. Anyone who didn't go was fined 4,000 Ks by Ya Wa Ta. Ya Wa Ta also collected 200 Ks for something they called the "miscellaneous fund", to be paid every month without fail.

Q: Will the gas pipeline pass through your village?
A: Yes. We have only seen the survey work up to now. Some people from Kaung Hmu applied for the work but did not get the job. We heard that the jobs went to some people from Hpaungdaw.

Q: Do you think the village will benefit from the pipeline?
A: We see no prosperity yet. Instead we have to face additional burdens. Now with the increased number of soldiers in the area we are ordered to be on "stand-by duty" [*lists of names must be submitted to the army camp, and these people must be available at a moment's notice for any forced labour or errand required by the soldiers*]. We also have to pay

50 Ks per month for the "stand-by" fund. So now we have to face both Ya Wa Ta and the SLORC soldiers at the same time. Because of all these situations, we had to flee to the border. We cannot live in peace in our place and we cannot afford to keep paying all the various fees and funds.

Interview: 126-HRV: Livelihood, Refugees

Name : Nai Chit Nyunt
Age: 64
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Mon
Religion: Christian
Address : Near Kanbauk, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed: 4 June 1995
Source: KHRG

[Nai Chit Nyunt left his village and became a refugee in Thailand in late May 1995.]

I saw the natural gas companies near Kanbauk. They were guarded by SLORC soldiers for security. People told me it is TOTAL company. I did not work in their camp, I just sent the people from our village to work there. The headman asked me to guide them there. There were 15 people from my village. They got 200 Ks a day to conduct survey. They cut down trees and cleared the area for the survey team.

I went inside the [TOTAL] camp. The camp has wire all around and there are about 200 soldiers for security. There are 50 more soldiers out the back, but no soldiers inside the camp. They also have helicopters from Myanmar Airways landing beside the camp, and they have put many security troops near the landing pad for helicopters. At the entrance there is a checkpoint. They asked me where I came from. I told them I was coming to bring workers, and they let me through the gates. I went inside to meet U Aung Than and I left all the workers with him. Then I went back. I saw some foreigners there. I was there in the first week of March.

Interview: 127-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery, Torture, Refugees, Execution

Name : Aung Mya
Age: 23
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Single

Occupation: Farmer
Address : Ka M'laing village, Thayetchaung Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed: 11 May 1995
Source: KHRG

[*Taken as a porter in SLORC's offensive to secure the eastern portion of the pipeline route near Nat Ein Taung at the Thai border — this offensive began at the beginning of 1995 and has continued ever since. TOTAL representatives confirmed that they knew of it in discussions held in early March.*]

I had to go as a porter in February. The SLORC village chairman collected 500 Ks from each house in our village. We didn't know the reason he collected the money, we just had to go and pay it. As I couldn't afford to pay 500 Ks to the village chief, I was sent to Thayetchaung village to be transferred to LIB 405 headquarters. All the porters were kept together there in the Thayetchaung village stadium. The soldiers guarded us and didn't allow us to go outside. Then, about 200 of us were sent to LIB 410 headquarters near Zin Ba village [*on the pipeline route*]. Then we had to carry rice and other things for LIBs 405 and 410 to Nat Ein Taung. Each porter had to carry 30 viss [*48 kg*]. I had to carry rice, about three big tin-fulls. Some porters got sick or fell down. The soldiers beat us. Some porters died while I was a porter. I knew one of them from my village of Ka M'Laing. His name was Ko Thein Myint, age 30 years, son of U Han Kyi. His wife is Ma Than Kyi who is now left with four children. Ko Thein Myint's health was not very good right from the start. He was sick all the way along while we were porters. Two days after we left Zin Ba, Ko Thein Myint fell down with his load, three big tins of rice, about 30 viss [48 kg.]. He fell to the ground and he couldn't stand up anymore. The soldiers didn't help him. They said, "This guy is pretending he is ill", and they hit Ko Thein Myint with the rifle butts. Ko Thein Myint couldn't speak more than one word, and he died on the spot where he fell. I just heard him say, "Please, I'm going to die".

The SLORC soldiers from LIB 405 ordered us to carry Ko Thein Myint's body to the side of the path and to cover with branches. We did as the soldiers ordered us, and we left Ko Thein Myint's body there. There were other porters who also killed like that — one from [*Kywe*] Min Gone village in Thayetchaung Township, and another from Kyauk Ka Moat village in Thayetchaung Township. They died the same way as Ko Thein Myint. I didn't know their names because they were not from my village. Each of them was carrying one sack [*50 kg*] of rice like the rest of us. The SLORC soldiers ordered us to do the same thing to their remaining bodies as we did to Ko Thein Myint's body.

I was a porter for 15 days. We were not paid — we even had to take along our own money from home to buy food on the way. There was no compensation for the dead. For Ko Thein Myint, the SLORC village chief collected money — about 3,000 Ks — from the villagers in our village and gave it to Ko Thein Myint's wife. When I got back, I was ordered by the SLORC village chief to be a "volunteer" worker for a short time. I had to go to Maung Mei Shaung village

in Tavoy Township and work for the construction of the railroad. I was there for 15 days. I had to take my own money for food, and even for my bus fare. I didn't receive any money at all from them. I saw prisoners with chains on their feet working at Za Har village [*a convict railway labour camp near Tavoy*].

I came to the border because I was unhappy with living in my village to be a porter and to pay porter fees all the time. As for SLORC, we have to pay them and work for them all the time. We dare not speak our minds because we are always afraid of being taken action. So I was fed up with living under the SLORC regime and I fled to the border to start a new life.

Interview: 128-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Torture, Refugees

[Another porter who was taken more recently added the following:]
Source: KHRG

I had to go as a porter to Kyauk Ein and Daw Eit. There were about 80 porters. We were with IB 25. We had to carry beans, ammunition, but mostly rice. I had to carry about three big tins of rice [48 kg.]. We got very tired, but if we were slow the soldiers beat us. We didn't get enough food. We bought rice from the soldiers. The soldiers cooked themselves, then they sold at extra rice to us at the rate of 20 Ks per plate. About five or six porters got sick, but they got no treatment.

Interview: 129-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Torture, Judiciary

Name : Ko Maung Gyi
Age: 30
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married with two children
Occupation: Farmer
Address : Kyauk Taung village, Tavoy Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed: 11 May 1995
Source: KHRG

I was ordered to be a porter. I refused to go, and there was a scuffle. Then they handcuffed me and took me to the police station. The policemen at the station beat me. Then they sent me to the Tavoy jail by car. I was sentenced to one month in jail. They never took me to court. I didn't know under which Section I was sentenced to.

Before that I always had to be a porter twice a month, and if I couldn't go I had to give them 1,500 Ks. After I was released, I had to work as a porter again. Our

village was divided into four groups and they always took one from each group. It was arranged by Ya Wa Ta [Village LORC] members.

Interview: 130-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Forced Labour, Displacement

Name : Pu Hla Shwe
Age: 64
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Family: Married
Occupation: Farmer
Address : Pyun Sah Le village
Interviewed: May 1995
Source: KHRG

I came here because Burmese soldiers forced us to move. They forced our village to move to Na Bu, last year in March. I refused to move. I have paddy fields and farms. In our village the soldiers also collected porters and forced labourers for the railway. I ran, so they never made me a porter. They said they were moving our village because the Karen soldiers came there sometimes and they didn't want that. Na Bu is a Tavoyan village. When they ordered us to move, I didn't want to think about how I felt. I left and I have been here for four or five months.

Interview: 131-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Forced Labour

[Ma Nyunt, female, age unknown, a widow from Kanbauk area:]
Source: KHRG

There are 70 houses in my village. We have to pay forced labour fees once a month or every two months. Also porter fees. Each family has to pay 1,500 Ks, and then the following month another 1,500 Ks [*note: compared to villages in other areas this is an exorbitant amount, most likely resulting from the heavy concentration of troops present to protect the pipeline*]. There are two groups for labour — they take one group for forced labour at work-sites [*like army camps, roads etc.*], and another group as porters. Widows like me and handicapped people belong to the forced labour group for work-sites. As for the porters, they are changed monthly. They also take other porters — lately they've come three times and taken people for 10 days each time. [*The monthly porters have to stay with the soldiers all times and rotate every month, but when the soldiers need extra people they just come and take them*].

Interview: 132-HRV: Livelihood

[Ko Win Tint, male, aged 32, from Kanbauk:]
Source: KHRG

Q: What do you know about the gas pipeline project?
A: Last month [*April*] they were setting up some buildings outside of Kanbauk, about two miles from Kanbauk [*the main TOTAL camp on the road to Onpinkwin*]. The helicopter was crossing overhead every day, sometimes about 10 times a day. It was carrying something. [*Other witnesses report a box slung underneath, possibly for aerial survey.*]

Q: What about the paid workers?
A: They were repairing the road from Hpaungdaw. They used to carry logs along that road, so it was damaged and needed repair. They were also clearing the ground, but I don't know the details. They started last month. The paid workers get blue uniforms and yellow helmets — all the same, officers and labourers.

Interview: 133-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugees

[Daw Myint, female, age 65-70, from Kanbauk area:]
Source: KHRG

Q: How old is your son?
A: My son is 30. He had to go as a porter once a month. It was his turn, so he had to go.

Q: How much is the price of rice now?
A: One pyi [*about 2.5 kg*] costs 45 or 50 Ks. One viss of cooking oil is now 200 Ks. Everything is up. It's very difficult to stay anymore.

Q: You are quite old, so you have seen other governments in Burma. Which has been the worst?
A: Oh, dear. Now we have moved from our village and are staying here. Previous governments were also bad, but at least we could stay in our village. Now they are the worst.

Interview: 134-HRV: Detention, Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery

[*The following interview was made with a 56-year-old man from Myaungmya Town in Irrawaddy Delta. He left the Delta in June 1995. The Irrawaddy Delta is populated by a few million people, 50% of them are Karen and 50% are Burmans. In recent decades it has been sealed off from the outside world more than almost any other area of Burma, and the Tatmadaw (Burma Army) has been able to get away with any form of repression it likes. In 1991, KNU managed to send some soldiers and weapons into the Delta in an effort to restart the resistance movement there which had been quiet for decades, but the troops were exposed. In events which became known as the Bogale Crisis, Tatmadaw launched a huge offensive into the area to wipe out the small number of KNLA forces and all seeds of civilian resistance. Villages were burned, helicopter*

gunships strafed villages and schools, and thousands of Karen community leaders, pastors and schoolteachers were arrested, sentenced en masse and imprisoned. Tatmadaw began a brutal campaign of repression, killings and disappearances against Karen in the area, which still remains almost completely unknown to the outside world. As a result, SLORC now feels confident enough of its control in the area that it has recently opened up some parts of it for tourism.]

Source: KHRG

In Myaungmya, people are not still being arrested. Some NLD elected MPs were detained for about two days and then released. That was three years ago. Now I think they're not attending the National Convention [*SLORC's meetings to draft a constitution*]. They are U Bo Pyu [*son of a journalist and government minister who was assassinated together with Aung San*] and U Aung Kyin. In the 1991 Bogale Crisis, many were arrested. I knew some of them from Myaungmya and Bassein districts. They were sentenced to one or two years imprisonment. Two elderly men died soon after their release. One was Mahn Ba Nyein, 63 years old, and the other was Pa Nyar Say, about 70 years old. They were from Bassein. They were ex-Karen soldiers, but they had retired 30 years ago already.

Bogale is quite far from Myaungmya. I knew of one battle there [*in October 1991*] between IB 11 from Bassein and Karens. It was near Ohn Bin village, Bogale Township. The SLORC troops lost about 60 or more. Then the Karen soldiers managed to move to Ngaputaw Township. There were about 40 of them. All of them were new recruits except for one KNLA soldier. He got injured in his leg, so he stayed along the way while his soldiers moved on. He shot about 15 SLORC soldiers before they killed him. After that many villagers were arrested. But I didn't know exactly because it was quite far from us.

Since then our family has had to work as forced labour on road construction, such as the Labutta-Rangoon and Myaungmya-Rangoon roads, and the Bassein International Airport project. On the Labutta-Rangoon road, we had to work the whole dry season this year. We had to excavate the ground, cut iron rods, and carry sand, stones, and bags of cement. There was also some bridge construction in Myaungmya where some Chinese engineers were there. The authorities paid money for bridge construction work, like 50 or 100 Ks per day, but not for road construction. On most of the road construction work each person had to go for a 15 day shift for the year, because they summoned labourers from 26 townships [*all of Irrawaddy Division*], so there were a lot of people. The Myaungmya-Rangoon and Labutta-Rangoon road projects started three years ago. Neither road is paved.

In 1991 and 1992 we had to work on Bassein International Airport. There were more than 10,000 people who came from 26 townships. My sons had to go for eight or ten days. They had to raise and level the ground about 18 ft high over a very wide area. [*Making runways for jumbo jets; other witnesses have described thousands of people stamping down dirt with their bare feet to make these runways.*] The authorities arranged transportation [*to the work-site*] by issuing

orders to all boat owners. The boat owners and the people received nothing. There was a medical team at the workplace, but it was insufficient for the whole gathering. Some people died because of snakebites. This work finished in 1992. [*The airport, however, is still not complete, and there has been more forced labour on it since then.*]

Every Saturday, each family from Myaungmya must send one person for cleaning the roads and the compounds of school and hospital. All this work is under the control of local Law and Order Restoration Council. Soldiers are not involved — they are at the work-sites away from towns.

About three or four years ago, people refused to join the army. But now, I think some people want to be soldiers because it is the only chance to survive. It is very difficult to live as a normal civilian. We are always afraid of the army. One pyi [*about 2.5 kg*] of rice cost 50 to 60 Ks. Civilians had to give about 5 kg of meat to the army every time they killed their own cows or pigs. The soldiers also forced us to rebuild their barracks, to make fences and to stand as sentries for the security of their battalion compound. Last year, soldiers from IB 93 in Myaungmya demanded to a powered schooner from Thein Lar village in Myaungmya Township. So the villagers collected money and then gave the schooner to the soldiers. But when the soldiers left, they just went and sold the schooner and took all the money instead of returning to the village. In Myaungmya Town, we didn't have to go as porters for the soldiers. But in remote villages, people had to give porter fees to the army or go as porters. Our family had to pay 80 Ks each month as "sentry fees".

The electricity is always "browning out". In our section of town, people wanted to get a public phone booth. The authorities agreed. But each house from our section had to pay 300 Ks to the authorities. Later, I heard that a rich man from our section who is living in Rangoon had donated enough money for the phone booth. So I guess the authorities just kept all our money, but nobody dared to ask.

They ordered us to decorate and rebuild our houses, every year after rainy season. This year, the order said we also have to build a wall in front of the house, and if we don't we'll be driven out of our houses and forced to stay somewhere else. They only want to see good and beautiful houses, especially along the main roads and streets. So I had to buy galvanised sheets [*for the roof*], bricks, and cement from the black market. [*Construction materials at the black market are at least three times as expensive as those bought on the SLORC market (contrary to international myth, there is no free market in Burma), but buying materials on the SLORC market requires official approval, which requires significant bribes and much longer than it takes for the army to kick you out of your house.*] In 1990, about 50 families were forced to resettle from the poor part of town. They were driven out, and then those families had to buy a new piece of land by giving 5,000 Ks each to the authorities. The authorities destroyed their old houses, then sold all land to the rich. After the Bogale Crisis, SLORC made a plan to combine all the villages into huge villages with about

1,000 families. But now I hear nothing more about it, maybe because it would affect rice production [*the Delta is a major rice-producing area*]. In 1991 many villages from Bogale, Ngaputaw and Moulmeingyun townships were forced to move, but now I hear they are allowed to go back again.

Members of USDA have to give their monthly membership fees, but I don't know how much. [*Union Solidarity and Development Association, SLORC's attempt to create a mass support organisation by means of coercion, began in late 1993/early 1994; civil servants must join or lose their jobs, many students must join or be expelled, and in some areas farmers must join or lose their land.*] USDA can be considered as a wing of the army. They train their members to be paratroopers, even the girls.

Things are getting worse. Corruption is everywhere, from buying a ticket for a steamer to the judicial system. Law enforcement is ineffective. Five months ago, a Japanese tourist's bag was stolen right on the jetty where there was a heavy presence of security forces. He was travelling alone and he lost all his money, so the school teachers collected money and gave him enough to get back to Rangoon. Then the Japanese looked at the money and he cried, right there. The police knew who stole his bag, but they didn't do anything.

Interview: 135-HRV: Execution, Torture, Livelihood, Forced Labour, Slavery

[*Following account of the current situation in Myawaddy-Kawkareik area was given by a 50-year-old Buddhist Karen officer in the KNLA during an interview on 15 July 1995.*]
Source: KHRG

Pa Er was killed by SLORC soldiers on 22 June. He was a 30-year-old Karen Buddhist. It happened in Naung Kaing village, Kawkareik Township (*just east of Kawkareik Town*). He was a farmer, married with three children. He was killed by Major Aye Than Maung and soldiers from Column 2 of IB 230. Their camp is at Thee Ho Taw in Kawkareik Township. The soldiers found Pa Er while they were searching for our units in the forest. He was there picking dogfruit. They asked him about us but he didn't know anything, so they tortured him to death. He was tortured terribly. We saw his body — his mouth had been cut open, his ears had been cut off and his face was sliced up. The porters and villagers in the area saw them doing it. They saw the soldiers beating him severely. It was at Htee K'Saw Meh, between Than Bya and Naung Kaing. They also caught another 46-year-old villager, together with Pa Er. They accused him of being a KNLA soldier as well. And they beat him severely until his left arm was broken in two places. Now he is still in the village. There were many witnesses who saw them kill Pa Er. Both men were accused of having contact with KNU (*Karen National Union*). Sometimes we stay in Naung Kaing, but they were not KNU members. Pa Er was just captured in the forest, that's why they accused him. He gave them his village head's name and told them the village head would vouch

that he was only a villager. But as they saw him in the forest, they accused him of being an "insurgent".

The same day they arrested a woman and accused her of having contact with us. She is also from Naung Kaing, and she is over 50 years old. SLORC said her husband was one of our members. Actually they are just ordinary villagers. They saw her outside her village and she told them she was a villager. They asked her about our movements but she said she didn't know anything because she had not gone anywhere. They accused her of taking rice to Karen soldiers because she was wearing a big towel on her head. Then they tied the towel over her face and kicked her to the ground. And then two or three soldiers walked and jumped on her body and threw water on the towel so she couldn't breathe. But they didn't get any information from her as she did not know anything about us. Because of this, the villagers are always afraid and living in the state terror. SLORC always demands that people report anything they know about KNLA, and if they do not give information they are punished. Since the Ko Per Baw have also been controlling and watching, the villagers are left with no choice (*but to tell*). It is difficult for us.

I know Ko Per Baw. They are the worst. They think they are doing good things, but actually they are torturing our people and they just do not see this. Most of them used to be villagers so they know about our operations and they inform SLORC, pushing our messengers and others who help us in danger. When the SLORC soldiers get the names, they arrest the people. There was one KNU village head, I don't want to give his name. When Ko Per Baw announced that all KNU members had to report to them, he did so. Ko Per Baw checked his name against a list given to them by SLORC and then they captured him. He was tortured until he gave information. That was last month.

Ko Per Baw leader in the area is U B'Nya Tha Meet. He calls himself Captain B'Nya Tha Meet. His assistant is "Captain" Kyaw Kyaw, who can't speak or read Burmese and has no education. Therefore, it is a problem that he got an officer's rank. B'Nya Tha Meet was a monk before, now he is a soldier. Ko Per Baw leader in Htoo Kaw Ko village is Maung Soe (*Maung Soe led the armed kidnapping of Podo Mahn Yin Sein from Beh Klaw refugee camp in Thailand in February, and later wrote a death threat against Mahn Yin Sein's nephew, who escaped the kidnapping*). Before, Maung Soe was in the KNLA. He was married, but he ran off with another woman, who was also already married, and then married her, and then he married again to a third woman. We arrested him and jailed him, so he was a convict. He had also done many other bad things, including killing people. But the (*KNU*) judge who heard his case had mercy on him and only jailed him. He was released in the course of the last battles (*for Manerplaw*). Then he went and became a holy man (*religious layman*). He reunited with his first wife — I don't know about the other two. He was wearing robes, building a pagoda and living together with his wife. When Ko Per Baw reached his area, he joined and received a pistol and a uniform with two stars

(*Lieutenant*). Then he gave a list of names of all our messengers and members that he knew. Those people had all their property confiscated by SLORC, including their fields, cattle, and their rice supplies. Quite a lot of families suffered. They left their villages and went to 6th Brigade area [*the new headquarters area to the south, later under attack*]. They didn't dare stay.

There are not many Ko Per Baw in Naung Kaing, maybe 10, but there are hundreds of SLORC soldiers. We estimate that the total number of Ko Per Baw is only 300-500, because they are very thinly spread. Their arms are the same as ours but they have little ammunition, not enough for even a single battle, and I don't think SLORC will provide them any more. We know that SLORC have no faith in Ko Per Baw and don't let them enter their (*SLORC*) camps. They stay separately, with Ko Per Baw only operating in the midst of SLORC units. So Ko Per Baw are surrounded, and therefore they think that they are safe and well-guarded — but they can't see the SLORC's plan.

SLORC gives supplies to Ko Per Baw. Ko Per Baw announced that they would not take money from villages, but now they do. SLORC is not giving money for their salaries so they say the villagers must give the money. They demand a lot. If they control a village, they collect the money on a monthly basis, but it is usually not enough for them. So their soldiers go to the villages where they don't stay, and collect money "in advance". But if they come again and again, they demand it again and again (*several times every month*). Now they are establishing a "Justice Department" and are reopening and retrying all cases previously handled by KNU, and they have announced that KNU decisions are all illegitimate. Their "judges" are illiterate and will usually accept the argument of the first person to come to them about a case, so the man who speaks first and most in court will be successful. They decide theft cases, civil disputes, etc. Usually they just reverse KNU decisions. The truth is that it is just a business, a way to get money.

Now they've said that in coming year they won't allow villagers to keep or kill domestic animals, and that everyone must become vegetarian. We thought Ko Per Baw were vegetarians, but some eat meat. For example, the leader of Ko Per Baw in Htee Law Thee village is Thay Klaw. He was a villager before and was known as a strict vegetarian, but then he went to Myaing Gyi Ngu (*DKBA headquarters*) and came back as a Company Captain on 8 June. People went to prepare vegetable curries on his return, but he told them to add some meat. They asked, "Con you eat meat?", and he explained that he can't eat "living things", only meat. Then he told them to catch two chickens and his soldiers cooked them. Then he announced that the chicken's inner organs must be thrown away because these are the "living parts", that he and his men would eat only the flesh and that this would be the equivalent of vegetarianism! I don't understand how this is so, and I don't understand their ideology and their ways. Most of their members previously had criminal records and are liars. For example, Po Yaw, he is a useless man with debts in Mae Sot (*Thailand*), Thingan Nyi Naung and

Kawkareik. He is a liar and a gambler. He drank alcohol and played cards all day. He is surrounded by debts and his wife has refused to stay with him. As he is afraid of her, he joined Ko Per Baw. Then I heard he has become a holy man and does nothing bad. But I don't know how long that will last for.

In Naung Kaing every family must pay 25 Ks per month to IB 230. There are also many "emergency" porter fees that are quite expensive: 500 or 600 or sometimes up to 1,000 Ks per person (*SLORC calls people whenever they need them, and the only way to get out of it is to pay — often they will deliberately call several times the number they need in order to get both porters and money).* The villagers must also pay money to another group, Tha Ka Sa Pa *(the "anti-Insurgent Group", a special group under the army*). Moreover, each family had to pay two baskets of rice every year plus a lot of money. But I forget how much. Tha Ka Sa Pa has about 15 men at Mya B'Dine. But there are a lot at other villages further inside Burma. They are Burmese and under the control of SLORC officers. Also, the "People's Army" (*a SLORC militia*) demands 15 Ks per month per family. They don't demand as much because they get money from setting up checkpoints on the car roads. So now the villagers suffer a lot. Years ago, few groups demanded anything from them, but now there are many — SLORC, Ko Per Baw, Tha Ka Sa Pa, People's Army, and also us. They face a big burden. They hoped Ko Per Baw would be their salvation. Actually Ko Per Baw demands the most, and now they have also started to demand porters because they can't carry all their possessions. They don't beat the porters, but SLORC is infamous for this.

Last month I saw two of their porters dead. I saw the bodies on 13 June. We looked and buried the corpse. I couldn't guess their age because the corpse was bloated and rotting. I could only see a longyi (*sarong*). That is a very harsh route, their loads are very heavy and they are not given enough rice. Some porters escaped in groups of three or four and told us that many were beaten. Most of them were Burmans, some of them from towns very far away. I asked them, "But you're the same race (*as the soldiers*), why do they do this to you?" And they said the soldiers didn't care. I pitied them. At first some of them were afraid, but later we spoke normally and I said, " I don't have any money to give you for your trip to get back home, but I can feed you and give you some rice to take." We gave them rice, chillies and fish-paste.

In May, villagers living north of Myawaddy saw more weapons like the ones used at Wan Kha (*Kawmoora*) being transported into the area. They brought three more artillery pieces, but I don't know why. Because we have no more bases there. They were very big, with a barrel diameter of about one foot — to be mounted like mortars, but much bigger than the 120 mm's that the villagers had seen before. Six people were needed just to lift one barrel. [*Something like 200 — 300 mm siege mortars with delayed-action shells were used to destroy the bunkers at Kawmoora. They have relatively short range but the explosion is devastating. It is hard to guess why SLORC needs more in the area now, unless*

it is a show of strength to scare Thailand.] Also, three days ago many reinforcements arrived at Paw Pa Hta (*about 100 km, further north, on the border with Thailand*). And I heard that two new supply battalions arrived in Kawkareik in the last few days. Normally, whenever there was more fighting, there was not much activity in rainy season. But this year there is.

LID 88 is operating in our area. They have been forcing the villagers to build new camps and roads, including the Kawkareik-Nubu road. In the dry season, men, women and children must work — nearly entire villagers must go. There is also a place near Nubu where SLORC is now making rubber plantations. The villagers had to work there too — clearing ground, which is quite hard. Also, especially in the area controlled by IBs 355 and 356, many people's fields have been taken, maybe thousands of acres. The owners are not allowed to work on them now, instead other villagers are forced to work on them [*growing crops for sale or consumption by the army*]. The owners are from Baw Law and Kway Shan villages [*north of Thingan Nyi Naung*]. The people working there are not paid. In Kawkareik, there are three battalions — IBs 97, 230 and 231 — for security (*as opposed to supply battalions*) of the area. IBs 355, 356 and 357 are in Myawaddy. Now they plan to put another into Kawkareik at Kyaun K'Lay village and also another one at Myawaddy, so that will make eight regular battalions in two townships. I believe that a lot of people will go to Thailand (*as refugees*) soon. They are trying to block the border. But the villagers will try to come because they have to face too many difficulties if they remain in Burma and because I really don't think the SLORC operation is over yet.

Interview: 136-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Detention, Torture, Refugee

Name:	Nai Pone Dot
Age:	37
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Kyaukadin village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	In the first week of May 1995
Source:	HURFOM

Recently, I was tortured many times by the SLORC troops, and I would like to tell about my suffering in 1994. On one day of April 1994, about 90 SLORC troops from LIB 106 led by Lt Maung Latt, arrived at my farm. They arrested me and asked about the base of Mon troops near my farm. I replied I did not know and I had not seen Mon troops for more than one week. Then they beat me several times, some young soldiers kicked me with their combat boots. After that they tied me up and brought me to the village as they accused me of refusing to tell them the base of Mon troops. When they arrived at the village, they demanded 1,000 Ks and then released me.

I went to my farmland again as I was busy there preparing to grow rice in the rainy season. One week later, about 40 troops of LIB 406 came and arrested me again by accusing me of joining Mon troops and supporting them. They accused me that since I needed to contact and support the Mon troops, I had stayed in the farm with a lot of rice and other materials. They tied me and beat me several times like before. They confiscated all the belongings, including rice and livestock, from my hut and then took me to the village. They detained me in a small military outpost near our village and demanded my wife to pay them 10,000 Ks for my release. After that my wife tried hard for one week to collect that amount of money. I was released after she gave the ransom. When I was detained, they beat and kicked me several times every day and gave me only a very small amount of food.

Like other villagers, in 1994 and in 1995, I was conscripted as slave-labour for the construction of Ye-Tavoy railway. I worked there four times for more than one month at a time in 1994 and one time in 1995. We brought all our own food and got no payment at all. When I felt sick, my family bought medicines by ourselves.

After I was terribly tortured in December of this cold season [1994], I decided to escape from my village. In the second week of December, about 100 troops from LIB 408 arrested me again at my home by accusing me of being a Mon soldier and detained in their outpost. When they asked me to confess I was a Mon soldier, they beat, hanged me near the fire and dried me for many days. Every time I said I was not a Mon soldier, they beat me and pushed me close to the fire. My wife sold our own farmland and gave the troops 50,000 Ks for my release. After they tortured me for ten days, I was unable to do any kind of hard work like before. I could not sleep on my back. Even if I try to carry some less heavy materials, my back and stomach are too painful to bear. After I decided to leave my village, I sold my farmland and fled into jungle like this.

Interview: 137-HRV: Livelihood, Detention, Torture, Refugee

Name:	Nai L...
Age:	55
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer, Former village headman
Address :	Koemile (9-Mile) village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	In the first week of May 1995
Source:	HURFOM

At the beginning of January 1995, while I was cutting the bamboo in the forest to the east of my village, about 70 SLORC troops from LIB 406 led by Lt San Way came to me and as soon as they got close to me he ordered one of his officers to slap me. But I did not attempt to escape after being slapped because I did not know the reason and I wanted to know it very much. Two other soldiers also hit me and when I was knocked down on the ground, Lt San Way came and slapped me one more time.

Lt San Way accused me of being a supporter of Mon troops for failure to attend the meeting held in December 1994 and for staying permanently in my betel nut plantation. I admitted sincerely that I did not know the date of the meeting. I did not receive any invitation as I always spent my time in my betel nut plantation. I told them many reasons why I did not stay in village and denied their accusation. But they did not accept any of my arguments. Consistently, they accused me of being a township-level leader appointed by Mon troops. I absolutely denied the accusation, explained to them that I was elected by the villagers at the presence of LIB 410 at that time in the monastery and asked why such an accusation appeared in this situation. They said that as I had no chance to manage in the village, I approached the Mon troops. Anyhow, they did not want to accept my complaints and at the end they tied and brought me to their outpost.

In their outpost of Alaskan, they tortured me and threatened to put me in jail with the allegation of having contact with insurgents. I admitted to them that when I was a village headman, I could not refuse when the Mon troops wanted to meet me. This was the same to the Burmese troops. Recently, although I met Mon troops many times outside of the village, I did not co-operate with them and did not consider to make troubles to the Burmese troops as I knew that I must deal with both sides and keep good relationships being a village headman in the conflict area. I asked them to understand my role. Anyhow, they did not accept what I said. Then, they told me if I did not want to be imprisoned for the allegation, I must give them 7,000 Ks in cash and four sacks of rice. I agreed with them and told my son to sell the rice in the house and give the money to them quickly. After my son brought four sacks of rice and 7,000 Ks in cash, they released me. Then, I decided to stay far away from the Burmese troops and leave the village.

Interview: 138-HRV: Livelihood, Detention, Torture, Refugee, Women

Name:	Sein Win
Age:	34
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Welkawal village, Ye Township, Mon State

Interviewed: In May 1995 at Payaw Mon refugee camp
Source: Images Asia

In September 1994, I was abducted by them while I was on my way from the farm because of suffering from malaria attack. After being beaten on the way, I was taken and tied up with ropes around my neck on arrival of my relative's house. Finally, I was taken to the army camp where my legs were locked up in a stock. Afterwards, I was subjected to beatings during interrogation, alleged of helping Mon soldiers and asked about the wireless-set and gun. I said I was an ordinary man and I did not know any thing about that. Being an innocent villager, I was not afraid of their threat. But they did not accept it. I was so severely beaten that I lost consciousness for three times. Blood flowed out from my noses profusely. I was so weaken by the beatings that I even did not know what I had answered to them. They questioned me in Burmese but I was beaten again when I answered in Mon because I could not speak Burmese. After losing conciseness for one hour, they untied all the ropes but my legs were still locked up in the stock. I was tired and fell asleep until mid-night. When I woke up again they continued questioning me with more severe beatings but I was numbed. Four soldiers — one with two strips, another one with one strip and two other privates — from IB 104 under the command of Maj San Wai beat me. Before an interpreter was called for, I was blindfolded and my legs were locked up in the stock. Then, they stepped on my thigh and hit with the back edge of knife. They tied me up like a dummy and beat for three nights. They threatened me I would be shot dead the next day if I did not disclose. As an ordinary villager, I had nothing to say. They also alleged me that I possessed the guns. I was released after my relatives gave them a ransom of 15,000 Ks. Following the beatings, I was almost out of my mind and I was running around in the village like a crazy man and my son followed and pulled me from the back. I could not help but to suffer. I wished I could kill them all on the spot if it was possible.

The SLORC soldiers also tortured villagers very inhumanly. All the women from the village were taken to the field and forced to stand in the scorching sun because the men in their families had escaped from the forcible assignment of by soldiers. There were about 60-70 women including both young, old and pregnant. Some old women lost their consciousness because of intense heat of the sun. They were not allowed to cover themselves from the sun with their 'longyi'. Whenever they tried to do that, they were subjected to beatings. Moreover, they were also prohibited from drinking water. They were released only when the men came back for work.

About in March 1995, two men from our village met the SLORC soldiers on the bank of the stream when they went for fishing. After being order to dig up the sand, one of them was forced to lie in the trench and covered the whole body except his head the sand. After that the soldiers ordered the other one to mourn over the fellow fisherman who lied in the trench like a dead man. When the fishermen acted as ordered for two hours, they laughed loudly. In that way they made fun of other.

Interview: 139-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Refugee, Forced Labour

Name: Nai Ye
Age: 75
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Mon
Religion: Buddhist
Occupation: Farmer
Native: Sinkyaw village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division.
Interviewed: In May 1995 at Payaw Mon refugee camp
Source: Images Asia Tape Log.

I didn't suffer much because I was old. The villagers had been conscripted for the railway construction or paid fine for not going to work. Some were arrested and tortured. I left the village because I could not pay money which they collected twice a month and sometimes thrice. Because of my past experiences during the Japanese time, forced labour at this time is worse than that time. We did not have to pay money, we only had to work and we could even earn money from the Japanese. But now there is no pay, only labour. Sometime we were even subjected to beatings and given no food. People have no time to work for their survival. When we could not pay the money, they took all which we earned with many difficulties. We had been suffered in that way for two years.

I won't go back until the Burmese era come to an end and I hope that there will be peace only the Mon people regain own country.

Interview: 140-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Detention, Slavery, Forced Labour, Refugee Displacement

Name: Nai Ah Krai
Age: 25
Sex: Male
Ethnicity Mon
Religion: Buddhist
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Ah Mae village, Yebyu Township
Interviewed: 24 April 1995
Source: HURFOM

[*The following account was told by the escapee from Ah Mae village in April 1995 during an interview with HURFOM at Payaw Mon refugee camp.*]

I just arrived to this camp on 10 April before the new year festival (water festival of Mon traditional new year). My family and I walked to this camp for four days from Ah Mae village. I could no longer tolerate the mistreatment of SLORC soldiers and decided to come here. I think the whole village of ours was totally destroyed at this time. In March 1995, the Burmese troops frequently entered our village for with the reasons to conscript the villagers for portering and sometimes they tried to arrest certain villagers by accusing them of being supporters of Mon rebels.

In the afternoon on one day in the second week of March, I was arrested at the entrance of the Ah Mae village by the 80 armed SLORC troops while I was on my way back from farmland east of the village. I thought the soldiers were from LIB 408 commanded by one commander together. As soon as they arrested me, they tied me up with a rope. Other 20 people composed of men, women and children were also prevented from entering into the village as they were worried that the villagers would flee after they heard about the Burmese soldiers.

When I was tied up, they asked me how many acres was my farm and how many baskets of rice can I produce for one acre. Continuously, they asked me the amount of rice provided to the Mon troops by each family and how often the Mon troops came into our village. I gave them some relevant answers which were almost the truth about the Mon troops and normal production of rice in my farm. I did not lie them as I was afraid them beating me. Again, they asked me who were supporters of Mon rebels in Ah Mae and Chabone villages. It is hard questions for me to answer. I told them I did not know. They were angry at me and beat me with rifle butts. And they asked the same questions to other men who were arrested and tied up like me. If they were dissatisfied with the answers of those men, they beat them with rifle butts too. I think they mostly were not satisfied with three of us among the six men they questioned and they accused us that although we knew about the Mon rebels very well, we refused to tell them.

At about 5:00 p.m., after they had known that there were no Mon troops in the village, they entered the village. All the people — men, women and children — in the village fled from the village when they knew that the Burmese troops were coming. The Burmese troops seemed very angry and they fired several times into the air and threatened as if shooting directly at the men in case of finding in the village. After they arrived at the village, they released other three men and all the women, except three of us who were subjected to detention in a big house for all night long. At that night, the soldiers entered into every house and took the belongings of the villagers.

The following morning, three of us were conscripted and into portering to carry ammunitions along with the troops. I had to carry six 60mm mortar shells which was very heavy for me as I was weak at that time. They told us we needed to carry the ammunitions to the Mae Than Taung village. On the way and first day of the trip we went to the Mae Than Taung village, one villager escaped, causing the soldiers very angry and beat two of us again. And they also warned us that if

they recaptured the escapee, they would kill him. When we arrived half way to Krone Zop village, we slept one night.

The following day we proceeded our trip again. When we arrived at Krone Zop village, we slept one night again and I suffered from diarrhoea. I could hot sleep the whole night and I became weaker and weaker. In the morning, I told one commander to allow me to return home as I was suffering from diarrhoea. But as he thought I lied him, he beat me with the rifle butt and warned me not to escape. In the morning when we left Krone Zop village, I told the soldiers to reduce my weight since I was very weak. But they refused and forced me to carry a total of 40 kg along the way in the scorching sun.

In the mid-day, when we took a rest on the way, another villager escaped again. The soldiers were very angry at me and beat me several times with their boots and rifle butts because the man was from our village. They told me if they met those escapees in the village, they would kill them and again threatened me not to escape. They also took my watch to prevent me from escape like the others. I thought I was dying after I walked together with them for three days as I got diarrhoea. Sometimes, when I wanted to take a rest, they did not allow me.

When they arrived at Mae Than Taung village, they stayed there for three days. They interrogated me all the time to expose if our abbot in the village was as a supporter of Mon rebels who provided all needs. I told them I did not know whether he was a supporter of Mon rebels or not. Actually, in my village as there were many village headmen who had been arrested and detained by SLORC troops, nobody dared to be a village headman anymore. Some village headmen who were selected by SLORC troops were also subjected to arrests, beatings and detention for many days if they failed to provide the Burmese troops. Since the abbot and village elders have arranged for administration of the village two years ago, the soldiers are not satisfied with the monk as they were not able to do anything as they like. They had no way to reject the leadership of the abbot. They beat me and forced me to admit that the abbot is a supporter of Mon rebels. But I did not.

After we slept for three nights in Mae Than Taung, we left for Knot Krone village again. I was too tired as it needed half day to reach the latter village. When we arrived Knot Krone, my diarrhoea was getting very serious and I became weaker. My whole body was hot and I could not eat anything. And, I asked for some medicines and treatment from a medic of the troops. He gave only half tablet of paracetamol. My health condition was getting more serious and I approached to their commander and asked him to release me or kill me as I did not have enough strength to carry the ammunitions. The commander told the medic to check my health condition. The medic checked me and informed the commander that I did not lie him and I had diarrhoea. I thought at that time, I was dying. The commander told me to sleep one night in Knot Krone and made sure how much I suffered from diarrhoea. On the following day, the commander knew I had serious diarrhoea and allowed me to return home. I asked the commander to tell his man who took my watch to return it. He returned me. But

when I went out from the village, the soldier at the entrance of the village who was responsible for the security forcibly took all my belonging except clothes on my body. As I wanted to arrive home quickly, I did not inform the commander about the soldier taking all my belongings. At night, I slept at a hut on the farm and the farmer treated me with herbal medicine. I arrived at home on the following day.

As the Burmese troops came into the village very often and we dared not stay in the village anymore. So, my family and I fled into the forest near the farmland to escape from the Burmese troops. As I was a labourer of farming, I had not enough rice for my family to survive and brought only a little food with me. I secretly kept some rice at behind of my house. Nobody was brave enough to stay in the village as they were afraid of arrests, of forcing to contribute labour in the railway construction and of portering by the Burmese troops. Actually, as of the beginning of March, the SLORC troops issued an order to move to Kyaethonenyima village and said that if the villagers refused to comply with the order they might be considered as supporters of rebels or rebels and those who attempted to escape would be shot dead at anywhere.

While we were staying in the forest, we had to eat rice soup as we did not have enough rice for staying two weeks. When we were short of rice, we caught some fishes for meals. One time I went to the Wae Dunprin farmland areas and I got a small amount of rice from one farmers, who also hid in the farmland like us to escape from the Burmese troops.

After my whole family displaced for two weeks, I returned to my home when I heard the Burmese troops went out from our village. As soon as I arrived at home, I found that all belongings from my house were taken by Burmese soldiers. My rice hid behind of my house was also confiscated. They left about three baskets out of 30 which I kept. I brought all the remaining, sold it in Chabone village and I decided to flee to refugee camp at the border.

Interview: 141-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Detention, Slavery, Forced Labour, Refugee, Displacement

Name:	Nai Lon Tin
Age:	40
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Ah Mae village, Yebyu Township
Interviewed:	24 April 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[*The following account was told by the escapee from Ah Mae village in April 1995 during an interview with HURFOM at Payaw Mon refugee camp.*]

In the second week of February 1995, I was conscripted and forced to contribute labour for the construction of Ye-Tavoy railway. One day, about 100 SLORC troops from LIB 404 arrived at our village and arrested all men who were unable to escape. At that time, I was just recovered from sickness and unable to escape while other men were fleeing which is common whenever the SLORC troops entered the village. They arrested seven men in our village, including me. Initially, we were forced into portering to carry food rations and ammunitions of the sliders and other materials which they took from other villages. They forced me to carry five 60mm mortar shells. We had to carry those shells for five days to Kyaethalin military outpost. When we arrived at Kyaethalin, although we were very tired and weak, they detained us in the camp for one night.

On the following day, they transferred us to Kyaethalin conscripted labour camp where there were many prisoners from several jails in Burma who had been used as labourers. But all the villagers who were arrested in the villages near the construction site of the railway was formed a group and separated from them. We had no chance to talk to the prisoners. Most of the labourers in our group were arrested in their villages, forced into portering by the SLORC troops and then sent to labour camp. According to the soldiers, we were punished because our village refused to provide the labourers. Like in our village, as it was impossible for any village headman to send the labourers, they conscripted us as labourers.

The working hour is the whole day — started 6:00 a.m. and stopped 6:00 p.m. They gave us one hour break for launch. As we were porters-turn-conscripted labourers, we were provided two meals with a very small amount of low quality rice without any curry. Salt and fish-paste were our staple curry during those days.

At the work site, we had to dig the earth, sometimes from the hill, to level the embankment of the rail route. We witnessed some labourers who got sick and laid down at the work site were beaten with boots and rifle butts by soldiers. The soldiers never gave any medicine nor treatments those who were sick. Since we had experienced such atrocity when we were porters, I took care of my health. After being terribly conscripted as a labour for two weeks, I was released.

When I returned back from the railway construction, the Burmese troops had already issued an order to relocate to Kaethonenyima village. All families in the village did not want to move from their village by abandoning their houses and surroundings, farmlands and other plantation which situated close to the village. Anyhow, if they continued to stay in the village, they would be accused of being supporters of Mon rebels and then they could be shot death by the soldiers anywhere in the village. Since we had no choice, it was impossible for most of us to stay any longer in the village.

One week later, I arrived back home. Before we were ready to flee into the forest, one company of SLORC troops from LIB 410 arrived at our village. Therefore, we, including my wife, my sons and daughters, had to run away from the village. We fled to the Kow Done farmland area where my farmland was. We stayed in that area almost three weeks. During those days, my youngest son who went back to the village sometimes said the soldiers took all belongings from our home and they were still there. I had to borrow rice and cash from other villages for the survival of my family. After two weeks in our farmland, I had a chance to return back to the village and to have a look at my house because I got information that the Burmese troops had already left. About 40 baskets of my rice were taken by troops and they milled many baskets of rice from our village at two small rice-mills there. Only ten baskets of rice left in my house. So, I brought all the remaining rice to Kyaethonenyima village and sold it with cheap price as I decided to escape to the refugee camp. I returned what I borrowed from others. I did not want to stay longer in the village as the Burmese troops always threatened us. I neither want to stay in the Kyaethonenyima village because I had no cash to buy some land and to build a new house.

We, a group of five families, left the village on 8 April and it took 5 days to arrive here. To avoid from meeting the Burmese troops along the way was a terrible experience for us. We heard some SLORC troops' activities two days after we reached near Kyaethalin village where SLORC troops have a military outpost on top of the hill. We, therefore, had to cross the under-construction railway and motor-way at night. One night we failed to cross the railway because we got information that the Burmese troops went out of their outpost for night patrol. We were too afraid and the night was also cold. One of the babies cried at night as he was sick by cool and the mother had to shut the baby's mouth. And we slept at a place very close to the railway and we crossed it at about 3:00 a.m.

We have ever heard about this camp from the traders in our village who regularly arrive the border. They told us that many Mons who were unable to stay longer in their villages for many reasons were assisted with rice.

Interview: 142-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Slavery, Refugee, Displacement

Name:	Nai Aye
Age:	56
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Ah Mae village, Yebyu Township
Interviewed:	24 April 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[*The following account was told by the escapee from Ah Mae village in April 1995 during an interview with HURFOM at Payaw Mon refugee camp.*]

Since 1994, we have fled from the Burmese troops many times and had no chances to stay in the village longer because of various kinds of suppression by them. As I dared not stay in the village, I had to stay in my farmland which was about 5 km east of the village for the whole dry season in 1994. The Burmese troops conscripted the villagers to be porters or labourers for the railway construction. Even though I was an elder man, I knew they did not spare me from being porter or labourer. Under the hard conditions of shortage of clean water and adequate food in the farmland, I was seriously sick at the beginning of 1994. My daughter brought me to Kyaukthaung village and treated me the whole rainy season. My son had to work for me in the
farmland for the whole rainy season.

In the third week of January 1995, after I recovered from the sickness, I returned to my home in Ah Mae. At the time I arrived at my home, the Burmese troops frequently came into our village. As an elder man among the villagers, sometimes they came to me and suggested to relocate our village and to tell them the place where were the bases of Mon troops. I considered that they could make troubles to me at anytime if they were dissatisfied with the answer. Given the situation unsafe for me to stay in the village, I want to stay in my farmland again although my health condition was sometimes serious. At that time, my son had already fled from the village and stayed at Kyaethonenyima village where he earned for living as a day labourer or sometime as a fisherman. He dared not return the village. In the first week of February, I decided to move to my farmland. My daughter disagreed with me and prevented me from going there. But I had no alternative.

But I was unlucky. At about 10:00 a.m. on 30 March, about 100 SLORC troops from LIB 408 came close to my hut on the farm. Being an elderly, I had no ability to escape and considered they would not arrest me. I was worried about shooting at me if I attempted to escape. There were thirty porters some women who were arrested from the nearby farm. I though they arrested the women because they did not want others to know about their movement. When they arrived very close to my hut, they suddenly surrounded my hut and arrested me. They investigated me with many questions about the Mon troops. They asked me did I see any Mon troop yesterday or today and how many of them. I told them the truth that I met some ten Mon troops three days ago and I did not meet them yesterday. After staying in my hut for ten minutes, they asked me to show the way for their troops as they have never been to this area before. I did not know their destination for sure. Although I have known the ways in this area very well, I did not want to go with them as I was weak and getting old. Therefore, I told them to spare me from portering or showing the ways. The commanders refused. As I was forced to go ahead of the troops, I was too frighten from being attacked by Mon troops.

After walking three hours from my farmland and as we were approaching to one hill, the Mon troops ambushed the Burmese troops. I quickly laid down on the ground as soon as I heard the sound of the guns. The women with the troops loudly cried and it was noisy in the whole incident. Most of the bullets came from the Mon troops who were on the hill and the Burmese troops had no chance to retaliate the Mon troops. The fighting lasted some 15 minutes and the Mon troops retreated. The four Burmese soldiers got serious injuries and three died.

As soon as the fighting came to an end, the commander called me and said, "You said there was no Mon troops around here. Then why did they shoot us?". As I knew well about the attack, I told " They are not Ah Mae villagers and I am sure they are Mon troops." But he did not believe in any word of me. It was seemed that the commander wanted to accuse that the attack was arranged by Ah Mae villagers who were encouraged by Mon troops. After I consistently refused for that accusation, he was very angry at me and ordered to one of his sergeants to beat me. The sergeant severely punched me at my stomach several times and asked me to confess that the attack was done by villagers from Ah Mae. It was terribly painful. Many soldiers around me also beat at several parts of my body and asked me again and again confess their accusation. After being beaten for five minutes, I could not tolerate further torture and admitted in accordance with their accusation by telling, "Yes, the villagers from Ah Mae attacked you." Then, they stopped beating me. They treated the wounded soldiers for one hour and they left again. At that time, I was not only asked to be ahead of the troops but also became a porter by forcing me to carry two heavy backpacks of dead soldiers. On the way, when I slowed down because of the heavy bags, the soldier behind me beat me with his rifle butt severely. I tried hard to walk as fast as possible. But when I could no longer walk fast and slow down, he beat me again and again. At that time, I thought it was better for me if I died in the recent fighting.

After we walked for one hour, we arrived close to betel nut plantation and they stopped advancing. They ordered me to accompany two soldiers and entered the plantation to check whether there were Mon troops or not. After about ten minutes in plantation, we went back and informed the commander that the plantation was safe. Then, all troops entered into the plantation and took a rest in one hut for some 20 minutes. As soon as I dropped two heavy bags, one sergeant came close to me and suddenly kicked me with his combat boots. The other two soldiers also came and beat me. I knew they were very angry at me as they thought that I informed the Mon to launch attack from a good position which led their friends died. Although the soldiers severely beat me, the commander did not stop them. After they were satisfied enough with beatings, they treated their wounded friends for half hour and continued marching again.

Like previous time, I was put ahead of the troops and forced to carry two heavy bags again. After walking for half an hour, when we crossed a small river, the Mon troops ambushed again. As soon as I heard the sound of machine guns, I laid down on ground by the side of the road. At this time when the commander ordered his troops to advance quickly, I dropped two bags and rushed to behind

of the troops. As the soldiers were in a hurry for advancing to attack the Mon troops, they had no time to watch me when I escaped. After I arrived behind the troops, I quickly ran away to reach far from the troops. I ran to my farmland without stopping at anywhere as I worried the Burmese troops would come back again. When I was close to my farmland, I had to cross a big river. The water level in the river had increased as the tide was rising because the river is close the sea. But I swam across the river which was about 200 meter wide at that time.

Since I dared not stay in my village or in the farmland any longer, I hid in the forest. I was very afraid of further arrests by the Burmese troops as they frequently came into our village or sometimes they crossed very close to my farmland. Like other villagers, some of my rice in the village was confiscated by Burmese troops and later, my family members joined me to stay in the forest. I decided to escape from my village and sold the remaining rice to get a small amount money. I left my village on 12 April and decided to abandon my farmland. According to the latest information we got, the abbot also left the village. After that all the villagers abandoned the village and I think, at presence, the whole village was empty and totally destroyed.

Interview: 143-HRV: Torture, Livelihood, Detention

Name:	Nai Ah Toe
Age:	28
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Ah Mae village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	24 April 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[*The following account was told by the escapee from Ah Mae village in April 1995 during an interview with HURFOM at Payaw Mon refugee camp.*]

On the full-moon day of Mike in Mon or Tabotwe in Burmese calendar (14 February), while a group of our friends were happily making the cake and other food for religious ceremony fell on the following day, about 80 SLORC soldiers from LIB 410 arrived at our village. We considered that the Burmese troops would allow us to make cake and food for the monks because most of them were Buddhists. But as soon as the troops were in the village, they suddenly surrounded and arrested us. As soon as some of my friends knew the soldiers' arrests, they tried to escape. Some escaped and seven of us were arrested. The soldiers tied up with ropes and detained us in one house. They beat all of us and asked for the reasons we made the cake and food. We told them we would like to celebrate a religious ceremony at the monastery by tomorrow. But they did not believe us and accused us of preparing to celebrate Mon National Day (also fell on February 15) by encouragement of Mon rebels. But we refused.

The soldiers ate all food and cakes which were intended to donate to the monks for tomorrow's ceremony. Even though we were too angry, no one dared to make any complaint to them. At that nigh, they went around the village and they took all belongings of the villagers, including rice, clothes, and kitchen utensils. After taking food and belongings from every house, they slept in the village.

In the morning on 15 February, we were forced to serve as porters to carry ammunitions and rice, clothes and other materials confiscated from our village. They proceeded to Chabone village. When we arrived there, they detained us again. And they informed to our village, if our family members wanted us to be released, they must pay 5,000 Ks of a ransom for each. They set a three-day deadline, and if our family members were unable to pay the ransom, they would use us as labourers in the railway construction. They told to the villagers in the latter village to inform the families concerned of our village quickly.

On 16 February, they brought us to Ahbure village and detained us there. When they arrived there, they sold some materials confiscated from the former two villages. On both days, they gave us a small meal with very few amount of rice without any curry while they were cooking chicken caught the former two villages. And they also accused us of being supporters of Mon rebels for making food and cakes. On 17 February, as the troops did not get any response from our village, they severely beat all of us and forced to write a letter to homes. One of my friends wrote a letter to the village and they asked one man of Ahbure village to send the letter.

After the families of us heard such information, they tried to get some money. To pay such ransoms to the Burmese troops, they had to sell some belongings. Some families had to sell some parts of their farmlands while some borrowed the money from reliable people in other villages. My family sold rice with cheap price as we needed to get the money in urgent. The villagers also asked the commander of the troops to delay some more days as the families would obviously pay the ransoms. I did not know why the troops agreed to delay one more day because they said before that they needed the money in urgent.

As the troops wanted only some amount, they delayed one more day and on 19 February, my mother and other women arrived at the place they detained us and paid the money. Then they released us.

Interview: 144-HRV: Torture, Livelihood, Detention, Slavery, Refugee

Name: Nai Ha Geed
Age: 32
Sex: Male
Ethnicity Mon
Religion: Buddhist

Occupation: Farmer
Address: Panga village, Thanbyuzayat Township, Mon State
Interviewed: 28 April 1995
Source: HURFOM

[*The following interview was made with among 200 new arrivals to Halockhani refugee camp in March and April 1995. Most of them were from Moulmein and Thaton districts.*]

In the second week of February 1995, I left my village because the Burmese troops conscripted me to join the Army. Actually, I would like to stay there for my family's survival and earnestly to enable my children to go to school.

Over 10 years ago when I was 17, I left my village and joined the Mon army. After serving as a Mon soldier in Mon National Liberation Army for three years, I left the army and went into Thailand to seek a job. I had worked in mining areas of Thailand-Cambodia border for two years and being a single I spent all the money I got.. After that I returned to Kanchanaburi Province (in Thailand) again to work as a labourer in plantations. I got good jobs with good salaries and I could save some money. When I was 24 years old, I got married with one Mon woman from Sangkhlaburi.

I still had good jobs in a rubber plantation and had a son after two years of marriage. Last two years ago, I had another daughter. Therefore I decided to return to my native village to live with my parents and for the future of my children. As soon as I arrived at the village in April 1994, the Burmese soldiers from IB 31 came to me and interrogated me how many years I had joined Mon army and what was my position. I answered to them all the truths of my past. Actually, after I left the Mon army, it did not use or conscript me to work for the army. When I become a, I even come across my old commanders sometimes. I also admitted to the Burmese soldiers that I was a corporal when I worked with Mon army and I retired for a long time. But they were not satisfied with and slapped me to confess their allegation and to surrender to them officially. I was brought to Thanbyuzayat military base and interrogated again and again by applying many kinds of tortures. It was very impossible for me to confess that I was Mon a soldier last year. But I was released with bail of my aunt who married to a Burmese soldiers.

After that, I was enabled to stay at my native village again and my son could go to the school. I worked as a farmer in my parents' farmland. But the problem occurred again when one Mon commander, Tala Bone, surrendered to the Burma Army at the end of 1994. After his surrender, the Burma Army tried to form a Mon faction to oppose the New Mon State Party. I did not know why he surrendered to the Burmese and what was their next plan as I was very busy in my farmland . In the second week of January, the Burmese soldiers approached husband of my aunt again and started to organise me again to release the information that I was a commander of Mon Army and had already surrendered to them and would co-operate with local

SLORC authorities for the development of Mon areas. They said they would offer a suitable rank, house and other belongings which I needed if I joined the new Mon faction. But I refused to join them because I wanted to stay in the village as a civilian without getting involved in any politics or army. They were very dissatisfied with me. Then, I was taken to Thanbyuzayat military base for three days and subjected to beatings severely. And they also told me if I refused to co-operate with them, the would imprison me with the crime of insurgency.

At the end , I promised them I would join the Burma Army when the time was ripe after I kept all my crops in my farm. Thus, they allowed me to return home or my farm to take all of my rice to the village. It took for three weeks. During these three weeks they often came to me and threatened me not to flee from the village and I told them to trust me. One day in the first week of February, I was called by them together with my aunt again. When we arrived at the military outpost in the village, I was given a letter to sign . I did not know what kind of letter it was as I could not read Burmese and dared not ask them and then signed . And they also forced my aunt to sign the letter in another room. When we left from the outpost, my aunt told me that the letter we had signed was to promise not to flee from the village and to join the army. The signature of my aunt was to guarantee my statement. Even though my aunt did not agree, she had no choice.

In the second week of February, my aunt received information from her husband that the Burmese soldiers would arrest me the day after tomorrow. I realised that after they arrested they would force me as if I surrendered and to join the Burmese Army to oppose the Mon rebels. They wanted me to became a member of counter-insurgency group. I did not accept it. If I accepted, my relatives would be angry at me and the Mon army would misunderstand me. Therefore, I decided to flee to border areas again. May aunt also agreed with me and she said she would take all responsibilities. Therefore, on 14 February, I left my village at night without bringing my wife and children as I was worried for my delay. I proceeded along the jungle track to Kannee village of Ye Township and waited them. My relatives in the village arranged everything for bringing my whole family to reach me within the next four days. And we fled to Halockhani refugee camp. It lasted about six days from Kannee to the camp.

Interview: 145-HRV: Torture, Livelihood, Slavery, Refugee

Name:	Nai Joon
Age:	54
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Lakepoke village, Ye Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	28 April 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[*The following interview was made with among 200 new arrivals to Halockhani refugee camp in March and April 1995. Most of them were from Moulmein and Thaton districts.*]

I left my village because of my age as I could not afford for the survival of my family and severe torture of the Burmese troops. I had a small betel nut plantation in the east of my village which I earn for my living. The Burmese troops particularly came to my plantation for patrol to prevent from infiltration of Mon troops. When they came they always crossed around our plantation. At the same time, the road close to plantation was also used for the local people to travel into Thailand to seek jobs there.

One day in third week of January 1995, when I arrived at my plantation in the morning, I knew that some villagers who travelled into Thailand had slept in my hut and I thought they had managed for dinner in hut and left in that early morning. It was a common happening. But on that day, I was unlucky. As I never minded on those villagers and I continued my works in the plantation by mowing the grass. In the afternoon on that day, a company of Burmese troops, I did not know from which battalion, entered to my plantation. I was very late to escape. Those soldiers went around the plantation and the commander stayed in my hut while they took me with them. Initially, they asked me about the activities of Mon troops and then when they saw many people had cooked meals in my hut, they had suspicion on me. They asked me did the Mon troops come to my hut last night and did I provide them some food for their meal. I explained them that some people who were on their way to Thailand had cooked dinner in my hut and I did not know as I was at home in village last night. I insisted them that I just arrived in this morning and I did not know for sure who had meal in my hut. I explained them most people always slept in my hut and cooked meals as my hut was close to stream which was possible to get water. They refused my complaint and the commander ordered his men to beat me. About three soldiers kicked me with their combat boots and beat with rifle butts for several times and forced me to confess that I fed some Mon soldiers in my hut last night and to tell where they were. As I did not know, I constantly refused and they continuously beat me. After about 15 minutes of torture, I lost my consciousness. They left me alone and went away. When I gained consciousness, I was unable to walk back to the village and could not do anything . I stayed at hut all night long and could not make any food. In the morning on the following day, some villagers came to my hut and brought back me to village.

In the second incident, one day in February, I was arrested on the way when I went to my plantation. In that month, I hired some labourers in my plantation to pick up betel nut there. Therefore, I brought more rice from the village to feed them. Half an hour after I left the village, I unexpectedly met about 20 Burmese solders on the way. I thought they came from one outpost in Chance village (where there is a company from Ye-based SLORC IB 61). I had no ability to run away at this time too. As soon as they were close to me, they asked me where I went and why I carried extra rice to the plantation. I explained them as I hired about 7 labourers in my plantation, I needed to carry more rice. Actually, the

military had issued orders not to keep extra rice in the huts on the farm or in the plantation. They asked me did I know they had issued orders. I explained them that I knew the order but I carried extra food for labourers. Anyhow, they did not listen to me and they accused me of sending food for Mon soldiers who were harbouring on one hill about 10 km from our village. Then they took all my rice and beat me severely like before. As it was too painful, I lied down on the ground. After beating, they tied me up and took to the village. When they arrived at the village leader's house, they severely beat me at the presence of villagers as a punishment for bringing rice to Mon soldiers as they accused.

In the third incident was when a company of SLORC IB 61 entered our village to conscript the men for porterings. They needed a total of 15 men from our village and many young men had escaped. I was arrested again. I told them to release me as I was getting old. They were angry at me as they could not get the intended numbers from our village and beat me with rifle butt two times in my back. They said that not to make any complaint to them and forced me to carry six 60mm mortar shells. Although it was too heavy for me, I dared not refuse because I was afraid of their further beatings. The more distances I carried the more I was weaker and getting more tired. When we arrived at Kannee village, I went to their commander and appealed for my replace. As he did not want to release me, told me to pay them 5,000 Ks to hire someone else to replace me. At that time, I had nothing to pay them. When they took a rest in the village, I approached to village headmen of that village and told them to help me for borrowing 5,000 Ks. As they knew me well for ever visits to their village and also I was seemed very weak and tired, they tried to find out 5,000 Ks. Then, I paid to the commander and he released me. I did not know for sure whether they would hire someone else to replace me or not. Later on I knew that they did not hire anyone and they asked one more porter in Kannee village.

To repay for my debt in Kannee village, I had to sell half of my plantation with low price because I did not want to stay in the village anymore. I did not know why I was very unlucky in this years. Another half of my plantation was offered to my relatives to maintain it. My eldest son had already entered Thailand with hopes that he could provide me. Therefore, I decided to join my son. Actually, it was not so easy and the situation was not permitted me to get into Thailand. It is very different from last 20 years ago. Therefore, I decided to stay in this camp because we can get assistance for our survival.

Interview: 146-HRV: Torture, Livelihood, Slavery, Refugee, Displacement

Name:	Nai Ah Gai
Age:	20
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Taungchun village, Yebyu Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	29 April 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[*The following interview was made with among 200 new arrivals to Halockhani refugee camp in March and April 1995. Most of them were from Moulmein and Thaton districts.*]

I came here to take refuge because the Burmese soldiers had burnt down the whole village of us, including my house. The reason they burnt down our village was I thought they suspected our villagers of being supporters of Mon troops to harbour in our village. Actually, our village was in the fighting zone between the Mon soldiers and Burmese soldiers as the Mon or the Burmese soldiers always penetrated our village. The difference one was that we always had to flee when the Burmese soldiers came into village because they arrested the men for portering and tortured the villagers, while Mon troops came it was no need for us to flee. When we fled from the village, the Burmese troops were angry at us and later they accused us of being supporters of Mon troops because we were always in the village when Mon troops came.

Following this suspicion, about 80 SLORC troops from IB 104 led by Lt Aung Nyein with 40 porters entered our village at mid-night on 23 March to destroy it. As soon as they arrived, all men in the village suddenly woke up and run away to escape from the arrests of Burmese soldiers. I also escaped to the southern parts of my village. At that night, another two villagers and I slept at one hut on the farm, 2 km from our village. All night long, the Burmese soldiers conducted house-to-house search for Mon soldiers and took belongings and properties of the villagers. The troops slept there for one night and at 8:00 a.m., they gathered everybody in the middle of the village and told to the villagers, mostly women and elders, to tell them at which houses the Mon soldiers always slept. The villagers were quiet.

The villagers who could speak Burmese explained them that they did not know which house the Mon soldiers had slept because the Mon soldiers always slept at monastery or rest-houses. Although some explained them a lot, they did not accept the complaints and told the villagers they would burn down the whole village if the villagers refused to show the houses they wanted to know. At the end, about 10:00 a.m. they burnt the whole village. They did not allow any villager to pick up the belongings.

When I saw some smoke came out into the sky, other villagers and I knew that our village was burnt down and three of us rushed to the village. On my half way, my wife and other women also run out of the village because the Burmese soldiers drove them out by oppressive order. No one dared to stay in the village at all. After I got my child, we fled back to the hut where I slept last night again. The reason why the soldiers were angry at the villagers was they told the villagers last one week ago to relocate to Kyaethonenyima village. But the villagers always refused because they did not want to abandon their village with proper households, good surroundings and the farmlands nearby. There were about 60 households in our village and most of the inhabitants were farmers. But most of them were poor as we had to pay many kinds of taxes to the Burmese troops which always took away our properties or belongings whenever they entered the village.

After burning down the village, they continued staying in the village to prevent any villager from coming back the village again. I dared not return and tired to get some food around the farms as I faced with short of food after staying for two nights in that hut. I went to my relatives in Kyaethonenyima and I borrowed some money and rice from them. And altogether three families of us tried to take refuge in the border areas. As I have never been this area, we missed the way. Therefore, we crossed the areas in Ye Township which took nearly one week to get to Halockhani. On the way, we needed to avoid the Burmese troops and it was very dangerous. Because of long way to the border my 9-month old child was seriously sick. When we reached Halockhani, one family, who have no child like us, went into Thailand to seek job there.

Interview: 147-HRV: Torture, Livelihood, Refugee, Displacement

Name:	Nai Soe Khaing
Age:	50
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Hlaingkgani village, Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	30 April 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[*The following interview was made with among 200 new arrivals to Halockhani refugee camp in March and April 1995. Most of them were from Moulmein and Thaton districts.*]

When I came to this refugee camp, there were many villagers remaining in the forest while some were in the farmlands because it was not only impossible for them to abandon their farmlands but also very dangerous in case of meeting with Burmese troops on half way. I just arrived here one month ago. I had already abandoned my farmland and house there. I do not want to return if the Burmese troops are still active in the village because I ran away to avoid their tortures.

In the third week of December 1994, while I was collecting my crops on my farm, a company of Burmese troops from IB 62 which was active in that area came straight to my hut and many labourers working with me had run away. But I did not run as I thought they would not mistreat me because I was an elder man. When they arrived at my hut, they asked why other peoples run away and from where they came. I told them they came from the same village of me and they run away because they were afraid of arrests. Then the commander was angry at me by saying that they did not arrest any innocent villager and accused those fleeing villagers of being rebels. He said, "Since they are rebels, they flee and you are the one who allow the rebel to stay around this farmland areas and does not inform the Tatmadaw (Burma Army)."

I refused his accusation and said those who run away were farmers working with me, not Mon soldiers. But he did not believe me and ordered his men to torture me. Then, two strong soldiers brought me to a pool near my hut, drowned me in water again and again to reveal for the truth and not to make any argument against their commander and they beat me with rifle butts several times. I was nearly dying. After being drowned and tortured for three times, I was brought to their commander again. The commander kicked me two times with his boots and told me to confess my crime. When the soldiers tried to torture again, I had to make a false statement that the villagers were rebels and then they stopped beating me. They asked me the names of those villagers. Before they left, they warned me that they would return to my farmland again and if someone else fled from my hut like this they would kill me.

After being subjected to severe tortures, I was brought to the village by the villagers and treated with one tradition healer for one month. Because of the offensives of Burmese troops in our areas, most of the men in the village had run away but I could not go anywhere because of my internal pain. While I was being treated in the village in the second week of January, about 100 SLORC troops entered the village again to conscript some men for portering. Although I slept in an inner room of my home, I was arrested by a soldier who entered the house to find and take some belongings. As soon as I was arrested, I insisted that I was a patient and to release me. But they refused and one soldier beat me in my stomach which was too painful. Then, they forced me to carry six mortar shells. When I told them I was unable to carry, they asked me to pay them 6,000 Ks to hire someone else to replace me. My daughter urgently tried to get 6,000 Ks of ransom. They said as they had no time to wait us, they continued advancing and forced me to carry mortar shells. Before the troops were ready for leaving, my daughter arrived and paid them the ransom. Then, they released me.

As I had a lot of debts in recent time, I needed to sell half of my farmland. Another half of farmland was handed over to my eldest son who decided for continued staying in the village. Although we stayed in the village, most of our time we had to hide in the jungle or escape in farmlands. Therefore, our family decided to come here. It took three weeks to arrive this camp because we had to swerved the way (in Moulmein District) to avoid the Burmese troops. We slept many nights in the dense forest as we dared not approach some villages which

were presumed the bases of the Burmese troops. We could reach to this place only after facing many difficulties.

Interview: 148-HRV: Torture, Livelihood, Slavery, Refugee, Execution, Displacement

Name:	Nai Ngwe Htun
Age:	25
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Labourer
Address:	Baleh Kapol village, Ye Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	30 April 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[*The following interview was made with among 200 new arrivals to Halockhani refugee camp in March and April 1995. Most of them were from Moulmein and Thaton districts.*]

In 1994, although I stayed at Halockhani refugee camp of Baleh Donephai village, after it was attacked by Burmese troops I went away because I dared not stay here again. When the Burmese troops used men as human shields in advancing to attack the main Halockhani camp, I escaped from their arrest because I was in the jungle to cut bamboo shoots. When I returned back in the evening, the whole village was burnt down by SLORC IB 62 and my wife was crying and busy with picking some remained belongings like rice, clothes, pots and etc., which were left in our half-burnt house. And we fled together with other refugees to the Thai Border Police checkpoint for safety. We stayed at checkpoint with temporary shelter nearly for two months. After the Thai Army took the rice store in the camp, the leaders told us to return to our former site again. Although I would like to build my house in main camp, it was impossible and I decided to stay in Baleh Kapol village where there were only five houses at that time. After we moved, it increased to about 20 households because some families of refugees joined in. The houses situated separately in the slope of mountain about one day walk's from Beleh Donephai.

On 6 April, while I was on my way from my hut after cutting heavy bamboo, about 200 troops from LIB 403 from Three Pagoda pass arrested me and I had no chance to escape because of carrying heavy load. They also arrested other 30 porters. When they passed closely to the Baleh Donephai, there was small fighting with Mon troops and the porters had to carry two wounded soldiers. As soon as I was arrested, I was subjected to beating and asked about the activities of Mon and Karen troops. When I responded by shaking my head which meant I did not know because I did not understand Burmese well, they beat me again mostly with rifle butts. Initially, they gave me only one bag of the wounded soldiers to carry. On the following day, when they arrived one Karen village of

Kamon they shot four innocent Karen villagers to dead. The victims who just came out from the village was regarded as Karen soldiers who tried to ambush them and they shot dead. I witnessed they died on spot and we also stepped on the dead bodies.

In the evening we arrived at another Karen village again. As soon as they arrived the village, they caught animals in the houses and took the belongings of the villagers. Except the elder persons, most villagers had already fled. Half an hour after we left that village, the Karen guerrillas ambushed them again. It lasted only five minutes and one Burmese soldier wounded. The commander was angry too much and he kicked all porters with his combat boots. And the porters were forced to carry the wounded soldier. They changed my load by forcing to carry six 60mm mortar shells. It was heavier than before.

All porters became weaker and weaker because the soldiers fed us very only a small meal. They told us they were short of food and had no extra food for us. On the third day, they fed us only one meal per day. As they were very afraid of attacks by Mon or Karen guerrillas, they did not use the common way and swerved the way by using the mountainous areas. On the fourth day, one old Mon man was severely beaten and forced to carry by one sergeant although he was unable to manage it. The man said to the sergeant, " I cannot go far away by carrying the heavy loads, please put me here sir". We heard his voice, but no one dared to watch. Other two privates joined the sergeant in beating him several time and at the end, they kicked him from the high and steep mountain. We heard the crying of the man like " please help me, please help". No one could help him. As I knew, he came to the border areas to trade cattle. After he sold his cattle, he was arrested by Burmese troops on his half way back to home. I did not know his native place. I thought he was about 50.

By swerving the ways, the trip took for ten days to arrive Alaskan military outpost. We, all porters, were weak and tired. As soon as we arrived at Alaskan, the soldiers detained all porters and did not give any food for one day and one night. On the following day, IB 403 troops returned to its headquarters in Tavoy and released all of us. Therefore, I quickly returned and arrived at home five days after being released. At home, I got serious sickness and the villagers brought me to treat in Halockhani clinic and also my wife moved in. After I was recovered, I decided to stay in Halockhani again which must be more possible for our family to get food and I hopes we can avoid such terrible portering.

Interview: 149-HRV: Torture, Child, Women, Livelihood, Displacement, Refugee, Slavery

(*The following interview was made with a villager from Khone village, which was burnt down by the SLORC troops in December 1993*) [*Source: ASC*]

Q. What is your name please?
A. My name is Ali Khone.

Q. What is your native village?
A. My native village is Pagawa in Paletwa sub-district.

Q. What is your ethnic background and religion?
A. I am a Khami national and Buddhist.

Q. How many members in your family?
A. There are eight in my family. Their names are Loonlaw, Loon Oung, Lunn Khen, Gun Htak, Lunn Goot, Fe Hta and Feka.

Q. What did you do to earn for a living in Burma?
A. We earned our living from hill farming.

Q. When did you flee to India?
A. It was in December 1993.

Q. Why did you flee into India?
A. While we were peacefully living at Khone village, some informers told the Burma Army that we had made contact with ALP. Therefore, the Burma Army came and tied up all the villagers, including women and boys, and the entire population in village was beaten. Then they burnt down the vil- lage. They shot pigs and held a pork feast in our village for the whole night. They plundered the paddy, sesame and furniture. They also took all the cattle. Only after seizing all our belonging, they released us. Then, they ordered us to leave the area. They threatened to shot us dead if we were found there again. In fear of being killed, we had to flee to India.

Q. How many houses were burnt?
A. The total number was 37.

Q. How many baskets of rice, sesame, and other belongings were seized by the Burmese Army?
A. More than 2,700 baskets of paddy, 2,500 baskets of sesame, 64 cattle, pigs, chickens and all our furniture were seized. Even the pots were taken.

Q. Where did they take them?
A. The army took them to the Trawn-ai military outpost by a bamboo-raft. They also ordered some villagers to serve as porters.

Q. How many porters?
A. There were 110 porters and 35 soldiers.

Q. When they burnt the village, which house did they burn first?
A. They first burnt the house of the village headman.

Q. What is the name of the battalion, who is the commander and where was the battalion based?
A. The name of the battalion is LIB 374. The commander is Capt Tint Zaw Hla [he himself burnt the village]. The battalion was based in the Mareit-wa military outpost.

Q. Do you remember the date when the troops burnt your village?
A. It was on 15 December, 1993.

Q. When you flee to India, did the army chase to arrest you?
A. We fled at night along the jungle tracks. We would have died living there and if we were arrested, we would have died too. Therefore we left at night.

Q. When you live in Burma, did the army regularly use villagers as porters?
A. They were always forcing us to be porters. If we refused, they fined us 300 Ks or jailed us for four month. If we did something wrong, they beat us severely. They hit us with rifle butt.

Q. Where did you go when being forced to be porters?
A. Occasionally we had to go to the Mareit-wa military outpost but mainly to the border area which was where they said they searched for the rebels. They forced us to cut bamboo and wood. We had to carry military supplies on bamboo-rafts pulling against the current.

Q. When you were ordered to cut bamboo and wood, how much each person have to cut?
A. Each person was ordered to cut at least 50 logs, 600 pieces of bamboo. At this time they requisitioned between 300 and 350 villagers. We had to bring our own food, they gave us nothing.

Q. Where did they use the bamboo and wood?
A. Some were used for the construction of the military camps and the remaining were sent to the towns of Paletwa and Kyauktaw. We also had to cut the bamboo for military officers, which they sold and kept the money. We have always to cut all year long both in summer and winter.

Q. When you had to serve as porters to the border area, how were you treated?

A. We had to carry rice sacks for miles and even when we felt tired, we could not take a rest. Even if we could not carry the heavy loads, we had to keep on. If we could no longer carry on or move, they cursed and hit us. They tied up our hands at our backs and kicked us down slopes. Then they ordered us to climb up again. They tortured us in different ways. When we got sick, they did not give us any medicine. We also dared not ask for medicine. If they felt angry, we were beaten. While carrying their loads, we also had to carry our own food.

Q. When you moved into India, how many households came along with you?

A. There were a total of thirty seven households form our village alone.

Q. How did the Mizoram government treat you on your arrivals in India?

A. They didn't allow us to stay in Mizoram, they ordered us to leave.

Q. How was health condition in your village in India?

A. We suffered from malaria, dysentery and diarrhoea. Our children could not go to school.

Interview: 150-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Child, Refugee

(*The following story was retold by a Khami villager from new Khone village, located on the Indian side of the border*) [*Source: ASC*]

My name is Kona and there are four people in my family. My wife's name is Oung Nunn and have two son, Oung Chee and Choung De. We are Khami. When we lived in our country, we had to give SLORC three tins of paddy per acre for free of charge (one tin is equal to two and a half baskets). If we did not have it, we were beaten, arrested and fined 300 Ks each.

We also had to give chickens and pigs to them. When we served as porters, we were not paid anything. Every year, we had to give two and a half tins of sesame per acre to the army. They only gave 50 Ks per basket. In the market, one basket of sesame was 850 Ks. The government also levied three tins of paddy per acre. [Government-run] Agricultural Trading Corporation also bought twelve tins of paddy per acre, at the rate of 90 Ks per thin. In the market, one tin of paddy cost 30 Ks.

Interview: 151-HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Child, Refugee

(*The following story was retold by a 64-year-old Khami villager from new Khone village, located on the Indian side of the border*) [*Source: ASC*]

My name is Loon Htaung and I am 64 years old. I was born in Pagawa village of Paletwa sub-district. I am a Khami nationality and a Buddhist. As I am getting

old, I could no longer do farming. Now I depend on my daughter. She is widow with a son. When our village was burnt down, I left with my daughter.

The Burmese troops used me as a porter. As I am old, I could not walk very well but I have to go as I could not afford the fine of 300 Ks. Though I could not carry their loads, I had to, otherwise, I would be beaten by the soldiers. Now my knee is still swelling due to being forced to be a porter. The soldier tied my hands at my back and beat me. Another person was also tied up and beaten. His name was Thoung Lunn and he was 55 years old.

When the Burmese soldiers burnt our village, I could save only two pots and one dish. Everything else was taken by the Burma Army. We fled empty-handed to Mizoram. When we lived in Arakan, we were beaten by the army and when we lived in Mizoram, we were expelled by the Mizoram police.

Interview: 152-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Torture, Detention, women

(*The following story was part of interview made with by Oo Maung Thar Frou (42), the former village chairman of SLORC from Poonnhyunwa village in December 1994.*) [*Source: ASC*]

Q. What is your native village?
A. I was born in Kyaukpensipe village in Kyauktaw sub-district.

Q. What is your ethnic background and religion?
A. My nationality is Rakhine and I am a Buddhist.

Q. How many people in your family?
A. There are eight people in my family. Four daughters — Aye Than Nu, Thein Nu Sine, Nhunn Shoay Nu, Than Shoay and two sons — Than Htwan and Maung Shoay. My wife's name is Khaing Nu Sine.

Q. How did you earn for a living when you were living in Arakan?
A. I was a farmer. When I was in my country, I became a village-level chairman of SLORC administration in Poonnhyunwa village under forcible assignment of SLORC.

Q. Could you explain us your experience as village chairman?
A. When I was a chairman, someone informed to the army that I supported the rebel forces and possessed a pistol. Therefore, I was arrested by the Burma Army. They beat me with a cane, interrogated me and forced me to reveal where the said pistol was hidden. As I did not possess it and could not show it, they tortured me several ways. They locked my legs for five days in the Trawn-ai military outpost. They did not give me food or water. After getting my legs unlocked, I fled from the jail while the soldiers were drunk and falling asleep. After staving in the jungle for three days, I arrived in India.

Q. When did you arrived India?
A. I arrived India on 21 February 1992.

Q. When you came into India, did your family come along with you?
A. I came first alone and later on I rescued my family. After my escape from the jail, the army threatened my family to call me back or they would be killed. They also insulted and ill-treated my family. We had a grocery store and they did not pay for goods they took and at night they made a raid on house. As only my wife and daughters left in the house, they were frightened and wrote to me saying to bring them to India.

Q. What was the name of the battalion which arrested you and where was it based?
A. The name of the battalion is IB 55 which was based in Akyab.

Q. Who was the commander of the battalion?
A. I didn't know the name of the commander. But there was a three stars officer, Capt Thant Zin. After escape from the jail, my house was raided for three times with a warrant of execution in case of finding me. My wife told me about this later on.

(*To his wife, Daw Khaing Nu Sine*)

Q. In absence of Oo Maung Thar Frou, how did the SLORC troops torture your family?
A. In absence of my husband, my daughters dared not go out. The soldiers came my house and ill-treated and insulted my daughters. They have also seized my grocery store. At night time, they conducted a raid on my house. They arrested me and tied me up in the middle of the village. All my daughters remained in the house. They ransacked my house and I didn't know what else they did. When I came back, I found out all my daughters were weeping. When I asked them what the soldiers did, they kept silent and continued to weep. They tortured us in many ways. As we could not live like this, we had to flee.

[*The interviewee's two daughters — Aye Than Nu (20) and Thein Nu Sine (17) — were raped by the soldiers from SLORC IB 55 in his absence, after his escape to India from the Trawn-ai military outpost on 21 February 1992.*]

Interview: 153-HRV: Refugee, Displacement, Torture, Slavery, Forced Labour, women, Execution, Livelihood

(*The following story was told in December 1994 by a 46 year-old village headman of the upper Kaki refugee village, situated on the bank of upper Kaladan river inside India, 6 hours' walk from the Indo-Burmese border*) [*Source: ASC*]

Q. When did you all come to India?
A. In April 1993.

Q. How many villagers came along with you?
A. A total population of 218 people from 45 households in Pagawa and Foaylakwa villages.

Q. Why did you flee to India?
A. The reason we fled to India is that SLORC government, at any time, forced us to serve as porters for 10 or 15 days and forced to work like beasts of burden. We were often beaten by the army. Whenever the troops came to our village, if we could not provide them with chickens and pigs, they beat us.

Q. When you were forced to be a porter, what kinds of work did you have to carry out?
A. Every village, large or small, was responsible to cut 10,000-50,000 bamboo and 3,000-4,000 logs.

Q. Where did the SLORC troops use that bamboo and logs?
A. We heard that they sold them.

Q. And what kinds of work did the SLORC troops force you to do?
A. They forced us to work for the construction of Kyauktaw-Paletwa road. We had to work with our own food. We also had to work for the construction of their military bases. We witnessed and heard the soldiers ill-treated the women. When we got malaria and asked for medicines, we were beaten. [*In October 1993, one young man from the Poonnhyunwa village was shot dead by the Burmese soldiers. His name was Maung Sein Wun. He did trading at Indo-Burmese order. They alleged him of making contact with ALP and shot dead. His body was put into an empty rice sack and we did not know where he was buried. They threatened the villagers that the whole village would be burnt down if they spoke against the troops.*]

Q. Please tell us the name of the battalion and the name of the village where he was shot dead?
A. It was at the Pagawa village and the battalion was LIB 378 based in Kyauktaw.

Q. In Arakan, what kinds of work did you do for your living?
A. While living in my country, we farmed. We could not freely sell rice, other crops and vegetable that we cultivated because the army forced us to sell them rice and sesame. When we had to sell to Agricultural Trading Corpo ation, o the army and the co-operatives, there was no rice for us to live on. They also tortured us in several ways.

Q. When you came to the India border, how did the Mizoram government treat your villagers?

A. When we came to India, the Mizoram government expelled us as we were aliens. They did not allow us to live in Mizoram. In July 1994, they (the police of Mizoram) burnt down our village. When they came, we ran away and hid in the jungle. When they left, we had to rebuild and repair our houses. We are in great trouble. The health condition of the children is very poor. They have got malaria and we have no medicine. Not only us who are at the Kaladan riverside, but also those refugees at the upper Kalak Stream region are in great trouble.

Interview: 154-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Women, Minorities, Forced Labour, Refugee

(*The following interview was made in December 1994 at the India Border with Kyaw Thein, 23 years old, former SLORC soldier who had run away from SLORC IB 536*) [*Source: ASC*]

Q. What is your ethnic background, religion and native village?

A. My native village is upper Theimoot-wa village in Paletwa sub-district. I am a Buddhist and Rakhine.

Q. Are you married?

A. No, I'm not.

Q. When did you join the army?

A. In 1988.

Q. What is the number of your battalion?

A. It is IB 536 based in Rathedaung town in Arakan.

Q. Who is the commander of your battalion?

A. Lt-Col Ye Thaung.

Q. How many persons fled form the army with you?

A. Three of us: Mar Twan Oung, Hla Twan and myself.

Q. Why did you flee form the army?

A. I fled form the army as I could no longer want to see them harassing the people. SLORC government forced the people to serve as porters, took pigs and chickens from the villages without paid. The army forced the local people to sell them vegetables, paddy, rice and sesame at the fixed rate. Also we saw and heard that the girls and women in the villages were gang-raped by the soldiers. We also had problems due to racial discrimination. The said, "Enslave Rakhine like cattle and feed them as if dogs. Try to get married with the girls. Then, the army would be

strong." We could no longer bear their insults. That is why we fled from the army.

Q. When you fled from the army, what did you bring with?
A. As we ran away at the time of taking bath in the evening, we brought nothing. We didn't take any arms or ammunition.

Q. Did you have any experience in the battle fields?
A. Yes, in the offensives which were launched, especially to Buthidaung area. In this offensive we fought against the Bengali Muslim guerrillas, and Rakhine guerrillas so-called AA (Arakan Army). One battle broke out and 12 soldiers died from our side.

Q. What kinds of violations did you see and hear, of the SLORC military government was committing on the people?
A. They forced the people to work for road constructions. They used the villagers as porters. Each person had to contribute labour for road constructions at least 15 days and to be porter for one month. They forced the farmers to sell them the paddy. If they refuse, in the absence of men, the women were arrested, in the absence for parents, the sons and daughters were arrested. In Paletwa Township, they forced the people to make bricks, cut wood, and carry stones from the Laymro River region for the construction of roads. Mostly, they seized the farmlands from the people and paid no compensation.

Q. How many acres were seized?
A. About 500 acres were seized for the construction of our battalion base in Rathedaung. In fear of having their paddy fields been seized, the farmers had to contribute their products to the army. Every year, each family had to pay 25 tins (62 baskets) of paddy to the army for free of charges. Farmlands were seized for the construction of IBs 536, 537 and 538.

Interview: 155-HRV: Detention, Torture, Refugee, Livelihood

(*The following interview was made in December 1994 with a young man from the Brook Choung village in Mrauk U sub-district by the Arakanese Students Congress at Kaki (upper) refugee village on the India side of the border.*)

Q. What is your name please?
A. My name is Maung Lha Than.

Q. What is your age, ethnic background and religion?
A. I am at 32, Rakhine and Buddhist.

Q. What is your native?
A. My native village is Brook Choung, Mrauk U sub-district.

Q. Why did you flee India?

A. In 1991, I traded in Buthidaung and Maungdaw. When I came back in the evening on 18 May 1991, I was arrested at Taungkalookya village by the SLORC government who accusing me of being a rebel. After being arrested, I was beaten until 5 O'clock in the morning. On 19 May, I ran away. However, I was re-arrested at 6:00 p.m. on that day. They took me to Ohe Htine range and I was beaten severely. On 21 May 1991, I was sent to the jail in Kyauktaw Town. They kept me one night there and the following day, I was transferred to the custody of IB 20. On 29 May, I was handed over to No. 10 Military Intelligence Unit and on 2 June, they handed over me back to IB 20. On 28 June, they sent me to Akyab prison and I was detained for 369 days there. On 31 August, the court sentenced me. On 21 January 1992, I was released from prison.

Q. What is the name of the battalion which arrested you?

A. IB 232. The platoon was led by Cpl Saw Shwe. The battalion is based in the Padalate Chate Quarter of Akyab.

Q. How did the army torture you?

A. When I was arrested, they hit my chest with rifle butt and beat me severely. They drove needles under my finger nails. They tied my hands and kicked from behind. They cut my ears. They tortured me various ways.

Q. In Akyab prison, how were you treated?

A. I was kept two and a half months in the dark confinement. They kept food and water short. Like me, there were many prisoners in the dark confine ment. Most of them were political prisoners.

Q. When did you flee to India?

A. On 20 October 1994, I fled to India with my wife through Yo Choung jungle tracks on foot. On 28 October 1994, we arrived at the Kaladan Goopehtote village. From there we proceeded to Paletwa. We slept two nights at Taungkhloung village which was on the India side of the border. From there we arrived at Kaki refugee village. We are now living in this village.

Q. Did you come to India to join with the rebels?

A. No, we had to leave as the SLORC troops kept intimidating us. We could no longer live in Burma, that is why we had to flee.

Q. How is living Mizoram?

A. The government of Mizoram expelled us, and also did to the other refugees with whom we were living. When the government expelled,

we had to hide in the hills in the jungle. We could not live in Arakan. We could not live in Mizoram too. Where can we go to?

Q. Concerning with the harassment of SLORC, what do you want to say to the outside world?

A. In Arakan, the SLORC troops have been committed torturing the people in many ways. They forced the people to serve as porters. They forced the people to sell the paddy, but did not give the market price. Because of these actions, we would like the world to help the Burmese people bringing democracy back to Burma.

Interview: 156-HRV: Slavery, Refugee, Torture

(*The following was excerpt from an interview made on 29 November 1994 at the India border with one of the three porters who escaped from SLORC IB 376 based in Mareita-wa military camp. The interview was made just the moment they arrived in India*) [*Source: ASC*]

Q. What is you name, age, your village and ethnic background?

A. My name is Ba Oung, age 35 and our village is Theimoot-wa in Paletwa Town. We are Rakhines and Buddhist

Q. Are you married?

A. Yes, I am. I have one son.

Q. What did you do for a living in your country?

A. We were farmers.

Q. Why did you flee to India?

A. We fled to India as we could no longer live in our country because we were being forced to serve as porters and subjected to torture.

Q. Could you explain more about being forced to be a porter?

A. SLORC IB 376 forced 300 villagers from Mareit-wa, Ngwelak-wa, Foaylak-wa, Theimoot-wa, Shweh-lipui, Lenhyuntha, Doechoung-wa, Satche, Loungche, Kyaukpen villages of Kalak Choung area to carry rice sacks, condensed milk tins, sugar sacks and other commodities from Trawn-ai military camp to Mareit-wa military camp. They stated forcing us on 11 November 1994. We had to carry their loads by using 70 rafts and 13 boats against the current and took three days to get there. Every two people had to pull each raft and boat. There were also about 300 porters who followed the land-tracks. Our raft was ruined by the current so we were severely beaten. While we were carrying rice sacks to the land, we were kicked from behind by the soldiers. One of us, Maung Fru Che, was drowned in the water and his ribs was hit with rifle butt. We had to rebuild the raft and pull it again. As he could not pull the raft

very well, he was severely beaten with bamboo stick. As we could no longer bear torture, we ran away from them. We had to hide for two days without food in the jungle, we haven't had any food yet.

Q. Who is the commander of the battalion?
A. Capt Tin Zaw Hla.

Interview: 157-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Torture

Name :	Ko Lwin
Age:	22
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Father:	U Maung Bu
Occupation:	Odd-jobs labourer
Address :	No. 1/38 Dhamma Yon Quarter, Loikaw Town, Karenni State
Interviewed:	10 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I studied up to 3rd standard. I was arrested at my quarter by Coy 4 of IB 261 on 10 July 1995. I was forced to carry six 81mm mortar shells. I was sent as a porter because my turn was come on a rotating basis. If I failed to show up as a porter, I would have to pay 1,000 Ks. When I could no longer carry my load which was so heavy, I was kicked with combat boots or beaten with stick. Moreover, they swore at me. I was not fed enough food. Therefore, I fled from them. On 10 September 1995, I escaped to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border. I was a little bit sick at that time.

Interview: 158-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Torture

Name :	Min Htwe
Age:	19
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Father:	U Japan
Occupation:	Carrying sand
Address :	Naung Yar (A) Quarter, 13th Diocese, Nar Nat Taw, Loikaw Town, Karenni State
Interviewed:	10 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I studied up to 2nd standard. I was arrested at my quarter by IB 261 on 24 July 1995. I was forced to carry backpack of the battalion commander. I was sent as a porter because my turn was come on a rotating basis. When I could no longer carry my load, I was beaten with rifle butt, cut open a little bit on part of the skull immediately above one of my temple. I fled while they were not aware of

me. I escaped on 10 September 1995 to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 159-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood

Name :	Aung Moe
Age:	25
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Father:	U Sein Maung
Family:	Married to Ma Khin Hla Yee, age 22 years.
Occupation:	Carrying sand
Address :	Naung Yar (A) Quarter, 13th Diocese, Nar Nat Taw, Loikaw Town, Karenni State
Interviewed:	10 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I studied up to 3rd standard. I was arrested at my quarter by IB 261 on 19 July 1995. I was forced to carry the medical-kit. I was sent as a porter because my turn was come on a rotating basis. We were forced to pay porter fees frequently. Each household had to pay monthly porter fee, ranging from 30 to 50 Ks. My shoulders were torn because of heavy loads. As I could no longer bear carrying the load, I fled. I escaped on 10 September 1995 to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 160-HRV: Slavery

Name :	Kyaw Tin
Age:	31
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Father:	U Khin Maung
Family:	Married to Ma Mya Thin, 34, with two daughters
Occupation:	Fisherman
Address :	Nam Khoke village, Ho-pong Township, southern Shan State
Interviewed:	10 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I studied only monastic education. I was arrested on 10 July 1995 by IB 425. Then I was handed over to IB 261 to serve as a porter. Myint Soe, Soe Aung, Win Kyaw and I escaped on 10 September 1995 to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 161-HRV: Slavery

Name :	San Thein
Age:	25
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Father:	U Mya Han
Family:	Married to Ma Khin Thin, 24, with a son
Occupation:	Fisherman
Address :	Near Bazaar, Nam Khoke village, Ho-pong Township, southern Shan State
Interviewed:	10 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I studied only monastic education. I was arrested on 3 July 1995 by IB 426. Myint Soe, Soe Aung, Kyaw Tin and I escaped on 10 September 1995 to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 162-HRV: Slavery

Name :	Zaw Win Htut
Age:	29
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Roman Catholic
Father:	U Htwe Maung
Family:	Married to Ma Mon Mon Aung, 25, with a son
Occupation:	Bazaar Cleaner of Municipality
Address :	Tha Yoke Tan Bazaar, Mandalay City
Interviewed:	10 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I studied up to 5th standard. I was a convict for murder and sentenced to five years imprisonment. On 29 August 1995, I was brought by Coy 5 of IB 261 to serve as a porter. During those days, I got injury on the head and one of my teeth was broken. I escaped to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 163-HRV: Slavery

Name :	Myint Soe
Age:	28
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Father:	U Mya Aung

Family: Married to Ma Nwe Ni Khaing, 18, with a son
Occupation: Horse-cart Driver
Address : Na 134, Naung Yar (A) Quarter, Nar Nat Taw, Loikaw Town, Karenni State
Interviewed: 10 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 5th standard. On 8 July 1995, SLORC troops from IB 261 raided my house and arrested me. On 11 September 1995, Win Kyaw, Soe Aung, San Thein, Kyaw Tin and I escaped to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 164-HRV: Slavery

Name : Aike Myar
Age: 34
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Shan
Religion: Buddhist
Father: U Yu Ta
Family: Married to Ma Ei Nan, 32, with two children
Occupation: Farmer
Address : Pwan Chaung village, Hsi-hseng Township, southern Shan State
Interviewed: 10 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied only monastic education. On 13 July 1995, I was arrested by SLORC troops at the bazaar in Hsi-hseng Town. Then, I was handed over to joint military column of IB 425 and IB 261 to serve as a porter. On 21 September 1995, I escaped to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 165-HRV: Slavery, Execution

Name : U Ban Yee
Age: 34
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Padaung
Religion: Roman Catholic
Father: U Souk Yu
Family: Married to Daw Mu Tein, 31, with six sons and two daughters
Occupation: Farmer

Address : No. 1 Quarter, Daw Ngan Khar village, Karenni State
Interviewed: 10 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 5th standard. On 26 June 1995, I was arrested at home by Coy 3 of SLORC IB 102. I witnessed two porters were beaten to death. On 5 September 1995, I escaped to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 166-HRV: Slavery

Name : Sai Hla
Age: 37
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Shan
Religion: Buddhist
Father: U Kan Gyi
Family: Married to Nan Bae, 36, with one son and three daughters
Occupation: Farmer
Address : Ho Li village, Ho-pong Township, southern Shan State
Interviewed: 10 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 3rd standard. I was arrested by SLORC troops on 10 July 1995. I was forced into portering for the joint military column of IB 425 and IB 261. On 10 September 1995, I escaped to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 167-HRV: Slavery

Name : Win Hlaing
Age: 28
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Father: U Aung San
Family: Married to Ma Htay Htay, 22, with two sons and one daughter
Address : Nam Khoke village, Ho-pong Township, southern Shan State
Interviewed: 10 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 4th standard. I was arrested by SLORC troops on 10 July 1995. I was forced into portering for the joint military column of IB 425 and IB 261. My hands were tied at the back whenever the troops encamped. On 10 September 1995, Sai Hla and I escaped to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost

99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 168-HRV: Slavery

Name :	Win Kyaw
Age:	26
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Shan
Religion:	Buddhist
Father:	U Thein Maung
Family:	Married to Ma Aye Nyo, 22, with a son
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Nam Khoke village, Ho-pong Township, southern Shan State
Interviewed:	10 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

On 3 July 1995, I was arrested by IB 426 of SLORC at Than Yin village. On 10 September 1995, San Thein, Kyaw Tin, Myint Soe, Soe Aung and I escaped to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 169-HRV: Slavery

Name :	Soe Aung
Age:	26
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Father:	U Thein Maung
Family:	Married to Ma Ohnmar, 18 , with one daughter
Occupation:	Carrying sand
Address :	Na 53, Naung Yar Quarter, Nar Nat Taw, Loikaw Town, Karenni State
Interviewed:	10 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I studied up to 8th standard. On 24 July 1995, I was arrested by IB 261 of SLORC at Nar Nat Taw. On 11 September 1995, San Thein, Kyaw Tin, Myint Soe, Win Kyaw and I escaped to Thar Yar village, near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of Thai-Karenni border.

Interview: 170-HRV: Slavery

Name :	Sai Aye
Age:	28
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Shan
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Lone Kyan & Daw Par Pwan
Family:	Married to Nan Naw, 30, with a daughter and two sons
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Naung Wan village, Hsi-hseng Township, southern Shan State
Interviewed:	11 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

On 3 July 1995, I was arrested by IB 425 of SLORC and then handed over to Coy 4 of IB 261 to serve as a porter. On 25 September 1995, Sai Pu, Cissanar, Shwe Hpi, Myint Naing, Maung Nge and I escaped to Mae Su Rin in Karenni State.

Interview: 171-HRV: Slavery, Torture, Execution

Name :	Sai Pu
Age:	27
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Shan
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Lone Lu & Daw Par Kit
Family:	Married to Nan Nwan, 20, with two daughters
Address :	Wan Yin Town, Hsi-hseng Township, southern Shan State
Interviewed:	11 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I studied only monastic education. On 3 July 1995, I was arrested by IB 425 of SLORC and then handed over to IB 261 to serve as a porter. Sai Nuk (14, son of U Lun Kan and Daw Nan Chu) from Pwan Chaung village of Wan Yin Town, attempted to escape while detained in the compound of IB 426. I witnessed he was subjected to beatings by the soldiers after being re-captured. He died soon after he was kicked in the stomach. On 25 September 1995, Cissanar, Shwe Hpi, Myint Naing, Maung Nge, Sai Aye and I escaped to Mae Su Rin in Karenni State.

Interview: 172-HRV: Slavery

Name :	Cissanar
Age:	31
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Golka

Religion: Buddhist
Father: Bhar Dhu Rai
Family: Married to Somar Devi, 26, with two daughters
Address : Nan Pa Wun village, Loikaw Township, Karenni State
Interviewed: 11 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 4th standard. On 13 July 1995, I was arrested by IB 261 of SLORC and forced into portering. Every 12 porters were fed with two milk-tin full of rice for everyday. On 25 September 1995, Sai Pu, Shwe Hpi, Myint Naing, Maung Nge, Sai Aye and I escaped to Mae Su Rin in Karenni State.

Interview: 173-HRV: Slavery

Name : Shwe Hpi
Age: 27
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Parents: U Htun Shin & Daw Mya Kyi
Family: Married to Ma Mya Htay, 22, with a son
Occupation: Farm Labourer/Sawyer
Address : No. 4 Quarter, Loilem Lay village, Loilem Township, southern Shan State
Interviewed: 11 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 3rd standard. On 13 July 1995, I was arrested by IB 261 of SLORC and forced into portering. I had to carry loads of other porters who got sick. On 25 September 1995, Sai Pu, Myint Naing, Maung Nge, Sai Aye, Cissanar and I escaped to Mae Su Rin in Karenni State.

Interview: 174-HRV: Slavery, Torture

Name : Salai Bya Yahan
Age: 38
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Chin
Religion: Baptist
Parents: U Lyan & Daw Lay Nar
Family: Married to Nan Ohnmar, 26, with a daughter
Occupation: Odd-jobs labourer
Address : No. 110, Shan Pine Quarter, Loikaw Town, Karenni State

Interviewed: 20 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 10th standard. On 14 July 1995, I was arrested by Coy 3 of SLORC IB 261 and forced into portering. Along with us, there were 136 convicts and 250 civilians. Before, I was arrested and forced into portering twice. I was subjected to severe beatings by the SLORC soldiers. On 28 September 1995, I escaped to hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) in Karenni State.

Interview: 175-HRV: Slavery

Name : Saw Hlaing
Age: 19
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Chin/Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Parents: U Khin Maung Win & Daw La Phai Hpauk Lu
Family: Married to Khin San Htay, age 16 years.
Occupation: Bricklayer
Address : Pae Khae village, Putao Township, Kachin State
Interviewed: 20 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 8th standard. I didn't remember when I was arrested and by which battalion. I fled because I could no longer bear carrying heavy loads. On 9 October 1995, Ko Ko Gyi, Ko Latt, Zaw Lin and I escaped to Hwe Pu Strategic hill-top camp at Mae Su Rin in Karenni State.

Interview: 176-HRV: Slavery, Torture

Name : Zaw Lin
Age: 20
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Parents: U Ohn Myint & Daw Than Tin
Family: Married to Nan Kham, 21, with a child
Occupation: Footwear maker
Address : No. 199/5 Maw Ra Ghi Wa (703) Chan Aye Thar Zan Satellite Town, Mandalay Division
Interviewed: 20 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 4th standard. I was arrested by IB 261. But I didn't remember when it was. I was forced to carry boxes of ammunitions and subjected to beatings when I could no longer manage to carry them. Because of heavy loads,

my shoulders were torn. On 9 October 1995, Ko Ko Gyi, Ko Latt, Saw Hlaing and I escaped to Hwe Pu Strategic hill-top camp at Mae Su Rin in Karenni State.

Interview: 177-HRV: Slavery

Name :	Ko Latt
Age:	25
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Than Htun & Daw Sein Htwe
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Mae Zar, Myitkyina Township, Kachin State
Interviewed:	20 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I studied up to 3rd standard. I was arrested on 28 August 1995. But I didn't remember by which battalion. I was forced to carry heavy load and was not fed enough. Therefore I escaped. On 9 October 1995, Ko Ko Gyi, Saw Hlaing, Zaw Lin and I escaped to Hwe Pu Strategic hill-top camp at Mae Su Rin in Karenni State.

Interview: 178-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood

Name :	Mammed Tar Li (a) Ko Ko Gyi
Age:	32
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese Muslim
Religion:	Islam
Parents:	U Hla Maung (a) Sar Dit & Daw Khin Hla
Occupation:	Jade broker
Address :	No. 24, Kye Thun Quarter, Amarapura Town, Mandalay Division
Interviewed:	20 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I studied up to 7th standard. I was arrested on 9 August 1995 by Madaya Patrol Police while I was at Taungbyon Nat (Spiritual) Festival. Then, I was forced into portering. I was not able to sleep or eat well during those days. I did not get any treatment when I was sick. Therefore, I escaped. On 9 October 1995, Saw Hlaing, Zaw Lin, Ko Latt and I escaped to Hwe Pu Strategic hill-top camp at Mae Su Rin in Karenni State. I was sick at time of escape.

Interview: 179-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Child

Name :	L/Cpl Aye Min
Serial No.	838653
Age:	19
Date of Birth:	Tabaung Waxing Day 7, 1337 (B.E.)
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Nyunt Sein & Daw Aye Yee
Address :	Inn village, Tarawaddy Township, Pegu Division
Interviewed:	30 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

[*The deserter brought in one G4 automatic rifle, 240 rounds of 7.62mm, 5 magazines, uniform and equipment.*]

Of the five children, I was the third son. I studied up to 2nd standard. On 7 March 1991, I joined to Recruiting Centre of the army in Lappadan after being lured by my friends. Then I had to attend the military training for the recruits at No. 3 Training School in Yamethin. Then, I was posted to Section 1 Coy 3 of IB 102. Section Comdr was L/Cpl Khin Mya, Coy Comdr was Kyi Win and Bn Comdr was Kyaw Tint. My salary was 600 Ks. There were about 250 soldiers in our Column which was deployed near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) in Karenni-controlled area to protect illegal logging. Not only the porters but also the rank and the file were also forced to carry out inhuman assignment. Moreover, we were subjected to discrimination. We did not get full amount of our ration. As I could no longer bear the hardships anymore, I fled. On 26 September 1995, Pvt Thein Win, Pvt Hlaing Myint and I deserted to hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of KNPP, located at Mae Su Rin in Karenni State. I want to live here as a normal citizen. I will go back to Burma only when there is peace in the country. Living here is enough for me to survive.

Interview: 180-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood

Name :	Pvt Thein Win
Serial No.	920399
Age:	28
Date of Birth:	Thadingyut Waxing Day 5, 1328 (B.E.)
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Tun Shwe & Daw Ohn Kyi
Address :	Ramanya Quarter, Haing Gyi village, Ngaputaw Township, Irrawaddy Division
Interviewed:	30 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

[*The deserter brought in one G3 automatic rifle, 240 rounds of 7.62mm, 6 magazines, uniform and backpack.*]

I studied up to 3rd standard. On 2 February 1993, I joined to Recruiting Centre of the army in Mingaladon because I had no job after divorce with my wife and the death my child. I had to attend the military training for the recruits at No. 3 Training School in Yamethin. Then, I was posted to Section 3 Coy 3 of IB 102 led by Bn Comdr Kyaw Tint and intelligence officer Tai Gyi. My salary was 600 Ks. There were about 250 soldiers in our Column which was deployed near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) in Karenni-controlled area to protect illegal logging. We had to dig the trenches near the company compound. We did not get full amount of our ration. The porters were only for the officers. At 4:00 p.m. on 26 September 1995 I discussed with L/Cpl Aye Min and Pvt Hlaing Myint and at 10:00 p.m., we run away. Two days later, we reached hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of KNPP, located at Mae Su Rin in Karenni State. I want to live here as a normal citizen. I will go back to Burma only when there is peace in the country. Living here is enough for me to survive.

Interview: 181-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood

Name :	Pvt Hlaing Myint
Serial No.	959063
Age:	21
Date of Birth:	Thazaungmon Waning Day 8, 1974
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Aung San & Daw Khin San Yee
Address :	Ka/988 Mani Si Thu Street, 70th quarter, southern Dagon satellite town, Rangoon Division
Interviewed:	30 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

[*The deserter brought in one G3 automatic rifle, 240 rounds of 7.62mm, 5 magazines, uniform and backpack.*]

Of the five siblings, I am the third son and I studied up to 5th standard at No. 3 State High School in Thingangyun, Rangoon Division. On 12 July 1994, I joined to Recruiting Centre of the army in Mingaladon after being lured by my friends. I had to attend the military training for the recruits at No. 4 Training School in Pin Laung. Then, I was posted to Section 2 Coy 3 of IB 102 commanded by 1st Platoon Comdr Sgt Aung Kyaw, Coy Comdr Kyi Win and Bn Comdr Kyaw Tint. My salary was 600 Ks. There were about 250 soldiers in our Column which was deployed near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk), located at Mae Su Rin in Karenni-controlled area to protect illegal logging. There were about 100 porters with us. There were about four-five engagements with the

Karenni army. On 26 September 1995 I was organised by L/Cpl Aye Min to run away. Pvt Thein Win joined us and we escaped to hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk) of KNPP. I fled from the military service because I could no longer bear the hardships anymore. I want to live here as a normal citizen. I will go back to Burma only when there is peace in the country. Living here is suitable for me.

Interview: 182-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Child, Torture

Name :	Pvt Win Htay
Serial No.	852886
Age:	18
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Cho Lay & Daw Lone
Address :	Taw Paing
village,	Kyaukpadaung Town, Mandalay Division
Interviewed:	11 November 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

[*The deserter brought in one G3 automatic rifle and uniform.*]

I had no education. On 14 June 1991, I had to join No. 38 Recruiting Centre of the army in Bassein under the recruitment programme. I was hired by somebody else who was chosen by lot but unable to join the military service. I had to attend the basic military training for the recruits at the recruiting centre and then was posted to Coy 1 of LIB 336 based in Hpe Khon Town. Our military column was commanded by Maj Chit Than and Bn Comdr Khin Kyi. My salary was 620 Ks. There were about 500 soldiers in our battalion which was deployed near Boundary Post 9, bordering Karenni State and Thailand for security of logging concessions near Pa Le Le ferry. I fled eastward of our outpost and then floated on a bamboo raft along down river of Nam Moon. I met with Karenni troops on 8 November 1995. I fled because I could no longer bear torture. While I was with my battalion, I had to patrol the area one day's walk from west of Hpe Khon. There I saw a lot of poppy fields but our officers ordered us not to

destroy them anymore. Sgt Khin Maung from Coy 1 cultivated poppy in north and south Taung Za Lon villages to send them for drug-burning ceremony.

Interview: 183-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Livelihood

Name :	U Kyar
Age:	40
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Shan
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Lun Hmon & Daw Nan U
Family:	Married to Nan Pwe, 29, with a son and two daughters
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Mae He village, Hsi-hseng Township, southern Shan State
Interviewed:	30 October 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I had no education. While I was sleeping at home on 30 September, at 4:00 a.m., soldiers from IB 424 came and asked me to follow them for a while. U Latt, Maung Kawn, Maung Wa, Maung Hein and Maung Koh who lived in the same village were also arrested. We were detained at headquarters of IB 424 where there were about 20 porters. When my wife and children and the village headmen followed to the army headquarters, the soldiers told them I would be released within one or two days. My hands were tied up until we reached Bawlake. I was forced into portering by Coy 3 of IB 424 and had to carry combat boots, condensed milk tins and sugar. We were sworn by the soldiers. Four days later, we saw three porters died of exhaustion on the way to hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk). A soldiers from IB 424 died of dysentery and was buried near the camp. Maung Bwe and I fled because we believed that we could escape only if we did so. On 18 October 1995, we escaped to hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk), near Mae Su Rin in Karenni-controlled area. As I fell down along the way, it was hurt on my knees. I was not paid.

Interview: 184-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Livelihood

Name :	Maung Bwe
Age:	30
Sex :	Male
Ethnicity:	Shan
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Hmot & Daw Thein Yee
Family:	Married to Nan Win, 16, with two sons.
Occupation:	Farmer
Address :	Hpa Lein village, Naung Gone Parish, Hsi-hseng Township, southern Shan State

Interviewed: 30 October 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I had no education. While I was sleeping at home on 30 September, soldiers from IB 424 came and asked me to follow them for a while. Maung Doe and Maung Daung who lived in the same village were also arrested. We were detained at headquarters of IB 424 and forced into portering two days later. I was tied up until we reached Bawlake. I was forced to carry bags of combat boots by Coy 3 of IB 424. We were not fed enough. We saw three porters and two soldiers died of dysentery near hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk). I fled because we were afraid of the soldiers. On 18 October 1995, Maung Kyar and I escaped to hill-top outpost 99 (Kauk Kauk), near Mae Su Rin in Karenni-controlled area. I want to go back in time of harvest. The authorities from KNPP said that they would send us back from a safe route.

Interview: 185-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Livelihood, Execution

Name : Saw Shwe
Age: 36
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Shan/Padaung
Religion: Buddhist
Parents: U Aye & Daw Mu Lone
Family: Married to Mu Tha, 24, with two children.
Address : Hein Na Ma Quarter, Hpe Khon Town, southern Shan State
Interviewed: 5 November 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 2nd standard. Two months ago while I was at home, soldiers from LIB 421 came at night and arrested me. Kyaw Yin, Thein Maung, Maung Hon, Aye Ngwe and Tin Kyaw who lived in the same quarter were also arrested. We were detained at headquarters of LIB 421 for 21 days. There were other 16 detainees in the same cell. One detainee, Maung Yone, from the west side of Moe Bye Town, was shot dead by the soldiers after his abortive attempt to escape. His corpse was photographed by the police at the hospital and then the victim's family brought home back. After 21 days in the cell, we were forced into portering for more than one month. Eight days ago, Naing Oo, Min Min Tun and I escaped to the area controlled by KNPP.

Interview: 186-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Livelihood

Name : Min Min Tun
Age: 19
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Arakanese
Religion: Buddhist
Parents: U Myat Thu & Daw San Nu

Occupation: Odd-jobs labourer
Address : Si Kar (2) Quarter, Moe Bye Town, Karenni State
Interviewed: 5 November 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied up to 7th standard. Two months ago while I was at the market in Moe Bye, soldiers from LIB 421 came and arrested me. Kyaw Kyaw was also arrested at the same time. We were detained at headquarters of LIB 421 for 21 days together with Saw Shwe. After 21 days in the cell, we were forced into portering for more than one month. Eight days ago, Naing Oo, Saw Shwe and I escaped to the area controlled by KNPP. Every village in Moe Bye and Hpe Khon towns was forced by the SLORC troops to give them a horse which cost 15,000-20,000 Ks. In Moe Bye downtown, local people were press-ganged into portering twice a month.

Interview: 187-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Livelihood, Execution

Name : Naing Oo
Age: 18
Sex : Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Parents: U Tun Wai & Daw Toke Pyu
Occupation: Bricklayer
Address : New Quarter, Moe Bye Town, Karenni State
Interviewed: 5 November 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I studied only monastic education. I was arrested by the soldiers from LIB 421 two months ago. I was detained at headquarters of LIB 421 for 21 days. I witnessed one would-be porter was shot dead by the soldiers after his abortive attempt to escape. We were brought by trucks to Loikaw and then forced to carry rice and ammunitions from the bank of Pawn Stream to Shadaw Town. Eight days ago, Min Min Tun, Saw Shwe and I fled from the hill positioned by the battalion commander. On the way, we met with hunters and asked them for help to send us to KNPP. I want to go back in time before harvest.

Interview: 188-HRV: Slavery, Torture, Livelihood

Name: Maung Kyaw Moe
Age: 17
Sex: Male
Education: 3rd standard
Parents: U Tin Aye and Daw Pu Yin
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Yeik Yit Ohn village, Paukkaung Township, Pegu Division
Interviewed: 21 March 1995

Source: NLD

Prome-based LID 66 issued an order to collect 10 porters from each village. When the villagers did not meet the demand of SLORC, the troops in collaboration with the village headman arrested the villagers at night. Three victims — Maung Kyaw Moe, Than Zaw and Myint Kyaw — were arrested at the mouth of the street at about 10:00 p.m. on their way to home from watching video. Then, they were transferred to LID 33 in Thaton. After spending four-five nights in Thaton, they had to accompany with the military columns under LID 33 which proceeded to Papun in Karen State. After one night in Papun, they were forced to advance into the jungle, carrying rice sacks at gun point. When they could no longer carry their loads, they were punched or beaten with rifle butt. Each porter was fed only one tin (condensed milk tin) of rice. There were about 200 porters with that single military column. After five days, the victim could no longer bear the heavy loads because he was suffering from dysentery. When he collapsed, one soldier forced him to get up by poking his stomach with a stick. When he could not do so, he was left behind. He spent the night there and escaped to the border. Now he is living with members of the NLD (LA).

Interview: 189-HRV: Slavery

Name: U Ah Lee Par Dri Cho
Age: 21
Sex: Male
Education: 3rd standard
Ethnicity: Padaung
Religion: Roman Catholic
Parents: U Si Thar and Daw Paw Lar
Family: Single
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Ngu Palaw Quarter, Demoso, Karenni State
Interviewed: 2 September 1995
Source: NLD-LA

In July 1995, Par Dri Cho and Ei Cho, who were living in the same quarter with me, and I myself were sent to serve as porters on rotating basis. Local SLORC official, Maung Lwin, who is also a Padaung, frequently collected porter fees and other fees. We had to accompany with Coy 4 of IB 425 and each of us had to carry a rice sack. When we reached near Mae Sa Tae village, Shadaw Township, Kalel Tee Te and other two porters ran away. Some porters died in the cross-fire. Those who were sick were not got any treatment. Only a small amount of food was given to the porter. Whenever the porter said the load was too heavy for them, they were totally ignored. We escaped in the third week of

August and reached Nan Awn three days later because of missing the way in the jungle.

Interview: 190-HRV: Slavery, Women, Torture

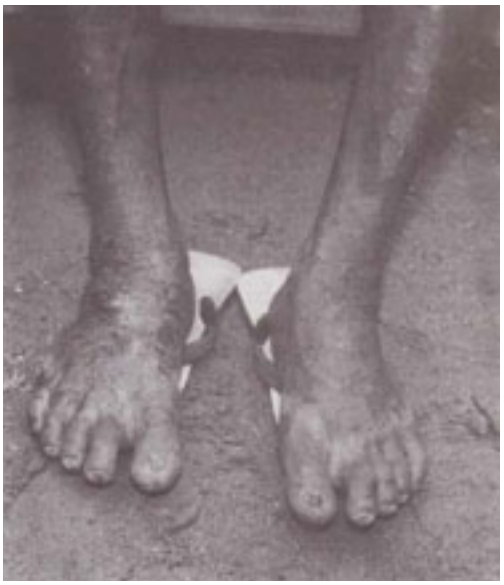
Name:	U Kalel Tee Te
Age:	25
Sex:	Male
Education:	2nd standard
Ethnicity:	Padaung
Religion:	Roman Catholic
Parents:	U Lat Lwe and Daw Ah Ta Pe Kar
Family:	Single
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Pa Don Ngan village, Son Du Lar Parish, Demoso, Karenni State
Interviewed:	2 September 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

In July 1995, my friend Pi Dae Le and I myself were sent to serve as porters on rotating basis. We had to accompany with Coy 4 of IB 425 and each of us had to carry rice sack, arms and ammunitions. In that military column, there were about 150 porters from Moe Bye, Hpe Khon and Pin Laung and six female porters from Shadaw Township. Those female porters who were used as guides had to stay with the office group of the military column. I managed to escape when the troops arrived Mae Sa Tae village, Shadaw Township, because I could no longer bear the hardships, malnutrition, severe beatings and torture. I reached Pan Yun Karenni refugee camp in the third week of August.

Interview: 191-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Torture

Name:	U Nya Reh
Age:	38
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karenni
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	Seh Reh and Su Myar
Family:	Married to Chu Myar; 4 children
Occupation	Farmer
Address	So Dae Kho village, Son Du Lar Parish, Demoso, Karenni State

Interviewed 2 September 1995
Source: NLD-LA



In my township, each village is responsible for sending two porters for every term. Each villager who wanted to spare from portering had to pay 5,000 Ks in cash to local SLORC authorities who would find somebody else to go in his/her place. On 14 July 1995, I was sent to serve as porter on rotating basis because I did not have any money to pay for a ransom. I was transferred to Demoso-based IB 102. One week later, I had to accompany with Coy 4 of IB 425 and had to carry rice sack. I was subjected to beatings several times since I could no longer the load because of suffering from epidermophytosis. I managed to escape when the troops arrived at Mae Yu village, Shadaw Township.

Interview: 192-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Execution, Women, Child, Torture

Name: Naing Win (a) Naing Naing Htun
Age: 22
Sex: Male
Education: 5th standard
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Parents: U Pan and Daw Kaung Shein
Family: Single
Address: No. 4 Quarter, Near No. 2 State High School, Phone Gyi Street, Myingyan, Mandalay Division

Interviewed: 2 September 1995
Source: ABSDF/NLD-LA

I am the third son of six siblings. My father is a medic of the Village Health Care Unit and my mother is a midwife. I had education up to five grade at the Basic Education High School of Myingyan Town and I quitted in 1987. I earned my living as a toddy-palm climber at Shwebaw Kyun village, Myingyan Township, about half a year.

I served in the army twice. The first time was in 1989. Under the recruitment programme of SLORC, our quarter was responsible for sending five recruits for the military service in 1989. After decision was reached by drawing lots, my younger brother became one of the would-be recruit. But I joined the military service in his place. Each person who was chosen by lot had to serve in the military for five years or pay a ransom of 100,000 Ks to be spared from the service. My serial number at that time was 783214. Two hundred and fifty trainees, including me, attended a basic military training at Coy 5 of No. 3 Training School in Meiktila Town. After the training, I was posted to Kunhing-based LIB 246 in Shan State. Our main duty was to secure Taunggyi-Keng Tung motor road and the area around Mong Hsu, Mong Naung, Takaw, Mong Nai and Hsi-hseng.

When I was performing my duty there, although we saw poppy plantation on the hillside between Kunhing and Takaw, Kunhing and Namsang and in some villages in Hsi-hseng, we were not ordered by the column commander to destroy them. There were many corruption and power abuses reportedly made by the military officers. For example, in May 1989, about twenty five soldiers from our platoon, including Coy 1 Comdr Capt Thein Win, stopped and searched a jeep from Panglong bound for Mong Hsu at Myae Ni Gone village. They found about fifty packets of opium which was hid secretly under the seats. The opium was sized by Capt Thein Win individually and the owner of opium and the jeep were set free. Again in 1990, we had to perform security duty at Namsang market to protect military officers who would visit there. During my sentinel, I stopped a person who was walking on his way, carrying a package on his shoulder. He immediately dropped the package on the ground in fear and ran away. When we searched the package, seven viss of raw opium was found and it was entrusted to the battalion commander by Capt Thein Win. The battalion commander entered less amount of this seized opium in a ledger and sold it after making a consultation with Capt Thein Win. It was reportedly known that the battalion commander invested money in poppy cultivation of the villages near the battalion. His excuse was to decrease the villagers' economic hardship and to build up the good organising activity. During my service in army, the battalion owned two billion kyats of personal fund.

On 22 November 1990, a quarrel between four privates — Win Soe, Soe Lwin, Than Naing, Kyi Soe — from my company and section commander Cpl Aye Thaung was broke out while they were performing security duty at Taunggyi

Department Store. Cpl Aye Thaung, who was drunk at the time, was shot dead and we all ran away from the scene.

I had hid with my relatives in Sinhnakhaung village near Mandalay. Then, I rejoined the army for second time, at Meiktila recruitment centre on 11 October 1991. I did not want to join the military again but the life especially daily survival was so difficult. This was the only way for the youth like me to get the pay and some other benefits without proper education and money. I enrolled the military training at Coy 1 of No. 3 Training School for Recruits in Yamethin from 1 November 1991 to 30 April 1992. My Serial number is 862213. Moreover, I had to attend medical training in Taunggyi and artillery training. Then I was sent to IB 66 in Namsang. After that I was transferred as a medic to Coy 5 of IB 250 and involved in the military operations in Hpe Htar, Htee Htar, Saw Hta, Huay Pon Long, Sebu, Se Pyaung, Pasawng ad Mawchi area in Karen and Karenni State.

Since 1992, some departmental servants in the military, section commanders and the bureau chief from the permanent rear base of IB 250 have had to give bribes to adjutant/quarter master Lt Ko Ko to avoid from going to the front line. Every month, departments are obliged to pay some amount of money for this reason without fail. For example, 500 Ks for the medical corps, 2,000 Ks for the equipment store, 200 Ks for animal husbandry and 2,000 Ks for the battalion ration store. All the departments can earn this money in their own way. In addition to these bribes from the battalion, they set up a check point on the road between Pakyal village and the battalion in Loikaw and all passing bullock-carts were ordered to pay 100 Ks each time.

On 27 January 1994, acting Bn Comdr Maj Tin Win pocketed compensation for two soldiers — Zaw Htun of Coy 2 and Ba Thein of Coy 5 — who died in action with KNPP troops. These compensations were supposed to send to their parents. But he took the money by informing their parents that these two had deserted from the army. Pvt Win Ko of Coy 2 of IB 250 went missing in January 1993. But adjutant/quarter master Lt Ko Ko reported this case to his superior only in December, pocketing the salary of Win Ko from February until December.

Adjutant/quarter master Lt Win Ko failed to distribute rations from May to December 1994 to the families in the rear base. In this case, the ranks and files were angry at him because they saw that Ko Ko sold army rations such as beans, condensed milk and sugar at Loikaw people's bazaar (south). He bought three boxes of tinned fish and fifty packages of steamed duck for Bn Comdr Maj Win Tin in order not to take any action on him. He resumed the ration in January 1995, but no explanation for what was happening to the last three months.

Lt Ko Ko had relation with Ma Ye Win (22), daughter of U Ba Win and Daw Ngwe Ye from Loikaw Town, claiming that he was single. Actually he was married with one child. When she became pregnant in January 1995, she asked Ko Ko to marry her in accordance with his promise. Ko Ko asked her to have an

abortion and let her down. Having learnt the clear picture about Ko Ko, she hung herself at her home.

In January 1995, soldiers from every company of IB 250 had to save the sum of 100 Ks at their corporals who were authorised to pass their salary. Some soldiers, angry with one of them — Cpl Win Aung from Coy 2 — for embezzlement of the money saved by others and they killed him near Pa Kyal village and disposed of his corpse. No one has been arrested yet.

Before the operation against the KNPP, Coy Comdr Capt Aung Thein gave us a briefing by saying KNPP is the same as KNU which accepts only Christians, not the Buddhists. The Thais smuggled out the timbers from Karenni area. So, we need to launched offensives against them.

Our column was en route from Loikaw to Mae Yu via Shadaw. Five privates — Zaw Oo, Than Oo, Naing Oo, Kyaw Lin and Win Maung — died of illness during the operation. 10 privates stepped on land mines and died. There were about 6 or 7 engagement with KNPP and 5 other privates were wounded by small arms. They were carried by porters and sent back. Because of shortage of water and food where we took position, not only the porters but also soldiers run for their lives. Pvt Ye Myint and Thein Oo and 2 porters ran near Mae Yu outpost, carrying one rifle and 4 hand grenades. They were chased by the troops and the death body of one soldier and his rifle was captured. Other three escaped.

I saw an aged man, over 50, was shot dead near Mae Yu. I discussed with Ye Myint and Thein Oo to run away. But another private from Pein Zalote knew about our plan and informed the commanders. After Ye Myint and Thein Oo ran away, I was tied and detained for one week. When the suspicion on me was a little bit shallow, the officials untied me. But I was not allow to bear the gun. When we reach near BP (Boundary Post) 9, I pretended searching for vegetables and ran away. Among the porters there were four women and three students, who were in their 15, from Shadaw. Those women were allowed to go back at Mae Yu. One student died on the way and the other two remained with the troops. Whenever we launched final assault, we were forced to drink.

I witnessed children, women and aged persons were also forced into portering, subjected to scold and beatings. I also discovered there were discrimination between and officials and rank and file. The new-comers were also oppressed. Sometimes, I myself had to commit something against my will because I had to obey the orders. I escaped on 21 August 1995.

Interview: 193-HRV: Detention, Livelihood, Slavery, Women, Child, Torture

Name: Maung Kan Pay Lo
Age: 14

Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Padaung
Religion	Christian
Parents:	U Pan Lan and Daw Mee Tun
Family:	Single
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Bo Gone (2), Moe Bye, Karenni State
Interviewed:	12 August 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

On 27 June 1995, while I was on my way from Moe Bye to Kone Thar village, I was arrested by the soldiers from Coy 4 of SLORC IB 250. At the beginning, I did not know what was the reason. I was detained at Loikaw prison for one night. The following morning I was brought to the bank of Salween River by a truck and then was forced to carry rice for the troops. When I told them that it was too heavy for me, I was subjected to beatings. In fear of further beatings, I kept silent and carried the load. I was fed only a small meal — rice soup for breakfast and rice for dinner. It was not enough for me. When we put up for the night, we were forced to dig trenches. There were about 300 porters with that military column. The youngest were of my age and the oldest were 60-70 years old. LIB 336 brought 3 women from Shadaw. These women had to go ahead of the military column. I did not know whether they were used as guides or human mine-sweepers. I didn't get any treatment whenever I got sick.

I stepped on a land-mine when I tried to escape. The splinters from the land-mine hit at both knees, shins, thighs, buttock, hands, waists and right elbow. I was brought by KNPP and hospitalised at a clinic at Pan Yun Karenni refugee camp. Although the splinters were still remained in the flesh, I was slowly recovering because of the treatment.

Interview: 194-HRV: Detention, Livelihood, Slavery, Women

Name:	Maung Khwee
Age:	28
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Padaung
Religion:	Roman Catholic
Parents:	U Pa Lee and Daw Mu Rwe
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kone Thar village, Loikaw, Karenni State
Interviewed:	12 August 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

While U Pan, Maung Kar, Maw Ti, Maw Lein and I were digging a canal for irrigation in the field, 10 well-equipped soldiers from IB 54 rounded up at gun point and forced us to get on a truck by saying that we had to attend an emergency meeting. Then we were transferred to Coy 3 of LIB 250 and forced to carry ammunitions and rice for the troops from Shadaw to Mae Yu. Three women, who were about 18-20 years old, from Shadaw were also forced to go in

advance of the troops at gun point. We were not fed enough. We were fed only a small meal — rice soup for breakfast and a tin (condensed milk tin) of rice for dinner. The soldiers sold the basic commodities to the porters at high price. One roll of cheroot cost 30 Ks and a tin (condensed milk tin) of rice cost 100 Ks while a tin of condensed milk was 200 Ks. We could not afford to buy them. U Pan, Maw Lein and I managed to escape. Unfortunately, we missed Maw Lein along the way. On the way, I stepped on a land-mine and the splinters hit at my thigh, shin, buttock and stomach, causing me paralysed. I was brought to a clinic at Pan Yun Karenni refugee camp by KNPP and slowly recovering because of the treatment.

Interview: 195-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery

Name:	Tun Tun
Age:	29
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Padaung
Religion:	Roman Catholic
Parents:	U Aye Maug and Daw Mu Kalar
Family:	Married to Ah Mu; two children
Occupation:	Shopkeeper
Address:	No. 102, Quarter 1, Moe Bye, Karenni State
Interviewed:	12 August 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

On 4 July 1995, while I was on my way to Loikaw by bus, it was stopped at an outpost outside Loikaw by ten armed soldiers from LIB 261. All the ten males

on the bus were forced to get off and brought to battalion headquarters where there were about 300 porters. We were forced to carry food and ammunitions for the troops from Pwan River to Tar Ta Maw everyday. I had to carry boxes of ammunitions, causing my shoulders' skin torn. Because of hard work and heavy rains, I was sick. When I asked for medicine the soldiers responded, Medicine is available for us neither. There were no shelters nor blankets for us. We were not fed enough. On 2 August, I managed to escape while the soldiers were turning a blind eye because of my sickness. I proceeded to Mae Yu and I met an elderly women on the way. I was given food at her hut and brought to a clinic at Pan Yun Karenni refugee camp. I was told that all the escapees were sent back via a safer way.

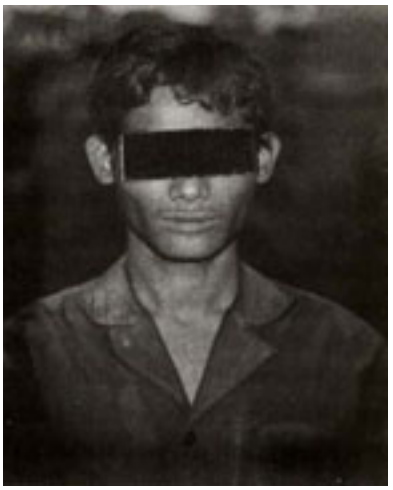
Interview: 196-HRV: Detention, Livelihood, Slavery, Women, Child

Name:	Khun Maw Ko
Age:	29
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Kayan (Padaung)
Religion:	Roman Catholic
Parents:	U Mahn Lein
Family:	Married to Ma Soe Myar; one child
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kone Thar village, Loikaw, Karenni State
Interviewed:	10 August 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

In the first week of July, while I was digging a canal for irrigation in the field, at about 10:00 a.m., 10 well-equipped soldiers from Coy 1 of LIB 261 rounded up at gun point and forced me to get on a truck by saying that I had to attend an emergency meeting. Then, I was detained at headquarters of IB 54. There were about 500 porters composed of civilians and convicts. Fighting took place three-four times. Porters got sick. A Pa-O from Pin Laung died and buried on the way. As many porters managed to escape at Mae Yu, Bo Khale and Pwan Chaung village, not so many were left. Three women from Shadaw were also forced to go ahead of the troops at gun point. Children who were 14-15 years old were also among the porters. I managed to escape at Mae Yu and proceeded to the east. Those who were arrested along with me in the field were Phoe Too, Maw Htut, La Te, Maw Kar, Maw Nyar, Maw Khwe, Lat Ka and Aung Nge who lived in the same quarter. Maw Kar, Maw Khwe and La Te stepped on a land-mine on the way and was hospitalised at a clinic at Pan Yun Karenni refugee camp. There were about 30-40 escapees, including a 13-14-year-old child, at Pan Yun.

Interview: 197-HRV: Detention, Judicial, Opinion, Torture, Slavery

Name:	Kyaw Pe
Age:	23
Sex:	Male
Education:	3rd standard
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U San Pe and Daw Shwe Sar
Occupation:	Trader
Address:	U Pote Taw Ta Bake Tan, Myaut Pyin, Mandalay
Interviewed:	11 August 1995
Source:	NLD-LA



Because of trading, I was arrested and sentenced to one year and six months imprisonment. I was put in No. 1 "special" cell. There were about 6,000-7,000 prisoners. There were also 50-60 political prisoners who were arrested during the 1988 pro-democracy uprising. All were kept incommunicado. There were prisoners who died in custody. Prisoners who got sick were sent to the hospital only when their case was severe. Those who could afford to bribe received treatment. In the morning, we were fed a small meal with raw fish paste and watery bean curry. In the evening, we got a plate of rice and watery vegetable soup. We were forced to clean the moat of Mandalay Palace. Whenever the prison officials came and checked, we were forced to tell them that everything is Okay. When someone spoke without asking, he was left without giving food and subjected to beatings.

Two months ago, we were trucked from Mandalay prison to Meikhtila prison.

70 prisoners from Mandalay prison and 30 prisoners from Meikhtila prison were told to contribute labour for damming Meikhtila Reservoir. Instead, we were sent to Loikaw prison camp by the soldiers. We were aware that we were forced into portering when we reached the headquarters of IB 54. In Loikaw, the SLORC troops — LID 55, IB 54, IB 426 — gathered 100 prisoners and 80 local people and proceeded to eastward. I was with L/Cpl Aye Khaing of IB 426. On the way there were three-four fighting. There were porters who got sick and some could no longer carry their loads. We were given rice soup mix with vegetables for breakfast and a small meal for dinner. They told us we must not eat much. At Mae Yu, one porter died of dysentery. Other four prisoners and I escaped from Mae Yu strategic post of SLORC. We met with a lady on the firm and she helped us meeting with KNPP officials. I escaped on 26 July 1995. I want to go back when I recover.

Interview: 198-HRV: Slavery, Torture

Name:	Tin Win
Age:	40
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Ko Lay and Daw Aung
Family:	Married to Khin Mar Oo; 3 children
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Padan village, Mong Mit Township, northern Shan State
Interviewed:	11 August 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

I was a member of National League for Democracy. In March 1995, I was arrested under allegation of possessing illicit drugs. I was put in No. 2 "special" cell. I was at about 3:00 p.m., approximately 100 prisoners were trucked from Mandalay prison to Kalaw. We reached Kalaw at 1:00 a.m. Ko Kyaw Pe was also in our group. From Loikaw, we had to proceed to Salween River along with Coy 2 of IB 426. From there we had to start carrying rice sacks and ammunitions. We were not fed enough. The loads were so heavy and when we were not able to carry them, we were beaten. Whenever the troops stop for encampment, we had to dig the trenches. When it rained, we had no shelters as we had to cover rice sacks with waterproof. I fled because I could not stand the hardships. I escaped on 26 July 1995. I want to go back when I recover.

Interview: 199-HRV: Slavery, Displacement, Livelihood

Name: Shan Lay
Age: 18
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Buddhist
Parents: U Ba Yin and Daw Tin Yee
Family: Married to Moe Moe; one child
Occupation: Shopkeeper
Address: Shan Su Quarter, Mandalay
Interviewed: 11 August 1995
Source: NLD-LA

I was arrested because of quarrel and detained in Mandalay prison. Our ankles were chained and we were brought from Mandalay prison to prison camp in Loikaw. 100 prisoners and 80 local people were forced into portering by SLORC IB 426. We had to start walking at 5:00 a.m. and stop at about 7:00 p.m. A small meal which was not enough was fed at noon. It was not enough. Along the way, we saw villages and huts abandoned by the villagers in fear of SLORC troops' arrest. The soldiers took away properties of the villagers and the crops on the farm. When we put up for one night at Mae Yu, we were ordered by the soldiers to carry patients the following morning. I ran away at that night when the soldiers could no longer keep an eye on me. I lost my way for three days in the jungle. The following morning, I stepped on a land-mine and hit with the splinters on thighs and hands. I was helped by Ko Kyaw Pe, Ko Tin Win and Ko Saw Naung and they put some herbs on my wounds. When we saw a hut, we went into it where we were given food by the land lady. We were told by the lady that she would bring us to Nan Awn where I could get treatment. Ah Nge Lay, Kyaw Win, Hla Htay, Na Gar Lay and Kyar Gyi were remained with the troops when we fled. Those who got sick were left on the path. Now, I am recovering.

Interview: 200-HRV: Forced Labour, Judicial, Livelihood, Slavery, Torture

Name: Saw Naung
Age: 23
Sex: Male
Education 5th standard
Parents: U Ba Yee and Daw Sein Khin
Family: Single
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Padan village, Mong Mit Township, Northern Shan State
Interviewed: 11 August 1995
Source: LD-LA

Six months ago, I was summoned by local SLORC authorities to contribute labour for cane cultivation. I had a quarrel with U Thar Lun, one of the local SLORC authorities, following my reply that I was not able to do that. I swore at U Thar Lun. I was detained in Mong Mit prison after being accused of disturbing the authorities. After that I was sent to Mandalay prison. From Mandalay prison, 100 prisoners were trucked to Loikaw where about 80 local people were forced to join us by SLORC IB 426. I escaped at Mae Yu along with Ko Tin Win, Ko Kyaw Pe and Shan Lay. On the way, Shan Lay stepped on a land-mine. While we were carrying him, we met with a lady who led us to Nan Awn village. SLORC soldiers not only swore at and beat us but also did not give enough food. We were subjected to beatings whenever we were sick or not able to carry the loads. We were not given any medicine when we sick. We fled from them as we were unable to bear the beatings and hardships. Now, I am recovering. We are told by the KNPP authorities that they will send us back from a safer route.

Interview: 201-HRV: Detention, Slavery, Women, Torture, Livelihood

Name: Myint Lwin
Age: 24
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Address: Loilam Gyi village, Loilam Township, southern Shan State
Source: NLD-LA

I was arrested by SLORC soldiers from Coy 2 of IB 450 near Inn Thar village, Loikaw Township, Karenni State. Then, I was detained at Loikaw prison. In prison, there were many people who were arrested and detained to be used as porters. Of them, some were students. Some students were released as their teachers came and discussed with the authorities. A number of students asked for their release by telling the authorities that they were sick. But the authorities not only swore at them but also continued to detain them. Women from Shadaw Town were also press-ganged into portering and forced to be ahead of the military columns. Among the porters, some of them were not directly arrested by the army. But they had to go in places of their sisters or wives who were subjected to initial arrests. On the way, if other porters escaped or were not able to carry or proceed any longer, the remaining porters had to carry their loads. The soldiers shot at the those porters who attempted to escape. We were not fed enough nor allowed to take a rest. We had to walk for all day long and build tents and dig trenches for the troops where they put up for the night. If we were not able to do, we were beaten with bamboo stick or kicked with combat boots. There were about 1,000 porters with us. I thought that I would be fortunate if I escaped because I could no longer carry the loads since I was sick and not fed enough. If I remained with the troops I would have to die sooner or later. Therefore, I fled from Mae Yu when the troops was absent to keep their eyes on

me. Maung Thein Shwe from Pruso Town and Maung Sue from Kone Thar village of Moe Bye Township also escaped with me on 24 July 1995.

Interview: 202-HRV: Slavery, Women, Child, Torture

Name: Thein Shwe
Sex: Male
Address: Pruso Township, Karenni State
Source: NLD-LA

On my way from visiting my uncle in Taunggyi, the passenger bus which I was in was stopped by the soldiers. Most of the passengers were arrested by the troops. Then we were forced into portering. There were about 1,000 porters with the military column which I was forced to accompany. On the way, three women were also forced into portering. Before we started the journey, the commander asked us whether there were students among the porters. One porter said that he was a student. Then he was asked to tell them the names of his teachers. Then, he was released. Most of the students were released later. There were also children who were not the students. I saw five of them who were about 13 or 14 years old. When one child told the soldiers he was a student, the soldiers made a joke at him that he was not a student, instead a cowboy. I also saw he aged persons who were about 60 or 70 years old. They were subjected to beatings and continued to carry the loads although they said they were not able to do that. I had to carry rice sacks and medical boxes. Because of heavy loads, of suffering from blood pressure and of malnutrition, I was not able to carry any more. I thought that I would escape if I fled or I would died if continued to remain with the troops. I also thought that when I fled I could meet with the local people if I was fortunate enough. I believed that they would help me since we share the same nationality. While I was forced to carry the loads, I was subjected to beatings and slapped whenever I told them that I was sick or anaemic. Many porters got sick. I escaped on 24 July 1995.

Interview: 203-HRV: Slavery, Women, Child, Torture

Name: Maung Sue
Age: 25
Sex: Male
Address: Kone Thar village, Moe Bye Township, Karenni State
Source: NLD-LA

While I was irrigating into the farm, I was raided and arrested by the SLORC soldiers from Coy 5 of LIB 250. While five of us were repairing the irrigation cannel, the soldiers arrived and asked us whether we saw a soldier who were missing with gun. We replied that we were not aware of that since we were concentrating on our work. Then the soldiers said, If that so, please follow us for a while. Then we were forced to get on a truck and taken to the battalion headquarters. After that I was forced into portering and ordered to carry one pair

of 60mm mortar and 14 shells. Although it was too heavy for me, I had to bear it. There were about 1,000 porters with that military column. Each porter was fed a small meal in the morning and watery rice soup in the evening. Both of them were not enough for us. But the soldiers were able to eat as they like. Whenever the troops put up for the night, we had to dig the trenches. Among the porters, the youngest porters were 13-14 years and the eldest were 60-70 years old. I saw some of them who were subjected to beatings and who got sick. Moreover, I saw women porters. We told the soldiers that we were going to fetch water and look for some vegetables, and then they allowed us. When we were out of their sights, we fled.

Interview: 204-HRV: Slavery, Execution

Name:	Myo Tun
Age:	24
Sex:	Male
Education	2nd standard
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Than Maung and Daw Khin Lin
Family:	The eldest among 3 siblings
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Ein Shaung village, Kani Township, Sagaing Division
Interviewed:	26 September 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

While I was on my way to visit my aunt staying at 84th Street of Mandalay downtown, I was allegedly arrested for stealing a bicycle. Then I was detained in Mandalay prison. In prison, we were fed with moulds. Prisoners were hospitalised only when their sickness were severe. About 200 prisoners were put in a small sell. As it was very crowded, each prisoner had to sleep askew. Whenever the prison authorities came and visited, we had no say, instead just sitting as told by the warders. If we could bribe the warders, we could meet those who came and visited us for a little bit longer. There were separate cells for political prisoners. I did not know where they were.

From Mandalay, about 100 prisoners were taken to Meikhtila. We had to spend one night each in Meikhtila and Pin Laung. Then we were forced into portering by SLORC LIB 261 and then were transferred to LIB 421. Some prisoners who got sick and attempted to escape were shot dead. We took such a risk and escaped from them.

Interview: 205-HRV: Forced Labour, Livelihood

Name:	Pvt Zin Min Thein (alias) Zin Min Thu
Serial No:	963956
Age:	19
Sex:	Male
Education	3rd standard
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Hla Myint and Daw Thein Han
Family:	The fifth son among six siblings
Address	Phaya Gyi Street, Min Yat Quarter, Padaung Town, Pegu Division
Interviewed:	26 September 1995
Source:	ABSDF/NLD-LA

[*The deserter brought in one G3 automatic rifle, 48 rounds of 7.62mm, 3 magazines, equipment and uniform.*]

I am the fifth son among six sibling. At the age of eleven, when I was in my third standard at No. 3 State High School in Padaung Township I quitted my education. From 3 October 1990 to 5 April 1991, a group of 250 recruits including me, attended a six-month-long basic military training at Namtu-based Coy 4 of No. 8 Training School in Northern Shan State. It was my first experience in the military service. After the training course, sixteen privates including myself were assigned duty at LIB 323 in Hsenwi Township. During my time in Coy 2 of LIB 323, I was sent off to the villages in Hsenwi, Namtu, Tanyan, and Kunlong Townships in northern Shan State.

In July 1991, while I was with Coy 2 of LIB 323, our troops comprising of 65 soldiers led by Coy Comdr Capt Aung San Chit, escorted a convey of small vehicles number ranged 94 to 130 from Lashio to Muse-Namhkam on the China border. The vehicles were Volkswagens and others with the CRAB brand. I had escorted for seven times like that. We saw that these vehicles were driven by Chinese drivers, drove into China via Lashio-Muse-Namhkam.

At the end of July 1991, our troops escorted a convoy of twelve military vehicles which covered up completely, driven by Chinese, from China via Muse-Namhkam to Lashio. We were told that these trucks were carrying the weapons such as cannons and other heavy artilleries from China, according to our sergeants. And we also obviously saw the wheels of the cannons embarked on some vehicles. But, the models and quantities were unknown. We later knew that IB 41 escorted these twelve army vehicles from Lashio to Kyaukme, IB 22 escorted from Kyaukme to Mandalay. In August 1991, as our company was sent to the front-line, we no longer knew how many more vehicles and ammunitions were imported from China to Burma.

While I was on duty in Coy 2 of LIB 323 in Hsenwi, Namtu, Tanyan and Kunlong townships, I saw poppy fields grown by Chinese, Shan-Chinese and Wa in somewhere, but our column commander just turned a blind eye. They did not order to destroy them. In October 1991, a column including Coy 1 and 2, led by Col Aung Min of LIB 323, seized eight viss of raw opium at an unknown Chinese village in Kunlong Township, but only two viss of opium were entrusted at his battalion. Furthermore, in November, eight viss of raw opium were seized at Ho Tone village in Hsenwi Township, but no amount were entrusted to the authorities. It was obvious that the officers resold them to make their own money.

On 8 March 1993, I visited my parents on leave and I never went back to my battalion. Then, I was posted as a deserter by army. One of my brother was in one of the revolutionary groups while the others were with the Burma Army.

In our quarter, we had to draw lots to serve the military service under the recruiting programme. Three persons including me were chosen by lot. Any person who did not want to join the military service had to pay 2,000 Ks in cash. I could not afford to pay that amount of money. Therefore I had to join the army for the second time. At that time, 250 recruits including myself, had to attend a four-month-long basic military training at Coy 2 of No. 4 Training School in Pin Laung, southern Shan State. On 5 November 1994, 21 privates who just finished the training, were posted to Lawpita-based IB 72. While I was with Coy 2 of IB 72, I was assigned as part of the guard on the hills surrounding No. 2 Hydro Power Plant for security reasons, and sometimes I was with Coy 1 and 2, I had to patrol around Loikaw and Shadaw Township. Comdr of Coy 2 was Myint Lwin and Platoon Comdr was Sgt Tun Naing while Comdr of Section 3 was L/Cpl Maung Myo.

At the end of 1994, when I was in IB 72, Capt Htay Win, Capt Wai Zin Htun, Capt Nyan Htun and Capt Myint Lwin co-operated with Venerable U Thaw Pe Ta, a Buddhist monk from the monastery at Pa Laung village in Loikaw Township, who was sent by Lt-Gen Myo Nyunt, Minister of Religious Affairs, did some corruption for their own business. They forcibly collected 200 Ks and three logs of teak or hard wood (two feet in diameter and 18 feet in length) from each house in Daw Tago, Daw Khe, Daw Kheraw, Lay Ein Su and Pa Laung villages in Pin Laung Township with the reason to build monasteries and schools in the region. Later on, the teaks were extracted and sold, and all the profits went to U Thaw Pe Ta and the commanders.

As I was aware the cease-fire agreement between KNPP and SLORC, I did not know the purpose of the offensives launching in KNPP-controlled area. I fled while I was being posted to safeguard Lawpita Hydro-power Plant. I told one of my colleagues who is Arakanese about my plan. But he was afraid and did not have enough courage to follow me. At 4:00 p.m., while other soldiers at the hill-top outpost were visiting in the village, I fled from the outpost and proceeded eastward, bringing my gun, ammunitions and rice. After spending three nights

in the jungle, I met two women at a hut. I asked them for help to send me to the KNPP officials. And they did.

In our battalion compound, the rank and file were forced by the officers to cut bamboo and pick the vegetables. Local people were also forced to cultivate or pick the crops in the military compound. I did not want to work in the military service anymore because of hardships and brutality by the officials on the privates. Most of the privates were very young and they dared not speak out. We were told that we would be killed brutally if we were caught or defected to armed opposition groups. The officers also told us we can do whatever we want when we arrive at the civilian villages and they would not take any action on us. I feel very sorry for the civilians and other hardships directed me to join the KNPP. On 19 September 1995, I escaped to Daw Shar She village, Shadaw Township, where I deserted to Section 3, Platoon 2, Coy 1, Bn 2 of Karenni Army.

Interview: 206-HRV: Forced Labour, Livelihood, Refugee

Name:	Ko Aung Khin
Age:	27 years
Family:	Married with three children
Address:	Kanbauk village, Yebyu Township
Occupation:	Fishermen, odd-jobs labourer
Source:	ABSDF

I worked as a forced labour in Heinze Boke Island in last May 1995. I was summoned by local authorities from my village along with 60 men. We were told that we had to go and work there. I have been to the Island before (in 1990) for fishing. At that time, this Island was no-men land. Only fishing boats stopped for a while and there was no house over there. Since the military presence in 1994, they ordered the people to contribute labour on the island. My group was not the first one as many villagers had been conscripted before. They told me that the working and living condition there was unbearable but I had no alternative. And also I did not have any money to hire somebody else. Although the fees of hired hand would cost 2,500 Ks per person, nobody wanted to go.

Although the local authorities said the army would take care of the transportation, every body had to pay 300 Ks to the owners of car and boat for petrol. Later, it was learnt that both owners not only did not get any money but also their cars and boats were conscripted for free service.

It took four-hour drive from my village to the coast and then another two-hour drive by boat to the Island. We were told to bring our own food and working tools. I took only a saw as I did not have anything else in my home. For food we brought dried fish and fish-paste. We were put into two boats heading for the Island. When we reached there, about 100 people who had worked before us

were waiting on the coast for replacement. I saw many people from my village in the group.

As soon as we got there, the soldiers took us to their barracks and made us standing in line, and checked attendance. All rice we brought were taken by the soldiers. They said they would return us two tin (condensed milk tin) per day. We kept other food stuffs. Then we were brought to the makeshifts barracks which barely had roofs and there were nothing for the floor. We had to sleep on the ground with not enough blankets.

The following day, we were divided into small groups composed of five in each and then brought to different places across the Island. The main tasks were cutting the trees and bamboo, levelling the ground, carrying the metal pipes from the coast to certain places they ordered, building the barracks with bamboo and wood. They told us that the wooden buildings were for the guests. I did not know what was the reason for the metal pipes. They were about 20 ft long and 10-12 inches wide. We had to carry at different places. There were about 500 pipes as I saw. We also needed to build three mini landing-pads. First we had to level the ground, and put bamboo mats painted with white colour and red cross on it.

Daily works were not the same. If we worked cutting the tress one day, the army ordered us to carry the pipes or build the barracks another day. The size of the island bar us from knowing each other. There were about 300 inmates in prison uniforms and in chain working on the island. As they were separated from us, we could only see them in the mornings when they were going to their work sites and in the evenings when they were coming back. I did not know what kind of work they had to do on the Island. They seemed suffering from malnutrition and worse than us. They were not allow to speak to us.

On the Island, there were about 30-40 soldiers from LIB 104. Everyday, each person was given two tins of rice which was not enough for us. For myself, I ate three tins of rice daily when I was in my village. To cover the insufficiency of rice, we ate altogether and shared with others who ate little and who were sick.

We had to get up at 4:00 a.m., go to work site at 6:00 a.m. and take a break at 11:00 a.m. Then we had to work again from 1:00 p.m. to 5;00 p.m. I saw some foreigners from Tavoy joint venture office on the Island. They came with the army officers and walked around the Island. I have seen them before when I was in Tavoy. They had an office there with some other Burmese interpreters for about two years. I saw them coming by boats. I saw helicopters flying over the Island but I did not know whether they landed or not because I was working at my site. Sometimes, the foreigners stayed overnight and conducted measurement on the Island.

I worked there for 20 days, five more days than what I supposed to because the next groups to replace us did not arrive on time. As we just brought the food for fifteen days, it was very difficult for our survival during these extra days.

The military announced the water nearby Island as out of bound and threatened that anyone would be shot if found in this area. This water used to be a rich pasture of nearby fishermen but now they had to cash fish in a far place. That caused a problem for other local fishermen who are currently fishing in that territory. They have to compete each other. But since they live in a far place, they cannot compete with those who are very close. For that reason, many local fishermen abandoned their jobs and moved to Thailand. I did not want to come if I had a chance to stay. But I got to work without pay and no time to work for myself and my family. Can you believe that I had to go and work unpaid labour once a month? Each time it takes at least fifteen days. So I decided to work in Thailand after leaving three of my children at my parents' home. I got here two months ago and working at the construction site.

Interview: 207-HRV: Forced Labour, Livelihood,

Name: Ko Sein Oo
Age: 32 years
Family: Single
Address: Kanbauk village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Occupation: Odd-jobs labourer
Interviewed: 6 August 1995

[*He was interviewed on his way to Thailand. The interview was conducted in Nat Ei Taung. It took him about seven days to get Nat Ei Taung.*]

I was conscripted to contribute labour for the construction on Heinze Boke Island in last May 1995. Local authority ordered the people to contribute labour in rotating system in every three months. Although the people were forced to work for one month, sometimes it took longer than that since the army did not send them back to their native villages.

In our group, there were 12 people from our quarters. We were ordered to take our own working tools and they took care of our transportation, but in our own expenses. They took us by bus to Onpinkwin and then by boat to the island. As soon as we got there, we had to start working. The work included cleaning the surface, cutting down the trees and digging the trenches. Also we had to carry the steel pipes to the warehouse. These pipes were different in sizes. It was 20 ft long and 10-12 inches wide. We did not know how they were going to use them for. We dared not ask . We were ordered to carry from the pier to the warehouse on the Island.

We also had to work for the construction of helicopter landing-pads. We had to cut the trees, and level the ground and make circle with white paint. There were three helicopter landing-pads on the Island. Sometimes, we saw foreigners came to the Island and talked to the army officers in English. There were about 20 soldiers from LIB 104.

The island was covered with a dense forest before the army stationed there. There were wildlife on the Island. When we were on the island, there were some huts built by former labourers. We slept there at nights. All of our food were confiscated by the soldiers as soon as we got there and they delivered a small quota everyday.

There were also about 30 prisoners who were working with us, mounting over 200 labourers on the Island. They were conscripted from different areas. In addition to Kanbauk, some from Zar Ti and Laya villages. We heard some died of poor health. Because of bad weather and difficulties to get here, there were no children or women in the work site.

We had to get up at 4:00 a.m., make ready for work at 5:00 a.m., go to the work site at 6:00 a.m. and take as rest at 11:00 p.m. Then we started working again at 1:00 p.m. until 5:00 p.m.

Interview: 208-HRV: Refugee, Livelihood, Women

Name:	Daw Shin
Age:	54
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Parents:	U Ngwe and Daw Shwe
Family:	Married to Kyaw Kha Li
Address:	Law Tai village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	18 December 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

On 28 November 1995, Naw Maw Nee (my granddaughter) and Min Htaing Koung (my grandson), who sheltered at Payaw Mon refugee camp with me, and I went to Law Tai village to buy pigs for Christmas Celebration. At about 6:00 p.m. on 3 December 1995, while we were on our way back home after purchasing two pigs, were arrested by three SLORC soldiers from LIB 407. After one hour walk, we reached an out post of SLORC military column where there were about 30 soldiers and 11 porters. As soon as we arrived there, my grandson was tied up with a rope. Then a Major interrogated me.

Q. Where do you live? What are your nationality and religion?
A. Before I lived at Law Thai village. Now I live in Payaw Refugee Camp. I am a Karen and Christian.

Q. Do you know Dah Lay-led KNU troops which fought LIB 407?
A. I am not aware of the fighting. I haven't known or see Dah Lay.

Q. What is the relationship between the girl and the boy? Is she married?
A. They are my grandchildren. My granddaughter is a virgin.

Q. Why have they stayed in the refugee camp, instead of living in their home community?
A. They have been living with me since their parents deceased.

Then the Major threatened, "You are under arrest because you bring the pigs. You will be sent to Yar Phoo jail by tomorrow. Illegal trading of pigs can be tried and put in prison." I told him, "The pigs are only for Christmas celebration. Not for trade nor sale."

After the interrogation, I was sent back to the former place and my granddaughter was taken away at about 9:00 p.m. About one hour later, I heard her crying, "Grandma, help me! Grandma, help me!" Come and help me!. Although I heard she was crying and resisting for her escape, I was not able to help her as I was about 60 ft from her. While she was raped by the Major, four of his soldiers and the porters were around me.

Nobody was asleep. When my granddaughter came back, she told me what had happened continually in tears. One soldier came and told us to sleep. Although other people fell asleep, I could not sleep anymore.

At about 4:00 a.m. on the following day, a Sergeant arrived and told us that we would be set free by the order of the Major. But he said that we had to leave the pigs there. Then I begged him, "Sir, Please allow me to take one of them for feast." He then said that he would help me to go and ask the Major for permission. When we arrived in a bamboo grove, the sergeant embraced me and forced to lie down on the ground. I refused. But I could no longer refuse to co-operate when he threatened to stab me with a knife. Because I was very afraid.

Interview: 209-HRV: Livelihood, Refugee, Women

Name:	Naw Maw Nee
Age:	17
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Parents:	U Aung Myint and Daw Mu Kaloh
Address:	Law Tai village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	18 December 1995
Source:	NLD-LA

When Coy Comdr Maj Thein Soe from LIB 407 questioned me, I told him I could not speak Burmese. Then he said that he is a Karen and questioned me in Karen. When he asked me about my relationship with the boy and the old woman, I told him the boy is my cousin and the woman was my grandmother.

Then he continued to ask me about Dah Lay and his troops. When I replied that I did not know them, he said, As a Karen you must know Karen rebels. I told him again I really did not know them. Asking about living in the refugee camp, I said to him that as my parents were deceased and I did not know how to earn for my living, I had to stay with my grandmother in the refugee camp. Asking about the provision in the refugee camp, I said to him that we got rice and salt. Then he asked my occupation. When I told him I was a farmer, he said he sympathised me as my work was very hard and asked me to marry him. When I said that it was impossible, he embraced me and forced to lie down on the ground. I refused to cooperate and asked my grandmother for help. Then he threatening me by saying, Do you see that mattock? I will kill and bury you if you do not keep silent. Don't bother me. At that state, I could no longer refuse anymore.

Interview: 210-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Execution, Refugee

Name:	Ko Tin Sein
Age:	35
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese
Religion:	Buddhist
Father's name:	U Maung Tin
Family:	Married to Ma Hla Yin, with two sons and one daughter
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Hnan Kyal village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	10 September 1995
Source:	KNU

Q: When did you leave Hnah Kyal village?
A: I left on 9 September 1995.

Q: Why did you leave your village?
A: When I came back from railroad construction site on 8 September 1995 after my turn of contributing labour, I found that my family had been facing difficulties for their daily survival. I could do nothing for my family because I didn't get any pay for my work in railroad construction. First, the camp authorities promised that they would pay us. But they not

only didn't pay and but also ordered us to work more days for our absence on the raining days. After we completed all those assignments, they allowed us going back home. If I continue to stay in my village, surely I would certainly be subjected to further contribution of labour. Therefore, I left for the border to work in Thailand to save money for my family.

Q: You've worked in 30-Mile Camp, right? And, have you seen the SLORC soldiers beating the labourers?
A: Yes, I've seen. Mostly, camp authorities always punished the labourers who couldn't finish their assignment.

Q: Which battalion was taking security in 30-Mile Camp?
A: It is LIB 406.

Q: Do you think that camp authorities are civil servants?
A: No. they are officers from LIB 406. They arranged working hours and daily assignment for the labourers.

Q: How did the camp authorities manage daily quota of work for forced labourers?
A: Every labourer had to dig a 10 square ft x 1 ft hole.

Q: Did they pay labour charges?
A: No. Never.

Q: We have heard that Myanmar Railway Corporation under Ministry of Rail Transportation has paid labour charges for the labourers regularly?
A: I have heard so. But, we never received that. The prisoners were used for breaking rocks and stones under the management of camp authorities.

Q: Are there prisoners in 30-Mile Camp?
A: Yes.

Q: How many prisoners are there?
A: I think, about 200 prisoners.

Q: Are their legs chained?
A: Sure.

Q: When you were in 30-Mile Camp, any labourer died of something?
A: Yes. One labourer was killed by the security guard from LIB 406.

Q: So, Where did he live?
A: He lived in the same village of mine.

Q: What's his name? Do you know his age and parents' name?
A: His name is Ko Pe San, 30 and his father is U Thee Pe.

Q: Was he married?
A: Yes. He was married to Ma Htar with 3 children.

Q: How did he died? Can you explain me?
A: Yes. The camp authorities ordered Ko Pe San and another labourer from the same village to cut trees for sleepers which would be laid under the iron rails on 6 September 1995. Then they went to the hill located to the east of the camp. Later, Sgt Tin Win and his unit from LIB 406 followed them. In a short while, we heard shootings. When Sgt Tin Win came back and ordered us to carry the corpse of Ko Pe San, we knew that he was shot dead.

Q: So, What's Sergeant Tin Win's reason?
A: He ordered the labourers to assemble and said that who did let him [Ko Pe San] go to east part of camp where is limited area. Then, he said ,"We don't have any kind of responsibility for his death because he brakes the rule".

Q: Did you report to his wife?
A: Yes. We did on the same day, 6 September 1995. After receiving the bad news, Ma Htar and some members of village LORC came to 30-Mile Camp. Then, Sgt Tin Win told them to take the dead body back to the village and not to try to charge them at the court. Because, he broke the rule. Ma Htar replied she would not and it was enough for her to have her husband's body. Then, Ma Htar and members of Village LORC carried the dead body to the village.

Q: Ko Toe, who accompanied with Ko Pe San, didn't he explain the camp authorities?
A: Yes. He did. But camp authorities denied of ordering them to cut trees in the eastern part of the camp.

Q: What do you think about the SLORC military regime?
A: Since the period of so-called BSPP (Burma Socialist Programme Party) and the present SLORC military regime, our people cannot imagine what is wrong and right. Because, sometimes the authorities said that it was true, but next time they said, it was not true and they forgot what they mentioned before. I can say that the periods under BSPP and SLORC didn't lead us to the right direction.

Interview: 211-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Execution, Refugee, Displacement, Slavery

Name: Nai Shwe
Age: 34
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Mon
Religion: Buddhist
Interviewed: 4 December 1995
Source: KHRG

[*The following interview was conducted by KHRG in a Mon refugee camp in December 1995. Nai Shwe is a refugee who just returned from Ye Township.*]

I just came back from south of Ye Township. I was there for four months. This month SLORC has been resuming the railway construction there. From 1 to 15 December, SLORC announced that about 30,000 villagers from Ye Township must go. In Ye Township alone, each household had to send one family members. They had to come from as far north as Hnitkarin, half way to Thanbyuzayat, and as far south as the border [the border between Mon State and Tenasserim Division, 29 km south of Ye; Hnitkarin is about 35 km north of Ye]. There are six sections in Ye Town and about 30 villages in this area. On 20 November, Ye Township LORC held a meeting on railway construction. They announced to all village and section headmen that the people must go and contribute labour from 1 to 15 December. It was by SLORC quota — about 1,000 people from each village. They had to work between Ye and the [Tenasserim] border, 18 miles' distance. The people must get there by themselves, no help from SLORC. They had to finish the 18-mile-long embankment within the given deadline of 15 days. It was done before. But as the floods during the rainy season destroyed it all in 1995, they had to do again. Some of the line went through rubber plantations and some through paddy-fields. When the rains came, the part that went through paddy-fields was completely washed away, except in places. SLORC does not worry that the floods will destroy the embankment again because each time the floods wash it away, a bit is still left. Therefore, it gets bigger and more solid year by year, this year and again next year, and so on until it's finished. It's crazy. So I thought they probably won't lay the track this year. This year SLORC decided to dam one stream for hydro-power and for the control of water to make sure that it won't destroy the embankment. Right now it is just a plan.

I left the area on 30 November. In Ye, I saw villagers going to the railway. All the people have been going. They must go. SLORC has been applying a system of using the headman of the village to collect the people. As the headmen know the names of the villagers, they just take them to the place where SLORC is presence. The villagers can't flee, but if they really can't go then they have to pay instead. Each family has a quota of work assigned to complete, and if they can't go they have to hire someone else to replace them. If you don't have money you have to do it yourself. Each family had to dig three earthern pits of

10 square feet by 1 foot deep — altogether 10 feet by 30 feet, or sometimes 10 feet by 50 feet, and carry all the dirt. Hire for each pit cost 300 Ks so that it cost 900 Ks to complete the assignment. There were no convict labourers along this part of the line. Each family was assigned a place within the section that certain village was assigned to complete. If you could do it, you had to give 900 Ks to the village headman and he would find another person. There has been a labour camp at Ko Mine [9 miles south of Ye], but the villagers just stayed at the work site along the rail line.

The village headmen could not say anything to the villagers or to SLORC. They just received an order from SLORC saying, "You have to finish this part of the line", and they had to do it without saying anything. Although they didn't want to, they had to. If not, SLORC would say to them, "You are against the rule of Na Wa Ta [SLORC]" and fined them and so on. SLORC didn't say exactly what was going to happen to you if you didn't finish the work, but everybody knew. They have the right even to shoot you, or to say, "You can't live in this village anymore, get your house and family out of this village." They have that power.

People there also have to pay porter fees regularly, whether they go for railway construction or not. Normally in Ye Township SLORC just wants money, but in Tenasserim Division they want men [for labour]. According to the cease-fire agreement [with the New Mon State Party (NMSP)], SLORC can't take any porters or porter fees anymore in all of Mon State or Ye Pyu Township in Tenasserim. But are they still doing. So the NMSP complained, and SLORC answered "The cease-fire is just between the Tatmadaw [Burma Army] and MNLA [Mon National Liberation Army], military to military. The porters are not being taken by the Tatmadaw, they are being taken by Ma Wa Ta [Township LORC], and Ma Wa Ta is not part of the cease-fire agreement." But the porters are still with the Tatmadaw soldiers. I have seen them. SLORC treats the people just like before and is doing the same things, regardless of cease-fire agreement.

Interview: 212-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee, Displacement, Slavery

Name:	Nai Kyaw Mon
Age:	42
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with six children (aged 11 months to 16 years)
Occupation:	Fisherman
Address:	Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	2 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*The following interview was conducted by KHRG in a Mon refugee camp in December 1995.*]

We arrived here [the refugee camp] six days ago. I myself came first to see the situation and to build a shelter for my family. We left because they demanded too many kinds of "volunteer workers" and I couldn't do it all anymore. The village had to send people twice a month to dig and carry the earth at the railway construction site. We started working there in August. For my family, two people had to go. My wife and my daughter went because I have to be at home and do my work to support the family. My daughter is 16 years old. They had to go for 15 days each time, every month. They had to carry the dirt which the others had dug up. I've been there once — the men dig the earth and then the women carry it up the bank. My wife and daughter had to go and work near Ye Pone and Nweh Ley [about 40 km. southeast of their village]. Ye Pone is a small village along the motorway, near the big village of Kaleinaung.

They forced all the families living on the island to go. [Kywe Thone Nyi Ma is on an Island at the mount of Heinze River.] In 1994, one person from each family had to go, but in 1995 they ordered the whole family to go. We had no idea why so many. Whenever the order came, we just had to comply with. If a family could not go, they had to pay 3,000 Ks. My family never paid because we always went to the work. Each time over 200 people from the village went there. [The village is divided into two halves; each month, the families in one half must go for 15 days, then the families in the other half must go for another 15 days.]

There is an army camp on the island where there are about 12 to 15 soldiers from IB 273. They collected the paddy [quotas from the farmers] in the village where most of the inhabitants were farmers. We didn't have to do any work for those soldiers. I had a small boat and I fished in the small streams around the area with fish-traps.

Q: Have you heard of the gas pipeline? [The pipeline route is 10-15 km south of the village.]

A: I had to pay a monthly fee of 150 Ks for the pipeline but I have never been to the work site. The village leader told us about fees for the pipeline, collected the money and gave it at SLORC camp in Kanbauk. He said if we could not pay, we would have to go to the work site of the pipeline and contribute labour for three days and three nights. Some people from our village had to go. Although nobody went from my section of the village, Tavoy Su, some did from other sections of the village like Kaw Daw Pine. They went and worked at Kanbauk —Mi Chaung Ai work site. [This is exactly where the Total base camp is located.] I didn't hear anything about what kind of work they had to do. Whether we could pay or not, we had to pay somehow. If we had no money, we had to sell something of our own to meet the demand.

Q: Are people from Kywe Thone Nyi Ma still allowed to go to Kanbauk by water? [Total and Unocal have had SLORC build jetty facilities at Ka Daik in order to bring in pipeline supplies by sea. Ka Daik is on the southern arm of the Heinze Basin, between Kywe Thone Nyi Ma and Kanbauk.]

A: We are not allowed to go there. The SLORC soldiers at the camp near our village gave us an order. They told us that when the ships come in we are not allowed to go to Kanbauk by water or fish there. There are ships which load the lead at Kanbauk and go to the sea [there are mines in the Kanbauk area], but I don't know. We are not allowed to go close to the ships. We can still go to Kanbauk by water except when the ships come.

We left because of fees and forced labour. I am not happy with this railway project. When we were sick at the labour camp, we had to afford for medicines by ourselves and we had to eat our own food. We got nothing from them, only work. Kywe Thone Nyi Ma had about 1,000 houses [other villagers estimate closer to 500]. Many families as well as the singles have left. This year when the harvest period is over, many will come here. If I go back to my village now, they will arrest me and send me to the forced labour camp.

Interview: 213-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee, Displacement

Name:	Nai Thein Zar
Age:	28
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with one child (age three years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kyauk Ka Lay village, Ye Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	2 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*The following interview was conducted by KHRG in a Mon refugee camp in December 1995.*]

My village is eight miles from Ye [north of Ye]. My wife is still in the village. I heard that my sister here [in the refugee camp] was very ill so I came to see her. It took three days to walk here, or two days for a man alone. I just arrived here. If there is someone else who can accompany me, I will go back tomorrow.

I am a farmer. The SLORC has been planning to take 10 tins [about 160 kg.] of paddy per acre from my farm. We just heard before I came. All farmers would have to pay the same this year. I have already started harvest, but not finished

yet. I thought I could get 100 tins of paddy from three acres of my farmland. They would take 30 tins. In 1994, I had to give them two tins of paddy per acre. In 1994, at the beginning of rainy season before we planted, the Township official came to and searched for paddy in our houses. They took three tins by force and didn't pay anything. Then I had to give three more tins to SLORC who paid 70 Ks per tin. The leader from the big village of Taung Mon collected the paddy and then he himself went to give it to the army. He took it by train which went to Moulmein or Thanbyuzayat, so I don't know where it goes. I only knew we had to give it to Taung Mon village leader, and he took it to the train station. [Note: this 500% increase in paddy quotas (from two tins per acre to ten tins per acre) is happening in the same year that SLORC is boasting of a 500% increase in rice exports, from 265,000 tonnes to 1.2 million tonnes. A severe rice shortage is sweeping the country right now.]

In 1995, they would pay us 70 Ks per tin. In 1994, the market price was 225 Ks per tin. Just before I came here, I heard that the market price was 410 Ks per tin. Even though the rice has not been ready yet, the merchants come to the fields and offer us 410 Ks. It is the same in the market. [The merchants are clearly expecting the rice shortage to worsen and prices to rise even higher.] I have no idea why it is so expensive this year.

To feed my family, the rest [the 70 tins he gets to keep] should be enough. But I had to hire two bullocks to plough my field and I had to pay the bullock owner with paddy. So after I paid it, I would not have enough rice for my family. I would have to get some from my parents. Those farmers who could not meet the demand of SLORC had to run away or hide whenever the SLORC officials come. Later on when SLORC caught them, they have to pay by borrowing from others.

They also made the villagers in our area grow vegetables around the SLORC camp where they guarded the bridge. Each village was responsible for sending five people and two bullocks. They summoned us to their camp which was not so far from a field belonged to the villagers. It was near my village, but the owners were from Mon Hnin village. SLORC forcibly took the field and the owners dared not say anything. We had to use the bullocks to plough the field and the others had to gather the grass and weeds and grow vegetables. We had to go by turn and each time lasted for eleven days. From our village, every five people had to go for each time. There were about 70 houses in my village. The other villages were also responsible for sending people to contribute labour. They were also forced to grow chillies. I didn't know about other seeds because they had not been grown when I left. SLORC troops there was from IB 106.

Three days ago they said that we would have to go and work on the railway. The village leader told us about it after they held a meeting. The village leader asked the army to spare us from growing vegetables if we would have to work on the railway. Because if we had to do both, the burden on the people would be too heavy. Then the monks said, "This is harvest time, and the people are very busy. They have to reap the paddy, so please don't make them go now. After

the harvest they can go to the railway." The monks said if we had to go at once, our paddy would be destroyed. But they didn't listen to the monks. The monks asked the village leader to go again and tell that to the army. Before I came here, he went to talk to the army, but I didn't hear the result yet. They won't listen.

The village leader told us that we'd have to go to build the railway on 2 December. I have been working there twice — the first time for eight days and the second time for two days. That was about this time in 1994 when every family had to go. For this year also every family had send one person. They didn't tell us where or for how long. I arranged for my family by hiring one person to go for me. I had to pay him 700 Ks. Those who didn't want to go had to hire someone else to go for them. Some people in my village or at the construction site were available to hire. This time, people who have money will hire substitutes and then they can reap their paddy. Those who have no money, their paddy will be left in the field. That is why the monks asked the army to let the people finish the harvest. But the army said to the monks, "We won't stop it because this is a Government project and it is by order." The village leader told me they said that. We cannot disobey. Everything is by force. If I have no money, I cannot stay in that area anymore.

The SLORC Army said, "Now we are working on this railway and we won't make any military operations, so don't be afraid of going as porters or anything." Before, all the people were afraid of being taken as porters. But since the construction of railway started, they haven't been seizing porters. But I don't know for the future. Before, we never had to pay porter fees because the big village paid them, then we were forced to pay a monthly fee of 100 Ks per house. The village leader says we will have to keep paying in the future.

Interview: 214-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee, Torture

Name:	Nai Ong Mon
Age:	47
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with six children (age 9 to 19 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Taung Kon village, Yebyu Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	2 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*The following interview was conducted by KHRG in a Mon refugee camp in December 1995.*]

I left my village about 15 days ago. It took four days to come here [the refugee camp] with my family. We came because I could not go to the railroad

construction site and afford to pay the money they asked for anymore. Every month I had to pay 4,000 Ks to SLORC for porter fees and railroad construction fees. All families had to pay that much.

Our whole family had to work at the railway construction site. If you have three people in your family then three people have to go, and if you have four people then four people have to go. Those who could not work were able to take a rest. We had to go once a month and each time lasted for 15 days. You had to pay 4,000 Ks if you could not. If you could not pay the money, they would conscript you by forced to work there. No one was arrested in our village because every family paid the money or went to contribute labour. In our family, we did both. Whenever we could, we went and when we couldn't go, we paid. The last time we went was in September. Our whole village had to go. I went with my two daughters who were 17 and 19 years old. I thought at that time there were more than 200 people from our village, three people from some families and two people from others. There were about 200 houses in the village which is located to the west of Kywe Thone Nyi Ma [just north of the mouth of the Heinze River, near the Andaman Sea coast about 50 km south of Ye]. We had to go and work near Yebyu [about 20 km north of Tavoy along the Tavoy River, at least 80km from his village]. It took us two days to get there. We went by boat and by car. We ourselves had to hire the boat and the car to get to the construction site! We also had to pack rice for our meals there. SLORC didn't give anything. When we finished our assignments, we had to hire a car ourselves to get home. Hiring the car cost 300 Ks per person. For round trip it cost 1,800 Ks.

Each time, we were at the work site for 14 days. I had to dig earth. One thousand people had to dig 12 earthern pits. Then we had to carry the dug earth to the railroad [embankment]. While I was digging, my daughters were carrying the dirt. Soldiers were guarding us. I saw about 3,000 forced labourers and about 40 soldiers. That was only in our section. All the labourers were villagers. They divided the villagers into a group of 6, 7 or 9. Everyday, we started working at 8:00 a.m., stopped at 10:00 a.m., and then worked again from 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. Any villager who rested during those hours were beaten with sticks once or twice.

We slept in the place assigned for us and made our own shelters. As it was not a camp, each family had to make their own shelter. If you had a shelter you could sleep in it, otherwise you had to sleep in the rain. We had to gather leaves to make a roof, but there was no leaf to make a good roof for our shelters. [September is still monsoon when it rains almost constantly. Proper leaves for roofing are very difficult to get except in late dry season, April-May.] During working hours, we had to work whether it was raining or not. The embankment we built in the rain often faced erosion. Whenever it happened, we had to dig and fill it under the rain without resting.

We took our own food to the work site. They did not give us anything. If we didn't bring food along with us, we'd have to be starved. We had to take our own tools — spades and hoes — that we needed. There were sick people. They

had to find medicines for themselves. SLORC did not provide any of them, but there were shops selling medicines at the work site. I didn't know who owned them. SLORC didn't give any money to the sick people to buy medicine, and when the sick people got better they had to go back to work to finish their quota.

Q: I have heard that now SLORC is giving money to people who contribute labour in some places. Is that right?

A: I never heard that, and I never received any money.

Q: SLORC said that people who work on the railway get to watch TV and video shows at night — was there anything like that?

A: Each person had to pay 15 Ks if he/she wanted to see the video show. I had no idea where SLORC got the video machine. In our village, we had to pay the same fee if we wanted to see a video. [Note: In many villages, someone buy a TV and VCR and use it to make a living by running a small video cinema, 15 for Ks admission. SLORC claims to be providing such shows free of charge for railway labourers, but other reports have shown that they show this by confiscating equipment or ordering VCR owners to show movies at their own expenses. Even if they do this, the soldiers still charge admission fees to the labourers.]

Q: Have you heard about the gas pipeline project? [His village is about 15 km north of the pipeline route.]

A: Yes, we heard about that. We had to pay a monthly fee of 150 Ks for that. The SLORC soldiers made us pay. They came to our village once a month to collect the money. These soldiers were from Kanbauk and Phaungdaw area [Phaungdaw is where the pipeline is to come ashore, and Kanbauk is on the route right beside the Total Oil base camp] of LIB 404. These soldiers collected money from our village once a month. They collected it from the village leader. They said that this money was for "pipeline volunteer workers". [The expression he used for "volunteer workers" was "loke-ar-pay", the Burmese expression used by SLORC with reference to all kinds of forced labour.] They said if we didn't pay we had to go and work for three days at Phaungdaw work site. I had no idea what they were doing there. I never had to go because I always paid. Nobody in our village went there because we all paid. The only time when I was there [passing through the pipeline route area], I didn't see any pipe, I only saw them cutting down trees, pulling logs, and putting up buildings to make a camp. I saw only soldiers.

In our village, each family had to pay 300 Ks for porter fees every month along with the pipeline fund. As soon as we came back from the railway labour camp for the last time, I told my family to start getting our things together and then we came here. At the moment I have no plan to move from here. If we can stay here we will stay. If they try to send us back we will not go back, we will move to another camp. For now I dare not go back to our village. Nine families from Taung Kon

[village] have already run away and arrived here. Other families have run away to other places like Halockhani.

Q: The companies building the gas pipeline said it was making the villagers happy. How do you feel about it?
A: They got everything and we got nothing. The past is over, never mind about the past. But now what can we do? Now we cannot pay anymore. So we came here.

Q: What about the railway? SLORC says it will benefit the people.
A: What they say is all useless garbage. We gain nothing from it.

Interview: 215-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee, Torture

Name:	Nai Aung Sar
Age:	25
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with one child (age 6 years)
Occupation:	Fisherman
Address:	Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village, Yebyu Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	3 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*The following interview was conducted by KHRG in a Mon refugee camp in December 1995.*]

I arrived here [the refugee camp] almost four months ago. Last season I had to work for the railway construction. That's why I came here. SLORC tortured us. I saw it with my own eyes. They just picked up a stick from the ground, a bamboo stick about this big [2" diameter], and hit with that stick. I saw people bleeding and unconscious. If someone could not work they accused him of being lazy and not eager to work, and beat them very hard. After being beaten, the soldiers were forced them to work. The soldiers didn't care what would happen to you. If we were sick at the labour camp, we didn't receive any medical attention. If someone asked for medicine they would not give any, but beat the person for asking. If we couldn't work we were subjected to beatings and pay money. Since we were poor and couldn't afford to pay money, I had to come here. As all the labourers suffered the same things, they were afraid and then they fled to the border.

About 20 days ago I went back to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma. I was just trying to find out if people in my village continued to work at the railway construction. Just 15 days ago Ma Wa Ta [Township LORC] ordered the villagers to go for forced labour for 15 days each time. One person in each family had to go, rich and poor alike. If one could not go, he/she had to pay 3,000 Ks. I talked to my friends who were together with me at the labour camp during the last season and

they told me that this year would not be easy. They told me they had to contribute labour for 15 days every month and if they could not work, they had to go to the labour camp and pay the SLORC soldiers 3,000 Ks. They told me they also had to take their own food. There were so many poor families in our village. As they did not have much time to work for their living, they had nothing to eat. Eventually those poor families would have to come to the border. About 30 families have already left this year, and 50 families left last year [before rainy season in June 1995]. Some came here, and some went along the route to Nat Ein Taung to get into Thailand and seek for jobs. My friends advised me I should not stay there anymore. Many of them are also planning to flee. So I came back here 15 days ago.

Our village was divided into three parts — East, Middle, and West — and there were about 500 houses. Each section was responsible to contribute labour for 15 days whenever their turn came. About 80 people had to go for each turn [the others in the section pay the money to be spared from going]. This year they had to go and work between Kaleinaung and Yebyu. At the labour camp, we had to do everything asked by the SLORC troops. Sometimes we had to make fences, bunkers and barracks, collect firewood and dig foxholes for the soldiers near the labour camp.

The soldiers at Kywe Thone Nyi Ma were from LIB 406. Different battalions treated the people in different ways — LIB 409 is very bad and LIB 406 is good. There were about 25 soldiers there. Although we didn't have to do it all the time, they ordered us very often. We also had to pay a monthly porter fees of 300 Ks. We had to pay it to the chairman of the village. If the soldiers asked him for pork, we had to provide pork. If they asked him for 1,000 Ks, we had to pay it. If they asked for alcohol, we had to give it to them. We had to provide anything they asked for. The village head divided the amount among all the villagers. We also had to give them eight baskets of paddy per acre. I was not a farmer, I was a fisherman. So when they asked me for fish, I had to give it to them. They also collected tax depending on the size of your boat. If you paid them tax, then you could fish. It varied depending on the size of the boat — for a bigger boat the tax was much more.

The villagers also had to pay 150 Ks [per family per month] for the gas pipeline. We had to pay it for two years already. The village head collected the money and he himself went to give it, I thought to the soldiers.

Q: SLORC says these projects are good for the people. Do you agree?

A: I don't believe what they say. The way we have to work for the railway and the way they treat us, I think there will be no benefit for our people. I only saw that they tortured the people.

I got back here 15 days ago. I don't want to go back to Burma anymore, I want to stay here. I will find a job here and make a living. I will move to any place that the authorities prepare for us, but I will never go back to Burma until Burma gets democracy.

Interview: 216-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee, Slavery

Name: Mi Pan
Age: 39
Sex: Female
Ethnicity: Mon
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married with one child (age 9 years)
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Kyauk Ka Din village, Yebyu Township, Mon State
Interviewed: 2 December 1995
Source: KHRG

[The following interview was conducted by KHRG in a Mon refugee camp in December 1995.]

I arrived here [the refugee camp] four days ago. It took three of us — my husband my daughter and I myself — six days' to walk. We came by ourselves. Although my husband was 54 years old, SLORC continued to ask for labour and for money. As he is too old, he can't go to work there nor we have no money to pay. That's why we came here. They not only made us to pay porter fees, but also forced to go with them as porters. As my husband couldn't go, he attempted to hire others to go for him. When we couldn't hire anyone, SLORC forced us to give them 200 Ks. Before we left our village, as the village leaders told us we'd have to contribute labour for railway construction, we ran away and came here. We are the only family to be here from Kyauk Ka Din village although we heard other villagers talking about running away and coming here before we left. In Kyauk Ka Din, there were about 100 families and 100 houses. I heard others saying that first they would harvest their rice and then they would escape and come here. As the families would finish their harvest in December, they could come in the same month. I didn't ask anyone else though I heard three or four families talking like that. People were afraid of SLORC's awareness if they mentioned their plans. We will stay here for the future. I have no wish to return to Kyauk Ka Din. As we just arrive, we haven't heard anything about what the Thais say [about the upcoming repatriation]

Interview: 217-HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Child, Refugee, Torture

Name: Nai Tint Win
Age: 28
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Mon
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married with three children (age 1,2, 7 years)
Occupation: Farmer

Address: Paukpinkwin village, Yebyu Township, Mon State
Interviewed: 3 December 1995
Source: KHRG

[*The following interview was conducted by KHRG in a Mon refugee camp in December 1995.*]

I arrived here two months ago. It took us about 10 days to come, with my whole family. We left because SLORC forced us to do railway construction. Besides that, the soldiers also forced us to work for them in their camp. We had to clean the camp, cut bamboo for their buildings, and gather leaves and make roofs for them. At least 10 people had to go once a month. The SLORC camp used to be outside the village. But as they moved it into the village in 1995, they summoned the villagers every month. There were about 500 houses in the village. They rotated the people for camp labour the same as those for the railway — sometimes we had to go build the railway and sometimes we had to go work in their camp. If we could not go, SLORC forced us to pay 3,000 Ks. The nature of the work is the same whether it is railway labour or camp labour.

This season I had to go three times for railway labour and each time it lasted for 14 or 15 days. The last time I went was in September 1995. After that I left my village and came here. I had to dig the earth and build a 12-ft-high embankment. It was near Yebyu [about 120 km south of his village]. It took me four or five days on foot to get there, bringing my own food for the whole trip. We also had to take tools like baskets, hoes and spades. I always walked because I could not afford the bus or boat fare.

About 15 or 20 people from my village had to go at a time. When we got there, we saw about 2,000 or 3,000 people were working at that place. Elderly men, women, young women, and children about 13 or 14 years old were working there. Some people were beaten by the soldiers. Anyone who arrived at the work camp without tools or baskets was beaten. The soldiers beat them and asked, "Why did you forget your tools?" Some people were subjected to beatings when they took a rest because of tiredness. They hit them hard with bamboo sticks and tree branches. Some people were bleeding and some lost consciousness. They didn't care what would happen to the people they hit. Those who lost consciousness or were bleeding were left without help because the others were afraid of being beaten by the troops in case of helping them.

We had to start working early in the morning. At 10:00 a.m.we stopped to cook and eat. We had about two hours' break to make baskets to carry dirt and then we worked again. When it was not raining, we all slept in the open field, and if it was raining we made shelters for ourselves and slept. Some people got wet in the rain. Those who were sick were not spared from working. SLORC didn't give any medicine. Some people brought medicine with them. Anyone who was seriously sick was allowed to go back to their village to take medicine. But they normally said the sick people were lying, and didn't allow them to go back. I heard that some people died at the railway construction from serious illness.

When I worked for the railway, my family stayed behind and worked in the field to grow paddy. Then when I got back home, I worked very hard for my family to make sure there would be no problem for them supposing I had to go to the railway again. I could only stay at home about 15 days before going again. All the families in the village had to go and work. We were divided into two groups and when one group went, the other could stay in the village. Then when one group came back, the other group had to replace them. After arriving back in the village, sometimes we had to go and work for the soldiers' camp in our village. We had to clean the camp and find firewood for the soldiers. It's only a small camp. Each family also had to pay a monthly porter fees of 200 Ks.

Along the way here, we were careful to avoid SLORC. I asked people to get information about SLORC and if they went one way then we went another. I don't want to go back to Burma. If the Thais don't force this camp to move then we'll stay here, otherwise we'll move to another camp. No way can I go back to my village. I am afraid of SLORC. If we arrive back at our home, SLORC will ask us why we ran away. I'm afraid of them, and I'm afraid of the railway construction.

Interview: 218-HRV: Livelihood, Detention, Slavery, Refugee, Torture

Name:	Nai Tin Maung
Age:	25
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children (age 1 month and 3 years)
Occupation:	Schoolteacher
Address:	Northern Ye Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	4 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[Nai Tin Maung was among the 16 refugees who were subjected to arrest after the attack to Halockhani refugee camp on 21 July 1994 by SLORC troops from IB 62 led by Lt-Col Ohn Myint. All of them were forced into portering when the troops marched to Ye. On arrival in Ye, all of them, except Nai Tin Maung, were released several days later. Being a schoolteacher in the refugee camp, Nai Tin Maung was subjected to detention, interrogation and imprisonment for two years. The following story was told in his own words after his release.]

Last year I was a teacher at Halockhani [refugee camp]. I was teaching Mon and English. I had been at the Thai border for three years. I was living in Plat Hon Pai section of the camp. As a teacher I was a member of NMSP [New Mon State Party], but I had no connection with MNLA [Mon National Liberation Army, armed wing of the NMSP]. When SLORC came I was staying in the

camp. I saw the army come into the camp. They arrested me as a member of NMSP because the villagers told them I was a teacher. [On entering the camp, the troops called for all the teachers, and he was the only one there.] They handcuffed me in the village, then they took me as a porter. With me fifteen other villagers were also taken by SLORC, but later they were released. They didn't release me.

When I was brought with them they didn't tie me up. I had to be a porter. The load was quite heavy. I was carrying heavy artillery shells and a base-plate of 82 mm. mortar. [A mortar consists of a heavy tube set up on a heavy flat metal base-plate, weighing well over 10 kg] Some of us had to carry loads and some did not. Those who didn't have to carry loads were handcuffed to make sure they would not escape. Four people out of our 16 were handcuffed and used as guides. Three of us were members of NMSP, and the rest were villagers. [SLORC only knew that as a teacher, he was a member NMSP — they didn't know that two others were with the NMSP Agriculture Department] I had no idea why they were taken.

We were with IB 62. It took us four days's walk from Halockhani to Ye. When we left I saw them burning Plat Hon Pai. On the way, I saw them burning three villages: Plat Hon Pai, Ka Mon, and Klay Taing. These villages were very far apart. One village was burned down because a villager shot at SLORC soldiers and then ran away. They burned down the other because a battle had taken place near the village. When we were porters, we were beaten two times. Once we were beaten at night. Because of rains, we had to sleep in the rain in a sitting position. Although that night was very cold and raining, they did not allow us to lay down, to warm ourselves in our longyis or to go to the toilet. So we were noisy and the soldiers beat us with a stick. Also, when people could no longer walk fast, we all were beaten. They beat everybody. They hit us on the head and shoulders with sticks. Along the way they gave us just a little rice. They never gave us enough food and no curry, only salt and fish-paste. They didn't say anything to us.

When we got to Ye, the other 15 people were released. The soldiers told me I was guilty because I had connections with the Mon rebels. They said, "Tell us how long you have been working with Mon rebels." When I told them I wasn't, they beat me. They asked me how many were Mon soldiers of the 15 villagers. I told them none were Mon soldiers, and they said, "Only you?" So I said, "Yes." They asked how long I had been a teacher and I told them one year. They asked "Who pays you?", and I told them the villagers paid me. [Note: on arrival in Ye, the other 15 captives were released. Most of the soldiers then proceeded north to IB 62 base in Thanbyuzayat, while some took him further north to IB 62 headquarters in Mudon.] When we arrived at IB 62 headquarters in Mudon they asked me, "Are you a teacher?", "Do you have any connection with organisations?", and things like that. I said, "Yes. I had contact with N— from NMSP." Then they kept asking, "Who is N—?", and I told him he was a Township Secretary. When they asked me about Major S-— and his Company, I told them I knew nothing about that. Then they beat me and said, "You know

him. You are lying to us." They slapped me in the face. They kept asking questions like that for about one hour and then they sent me to No. 5 Military Intelligence Unit. Personnel from MI 5 came and took me by car, with three or four soldiers guarding me. Their headquarters is in Moulmein. It is a big camp, I think there are 30 or 60 soldiers there. At their camp they threatened me. They showed me a place and said "Get in there. That is your place." It was like a prison cell. They gave me some food and I had to call the guard when I needed to use the latrine. They interrogated me for three-five days. They beat me for one or two days and then they didn't. They punched my face and kicked me. After six days, personnel from MI 5 took me to the police station. Nothing happened there and I stayed only one day. After that they took me to Moulmein prison and then to a court where I was tried.

I had to appear before a court, and the judge asked me whether I had any connection with NMSP. I said "Yes", so he told me "You know that you are guilty for co-operating with NMSP?", and I said "Yes." Then he sentenced me to two years' imprisonment. Since they knew about me and it was no use to lie, I told them the truth. They gave me the chance to get a lawyer but I didn't because it would make no difference. The judge was a civilian and the court was full with many people, all police.

Then they gave me prison uniform — two shirts and two longyis in white colour [prison uniforms are made of very rough white material] and put me in Moulmein prison. There are five buildings in the prison compound. The place I slept was like a hall where there were about 200 people. It is about 200ft long and 50 ft wide. They leave a space at the centre for walking and people sleep on either side. It is not enough space for 200 people. It had a wooden floor, but they didn't give us mats. They gave us one blanket. There is a place with a bucket to defecate and three or four pots to urinate. In the morning, they came and collected all the pots to use as fertiliser.

In our room some prisoners were murderers, rapists and pickpockets while some were in for fraud. But about 160 or 170 were like me, accused under Section 17/1 [contact with "illegal" organisations, a standard charge for political prisoners] and 17/2 [rebellion against the State]. Some were rebel soldiers and some were charged with co-operating with the rebels. All the political prisoners were in my building. In daytime we had to work. At 3:00 p.m. we stopped working, took a bath and ate. After that we had to line up for roll call, and at 6:00 p.m. we all had to go back to our own building. At 7:00 p.m., they blew a whistle and we all had to be at our sleeping places. We could sing or laugh until 9:00 p.m., but no sound was allowed after 9:00 p.m. and everyone had to sleep and be quiet. If someone had to go to the toilet they had to shout "Piss!" or "Shit!" You could go only if they allowed you. If they didn't answer you couldn't go. We woke up at 5:00 a.m. and we were allowed to pray. From 6-7:00 a.m. they rang the bell and we all had to line up and get boiled rice gruel made of rice, salt and water, and then we had to go to work. Then at 10:00 a.m. we got a meal of rice and some vegetables boiled in water with salt. At 4:00 p.m. we got another meal which was not different from the morning one. The

food was not enough for me. They gave us only one plate of rice. There were so many kinds of work — feeding the pigs, metalworking, weaving, gardening vegetables, cooking at the mess hall, and so on. The political prisoners had to work the same as the criminals. Then the authorities sold the pigs and the things we made, in the market. Criminals had to go for [Ye-Tavoy] railway labour, but not political prisoners.

Prisoners who got sick were checked in the prison and if necessary they were sent to the hospital outside. But you had to pay them money first. You had to pay 500-600 or 1,000-1,500 Ks to the warden. In prison hospital, they just had a few medicines like Paracetamol. Basically they had no medicine at all. If you gave money to the guards, they would buy some for you. In prison we made our own medicine for malaria. We took 6 or 7 small bugs [he named a type of insect that lives between the cracks in floorboards], mixed it with jaggery from palm trees and Flying Man digestive powder, rolled it into a pill and swallowed it. I got sick once with malaria, for one whole month. I didn't go to the prison hospital but I bought medicine for myself. I had money because my mother brought it when she came to see me. She came one time every three months. The guards didn't allow her to see me. She told them my name and gave money to them. The guards took 200 out of every 1,000 Ks before they gave it to you. Being a political prisoner, I was not allowed to see my family.

I saw two people died in prison from sickness. The guards only beat the newcomers. Every new prisoner is beaten by the chief guard. For the first one or two months they regard you as a new prisoner and beat you. After that you become an "old hand" and no more beatings. I was in the prison for 16 or 17 months. I was released on 28 October [1995]. The prison authorities gave back all my belongings and I went back home. But my family is here [at the refugee camp], and my people at home are in trouble because of SLORC. I came here because I don't want to see SLORC's face anymore. I was released because some majors from MNLA came and vouched for me. About 30 people from my group and 20 people from another group were released [after SLORC/NMSP cease-fire agreement was reached in June 1995, the NMSP requested the release of certain political prisoners]. I think the Mon leaders negotiated it with SLORC. As for me, my opinion in two words is that SLORC is no good.

Interview: 219-HRV: Livelihood, Displacement, Refugee, Forced Labour

Source: KHRG

[*The following report was collected in November and December 1995 by a human rights monitor who visited the area north of Myawaddy, Karen State.*]

I travelled to Tar Doh Thu Hta on the Moei River near Mae La in November 1995 hoping to cross the river there [the river is the border]. But as a few travellers there reported problems with the Burmese, I went to another place

further south and crossed there in the same month. I went to Thee Wah Bu village on Meh Bleh river, which I couldn't recognise well, partly because I hadn't been for a long time and partly because it has changed. About 10 years ago it was a village which was well inhabited, with a well-kept road, houses and a school. Before it had 50 houses. But now if you enter the village, you don't even know you're in a village because it's so quiet! The houses were unkempt and I could see a few people sleeping in them, presumably most must be sleeping outside the village. I talked with some of the villagers and they said that there were only 18 households left. Of those who had gone, some went to Thailand and some fled further into the hills. The villagers said, "We must make two or three houses each, so if Na Wa Ta [SLORC] or Ko Per Baw [DKBA] come we can flee to our places in the fields". They have also taken all of their household items and hidden them in the rocks and cliffs in the area to make sure that SLORC or Ko Per Baw cannot take them as they have already suffered this in the past.

Thee Wah Bu is in the T'Nay Hsah village-tract, along with B'Wee, Thay Mo Pah, Wa Klu Bu and Htee Wa Klay, and all these villages have experienced the same situation. The number of houses in each of these villages respectively is 17, 8, 25, and more than 20. There is no school amongst them all, and only two monasteries.

In November, I travelled around the area of these villages and found that many fields were not being cultivated and many people were ill, but they had no medicine to cure themselves. People said that since the beginning of 1995, it has been not only very difficult to stay and cultivate but also the way to Thailand has been more and more troublesome [SLORC and DKBA are systematically blocking the escape routes for refugees]. Village leaders said to me, "It is getting more and more difficult, when will things be better?" I could see that. The parents hope for better times but if the youths cannot keep their determination to help their families working in the fields, then all happiness will be lost. When I saw babies, I had the heart to them as they are growing up in the midst of sicknesses pressing upon them and with no opportunities to learn. I saw this and was angry but could do nothing. Inwardly I was thankful that we Karen who stay in the refugee camps in Thailand are blessed that our brothers and sisters from other lands give us food, clothing, medicines and other help that we need.

In the same month, I left B'Wee for Day Law Pya. In the fields, I saw that a few people were working and that they still had some of their buffaloes. There were also a few people along the path, but not like before. The houses are all in disrepair like in other villages. People's lives in this place are as water on a ku leaf. [Water beads on a 'ku' leaf - if you touch the leaf the beads shake and scurry around, and they are easily knocked off the leaf.] I stayed in Meh Bleh Wah Kee for three days. One day I went to a coconut seller, who said to me, "If you can climb the palm you can eat as you please and you need not pay me, because soon Na Wa Ta or Ko Per Baw will come, and if that so they will take and eat them all anyway." Although Meh Bleh Wah Kee and Day Law Pya

were both very pleasant places, the people there live in fear and are always steeling themselves for SLORC or Ko Per Baw to come and oppress them. They said that Ko Per Baw and SLORC came two times already and most of the people fled and hid. If not, they ask people about weapons and frighten people by saying that the people are hiding guns or Kaw Thoo Lei [*KNU soldiers*].

In the afternoon on one day in December, two groups of women — three or four in a group, passed through the village, following each other. They were grandmothers carrying children, with baskets on their backs and woven bamboo trays on their heads. They had left their village and were going into the hills, going like this, trip by trip, until all their household possessions were removed. I asked one elderly woman, "Why are you carrying all of this? You can run anytime and hide only yourselves, really". She answered to me, "Don't speak like this. The 'raw food eaters' [presumably meaning SLORC or DKBA, who steal their livestock and food], they take everything until it is gone and nothing left for you. So it is better to carry everything away now." As night was falling they went again, and went slowly and quietly from the village. I went to a person's house and looked inside to see what was left, and saw only two wooden water carriers without any water in them. I spent the night there. That place is part of Taree Kyo village, close to Htoh Thu Kee.

During November and December, I was travelling around and visiting people in this village-tract. Whenever people saw us they would ask, "How long until things become better?" I heard that question in so many places, and I know that they hope to have a decent government and to be free from this oppression. In December, I went to Loh Baw village and listened to a village elder from Pah Klu. He said that that very afternoon, Maung Chit Thu of Ko Per Baw had sent a verbal message to Pah Klu, Loh Baw and other villages. It was to effect for the next three days that each village had to send at least 30 people to clear land, bringing their own food and a total of 400 logs — each at least seven feet long and three hands in circumference — all to Ker Ghaw village. The message also said, "If you do not do as we instruct you to do and then something will happen to you, don't say it was our fault". Maung Chit Thu is a Ko Per Baw company commander in Ker Ghaw village. He stays near the Kho Khat monastery by the Meh Bleh river, and moves around the area. Maung Chit Thu did not say where they would have to do the land clearing work, nor what would be done with the logs. Pah Klu and Loh Baw are good places. But when they heard Maung Chit Thu's order, their faces became full of troubles. I know that right now the villagers must finish their harvest, and some said to me, "I will finish my harvest, then I will flee to Thailand if the way is open, or otherwise I must run to a faraway place."

In December, I went to Pah Klu in the morning and met an old friend from school, so I was very happy. He brought a melon to cook. As I was cooking rice, we heard that SLORC and Ko Per Baw troops arrived at Lay K'Tee Kee village. Thus we had no time to cook the melon and we ate rice with chillies and salt and then went back to Loh Baw village, where we slept at night. Villagers there said to me, "There is no way we can encounter Na Wa Ta or Ko Per

Baw". The people there must just run without thinking about things. After finished eating in the next morning, we left immediately as we heard that the Burmese would come to Loh Baw Po. After we separated, I went back to Htee Wah Klay. Later that day when I was there cooking rice, people came fleeing from Loh Baw, saying that the Burmese had already arrived in Loh Baw. Therefore we left without finishing our cooking, back into the hills to head back to Thailand. The villagers had heard that the Burmese would be doing something around the Meh Bleh and Moei rivers and also in the hills, but they didn't know what. So many people said that once their harvest is finished they will flee to Thailand. We slept in the hills along with four elderly women, two babies and two teenagers. They were carrying bags and baskets and had followed behind us. When we asked them they said they were fleeing to a refugee camp, so we came back together. Finally, we arrived back in Thailand. I felt restless and dissatisfied.

Interview: 220-HRV: Livelihood, Displacement, Refugee, Forced Labour

Source: KHRG

[*The following report was collected in November and December 1995 by a human rights monitor who visited the area north of Myawaddy, Karen State.*]

At 12:00 noon on 22 December 1995, a meeting was held at the monastery in Htee Sah Ra village. The meeting was attended by Nay Aung, officer from Strategic Command and Township LORC in Myawaddy, a village LORC official, officials from Timber Excise Department and Health Department, an official from Education Department and officers from IB 88 based in Meh Bleh village as well as Htee Sah Ra village leaders and the public. Commander of IB 88 opened the meeting by saying that in the past as the leaders and members of Htee Sah Ra village community had not worked together with the Myawaddy leaders, a new village administrative body in the region consisting of Htee Sah Ra, Ker Ghaw, Kwee Lay, Sgaw Ko, Pah Klu, Meh Bleh and Kway Sha villages would be formed. He said village leaders from each of these villages would have to work together with Myawaddy leaders. Furthermore, he said that if they needed something done they could inform the authorities in Myawaddy for examining the prospect of giving assistance. He then pointed to his badge, numbered '88', and said that they are a peaceful battalion. Having said that, he left the meeting.

Then the Township LORC official spoke. He said that previously as this region had been under the control of Village LORCs, the situation has not been so good, but things will be getting better and the conditions in the villages will be pretty reasonable in the future under the administration of Township LORC. He announced that they would begin registration of the village population and requested the village elders to begin assigning numbers, after which they will conduct a full registration process. He said that people who did not present at the time of registration and have their names recorded as members of the village

community would be regarded as outsider and if military units from other areas caught them to work as porters or such like, the Township LORC would have no obligation to step in. The Township LORC officer requested the village elders to also register the number of bullocks and bullock carts to facilitate the process in case of demands by SLORC.

Finally, he said that those who had finished 8th Standard in a Burmese state school and would like to be health workers or teachers could give their names to the Township LORC who would arrange for the training. He then asked the villagers if there was any other things they would like to do, such as fish farming, the people answered that they couldn't do this because there were no places available.

The Timber Excise official spoke next saying that in the previous days although there has been no system of regulation for trading in logs, from now on rules and discipline world be imposed. After about 45 minutes, the meeting ended and the medics present examined villagers and prescribed medicine.

However, the situation has not been improved as said by the Township LORC officer reported. At presently IB 88 has greater power than any of those other groups and their duty is to move around Meh Bleh region. For example, on 23 December they sent an order to Htee Sah Ra village ordering the villagers to build a five-ft-high bamboo fence along both sides of the road leading out of Htee Sah Ra, and build it such that a person could not even fit their hand through the gaps, let alone pass through the fence, in order to prevent land mines from being laid on the road [building a fence this solid will require a great deal of bamboo and labour]. Villagers in Meh Bleh village have been ordered to construct this fence starting from their own village all the way to Htee Sah Ra while villagers in the latter village have been ordered to continue the fence out the other side of the village to unspecified point.

Furthermore, Township LORC is currently calculating the size of people's farms in order to levy taxes on land holdings. Ko Per Baw are ordering the villages to collect all scrap metal, which Ko Per Baw will sell to get funds. A unit from SLORC LID 22 operates a small checkpoint on the way to Thailand and they demand 100 Ks from every person coming from Thailand and 50 Ks from every person going to Thailand. Many villagers are saying to themselves that if the situation continues to worsen, they may try to go to Thailand until things get better.

[Usually, SLORC uses village registration in order to determine forced labour quotas for each village, as well as a way to decide how much money, livestock, rice, etc. to extort from those villages. In this case they may also use the registration process as an opportunity to capture people who are suspected of having relatives in the KNU, to hold them hostage, or to screen and arrest anyone they don't like in the village. Anyone who doesn't register will likely be subjected to arrest at any time if found in the region. Failure to register would be seen as grounds to torture or execute anyone, on the assumption that only KNU people would avoid registration.]

Interview: 221-HRV: Livelihood, Refugee, Forced Labour, Child, Women, Disappearance

Source: KHRG

[*The following account was given by villagers who were fleeing the area of the Kru Tu — T'Nay Hsah road construction, in southern Pa-an Township, north of Myawaddy, in an interview with an independent human rights monitor at the end of December 1995.*]

Starting from dry season of l995 [October], people have had to go to dig and construct a car road from Kru Tu village (Kyon Doe in Burmese) to as far as T'Nay Hsah. All villages in the region adjacent to the road had to go. They were being forced by SLORC troops from IB 88 based at T'Nay Hsah village and a few DKBA soldiers. At the time that we went, the construction of the road had come as far as Noh Pyu village. We heard that the construction will continue until Paw Yay Bu in District 2. In Ber Kho area of T'Nay Hsah District, all villages had to attend the road construction. We went together in a group of ten people, amongst fifty people working there. The road is built five feet high [a five-feet-high embankment] and wide enough to accommodate two cars side by side. We had to take our own food and received no pay. If one of us assigned was unable to go, his wife or children had to go. If there were no young people in the house, the elderly, even with white hair, broken teeth and stooped over, had go and cook for the SLORC soldiers. There were also some ten-year-old children who carried the earth in trays. We were amongst fifty people at the road construction. After we finished our assignment, our names were again selected by lot so that we had to go again. As we were not free to attend to our occupations, my family had to borrow rice from others at the time when we had to go for the road construction. If nobody went, we had to find other people to go for us or pay 200 Ks per person per day, or else they said that they would come and take our possessions and livestock. As for me, all I had at home was a pot and some plates. We came here secretly and we didn't tell anybody.

We heard that the motorway will have a gravel layer, and that the stones for this will be worked from the T'Nay Hsah cliff which needs a sacrifice of seven women and 30 men. The women must be young and unmarried. [We have no previous reports of SLORC conducting 'human sacrifices' although there are a few radical elements within DKBA with some extreme and unusual beliefs. The call for a sacrifice is most likely a rumour based on the fact that SLORC has specifically requested young unmarried women. It is more likely that the people are being called for forced labour quarrying gravel, and in the process SLORC is requesting young unmarried women so they can rape them — SLORC units generally prefer to rape women who are young and unmarried. The fact the villagers would believe that SLORC is capable of human sacrifices simply reflects the level of barbarity they are used to from SLORC.] In December, SLORC soldiers came to Kler T'ku village and called one 16-year-old girl to go back with them to T'Nay Hsah. The following morning, her mother went after

them and then SLORC soldiers said that they had already let her go the previous day. Since then people haven't seen her so far. Since the news on a sacrifice of 37 people at the cliff has been widespread, the villagers there are is great fear.

Now the SLORC soldiers are staying at T'Nay Hsah. I heard people saying that they are from LID 88. As we could not bear the sufferings any longer, we fled along with some of our family members. We must return to get others who are still in the village. We left on 20 December 1995.
[*Note: the road construction project is still going on.*]

Interview: 222-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Women

Source: KHRG

[*The following report was submitted by an independent civilian human rights monitor who visited the Day Law Pya area.*]

One unit of SLORC IB 88 and DKBA organised themselves at Sgaw Kho, and then left Sgaw Kho on 3 December 1995, went to Pah Klu on 5 December, Loh Baw on 6 December, and Htee Wah Klay on 7 December. On 8 December, they returned to Loh Baw Maw Ber Htah where they saw villagers in a hut next to the fields, where they had gone to work, and shot at them. Neh Saw Ker (30, a Karen Buddhist and married with children from Day Law Pya) was seriously wounded in his right shoulder. They also shot and killed two bulls and three cows belonged to Kyaw Met of Day Law Pya.

On 10 December, the same troops arrived at Meh Bleh Wah Kee. Some of the male villagers fled to save themselves, leaving the young and elderly women behind. More than ten people were arrested and forcibly taken from the fields they were working in. Naw May Lah (30, female, Karen Buddhist farmer from Meh Bleh Wah Kee) was among the group. They were forced to carry extremely heavy army equipment across the Dawna Mountains, to Ber Kho on the other side. They had to carry it for two days. An elder of Meh Bleh Wah Kee followed them. On 13 December, the SLORC soldiers released them in Htee Hseh Ker area and they were all able to return with the elder.

Interview: 223-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Detention, Forced Labour, Execution, Displacement

Source: KHRG

(*During an interview with KHRG, the following account was given by a young Karen civilian who was at the Karen New Year celebration at Wah Baw village, about seven miles east of Lamaing which is about 20 miles north of Ye and on halfway along the road from Thanbyuzayat to Ye.*)

On 21 December 1995 the Karen people were celebrating Karen New Year's Day like the years before. They were holding the ceremony peacefully — they had dancing and competitions and they made offerings to the elderly who gave blessings to the young. I was there at that time. There were over 1000 people there. Although there are only about 50 houses in the village villagers from all villages around Wah Baw were attending the ceremony. I think 11 Don Dance groups came. You can imagine — in each group there were 20 or 30 people.

The celebration started at 8:00 a.m. and the SLORC troops composed of Lamaing-based IB 106 and Ye-based LIB 343 attacked and destroyed all the things. About 240 troops under Southeastern Command [commanded by Maj-Gen Ket Sein] were combined for operation. We think they left their battalion camps at night and arrived outside the village early in the morning, before the break of dawn. They divided into two groups: one group took position on the hill beside the village and the other raided the village. At that time we were in the field [the celebration was held in an open field just outside the village, where the villagers had erected a stage]. They just fired and attacked the village without seeing any enemy there. And they ransacked every house and took everything. While we were all running on hearing the shooting, the troops on the hill saw the crowd scattering around and shelled into the gathering. I think the shells were 60 mm [small mortar], not 81 mm. Because in my experience I have seen 81mm and 120 mm mortar which are very strong and explosive. But the vibrations of these shells were not that strong. We couldn't count how many shells! They opened fire on us both with small arms and mortars for about one hour .

They also pounded the village with two or three mortar shells, causing their own troops got injured. Two soldiers died, according to the porters. They took eight porters from the village, and later these porters told us they had to carry these wounded soldiers. But these two soldiers died on the way to their base. Fortunately, no one else died from the shelling, but one of the villagers was arrested, cut down, stabbed in the chest and clubbed to death with a bottle. He was just an ordinary villager. He wasn't taking part in the ceremony as he was

drunk and asleep. So they dragged him into the field, asked some questions and then clubbed to death with the bottle. They broke it on his head and then stabbed him with the broken bottle in the belly. His name was U Plaw Toh (30, from Wekame village, Thanbyuzayat Township). It happened while they were raiding the village.

They conducted house-to-house search and took everything. Some soldiers, on seeing anyone wearing a necklace, snatched it right off his/her neck and took it. One of the villagers was ordered to come down from his house and then he was gunned down. One of the soldiers shot him in his knee. They said, "Come down from the house!", and as soon as he was on the ground, they shot him. They shot on purpose from right in front of him to injure him. That villager knew one of the SLORC medics because the SLORC camp is near their village. He told us later. When he saw the medic, the medic asked, "What's happened?" He said, "I've been injured." The medic said, "What are you doing here?", so he said, "I just came to attend the festival". The medic said, "Didn't you know not to come here?" and he said, "No. I didn't know." So the medic treated him with a bandage. Aiyy! That villager's name is Ohn Yi (32, from Wah Ko village).

Some people managed to escape from the village but some women and men were arrested as they were not able to get away. Aside from the one who was clubbed to death and the other who was shot, eight men [sic: actually nine] were taken and forced into portering. They were released when they reached the military camp. In the village, the soldiers fired a lot with carbine [rifle] and G3 [assault rifle]. They shot at random, whatever they saw. Of course, they'd like to shoot at everyone, but as the villagers were running they just shot at anything moving. While one of my friends was in a house with a sick person, a child came and told him, "SLORC troops are coming", then he jumped down from the house and ran away. They shot at him. Fortunately he managed to escape, he narrowly escaped. The sick man stayed behind. Later, we heard that they were going to burn down that house. But the sick man asked for mercy and said, "How can I carry these things?" He had malaria and was given intravenous at the time. So they didn't bother him, they just took everything from the house and went away.

We stayed away from the village for two or three hours, hiding on a hill just opposite the hill where the SLORC troops were positioned. One of the houses was also burned down. We could see the smoke coming out from the village. It was U Maung Thaung's house. He is 44 years old. Three cows were shot. They just shot them and injured them. One cow died and the other two were injured so that it could not be used anymore [to pull carts or plough]. They just shot and left them behind. The soldiers got all of our things.

We think the troops stayed in the village only about one hour. Because just two or three hours later, some villagers went around and said it was all quiet. When we went and saw, the troops had already left. We saw the injured man and the dead body, the house that was burned down and the cows that were shot. The injured man was carried into a house by some villagers and later transferred to

the hospital, maybe at Lamaing. I think he would get proper treatment there. But maybe first SLORC would force him to promise not to tell anything.

From the village they stole money, clothing, three cows, necklaces, and so on. Clothing, money and 40 silver coins [possibly colonial-era Indian rupees, which are still used as a valuable form of currency in some parts of Burma] from one villager's house was looted. We guessed the overall losses estimate at 100,000 Ks. On the way back to their battalion, the troops passed some other villages. One of them is Klay Taung which is close to Wah Baw. They stopped and took everything from the shops; they took bottles of beer, just drank a little and threw them away and destroyed them. The appointed Ya Wa Ta [Village LORC] headman in that village was not able to prevent them from doing anything.

We cannot imagine why they attacked Wah Baw [as opposed to New Year celebrations elsewhere]. In charge of that area from KNU thought that SLORC wouldn't disturb anything because the KNU had sent a delegation to Rangoon to meet SLORC leaders. So they should not have disturbed that ceremony. We can't find any reason why they came and attacked. Because if SLORC wants to achieve genuine national reconciliation, they shouldn't order their troops to attack and destroy Karen ceremonies. It must have been ordered. Under military discipline, the commander of the battalion cannot send his troops to do anything unless he gets an order from his superior. These troops are under the Southeast Command at which Maj-Gen Ket Sein is commander. So they cannot just do whatever they want, without any orders, right?

Q: At the time of the attack were there any Karen troops in the village?

A: Yes, they were around the village. But for the sake of the villagers, they didn't retaliate. Because if they had shot back, SLORC would say, "Oh, this is a KNU place", and burn down all the houses. There were about 100 Karen soldiers there.

Q: Did SLORC know they were there?

A: I don't know, I'm not sure.

Q: In the village, did SLORC give any indication that they were looking for Karen troops?

A: No. Maybe they asked the man they killed about that. But they didn't mention to anyone else. Maybe they knew that the KNU was around there. But even if the KNU was there, it doesn't matter. That celebration, that morning, did not concern with the KNU, it concerned the Karens as a whole. So no matter who is there, they should let them celebrate, if they respect each other, if they respect the customs of other nationals. They can attack the KNU anytime, anywhere. SLORC always tries to suppress other nationals, every ethnic people. They don't want to see any other ethnic nationals' customs influencing their people.

Q: What else is going on there?

A: They asked labour for the construction of Ye-Tavoy railway after the Karen New Year Day. But the village headman begged for pardon by saying, "We are going to make a ceremony and after that we can provide you the labour". Each house had to send one person. If you cannot go, you have to hire someone else to do it. This is the first time people there had to go. How long it will take for a term depends on the work — you have to dig holes, and carry dirt.

I also heard that around Wah Baw village, the fields will be used for an oil-palm plantation. They had a contract with Singapore, and also Daewoo Company of Korea to cultivate oil-palm. People supposed that they could be conscripted as labourers to grow it without any wages. They have not started yet. Thirty-thousand-acre wide plantation will be around Ye-Lamaing area. They won't care whose land it is, on the mountain or around the villages, they will do it. The villagers knew this from SLORC sources. [SLORC officers and officials often tell village leaders about plans for the area, even when they are not supposed to.] They will take land owned by people. These people have been living there for generations. They have had to clear their own fields, and own them. But SLORC will not clear new fields, just take the ones that belonged to the people. And they will conscript the local people as labourers. [This plantation may be intended for the purposes of "countertrade", a practice used by many foreign companies in Burma: they make their profits in kyats, which cannot be exported, so they buy domestic agricultural products from SLORC and export it to retain their profits.]

The witness also provided the following partial list of people who suffered in the attack:

No.	Name	Age	Village	Things lost / Remarks
1.	U Pwah Htoo	31	Duh Leh	3,000 Ks in cash and clothing
2.	U Maung Thaung	44	Wah Baw	House burned down
3.	Bee Lin	30	Wah Baw	Cow shot dead by SLORC
4.	Kyi Nyo	60	Wah Baw	Gold necklace, weight eight gram, 8,000 Ks in cash, clothing
5.	Maung Maung	58	Wah Baw	Gold necklace, weight eight gram, 20,000 Ks in cash, a cow, and clothing
6.	Ohn Yi	32	Wah Ko	Shot, kneecapped
7.	U Aung Soe	32	Wah Baw	20,000 Ks in cash, 40 silver coins, clothing
8.	Pan Ee	60	Wah Baw	Clothing
9.	U Plaw Toh	30	Wa Ka Mein	Beaten and stabbed to death
10.	U Maung Wai	46	Wah Baw	30,000 Ks in cash, two cassette recorders, clothing, all furniture destroyed

11.	U Tin Lwin	30	Wah Baw	Conscripted as porter
12.	U Tun Shwe	46	Wah Baw	Conscripted as porter
13.	Thaw Heh	45	Wah Baw	Conscripted as porter
14.	Hot Thaw	30	Wah Baw	Conscripted as porter
15.	Kya Teit	37	Wah Ko	Conscripted as porter
16.	Bah Ko	37	Wah Ko	Conscripted as porter
17.	B'Na Klo	28	K'Nyein	Conscripted as porter
18.	Po Tote	21	K'Nyein	Conscripted as porter
19.	Pan Li	30	K'Nyein	Conscripted as porter

20. Other things, amount uncountable, belonged to the villagers' stalls in the field were all stolen or destroyed.

Interview: 224-HRV: Livelihood, Displacement, Execution, Religion

Interviewed: 8 January 1996
Source: KHRG

I was in Pa-an District. But we couldn't reach other villages there because most parts are controlled by SLORC. But there are still some parts where we can go. We were living in the east of Dawna Range in Pa-an Township, Hu Way village-tract and Meh Pleh Kee Wah. There are eight or nine villages in each village-tract. I went to nine villages. We started two weeks ago and we were there for 10 days.

Before, SLORC never came to those villages except maybe once every few years. It is only now, with DKBA, that they come every few days. There are new bunkers for each house, even at the monasteries they have a bigger one. These are to protect from heavy artillery. Because DKBA wants the people to move to their new designated village near Ka Ma Maung [Myaing Gyi Ngu, DKBA headquarters]. So they said, "If you don't move from here, that will not be our responsibility". That meant they would not care about people from that area and if the KNU came in that area they would fight them even right in the village. They would not consider for the sake of the villagers. So the people were afraid and digging bunkers. They have also experienced some fighting in their villages. In this area, there were not so many KNLA Army who were trying to regroup their soldiers. The people didn't know who was in control of the villages and the people were afraid of DKBA and SLORC. DKBA moved around in all the villages I went to. They came every two or three days. Some villages were quite far from their place so they could only arrive there on a weekly basis. There were quite a lot of DKBA, but among DKBA not all were Karen — the villagers said that most of them were from SLORC. The villagers knew who was Karen and who was not, and they knew SLORC. They saw there were quite a lot of Burmese, and they knew they could not be DKBA, they must be SLORC. They wore DKBA badges, but they could not speak Karen. The villagers told me that DKBA had no badges, only yellow headbands. When DKBA needed a large force, they could get it from SLORC. In DKBA, they had a problem because some of them agreed to work with SLORC, and some

disagreed. I also thought SLORC did not believe DKBA, but they were playing politics.

If the village was near their base, DKBA arrived there every two days. At least 50 came together. Every time they come they steal all the livestock, even the chillies. They did not destroy the houses nor shoot the villagers in the village if there is no fighting. But as they took everything, including clothing in the houses, nothing was left. They gave no reason because they didn't talk to the people. In return, the people are not allowed to visit their base. So they come, they steal everything, and they go back to their base, and next time they come they do the same, every time. Their base is at Kyaw Ko, east of the Dawna Range. In the area, there is a base each for DKBA and SLORC. The commander of DKBA in 7th Brigade area is Bo Tha Htwe, former KNLA who has attended commando training.

The villagers there were in great trouble to get food and medical care because SLORC blocked all supplies from Burma — from Pa-an or from SLORC-controlled villages. SLORC attempted to stop anything from Burma getting to these villages. Even salt, they cut it off. And then DKBA entered all the villages and took the animals, cooking pots and rice. All the pots! So for the villagers it was difficult to cook and they had no rice. Even though they got some rice after the harvest, they could not cook as they had no pots. Therefore the villagers there were staying in the jungle and cooked in bamboo [they use the hollow bamboo as pots]. I went to quite a lot of villages, of which some were quite nice. As they were afraid of DKBA, most of the people were staying in the jungle.

The people told me that six months ago, two villagers in the area were killed because of carrying salt. But nobody could identify who did — DKBA or SLORC. But they are the same. In most of the villages, I think 20% of the villagers were suffering from iodine deficiency. I asked, "Why don't you have salt?" They said, "We have some salt, but not much." It has been great difficulty for them in getting salt. SLORC has a base on the way from there to Pa-an. Between Pa-an and those villages, there were four or five ways people could go on foot. When the villagers wanted to buy something from Pa-an, they used those routes. On each route, there were two checkpoints — DKBA and SLORC — where the villagers had to pay some money. Later on the villagers were not allowed to go. Everything that was carried from Pa-an to the villages had been cut off. SLORC didn't want it to get through.

The villagers didn't stay in big groups — just in a group of two or three families and sometimes just one family, beside a stream in the jungle. When they saw DKBA, they ran to another place. They ran and ran. They didn't know where to run to, they just ran to wherever they thought it was safe at the time.

Whenever DKBA needed porters, they collected money from the villagers. They said that this money was for porters. In these villages, they had another big problem — DKBA told the leaders of all these villages that they wanted to

get 2,000 Ks from each house and it would be the price for one year to pay to DKBA, like a tax. They didn't care whether the house was empty — if it was empty they could burn down. They said, "If you stay in this village, the consequence is not our responsibility."

Most of the villagers there are Buddhist, second is Animist, and the third is Christian. Some of them looked Christian but they mentioned themselves Buddhists, I thought because they were afraid of DKBA. The people didn't want to go to Myaing Gyi Ngu because they didn't believe DKBA. The people believed DKBA would not last much longer, because they did such bad things to the people. So the people said that one day there would be trouble for DKBA. There were no volunteers for DKBA, because the villagers hated them. Although DKBA formed a big group, most of them were SLORC. They were even in uniform with a headband. Most were Burmese.

There is a monastery in most of the villages but there were not so many monks, only one or two because they were also afraid of DKBA. All the monks I saw were afraid. I asked, "Why? Did DKBA cause you any problem?" They said, "DKBA came and asked many questions." They didn't care about Buddhism. They usually tried to get information from the monks. They asked, "Have you seen any KNU or KNLA in the area?" The monks just said, "I don't know."

We were in Pu Way village where there were 200 houses. One hour after we arrived, we heard some shooting from the next village, 45-minute-walk's away. It is near the DKBA base, only 10 minutes' walk. So they came. In this village, there was one village guard — KNDO [Karen National Defence Organisation, the KNU's village militia] which had been set up in all villages. Since this area was no longer under the control of KNDO, the village guards became independent. But they had weapons and guarded by themselves. I saw a village guard after he was wounded. He was helping the people to cut up a pig. DKBA saw him and shot at him so that he ran. When all the people ran, DKBA took all the pork and went back. The guard was wounded in the leg. They shot a medium weapon, like M79 [grenade launcher]. He was very lucky because he just had a small hole in his leg. When he was hit, he hid behind a tree. I asked the villagers, "Did you get any pork?", and they said, "No, they took it all". [*The DKBA professes of being vegetarian.*]

I saw the people harvesting. They harvested their paddy in the fields and then they hid it at many places in the jungle. They didn't keep it in the village. They divided it and usually hid it in caves in the mountains. Normally the people wouldn't go in those caves because of danger from snakes and other animals. When the DKBA knew some of the places where the people kept their rice, they took it. The people used to keep one third or a quarter of their rice in the village to eat through the cold season. All that rice or paddy has gone. In the villages, you could not even buy any food. We ate rice with just chillies and salt, but in some villages we just ate rice with salt because we couldn't even get chillies. The villagers were just eating rice with water and salt. They poured water on the rice because it was very sticky as it was a new one. The people boiled some

vegetables they got from the jungle and eat them. Therefore only a few vegetables left in the jungle. In better times, the people didn't eat this kind of vegetable. When we arrived in the villages, people came out from the jungle and then they went back.

The people said that SLORC and DKBA have been doing like this for about one year. In rainy season, they couldn't make many problems. But from the beginning of the dry season, DKBA has appeared everywhere. DKBA and SLORC allowed the people to grow paddy in the rainy season. They waited until the time for harvest and took it.

As the DKBA got 40 or 50 percent of their paddy, the people didn't have enough to survive until next harvest time. So they were afraid. They thought that by the end of cold season [March] they would almost finish all their rice. Then they had no idea what they would do. From these villages to Beh Klaw refugee camp is 12 hours' walk. They feel they cannot go to refugee camps because it is too far to get to those camps. And also if they move in a group towards the border, DKBA will make a problem. DKBA has already laid some land-mines. Nobody has been hurt by those mines yet. But some of their animals have. The villagers also said that they would have to fear DKBA even in the refugee camps. So it is not so much difference between the jungle and the refugee camp. They said, "In the refugee camp, we can't run. We don't know how to run in Thailand, but at least we know how to run in the jungle". So the jungle seemed better for them.

I don't think the people can go on like this until the next rainy season. Maybe the villagers will die. Many people there are suffering from severe malaria and widespread of malnutrition. Even with the pregnant women, only 50% of their children survive. Fifty percent die under two years, especially under two months. For example, one woman gives birth six times and only three will survive. Three will die before the age of two, especially under two months. There is no medicine and when they have a big problem, they have no idea where to go for medical care. I asked the villagers, "When you have someone seriously ill, where do you send them?" and they said, "We have no medicine and we cannot send them anywhere. All we can do is pray before they die. So we pray."

Even the hill Karen said DKBA was crazy. Because the hill Karen wanted to know what were DKBA's aims and objectives, because DKBA came every two or three days and took the villagers' belongings. Whenever they asked, DKBA did not answer anymore. They just said, "We are Buddhist", but the hill Karen said, "We don't know anything about Buddhism, but we know one thing very clearly: Buddhism means no killing, to Buddhists killing is a very big sin. Now you have a gun — is that Buddhist?" And they said DKBA could not answer them. After that, whenever DKBA came to the village, they didn't talk to the villagers, they just went straight to the village head and demanded the amount of money and rice they wanted, and that's all.

Interview: 225-HRV: Detention, Opinion, Torture, Slavery, Forced Labour

[*U Nga Reh, General Secretary of the Kayah State All Nationalities League for Democracy (KNLD), who was subjected to arrest by SLORC before 1990 general elections. On 18 July 1995, he revealed to ABSDF the life of political prisoners in Burma in this own words.*]

Source: ABSDF

I would like to divide my story into two parts: the first concerns the movement of our party in Kayah State and the second is about my experiences in Myingyan and Mandalay prisons.

We formed our party, Kayah State All Nationalities League for Democracy (KNLD) on 28 October 1988. The party's aims and objectives were to promote unity among ethnic minorities in Burma, democracy, human rights and ethnic rights. We launched election campaigns in six different cities — Loikaw, Demoso, Pruso, Bawlake, Pasawng and Shadaw — in Kayah State. Our chairman was U Sao Nwe Thaung who was arrested on 18 August 1989, just two months before I was arrested. We were told that we were arrested because we made anti-Tatmadaw speeches during our election campaigns and we talked about forced portering and forced labour. We believe that there was one more reason: SLORC wanted to remove all parties, which could rival SLORC-backed National Unity Party (NUP), from being legal-fold.

Although SLORC arrested the top leaders of our party, we still managed to win two seats in the 1990 General Elections. U Khin Maung Cho from constituency-1 and U Victor Leh from constituency-2 of Demoso Township were successful. U Khin Maung Cho, an executive member of the KNLD, also became a representative in the National Convention. He was later expelled from the convention because of his harsh criticism on the military government. Finally, without any explanation SLORC abolished our party on 3 March 1992.

I would now like to talk about our arrest in 1989. As I said, U Sao Ngwe Thaung, our chairman, was arrested on 18 August 1989. Later, our secretary-1 U Zaw Myint and I myself were arrested on 15 September and 26 October respectively. Three of us were locked together in Loikaw prison before being sent to Myingyan prison. U Zaw Myint and I were sentenced to five years' imprisonment and U Sao Ngwe Thaung was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. We were then moved to Myingyan prison on 13 December 1989. One year and a half later, some 40 political prisoners were split into others prisons in Mandalay and Meiktila due to their clandestine political activities in prison. U Zaw Myint's prison term was increased one more year for this reason. U Sao Ngwe Thaung and I were sent to Mandalay prison in June 1991 and U Zaw Myint to Meiktila.

In Myingyan Prison:

As I said we three were locked together in Loikaw for about three months. U Sao Ngwe Thaung was called to Eastern Command Headquarters in Taunggyi and interrogated for two months. We were treated the same as other criminals in Loikaw. These criminals and ourselves were moved to Myingyan on 13 December 1989. We had to sleep in Meiktila over night before we reached Myingyan. The prison officials did not allow us to sleep without chains on that night.

On the 14th, we were at the gate of Myingyan prison where we were checked for three hours. Our belongings were seized and we were given one thin blanket and three white prison uniforms. We three were kept locked in chains even in this small prison cell which was about 8ft x12ft. We had to use this one thin blanket as a bed on the concrete floor. We had to eat and sleep in this concrete room which was also our toilet. Actually, we did not have a toilet, just a small pot which we used as a chamber pot. Our request to have drinking water inside the cell was ruthlessly rejected. There was only a one square foot window on the iron door through which we could get fresh air.

At the beginning, we were allowed to be freed for a morning and afternoon for walk. However, everything had to do with money. We had to bribe the wardens with 20 Ks and above for each and every request to do this and that. From 6:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon and from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. was the time we could walk outside. We occasionally made discussion with other political prisoners. Unfortunately, everything was changed, after the NLD and CPB (Communist Party of Burma) members in prison held discussions. All freedom was deprived. We were told by the wardens that it was because the discussion (the wardens called it "fighting") was very noisy. After that there was no permission to communicate with other prisoners during our walk. At night, we were not allowed to use a light, and no talking or whispering was allowed. We never succeeded to persuade the wardens to let us read even a piece of paper in the cell. It was a crime if you were found with a smuggled piece of paper or prohibited materials. Even worse, we were not allowed to use mosquito repellent. As you know, Myingyan has very hot weather and a lot of mosquito.
One thing I saw the first time in my life. Monks were punished by laymen. Do you know, we witnessed prison officers forced five monks to disrobe and wear white prison uniforms like other prisoners. Of course, those monks had been arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment like us under allegation that they had participated in politics. All prisoners, including the monks were controlled by other prisoners, the in charge persons who were appointed by the wardens. They were all criminals. They were like gangsters and asked us for money for many reasons. Sometime, they were much worse than the wardens. They would beat us for no reason. Every time they came to check us (I do not know what they were checking for) we had to sit in "standard squat" until they completed their checking. If they were not satisfied with the way we sat, we were subjected to beatings. We were not allowed to see their faces while we were sitting (squatting). If we did not follow, there would be beatings again. All

from appointed in charge persons to the top prison officers, used to come frequently to "checking" and demand money.

Mandalay Prison

When I heard that we were going to be moved to Mandalay prison, I thought Mandalay would be a little bit better than the present prison. Actually, Mandalay was worse. We found ourselves at the gate of Mandalay prison on 30 April 1994, sitting (squatting) in front of prison officers and wardens. They forced us to cover our heads with black cloth, they then searched our bodies. We were also beaten but never understood why. U Sao Ngwe Thaung was beaten the worst because he shouted at the wardens not to beat the prisoners. We were herded into small cells. It was a shock to find myself alone in a very small cell after all. One month later, I got to know that everybody had been put in solitary confinement like me. We all were locked in chains even during our time in solitary confinement. We only got one bamboo mat for sleeping and a dirty chamber pot. Nobody got drinking water, only very thin boiled rice which was like "salty glue". Many times I had to pretend to eat this glue because I did not want to be beaten.

After one month in solitary confinement, we, three persons, were put in a small cell again. It was not different from the last month except that we could talk each other. We were not allowed to receive any visitors for six months. Ten of us who were moved from Myingyan were not allowed to see any relatives for one year. After that, we were moved to the cells where all the political prisoners were locked. The cells were as small as the last one but had more people this time. I was squeezed into this small cell with four other persons until we ended our jail term. I saw other prisoners whose jail term were already over but they had to bribe 3,000-5,000 Ks to the wardens and officers for their release. Many prisoners whose sentences of less than 10 years' imprisonment were forced to go to labour camps which were the recruiting centre for forced labourers and porters or mine-sweepers. If you could bribe thousands of kyats, you could be spared from this. Can you imagine, how a prisoner can earn that much money?

In terms of the food we got in prison, our daily food was only boiled rice and vegetables which were not edible. Almost everybody got diarrhoea. We got meat once a week. But, after the deduction by the wardens, we got just one third of the total, 33g per person.

I was released on 27 December 1993 but nobody appeared to pay the bail. Therefore, I had to wait for two more weeks at No. 5 Police Station in Mandalay. I saw about 300 prisoners there. It was a hell. Five or more people died everyday from malnutrition and diseases. Throughout my days in prisons, we never saw any attempt by the prisons to take responsibility to provide medical care for ailing prisoners. 1 January 1994 was my last day in that hell. I wished all the best for U Sao Ngwe Thaung and U Zaw Myint, including all other political prisoners in the whole Burma. I was sure there were far worse experiences of other political prisoners in prisons such as Insein, Ye Kyi-I. U

Sao Ngwe Thaung was released at the end of April 1995 and U Zaw Myint was on 10 January 1995.

I want the world to know about the suffering of the political prisoners in Burma's prisons under SLORC. There was no human rights at all. We were treated like animals. I was released but there are thousands of political prisoners still suffering each day in Burma's prisons.

Interview: 226-HRV: Slavery, Forced Labour

Name:	Tin Myint
Age:	35
Sex:	Male
Family:	Married to Ma Htwe
Occupation:	Worker at a restaurant
Address	Moulmein
Source:	ABSDF

[Tin Myint who managed to escape from the hands of SLORC troops was a prisoner before he was forced to serve as a porter. He revealed his story to a student reporter of the ABSDF.]

I was arrested with the charge of smuggling marijuana at my house in eastern Mergui. I was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in 1991. I was first put in Moulmein prison and in December 1994 I was sent to Zingyaik quarry, where all prisoners were assigned for manual-stone-crushing. When my prison term was almost to be expired, I was collected from there to serve as a porter. I was with other prisoners who were handed over to LID 33. We reached Manerplaw at the end of December 1994. Some troops from Manerplaw including LID 33 went back to Papun on 2 February 1995 because of shortage of food supplies. Other porters and I were ordered to carry loads of the soldiers on their way back to Papun. I witnessed field commanders sending incorrect reports back to their headquarters at Tactical Operations Command. For instance, at Dawn Gwin, one field commander reported back to the headquarters of the Tactical Operations Command that they captured four assault rifles from U Pwe Hta and 20th Battalion of KNU. The reality was that they had not even reached the place called U Pwe Hta which is about 20 km up-stream of Dawn Gwin. Actually, these rifles were seized when the soldiers and DKBA shot a boat of ABSDF on 28 January.

Interview: 227-HRV: Livelihood, Women, Slavery, Forced Labour

Name:	Than Soe
Age:	21
Sex:	Male
Family:	Married to Ma Htwe
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Bilin, Mon State
Source:	ABSDF

[Than Soe who managed to escape from the hands of SLORC troops was a prisoner before he was forced to serve as a porter. He revealed his story to a student reporter of the ABSDF.]

I was put in Moulmein prison with the charge of illegal timber trading. In December 1994, I was ordered to serve as a porter together with other 150 prisoners, including Tin Myint. I saw some women porters when I was sent to Manerplaw at the end of December 1994. I also saw about 10 monks who were holding rifles while we were moving towards Manerplaw. I believed that those monks were Karen Buddhists. Tin Myint and I were ordered to carry a wounded soldier who was shot by ABSDF. On 10 February 1995, we managed to escape after we were ordered to catch a chicken in the bushes. We were rescued by the students after we crossed Salween River by using a bamboo raft at about 5:30 a.m. on 12 February. More prisoners from several different prisons were collected to serve as porters. Some of them were told that they would have reduction on their prison terms if they went to front-lines as porters. It was unbearable to see that many women were forced to serve as porters. The soldiers violently ordered them to carry such over-loaded food supplies. If a woman could not manage to move with the load, she was subjected to beatings with rifle butt or bamboo stick.

Interview: 228-HRV: Livelihood, Detention, Women, Slavery

Name:	Kyaw Moe
Age:	17
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Tin Aye & Daw Pu Yin
Family:	Married to Ma Htwe
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Grit Kote Village, Paukkaung Township, Pegu Division
Source:	ABSDF

I was arrested by LID 66 on my way back from a video show (In Burma, most people cannot afford to buy a video player on their own — people have invented video shows as a source of income). Ten people from my village were arrested

together with me and were sent to LIB 116 under the command of LID 33. We saw about 200 porters, including 15 women, when we started moving from Thaton. We then reached Papun and were ordered to carry food supplies and ammunitions. The 15 women were left in Papun without any explanation. The male porters guessed that the women may have been forced to stay at the military headquarters for entertainment of SLORC or for other forms of forced labour. I was abandoned on the way because I had got severe diarrhoea and was unable to move anymore. I was taken care by some KNU troops who met me one day later at the place where I had been left.

Interview: 229-HRV: Slavery

Name:	Min Tin Soe
Age:	21
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese Muslim
Religion:	Islam
Parents:	U Htun Lwin & Daw Khin Than Myint
Family:	Married to Ma Hla Hla Win with one child
Occupation:	Painter
Address:	Tin Hlaing Quarter, Thaton, Mon State
Source:	ABSDF

I was arrested on my way back home from my wife's betel stall, at the entrance of Shwe Sar Yan Pagoda in Thaton. I managed to escape to the other side of Salween (on the Thai side) River after I reached a camp upriver of Salween near Dawn Gwin. I was found by some KNU troops.

Interview: 230-HRV: Slavery, Women, Child

Name:	Tin Hlaing
Age:	15
Sex:	Male
Parents:	U Tin Hla (a) Kasin, Daw Ma San Myint
Occupation:	Street vendor
Address:	Nga Dai Zegyi Quarter, Moulmein, Mon State
Source:	ABSDF

I was arrested while waiting for a train from Thaton to Moulmein at Thaton Railway Station. I was sent with other porters from Thaton to Papun. I saw about 40 women in another truck. We were forced to carry ammunition. We encountered fighting five times before reaching the Salween. We managed to escape to the other side of Salween and we reached there on the same day. I was found by some KNU troops.

Interview: 231-HRV: Livelihood, Slavery, Livelihood, Torture, Execution

Name:	Zaw Lwin
Age:	19
Sex:	Male
Parents:	U San Tin and Daw Kyi Kyi
Family:	Married to Malar with two sons
Occupation:	Street vendor
Address:	Bote Ta Lote village, Thazi Township, Mandalay Division
Source:	ABSDF

I was a friend of Soe Hlaing, Aung Aung and Myo Naing from Bote Ta Lote village in Thazi Township. These three friends were very much attached to my wife and sons. My parents also loved my friends as their own sons. I always regarded 30-year-old Myo Naing as an eldest brother among three of them. Myo Naing always taught us right from wrong. We really had the memories to share in their simple lives as farmers.We planned to visit my aunt in Kwe Pwe village, Taungoo Township in Pegu Division, after the harvest. Although our plan came true, our fate turned to the bad side since we were arrested by IB 234 on our way back home. Our lives as porters were much more difficult than we had been as farmers. We were forced to carry one thousand rounds of G3- G4 rifles. We were severely beaten if our movements slowed down because of exhaustion. We were very pained to see that the soldiers abandoned porters, who were simply left without food, without medicine and without security. I later felt that it was luckier for me to have been left behind like those others. Because my three friends were ruthlessly killed on the third day of their portering. The victims had their throats cut with a knife by Bo Yat Kha from 2nd column of IB 234. They had fallen sick and were too weak to move their heavy loads and had asked Bo Yat Kha to let them rest for a short while. The result was summary execution; cold-blooded murder. I tried my best to find an opportunity to escape. I pretended that I could tolerate the exhaustion, the burdens on my back, the hunger and sickness, and the beatings by soldiers. During the third week after my arrest and portering, I was accidentally left alone from both the military columns and other porters. I rushed as soon as possible and was rescued by KNLA troops at a place situated between Leikpya Gyi and Mongdwin Gyi village in Thandaung Township, Karen State. I have been haunted by this tragic blow of the loss of my friends and have been constantly horrified by the memory of their brutal murder. I have no idea whether to remain on the border or go back to Burma. I may need a long time to heal both my mental and physical pain.

Interview: 232-HRV: Detention, Livelihood, Slavery, Torture, Execution

[*see also interview no. 5*]

Name:	Win Zaw
Age:	24
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Kyi Sein & Daw Khin Yee
Address:	Mae Kaw Kin at the opposite of Pha Lu (former KNU military stronghold which was occupied by SLORC early 1992).
Source:	ABSDF

I was arrested by local council at Kyaikto port. I was arrested along with Ko Lu Maw (18) on 2 January. We were locked at the Kyaikto police station. About 60 men were already in the small cell before we were sent there. We were locked in the cell for five days. We were handed over to LIB 207 at mid night on 7 January. We were put in a truck and then we had one night long ride in the truck. After that we were forced to carry 81mm mortar shells. Each person was forced to carry eight shells (one shell is about 4.5 kg). We were not fed enough. Rations for each person was a small tin (about 400g) of watery soup with banana stem and bean. We were handed over again to LIB 205 and LIB 206 on 8 January and heavy fighting broke out on the same day at 11:00 a.m. Seven prisoners, who were collected from Moulmein jail for forced portering, died in action. SLORC troops got more than 40 injuries and we were forced to carry the injured to safer places for the whole night. At 7:15 a.m. on the following day, the columns and the porters moved to another direction. At that time, most porters were forced to carry eight shells of 81 mm mortar and Ko Lu Maw was forced to carry 720 rounds of G4 Machine Gun. We slept over night on the way to Manerplaw. We reached Manerplaw at about 1:30 a.m. and we left there on the following morning. Lu Maw was too weak to move together with the troops. Sgt Toe Toe from LIB 205 tied Ko Lu Maw's mouth with a piece of cloth and stabbed him with bayonet. Toe Toe ordered the prisoners from Moulmein to bury Ko Lu Maw's body. I was severely beaten for trying to protect Ko Lu Maw before he was killed. Toe Toe continued to torture me. I was beaten with wooden stick, the flesh of my hands was sliced with a bayonet. I managed to escape one day later by crossing Moei River. Unfortunately, one of us was re-arrested. Ko Lu Maw was a son of U Chin Han and Daw Thin Kyi, a student of secondary school, from Kalatt Su Quarter, Kyaikto Town.

Interview: 233-HRV: Slavery, Women, Child

Name:	Kyaw Sein
Age:	39
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen

Religion: Buddhist
Parents: U Ngwe Thein & Nang Hti Kalay
Family: Married with five children
Occupation: Farmer
Address: No. 1 Quarter, Chaung Taung village, Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Source: ABSDF

I was arrested by local police and militia in the town on 25 January 1995. Those who hid outside of the town were arrested by the army. Each company commander was assigned to arrest 30 porters. But, the commanders failed to do so. Local council assisted the commanders by ordering each household in town to sent the labourer. More and more arrests were made day and night. Other porters and I were put in ten trucks and sent to Taung Kalay, near Pa-an. Some women were seen among the porters. Some porters were as young as 12 years and some were elderly people. We were then sent to Hlaingbwe together with porters from other places. We were put in 17 trucks and IB 27 led us to Shan Ywa Thit in the morning. We were not allowed to drink water on the way. Each porter had to pay a bribe of 200 Ks for a cup of water. We were forced to carry 81 mm, 75 mm, 60 mm artillery and mortar shells. I managed to escape and re-arrested. I gave a ransom of 50 Ks to a soldier who let me go. The commander was Thein Win of LIB 207.

Interview: 234-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood

Name: Saw Win Myint
Age: 48
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Burmese
Religion: Islam
Parents: U Maung Sein & Daw Aye Tin
Family: Married with one child
Address: No. 7 Quarter, Tada-Oo, Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Source: ABSDF

I was arrested by the combined forces of local council and army at 4:00 a.m. on 25 January 1995. Every household was rounded up and ransacked. The army took one person from every household whether there was man or woman. I was forced to carry 81 mm mortar shells. I was severely beaten by a soldier from LIB 207 because I could not manage to move in the dark and was trapped in a bamboo bush. I fled away on the spot and the soldiers could not catch me .

Interview: 235-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood

Name:	Pho Cho
Age:	28
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese Muslim
Religion:	Islam
Parents:	U Gyi & Daw Khatonbi
Family:	Married with one child
Occupation:	Trishaw Driver
Address:	No. 3 Chan Aye Quarter, Tada-Oo, Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Source:	ABSDF

I was arrested by LIB 209 while I was driving my trishaw near the market in Kawkareik. The soldiers did not allow me to leave my trishaw at someone who would take care of it. Instead, I was forced to abandon my vehicle on the spot. I was fed only three meals in five days before I escaped. I was forced to carry rice ration which weighted about 80 kg.

Interview: 236-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Torture

Name:	Myo Myint
Age:	20
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Parents:	U Maung Myint and Daw Khin Thein
Family:	Married with two children
Occupation:	Trishaw Driver
Address:	A. Quarter, Bon Leya St., Hlaingbwe Township, Karen State
Source:	ABSDF

I was arrested by combined forces of local militias and police while I was on my way back to send my trishaw to its owner on 25 January 1995. I was then sent to Shan Ywa Thit. After that I was handed over to LIB 203. I was forced to carry rice ration, but fed only a meal per day. I was beaten with bamboo stick or rifle butt when I could not move because of exhaustion. I managed to escape on 2 February.

Interview: 237-HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Child

Name:	Htun Aung
Age:	15
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist

Parents: U Thaung Nyunt & Daw Yee Aung
Family: Married with two children
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Thar Yar Gone village, Mudon Township, Mon State
Source: ABSDF

I was arrested by local police while I was on my way back home from a theatre show and I was locked at the military headquarters of LID 22. I was then sent to Moulmein, then to Pa-an, then to Hlaingbwe and finally to Shan Ywa Thit. I was forced to carry rice ration for SLORC soldiers. I was also forced to collect bamboo for temporary shelters of the soldiers on the way to Manerplaw.

Interview: 238 - HRV: Displacement, Livelihood, Refugee

Name: Saw Maw
Age: 58
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Animist
Occupation: Farmer
Source: Images Asia

We have to move to many places. We cannot stay a long time in one place. We stay only two days or sometimes three days and then move into the jungle or on the mountains. We have no choice.

We need food, rice and blankets . If you can help us we would be very happy. In one day, we eat about three (milk) tins of rice each, with some salt and some fish paste.

We try to cook with fire wood. We often cannot cook in winter and it is very difficult in the rainy season.

Interview: 239 - HRV: Women, Child, Torture, Livelihood, Displacement, Minorities, Execution

[Interview with a Karen Woman from KNU 3rd Brigade Area.]
Source: Images Asia

The SLORC soldiers came and detained a number of women from our village. The people gave SLORC money for the release of the detained women. The SLORC took the money but didn't release the women.

The parents then gave relatives food to pass onto the women because the relatives lived close to Taungoo Prison. When they captured these women two men were also captured. The name of one of these men was Esamet (32) and Damimi (30).

When the men were captured, the SLORC soldiers kicked the two men with their boots and blood flowed from their nostrils, eyes, and mouths. They could not walk, so SLORC left them in the village. They tied up the nine women and took them away. So when SLORC came to tell us (about the condition of the women), we knew that they were only trying to make money off us. Some of the villagers realised paying SLORC a "ransom" would only be wasting money. They thought that it would be better to help the destitute parents. We heard nothing else about the girls. We never saw them again. The parents or their relatives never saw the girls while they were detained. The relatives knew that the food had not been forwarded to the women. They only received prison food. When the women were not returned, we asked the village headman if news of this could be forwarded to the media, the BBC, or news magazines. The headman said that we had to be patient because the SLORC military officer had warned that if the news was forwarded to media outlets, they would return and burn our village and shoot us. The officer who gave the order is Ba Kyi. I have many stories of Ba Kyi raping many girls but no dates. I don't remember their names or their ages but I can refer to my notes.

These stories come from people (who served as porters) who said that they stayed at Pwawor Camp, where we saw SLORC commit many bad mistakes. When they arrived we asked them questions. How SLORC treat the people and the soldiers isn't true. Even when the soldiers are rich, they won't give the people medicine. If someone is sick and the disease worsens, SLORC kicks the person into a ravine and leaves them there to die. The quality of the food is bad. They mix it with rotten beans and sand. Some porters were very elderly, some children as young as eight or ten. Some men were as old as my grandfather. All were forced to carry heavy loads. If they refused, they were beaten. They cracked their heads and kicked them into the valley.

I can start talking about the condition of the village from 1993. I don't know the names of the officers who kicked the soldiers, but the regiment was 50 or 57. I have the notes in my book.

I will tell you about the plains village. The area in our township is plain. We are Karen. In our township there are three communities, Kwilah, Geyber and Muthat. The people who stay in Muthat are very close to the military. The SLORC combined the small villages into one large village. The SLORC relocated the villagers into one so they could control them.

When we relocated into one big village there weren't enough houses and many people had to sleep without shelter. After relocation, SLORC made us stockpile our paddy. We couldn't keep food at home. The SLORC entered our homes and counted how many people were living there so they could ration our food.

For one person, SLORC allocated two small cans of rice per day. When we asked for more they said that we would give it to the rebels.

The conditions were miserable when everyone began relocating together. Some wanted to move back, so we asked SLORC if they could stay in their village of origin. The SLORC said that if we wanted to stay where we were, everyone had to pay 50,000 Ks. The people raised the money and gave it to the army officer. Two days later he returned and told us we had to relocate completely within 3 days. This was in December 1994, after harvest. Everyone was disillusioned, most were just crying. What could we do? We had to do what SLORC said. We tried to help the other people as much as we could. We asked for assistance from district officer and shared what little food we had.

The SLORC troops were stationed beside Papun town. One girl who was raped was named Theu. Her parents were very poor. Her parents sent her to get some vegetables. Ba Kyi took her beside the road and raped her. The girl lay beside the road unable to walk. Some villagers found her and took her to the hospital. I sent my second secretary to the hospital. The young girl was discharged but still couldn't walk. This is all I know about the girl. When I arrived here I was told she was dead. This happened when I was on security duty in 1991.

Ba Kyi is a bad man. I know more rape cases which he has been involved in. He is tall and strong. It would be better if Ba Kyi was dead. But I am not afraid of him. We are all bitter.

The SLORC made us relocate. They camp around us so that they can control us. Every three days the women must go on security duty. I know SLORC took ten women from one village. In the day time, the women would cut wood and in the evening they would be subjected to security duty and rape. It is difficult to live under these conditions. I complained to women's organisations and spoke to them personally. The married women were prepared to talk about what had happened to them, but the "virgins" were too embarrassed to tell their stories. They [SLORC] do this to the people for not associating with the rebels. They rape the women to eliminate the Karen bloodline. They want to destroy our people and force us to speak Burmese in our village.

As other villagers had been moved into this one village, we could not plant our crops. We had to negotiate with SLORC. If there is no peace SLORC said that they would blame the villagers. If one shell of the rebel falls into the village, SLORC said they would blame the villagers for giving information and they would burn our village and kill us. They told us this many times. We tried to abide by SLORC law but they came and took our food anyway.

They distributed letters to the villagers. Two or three soldiers posing as villagers also infiltrated the village. They tried to persuade the villagers not to support the Karen (the KNU) and tried to separate the Karen people. They pretended to be farmers. They infiltrated the farmers to receive information about the Karen. These men are SLORC. This has been happening since 1991, but recently we

have been harassed more than in previous time. Last year some villagers still remained in their villages of origin. This year they want all villagers to relocate.

If I had to tell you all my suffering I could not hold back the tears. This case started in April in 1993. If they couldn't find enough men in the village then they would force the women to hand over their jewellery and anything of value. Do you want me to tell you the exact dates? In June they went to Jubaset village and captured 20 men. They detained some women and demanded 3,00 Ks from each. The SLORC also went to other villagers and demanded rice and food which the villagers gave due to fear. Then they returned to Jubaset village where the men are fishermen. They work hand-to-mouth, fishing or farming where and when they can to make a living.

In August SLORC IB 351 went to Thitold and Nomboh area and killed the men who were watching the buffaloes without any reason. They also went to other villagers and punished the people without reason. They also questioned a man for being short, and then they slapped his face. Then they saw a girl preparing her face with thanaka (Burmese make-up), and they slapped her face. In Jubaset, a soldier told an old man to act like a frog. The man was too old and frail to get up and jump, so they shot him on the spot.

The SLORC continues to torture, rape and take our food. They cannot commit any worse atrocities than they have already committed. All SLORC soldiers stationed near our village commit these atrocities. They commit these crimes unendingly. The officers never take action against the soldiers. In August/September/October 1994, our villagers suffered more than they had ever before.

In Mone Township, SLORC IBs 351, 48 and 39 patrolled our area. Torture techniques practise by all these units are always the same. In Nomboh, SLORC searched for a KNU soldier. When they could not find him, they stole things from his house, beat his wife and asked the young daughter to hold his penis. Then a soldier kicked her until she lost consciousness .

Interview: 240 - HRV: Women, Livelihood, Minorities, Child

Name: Rosie
Age: 45
Sex: Female
Ethnicity: Karen
Source: Images Asia

The location of my village is near the mountain. The soldiers would treat our villagers very badly, demanding us to collect wood and bamboo and deliver it the same day. Sometimes we could not due to our own farming and chores. So for each stick of bamboo failed to deliver, they would charge us eight kyats. Sometimes they would ask us to cut wood when there was nothing they could

take from us. We could not rent a cart so we had to transport it ourselves. When my husband was away, I would take my youngest daughter, but not my oldest daughter who was 15 years old, just beginning to menstruate and become a woman. As it was difficult to find the big wood which SLORC demanded, we had to climb up to the top of the hills. As SLORC speak badly and don't respect young women, I dared not take my eldest daughter.

The SLORC would make us carry fire wood for SLORC's own families and demand rice and food too. They call us rebels and want to destroy us. They say that we disobey them and are sympathetic with the rebels. If you are talking of suffering, suffering is my whole life. I'm not angry anymore. But, I'm tired of my people suffering all their lives.

I will be happy if a cease-fire occurs. I can never trust the Burmese. I think that they are playing a game. But if the ethnic forces resist, I think that they will have problem. In my opinion I believe that SLORC will force them into negotiation. Because of their small number they may suffer otherwise and encounter difficulties.

Interview: 241 - HRV: Slavery, Detention, Movement, Livelihood

Name:	Aung Paing
Age:	29
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with one child
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Mudon Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	February 1995, Paw
Source:	Pa Hta Area Images Asia

They caught me while I was leaving Ameral for another town to visit my sister. I got to the army check-point and they asked me for my papers. I said that I had left them at home. They said, "Come down for a moment if you have forgotten your papers." Then they sent me to the soldiers.

At the time I was alone between Thanbyuzayat and Kamawet. After they caught me, they didn't give me enough food. I wasn't given any money for my work as a porter. I left by boat from Moulmein to Pa-an. Three porters went with me and we had to carry rice through the jungle. We weren't allowed to rest on the way, instead had to work all the time.

The SLORC soldiers made us suffer a lot. Now that I have escaped I feel free, I'm very relieved. When I was with SLORC, I was not free and not happy. Now I want to get back home. I'm very worried because my wife is pregnant and my baby is about to be born. I dare not tell you my all feelings about SLORC, because I am afraid they will kill my family, and they will bring them to the front line and expose them to suppression.

Interview: 242 - HRV: Slavery, Livelihood, Child

Name:	Naing Oo
Age:	31
Sex:	Male
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with four children (three deceased)
Address:	Mudon Town, Mon State
Source:	Images Asia

I came with about 20 others who were taken as porters. I stayed with SLORC Army over one month. I've been here now for about 15 days. During that time, SLORC Army never gave us enough food, water and medicine.

They didn't give us any money. They didn't give us anything. Eventually we ran and escaped. First I was caught at 10:30 p.m. by the soldiers from LIB 210 while I was in a cinema hall of Mudon city. I don't remember the name of the major.

We had to carry about 18-20 viss (about 30 kg) of weapons and other things that they brought. We were never given a rest. I did not see if any other porters were able to run away like me. Ever since I escaped I've been thinking about what happened to us and about our suffering at the hands of SLORC. Some people had enough money to give to the military and they were allowed to return home. Now I want to go back home. I am not sure how I can make it, but I will follow some people who know the way very well.

When I return home, I have my wife, my mother in law and my daughter of two years and I need to find money and food. If I am not there, no one will be able to provide food and other things. I am afraid we may face problems.

Interview: 243 - HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture

Name: U Thaung
Sex: Male
Interviewed: February 1995
Source: Images Asia

My name is U Thaung. The SLORC captured me in Mudon, Mon State. They caught me beside the garden while watering flowers for my boss, at noon. I don't remember the date, I guess it was about a month ago. After that, they took me to the village leader and I had to stay under the village headman's house. I saw another three people who were also under the house.

After that, they took us to LIB 210 and kept us in the dormitory. We stayed there for three nights and then we travelled by car and then by boat. There were nearly 400 people taken as porters. We were sent to Pa-an. After Pa-an, they sent us under the mountain to xxxx. I stayed there one night and left the next morning at 6.00 am. They sent me to the big mountain. They sent us to another place and we had to sleep in a bamboo grove. The next morning at 10.00 am, they called the artillery corps.

The first day I carried six 81mm mortar shells. The next day I had to carry seven shells for the same mortar plus a tin of oil. The first time they gave us a packet of dry rice, and at night some rice with some salt. It was not nearly enough for us. We had to climb this mountain and we rested there.

That night 17 porters escaped. The next day the soldiers ordered us to carry the shells and the guns to another place. We had to carry these weapons. I didn't try to escape at that time. But I had to climb the mountain the next day, where they were fighting the Karen soldiers on "English Mountain". Then SLORC returned and made us climb another mountain. There they found a stream and decided to cook some rice. After that, they walked to the valley. By that time it was dark and they decided to sleep. They slept at about 8.00 p.m. During the night, the fighting started again on English Mountain. It was then that I decided to try to escape. Four porters also followed me. It was about 1:30 a.m.

The soldiers didn't shoot at us when we escaped. By that time there were only two young soldiers there. The four of us were all together, but one was so sick that he had to stay at the soldiers group in the tent. When we arrived here we were so happy and relieved. The Karen soldiers provide enough food for us. They don't force us to carry anything. At first the Karen couldn't provide us for medicine. But when we crossed the mountain, there were Karen soldiers and nurses and they gave us injections when necessary. If I have to suffer when I return to my home, I will.

I saw a SLORC major with two stars on his shirt, but I can't remember his name. He was from LIB 210. I also saw DKBA. You can tell them from

SLORC because they wear different uniforms. The DKBA wear a yellow bandanna with a monk's symbol. On their arms they wear the symbol of a monk's fan. The SLORC and the DKBA travel together. I saw that they were friendly and they walked together.

While I was carrying some shells they hit me and kicked me if I could not carry them. They beat me hard. If I could not carry them, they would beat my head with a gun, very hard. My head split open and there was much of blood. They hit my head with a gun because I could not carry the things due to my feet were in pain and could no longer walk. When the basket strings broke, I stopped to fix them. The SLORC soldiers ordered me to stand up. That's when they beat me with the gun. When they hit me, I tried to stand up and I twisted my ankle.

Interview: 244 - HRV: Slavery, Torture

Name: Maung Aung
Sex: Male
Address: Moulmein, Mon State
Interviewed: February 1995 at Paw Pa Hta Area
Source: Images Asia

My name is Maung Aung. I'm from Moulmein. While I was sleeping at my home, SLORC soldiers visited me and asked me if I had any visitors. I sad that I had had no visitors. They asked me to follow them for a moment. The next day, they sent me to LIB 209 and they gave me food.

On the 15th, they sent us by boat to Pa-an. That day they did not feed us. On the 16th, they sent us from Pa-an to another place and that's where they gave us food. We had been brought by truck from Pa-an to another place where we bought rice and slept there one night. The next morning, they ordered us to carry two baskets of weapons and shells.

The first day I carried the shells, but after five it was very heavy and I could not carry it anymore. I could not climb the mountain. At that time, another soldier came to me and gave me a box of shells and his food bag. At that time, the fighting started and I accidentally dropped the shells. A soldier came from my behind and kicked me four times. I fell and said that I would collect the shells, but he said no. He said "No, you are not allowed" and kicked my face and hurt my mouth very badly.

The next day, they said that they were going to climb another mountain. It was then that I discussed with my three friends that we would leave the shells and try to escape down the mountain. When we were doing this, one of my friends trod on a mine and injured his leg. Later, when we talked with a Karen soldier, he told us that my friend who trod on the mine was dead. I don't know what the man's name was, but he was 55 years old. We left with the Karen soldiers. They gave us some rice and we cooked. We had enough food. We also killed an ox, rested and they didn't force us to carry anything. We slept very well and we were very happy with them.

The next day, they said that SLORC would be returning to burn our camp, so we decided to move to another place. We had medicine for the villagers. We went by car to Manerplaw. They didn't force us to do anything. We had food and were happy.

One person in our group was leading the way. He was from the DKBA. He had a yellow bandanna with a monk picture on it. At that time, they killed two buffaloes. They only gave us a little meat. The DKBA and SLORC soldiers drank, ate and sang together. They were very happy. I saw another officer, he had a star on his shirt, but I don't remember his name. He had a pistol, a phone and a knife on his wrist. The DKBA did not talk to the porters.

Interview: 245 - HRV: Slavery, Torture

Name: Ni Toe
Sex: Male
Address: Rangoon
Interviewed: February 1995, at Paw Pa Hta Area
Source: Images Asia

My name is Ne Toe. I come from Rangoon. At 9.00 p.m. on 20 December 1994, SLORC soldiers captured me at a tea shop. I tried to escape but I could not. Some of my friends did escape. They took us by truck to Mingaladon (airport and army base). The next morning they gave us a little food. Then they sent us to Pa-an. They sent us to LID 22 where we slept one night. Then we started for Sahatit.

From there we carried baskets of shells until we arrived to Boloungon. There we rested. Then, we left for English Mountain. We stayed there for three nights. On the way they kicked and hit me. While we were resting on English Mountain, they said that our food was gone. So we had to carry other things again. One of my friends and I had to carry a large sack of rice. We said we could not carry this, it was too heavy. We said that we could carry half now and half later, but they did not agree with us. Between the path and the mountain slope, we slept one night in a bamboo grove.

The next morning, we went down the mountain and saw a stream and some Karen villagers. We asked them where they had been. They said that they had been to Maethawah. We went there and saw a little house and stayed there for three nights. In three days we didn't have any food, sometimes just water. But we did have banana plants. For one day, they gave us only a cup of water.

I saw 7 or 8 DKBA. They had yellow material on their heads. The officer in our group was called U Tin Line. He had two stars on his shirt. His battalion is 207. I saw the DKBA and SLORC staying together, laughing, talking, and getting drunk. I will try to return to Rangoon. I have to do my job there.

Interview: 246 - HRV: Slavery, Forced Labour, Detention, Torture

Name: Bo Gyi
Sex: Male
Interviewed: February 1995, at Paw Pa Hta Area
Source: Images Asia

I want to tell you about SLORC suppression and violation, but I am afraid. If I tell you about them, SLORC will kill my family and force them to the front-line and suppress them.

They caught me on 3 September 1994 and said that I would have to carry their food and other things. The first time they said that it would be voluntary work. But it was not and still they didn't give us any money. Then, as we were being sent back, they called for more, so we ended up in Pa-an at 10:30 p.m.

I was part of 23 people from Hlaingbwe-Tilon. We had to go with artillery corps of IB 231. We started to leave Pa-an and then we rested at Hlaingbwe. Then we started to go off again from Sahatit at 10:00 p.m. We slept in Sahatit one night and left at 8:00 a.m. on the following day. Then we started to go again and we continued to IB 962. We had to carry big guns like 105mm, 120mm and 85mm mortars and we were kept in jail. We couldn't go anywhere and had to sleep on the ground. All 75 of us were in jail.

We stayed at IB 962 and then we were changed to LIB 208 and the following day we had to start our trip through the jungle, having to climb many mountains

without rest. We were forced to walk all day and all night, carrying two 5.5 guns and two boxes of ammunition. I didn't have enough food on the first day. The following day, I got just a small bowl of rice with some water, without even salt.

Then we had to begin to climb the mountain and at that time, the Karen and SLORC started fighting. Those carrying the 5.5 guns were forced to go to the front. While in the front line, a bamboo stick pierced a fellow porters' foot. While he stopped to try to remove the bamboo, his basket of weapons and shells on his back fell down and SLORC soldiers hit and kicked him. He then stood back and fell into the valley after being subjected to further kicking by the SLORC soldier. Later, the soldier ordered him to carry the basket of shells again.

Then we started to go to the valley. At that time it was too dark and we could not see anything. So we slept on the mountains. We could not see the way because of the dark and my friends and I became separated. The following day, we left off again for another mountain. The fighting was going on at the back of the mountain. The soldier ordered me to go to the front. I had to go fast in the front. Then I saw many of my friends died. I could not look at the blood. I became so afraid.

At that time there were only three of us left and we discussed how to escape. Everyone agreed with me. So, that night we went to sleep and woke up at 2:00 a.m. and ran away. We had come to realise that if we did not escape, we would die. So we decided to take the chance and flee. When we escaped, we ran into the Karen soldiers. They welcomed us and helped us. They gave us food , medicine and let us rest. They made a tent for us and the Karen soldiers gave medical injections to the porters who were suffering and who needed medical help. We stayed with the Karen soldiers for one week in the jungle. They did not leave us in the jungle. They brought us to their head quarters. We stayed at their head quarters happily and relieved.

If I go back to my home town. Since I want to do the right thing, I will confront and oppose SLORC. We were all treated badly. Some of us were burnt with fire, some of us were beaten and our bones were broken. Anyway, I have decided to confront and oppose SLORC.

I escaped from LIB 208. I don't know the name of the commanding officer, but I know he is a major because he had two stars on his shirt. I saw about 10 people from the DKBA group. All were wearing yellow bandannas around their heads, and they were wearing uniforms. They also showed SLORC the whereabouts of the Karen revolutionaries. I did not see any monks. The SLORC treat the DKBA like friends. The SLORC gave them food, supplies, anything that they needed. On their right arm, the DKBA have a symbol of a monk's fan. They wear a yellow bandanna around their head, with a picture of a monk at the centre of their forehead. I was wounded on my shoulder and my feet. This was a result of the beatings. I had so many wounds.

Interview: 247 - HRV: Slavery, Torture

Name: U Par
Sex: Male
Interviewed: February 1995, at Paw Pa Hta Area
Source: Images Asia

My name is U Par. They took me from Kyaikmaraw Township to Pa-an and the following day, they sent us to the jungle. The soldiers made us carry six 81mm mortar shells.

I didn't have any food for three days. After that, they gave us some food, but not nearly enough. We had to start to leave again and I was very tired, so I sat on the ground. They didn't like this and they kicked me. They said I had to walk again. I was alone when they first caught me. I slept in the jungle one night and the following morning I met a Karen major who helped me and gave me some food. There were many porters who came from different places. Being in the jungle, when I was tired and could not carry things, the SLORC soldiers kicked me with their boots. It was very painful.

Interview: 248 - HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture

Name: Tun Tun
Sex: Male
Address: Moulmein, Mon State
Interviewed: February 95, at Paw Pa Hta Area
Source: Images Asia

My name is Tun Tun. I live in Moulmein. When I took a visitor out to the road, a SLORC soldier told the visitor to follow him. The soldier ordered him to get into the truck and sent him to the police station. When I arrived at the police station, I saw over 40 people there. They sent us to LIB 210. Although they fed us twice a day, they didn't give us enough food, only a piece of palm. We had to stay there more than 10 days.

Then they took us by boat to Pa-an. When we were in the boat, two porters jumped into the river and then later another porter. When the porters jumped into the river, the soldiers kicked us with their boots and hit us very hard. Then they sent us into the jungle. When I climbed the mountain, the soldiers kicked me. Later, some porters ran away. Then there were seven of us left. We, the

porters, were not able to talk each other. They ordered us to carry rice. I said that I couldn't carry all the amount they wanted. They gave me more loads and they kicked when I said that I couldn't carry them. After that, when my friend and I were across the field, we escaped and eventually came across Karen soldiers. They called us and we stayed with them together. When the fighting began, we helped them firing the shells. I estimate I carried about 50 viss.

The first time we tried to escape, there were three of us. We escaped and came across a stream. We went to it to drink the water. Then SLORC saw us and asked if we were KNU. As they shot at us, we ran away. But only two of us escaped. They caught the other porter, beat and kicked him, maybe they killed him.

I didn't know the officer's name who was commanding us. But I saw the DKBA with yellow material around their heads. I didn't see any monks.

Interview: 249 - HRV: Slavery, Execution

Name:	Ko Htwe
Age:	30
Sex:	Male
Address:	Shan State
Interviewed:	February 1995, at Paw Pa Hta Area
Source:	Images Asia

My name is Ko Htwe. I'm 30 years old and from Shan State. They captured me near Thaton, when I went to visit my friend's house. The soldiers just said to follow them for a moment.

At one stage, I didn't have any food for four to five days. They didn't give us any money for carrying their loads. They said nothing about when they would release us. I escaped alone. The soldiers were from LIB 209. We were made to carry rice sacks in the jungle. I started at 10:00 a.m. and finished at 10:00 p.m. I only carried rice sacks for one day.

I don't remember the place I had been when I escaped. I started to cross the stream and I slept on a hill. As I heard two friends of mine had been killed, I ran

until I got here. I met some Karen soldiers and they took us to their place and cooked for us and gave us rice.

In my group, I saw two soldiers from the DKBA. They had yellow bandannas on their heads. One had an M16 [assault rifle] and one had an AK [assault rifle]. On the right arm, they had a monk's fan, on the left arm, I don't know. I don't know what the writing said because I could not read it. I don't know what nationality they were. I only noticed the yellow bandannas. They soldiers wore blue army uniforms.

I'm very worried about going back because my child is only three months old and my wife is alone. And because SLORC have detained me, she is alone to do the work.

Interview: 250 - HRV: Slavery, Torture

Name:	Nyi Nyi
Age:	30
Sex:	Male
Family:	Married with two children (one deceased)
Occupation:	Gardener
Address:	Kyaikmaraw Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	February 1995, at Paw Pa Hta Area
Source:	Images Asia

My name is Nyi Nyi. I'm from Kyaikmaraw Township. I'm 30 years old. I think I was taken as a porter for over a month. At home I have a family. I had two children, but one died. I am a gardener.

I was captured at my home by the SLORC soldiers and sent me to their headquarters. The following day they sent me to the jungle. I had to carry a rice sack sharing with my friend. The following day I tried to escape. I have been here now perhaps 20 days. When I was in the jungle, SLORC did not treat me badly as I carried the things. But like my friend, some cannot. So SLORC treated them badly.

Interview: 251 - HRV: Religion, Livelihood

Name:	Husein
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese
Religion:	Islam
Address:	Moulmein, Mon State
Interviewed:	February 1995
Source:	Images Asia

I am a Muslim living in Moulmein. We used to have freedom of worship in reli-gion. Now the SLORC government have denied us from those freedoms. They threw stones through the windows with glass panes of the mosque and destroyed the building. We were still inside the mosque at the time. After we finished worshipping, four ladies outside the temple warned us that if we went outside we would be captured by SLORC. But, after we finished worshipping we went outside. We saw three ladies lying on the ground. One was standing and, I asked her if she was all right.

Then the soldiers attacked us. They didn't give us any medicine or hospital treatment, even though we were hurt. My head was hit with rifle butt and smashed with stones many times. My family warned us not to come back because SLORC would capture and torture us. So we escaped and hid in the jungle.

I am not politically involved. I am only a wage labourer. We got 15 Ks a day for our work, which was never enough for us. But we could not do anything about it, rather had to suffer many things. We did it for our lives. The officer who beat me was Col Tin Win from IB 21.

Interview: 252 - HRV: Detention, Slavery, Torture

Name: Ko Thaung
Sex: Male
Interviewed: February 1995
Source: Images Asia

Three months before I first came to this area, SLORC started a so-called "human rights organisation". They organised this because they wanted the people to believe them and follow their leadership. But as for me, I didn't want to do anything. If they called me I didn't listen. Because of that, they suspected that I had joined with the KNU rebel group. So they put me in prison for three

months. After that, along with some porters, they sent me in the jungle to serve as porter for LID 66 for one month.

When I was in the jungle, they tortured me many ways. I had to carry their bags. I was very tired because I had climbed a big mountain carrying heavy things. When I felt tired, I took a rest on the way. When they saw me resting, they told me to hurry and they hit me with their guns and kicked me in the head with their combat boots. I couldn't stand it for long and I managed to escape from Guyton village when they began to leave the jungle. I threw my rice sack to the ground and tried to run. They shot at me with their guns, causing my foot was hit. But I tried to rush into the jungle and escaped to Yebu. Then I returned to Kamamaung where I stayed one month before I decided to join the forces in the revolutionary area.

Interview: 253 - Forced Labour, Slavery, Detention, Execution

Name:	Mammad
Age:	23
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Burmese
Religion:	Islam
Family:	Single
Address:	Roadside, Mettawa, Karen State
Interviewed:	April 1995
Source:	Images Asia

They captured me at Kawkareik. I am Islamic. I'm not married — I'm still just a student. I've never been part of any political organisation or activity.

It was at 4:00 a.m., when we were sleeping that SLORC came and took us, forcing us to go with them. They took six of us, they put us in jail for just two hours. There were 400 people in the jail with us, I guess.

We were taken as porters. After Kawkareik they sent us to Hlaingbwe in the jungle. They said nothing to us when they captured us. If we were not able to carry their supplies they hit us with machine guns and kicked us. They gave us just a bit of rice, but sometimes they didn't give us anything, not even water. Sometimes we had to eat (boiled) banana plants. They never paid us or gave us enough food. We had to carry weapons and shells weighing over 22 kg. I saw over 1,000 porters, some were old men. Some were about 45-50 years old but I didn't see any women or children.

The SLORC soldiers were from LIB 201 and LID 22. I don't know the names of any of the leaders. In addition to carry loads, we had to dig holes. We had to walk over 20 miles in one day and we were only allowed to take 30 minutes-one hour rest during the day. They gave us a little rice and nothing else. The SLORC soldiers ate meat, fish and beans. They hit me many times in my stomach, because the other porters had escaped, and when the soldiers asked me about it I said I didn't know what happened to them. They asked me why I didn't know and then hit me. In the afternoon at 2:30 p.m., I tried to escape too. I saw them kill three or four porters with bayonet knives.

I want to try to go back now. But it will be very difficult as I cannot go anywhere where there are SLORC soldiers.

Interview: 254 - HRV: Execution, Women, Slavery

Name: Saw Htwe
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Source: Images Asia

When I was living in my village, I saw many SLORC soldiers kill villagers. I've seen a SLORC soldier kill a woman and try to kill her baby. We took the baby to hospital and it didn't die. I was then captured by a SLORC soldier. He took me back to the jungle and forced me into portering to carry SLORC equipment for ten days. I was lucky enough to escape. I have many wounds on my back.

Interview: 255 - HRV: Women, Detention, Livelihood, Torture, Execution, Refugee

Name: Daw Kyu
Age: 37
Sex: Female
Source: Images Asia

I left Klordey with my son and arrived at Shwegun, Hlaingbwe Township in Karen State. When we arrived at Shwegun, the soldiers on the riverside told the people to come down from the boat. They captured me and my son. Then they took us to a nearby store and left us there. The soldiers said that they would call the officer. A few minutes later, the soldiers came back and said to us, "Do you want to leave your things or do you want to go to the soldier camp?" I said that I would leave my things. For all of my belongings, I had to pay 30,000 Ks. Then they released us and we returned to our village.

In Pa-an Township, SLORC (LID 22) arrived at 12 O'clock. They said to the leader of the village that they hadn't eaten yet for that day. The leader collected some food from the villagers and gave it to them. They returned later that evening at 4:00 o'clock. When they had arrived to the village, they went to the

toilet many times. They said that perhaps the leader of the village had poisoned their food.

They went to capture the leader and two young men. Then they took them from the village and hit and beat their faces and kicked them. They took plastic and melted it in the fire and put it on the young men's faces. Then the SLORC soldiers poured boiling water on them and hit them with bamboo sticks. The leader from Potor village is U Mor Nark. After being tortured for a few minutes, he was killed by the soldiers. The following morning, villagers from Mizekatey called the chairman to collect the dead leader's body. But the chairman didn't go because he was afraid of SLORC. As the villagers could not convince the chairman, they themselves went to Potor village. When they arrived at Potor village, they asked the villagers to give them U Mor Nark's body. Some people agreed and handed over the body. Then SLORC said not to take the body to Pa-an. But the villagers took the body there anyway.

Along the way travelling by boat, SLORC soldiers shot at the boat. When they arrived at Pa-an, they took the body to the hospital to examine the cause of death. They wanted to prosecute the soldiers. Pothongkyi went to U Mor Nark's wife, gave her 20,000 Ks and told her not to tell anyone about her husband. The villagers didn't agree and wanted to continue prosecution. But later on, the case was closed.

When I lived in Minzekatey village, Tutonkyi group of SLORC troops were controlling the road construction between Hlaingbwe and Shwegun. One person per house, regardless of gender, had to work on the roads with his/her own tools. In case of absence, each person had to pay 50 Ks. If we could not pay 50 Ks, we had no choice rather than working there.

I have decided that I don't want to go back to my village. From now on, I will stay in this refugee camp.

Interview: 256 - HRV: Refugee, Repatriation, Livelihood

Name:	Maung Kyaw
Age:	22
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Interviewed:	30 April 1995, at Kawmawlayko Refugee Camp
Source:	Images Asia

In our camp, 350 houses were destroyed. After they burned the camp, they said all of the refugees must return to Burma. If they didn't go, the DKBA would return and kill the refugees. For me it's very dangerous. The SLORC strategy is to isolate the KNU and then employ the DKBA to attack the refugee camps. Hopefully the Thai government can protect and provide security for us. We

don't care about the DKBA, but if the Thai government cannot protect us, it will be a very dangerous situation. I'll also mention that the DKBA attacked with RPG7, big guns and then burnt our camp. The SLORC also associated with the DKBA in this incident.

If Thailand repatriates us to Burma, they'll want every man to join with the DKBA. If we refuse, they will not hesitate to burn the Karen refugee camps. This will force the families to live on the land during the rainy season. Many problems will arise. Although we are supposed to pay money to SLORC, we cannot afford it as we have no job.

The SLORC attacked the KNU and the refugee camps because they knew about the KNU's strength. In the community of the refugee camp, behaving as they have been, SLORC will be able to control the civilians.

In the day time we stay in the camps. In the night time we leave, for fear they would repatriate us to Burma. If we refused they would not hesitate to kill us. Therefore, during the night we must flee to the jungles and the mountains.

Interview: 257 - HRV: Refugee, Repatriation, Livelihood, Portering

Name: U Zin
Age: 55
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Buddhist Monk
Interviewed: 30 April 1995, at Bornor Refugee Camp
Source: Images Asia

At the time the DKBA first encamped in the camp, nobody stayed there. Everybody was afraid so they escaped to the jungle. Then the DKBA said that nobody was to stay in the village. They burned the houses in the camp without saying anything. They shouted loudly that no villagers were to stay in the camp and they burned it to the ground. They said that if we did not go back to Burma, they would burn everything.

We can stay, we have to stay, we have no alternative. As for me, I sympathise the villagers. If I leave, they may all leave. So we will stay together. Everybody is worried and afraid of DKBA's return. I don't know what they will do if the Thai sent the refugees back to Burma. The DKBA came and announced more than once in the camp that they want all refugees to return back to Burma. When some villagers refused, they came and burned the camp. As for the people who returned to Burma, sometimes the SLORC authorities use them as porters or volunteers. But if the Thai Army sent me back to Burma, I would go.

I am also a monk and the DKBA are Buddhist. But I don't know what they are feeling. I am thinking many things, but I feel useless. The DKBA have the power to kill the people. It's exactly what they are doing, but I do not know details.

We still don't know if we will be able to stay or not. We will not go back willingly. We know that they will kill us. We have to stay like this. As for me, I think I will never go back. They can kill me, I don't care. Some people who go back to Burma have no jobs, no food, and their lives are in danger. If we go back, we will have similar problems, so what can we do?

I don't listen to Myaing Gyi Ngu monk. We stayed in Thu Mwe Hta and also Thaw Lae Hta together. When a monk, Kootor came to build a pagoda, I moved to Bornor. Myein Gyi Ngu and I were in disagreement. That was the reason for me moving to Bornor.

I didn't stay with them, so I don't know exactly what his monks are doing now. I knew they organised the people in relation to their religious affairs. Many people went to stay there, but I only know limited details. U Thuzana is a religious name of Maung Nge. He is a leader of having no control over the DKBA who are satisfied with their activities. They can burn refugee camps with no discipline from their leader.

I think the DKBA and SLORC united to burn the camp which is far away from them. As there were many activities in the camp, it was very hard to differentiate SLORC from the DKBA. One person said that they had seen one SLORC soldier with a "Maha Bandoola" symbol and two knives on his shirt, but I didn't witness this myself. I didn't see a DKBA uniform, but there were many people in civilian clothes. Some refugees asked if they could return. The soldiers had no time to answer as they were too busy with looting clothes and food from refugees who arrived before.

Interview: 258 - HRV: Refugee, Repatriation, Livelihood, Execution, Child, Displacement

Name:	Saw Than
Age:	35
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Interviewed:	30 April 1995, at Bornor Refugee Camp
Source:	Images Asia

The first time the Thai government said that as the DKBA will visit in this camp, don't go anywhere, but hide your belongings somewhere. After three minutes we heard the DKBA arrive at the camp and they shot the gun and the shells in the camp a few minutes later.

At that time, I ran out of the camp and hid under a tree. I said to my wife and children to hide in the hole. Some people said to the children "don't run". Then I said, if you don't run you will be killed because the shells are falling and the houses are burning. So we couldn't stay and we escaped to the jungle and somewhere in the mountains. Then the DKBA arrived to the camp and they asked where the people had gone. They burnt down all the houses. They found some people hidden in a hole and asked them, "Do you have a gun, if you do I will shoot you now". After that they went back. When they came back, they shot around the camp and stole all the new clothes in the houses.

The SLORC came together with the DKBA. They were speaking different languages and wearing different uniforms. But the DKBA had to obey the SLORC soldiers. If SLORC order something, the DKBA have to do it. As SLORC fired a shell into the camp before the DKBA burnt the camp, we could not do anything. When the people pleaded with the DKBA, "Don't shoot", they didn't shoot, but they burnt everything.

The next time they came, they said that the people in Bornor refugee camp were very naughty. We ordered them to go back to Burma, but they didn't go. What can we do? If we stay here they can do like this and if we go back to Burma, we are afraid of being killed or taken as porters.

The pastor's daughter was killed. Her name was Kamu Paw. She was 18 years old. When the shells hit their house her leg was hit. She couldn't move. Her parents tried to help her but they couldn't as their house was burning and they were caught inside. Her parents died in the hospital.

At 7:10 a.m., the police said that the Thai government would come and hold a meeting. After a few minutes, some people said that the DKBA had arrived. At that time we could not get our things ready. A few minutes later, we heard them shooting the gun. I went back to my house and took my children to the hole to hide. I could not bring any belongings. I left my wife and my children in the hole and I ran out of the camp to hide myself under the tree. A few minutes later, I went back but couldn't find my wife. When I saw my house was on fire, I took some clothes and ran away. Later, when some people said that the DKBA had gone back to the border, I returned to see our house.

The children cannot eat and drink because there is no food. They were crying because they were afraid of the guns and shells. The people are forced to stay at so many places in the jungle — under trees and beside the river. Now, we have no food.

Interview: 259 - HRV: Refugee, Repatriation, Livelihood

Name: Maung Aye
Sex: Male
Interviewed: April 1995, at Bornor Refugee Camp
Source: Images Asia

I was blinded when a SLORC soldier shot me. When the DKBA came to burn the camp, I hid in a hole and now I just stay in the camp and do nothing. The one who set the camp on fire was close to me at that time and the DKBA asked if there were any KNU soldiers there and if they met, they would kill them. They saw me, but they didn't do anything. They said that we had misbehaved because we hadn't gone back to Burma. There were maybe 200 DKBA. If we don't go back to Burma within one or two days, they might come again.

Interview: 260 - HRV: Women, Refugee, Repatriation, Livelihood

Name: Naw Tin Mya
Sex: Female
Interviewed: April 1995, at Bornor Refugee Camp
Source: Images Asia

The shell dropped while I was cooking. Although I managed to escape from being injured, all my belongings were destroyed.

While we were eating in that morning, we heard the shelling. So we ran out of the house and entered into the bunker. All our cooking utensils were destroyed. Now I have to eat at my neighbour's house. When I left the house, I begged them not to burn the house, but they did anyway.

I have no husband because we are divorced. He left me and ran away. The people said that I could contact the DKBA, but how can I make contact when I have no food or anything. They ordered us to go back to Burma and I said to them, "I have no rice or anything".

During this time my husband was not at home. They told us to move as the Thai Army was coming. We have nothing. They, the DKBA, had weapons and walkie-talkies and a phone. Please I only have rice and chilli. (Speaks to children during the conversation between the two women). We have to live in village camp because it is such a hard life. But the refugee camp was better. We had to borrow a mosquito net.

Interview: 261 - HRV: Torture, Forced Labour, Livelihood, Slavery, Child, Women, Refugee

Name:	Nai Moe
Age:	29
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with five children
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kywetalin village
Source:	Images Asia

I left my village with my family because I could not stand the torture of the Burmese. To avoid forced labour for construction and extortion of money, I left.

For portering, we had to pay 400 Ks each month. We also had to pay for their food. Moreover, we had to pay water tax. People were forced to fetch water for their (SLORC's) army out-post in Kyaukkadin village. If we could not go to our assignment, then we had to pay 200 Ks. They would send a message to the village headman by letter and the village headman would collect the money for the villagers.

Just before I left my village, I had to go for my assigned duty and work on the railway construction site in Yar Phoo village, about in November [1994]. Altogether 5 people from my village, including I myself, had been forced to work and could not refuse their order. I went there because natives from our village had already been working there. It was seven days for one rotation.

Not only did the soldiers beat the labourers, they forced us to work cruelly. The work started in the morning until they ordered us to stop. I saw some labourers beaten. If they found us resting or stopped working, we were beaten. One person was beaten so hard that his head was cut. I also saw many women and children, and old people at the work site. As I said before, they beat a man badly. Finally this man ordained as a monk because he was scared so badly.

We didn't get anything from them. We had to take our own food. When we had good quality rice, they exchanged it with their own unrefined and old rice. People had to carry water from the stream and to the out-posts. We had to buy medicine with our own money. We were never paid for our labour, but if I could pay 500 Ks, I would have been released.

We travelled to the work-site on foot. Our main tasks were digging the earth, carrying and levelling the ground, filling in low levels. We started at 6:30 a.m. and worked until 12:00 p.m. After 1 hour break for lunch, we continued from 1:00 p.m. until 6:00 p.m.

The SLORC soldiers in that working area were from LIB 406. There was one battle when we were in the area, about in November [1994]. I was not sure, but I thought it was with the Mon.

Eventually I fled the work site. I just ran away at about 5:00 p.m. while the soldiers went elsewhere. The guards were posted on two sides. One at the back and the other at the front. Altogether there were about 6 soldiers and about 40 labourers.

When I escaped, all my personal belongings were left there. I ran toward my village, but I lost the way. Fortunately I found a man in the jungle and he guided me to my village.

I have no idea about my future, but I hope to live and work here on the farm. But I don't want to go back home as long as they are there. I am afraid of them.

There is no water in their out-post. Villagers had to fetch water from the stream at the foot of the hill and carry it up to the top of the hill where the soldiers had set up their out-post. We had to carry 50 tanks per day to fill up the water tank.

The people in Kywetalin village are paddy farmers, some also cultivate cash crops. I left my farm. I don't have any paddy fields. I just left my land there. I used to grow betel nuts and cashews. I didn't earn much, only 5-6,000 Ks, Ks per year because it was a new plantation.

In our areas, we had to pay 400 Ks for one time and another 200 Ks for every month to the army since October [1994]. That means that I had to pay all my earnings to SLORC. To survive, I had to do extra jobs at other people's farms. Giving half of it to them and half for my survival. Before that I had to labour as a porter rather than paying money.

Interview: 262 - HRV: Torture, Forced Labour, Livelihood, Slavery, Refugee

Name:	Nai Taung
Age:	46
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with five children
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	xxxxxx village
Source:	Images Asia

I'm not involved in any political activities. I'm just an ordinary civilian. I left my home because I could neither work nor pay the Burmese soldiers money. We were

forced to work as so-called "volunteer labourers" for LIB 410 or for railway construction. If we could not go for work, we had to pay money. If we flee from work, we also had to pay money for the release of the conscription, 3,000 Ks a time. We had to earn our food, we also had to pay money for them. We had nothing left. We had sold out all that we had owned. Besides, children were also not well. So I finally left with all my children.

If I could not go, I had to hire another person. Yes. I went to work twice for the construction of LIB 410 in Kaleinaung village, in Yebyu Township. In January [1995] we had to build living quarters and make furniture such as tables and chairs. Villagers were divided into two groups to work for the soldiers regularly in turn, so that the whole village should not be ruined by conscription while some were serving as porters. I went only for LIB 410.

Before I was a farmer. I had six acres of paddy. I also have a garden and grew cucumbers and betel-nut. I had paddy fields and farm separately. If I didn't have to pay taxes and porter fees to the soldiers, it would be enough. But out of 100 baskets, we only had a bit left after paying them all for the last three months. Children felt sick and I had nothing to pay, so I left.

If you refused to go and if you were conscripted by force, you had to pay 3,000 Ks for release. So it was better to flee and avoid the conscription. We had to go twice a month because there were only a few people in our village. If the children got sick or for any other emergency business, we had to hire a person at the rate of 1,800 Ks.

At first it was once a month, but now it's more often because all have fled. We had to go twice or three times a month. This year the soldiers came to conscript the villagers to work as labourers since the end of rainy season. But the whole railway construction work was started at harvest time of last year, about September [1994]. We were forced to do it, otherwise we would have been arrested.

The SLORC battalion sent a letter to the headman ordering to conscript 5-10 people, as many as they wanted. Then the headman opened the letter before the others, saying that it was up to the villagers, whether they went or not. He was unable to do anything himself. Only two people from my village went with me to work at the LIB 410 because our village is small. I have never been arrested by SLORC, apart from being taken for forced labour. The work site was at LIB 410 in Kaleinaung village. I went on my own because I was afraid of being arrested. If you didn't go, you had to flee, otherwise they would come to arrest you. Some had to go to work as porters. We worked at the site in two week shifts.

About 100 labourers were working there. Some had to cut trees and bamboo plants. Some had to build offices. I had to make furniture such as tables and chairs.

There was no health care. If we got sick, we had to take care of ourselves. We had to take food from home and we had to sleep on the ground.four or five people, from near our village, were beaten for sleeping because of tire and coming late to work. They were not at the same work site as me. I asked all these question while we had a break or time for sleeping. It was said that they were beaten because they slept while working and because they were late for work. I saw them being beaten from a distance, because they were assigned to another group.

We had to pay if we could not go in our turn, once a month or twice a month. The SLORC never gave us any money for working. They didn't ever say we would be released if we paid them money. I travelled to the work-site on foot and I had to carry everything.

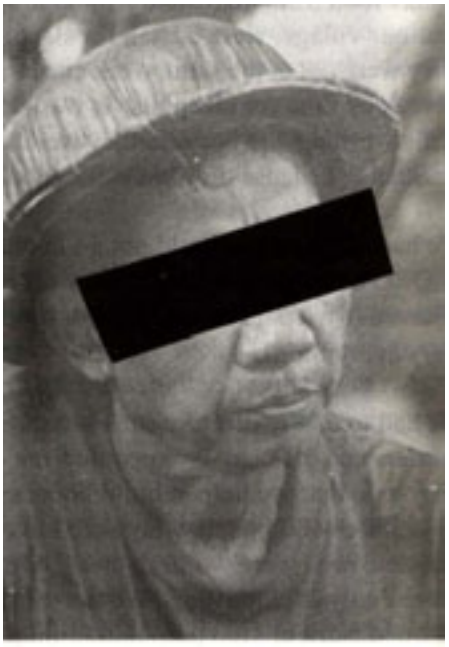
We had to make furniture such as tables and chairs and also we had to build living quarters and offices. Two people from our village and others had to work together. They said that we helped build houses and their battalion. They made exceptions for children and people who were too old. They took middle aged men. About 55 years old men were working there. We worked from morning until night. We had a break only at lunch time. We started at 7:00 a.m. until 11:00 a.m., then lunch, then resumed work at 1:00 p.m. until 5:00 p.m. We bathed at the well.

I myself was never beaten. Also there was no fighting this summer while we were there. We couldn't leave work until we were replaced by another group. Now maybe I have to stay here, cutting bamboo cane and picking thatch, but my son is living at Payaw camp. I won't go back to my village until the situation becomes quiet again. Nothing is left there. Whoever can work on my land can take it. Whatever happened to my big wooden house, I don't care. I cannot say for sure if I could reclaim my properties and land, but if conditions favour, I would like to take them back.

When the village headman received the letter from the SLORC soldiers, he didn't force us to go. He showed us the letter and told us we could go or flee. Everybody understood that one had to work or flee, or else he would be arrested. I had waited for some time to see whether the situation was going to improve in the village. But as it was getting worse and nothing was left there, I had no choice but to leave the village.

Interview: 263 - HRV: Forced Labour, Livelihood, Slavery, Refugee

Name:	Nai Seik
Age:	60
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist



Family: Married with four children (one deceased)
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Kyaukkadin village
Source: Images Asia

I've never been involved in any political activities and I'm not a member of the New Mon State Party. I came because my daughter is living here. I came to visit her. I was living in Kyaukkadin before .

I left my village to stay here. I left my farm and all my personal belongings there. I plan to go back if the situation changes for the better. I will go back if the situation becomes stable. I couldn't stand any longer continuing to pay money to them. I left cows and my house there. Once a month, we had to pay about 200 Ks for porter fees. Other people also had to pay money, but for me they asked 200 Ks. Finally I left pretending I was going to visit my daughter.

Burmese soldiers collected money through the village headman. I had to pay 200 Ks per month. I paid for two times. As long as I can remember, I only paid twice. I am not sure if my wife and children have had to pay also or if they are still paying now. After the first two times, SLORC came to collect money again. I had nothing left to give and nothing to say to them, so I left for this camp where my daughter is living.

There was an army out-post at the top of hillock in the eastern side of the village. The SLORC soldiers stayed there all the time. They didn't explain why they collected the money for portering. We just paid the money. I 'm not sure what the other people had to do. As I was old, I was not conscripted. I know some people were forced to work on the railway construction and some were forced to carry burdens for the SLORC soldiers. People went to work on railway construction. Since I am an aged man, I had never worked there, but I had to pay them 200 Ks whenever they came to collect the money. Finally I had nothing to pay them, so I left. There were some family members and my house left behind in my village.

Most of the people in Kyaukkadin village are Mon, but there were some Burmese from Zinbyeit village who came to work. I don't know if the Burmese suffered under the soldiers as the Mon did. The village headman arranged for them and it depended on him.

Interview: 264 - HRV: Slavery, Torture, Execution, Disappearance, Women

Name: Nai Shwe
Age: 34
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Mon
Source: Images Asia

I returned home on leave and I was arrested on the way. They questioned me like from where I had come and what my purpose for being there was. I said that I had come from Mudon Township to work as a carrier. Then they forced me to carry their load of military equipment.

We slept in the paddy field for one night, then we proceeded to Blehkaloh via Lawsai, Kyaukkadin and Alesakhan. Having arrived at Blehkaloh, they arrested three men in a hut and tortured them by cutting their backs with a knife and putting salt in the wounds. The victim's wife and parents were there with him. Accusing the victim of being a dacoit, the soldiers forced him to confess that he was. Despite his persistence of being innocent, the soldiers tortured him so cruelly that he lost one eye. After two days, his parents were released. But at about 8:00 p.m., the soldiers shot at him three times, killing him on the spot. His name was Haling. They beat him so hard that one of his eyes came out. He was about 30 years old.

The man was forced to confess that he was a dacoit because they thought that he was involved in a crime which took place on that day. But I thought he was innocent. He was arrested at his hut while looking after his cows. Four people were arrested, tied and beaten. They were not given food or water. They arrested all of his family members at dagger point and interrogated. Only one old woman, their mother, was left behind in the hut. The other members of his family didn't see him tortured. He was taken to Alesakhan. They had no evidence whatsoever to accuse him of being a dacoit. But they accused him and beat him.

Though they said that they were cow hands and denied that they were dacoits, soldiers did not accept that answer. In the evening they were tied up with ropes and tortured, without food or water, also the old woman. When they found a home-made gun, they accused him again and took him to Alesakhan where they tortured him by cutting his back with a knife. He was also tied to a tree and left to be bitten by ants. The next evening, father and brother were released, but he was shot and killed with three shots at 8:00 p.m. Though they said that they were cow hands and denied that they were dacoits, soldiers did not accept that answer. In the evening they were tied up with ropes and tortured, without food or water, also the old woman. When they found a home-made gun, they accused him again and took him to Alesakhan where they tortured him by cutting his back with a knife. He was also tied to a tree and left to be bitten by ants. The

following evening, his father and brother were released, but he was shot and killed.

One bullock cart driver, who was found along the way, was also arrested and taken away.

It wasn't the first time I saw villagers beaten in the same way. In one case, a villager was tied up with a rope and beaten. Though we porters offered food and water, it was denied, even from us. Only a little rice and fish paste were given. The man was accused of being a Mon soldier. I have no idea of his fate as I had fled.

I was very lucky to escape. They didn't allow me to go anywhere and if I went somewhere, they followed me, even to the toilet. But on that day, two of their groups left for military operation. I seized the opportunity and ran away under the pretence of going to have a bath. I could not take all my personal belongings.

For rice they gave me just that. (Indicating with his hand) No curry, only a little fish paste. We had to sleep on the ground. Sometimes we could eat until we were full. Sometimes half full. But no curry, only fish paste. I had no other jobs, I had to carry military equipment only. We were not allowed to go anywhere else. We had to carry the equipment to the monastery in Lawsai village via the bullock cart station, Kyaukkadin, Blehkaloh. I fled from that monastery. When I saw the other man tortured, I was so scared that I was breathless. They also said they would kill me too. I could not sleep that night. When I was also threatened to be killed, I thought of a plan to escape.

Inferiors were often scolded by their superior SLORC officers, blamed and threatened. They were even beaten when the porters escaped. When I was in Blehkaloh monastery, one porter escaped. Because of that, soldiers were punched to be taught a lesson.

Interview: 265 - HRV: Child, Torture, Livelihood, Execution, Slavery

Name: Maung Ngwe
Sex: Male
Interviewed: 22 April 1995
Source: Images Asia

I did not want to stay at my house, so I became a soldier. In the time of the pro-democracy uprising, I had three friends. In my village we had a bad man, an inhumane man. I killed him, I cut his throat and he was dead. Two of my friends escaped. At that time the SLORC government and soldiers had caught the people. I had to become a soldier to avoid punishment. And when I became a soldier, they could not catch us because we belonged to the SLORC

government. The man who I killed was Kyar Gnot. At that time, I was 17 years old. But I lied about my age because to become a soldier you had to be 18 years old. I knew people who were 11, 13 and 20 they all claimed that they were 18. Anyone can become a soldier.

Beside Kobie village, there was a stream . So we killed some people beside the stream because we could dig a hole easily and bury them easily. If we didn't bury them properly some animals would see the hole. We were also worried the villagers seeing it . Sometimes when we kill two people, we put them in the same hole. If the villagers know about the people we catch, later they will question us. We say we release them, but actually we kill them.

When I defected, we had come to this area to buy and sell timber. Later I needed money, but could not get it and I was very angry. At the night time, I went to shoot the gun. I shot at the Major and he shot me too. Later they took my gun and I couldn't do anything. The following morning I stole my gun and tried to escape the area. If I didn't escape, I knew very well that I would be taken to jail and bashed.

Before that the Major and I were like brothers. We were belonged to the worst battalion. If we saw some people, we hit and kicked. Some people were innocent, but if we were drunk, we would verbally abuse the villagers and proceed to beat and kick them. Sometimes if the chairman of the village was unlucky, we beat and kicked him too.

When we entered a village, we took all of their clothes, food, chickens and pigs etc. They did not give them to us. We took all their things violently. We caught the porters and if they didn't want to leave, we'd beat and kick them and take all their money.

When we arrive at the village we take all the goods except money and clothes. We take all the food. If we don't get what we want, we will take something else. If we don't get anything. we'll catch porters and beat them. We grab things at random and do things without thinking. In the village we drink alcohol, get drunk, crazy and violent and then we leave. In the next place we do the same things again. We do it at every village, not one village is left untouched.

When we enter the village everybody is afraid of us. We arrest porters, ask them to carry bags, and if they can't carry, we beat them. At the time I was a soldier, our officers and us were like brothers.

The leader of the village asked the man what was wrong with him but nobody answered him. His stomach hurt and somebody had sent him to the hospital. My major lied to the leader of the village, saying the cow kicked him and he was killed. Finally the leader of the village and all of the villagers knew that the major had kicked him. Then when the chairman of the village asked the doctor, he lied to the chairman because the major gave him money. So the doctor said that the cow kicked him and killed him.

In Karen state, Mo Kar Mee village, we were looking for a man accused of being a thief. We went and surrounded the thief's house. We couldn't catch the thief so we caught his wife and child instead. We shaved the head of his wife and put her in the stocks, and when her husband came back we released her. After we released her, we killed her husband. We weren't really after his wife, so we released her. We wanted to kill him, so we caught his wife. If we didn't catch his wife, we could not catch him. I didn't shave her head, but I took her to jail. My major shaved her head.

Now I don't think about the future, I don't care about anything. I don't think of anything. If I have to die, I will die, I don't care. Between Three Pagodas and the new village of Mokata, many soldiers moved to the other side.

Interview: 266 - HRV: Child, Women, Torture, Livelihood, Slavery, Minorities, Displacement

Name: Maung Htoo
Age: 18
Sex: Male
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married
Interviewed: 18 and 22 April 1995, at Thai Mon border
Source: Images Asia

I joined SLORC because I had no parents. I haven't seen them since I was a child. I was alone and stayed with my neighbour. My friends asked me to go with them and become a soldier. I was 17 at that time. I joined LIB 409. Our monthly salary was 600 Ks. But usually I received 300 Ks and the battalion kept the rest. They didn't give us enough money but we had to buy our uniforms and other things including food. I had to buy my uniform with my salary. To afford that, I had to save money for three or four months. I wrote a complaint letter to the captain but they didn't care about it. I didn't want to give them the money but the high ranking officers cut our salaries every month.

My duties were those of an ordinary soldier. All over the past year, I was in battle four times: twice in Kawza, once in Sin Phyu Taing and another in Mikyawdawn. In Sin Phyu Taing, we burned down the village. We didn't beat the villagers but we took some porters to carry our goods. It was around that time that I escaped. We burned down the village because the commander ordered us too. The villagers ran away into the jungle.

The relationship between high ranking officers and the soldiers wasn't always good. But the soldiers of our level helped each other. I was hit many times by the high ranking officers when I disagreed with them. I wanted to just live and get by, but I couldn't be there. Even if I tried to avoid getting into trouble, they still punched and kicked me. Other soldiers got the same treatment, so we were angry.

If the soldiers did something that they disliked, then the officers hit the soldiers. The soldiers couldn't stay freely but under a strict rule. The soldiers couldn't go anywhere by themselves. If we committed any crime, we got the worst beatings. They were beaten five time each before and after going to jail. I was hit 3 or 4 times when I was there.

If we didn't salute them they hit us. Sometimes if we didn't see them and couldn't salute them, then we were hit too. If we couldn't do the work in time of request, they hit us and put us in jail. We were angry because we were still hit even though we did the work that they ordered. When they asked about the people from this side (revolutionaries) and if the villagers didn't know or didn't answer, they beat them.

The soldiers used to loot the villagers, arrest the men and beat, catch the women and rape. When they accuse the villagers, whether they are revolutionaries or not, they beat them. Mostly we stay at Hangan village and patrol to Yinye village. We rob, arrest men, do unjust things, beat, punish and if we see shops, we take things. Before I came here, I saw one major raped two girls who were riding bicycles while I was on patrol (running point). The major alone, pointed a gun at them, took their gold rings, watches and bracelets, then raped them. So what can we do? We were just subordinates.

Although the major didn't force us to watch, he didn't try to hide. He ask the column to stop while he raped the two women. We stopped and took position in the wood beside the filed where he did it and we saw everything. His name was Maj Tha Myint, Comdr of Coy 1, LIB 409. Bn Comdr was Kyaw Zaw Lah and his deputy was Nyan Aung. I was very ashamed but the major didn't care at all. I was so angry that I even wanted to kill him myself. That's why when we return to our base camp (Hangan), I left my battalion.

One woman was 19 and the other was 20 years old. Both were Mon. When the major was raping, they cried. Afterwards, they went back to their village. The major didn't say anything to the women. When the chairman of the village knew about this case, he appealed to the commanding officer. Then they were punished and they had to suffer from contributing labour for the railway. I escaped one night after the rape case. I think SLORC is a bad government. I will stay here and fight against SLORC.

I don't know any detailed information about the gas pipeline. But I've seen foreigners in LIB 410. When the foreigners went to find the pipeline route in Kawza village, they were killed in the cross-fire between SLORC soldiers from

LIB 410 and the Mon. Six foreigners were there and they were just visiting the forest and surveying for the pipeline. They didn't wear uniforms, they wore short pants. They spoke English but I didn't know what nationality they were. After the fighting, I saw the dead body of a foreigner. They took him to their battalion.

We knew the foreigners were doing work concerning the pipeline because they usually stayed with us. I saw that the other three foreigners were in the car and went back to the battalion. The foreigners and the major had a good relationship.

Interview: 267 - HRV: Torture, Slavery, Livelihood, Refugee, Displacement, Minorities

Name:	Par Par
Age:	40
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with one child
Occupation:	Carpenter
Address:	Tavoy, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	22 April 1995
Source:	Images Asia

I started to leave Kabyawah for Ye-Lamaing. At the time the SLORC soldiers caught me and hit me. They kicked me and beat my head with their guns, kicked me in the teeth, blindfolded me and struck me with many things. Then they sent me to the jungle. They blindfolded me for two days and didn't give me any food. Then my mother and a friend came from Kabyawah and negotiated with the SLORC soldiers. After that they released me.

They asked me questions before they beat me. They asked, "Can you read the letters on my shoulder?" and I said I couldn't because it wasn't in Mon language. Then they said that I was lying so they hit me and beat me with a gun. Then they asked me who was the chairman of Kabya village. I answered, "U Aung San" and they again said that was I lying and hit me, kicked me, and beat me in the mouth with their guns. They asked me if I knew where the rebels stayed and I said that I didn't know. Again they said that they didn't believe me and beat me. The man who did it had a star on his shirt, but he wasn't a captain. He was from IB 31. After the beating I took some Baidow [herbal] medicine, but he soldiers didn't help me.

The SLORC soldiers caught porters from Kabya village. My grandfather called me and told me to go so that I escaped. I don't want to return to my village because they take porters there, and they beat the villagers. If they see you they take all your money. From a single person, they took 5,000 or 6,000 Ks. We have to give it to them but we have no money, so I don't want to go back to Burma. When they beat me, it was about six months ago. After they caught me they took me to the mountains with the pagodas on top near Kabyawah. I just arrived in this area two days ago, but for the pervious five months I was living in my village. I decide to leave because I couldn't work there any more. I spent my time running and hiding, so I decided to leave my village.

Interview: 268 - HRV: Livelihood, Torture, Displacement, Refugee, Women

Name:	Mi Tin Win
Age:	20
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with one child; but already died
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Yebyu Township
Interviewed:	April 1995
Source:	Images Asia

I was never involved with any political organisation. The SLORC soldiers came to my village and entered my house. They ask for this and that. When I could not respond, they seized everything in my small shop, things like cooking oil, salt and chillies. They also took all my hens and tools but they left the roosters behind. When I couldn't say anything, they slapped me in the face. I had to follow them while they were searching for things in my house because I was afraid they would try to drop something there to incriminate us as Mon supporters. They asked me if I had any connection with the Mon army. When I told them the truth, that I didn't, they didn't understand and they yelled at me at gun point. I was so frightened! I was able to hide my money before hand.

I fled the village in fear of being beaten and tortured. I left in March, I don't remember the date. I came to Payaw because of fear and suffering. We had to evacuate the village whenever they came. When we stayed hiding in the jungle we had to take food from the other villages. Sometimes we had to eat rotten food. So we fled the village. Nobody was left in the village. All fled and I left too. They are all here now. Now I have to work any job I can find. My husband has already left for another village to see if he can find a job.

Interview: 269 - HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Refugee

Name:	Ye Aung
Age:	23
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Tavoyan
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with one child
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Yebyu Township
Interviewed:	22 April 1995
Source:	Images Asia

When SLORC took me, the first time they called porters and they said they'd give us 5,000 Ks per month. We had to walk with their group and they didn't give the money at the beginning. First we had to work for 10 days. After 10 days, they let us go back to village. But after 10 days they didn't give us any money or food, we had to take food by ourselves.

I heard them talking about the gas pipeline and that they would use the hole for a pipe line. Five hundred people worked there. I didn't see them hit or beat the porters or the workers.

I've worked on this project since January [1995] and I didn't get the money, but I had to do it because they came and took us for work. If I didn't go, they would punish us and each household would have to pay 200 Ks. We work 11 hours a day.

They put the pipe in the hole after we dug the hole, and I heard that they would join it with a pipe from Thailand to the Burmese border. They will join pipe line between Phaungdaw and Thailand. They dug the hole in Phaungdaw village. The soldiers will patrol the pipeline in the area.

Interview: 270 - HRV: Women, Child, Livelihood, Forced Labour, Torture, Refugee

Name:	Daw Myaing
Age:	36
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with four children
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	April 1995
Source:	Images Asia

I've never been involved with the Mon soldiers. The SLORC soldiers came to the village to conscript the people to work at railway construction site in September [1994], but they started to build it last year [1993]. They stopped in the rainy season and continued to conscript people after harvesting. They conscripted the villagers through the village headman. Every time they took seven people from each village to work for seven days. If the village is bigger, they conscripted more. After every seven days, new seven labourers were sent to the work site to be replaced, otherwise, the old ones had to continue their work. Except in the rainy season, labourers had to work for the whole summer. There were hundreds of labourers who were conscripted from various villages.

We had to afford any medical problems at our own expense. We had to buy our food with our own money. Otherwise we had no food to eat because we didn't get anything from them (SLORC). They paid us nothing for our labour. Those

who rendered their services did not need to pay money (porter fees). They were released from work after completing 7 days work and if new porters came for replacement. We were digging the ground, filling up the trenches, that's the kind of work we had to do. While we were working, the soldiers guarded us. The work-site was at Welbil. About 100 labourers, including women and children and aged persons, worked there. We can never say for sure how many women were there because the number of them varied from time to time. When the men were away for work, women and children had to go to work instead of the men.

I don't know the soldiers' battalion. They weren't from nearby my village. But I thought that they were from Tavoy. They made us carry as much as we could, but not too much so that we could do it for a long time. We started in the morning until 9:00 a.m., then continued work until 4:00 p.m. When the labourers had more refined rice, the soldiers often exchanged it with their unrefined and old rice. They did it very often.

In September or October [1994], I once saw a man taken away from the work-site because they thought that he was from the Mon Army. He was tied with rope and beaten so badly that the man almost succumbed to death. In reality, he had come to work for them but they accused him of being a Mon soldier, so the village headman had to interfere.

They put his head in a plastic bag, tied him with rope, made him lie down on the ground and rolled a bamboo stick over his body. While doing so the plastic bag was put on and off every half hour. He was all bruised and blue making his limbs swollen. Nobody could say anything, everyone just looked on.

Another time the army tied up 8 people with ropes and the soldiers demanded 80,000 Ks. When they could not afford to pay the money, they were taken to the army camp. At night time, they were made to sleep in the trench dug up by the villagers. Because of being tied up tightly all together, they moaned in pain. They couldn't climb out of the trench and their hands were bruised. They were finally released after we gave 80,000 Ks. They were kept in this way 4 nights. The householders had to give rice for them. They were only detained so SLORC could extort money. The 20 soldiers and also militia who did this were from Mintha village. Every village had to pay 30 baskets of rice to those soldiers. Other villagers also suffered, some even had to buy sarongs for the wives of the soldiers.

I was so scared to be tortured in the same way as that other man because I refused to do what they wanted me to do. I had to flee finally, otherwise I would be arrested and tortured in the same way. Either I had to escape it or I would be subjected to more work and torture. I had to abandon my land and properties.

Now there were less than 30 households left in our village. If the situation gets worse, I would not return home because six villages had already been under the strict control of SLORC soldiers. There was no peace in that area.

Interview: 271 - HRV: Women, Slavery, Livelihood, Torture, Refugee

Name:	Daw Khaine Khaine
Age:	50
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	April 1995
Source:	Images Asia

They came to our village to conscript porters, but we could not give them any. They needed them for carrying military equipment. About 100 soldiers arrived and ordered us to carry loads as far as Ah Mae village. Those who had been conscripted never returned. Because of that, the village headman was afraid to conscript porters any more and shunned them. Villagers had to flee or pay money. If they could not pay, then they had to do the labour for them. As both the village headman and the villagers could not do for them, they conscripted porters by themselves.

If one paid, it was not necessary to serve as a porter. My husband had to serve as a porter five times. He was chosen as a member of the village committee. My husband was asked to follow the soldiers by carrying loads as far as Mae Daw. But the soldiers did not let him go back when they had arrived to Mae Daw village. The village headman did not follow to ask soldiers let him go back. He begged the soldiers to let him go back only after they had arrived at a very far distance. Not long after that, my husband was conscripted again. So finally we fled the village.

To escape conscription, some had to pay 1,000 Ks and some had to pay 2-5,000 Ks. It depended on the people. I have always fled to another village, so I have never had to pay. The whole village fled. We had to pay 100-200 Ks for their food. They asked about 15,000 Ks for the whole village. They collected the money through the village headman. If we hadn't fled, I think we would have paid about 500-600 Ks weekly. I always fled from the village whenever the Burmese soldiers came. Everyone in the village fled except for the women.

Finally people from Ah Mae and Chabone fled from the villages for good. If they were caught, they were forced to carry loads of food and military equipment. If they could not carry the load, they were kicked from behind. They had to carry burdens to Mae Than Taung village which took about 12 hours. After arriving at the village, if the person was lucky enough to be substituted with another person from his own village, he was allowed to go back home. Our village headman never tried to meet the soldiers. So we had to flee by ourselves. Other village headmen always requested the soldiers to let their villagers return home whenever

they were at another village. We got to the other villages on foot of course. Sometimes we had to go along the mountains until we had arrived at Kawza. People were afraid of falling down while walking on the mountain in the dark. Work lasted for one month or two months, it depended on the military operation. They stayed at the village only one or two days.

Once my husband and my son were sent as porters to go as far as Welbel village. We were told the village headman would give them 10,000 Ks. When they arrived at Kanut Karain village, the soldiers gave them only beans and coconut meat left over from making coconut milk to eat. There was never enough food given. They were allowed to return only after getting to Alesakhan. Since that time, he has never gone to work as a porter. That last time, they had to work for nine days. They allowed us to go back after getting to Alesakhan. We received exactly 10,000 Ks from the villagers.

We had to go from Chabone, Ah Mae, Thaung Sune, Mut Karain, Kin Mun Chaung along the motor road to Alesakhan, over the rocky mountain. As my husband told me, it was a very mountainous journey. My son had to carry bean sacks. It was so heavy. I carried ammunition, rice, beans and other things. About 25 kg. I am so afraid to talk with you. I will face trouble if I go back to the village.

Talking about Maethawah

They came to conscript people for portering before water festival, about March/April. They didn't conscript women and children. Only my husband and my son had to carry.

It was meaningless to continue staying there. We were always on the run. We could not stay in hiding for a long time. Finally we came to this camp together with many other people. I left my farm in the village.

Interview: 272 - HRV: Livelihood, Women, Minorities, Torture, Refugee

Name:	Ni Ni
Age:	18
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Single
Occupation:	Farmer & Timber trader
Address:	Yebyu Township
Interviewed:	May 1995, Payaw Refugee Camp
Source:	Images Asia

I've never been involved in politics. While I was working on someone else's farm, the

SLORC soldiers came. I was questioned such as where did I come from, where was I going, and why I didn't stay at home etc. I was so scared of them that I ran away. I was staying in hiding in the jungle for eight days, one day without food and the other days only eating rice soup. I was worried because one of my female relatives was asked by a soldier to go with him and marry him, something like that. She ran away from them and left the village.

It is disgraceful to marry a SLORC soldier because they are of different race, it is bad to marry a Burmese. I hate to marry them. As they tortured us, I hated them. They tortured the villagers by beating them. I heard about it happening in every village.

Just before I left my village, I met them on the way back from the farm. They questioned me and when I couldn't answer, they aimed their guns at me. They forced me to speak their language. Only the commander questioned me. I don't know his name, but he was a captain.

When the soldiers entered the village, we fled for the farm and they followed us again there. Then they asked all sorts of questions such as why I did not stay in the village. One woman was taken away, so I was so scared and fled the village. After eight days, I arrived at Chabone village. Later I returned to my village because I thought that they had fled. They called me at that time and talked to me. When I could not respond, they aimed their gun at me twice.

I came here not to stay in Payaw, but to look for my elder sister who is in Thailand. If I cannot proceed, I will stay here. I have no idea what she is doing now because she left 13 years ago. I had no plan to stay here. I would like to look for my sister who is working in Thailand. I heard that she is selling things.

Interview: 273 - HRV: Livelihood, Women, Torture, Refugee

Name:	Mi Mi
Age:	24
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married; in pregnant
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Yebyu Township
Interviewed:	May 1995, Payaw Refugee Camp
Source:	Images Asia

I've never been involved in politics. When the SLORC soldiers came to our village, we were arrested and tortured. We fled from our village because we were afraid of them. Whenever they came to the village, we had to stay hiding in the fields.

I saw people being tortured. Since the men always have to avoid from being arrested, we had no time to work for our survival. The soldiers also took our rice which we left as well as our food and belongings. We were unable to make a living in our own village, so we stayed around in other villages. We did odd jobs because we could not stay in our own village.

We came to Payaw because we heard that some food was provided in this camp. As we had no chance to work in our village, we left for this camp. It's not such a problem in dry season, but in monsoon it's very difficult to find a job. So we left our home place.

Of course we want to live in peace. We would like to see peace between the Mon and the Burmese. If the Mon and the Burmese don't shoot at each other there will be peace in our area. Because of the fighting, villagers have had to flee all the time in the cross fire. We had no time to work. We would like to see a better future.

Interview: 274 - HRV: Livelihood, Women, Slavery, Torture, Refugee

Name:	Mi Ong
Age:	60
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with eight children; Husband deceased in 1994
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Yebyu Township
Interviewed:	May 1995, Payaw Refugee Camp
Source:	Images Asia

I lost all my paddy farm and I left three farms in my village. Five children are working in Thailand and the other three are living together with me. I also have one grandchild. I donated money in the monastery and took part in social affairs, but I never took part in any political activities.

The SLORC soldiers didn't make any problems for me, but my sons had to flee all the time. The soldiers conscripted people for portering and forced them to carry heavy loads, so their shoulders got bruised and rotten. One man was left unconscious outside our village. We had to carry that man into the village and treat him. We, all women, had to do that because there were no men in the village. The man was from Mae Thantaung village and his father's name is U Pan Pyay. After recovering, his father came to take him back.

One of my son had no particular problems. The other one lost consciousness and all his shoulders got bruised. He told me that he was kicked two times. He was kicked twice and questioned if he knew about this and that, this person or

that person. When he could not respond, they'd kick him. I didn't see it. He told me after he arrived back from portering.

When the soldiers entered the village they stole our belongings and looted our houses. They took my 12 fowls, three plates and spoons. They also took fruits from my farm while they were staying in our village for about one month. They never asked permission from us when they took your personal belongings. No way! They also seized a bucket of rice. Everybody got angry when their belongings were taken by force. I was also afraid of them. I alone left my home when they entered the village. Other people dared not stay and fled away. But they did nothing to me. I heard about other villagers being beaten, but I didn't see it myself because I never went out.

Interview: 275 - HRV: Women, Child, Forced Labour, Livelihood, Torture, Refugee

Name:	Daw May Nwe
Age:	60
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Mon
Family:	Married
Address:	Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	May 1995
Source:	Images Asia

The mother of this baby passed away in Sinkyaw village. She died of a disease, 3 months ago, about in March. The baby is one and a half years. He is tiny because he is sick. We went to the hospital and they gave some tablets [*in this refugee camp*]. Being an old woman, they did not take me to work on the railway construction site last year [1994]. They conscripted only strong young ones. I had to pay for not going to work. Because of that I could not even afford to have a sarong. It's not regular, the porter fee, sometimes 300 or 400 or 500 Ks, it depends. Sometimes twice a month, sometimes three times. I earned only 10 or 20 Ks a day, enough for daily bread. I grew vegetables to earn money for survival.

I left my village this month and arrived at Payaw less than two weeks ago. I've seen so many people taken to be beaten by soldiers, but I can't tell you about it in detail, because the people were taken to the army camp and beaten there. Ah Phaung was also beaten. Now the situation is worse than it was five years ago because of those Burmese. When we had a little, they took it all away. We fled because we had nothing left for food. When I left the village I could not carry anything other than three pots. It was very tiring to come across the mountain. It took two or three days. We slept three nights on the way. If the situation is quiet there, I will return. If not, I won't. I fled in fear of oppression.

Interview: 276 - HRV: Women, Livelihood, Refugee, Displacement

Name:	Naw Ah Mu
Age:	71
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Karenni
Family:	Married with four children
Occupation:	Farmer
Interviewed:	24 July 1995
Source:	Images Asia

I came to the border in 1991 and I always heard the fighting and the sound of gunshots. Always there was fighting between SLORC and the Karenni Army, so I was very afraid. The bullets landed in my house and I was very afraid of them, and I ran away. I've come here because I am very afraid. I also came to this particular place because one of my daughters was here, so I came to see her.

I came with my daughter. I have four children, now they are all married with families, but my daughter who is here has no husband because he died.

The situation here, with SLORC, is worse now than it was under the Japanese. The Japanese tied my husband up and slapped his face because I gave food to the Englishmen. I give them only rice and chicken. They tied his hands behind him and pulled out a big stick and beat here on his chest until he was in agony. It was in 1950 — I was married in 1943 and my husband died in 1950. At that time my eldest daughter was only six years old and I have four, so the youngest one, at that time I was pregnant with her, five more months and I would deliver.

At that time the Burmese and Karenni were fighting and he was shot and he died then, in 1950. Then I was left with the responsibility of four kids who were so young, so it was very difficult and we faced so many troubles. I was a teacher at that time, so I could afford only to send one of my daughters to school. My second child I sent to become a house servant, cooking, washing and cleaning to get the money for her education. Now all of my children are married. We lived in xxxx and we made the underground. But the government soon found out and crushed it all. As they took all of our jobs, we were left with no work at all. One of my daughters decided to move here, now she stays in the house here.

In British time, pre-war time I was 16 years old and then the Japanese came. My husband was caught in a Japanese prison. I went to the head of the village and became a teacher for 20 years. I then went back to my mother village to find all my children married. After that, I never opposed SLORC, I just lived quietly trying to survive, but they came and burnt down my house in my village, so I had to move to Moe Kyi Mia and live with my daughter.

As I'm getting old, physically I am deteriorating. I can no longer see or smell and it is difficult for me to eat. I was working cutting grass when I got a splinter

in my eye so now I have blurred vision. I have no teeth, so cannot chew meat, can only eat vegetables. My daughter had a serious problem with the liver so she went to Mae Hong Son and had an operation. She has come back here but she has not properly recovered. She is always complaining of pain inside. I have one son who is looking for work in Burma. But I have not heard any news from him. I am not worried about myself, but their future. I am worried about them very much but I have no money and I am very old. So I just have to stay quietly. If I had money, I would get my eye fixed and return back to Burma.

Interview: 277 - HRV: Livelihood, Refugee, Displacement, Women, Child

Name: Nwe Nwe
Age: 38
Sex: Female
Ethnicity: Burmese
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married with six children
Occupation: Trader
Interviewed: 25 July 1995
Source: Images Asia

We are worried about the health and education of our people here. Especially in the rainy season, we aren't able to live easily here. I suffered a lot of difficulties already and I am still worried about our future — education, health, and everything.

I left my home town and fled to the jungle with my husband. I joined the demonstrations. I worked as a teacher. When I arrived here, I found that my education was not enough. When I saw the education level of the children here, I realised they were very poor and wanted to help them very much. Some children have had no education at all though they are grown up already. I have children and I feel like other mothers, the need to make the children's education more developed, more successful in the future.

Our organisation is looking after our children as much as they can. But if there is other help to raise our children's education and health, we can proceed to fulfil our aims and objectives without worries for our children. We're not worried about ourselves, but about our children.

Interview: 278 - HRV: Refugee, Displacement, Child, Women, Torture, Slavery, Livelihood

Name: Naw Thein Mya
Age: 33
Sex: Female
Ethnicity: Karen

Family: Married with seven children
Occupation: Weaver in a Karenni refugee camp
Interviewed: August 1995; in Karenni Area
Source: Images Asia

I weave begs and sew thing like that. I have some animal husbandry projects that involve raising chickens, pigs, ducks, turkeys, and Muscovy ducks. I think we've moved to and fro for more than 10 times since we arrived here. I stayed at Huay Poo Kaeng for three years and here for three years.

Whenever we run we have to take care of our children, we never worry about our animals or our things. Children must be the priority. The problems we face in the fields of education and health are very bad. Now one of my children is 15 or 16 years old , but he's still studying at 5th standard. The school has been closed often. Sometimes the students can study for only one or two months and the school closes again. It hurts us and makes us feel bitter in the heart. The worst is in rainy season. Just after I gave birth to our fifth child, we had to flee the fighting, and my husband was in the front-line.

If the fighting between the revolutionaries and the SLORC troops broke out in or near my village, the villagers will surely be abused — hit or beaten— by the SLORC soldiers. Sometime SLORC ask for porters from the village. So I went to find my son and brought him back to stay with us here. This camp is a bit better than the others. I am unhappy when I have to face difficulties but now I have become used to it. If you're told to go as a porter and you don't want to go, you have to pay a fine. If you don't have money then you have no choice.

I would like to see my children get an education whether they stay inside or outside Burma. If they have an education I believe they won't have to face so many difficulties.

I was a porter when I was 16 and still a student. I had to carry food for the Burma Army to the village that was about three hours' walk from our village, and than they released me because of being a student.

I've never personally seen anyone beaten by the soldiers. But I've heard it often occurred. If there was fighting in or near the village, the village leaders would be beaten or bashed with rifle butts by the SLORC soldiers.

If you don't want to be a porter, you have to pay money, about 100-200 Ks to SLORC. In the past, the Burmese currency was valuable, but not now. Two hundred kyats was a big amount when I was taken as a porter. If the SLORC troops wanted chickens or pigs, they'd just steal from us.

Sometimes I feel very bad about the situation. One of my children studied at a school in another refugee camp, but when the fighting started the school was closed and the students had to move to another place for study. I am often

worried about him because I heard the other refugee camps were facing many problems like a lack of sanitation, dysentery outbreaks and malaria. In some places, people are dying of these effects.

Interview: 279 - HRV: Livelihood, Refugee, Child

Name:	Htwe Htwe
Age:	27
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Family:	Married with three children
Occupation:	Teacher
Address:	Pa-an, Karen State
Interviewed:	25 July 1995
Source:	Images Asia

I have joined many other women who arrived ahead of me and now I stay here in Karenni area.

We had a lot of difficulties when we arrived in this area. We didn't have these experiences before. We didn't know how to stay in the jungle, how to survive in the jungle like this. But after a while, we used to it.

The future for our children is very uncertain. We will have to see the situation. If the situation is getting better, it will be good. If the situation is getting worse, I don't know.

Interview: 280 - HRV: Livelihood, Refugee, Child

Name:	Myint Myint
Age:	12
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Interviewed:	26 July 1995
Source:	Images Asia

I studied at Yaung Ni Oo school last year, and it closed when we had to flee the fighting. As the exams came up, the fighting started so we had to run. We moved here and I studied at Nan Awn school. Then the same thing happened when I studied at Nan Awn school this year. When the time for exams came we had to run again. The situation's not good. We still haven't had a chance to finish our exams. Now I'm going to study at Yaung Ni Oo school again. It has reopened. But I don't know how long Yaung Ni Oo school will last.

Interview: 281 - HRV: Livelihood, Refugee, Displacement, Torture, Slavery

Name: Saw Than Maung
Age: 33
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Karenni
Family: Married with four children
Occupation: Medic at a Karenni refugee camp
Interviewed: August 1995
Source: Images Asia

My name is Saw Than Maung. I work in a clinic. When I lived in KNPP territory, I was trained by a French voluntary nurse. Before we came here, I moved from camp to camp (camp 3 to camp 4). After the enemy destroyed our camp, we had to move to this camp. When we were in the old camp, the most common disease was malaria. When we moved to this camp most people suffered from malaria and diarrhoea. Fourty patients come to our new clinic for everyday. As we had to keep moving from place to place, we lost our medical list and the medicines, causing to face with problems.

The SLORC soldiers came to our village and tortured the villagers. They also caught and ate our animals. We are not able to live peacefully in our village. As they arrested porters and destroyed our crops and village, we had to escape. Due to the inhumane actions of SLORC, we have suffered much and have lost heart.

Interview: 282 - HRV: Livelihood, Refugee, Displacement, Minorities, Slavery

Name: Tony Ku Mon
Age: 49
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Kayan
Religion: Roman Catholic
Family: Married with five children
Occupation: Chairman of Karenni Refugee Committee
Interviewed: August 1995
Source: Images Asia

Before I was on the other side of the border because I was still working for KNPP. I don't know the exact name because I don't have an exact place to live, or I didn't have an exact place to live. So my family and I have to move here and there again and again. It depends on the military situation on the border because the situation is not always stable. One time I stayed in one place for one or two years and maybe less then one year and then move again. It's been like

this throughout my 19 years in the jungle, because of the military situation and SLORC troop's activities in our area, especially after 1988.

Right now, I am responsible for the refugees. I mean I am the co-ordinator providing information to people who want to know more about the Karenni people, or who want to donate some things for our people. I take full responsibility for Karenni refugees.

We've only been at this particular site right here for a couple of weeks. That is after the rumours that SLORC troops might march onto Thai soil three or four weeks ago. The main problems of health are malaria, respiratory infections and diarrhoea. These are very common.

I don't know for my future as well as the future of Karenni people, because I have had try to be optimistic always during the past years. But recently my optimism has disappeared. With the release of Aung San Suu Kyi, I become a little more optimistic, but still how can I , because power is still in the hands of SLORC and I find the it is very difficult to trust SLORC.

When the cease-fire agreement was signed, all the people, including myself, were happy that maybe there would be no more fighting in our homeland. People wouldn't have to worry anymore for their day to day livelihood. But after SLORC broke the cease-fire agreement, things seemed to become very bad. I don't know what to say, things became worse than before for our people. After the agreement was broken, we came here to the border area.

The entire camp moved because nobody dared to stay in a camp which was so close to the border. Everyone had to move as SLORC troops were marching over the border.The camp we were in is on the Thai side and right now SLORC troops stay on the other side. Nothing yet has happened to that camp. It may be safe, it may be unsafe, it depends, because SLORC are moving rather slowly, more slowly than before. I think they want to set up a permanent base on the border.

During those two months that the cease-fire held, everything was peaceful with no problems. People came and went from further inside Karenni to the border to see their relatives. People would go for the week-end deep inside Karenni land to see relatives because it was all right. I don't know what to say, I don't know what I have to say because we have requested many times that the international community try to mediate between the acting groups and the dominant Burmans because this problem has been going on for decades. Now I think if there is no mediator between us then the reality of any peace in the so called "Union of Burma" won't come back quickly.

We have troubles like refugees as we are living on the Thai soil and we experience many difficulties just trying to make a living. So on behalf of our refugees, I would like to ask people of the Free World to give, to help give funds to the NGO groups or BRC which are all helping us with our essential needs like rice and vegetables that I think are very important. So it's important that they have enough funds to help our people.

Since SLORC broke the cease-fire agreement, the refugee population on the Thai side has increased almost by 1,000. SLORC troops marched across the border area about a month ago. Because the NGO's, our donors BBC and IRC, came to rescue not so long after the new arrivals, right now we are not experiencing too many difficulties here. If there were no NGO's or BBC or IRC, people would have to suffer more. They might have brought some food from their former villages, but I think the health situation would cause very big problems.

The situations of Somalia and Rwanda must be much worse than ours, I don't know, this is just what I've learnt from radio or newspapers. It seems their life is much more poorer than ours. If they have suffered more it could be because they have a much larger population and Africa is subjected to a worse environment and weather. The environment has caused it to be more serious, it seems to me.

If one is a man of sense, he would get depressed of being forced to become a refugee. You feel inferior if you're in a foreign land. Our struggle for autonomy has been going on for more than 40 years, so we have suffered a long time, but the situation for all the people became very bad some 20 years ago. That is during the BSPP government period. Not much before that, and it become worse under SLORC's suppression than it was under the BSPP. It has become worse as there has been more fighting. SLORC is giving more trouble to the people than the BSPP.

In the past two to three weeks some porters have arrived here. Maybe more than 30 or 40 porters have fled from SLORC in addition to those who have fled to Thailand or this village here. That was part of the break down of cease-fire agreement by SLORC. SLORC will keep their own terms. Because you see, with a cease-fire, we have a point where we can say that no SLORC authorities are able to use forced labour in the Karenni land, and no SLORC troop can cross into KNPP designated areas without advanced information. They gave no information that they were coming, because they ask many people to serve as their porters. That is, they forced them. According to the porters, they say that they were not asked, they didn't know anything of the soldiers coming and surrounding them and then asking them to get into the truck and with no time to go and see their wives and children. They had to go and do what the soldiers asked them to do. They said first they had to spend one night in the prison in a very small cell which should only fit 20 people, but in their case there were 70 people. No where to sleep, no one could go outside for toilet or shower or anything. If you had to go to the toilet, then you had to go in the cell.

SLORC collected these porters before they came to the area. I mean in Ricoh, the capital of Karenni, to carry rations and ammunition. According to one porter, he says that everyone had to carry 30 kg or something like that, of ammunition or rice or both.

Interview: 283 - HRV: Livelihood, Displacement, Refugee, Minorities, Women

Name:	Win Win
Sex:	Female
Family:	Married with a daughter
Interviewed:	August 1995
Source:	Images Asia

When I used to live in my village, we could work freely. Later on when we planted crops for food and other things, the SLORC troops came and ate our food and animals. Then even when we moved to another place, we can still be disturbed by SLORC troops.

We are afraid of SLORC because they are not our people. Generation after generation they have made our people suffer. This time we have no choice but to run to the jungle.

We don't have enough food for our families. This year is the worst because of flood, we cannot plant the paddy. Sometimes we have to go to cut wood for three or four days. When we return SLORC have been there and most of the villagers flee to the jungle again.

We also don't have any medicine. When we run out of things, what can we do? I have to go to my relatives or my neighbours, and take the rice which they have left over. My daughter is now studying at a school, but I don't know what will happen to her in the future.

Interview: 284 - HRV: Torture, Forced Labour, Livelihood

Name	Pvt Aung Kyaw Hein
Serial No.	905785
Age:	18
Sex:	Male
Education	7th Standard
Parents	U Poe Tun and Daw Win Win Myint
Family:	Single
Address	Mi Kyaung Kan village, Khin Tan village-tract, Meiktila, Mandalay Division
Source:	S.H.A.N

(He and Zaw Min Oo defected to MTA on 8 August 1995, bringing two BA63 (G3) automatic assault rifles, 180 rounds of 7.62 mm and 2 grenades.)

I joined the military service in 1993 and attended military training at Ho-pong and Taunggyi, southern Shan State. After the training on 10 August 1993, I was sent to Mong Hpayak. I was with Coy 1 of LIB 330 under the command of Lt-Col Khin Maung Nyo. In Tachilek Township, there were clashes with MTA. I was sick at that time and arrested by MTA. I was sent to Thailand for treatment. As I did not know how to speak Thai, I crossed the border in Shan State. Once I was on the Burmese side of the border, I was arrested and transferred to the army. I was detained and again sent to the front-line where I was subjected to beatings and torture. I fled because of the military's forced portering on the civilians. I did not get full amount of my salary. L/Cpl reduced our rations and sold them outside for playing cards. When I could no longer bear the discrimination, I told the deputy battalion commander. Upon hearing it, L/Cpl punched me in the face until the blood oozed from my noses. As I could no longer bear for being subjected to punishment, I fled from them.

Interview: 285 - HRV: Livelihood, Execution, Slavery, Displacement

Name	U Thein Aung
Age:	56
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon/Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Medic
Address:	Kyauktayan village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	16 June 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[*Because of hardship for the survivals in the time of Burmese Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), the civilians had to move from one place to another to get more income for their families. U Thein Aung briefed his previous situation and how he decided to move to Kyauktayan.*]

Q. When did you arrive at this village and why?

A I arrived at this village about ten years ago. Ten years ago, after I retired from being a medic in the government hospital, I moved here. At that time, I tried hard to get some income in my native town, but I got very small which could not provide for my family as the price of commodities were increased every day. So I decided to leave for this local fishing village to receive more income than in my native place Bilin. As the black-market was booming, many boats travelled to Penang Island of Malaysia which made the people from this village every suitable to receive more income. When I started moving here, I was only one and later my family came and joined me. This village was absolutely under the control of the New Mon State Party and the situation was better than the current time. As no Burmese troops could

reach to this area, we were free to work and no need to pay tax to the Burmese troops from our income. So, in this village, I was the most respected person as I always helped the local villagers as I can.

Q. Please brief me the ill-treatments of Burmese troops as you know.

A. But last four years ago, the Burmese troops tried to control this area. At that time, I considered some of them were good and some were bad. Anyhow, I helped them when they asked as I was a former government servant. Last two years, when they started the railway construction and tried for total control in this area, they have treated the villagers inhumanely, I disagreed with them for everything they did. As I have stayed with this Mon and Tavoyan community for 10 years, sometime I also complained to respective commander of the troops for ill-treatments to the villagers. But I was not able not overcome to solve that problem and protect them at all. At the end, even my son was killed by them.

[Continuously, he explained about how the Burmese troops executed his son as below, when asked the following questions.]

Q. Can you tell me the terrible story of your son?

A. Yes. I can. My son, Chit Pow, was young and only 23 years old. He was killed in January 1995. At about noon on 24 January, about 150 troops from LIB 410 led by Col Ye Myint arrived at Kyauktayan village. I thought they came from Kyaethonenyima village where they have a military base. On that day I was at home. My family members never fled from the village when any Burmese came into the village because I have been a medic for a long time and I ever helped the Burmese troops when they asked. As soon as they arrived at the village, one soldier came to my house and told my son to meet the commander. My son went down from the house and followed that soldier. I thought as normal that the commander would ask for some helps from my son. I never thought they would kill my son, who at that time was a section leader in the village. I believed that my son was ordered by the commander to go somewhere or to another village to collect the information about the Mon troops. In the evening I also went to the house where the commander stayed, but I did not ask anything about my son as I still believed he was used to do something by commander. In the morning on 25 January, as the Burmese troops left our village, I could not meet the commander again. I still believed my son followed with them or went to other village.

One week later I started to worry because my son did not return home yet. To ask for where he was, I went to the military headquarters of LIB 410 in Zinba. When I arrived there, I met the commander and asked him about my son and he told me they had already released my son on half way. I insisted them that my son did not return home yet. He said he did not know where my son went and he thought my son would have

another purpose after the Burmese troops released him. He said he did not use my son as porter, just for a bit help to show the way. I was confused and returned to my home. My family waited for him for another one week but he did not return.

After that I had to inquire about my son where he had ever visited. Then I went to several villages like Kwaethonenyima, Phaungdaw, Daneekyar, Natkyizin and etc. I spent for two months to look for my son and during that period I also met the commanders from LIB 410 for many times. Consistently the commanders replied me my son was released on the half way and they did not know where he was. They did not take any responsibility for my son's missing. My wife always cried and pushed me to search for my son. Even attempts by the help of village leaders, the time passed over and we hardly received any information about him.

Q. Later, how did you know your son was killed by the military?

A. After two month, I still inquired for my missing son. Sometimes, I thought he travelled to Penang Island of Malaysia without telling me. One day when the Burmese troops from LIB 408 came into Kyaethonenyima, I met their commander Col Khin Maung Aye there. I knew him very well and I told him about my missing son. Even when the time I told him about this story, I never accused the Burmese soldiers from LIB 410 of killing my son. As I was a former government servant, I never considered the soldiers would kill my son. After I completed the story of my missing son, Col Khin Maung Aye smiled and told me to donate alms to the monks for my son. [It means his son already died and according to Mon or Burmese tradition, after someone die others need to donate alms to Buddhist monks to avoid the evil and pray for better of the dead person's next life.] I still did not believe in his words and thought he made a joke. After two weeks, I travelled to Phaungdaw again to collect information about my son. There I met Col Khin Maung Aye again and he told me the same words as in Kyaethonenyima. I asked him what happened to my son. And he explained to me that my son already died. I asked him for what crime the soldiers killed and where they buried the corpse of my son. He said he did not know the exact place, but he was sure that my son already died. I was very surprised and sorrowful. As I knew, my son has never made anything wrong to them like contacting or supporting the Mon troops. I didn't know why they killed my son.

Then I inquired the way which LIB 410 used on 25 January when they moved to their headquarters. One week later, I knew the way and I tried to find out the place where the soldiers buried my son, but I could not figure out any suspicious place. I also inquired the farmers, who resided along the way LIB 410 used, about my missing son. One day in the first week of April, an old farmer who resided beside the road came and informed me that on that day (25 January) while he was working on his

farm, two soldiers came to him and borrowed his hoes and went away. But he did not hear any gunshot, he said. As soon as I got that information, some villagers and I went to his farm hut, which situated close to the way the troops used, and we tried to find the place the soldiers buried my son. On the following day we found out a suspicious position as we saw a grenade there. Then, when we informed the NMSP authorities about the grenade, they came and took it. And we exhumed the position and at the end we saw the corpse of my son.

Q. How do you think for what reason the soldiers killed him?

A. I still do not know for what reason they killed my son. He was young and sincere. He never acted or performed any kind of opposition to the military. I don't know why the soldiers killed him. I never thought they would kill my son like this. Whenever I asked the commander why they killed my son, he always denied. As I knew, my son was a sincere man and he never contacted any rebel group. Sometimes when the rebel came into the village, he never met or supported them in any way. I also told the commander that if my son committed some kinds of opposing behaviours to the Burmese troops, they could inform me. I agreed to arrest and detention if he made wrong sometimes. I think my son did not commit any crime to face the punishment of death penalty.

Q. Do you have plan to put trial on the soldiers who killed your son?

A. You see, I would like to do so. But as long as I stayed here, I think I could not put them on trial. This area is black area. They can do as they like. If the area like my hometown (Bilin), I will put them on trial for killing my son. Here, we cannot receive any just decision.

[*He was dissatisfied with the military too much, and also described other executions on innocent people like his son by the military, but not the same events. He also mentioned about those dead villagers.*]

Q. Besides the execution of your son, have you ever heard other cases of killing?

A. Dislike my son, other villagers from this village ever died on the way when they were conscripted as porters. I have not been so sure whether they died of hardship or from torture by the Burmese troops. Normally, if one porter could not carry the heavy loads the troops offered, that porter would be beaten by soldiers. In this year, from Kyauktayan village alone, I heard three conscripted porters died when they were with the troops along the operations. The first one, Maung Sein, died around Budee village, situated south of our village and the second villager, Ah Baing, died in Thaung Khun village while the last person, Aung Naing, died in Kawza village. According to the villagers and released porters, most of dead porters were severely beaten by the soldiers and they died from tortures, but some porters died in the cross-fire.

Q. Of them, do you know whether they died from tortures or in the fighting?

A. Maung Sein and Ah Baing died from tortures by the Burmese soldiers. Firstly, the troops used them as porters and when they could not carry the loads such as foods or ammunitions of the soldiers, on the way, they were severely beaten to death. Aung Naing died in the fighting between Mon troops and Burmese troops near Kawza village, the biggest village in the area. When the Burmese troops launched an operation, they were ambushed by Mon troops on half way. In this case, the Burmese troops used him and other porters to walk ahead of the troops as human shields. When he died, the troops insisted that they used him only to show the way, not as human shield.

Interview: 286 - HRV: Forced Labour, Slavery, Livelihood, Torture, Execution, Displacement

Name	Nai Sike Kao
Age:	29
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kyauktayan village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	16 June 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[The following story is related to interview 285 conducted with U Thein Aung who mentioned about three dead porters. This interview states the death of Nai Ah Baing who died from severe torture by Burmese soldiers. The interviewee was an eyewitness for this human rights violation by the Burmese soldiers. Firstly, the interviewee explained how often the Burmese military came into the village, before and after it was destroyed.]

Q. How often the Burmese troops came into your village in this dry season and what kinds of ill-treatments they commit on villagers?

A. The Burmese troops came to our village about three times at the beginning of dry season. As usual, when the Burmese troops came into our village, they always arrest the villagers to use as porters even though the villagers had paid porter fees recently. For this dry season, in October and November 1994, the villagers were conscripted as labourers for the construction of Ye-Tavoy railway and as porters. Furthermore, starting from December, when the troops came to the villages, they asked taxes for railway construction and other military buildings, but they did not take labourers for railway. Our villagers had to pay nearly 25, 000 Ks every month to the Burmese troops to avoid from such forced labour. Although they did not conscript forced labourers, they asked more money and they arrested more porters in the village when they came. Many males have even been arrested as porters since

December. And after our village was being destroyed in the last week of March 1995, males were also arrested as porters on the way, on the farmlands, and in places where they were displaced together with their families.

Q. How many times have you ever been conscripted as porter in this dry season?

A. I have been as porters for two times in this year. I was arrested on my farm in December last year while I was harvesting paddy. When my paddy was ripe, my wife delivered a child, I lost half amount of paddy produced from my farm. It lasted for six days along with the Burmese troops to carry ammunition. They took security along the railway construction site and when the troops arrived at Paukpinkwin military base, they released me. For the latter time, I was arrested on 15 May on my farmland again. For that time, we had to carry heavy burdens to Kwaethonenyima military outpost which situated one and a half day walk from our village. In this time, one of the porters from our village died after being beaten severely by the Burmese soldiers. I was the one who brought him to the village.

[*He told his experiences when he and his friend were used as porters in May. His friend died on the way.*]

Q. Please describe me the whole story about that dead porter?

A. On 14 May, about l00 SLORC troops from LIB 408 arrived near our village. They arrested me secretly on my way to home in the evening. I returned to take some left facilities to start new cultivation in coming rainy season. When I was arrested, Ah Baing, 36 years old, was with them and I did not know where he was arrested. Although we were not staying in same section of the village, we knew each other. When we were arrested, there was no villager in the village and mostly they were displaced outside the village. After arrested, the soldiers gave me some loads which was comprised mostly the belongings of the villagers from other villages. On the first day, the troops advanced to Min Galon village where we slept one night.

From there, all of us moved to Chaung Phar village in the following morning. When we left, the soldiers did not feed us any food. Along the way as the soldiers did not allow us to take a rest, we were too tired because of scorching sun. On the way to Chaung Phar village, Ah Baing was terribly tired because of heavy load. So he could not walk like the soldiers and his steps were slow down. Then the soldiers told him to walk quickly, but he could not walk. The soldiers were angry at him and beat him to walk quickly. But he could not walk at all and asked for water. Instead of offering water, the soldiers beat him. Three soldiers including one sergeant beat him several times in front of all porters and told us that was punishment for the lazy one. They beat him with rifle butts and kicked with combat boots. After several times of

beatings, he became weak and weak. When the soldiers asked why he did not walk like others, he insisted he was recovered from sickness just two days ago and explained why he could not walk. The soldiers did not believe him and they continuously beat him.

Q. Did he get any injury on his body and what happened at the end?
A. He did not get any physical injury. I think he got internal injuries a lot. As the soldiers beat him mostly in the stomach, we could not see outside injury. After several times of beatings, at the end, he became losing consciousness and fell down on the ground. No one dared to help him because we were afraid of the soldiers. After losing consciousness, the soldiers asked other porters who knew him. I replied to them I knew him. Therefore they told me to bring him to Chaung Phar village. We arranged a salon stretcher to carry him to Chaung Phar.

Q. Did you have an eyewitness when he died?
A. I was an eyewitness when he died in Chaung Phar village. We carried him to Chaung Phar with stretcher, but the medic in the troops did not treat him at all. After walking for one hour, we arrived at Chaung Phar village, but as there were no body in the village, we could not get any traditional herbals medicine. The soldiers did not ask about his conditions and we treated him as possible as we could. We offered him some coconut juice. But he did not recover to continue for another breath and we knew he could not survive. We went to the medic and appealed for help. Later he came and gave him some medicines. I did not know what kinds of medicine. About five minutes later, he died in that house.

Q. What was the soldier's response after he died?
A. After he died, again the soldiers warned us not to claim he was died from several beatings by them. They also forced us to tell his family and his native villagers that he died of weakness and sickness. When the troops left from Chaung Phar, they put me with other villagers to bury him. So, the other man returned back to Kyauktayan and informed his family about his death. In the evening his family came to Chaung Phar and with the helps of those villagers we buried him in the following afternoon. Even though I did not claim the man was died from beatings, his family and villagers knew well what happened to him.

Interview: 287- HRV: Displacement, Livelihood, Slavery, Torture

Name	Nai Maung Htaik
Age:	41
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Fisherman
Address:	Kyauktayan village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	16 June 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[After Kyauktayan village was destroyed by SLORC troops, the villagers have been displaced in several places outside the village. They were threatened by SLORC soldiers that if they were arrested they would be killed.]

Q. Could you manage for fishing after the Burmese troops destroyed your village?

A. I could not manage too much. I could go to the sea for fishing only two times after the Burmese soldiers destroyed our village. After that my family has been displaced like other villagers. We dared not stay in the village because we were frightened the Burmese soldiers for accusing us of being supporters of Mon rebel. I temporarily resided with my brother's family in his pineapple plantation. The survival of our family has depended on some products from that plantation and borrowing rice from him. He is a farmer. To get some small income, I went to the sea for two times to fish. Although I got fishes, there was no market in our village to sell them. Therefore I needed to send those fishes to Daneekyar village. It was inconvenient and my fishes became useless to sell both times. Later I decided not to fish again.

Q. At presence, what are other hardships for your family and those who were displaced like you?

A. We are the most lucky family among our villagers as we stayed in the plantation where is easier to get foods. Many families have been terrible for survivals to receive foods and suitable shelters. When we had no more opportunity for fishing, every family had not enough income to buy foods so that they had to borrow rice or money from other villages like Kawza and Hangan. Other families have been taking shelters along the seacoast together with five to ten families in one place. They were spread in several places. Some families were staying in the forest or in the valley of mountainous areas to the east of our village. Most of them have been suffered from shortage of foods. Those who were taking refuge in coastal area had to eat fishes or crabs without rice. If we got rice, we kept it well and made rice soup. Because of shortage of food and improper shelters, mostly women and children suffered from sickness. No one dared to return to the village. I was also arrested and

subjected to forced portering one time when we were displaced. It was in May.

Q. Do you hope you can return back to your village again?

A. I would like to return back to my home as soon as possible, but the situation did not allow us from making decision to return. I am sure, if the villagers were arrested by the Burmese soldiers in the village, they would severely be punished and tortured to death. I think in this rainy season we could return back if the troops did not launch military operation very often. It is also difficult for them to move from one place to another because of water level.

Q. Can you tell me your other experiences before or after you was displaced?

A. In this dry season, I was conscripted as a porter for one time before I was displaced or escaped from my village. It was in February. When the Burmese troops from LIB 410 came into our village I was arrested and taken by them for three days as a porter to carry ammunitions like 60 mm mortar shells. When the troops arrived at Natkyizin military outpost, they released all porters. Nothing happened to the porters except subjected to beatings a little bit when they walked slowly. In the second time, when I was arrested and press-ganged into porting, one porter from our village was severely beaten by the Burmese soldiers. They released me with that suffered porter on the half way.

[He explained about one porter who was severely tortured by SLORC troops in May.]

Q. Please explain me the whole story for the who was subjected to suffering terrible porter.

A. On 6 May, when I returned back from finding some sea products, the Burmese soldiers who came from Daneekyar village suddenly arrested me on my way to temporary shelter. The troops was from LIB 408 and the numbers of soldiers were nearly 150 men with about another 40 porters. After being arrested I was forced into portering to carry some belongings. I thought those belongings were looted from another village by the soldiers. Among the porters was Nai Khaing (47) who I knew as he was from our village. He told me he was arrested in Daneekyar village while he was borrowing some rice from his relatives there.

Before we left there, he was looked like weak and too tired as he carried loads from Daneekyar village. After being arrested, I had to carry some loads and we proceeded to our village, Kyauktayan. When we arrived there, the soldiers gave a little food and slept there for one night. At that night, Nai Khaing became sick of malaria. He was not able to sleep for the whole night. In the morning his face was faint and weaker. When the troops warned to be ready for the trip, he told the soldiers he was not so well and to release him. They were angry at him and one sergeant

slapped him. Then they gave him yesterday's heavy loads to carry. They did not reduce his loads although he complained to them. Then we left Kyauktayan for Ah Buee village.

About 10 O'clock, because of heavy loads and weakness, he was too tired and impossible to continue carrying the loads. Finally he was intolerable, and he dropped his loads to ground. The soldiers behind him was angry with his manners and came and beat him. One sergeant accompanied with two soldiers also beat him. The sergeant beat him with a stick and the soldiers beat him with rifle butts and kicked with combat boots. The sergeant continuously beat him until his stick was completely broken into pieces. But he found another stick to beat him. He was terribly lied down on the ground and no one dared to help him. Only after three sticks were totally broken into pieces, the sergeant stopped beatings. He lost consciousness and was not able to stand up. Then, the sergeant informed the medic to check his condition. The medic came and injected some kinds of medicines which I did not know. After that, when they asked all porters who know Nai Khaing well, no one dared to answer. At the end, I replied that I knew him well and he was from our village. So, the sergeant told me to wait Nai Khaing until he died and to inform them quickly if he died. He also warned me that if I failed to inform them about him, they would punish me. They never left any food for us.

Therefore, I waited for Nai Khaing as the troops left for Ah Buee village. About half an hour later, I carried Nai Khaing in my back and brought him to Kyauktayan as quickly as I could because I would like to save his life. After one hour's walk, he was awakened when I called him. I was very glad and continuously bringing him to the village. Half an hour later, he told me he could walk and he managed for walking with my assistance. After four hours' walk, we arrived back near the village in the evening. We entered into one of my friend's hut and found out one traditional herbals medic to treat him. After one week treatment with traditional medic, he was recovered.

Interview: 288 - HRV: Displacement, Torture, Livelihood, Slavery, Forced , Labour, Women, Child, Execution

Name	Nai Thein Khae
Age:	56
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Thaung Khun village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	13 June 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[*Before SLORC deployed the battalions around this area, the villagers happily inhabited with their own culture and community structure. In this interview, Nai Thein Khae, one of village headmen, explained about SLORC troops' destruction of community structure and its culture.*]

Q. When did you leave your village and can you explain me the structure of your village before the Burmese troops arrived there?

A. In the past, our village had been a very enjoyable and all villagers were lowland farmers. We also had a monastery and a primary school in the village. Even our village was a small one, all the villagers were relatives and helped each other. By the encouragement of Education Committee of NMSP, we could manage a small school for promotion of our children's education. We had no problems with Mon troops even though those soldiers came from several parts of Mon State. But last three years ago we have been unsafe because of regular military operations by the Burmese troops. Since then, the Burmese soldiers always asked for perpetuate forced porters and tax payments. Although we provided them as we could, it was not enough for them. Every time they came to our village, they always looted the villagers' belongings as bandits. Again, when they started the construction of railway, we have been suffered from perpetual forced portering accompanied with tortures all the times, leading us to become displaced persons like this. All villagers abandoned our Taung Khun village just recently.

Before I left my village in second week of May, there were only five families left in the village. At the beginning of dry season, there were nearly 50 households in our village and most villagers were farmers while some had plantation like betel nut or coconut. We left our village when could no longer tolerate form the inhumane and brutal tortures of the Burmese troops.

Q. What kind of tortures have your villagers suffered when they stayed in village?

A. Briefly, at the beginning of dry season, we had to provide labourers for the railway construction without payment and later, the Burmese troops always arrested the villagers to used as porters in their military operations. At the same time, we had to pay many kinds of taxes for the troops and the villagers were getting poor and poor. At the end, they abandoned their village and displaced in several places outside the village. Then only five families left in the village including mine. As the military burnt some houses in the village, we had to abandon it again.

Q. Firstly, can you tell me the experiences about the conscripted labour by Burmese troops for their constructions?

A. In the whole dry season, the Burmese troops continuously conscripted at least 7 labourers for every month for the railway construction and other military buildings. I had to arrange the rotation of the villagers for equal labour among them. Those villagers were subjected to contributing

labour in the construction of railway and then the military barracks or in cutting trees to make railway sleepers, lumbers and other facilities for railway and other development infrastructure, as they were ordered. They ordered me to provide them at least two tons of hardwood every month and to saw it according to dimension of sleepers and planks they needed. So the villagers had to go to the forest and set up saw pit there until they complete their assignment. In this case, we had to find the saws by ourselves because the Burmese troops never provided. After the villagers had made the suitable facilities, they themselves had to bring them to the military barracks or to the construction sites. If the villagers could not provide the facilities they needed, they sent a letter and warned me to comply with their orders. Because of hardships and time consuming in their own jobs, half of the villagers had fled from the village at the end of February [1995]. I could not prevent them. So in February, our village were not able to provide the required number of labourers for portering and making hardwood facilities. Them the troops came to our village and ordered me and other villagers to fulfil the labourers they needed. I told them that I could not prevent the villagers from leaving the village and reducing labourers which we have to provide. They responded me to organise my own villagers by myself and they did not want to know about the escape of villagers and my problems. They also ordered me that those who were absent for providing labours, each person had to pay 1,000 Ks as a ransom. Starting from February, we had to pay ransom for the villagers who escaped from the village.

Besides the conscripted labourers, the military always took at least two porters every time they came and porter fees from the village every month. In December, I told them as our village was small and not populated, it was very hard us to provide labourers for in both construction and portering. The military told me they would consider on that and later they informed me to free from portering, instead our village had to pay them some money to hire porters. They asked us to pay 100 Ks for each houses instead of porter. The villagers helped each other and pay porter fees. I don't think they would hire porters with our money, but they would put it in their pockets. Furthermore, for the military barracks which were built in Natkyizin, each had to provide about 50 bamboo posts per month, from January to March.

[When the villagers were displaced, they were starved because of shortage of food for sometime. During harvest season, the villagers did not have enough time to reap their crops because of forced labour for the railway construction. The village headman briefed about that suffering.]

Q. Can you tell other problems after the military conscripted your villagers as forced labourers and other sufferings when you could not provide the labourers as they needed?

A. Whenever the Burmese troops conscripted the villagers, mostly the men were subjected to labourers for the railway construction or other buildings, so that we faced great difficulties during harvest in December. Mostly the women had to manage to harvest the paddy and it was unable for them to manage everything. Therefore, the villagers lost some paddy because the women could not enable to collect crops during the harvest as they had to care their children. So, we had to keep our rice well to be enough for the whole year.

One day in March, as I told you, after we could not provide the troops' needed sleepers and lumbers, they were angry at us and came into the village. As soon as they arrived, they told me to gather all the villagers in my house. As I was afraid of being tortured by them, I organised all the left villagers to come to my house. They beat all male villagers, most of them were some 60 years old. They alleged us of being lazy and unwilling to respect their orders due to encouragement by Mon troops. It was a punishment as we could not provide them the labourers and facilities they needed. Besides providing labourers and facilities, the troops from LIB 408 also asked four sacks of rice [eight Burmese baskets of rice, 35 kilogram for one basket], every month. Sometimes, without demanding, some Burmese troops looted rice in the village whenever they came. There have been many battalions active in this area and only LIB 408 officially asked while the other troops loot it. At the same time, as the villagers had not enough time to work their own jobs to get some small income, they had to sell their own rice.

As the villagers had to pay and offer their time too much in the military demands, later they were facing shortage of food. The villagers who stayed in the village and displaced outside have been suffered like this since February [1995]. Starting from February, some villagers needed to borrow rice from another big village for the survival of their families. Since December [1994], the Burmese troops issued an order saying that if they met someone with rice more than for one meal, they would punish. Two of our related villagers — Nai Gyor and Nai Ah Htae — who returned back from Daneekyar village after they borrowed rice were found by the Burmese troops on their way and severely beaten. Those cases were happened respectively in February and March. After being severely tortured, they had to receive for nearly two-week treatment and spend a lot of money for it. In fact, the villagers had to be in great caution for their later movement.

As the villagers were accused of being supporters of the rebels, the SLORC troops have the legal rights to shoot any villager and rape any woman in the village. And, they have always reported to their superiors that they committed such abuses only to the rebels and supporters of rebel.

Q. Were there some inhumane ill-treatment to villagers like shooting, rape and execution created by Burmese troops?

A. One day in the second week of January, while most men in the village had to work in building of military barracks or in the forest to saw sleepers and blanks, the women left in the village and one of them was raped by the Burmese soldier from LIB 408. That woman was a mother of two children. [The village headman did not want to mention her name as the rape case quietly occurred in the village]. At that night, the troops slept in our village and they separately stayed in several houses. At that time, while most of the men were away one soldier raped that woman at about mid-night. Afraid of being killed by the soldier, she dared not cry out for help. But in the morning she came to me and other villageheadmen, and told her last night incident.

The shooting case also happened in March by LIB 410. In the second week of March, about one company of Burmese troops came into our village and attempted to arrest some porters. We had already paid for porter fees to LIB 408, but LIB 410 dissatisfied with us. So, they came into our village and arrested for some porters. Suddenly when the villagers knew that the troops were arresting for porters, the villagers tried to escape and the soldiers opened fire on those who fled in front of them. My grandson, 11 years old boy named Ong Par, was also afraid when he heard the sound of the guns and joined the others who were fleeing. The soldiers shot at him and he got severe injury in his right thigh. I treated him nearly one month and spent a lot of money, but his right leg was absolutely paralysed and could not walk well.

Q. What were the last situations of your village before you abandoned? And, please mention the difficulties in the situation of displacement?

A. Actually, I don't want to abandon my village and so, I firmly stayed in the village until only five houses left there. However, at the end, I also could not tolerate for the ill-treatments of Burmese soldiers and decided to leave the village. As we have good surroundings in the village, at least we did not have to worry to get vegetables and domestic animals for foods. We could manage the better life than we are displaced like this.

After a small fighting broke out between Mon troops and LIB 408 in second week of April, we had no opportunity to stay any longer in our village. The fighting took place between our village and Daneekyar village. Two Burmese soldiers died in the fighting and retreated to our village after the fighting ceased. As soon as they arrived at the village, they informed me to meet them immediately. So I met their commander and I knew that they were from LIB 408. There were about 100 troops. When I met him, the commander said why we did not inform them about the Mon troops staying around our village. I replied to him that I did not know about the Mon troops around our village, and complained that those Mon troops came from another area. Because of my

arguments, they were angry at me and slapped me there times. At the time before the fighting, I did not get any information about the activities of Mon troops or Burmese troops. Moreover, they asked me to show the base of Mon troops. I told him I did not know the base and he accused me of being supporter of Mon troops and slapped me again. Because of my consistent denial on the location of Mon troops, at the end, he ordered his men to burn down my house. They did not allow my wife to pick up the belongings in the house. Three houses were burnt down as the other two were close to mine. Then the soldiers entered every house left in the village and confiscated all the villagers' belongings. How can we stay under the accusation of the Burmese troops that our village turned in to a rebel base. Therefore, we had to leave our village.

Interview: 289 - HRV: Displacement, Forced labour, Livelihood, Minority, Expression, Detention, Torture, Women, Slavery, Child

Name	Nai Tware
Age:	39
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Daneekyar village (Hoit Kyar village in Mon), Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	15 June 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[Similar to other villages, Daneekyar village also suffered the abuses and related conscription of forced labourers in dry season by SLORC troops. Nai Tware explained his experiences why the villagers were displaced.]

Q. At presence, what is the whole condition of your village? Please tell me the living condition of your villagers, the structure of village and their recent suffering?

A. Mostly, our villagers are lowland farmers who cultivate paddy in the farmlands around our village. Some villagers have betel nut plantation in the east of our village. Normally, the production of paddy from our farmlands is enough for the survival of village's population. However, we have to share that rice production to the Burmese military every year as they forcibly took it. Because of such confiscating rice from us, the villagers did not have enough rice and had to borrow or buy some before the harvest every year.

In our village, we have a small primary school for education of the children. But the school could not manage for the whole educational term because the children too escaped from the village with their

parents. Even though the school has been established, it is very hard to get a teacher for the whole school year because of the unstable situation of the village. Sometimes, the Burmese troops also arrested our schoolteachers by alleging them of being the supporters of Mon rebels. Traditionally, the teachers taught the children in Mon language and the Burmese troops anyhow were dissatisfied with those school courses. For the treatments of the patients, we have no medic and clinic in our village. The traditional herbals medicines could not cure some diseases. Therefore we had to bring those serious patients to Kawza village [Khao Jae village in Mon] where we can get possible treatments from medic. For the poor villagers, as they had not enough money, they were not able to receive the treatments and died.

Q. Did the Burmese troops conscripted your villagers as slaved labourers for the railway construction?

A. Yes. Since November 1994, we had to provide at least 25 men for the railway construction every month under the command of LIB 408. When the villagers were subjected to labours in the construction sites in the last dry season, they had to bring their own foods and received no payment from the Burmese troops. Under rotation basis, one villager had to be as labourer about 2 weeks and replaced with another one by village headmen. Our villagehad to provide labour at the working sites until February [1995], when they nearly completed the construction of Yebyu-Tavoy part. In the labour camp, they did not receive any treatment from the military medics whenever they became sick. They had to work in the fixed time for the whole day in the rain or sun. For sick villagers, they collected some money and bought medicines and treated each other.

Besides the conscripted labourers for the railway, the military also asked hard- wood for sleepers. At the same time, while some villagers were working for the railway construction, some went into the forest to cut trees for hardwood. We had to give only those hardwoods but I think they did not use them all for the railway construction, instead they sold them for extra incomes. Sometimes, the military ordered us to make lumbers from those hardwoods for use in building schools and military barracks. But I have never seen any lumber used in the school around our areas. Because of such perpetual labour conscription by the military, the villagers have not enough time to work their own jobs. Then, they became displaced persons after abandoned their home community.

[Accusation of rebel supporters on villagers have been a normal case in local area and the villagers were severely tortured for this. One of the villageheadmen, Nai Tware explained about that.]

Q. Please describe me about your experience and other kinds of abuses violated by Burmese troops?

A. In first week of January [1995], I was arrested by the Burmese troops form LIB 409 led by Lt Nan Aung. They arrested me and other four village leaders. They tied all of us and brought to Maethanthaung village. The military did not tell us for what reason they arrested us, and they beat us with sticks, with rifle butts and kicked with combat boots several times. While they were beating, they asked us to show the arms hiding places of the Mon troops. When we told them that we did not know about the places, they continuously beat us. Actually, they accused us of harbouring the Mon troops. We were severely tortured to admit that we were supporters of Mon rebels and that we hid rebels' arms. When they could not receive any fact from us, they covered our heads with plastic sheets and poured water on it. This was the worst kind of tortures among those they used. They used this method of torture to whom they accused as rebels or rebel-supporters.

When they could not get any evidence for keeping arms, they brought us to our village again. When we arrived there, in fear of being tortured by the Burmese soldiers, most of the men fled from the village. Because of those escapees, they accused us of harbouring the Mon soldiers in our village before they arrived. They pressed us to show the houses of Mon soldiers. When we replied that most of Mon soldiers' families stayed in Tavoy district head quarters area of NMSP, they were dissatisfied with us and beat us again and again. Then, the commander told us to organise our villagers to return to the village as soon as possible in order to check them who were the Mon soldiers. When we replied we could not easily manage for the return of those villagers, they tortured us again and again.

About half an hour later, they arrested a woman and accused her of being a wife of Mon soldier. They brought her to us and to prove she was a wife of Mon soldier. As we knew well that she was not as they accused, we denied their accusation. They also slapped her in front of us to admit their accusation. They interrogated her nearly one hour and sometime slapped her during their interrogation. She cried but no one dared to help her. She consistently denied. They were dissatisfied with her answers and slapped her terribly. Because of guarantee by the village leaders, and when they did not get any answer they needed, they released her. They also released all of us. They warned us if they heard that the Mon soldiers came and stayed in our village, they would burn down our village. Before they left, they looted a lot amount of rice from our village and forced the elder villagers to carry it to their military outpost in Maethanthaung village.

One week later, when LIB 408 returned from southern areas, they came into our village again and arrested Nai Ha Toi (47 years). They accused him of being a Mon soldier. I was not in the village at that time. They severely tortured him by beating with rifle butts and kicked with combat boots. They covered his head with plastic bags and poured water on it.

They asked him to show hidden arms in the village. As he was an ordinary villager, he consistently refused. The more he refused, the more they inhumanely tortured him. He became like a mad man in village as a consequence of severe ill-treatment.

I could not recognise all the dates when the Burmese troops came into the village. It could say they came very often, at least four times a month. Mostly the troops from LIB 408 regularly came and sometimes, troops from other battalions also came. Because of such a severe ill-treatment, most villagers had to flee from the village whenever the troops came. It has been common. Previously, only two village headman, Nai Sla Kyin and I, left in the village when the troops from LIB 408 came. No one dared to meet them and fled away. So far we were always conscripted as porters every time when we could not manage for possible villagers to go as porters. Every time they came, they looted all the belongings in the village in front of us. While the commander was talking with us, all his men entered every house and took everything. They always accused our village of becoming a rebel base to have legal rights to take the belongings of the villagers.

In the first week of March, one company of Burmese troops led by Capt San Wai from LIB 408 came into our village and asked for 15 porters to carry foods, ammunitions and other confiscated belongings of villagers. At that time, there was no men in the village except us, two villageheadmen. I tried to explain them about the real situation in the village why the villagers had to flee. They never accepted any of my complaints and jut said to quickly gather the demanded porters and if not, they must use women as porters. I had no choice but I could not manage to meet their demands. Then they arrested about 15 women in the village for portering. As I was worried about some troubles they could make, I asked the commander to allow me accompanying with those female porters. But they refused and forced the women to carry heavy burdens which were unfeasible to women's strength. Then, the troops and the women porters proceeded to Kyauktayan. When they arrived at Kyauktayan village, the troops released them and they quickly returned to the village. But most women got severe bruises on their shoulders and backs. When they arrived back, as they were too afraid of portering in the future, most of them escaped to the jungle and joined with their husbands, becoming displaced persons.

In the eve of [Burmese/Mon] new year festival [before April 14], a company of Burmese troops from LIB 410 led by Col Tin Shwe came into our village. When they arrived, they arranged a meeting with villageheadmen. At the time, we had all four headmen in the village. The villageheadmen who left in the village were mostly the elders, except me. In the meeting, they explained us they would not conscript any porter from our village like LIB 408 has done and told the villageheadmen to persuade the villagers to return to their own village.

As we believed the commander's words, we agreed with their proposal. So far the villagers who were displaced in the jungle and along the coastal areas, returned back to the village. One week later, the troops from LIB 410 came into our village again and then changed their minds. They said that as they had troubles and were impossible to carry loads with the number of their troops, they asked the villagers for helps. They said to me they just took the villagers to Chaung Phar village and when they arrived there, they would release all of them. Anyhow, as we were afraid of being ill-treated, we offered them 15 villagers as porters. But the commander broke his promise. When the porters arrived at Chaung Phar village, the soldiers did not release them. They continuously used those villagers as porters until they arrived to their military base in Paukpinkwin village. On the way for the whole two days, the villagers had no opportunity to take a rest and sometimes they were beaten by the soldiers when they could not walk as quickly as the soldiers did. Severe treatments by LIB 410 led the villagers to flee into the forests and coastal areas again. Later, we did not believe any word of them.

One month later, in the second week of May, the Burmese troops from LIB 406 came into our village again and asked the remained elders for 10 porters. There were no more young men in the village and it was difficult for those elders to arrange. When the elders told them about impossible arrangement to get the porters, the soldiers were angry at them and, at the end, the soldiers tied all men in the village and tortured them for the whole night. At that time, I was in my betel-nut plantation. In the morning, one of my daughters came to me and informed about the ill-treatment of the Burmese troops. Then, I quickly returned to the village. When I arrived at the village, they forced me to arrange 15 porters quickly and, if not, they would continuously keep torturing those elders. Immediately, by the helps of women in the village, we arranged to get 15 porters. I told those women to find their husbands or sons to return to the village quickly to help stop ill-treatments against the elders. In the evening, we could get 15 porters and they released the elders. Those villagers who arrived back from hiding places were also beaten or kicked by the soldiers. They were angry at me and beat me for the reason of allowing the villagers to hide outside the village. The troops also asked for four baskets of rice (one Burmese basket rice equal to 35 kilograms weight). A total of 15 villagers including me became porters and had to carry ammunition, foods and rice to Kyauktayan and restlessly to Mae Taw (Ah Mae in Mon) village.

After being terribly maltreated by SLORC troops, at the end, the villagers including women and children had to abandon their village and displaced in difficult situations.

Q. In which situation, all your villagers including women and children abandoned the village?

A. After a fighting occurred closely to our village in the second week of April, the Burmese troops from LIB 408 accused all villagers of being supporters of Mon rebels and as a consequence, they burnt down our village. In the fighting, the Burmese troops lost two arms and retreated to our village. Another reason was, on the way they retreated, they found some amount of rice stored in the jungle and they were angry at us. As soon as they arrived at our village, they called and asked me why we did not inform them about the Mon troops around the area and kept the rice for whom. They tortured every villager whoever they met in the village. They also asked for the compensation of their losing arms in the fighting or to buy two arms to substitute for the loss. When we complained at them we had not enough money or belongings for that compensation, the soldiers were angry at us, entered every house and took away belongings of the villagers. When they were pleased with getting valuable belongings, they burnt down the whole village and then they shouted at us to stay with Mon rebels, or they would kill us if they meet us in the village. No one dared to stay in the village and abandoned the village.

Interview: 290 - HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labour, Execution, Slavery, Women, Child, Torture, Displacement

Name	Nai Chohn
Age:	64
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Mae Taw (Ah Mae in Mon) village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	17 June 1995
Source:	HURFOM

[Mae Taw village is close to the gas pipeline construction area and most villagers were considerably accused of being the supporter of Mon troops. As the village is perceived posing a threat to the gas pipeline construction, the SLORC troops tried to destroy this village.]

Q. Please describe me the background of your village?

A. Normally, we villagers are mostly farmers and very few are fishermen. We have farmlands around and the sea is about two hours' walk from our village. In our village, mostly all of us are like relatives, and lived peacefully and supportively among ourselves. We also have a monastery and a school for the education of the children. Previously, before the Burmese troops started the construction of Ye-Tavoy railway, the living condition was better, but after that, we have been faced with many kinds of difficulties for survival. We could not get enough time to work on our farmlands because of conscription of labourers and could not stay in the

village due to allegation by Burmese troops to us of being the Mon rebels.

Q. What kinds of ill-treatment the Burmese troops have committed on your villagers and when?

A. At the beginning of this year [1995], approximately in the second week of February, about 60 Burmese troops from LIB 409 led by Sgt Han Myaing arrived at our village, arrested village secretary Nai Tun Maung (36) and killed him after accusing him of being a supporter of Mon troops. Normally, when the Mon troops arrived at the village, every villager ever met with them. As soon as they arrived at the village they tried to arrest all male villagers, leading the men fled from the village. For Nai Tun Maung, he did not expect the Burmese troops' accusation and stayed in the village. After the troops could not arrest the men in the village, they arrested 11 women for portering. Among them, there were some girls who were only 14 years old, but forced to carry their loads. They had to carry heavy burdens including foods and ammunitions to Chabone village which was two hours' walk from our village. The troops also brought Nai Tun Maung with them. When the troops arrived at Chabone village, they released all women, but tied Nai Tun Maung with ropes. Then, they beat and asked him to admit that he was a supporter of Mon troops. They severely beat him and interrogated where he hid the arms of Mon troops, how much taxes he gave to Mon troops and etc. Because of his refusals, they were angry at him and brought him to Kyaethonenyima military outpost early in the morning on the following day. No one could help him. When the troops arrived at their outpost, they interrogated him again and severely tortured. They were dissatisfied with him too much and in the evening they brought him under one bridge outside the village and shot dead.

After Nai Tun Maung was killed, every villager was frightened the Burmese soldiers and whenever the troops came into the village, they consistently escaped. The elders and villageheadmen mostly left in the village were always severely treated by the Burmese troops. The villagers staying outside the village also had to pay many kinds of taxes such as payment for the military barracks, for construction of Ye-Tavoy railway, porter fees and security fees for gas-pipeline and etc., to the Burmese troops. The villageheadmen paid for those taxes every month. In November and December of last year [1994], we had to work in the railway construction, and later many villagers refused and escaped from labour conscription. The troops also threatened the villagers that if they did not agree to pay taxes, they village would be reduced to ashes. As the taxation by Burmese troops were higher and higher all the times, the villagers have nothing left to pay. Then the troops came into the village and confiscated all belongings of the villagers. In March and April, the troops also ordered the villagers to move to Kyaethonenyima village where they based. Most of the troops from LIBs 408 and 410 asked for the taxes and confiscated the belongings. When the villagers refused to

move, the troops from LIB 410 came into the village in second week of April and burnt down some houses and one rice mill. After that we were displaced in this place [The place is in the forest far three kilometres from the village]. Actually, the troops always tried to destroy our village. I think they always accused our village of being a rebel base and vulnerable to destroy their proposed gas pipeline construction.

[*The interviewee explained the on going situations of human rights abuses after the SLORC troops alleged Mae Taw village of posing a threat to the planned gas pipeline construction.*]

Q. How do you think your village was related to gas pipeline construction security and then Burmese troops destroyed it and what other violations were committed by the troops connecting with pipeline?

A. In comparison, the Burmese troops came into the village more than the Mon. But consistently, as the villagers were always fled for fear, they accused all male villagers of being supporters of Mon troops. Normally, Mon troops came into our village about three times a month, but they did not ill-treat us and we could stay in the village before the village secretary was killed. I think in February, most of pipeline construction facilities were put on the sea-bank opposite our village by the military. As they were really worried that the Mon troops would destroy the construction facilities, they relocated our village to cut off contact with Mon troops. The place where they put construction facilities was named 'Kin Taung' and no villager was allowed to go to that side. For the security of the pipeline, the military set up bases respectively in every village around that area. Since February, when the troops demanded increased taxes, they told the villagers they had to hire about 10 labourers instead of our villagers to build the military barracks and other buildings on the Heinze Bok Island. This military base is to be used for the security of pipeline construction, mainly for offshore pipeline, and the landing-pad is for military helicopter. According to the Burmese troops, they did not want us to work at the construction site on Heinze Bok Island as they never trusted us. Thus, they just took money from us every month. Before, we had to pay a monthly tax of about 20,000 Ks and in February, the military asked 40,000 Ks including labourer hiring charges on Heinze Bok Island. They said our villagehad to provide 10 labourers for every month, but instead of those labourers, they increased taxation. According to the Tavoyan villagers conscripted to work in construction site said that they have never received any payment for their labour on Heinze Bok Island. Besides such taxation, the villagehad to provide 20 baskets of milled rice to them every month, as they told, to feed labourers in construction site. To pay such taxation, the villagers had to sell their own livestock like oxen, cows, and farmlands and etc.

Q. When did the villagers flee the village and how were they suffered? Where did they displace and how their temporary site look like?

A. We can say, the villagers were escaped from their village when the military came into the village. As I mentioned above, before and after our village secretary was killed by the Burmese troops, any man dared not stay in the village as the military accused us of being rebels or rebel-supporters. After that, as the military used women as porters, some women joined their husbands and displaced at the mountainous area in the east of our village. Even though we were displaced, we had to pay taxes every month. Sometimes, we returned to village for a short time, took some belongings and came back here [interviewee was displaced] immediately.

We have stayed for nearly four months with temporary shelters. Our group comprised of four or five families are staying together at a place where we think the Burmese troops could not reach. Before, as the Burmese troops came into the village not so often, we could get some rice from our village. Later in March, When the troops came often into the village and took rice from the village as tax or forcible confiscation, the villagers could not get enough rice for their families. Then they tried to get rice from another village. But it was so unsafe for them to travel and enter into other villages because the Burmese troops were always launching military operations around the area and taking bases in big villages where they could get possible rice supply. Hence, the villagers had to eat rice soup and sometimes we have no rice. At that time, we had to eat fish, crabs and prawns without rice.

Because of shortage of food and clean water, women and children were suffered from malnutrition and various kinds of diseases such as skin diseases, diarrhoea and etc. One nine years old girl named Mi Nue died of malnutrition and diarrhoea. Other two infants died of malnutrition and sickness infected from mothers. As there was no medic around this area, we had to transfer serious patients to Kyaethonenyima village. But it was not so easy to bring them as the Burmese troops could arrest us on the way and even the quacks there dared not treat us as they were threatened by Burmese soldiers not to treat our villagers for we have always been regarded as Mon soldiers.

But we could return to the village for two weeks before the New Year festival [The Burmese new year festival is 14 April of every year]. During those days, as no Burmese soldier came to our village, we were able to stay safely. After the festival, they came into the village again and all the men escaped again. They ordered the remaining villagers, elders and women, to relocate to Kyaethonenyima village immediately. The troops were from Kyaethonenyima-based LIB 410. Because of the refusals to relocate, the troops burnt some houses and one rice mill. Since them, we have been displaced and no one dared to return to the village again. I do not know for sure whether we can return to the village

in the coming raining season for cultivation. About 20 families fled to the refugee camps where they can get enough assistance for survival. [For interviews with people from Mae Taw village, see also Interview 140-143] We, the villagers who left here, don't want to abandon our farmlands and hope we can return to our village in coming rainy season.

Interview: 291 - HRV: Livelihood, Force Labour, Torture, Detention, Women, Slavery, Child, Displacement, Minority

Name:	Nai Htwe
Age:	52
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Chaung Phar (Knot Krone in Mon) village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interviewed:	19 June 1995
Source:	HURFOM

Q. Please describe the life of your villagers and the structures of your village before you escaped from there?

A. Recently, in the stable situation, there were nearly 100 households in our village and most of the villagers were lowland paddy-cultivating farmers while very few were betel-nut or coconut plantation farmers. We had one monastery as we were Buddhism. We also had a small primary Mon National School for promotion of education of our children. We had no medic or clinic in the village. Serious patients were taken for treatments in Kawza (Khao Jae in Mon) village which situated nearly one day walk from our village. Sometimes when the Mon troops came into village, the troops medic ever treated the patients in the village.

Q. What kinds of labour conscription on villagers at the beginning of this year?

A. Firstly, the Burmese military conscripted our villagers as labourers to work in the railway construction site. It was started in November and December of last year [1994]. At that time, our villagehad to provide about 20 labourers every week under the command of LIB 408. Besides the conscripted labourers, we (the villagers) also had to pay taxes, as they told, to buy railway sleepers. And, sometimes the villagers were also conscripted in disengaging parts of fishing vessels in the sea coast. I think those fishing vessels were plundered by the Burmese troops in the sea and they sold all parts of the vessels such as engines, radar, radio, fishing nets, lumbers and etc., after they were disengaged. Some vessels, which travelled forth and back to Penang Island of Malaysia for illegal import and export were also confiscated by the military and brought to the coast. They did not report to the senior authorities about the confiscating vessels and they sold all parts of vessels to merchants in Ye

and Tavoy town and other big villages. The merchants sold it to ship builders again to get more profit. The Burmese soldiers did such kind of business under the command of respective battalion commanders.

Furthermore, the military collected many kinds of taxes. While the villagers were working for the construction in November and December [1994], they were also demanded money to buy facilities for construction such as railway sleepers. Thus, every house in the villagehad to pay 2,000 Ks every month for railway facilities. The designated work-site for our villagers was near Paukpinkwin village. After December, the military even had to stop the construction because most villagers around the railway escaped from their villages and most headmen refused or were impossible to arrange for labour demand. Some villagers fled to the refugee camps along the border not only because they had not enough times to work their own jobs for survivals but also the military always asked for payment of construction facilities. Later, when the villagers could not provide the demand, the soldiers looted belongings and livestock of villagers. When the villagers were not able to provide labourers or money, they asked the village to give them 3 tons of hardwoods for every month. They said this hardwoods was for railway sleepers and for military barracks. In February [1995], the villagers tried to saw hardwoods and gave them. According to the information we received from the military outpost, all the hardwoods were sold and the soldiers just collected money as they could while taking responsibilities around the railway construction sites.

In March, there were no male villagers in the village. Aside from providing labourers and money, when the villagers had no time to saw hardwoods in the forest, the commander from LIB 408 was angry at the villagers. They sent a letter to villageheadmen to meet them immediately. As the villageheadmen were frightened the possible punishment of the military, they dared not meet the commander. Therefore, the villageheadmen did not meet the commander in the set deadline. One day in the third week of March, a company of troops from LIB 408 came into the village and tried to arrest all men in the village. As the villagers were afraid for being tortured by soldiers, most of them fled and only elders and villageheadmen were left in village. Then, the soldiers arrested 12 elders and villageheadmen and brought them to the military outpost in Paukpinkwin village immediately. When the troops arrived at Paukpinkwin, they severely tortured those villagers for refusing to meet them and accused the villageheadmen that the villagers were encouraged not to meet them by Mon troops. Then, they wrote a letter and sent it to our village. In the letter, the commander asked to pay them 15,000 Ks immediately or if not, they would kill all villagers. They detained those villagers and tortured them everyday. The rest villagers immediately collected the money and gave them within three days. After five days in detention and giving 150,00 Ks, the soldiers released them.

After that, the villagers had nothing to pay them more and even the villageheadmen escaped from the village to avoid from possible arrest when the troops came into village. Every time the Burmese troops came into the village, the villagers including women fled from the village. Normally, when the troops could not meet any villager, they entered every house and looted all belongings. Before new year festival, one day in the first week of April, the troops from LIB 410 came into the village and arrested four villagers — Nai Zain, Nai Htapoe Dot, Nai Kyaw Win and Nai Kyi Win. The troops used those villagers as porters to carry heavy loads such as ammunitions and other supplies. The military launched an operation along the railway and at the end our villagers were conscripted to their outpost at Ah Bue village until June. They did not release those villagers. We don't know for sure whether they are still alive or dead. According to information we got from Ah Bue village last month, they were still alive and they became slave labourers in the military outpost and sometimes, they were subjected to work at construction site in building military barracks on Heinze Bok Island as permanent porters.

[During interview, he also has knowledge about the dead porters in the military operations in recent months and described about that in detail.]

Q. Did you ever seen some villagers died of ill-treatment by Burmese soldiers?

A In December 1994, when the troops from LIB 406 came from Maethantaung village, they entered our village. When they arrived, they asked for two porters and we agreed to provide them. They also told the villageheadmen to bring a man who was sick outside the village on the way they came. When the troops left, some villagers including me went outside the village to find the sick man. When we arrived at a place, the porter, about 35 years old, already died from beatings, and bruises were found on his body. Actually, he was tortured by the soldiers and then died. But he was look like a sick man. As he was sick and he could not walk well, the soldiers beat him to death. The bruises in his body showed evidences that he was severely beaten with rifle butts, sticks and kicked with combat boots by the soldiers. We brought him into the village. Some villagers knew him and he was a villager from Kyaethalin. Therefore we informed his family and in the following morning, his family arrived at our village and we came to know that he was sick when arrested.

In the second week of February, a porter from Natkyizin also died after being severely tortured by the soldiers. On that day, about 50 troops from LIB 408 came into the village and told the women about a dead man outside the village and asked them to pick up and bury him. According to them, that porter was died of sickness. At that time, all men in village already escaped in fear of being arrested by Burmese

troops. Although they were informed, no one dared to go and bring the dead porter. In the evening, when an elderly man came back from collecting forest products, he saw that dead man aged about 28 years old and informed the abbot to bring him back to the village. Then the villagers brought him back to the village and found his whole body was full with bruises. We knew he was died from torture, not as the soldiers claimed he was died of sickness.

Another porter who died from torture was a villager from Kyauktayan. In the first week of April, when LIB 410 arrested four villagers (as mentioned above), one porter also died in our village. At that time, there were about 30 porters with them. The dead porter was look like sick, so that he could not carry loads and the military beat him, according to other porters who told the female villagers. He was sick before the troops arrested him in his village, Kyauktayan. He also told them about his sickness, but the troops did not pay attention on his words and forced him into portering. On the way, as he could not walk as quickly as the troops, the soldiers from behind beat him severely. Then, other soldiers joined and beat him, and at the end, before they arrived at our village, he was died from severe torture. But when the troops arrived at village and they told the villagers he was died of some diseases and not mentioned that he died of torture. [The name of the Kyauktayan villager porter is Ah Baing and for his whole story please see Interview 285, 286]

[*He explained the last situation of his village and why all villagers, including women and children, had to abandon their own native village*].

Q. Can you describe me the last situation of your family and why you and other families were displaced?

A. One day in the last week of April, a company of Burmese troops from LIB 410 came into our village again and made a disturbance to the village. When they arrived at the village, as all male villagers fled, only two villageheadmen — Nai Nyan Tin and Nai Thaung Sein— were left. In our village, we have four villageheadmen. When they arrived, they asked for the other two headmen. Nai Nyan Tin responded that they would return in the evening. In the evening, as those villageheadmen did not appear, they were angry at them, tied up and beat them severely. In the following morning, when the other villageheadmen still did not arrive, they prepared to burn down the houses of those headmen. When Nai Nyan Tin prevented them from doing so, they were angry at him, but they kept on burning down those two houses. They did not allow anybody to pick up and collect belongings inside the houses. After they burnt down two houses, they ordered Nai Nyan Tin and Nai Thaung Sein to run in front of them along the road in the village. While running, they shot them from behind. Nai Nyan Tin got severe injuries in his thigh.

At night the troops slept in the village and a soldier attempted to rape a mother of two children, Mi Aye Pin. Her husband had already fled from the village and she was left with her young sons and aged father in her house. At about 11:00 p.m., a soldier who slept in the room outside entered her room and tried to rape her. When he touched her, she cried out for help to her father. Although the soldier slapped her in the face and closed her mouth, she was able to shout anyway. As soon as her father heard her cry, he lit a lamp and the soldier fled away. The man knew that soldier well and informed the rape case to the commander in the following morning. But the commander ignored about that and did not punish his man.

Because of severe tortures and created unsafe situations, both men and women in the village have to take refuge here with many difficulties. Actually, no one would like to abandon their village and good surroundings of their homes.

Interview: 292 - HRV: Force Labour, Child, Women, Livelihood, Religion, Torture, Slavery, Disappearance

Name:	Maung Hla
Age:	40
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Rakhine
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with four children (age 13 to 18, all students)
Occupation:	Trader
Address:	Mingan Section, Sittwe Town, Arakan State
Interviewed:	December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*"Maung Hla" fled Sittwe and arrived in Bangladesh as a refugee in October 1995.*]

The construction of a Buddha museum is now going on in Sittwe and SLORC soldiers are using forced labour of the people from the quarters of Sittwe Town, including children, elderly women, young girls, and men from all walks of life. They force them to work for them. Even at night, SLORC don't let people go home. They demand that the people complete the work. They let some of the attractive young girls go home only after midnight. Now the people are feeling afflicted to see this happening. I have worked there myself three times. The first time was on 10 September 1995. Each family has to work one day at a time. All the families from Sittwe have to work one day each by turns. This project started in 1991, in Ma Gya Myai Quarter of Sittwe. It is quite big, spread over a wide area. They are building it in paddy fields. Some fields were owned by villagers and they were moved from there. The army forcibly occupied that land and relocated the villagers somewhere. Part of these fields was also owned by an orphanage. The orphanage got no compensation, because SLORC has no regulation for compensation.

SLORC is trying to collect and find all the ancient Buddha images and gather them in this museum. Then later they will take them all to Rangoon. That is the reason why they are building this museum. The government is trying to collect all the Buddha images and other ancient objects from all over Arakan State and they have already made a list of all our ancient precious objects in all the monasteries.

The people don't like this museum. Now it is almost finished. It is a two storey building. They still have to start building the partitions to make separate rooms. The roof is already finished as well as the external walls. Only the people from Sittwe Township have to do the work. Everybody has to go — Rakhines, Muslims, Hindus, Christians. In each quarter SLORC orders some families for one day and people have to rotate turn by turn. They take 200 to 300 people per day. It has gone on continuously since 1991. They never interrupted the construction work.

Everyone has to work at least three times a month. Before September my younger brother always went for our family. When I went I had to carry sand, bricks and wooden planks. One group of soldiers from IB 20 under Western Command were there to supervise the work. While I was working there, I saw soldiers throwing stones at people who were taking a rest for a little while. They also hit them with a cane stick, kicked them and scolded them rudely. But I was not beaten up. Some people were badly hurt. While one woman was having a smoke and sat down, a soldier brutally took the cigarette out of her mouth and kicked her in the belly with his combat boots. Then he hit her with a cane stick. She fell down and lost consciousness. It must have been internal injuries, because she was not bleeding. She was 17 years old.

Some elderly women had to come and work in place of their sons and daughters. They were scolded by the soldiers without any respect: "Why are you coming here? You are useless! Where are your sons and daughters?" These elderly women were like the soldiers' mothers but the soldiers didn't pay any respect to them. [Reverence for elders and parents is a cornerstone of society in Burma.] There are many women, more women than men, at the labour because many men are doing their business, so their wives have to substitute for them. There were some pregnant women working, but not in an advanced stage of pregnancy. Some women came with their babies. There were children severn or eight years old working there too, and elderly were about 60 years old. There were many young girls, some were students. The soldiers ordered the most attractive ones to stay as late as midnight. Normally the work continues until 6:00 p.m. but they ordered these girls to work overtime. You can easily imagine why they kept them! But if they were raped, they wouldn't reveal it because of our society.

If a family was absent, they have to pay 200 Ks for one day. This is extortion. We have to work from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.. For lunch, we could take a break for half an hour. We had to bring our own food, and we got no pay. They never even promised anything. SLORC allowed us to use tools. The tools were

provided by the army. The army brought all the building materials. To carry bricks and sand they are using people's trucks, not their own.

All over Arakan state, forced labour is going on: road construction, building of military camps, etc. For example, in remote areas people depend on their cultivation but they have to go all the time to work in military camps or at road construction. They have no time to do their own cultivation. They have to crush stones, cut bamboo, cut iron bars for building purposes and they have to be porters for the army without any pay.

They are building a highway between Sittwe and Rangoon. The people from Sittwe have to build the part of the highway in Sittwe area. Those who are living in other townships have to do the part in their own township. I worked on this highway myself, in July 1995. We had to build the road embankment [*because the land is low-lying, all roads in Arakan must be built on embankments*]. First we had to dig the ground nearby, then carry the loose soil and build the embankment. The embankment is two or three feet high. Each section of town has to finish an assigned length of the embankment. After it is finished, they can go home. I worked there only once, for seven days. It was too far from my house, so I had to stay there at night. It was seven miles from home. I went there on foot.

When we stayed at night, we had to build a shelter. Some heavily drunk soldiers came there, entered the shelters and made troubles for the girls and to their relatives who were trying to protect them. They started to quarrel, kick, punch, and hit people with their rifle butts. The soldiers always went and got alcohol in the nearby villages. They came back drunk and then did whatever they wanted: they kicked, they beat, they punched whomever they wanted. Many different battalions are in charge there. In Sittwe Township alone, there are 20 battalions.

That highway goes through the paddy fields owned by people. They get no compensation. This project started after SLORC seized power [1988]. It will never be finished. It will take forever because what they finish during the dry season is completely destroyed in the rainy season. SLORC have started many such projects of road building: Kyaukpyu to Rangoon, Sittwe to Maungdaw via Amumaw. Also Kyauktaw to Buthidaung and Sittwe to Rathedaung. All since 1988.

They also catch porters in Sittwe, as they do throughout the country. They order the quarter leader to provide a certain number of people. If people can't go, they have to pay 1,000 Ks. I never went as a porter because I gave money. I don't know where they take them, probably to the front-line. There is no time limit — most of the time they are gone for two or three months. Some never came back. Some came back suffering seriously from malaria and other illnesses. We also learned that they shot the ones who tried to escape. Maung Soe and Maung Gong from my quarter never came back. That was in 1991.

In Nga Pi Kyan village, Pauktaw Township, some people had a shrimp farm but the SLORC soldiers confiscated it and started their own shrimp project there under the name "Military Welfare Farm". Near the Kaladan River, in Pu Na Kyan Township, soldiers came and caught people to build embankments for a shrimp project. [In Arakan there are two types of shrimp farms: one kind in the river near the sea where stone barrages are built to divide the areas for the shrimps and another kind, along the river, where ponds are dug divided by earth embankments and using irrigation from the river.] They use people to dig ponds and build embankments. Most of the men in that area fled to Sittwe. In the absence of men, the soldiers took elderly women, girls and pregnant women. One pregnant woman was forcibly taken and she gave birth at the work-site at the shrimp farm. That happened at mid-day, in March 1993. They started these projects in 1989. There are many shrimp farms like this in the coastal area, including Sittwe Township.

In Sittwe Town there are bases of IBs 263 and 264 and etc. I don't remember all the battalion numbers because there are so many. The people have to work — not only to build the camps but also to look after their cows. The cows and buffaloes belong to the people, but they demand that the villagers give their cattle and buffaloes, and then order the villagers to look after their own cattle and buffaloes in the camp compound. The soldiers get the milk and the meat to eat and to sell at the market. The soldiers even sold some cows at the roadside on the way to their camp. And the villagers have to build shelters and bring food for the cows. Some people have a paddy field near the military camp and their fields are now completely occupied by the military. On top of that, these villagers have to plough the field and harvest the paddy for the soldiers. After that, the soldiers sell it all at the market. This is happening everywhere in Arakan.

Sittwe, the capital of Arakan, is also the capital of the military. There is actually no trade. It is all in the hands of the army. All kinds of businesses are in the hands of the military in Sittwe. In Rambee Township, Ann Township, Myebon Township, the soldiers give orders for firewood from there and the villagers have to cut it and send it to Sittwe. They use this wood for baking bricks.

Also, the boat owners have to get permission to go anywhere. The army always takes their boats. They forcibly take the boats and check the boat authorisation documents. Even if there are 150 boats, they never get tired of checking. The army has a list of all the boat owners, and they give orders directly to them to carry sand or things, or even for their personal use. Whenever they need, they take them. And the people have to provide the fuel themselves. In Sittwe, fuel is called "army oil".

When we look at the scene of Sittwe, we first see a green military uniform in the street. We can only see people in green military uniform. Of course we are afraid of them. And not only in the streets, on the buses, in the boats, in the cars, there are soldiers everywhere. That's why we call Sittwe a military town.

"Development" means road construction. The people have to give money and labour for that although they are not willing. People are starving more than before. In Sittwe, they also ordered families who have a house on the street-front to build a brick house surrounded by a brick wall and a pavement with their own money. If they fail to do so, they have to move. Then, the soldiers build a brick house on these people's land and sell it. The people even have to build the pavement with their own money although the pavement is public and belongs to the government. On the waterside, all the houses were completely destroyed by SLORC. Now it is a wasteland and the people had to move out of town. SLORC said: "When the foreigners visit this area and travel down the river, this is not beautiful for their sight. These houses are too ugly."

The army built a hotel called "Sittwe Hotel" at the seaside for tourism year ["Visit Myanmar Year 1996"]. They used forced labour to build it. It is a SLORC hotel. The hotel contractor is the son of former Trade Minister Kyaw Ba but he didn't pay the workers [Gen. Kyaw Ba is now Minister of Tourism, responsible for preparing "Visit Myanmar Year 1996"]. That hotel is medium-size. It is a three-storey building.

I haven't been to Ngapali for the last three years [*Ngapali on the Arakan coast is promoted as one of Burma's two main beach resorts*]. There were coconut plantations belonged to the people. The military occupied them and built bungalows on them, bungalows for the army and for the officers, and also Gen. Ne Win's bungalows [*Gen. Ne Win was absolute dictator of Burma from 1962-88, then he created SLORC*]. They also built bungalows for recreation for disabled military men and for tourists. The coconut plantations were along the seaside, up to Kyat Taw. There is also a small island there. This island is named "Gen. Ne Win's island". It is only for his family and they raised oysters for pearls. This is his pearl business. His sons and daughters and their in-laws are staying there and it is the family business centre. No one is allowed to enter that area. It is surrounded by soldiers. Previously it was controlled by the Department of Pearls and Fisheries. Now they control it themselves. On the way from Ngapali to Gwa, the son of Gen. Than Shwe [current Chairman of SLORC] built a hotel in 1994. He used forced labour for the construction too. In Sittwe, the son of Gen. Than Shwe also forced the people to build barrages for a shrimp project in the Sittwe-Ong Dine River.

The army is now fishing in the sea with the people's boats and with the boats that they seized from the Thai fishermen [*trawlers seized from Thai companies illegally fishing in Burma's waters*]. People have no more space to fish in the sea. We are dependent on fishing from the sea. But people can't go because the army is taking their boats all the time. One Australian company [joint venture] started their business in Sittwe. The company name was Thin Di Aung. They brought in all the fishing equipment, boats, nets, etc. to catch fish and shrimp, to pack them and send them to Australia. But they were not able to fish or send any fish to Australia. Although they got SLORC permission, they were not allowed to fish in the sea [by the Army]. They were there for one year without

any business activities. Their fishing trawlers became all rusty and then they left.

Now in Arakan it is very difficult economically. After I left, because of me, my family had to go to the military camp for investigation and torture. When I was there, my wife did sewing and tailoring to survive. But I don't know about her present condition. I was not the only person oppressed by SLORC. It is all the people from Burma. We suffer so much because of forced labour. Until they have to resign from power, they will torture the people.

[Notes: According to other sources from Arakan, the Buddha museum in Sittwe is now known as the "Dukkha Museum", which means "Museum of Suffering". At the museum construction site in September 1995, a 14-year-old girl named Ma Ni Ni was repeatedly raped by soldiers until she lost consciousness and died. She was a 9th Standard student at No. 1 State High School in Sittwe.]

Interview: 293 - HRV:Force Labour, Women, Child, Torture, Livelihood, Execution, Religion, Slavery

Name:	Salai Lian Cung
Age:	20
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Chin
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Single, seven brothers and sisters
Occupation:	Student
Address:	Storm Quarter, Kalemyo Town, Sagaing Division
Interviewed:	9 November 1995
Source:	KHRG

I left because there were so many problems in Burma. I had problems with the army because while I was doing forced labour in January this year [1995], I heard about the killing of a soldier on the railway construction so I was worried about my cousin's sister. She was also working on the railway with her baby, but at a different place from me. I was so worried about her and during rest time I asked a soldier if I could go there, but he did not allow. When I had to start working again, I couldn't do it and I just stood there. That soldier ordered me to work but as I didn't do it, he beat me. Then I left the work.

I had to work on the railway [Kalemyo-Gangaw] for six times. The first time was in October 1993. I had to go myself because I am the second eldest son. My parents are of old age and couldn't do this work. I have seven brothers and sisters. My eldest brother already left home. I always had to go because my younger brothers and sisters were too young and not fit for this. I had to go sometimes for two weeks, sometimes three weeks. Therefore I missed school.

My quarter is part of Kalemyo Town. For workers, SLORC gave an order to the town council, and the council ordered the people. They told how many people had to come from each quarter. The town council must get the quota of people they asked for. The people of Storm Quarter were divided into 6 groups. Each was again divided in two: A and B. At each time, all 6 groups had to go. When they first started, everyone had to go. But later, they called only A and then B could rest. When A finished, then they called B and A could rest. About 160 people from our quarter had to go at a time, in all 6 groups.

We had to work about 20 miles away from Storm, near Nat Chaung. The first time it was in Tang Go, near Nat Chaung, about 22 miles away, and then in Zing Gelin, near Kalemyo. We had to work at different places each time and it was always according to their orders. I had to go with my own bicycle. At night we couldn't go back home. We were kept near the river because we had to cook for ourselves. So that place was a little far from the work-site, about two falongs [one falong = 220 yards, so the distance was 440 yards]. The women stayed together at another place. We had a large roof covered with a plastic for all of us. There were three elderly men among us and they arranged everything for us. For the women, they built some huts with bamboo and branches. There were no guards at night.

For work, the men between 20 and 30 years old had to dig the ground. There were many teenagers and they had to carry the loose soil. It was hard work, especially digging. I had to carry the loose soil, but not only that. It depended on the situation. I also had to load the loose soil into baskets.

Most of the workers were young, mainly teenagers. One girl was only 10 years old. No one else from her family could go. There were elderly who were about 50 years old. They were working as cooks for the others. There were many women and most of them were old. Some babies were brought along with their mothers. The women did the same work as the men, but everyone was always changing duties with each other.

We had to bring our own food. The people had to bring their own tools. No salary. It was a must for each family to go. But the rich people hire someone else to go for them. So for them, there is no problem. But for those who cannot pay, they must go. That's why sometimes young children and elderly women have to go. If you couldn't go, some people had to pay 1,200 Ks, some 1,500 Ks. It depends on the villager. I think it depends on their family conditions. [*These are fines paid to SLORC if a family cannot go or hire a replacement.*]

At work, some groups had 20 people, others 30 people. It varied according to the group. There were soldiers around. They didn't do anything. Just walking here and there to watch us. If people weren't working, they hit them. Sometimes on the back, sometimes on the head. There was a boy who was very young. The soldier was also very young. About 20. They started quarrelling, the soldier called another soldier and they hit the boy badly. He was badly injured on his

head and he was hospitalised in Kalemyo. The leader of the B group sent him to hospital. He was in hospital for about one week.

For another story, I only heard about it because it happened at another place. A woman with a baby was working on the railroad and her baby was crying. She asked a soldier if she could go and feed her baby but the soldier didn't allow her. But she went to her baby anyway to feed him. Then the soldier hit her. All the workers saw the scene. One of them was a relative of that woman. He was so angry and he went to hit the soldier with a pitchfork and that soldier died on the spot. Another soldier also saw the incident and shot the villager dead. At that time, all the people started beating the soldiers. There were three soldiers who were guarding their group. One of them ran away and another one died as well. After that, those people had their workload increased as punishment. That group had to do three times more work.

Problems between soldiers and villagers happened all the time. Most of the workers were young and the weather was very hot. Many wanted to go and swim in the river during and after their work. But it was not allowed. Some young soldiers had problems with those from B group who were swimming and they started quarrelling. Then, a senior officer came and called all of the young villagers to their camp. They never came back. Maybe they were killed.

As far as I know, six people died on this railroad while I was working there. Some died in the river. It was very hot and the river was very big. Two boys went to swim and drowned. The others died of malaria. Most of the people got sick, but it was a must to keep working.

Even in the rainy season, if the weather was fine, they would call the people. It depended on the weather. Each group had to do a stretch of embankment: the height was 30 ft, the length 40 ft and the width about 15 ft. Also, my younger brothers and sisters had to crush gravel at home, in the town. They had to do this three times. The first time, they had to make 1 ft x 10 ft x 10 ft of gravel. The second time, SLORC demanded 60 cooking-oil tins of gravel [big tins, about 15 litres each]. They had to send the gravel to the railway by themselves.

The last time I worked on the railway was in March 1995. Some of the villagers were called after March, but mostly before March. By March, the construction was over. But afterwards, they were still calling villagers to pour water on the tracks to harden the ground. Now they also call people to guard the railway, not all the time, but it happens sometimes when an important person comes.

Most of the troops on the railway were not from Kalemyo. They were from Gangaw [most likely IB 50]. There are many battalions around Kalemyo — IBs 87, 88, 89 and Military Intelligence unit. There is a quarter called San Piang very close to the army camp. Many soldiers are staying around Kalemyo. So there are many problems with the villagers. Mostly the junior soldiers are causing troubles to the villagers. Sometimes they take villagers' bicycles. They don't ask, they just use them. The women dared not go out in the streets, only in

groups of two or three. They are so afraid of being raped by the soldiers. They call people to the army camps for cooking. They summon not only the people but also their vehicles. Whenever they need them, they order them to come to carry all the army things.

These camps have been there since 1989. The soldiers occupied the graveyard. They also called local people for loke-ar-pay ['volunteer', but actually forced] work. The graveyard was belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. They announced that the tombs must be taken away within three days, otherwise they would be destroyed. So the people had to take their bones. But most of them couldn't. Then they bulldozed the graveyard. This order was given by Maj Aung Khin. While they bulldozed and crushed the tombs, one of the crosses stood up again after the bulldozer passed over it. The bulldozer passed again over that cross but again the cross stood back up. So the bulldozer driver was freaked out and dared not pass over again. But Maj Aung Khin ordered him to pass over again. The driver refused and dared not destroy the cross. He was dismissed on the spot and Maj Aung Khin drove the bulldozer himself and destroyed all the graveyard.

The stronger people are called as porters. Not many from my quarter, but I know two boys from Storm who had to go as porters for two months before they were released, in December 1994. There are so many taxes: house taxes, bicycle taxes, (25 Ks per year), TV taxes (150 Ks a year), even if you have a tape recorder it is 60 Ks per year.

There was a USDA rally held in February 1995 [*Union Solidarity Development Association, SLORC's attempt to establish a 'mass support' organisation — people nation-wide are forced or threatened into joining and attending rallies, which are then shown in the media by SLORC as signs of popular support*]. The government occupied one of the female high schools to organise it which was attended by General Khin Nyunt himself [*Secretary-1 of SLORC and head of Military Intelligence*]. A group was formed in the school of each quarter in town, and the USDA members were also present. [*Note: those who fail to attend USDA rallies face possible expulsion from school, loss of their jobs, having their water or electricity power cut off, or beatings and fines.*]

I left and arrived at Moreh, at the Manipur [India] border on 17 March 1995. I know nothing about how my family is doing now.

[*Note: Moreh is on the Manipur side opposite Tamu. Chin refugees get no assistance in Manipur, so some try to get to Delhi and register as 'persons of concern' with UNHCR to receive 1,200 rupees (US$ 35) per month — however, UNHCR is now rejecting many people who apply for this. India has never signed the international conventions on protection of refugees.*]

Interview: 294-HRV: Livelihood, Force Labour, Religion, Displacement, Refugee, Repatriation

Name:	Ven. U Thinmanee
Sex:	Male
Age:	60
Ethnicity:	Rakhine
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Monk
Address:	Maungdaw Town, Arakan State
Interviewed:	December 1995

The Na Sa Ka groups 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are in Maungdaw and they have a commander in chief in one camp which is known as Gree Kweh Ray [Na Sa Ka is a SLORC combined force including army, police and border security operating in Arakan State along the Burma-Bangladesh border — the abbreviation Na Sa Ka actually stands for 'Border Welfare, Development and Defence']. Kerosene, salt, fish both sea fish and freshwater fish, everything is controlled by Na Sa Ka. They control all the businesses in Arakan. And they sell everything! They build their camps on people's land and occupy illegally five or ten acres. When they build their camp, they block the irrigation system of the toddy tree plantations of the farmers nearby. If the villagers can't provide bricks and bamboo, they need to pay 1,000 or 2,000 Ks for their buildings. The people also have to contribute labour. When they finish making the bricks with the people's money and labour, they then sell them in the market for four or five Ks each. They take rice from the villagers by force: 12 baskets for each acre, without paying. They take it for their camps. They export the surplus for dollars, especially to Bangladesh illegally.

They are building a 24-mile road from Maungdaw to Kyin Chaung where the Na Sa Ka headquarters is located. In the area named Za Kain Brawn, they bring prisoners from the jail. They fence the area and use the prisoners to break rocks. They give them one milk-tin of rice for two and they can't even stand up [because of the chains and weakness from hunger — one milk-tin is not even enough to feed one]. If half a milk-tin of rice is not enough, they can scratch the trees and eat leaves to fill up their stomach.

They also take civilians in the villages. The villagers can't bear their treatment and try to escape from the work before completing the roads and the bridges. Now, they recruit launch owners to carry the villagers to the work site and the launch owners are obliged to feed the villagers for five days. If the boat owners don't agree to carry the labourers, Na Sa Ka blocks the river for some time and the boat jetties get damaged by the salty water. Na Sa Ka also takes Jeeps from the people by turns. They have their own Jeeps, but they use them only for shopping and for their personal use.

Na Sa Ka has increased its religious activities in Arakan State. Most of the religious functions are organised by them. They go to the government departments like administration, schools, etc. and tell the civil servants to donate money for religious functions. Then they bring with them 20 or 30 yellow robes and donate these to the monks. They show this on TV so that the people can see. Na Sa Ka is now building Hanenda pagoda in Sittwe. The lower part is like the Shwedagon pagoda. For this purpose, the ministers donated money but this is only to show off [SLORC ministers have themselves shown on TV almost every night donating money to such projects]. Then they made a list of other people who had to donate money and how much. They don't use any money from the government, only people's money. SLORC organised sport competitions in Sittwe and they demanded Maungdaw township to give 200,000 or 300,000 Ks, and they collected this money from the people. The same events happen everywhere in Arakan State. Not only for Arakan State. If there are youth games in Kachin State, we also have to give money. When they organise those competitions they also need wooden boards and bamboo to build the fences and the galleries, and the people of Burma have to give all of it.

If one of their ministers plans to visit our area, we never know in advance when he comes. But at least one week before, they block all the roads, they take the vehicles and Jeeps, they stop the traffic, they don't allow people to go outside of their houses. So people cannot go to work. It is like an undeclared curfew. If the people can't go outside and go to their work, how can they earn money? This is one effect on our economy.

In Maungdaw they are using forced labour all the time. The army first enter the market and grab 50 or 100 people. They take them to the site to build bunkers, military camps, fences, and they tell them to finish the work within one or two days but it takes them a week. They also pick up the young boys from the monastery [lay children who help the monks to collect alms-food]. We can't raise our voices against their activities. This has become daily routine in our country.

On the west side of the Meyu River, they are starting to build a road going directly to Sittwe. They are using forced labour for this purpose. They gave an order for 'volunteers'. We didn't hear about a prisoner camp there. The prisoner camps are only in Maungdaw area, close to the Na Sa Ka headquarters. The area is called Za Ghan Brun. Prisoners have to work breaking rocks and they never loosen their chains. These prisoners have a short-term sentence or they are about to be released. They come not only from Sittwe but from all over the country. According to them, some are political prisoners. None of them are prominent political prisoners. But some second line political leaders are there. Some political prisoners go to the prisoner labour camps so that their sentence will be reduced.

In Maungdaw Township, the road to Na Sa Ka headquarters has been extended. Villagers from remote areas have to send the stones to the town. Laying stones and tar on the road is done by the soldiers. The army gets money to do the work,

but they save this money for their camp. The stones come from remote areas of Rathedaung, Buthidaung and Minbya. If the villagers cannot collect the stones, they need to hire labourers with their own money. They have to dig 10 x 10 x 10 ft of stones. Each village has to dig six holes, some more, some less. It depends on how much bribe money they can pay. From Minbya, the army carry the stones themselves with a big boat. They take the boats from Maungdaw, Minbya, and other places by force. They even took the boats of the pilgrims while they were travelling down the river. They stop the boats passing in the river and take them.

They say, "If your wife is dying or if your husband is dying, leave them. Finish your work first and then you can organise the funerals." Even the sick people are not spared. The Buddhist ceremony in November had to be stopped because of their building work. On all the holy days of Buddhism, we, the monks, have to go first to the military camp to perform the ceremony for them. Only after we finish the function there we can go and hold the ceremony with the people.

They have a project worth 900,000 Ks for 'border development'. They collect this money from the Sittwe traders in the name of border development. When any officer from the army travels from Maungdaw to Buthidaung and from Buthidaung to Maungdaw, the people have to give money for their fuel. The Jeeps are military vehicles, not people's vehicles. And the people also have to give food, everything they need. As the launches are also taken from the people, and they can't go anywhere. We are suffering economically because the traders can't move. When the high ranking officers come to play the games, they ask the people to bring them beer and they demand the Arakanese people to cook traditional food for them. People have to provide everything for them. When they tell us that they want to eat our traditional food, we have to prepare it and bring everything to their camps. Sometimes, military officers say they want to meet with the Buddhist monks. They demand the people to prepare things so they can donate these to the monks. Usually the Buddhists can afford to give 100 or 200 Ks as donation from their pockets at the temple. Although these officers give 20,000 or 30,000 Ks to the monastery, we know that this is not from their pockets. They demand all this money from the people. Also, some military informers cheat the people. They collect money in the name of their major or commander but keep the money for themselves.

The new trade road to Bangladesh [*the recently opened Maungdaw-Teknaf road*] is totally controlled by Na Sa Ka. Na Sa Ka even runs one restaurant in Maungdaw. The river boat traffic is completely in the hands of Na Sa Ka. They confiscate motor launches and other boats to carry material and people and to prepare their roads and their buildings. Some motor launch owners were forced to sell their launch or to give it to Na Sa Ka. Now these boats have been put on auction. The Na Sa Ka commander-in-chief and his second commander are posted in Arakan for two years, then they are transferred. By the time they leave, they are as if they were winners of the lottery! Military officers are loyal to higher officials. They know all about it. SLORC will have to leave power

one day or another. So money is everything for them. They are not so interested in power but in money, because they have no confidence in SLORC.

To start a new business, people have to deposit one million kyat in the bank [*so the money can be taken by SLORC / Na Sa Ka if the owner doesn't pay them their cut*]. Na Sa Ka also takes people's land. They build houses, offices, buildings for themselves but they also occupy land for their families. They are doing like this. Even to the poor people who are living just by fishing with their small canoes, Na Sa Ka come and demand tax for the boat. Those who are close to the Naf river to Bangladesh [the Naf River forms the border] have to give money to Na Sa Ka. Even the smugglers have to pay them off. They even seize goods from the traders who are trading legally and who pay their taxes in Maungdaw and Buthidaung. The traders are losing their capital and becoming bankrupt. Also, many people who owned food stalls lost everything because of Na Sa Ka. They got some money from Japan or Norway to start their businesses again but land, shops and everything are in the hands of Na Sa Ka. Even the jungle is occupied by Na Sa Ka, so we don't even have firewood for cooking.

SLORC is still relocating villagers now. They give a small field, about one acre for five families, for paddy cultivation and one cow for three families. This is not a sufficient compensation for the villagers who have lost everything. What can they do with that? [*In a normal village, each family will have at least two or three acres of paddy field.*] Now their lives become very hard. They have to catch crabs and some fish to sell at the market to make a little money, just to live hand-to-mouth. In Mrauk U area, the army completely destroyed a Muslim village and built a military camp. They moved all the Muslims to Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships and they scattered them around. Before they destroyed the village, they promised them they would give land for cultivation, compensation for their houses and money to start businesses. But they never gave them anything. The village name was Pa Ring Kala Ro and this happened last year [1994]. Some of them escaped because they were starving. They promised them land, cows, everything but where can the government get land and cows for them? The military had to build a bridge in Kyauk Taw area and they wanted to relocate one Muslim village for that purpose. But later, they changed their decision after taking money [*for the bridge*] from the villagers. Now they have decided to build the bridge at another place closer to the military camp, because there are Rakhine and Muslim insurgents in the area.

The people get power supply only one time in four days up to 9:00 p.m.. The military get it all night. When Na Sa Ka require fuel, they requisition all the fuel. When Khin Nyunt's wife visited Maungdaw, they didn't provide any power supply in the town and they said that there was not enough fuel [*Khin Nyunt is Secretary-1 of SLORC and head of military intelligence; his wife is head of the "Maternal & Child Health and Welfare Organisation", which is used for SLORC media PR and is partly supported by UNICEF*]. During the religious ceremonies, especially for the [Burmese] full moon days in September and November, there was not enough kerosene to light the lamps. We dared not complain about it to the high ranking officials. If we complain to them, we will

face lots of troubles with the local authorities. That's why nobody dares complain to the higher authorities.

They are building a new hotel on the graveyard in Maungdaw, and for this they have moved the graveyard. They explained that the graveyard was in the middle of the town, and this would not look good to the visitors. Now, the government has projects all over Burma and they are relocating cemeteries everywhere. They can even move pagodas and monasteries. In every town, SLORC is building one hotel. In Sittwe, they already built the "Sittwe Hotel". Now they are building one in Maungdaw.

At present, all the prices of commodities are skyrocketing but the government announces that they have no responsibility in this since all the businesses have already been privatised. They say inflation is the people's fault. When SLORC trade minister visited the shrimp farming area, the owners told him their opinion: "The government gives us a very low price. We need higher prices. We cannot sell at a price which doesn't even cover our expenditure. We will be forced to close our shrimp farms." [*Despite SLORC's claims of privatisation, companies cannot form without their involvement and most basic commodity producers are forced to sell only to SLORC at SLORC prices.*] Then the trade minister promised to arrange a better price and went back to Rangoon. But later Na Sa Ka came, interfered and forced them all to sell at the lowest price. Their radio propaganda says one thing but they are doing different things and the people are suffering a lot, more than previously.

Now SLORC is secretly drawing a constitution without any participation from the various States [*at the 'National Convention'*]. This is not acceptable to us and this is illegal. There is no genuine representative from our political organisations, ALD and NLD [Arakan League for Democracy & National League for Democracy]. One representative of Arakan State at the National Convention is Tha San Hla. He is from Kyauk Taw and belongs to Aung San Suu Kyi's party [NLD]. The two others are from Sittwe and they are from the Mro Khami Party. They are not Arakanese, they are from ethnic groups in Arakan. SLORC is aware that they don't know anything about politics, so they choose them to use them as puppets. SLORC came to Gree Chaung villageand took two doctors and some government officials and sent them as people's representatives and labour representatives to the National Convention. Now the people are suffering a lot because they have no more doctors. Still, there is no single doctor in that village. Until the completion of the National Convention they can't come back to their duties. How many months or years it will take, we don't know!

Q: Do the Muslims repatriated from Bangladesh get their land and property back?

[Referring to the 300,000 Rohingya Muslims who fled a SLORC religious pogrom in 1991-92 to Bangladesh, 250,000 of whom have now been forcibly repatriated to Arakan by Bangladeshi authorities in co-operation with UNHCR and SLORC]

A: I don't know. But UNHCR is there, and have some projects for their welfare such as wells, etc. and construction of new roads. Rakhine people also need wells, but when they submit a request, Na Sa Ka refuse it and tell UNHCR that Rakhines don't need them. Previously, during BSPP government [Burma Socialist Programme Party, Ne Win's 1974-88 regime], there were three kinds of citizenship's: full, naturalised and associated [these were used to make ethnic and religious minorities into second- and third-class citizens]. Now, they have cancelled all that. They may start again after the completion of the National Convention. Then they must hold general elections. The present government is executing the previous socialist plan. Now, SLORC is starting to set up industries, commercial companies, bridges, etc., but actually that was the plan of BSPP. During the BSPP, the Muslims were registered as Muslims on their NRC [National Registration Card] and, now they want to be registered as Rohingyas. But SLORC rejected this. Then the Muslim community demonstrated against SLORC's decision. The meaning of "Rohingya", SLORC don't know it. When they ask the Muslims the meaning, they also don't know. We are known as Rohon in Islamic countries, as Arakanese in Europe, as Rakhine in Burma and as Moghs in Bangladesh and Pakistan. Now the Rohingyas claim our name as theirs without even knowing about that. The demand by Muslims is excessive, I think. They can demand to be citizens of Arakan by birth and as Muslims. That's enough.

[*This explanation of his views has been included here because it reflects a commonattitude among Rakhines, an anti-Muslim sentiment which has often been exploited by SLORC and the BSPP.*]

UNHCR started building their offices in 1993. They built them themselves without the help of the government. They have an agreement with SLORC. Both are trying to get back the refugees from Bangladesh by saying that the situation is good now and that they will provide everything they need. Most of the refugees already came back. Some are still remaining in Bangladesh. Now UNHCR is doing what the Muslim people say. They are creating more tension between the Muslim and Rakhine communities.

UNHCR gives them 500 Ks for a family of three or 1,000 Ks for a family of four or more. At the reception centre, the government gives them rice, oil and some food [*this is donated by UNHCR but distributed by Myanmar Relief Dept*]. Whether they give them money or not, I don't know. They receive all the things from UNHCR. Now they have decided to give education to Muslim women and men, especially for the Burmese language. UNHCR is looking for teachers to teach them. I don't believe they will succeed because every village has their own primary school run by the government but none of the Muslim girls go there for study. They have their own school to learn the Koran in Arabic and they don't learn Burmese. But the government have a law that all

the citizens of Burma should learn the Burmese language and must be literate.

UNHCR also built their offices on people's land. The people demanded compensation from UNHCR officials. They had to approach them secretly because of SLORC. The officials gave a proposal and the landowners had to accept it but it was not a good price. When the owner demanded 100,000 Ks, he only got 10,000 Ks. Maybe the government takes the compensated money from UNHCR, we don't know, but we know that UNHCR also takes people's land. The people who lost their land are furious with UNHCR. We can't complain to UNHCR. We can't complain to the government. Where should we complain? SLORC take our land, UNHCR also take our land. When the government allocated land to UNHCR, why did UNHCR take it? They should know. They are deployed here to bring peace and people's welfare under the banner of peace. Presently, that's what the Arakanese people are asking themselves. The landowners have demanded 100,000 Ks and UNHCR haven't met their demands yet.

In Maungdaw, we have an irrigation system with pumps. If we use it, we can make a second paddy crop in the year. But UNHCR pump the water from there and now the people don't have enough water for a second cultivation. In the dry season, we usually got 100 baskets of paddy but now only 30 baskets. We can't grow a second crop because we don't have enough water. UNHCR asked the people how much money they need to pay for compensation for the paddy. They offered 5,000 Ks — not per year, only one time. But we are lucky to get at least something. [*At current prices, 5,000 Ks is only worth about 12 tins of paddy, normal crop for about 1/3 acre, and the shortage of rice continues to grow worse.*]

SLORC is using forced labour to build roads, because they promised UNHCR they would build roads and bridges so they can travel more easily. But so far SLORC has only Maungdaw bridge to show for it. They called the bridge Shwe Za after a [Rakhine] king. It is at Wee Ma La villageand it is only a temporary bridge. They have lots of projects to build bridges.

UNHCR is digging wells and building roads on people's own land. They have no plans and we are compelled to see that without being able to complain. Some are on Rakhine land, some on Muslim land. They don't distinguish between the two. But for the labour, they only choose Muslims, no Rakhines. All the construction contracts are made with Muslims. Some Rakhines are employed in low jobs, such as carpenters. They started a sewing training for the Muslim women and the trainer was a Rakhine woman. She is the only one. That was the only training, but it had already stopped. They say they are helping people raise chickens, but only on a very small scale. People can't make a living

with this kind of business. They give only 500 Ks to start it. As each bamboo costs 5 Ks, the money is very little indeed. [One breeding-size chicken costs over 100 Ks.] UNHCR is offering jobs and people stop their own work to work for them but it doesn't give them enough income. One worker earns 1,500 Ks [per month — a family cannot be supported at this rate]. For cooking and washing clothes, they pay 400 or 500 Ks [per month]. This is not only for Rakhines, for Muslims too. People thought that they would earn a lot of money by working for UNHCR. We see UNHCR staff with their houses, with their cars, with their generator but we don't know what they are really doing. They bring in their petrol themselves, also their timber and stones. They don't use anything from Maungdaw.

Q: Do you know of any people killed by SLORC in the area?

A: How can I find out? UNHCR should try to find out. They came here for that reason, to look after the people's welfare. But they are not able to find out such things since they are not active. Some people in the jungle might have been killed under landslides [while doing forced labour] but I don't know. This is daily routine: punching, kicking, beating and abusing. SLORC arrests smugglers and legal traders alike, whenever they like. How can I answer? UNHCR is working here and they are receiving salaries. But they fail to hear about it because they are neglecting their duties.

Q: The Chinese government made a request to SLORC to borrow the Mahamuni Buddha image from Arakan for religious ceremonies. Is this true?

A: We don't know whether they requested it or not. This is an invaluable thing for us and a symbol of peace and prosperity in Arakan. In the past, when the Burmese came to Mrauk U to take the Mahamuni Buddha, the people refused and they failed to take it away. But they declared that they took it and built a raft with gold and silver. The raft was put on a ship and they sailed to Rangoon declaring that they had taken the Buddha image. On the way, when the ship was in Sittwe harbour, some people were strangely killed on board. Now the Burmese have one in Mandalay [it is unclear whether the original is in Arakan or Mandalay — many believe the Burmese stole the original and took it to Mandalay, then sent a copy back to Arakan.] But they say the Chinese want the Buddha from Arakan. But we don't know if it is true that the Chinese really want it or if it is SLORC who want it. We believe in our astrologists. Maybe SLORC is trying to change the "yettara" [good luck] of the Arakanese people. That's why they took it in the past, and that is probably the reason why they come to ask for it this time too. And they use the Chinese as a pretext. After one month, Intelligence officers came to Sittwe and investigated to find out who had opposed them taking the Buddha image. They made a report stating the Arakanese people are starting a revolution and were trying to demonstrate.

We had to give lists of all ancient Buddha images to SLORC. And SLORC told us that if we lose any of them, we will have to pay a fine. [The list is most likely because SLORC wants to confiscate some of them for tourist museums or sites in Burman cities.] We monks, if we don't obey the government's orders, we will also have to go to jail. SLORC is building a Buddha museum near the Youth Sports Complex in Sittwe. They are collecting by several means ancient images and objects from the monks and from the people to take to the museum. If we discover precious ancient objects from Arakan, they claim it is from Burma. They have been digging at the ancient site of Vesaly and we believe that they found things there. But SLORC have yet to show what they found. SLORC have decided to carry out research with foreign archaeologists. But they haven't started yet. SLORC told the Buddhist monks: "If you lose any of the ancient Buddha images, it will be your responsibility." So some monks were afraid of this and handed over all the images to SLORC. To protect our traditions, I will never hand them over. We can't hand over our history. Some local authorities, collaborating with SLORC, even threatened the monks saying that in case of loss, it will not only be the responsibility of the monks but also of the worshippers. They put pressure on the monks to hand over the Buddha images to SLORC. SLORC raided some Buddhist temples in Mandalay. They admitted that they stole some Buddha images. They might do the same thing in Arakan State that they did in Mandalay. When they come to the monastery, they don't come with archaeologists and experts. Just with soldiers. According to them, they come on archaeologists' recommendations. But the archaeologists have no idea of the army activities in this. SLORC said to us, monks, that they are sent by the National Historical Institute of Rangoon. But this is not true.

SLORC formed Buddhist Monks organisations in the townships, districts and villages. The monks have to obey their orders, whether they are willing to join or not. Buddhist monks can't do anything without the permission of SLORC. For example, building extensions or new buildings in the monasteries are only allowed with the authorisation of the township or district Sanghas [monks organisation — the Sangha is a major component of Buddhist tradition, but in Burma SLORC has taken over control of them]. If we approach them for permission and if we fail to satisfy them, we will never be granted any permission from them. If we don't keep good relations with SLORC officers, with villageand township LORC authorities and with Na Sa Ka, we can't do anything.

Interview: 295 - HRV: Livelihood, Women, Force Labour

Name: Ko Htun Win
Sex: Male
Age: 38
Ethnicity: Burman

Religion: Buddhist
Name: Daw Than
Sex: Female
Age: 52
Ethnicity: Burman
Religion: Buddhist
Address: Amarapura Township, Mandalay Division
Interviewed: March 1995
Source: KHRG

Q: How long did you work at the Mandalay Palace moat?

Ko Htun Win: I worked three times there. First, we had to clean the site all around the moat. The second time we had to clear all the mud and weeds, and the third time we had to take out the mud. We had to load the mud on trucks. As the mud was very soft, we had to load it little by little on the trucks. They disposed it near Mandalay zoo, at the foot of Mandalay Hill. They also dump some at various monastery compounds. The monks requested the army officers to unload the mud in their monastery compound [to level the ground]. Some people were playing tricks. For example, a group of 30 workers had to load six trucks with mud but they would bribe the soldier who was supervising the work so that the soldiers would register more truck loads than they had actually filled. Sometimes we'd pay three or four kyats each. Sometimes, five kyats per person. If a girl in a group is familiar with a soldier, this group gets favoured. So sometimes we hired prostitutes to join our group.

Thirty people were assigned to one truck. If the group included both men and women, the number was 30. If there were only men in the group, the number was 20. They had to load five or six truckloads of mud everyday. If the rain was heavy, the work was suspended.

Daw Than: We had to work on the rainy days too, as long as the road was not too slippery for driving their trucks.

Ko Htun Win: We had to provide one person from each family, and that person had to work for 10 days. It had nothing to do with the number of people in the family. If you could not send anyone, you had to pay 600 Ks. If you can't go and you have no money, you have to sell your belongings. Their rules are very strict. The rule is: "If you cannot go for work, you have to pay. If you cannot pay, you have to go to work." We have no choice. We cannot do anything about it. Sometimes some sympathetic local authorities help us to reason with the SLORC authorities. Sometimes it works.

We had to bring our own food and tools. The government provides money for the workers, but the Township level officers eat up all that money [*i.e. nobody is paid*].
Now, they are using only prisoners. Prisoners and soldiers. People said they were from Mandalay jail. Some are shackled, some are not. They shackle

those who are notorious. It depends on their sentences. They dare not force the political prisoners to work. They use only criminals.

Q: Did you have to work in road construction or road repair work?

Ko Htun Win: Ko Moe and Ma Ni who came together with us had to work on the road construction in Amarapura. That construction was supervised by the Civil Works Department. I did not have to work on that.

Interview: 296 - HRV: Livelihood, Women, Force Labour

Name:	Maung Sein
Age:	37
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Pwo Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with five children (age 5 to 15 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	19 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

My village is located south of Kawkareik, near the Han Thayaw River. There are over 30 houses in my village. It is quite close from here. It is also close to a base of SLORC IB 330, where there are about 50 soldiers who ordered us to cut wood and bamboo. And if there was another work to do, we were ordered to do it. Each day two of us had to go for sentry duty. If we failed to go, we had to give 100 Ks each as compensation. We went in the mornings and came back in the evenings. When they told us to go find liquor for them we had to go. Sometimes when they ordered us to go and send letters to distant places, we had to obey. We had to eat our own food — their rice supplies were exclusively for them. They also ordered us to find good quality of timber and then made us pulling those logs. They sold this timber in Kawkareik and did business. We did not receive anything at all. It's sheer bullying. We were forced to do it despite our resentment. They didn't even provide us food, we had to take our own food.

As for me, I did the work. I had to go twice in a month. People who didn't go have to pay 100 Ks each day — for three days that means 300 Ks. Villagers close to SLORC had to go to carry out their errands while villagers in remote areas had to carry their loads. Soldiers watched us while we were working. While I laboured hard drawing the heavy logs, the soldiers shouted at me and abused me like anything. Imagine, harsh words swore at you while you were bending under the weight of heavy logs. Women had to go too, over ten at a time — it included unmarried ladies. Today our villagehad to provide 20 workers. Tomorrow another village will have to provide 20 workers. The next day another village will have to give 20 people. Such is the rotation. Two people had to guard their barracks and 20 people were given hard labour

assignments whenever they needed us. There's no distinction between the young and the old - those old folks who were not able to go had to give 100 Ks per day.

They demanded our chicken and ducks and we were forced to give them, for sure. That happened two or three times a month. And they demanded rice, certainly. Their rice supplies were in very poor quality. So they took our rice of good quality and gave us back their poor one. They did that to every village which was within their reach. They came in the evenings and stole all the fowls from the villagers. When they came, sometimes we fled but sometimes we didn't. When they opened fire on the people they usually missed, because people ran very fast for their lives. Last year they shot into our village at random and hurt some people.

In August this year they took some of our farmland, took some cattle from the villagers by force and ordered us to till the ground for them. That land yielded 200 baskets of paddy. Then when these soldiers had to transfer to another area, they forced the villagers to buy the crops. That earned them 3,000 Ks from each village, 9,000 Ks altogether from three villages. [*The crop was not yet ready for harvest when the soldiers left.*] When a new group of soldiers arrived, they repeated the same thing. One person from each house had to go and work for four days each month, bringing their own tools,. For those who didn't go, the soldiers seized their cattle and never returned them. So people had to go despite all the inconvenience. Now the harvest is finished. The villagers were forced to reap and winnow the crop, and then the soldiers took it away with them to the city and sold it to the merchants. It has happened over and over again. The soldiers who do this were from IB 230.

This year, it's just the same as last year. Those who can endure, they endure, and those who cannot, leave the area right away. Since more people are leaving, only a few remain there. More and more people have lost their ability to endure it any longer. There were over 100 households in my village, now only 30 remain. Some moved to places far away from the military camps, some fled into the jungles, while some fled into Thailand. As for me, well, I will watch what my neighbours do and if they move I will move.

Interview: 297 - HRV: Women, Livelihood, Slavery

Name:	Pi Yeh Paw
Age:	67
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with five children (age 23 to 45 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kya In Seik Gyi Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	20 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

Our village is close from here. We paid them [SLORC] their dues, but still when they came, they took our chickens and other birds. They took even the small chickens and the eggs under the brooding hens. As we were not able to stop them, we had to endure it. They didn't listen to our objections. But when I chased them with a stick, that made a difference! They never came to stay, just to steal. They came and took over 10 viss [16 kg.] of chickens, and after eating them all they came back again in search of more chicken curry. If we didn't do what they wanted, they would harm us. What sort of people are they? They come very often, the last time was just a day or two ago. Just wait and you'll see, they'll be back again in three or four days. They came in a group of forty. They are from LIB 310 which has been here for the last 2 months [before that it was IB 231]. All the SLORC troops were looters. They even took our clothes if they were not too old.

Our villagehad 200 or 300 houses, I think. So they could not enter into every house. They roamed along the streets of big villages and grabbed whatever they saw along the way. They took everything they saw. Porters always had to accompany them. They had to carry the chickens — Burmese soldiers would never carry anything by themselves, you need not ask about that. The porters also had to carry melons and pumpkins. The Burmese soldiers picked our pumpkins and things to cook with the chickens they stole from us. My son had to go as a porter, and when he couldn't, I had to pay a porter fees of 150 Ks per day. Every two days, people had to go in groups of five [on rotating basis]. That's not easy. Do you think that's easy, brother? If we didn't go they molested the villagers. I had to carry their loads myself.

Moreover, we had to give pork to LIB 310, and we also had to go work for them where their Column was based. People from other two villages had to go very often. They had to plant paddy, plough the land and dig the soil for the soldiers.

A woman had to give them two of her son's [hand-woven] shirts. They were in very good quality — one shirt costs 1500 Ks. These Burmans are so cunning — they begin by asking for just one betel-nut, then they end by taking away sacks of it. I said to them, "You take our things to go and sell, don't you?" They admitted it and said they did. We dared not hang our sarongs out to dry at night — if it's not too old and worn, they would steal it. They are gamblers and when they lose gambling, they just take a hintha duck and sell it for 200 Ks. I had no love for them. As we had to bear so much bullying, we certainly felt bitter.

I have not yet met any Ko Per Baw. I only heard about them. They said something and they did something else. Their leaders said that they didn't eat meat, but their soldiers did and stole sarongs from the villagers. I heard that when they arrived in Raw Keh and Pah Kya, they stole chickens and clothing. We did not want to see such things. People said they'd come, but they never came. It is good that they don't appear. It is best that we don't encounter them, don't you think so?

Interview: 298 - HRV: Execution

Name:	Naw Say Wah
Age:	22
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Pwo Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with two daughters (age 3 months and 3 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kya Inn Seik Gyi Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	21 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*Naw Say Wah's husband who was 37 years was killed by SLORC on 17 or 18 December 1995 — see interview 299.*]

My husband went to another village to do farm work with other people there. It was within the last 10 days. They arrested him at that village. He was going to get some cattle vaccinated when a column of Burmese soldiers arrived and arrested him. They took him to the military camp, about three miles away. He was there for four days. I went to the camp along with the village headwoman. The officer asked me, "Don't you love your husband? What does he do for his living?" I said, "He is a farmer." We asked to see him but they did not allow. I had to come back home. They said that after one or two days he would be released for sure. But after two days I heard news that he was killed, and they told me to make offerings to the monks. Now I am living with my mother. I am so desperate because of my two children — the elder is three years and the younger is only three months old.

Interview: 299 - HRV: Torture, Detention, Livelihood, Execution, Women, Force Labour, Slavery

Name:	Pi Beh Wah
Age:	61
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with two children (age 12 and 43 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	21 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

The headman of that village told us that Naw Say Wah's husband had been arrested. He wanted her [his wife] to come to him. Her husband lives in our village but was working in another village. As his name was not registered in that village, SLORC came there and asked about him. As soon as they caught

him, they asked him about his work and he said he was a farmer. They beat him as soon as they arrested him. They said, "You tried to run away because you are a Ringworm!" [*derogatory SLORC name for Karen soldiers*]. He told them he ran away because he was afraid of them. Then the Burmese soldiers took turns hitting him, some of them with their rifle butts. They tied him with a rope, they pulled off his shirt and sarong, covered his face with his own sarong and kept beating him. Then they took him away to the military camp. When the villagers went and asked about him, the Burmese soldiers asked them what he did for his living. They told the soldiers that he's only a farmer. They told them again and again. The soldiers kept asking, "Has he got a gun?" and the villagers told them he didn't. The officer said, "The prisoner says he has a revolver". The villagers answered, "He said that in fear of you, because you applied harsh interrogation on him". The officer said, "The village heads wouldn't dare sign vouching that he has no weapon". Then the headman spoke for him, and said, "He was just an ordinary farmer when he lived in my village. I'll sign for him." The officer threatened him by saying, "If that's the case, you'll have to sign now. But if the truth comes out one day, you'll not only be imprisoned but also given the death penalty." The village headman said he would sign even if they killed him, because he would stand on the side of truth. As he signed his name, he asked the officer to let the young man go back with him. The officer said the man would have to be detained one or two more days for more interrogation and only then he could be released.

A day or two later, the headman heard that it was very hard for the young man, that they continued beatings him without resting and that the victim was crying because of severe beatings. So he was going to go to the camp again, but that morning the Burmese soldiers came to the village. They started asking questions about whether there were insurgents there. They started making trouble, arresting people here and there at random, including women and children. The headman had to vouch for all of them. He said, "Please set all my people free, set free everyone you've accused of being rebels. If any of them have been rebel soldiers once, that was because they were afraid of the rebels. Now they are doing nothing against you. You're asking about the past, like speaking to the dead. How can the dead come out of their graves? It is the present matters." Then the soldiers let everyone in the village go, but they demanded food and chickens. The villagers were afraid and had to give it to them, and when they got the rice and chickens they went to leave. The headman asked again, "Major, sir! Please tell me whether you have killed the young man or whether he lives. If he is dead we have to make offerings to the monks and prepare a funeral according to our Karen custom. His wife is in deep trouble, and she has no relatives here. Tell us if she should go back to her village." The Burmese Major answered, "Then send his wife back. You can call the monks, and his wife can go back." He didn't say that he had killed Naw Say Wah's husband. We asked the people in the village around the Army camp and they said yes, they saw him and his head was beaten to a pulp, his eyes were destroyed and he had turned blue all over so maybe his bones were broken. He was tied with a rope. The soldiers finished him with a knife. Then they dug a hole and buried him there.

This is how they are. They ask us for pigs and chickens, and if we cannot give them then they threaten to bombard us with big guns. We have to go whenever they summon us, day or night [village elders are constantly summoned to the camp to receive orders]. We cannot disobey them, or they will fine us or when we go to Kawkareik they will arrest us. They are harassing the people not only from our village but also from other villages to death. [She began pointing to people in the room.] Look at those people, they were tortured by the soldiers but they were lucky enough to survive. As for his daughter, they molested her, raped her and then murdered her. She was only 20 years of age then, and had 2 children. They are so cruel. What can we do? If I were a witch, I would be able to kill and eat them. That's all I want to say.

The officer responsible for killing Naw Say Wah's husband is a Company Commander. The porters from our village told me how he ordered his men to kill the victim.

As an elder I have to provide them porters and labourers. We have to send our villagers to help repair their camp buildings at Kawkareik, carrying our own food and things with us. We have to finish the work in the time they set — if five days, we have to finish within five days. If they ask 100 people, we have to send 100 people. They also demand that the villagers give them wood and bamboo. We can never expect anything from them. On the contrary, when the villagers are reluctant to go I have to plead with them to go, because I'm afraid that if the soldiers come the village will be destroyed. I have to say, "My son, please go — we cannot overcome them yet, so please go and work without pay for them." They don't even give you water to drink while you work for them. We cannot even borrow the pails from them when we want to draw water. Once I complained to the officer — I said, "We are working now for your welfare and the welfare of your military families, it is not for us to come and put up with this. Why are we even denied water?" Only then did they give us water. I said to them, "If you don't like it, I will report it to higher authorities". I thought they were a bit afraid of such confrontations. The soldiers were a bit afraid of our village because of this. As for the village on the other bank of the river, they were given hell and never had time to rest.

They demanded our village to give 20 viss [32 kg.] of betel-nuts, and 11 baskets of rice during last month. As for my village, when they demanded five baskets I gave them only six pyis [1 basket = 16 pyi]. They demanded 2,000 betel-nuts. What do they want with betel-nuts at this time of peace negotiations? I rebuked them telling them they should not lower the dignity of the Tatmadaw [Burma Army] like this. We have to be tactful and diplomatic like that when we cannot meet their demands. When I said that, we were exempted from giving it. If the young man who was killed had been from my village, the tragedy wouldn't have happened. But the village heads of those other villages were too afraid. They had been beaten so very often. Sure the other village headwomen were beaten. They had to go whenever they're summoned, even at midnight, and they could only come home at 4:00 a.m. Who knows what the soldiers would do to those headwomen at such time of the night? People from my village didn't have to

suffer like that. If they called us, we did not go. I was a village head, I was not a guide. I knew how to deal with both the government and the rebels when it was necessary. If they asked to serve as their guide at night, I refused them. This was not my duty. The younger village headwomen asked me to go along with them, they said they needed my presence. How would their husbands feel seeing them going off with Burmese soldiers in the middle of the night? I told the Burmese Major frankly, "Suppose your wife or daughter were called by a Karen rebel under similar circumstances, even for only one night, even if that Karen rebel actually did nothing to the women, how would you feel then?" And I was exempted. But the other village headwomen had to go. Those women had to fan them while they were eating, they even had to wipe their mouths after their meals — these things had been witnessed by people. As for me, the soldiers won't even allow me to get close to them — maybe because I stink like anything, and those other women were pretty.

They sent us written orders for things, and they even wrote what they would do to the village head if the village failed to comply. Such-and-such amount at so-and-so time, they wrote it all. Sometimes as they were so irritating, we used them for toilet paper. Now things are getting worse. Before, we only had to fear SLORC, and the Karen rebels, but now we are also in fear of the Yellow Headbands [DKBA]. When I asked the SLORC major whether they provided rice for the Yellow Headbands, he said they did and he complained that the Yellow Headbands ate three times a day [Karen generally only eat two meals a day]. "If that so, why did you call them?", I said. "You yourself called them here, so if you can't feed them just send them away. We didn't have any rice to give them." There used to be just two sides in this war, now we're up to three already.

I'm certain it would be best if there were no SLORC. They are so oppressive. Even when the villagers tell them truthfully that they're not rebels and sign statements, they still mistreat them. They don't follow the law they've laid down. They tell us to report to the officers about any misconduct by a soldier, but if we do that the soldiers will shoot us dead! Everything is in their hands and they can fabricate anything they want. It is so unpleasant, I can't even express it in words. Now it is our lot to fear 3 sides — one kind of fear for SLORC, another kind for KNU and still another for the Yellow Headbands. Village headwomen were often murdered, and no one even knew who did the crime, SLORC, KNU, or the Yellow Headbands. So I'm overcome with disgust, I want to resign from being a village head. It would be all right if they listened to us, but they never paid attention to what we said. It's such an insult when SLORC says they'll slap me in the face, even though I'm the age of their mothers. They've never dared actually do it. They only threatened to shoot me one time, and that time it only ended up with beatings. It's because when they said they'd shoot me I told them sarcastically, "Do it then, since the SLORC issues you ammunition to shoot us". They drew their knives to intimidate me, they said, "You old woman!", and one of them hit me with both hands on my shoulders. He shouted, "If you were not the age of my mother, your cheeks would surely

have burst!" They scolded at me so much that it hurt my teeth [a common figure of speech]. I don't want to speak about them anymore.

I'm getting old now and tired of running here and there. In awhile SLORC will come and shoot, then the rebels will shoot — it's not easy being in between the two forces and trying to appease them. Better to leave them alone and let them shoot their guts out. When I began to be bold to both sides, they thought this old lady was very brave. I am already 61 years old and I am not bothered so much if I should die. Of course, I would like to die in a good death. While one is trying to do good, but receiving evil in return, that's nothing but Kaman, merits and demerits of one's past existence. When one's old like me there's scarcely any wind left to speak, one gets her hands and feet knocking together. We can't even afford to buy one tin of condensed milk — what a situation! It used to be that when we had to take 30 viss of chickens to them, then sometimes they used to give us one tin of condensed milk. Whenever one needle comes out from them, one big axe has to go out from us. There's no use in speaking about SLORC, and I have exhausted all my words. There is just one thing I want most, and that is to see peace and justice before I die.

Interview: 300 - HRV: Force Labour, Livelihood, Torture, Displacement

Name:	Saw Day Htoo
Age:	31
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with three children (age 2 to 8 years)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kya In Seik Kyi Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	21 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[Saw Day Htoo is a village elder who is often summoned to the SLORC camp.]

I had to go to their camp sometimes once a month, sometimes three times a month. I had to do their errands. All of us had to go to weed the grass and roof their huts. At a time, about 10 or 20 or 30 or as many as demanded villagers had to go. Only men — from about 17 or 18 years old up to age 30 or 40 — went. Sometimes we had to go only for one day if it is at a nearby village, but we had to go to Kawkareik, it took for three days and three nights. I had never asked them what was their Battalion number. We also had to give them pork, 15 viss [24 kg.] whenever they wanted. They sent their orders through the Secretary or Chairman of the village.

They had demanded a list of all the people and numbers of cattle, carts etc. in the village. I couldn't guess why, I really had no idea. [The list is most likely to

determine quotas for forced labour, confiscation of bullock-carts, extortion of money and livestock and crop confiscation.] I didn't give them the list because I dared not do it. They insisted, but I told them I did not finish yet. The officer scolded at me for taking so long and said other villages had done it already. I told him as I was staying in a remote place, I had no time to make out the list.

When they came, it would not be easy. They said we must not run away when we saw them coming. Those who were blacklisted as rebels [even if they're not] already left the village because they were afraid. Also, over 10 households of people from another village came to stay in our village because they could no longer endure the atrocities done by SLORC [there is a SLORC camp at that village]. Even their own Burman people could no longer bear their oppression and many of them have fled the country. SLORC says they help the people, but we can't trust them. They eat our rice, drink our water, force us to work for them, and yet they still do not hesitate to beat us, even elderly . They call us "dogs", so people feel grossly insulted. We are afraid. They usually arrest the elders, that's why I am afraid. If we do not do their bidding they say they'll burn our houses and confiscate our rice. As they said they would make havoc in our village, we were afraid this might happen. They called villagers from Ker Paw Hta and Kya Ker Wah villages, and when the villagers didn't go they marched on those villages and burned all the houses. That is why we're afraid.

Interview: 301 - HRV: Livelihood, Force Labour, Women, Child

Name:	U Maung Shwe
Age:	40
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen/Shan
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with four children
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	22 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[There is a SLORC Army camp located right in U Maung Shwe's village.]

There are 210 houses in the village. They are Burmans, Mons, and Shans — three groups. There are a few more Mon than the others. SLORC camp is in the middle of the village, near the monastery. They've had their camp there for about seven years. Now there is only one Company — about 100 soldiers — at the camp. In the camp, they have barracks and a storehouse for food supply, but most of the soldiers live outside the camp. Some of them stay in the monastery and some in the village. They stay in the houses of the villagers. They use firewood stacked by the house owners for cooking.

We had to work for them. During the rainy season, they brought in logs and we had to saw them into planks. I didn't know from where they got those logs. [Information from other villages confirms that they force villagers further up the river to cut the logs and float them down. His village is on the river.] We had to pull the logs up the river bank and cut them, then pulled the planks down and loaded them onto boats. We had to take turns doing that work for one day. Your turn came around every three or four days, sometimes once a week. We had to provide up to 30 people each day. If husbands were not at home then the women had to give money — 150 Ks per day. If people were sick, they had to explain the situation and then when they recovered again they had to do the work they missed. As for porters, they had to go for six days at a time. If you were not able to go, you had to pay 150 Ks per day, so 900 Ks for six days. Women could do the work, but the children were too young to do it. Women had to do a variety of works, such as carrying sacks of rice, or carrying their things when they moved from one place to another. Also, one or two villagers had to be on standby as messengers. Sometimes they had to go and buy food for the soldiers, sometimes they had to go and obtain video cassettes.

For the camp and the troops, we had to give 15 viss [24 kg.] of various kinds of meat, as well as chickens that we had to buy for them. We didn't have to give them oil or salt, but they sometimes took these things from our kitchens. How can we refuse them? We are afraid. Sometimes the soldiers arrested or beat the villagers. This year, people arrived late for forced labour were subjected to beatings. Later on, the soldiers have become more familiar to us as they have been in our village for a long time, but we are still not free from fear.

Only the village elders were allowed to go in and come out of their camp. The people who were arrested from other villages [and brought to their camp] were not allowed to see anyone. The last time they went to a villageand arrested some people, kept them inside a school and then took them away by boat. They brought the people secretly, sometimes after dark.

There were 300 houses before, but only 200 houses are left now. The others have gone, some to Thailand. Among them are Mons, Shans and Burmans as well. The situation now is not good. Some people are well off but many are poor. There is no stability. As we can't avoid, we have to work for the soldiers. They rule us with absolute power. What they demand and what they say, nobody is willing to do or hear. But we want to stay undisturbed. What can we do, when they are using force against us? Those who remain in the village do so because they have their property there. For those who are poor, they stay because they have no money to leave. If they had money, many people would not hesitate to leave the village. This is the situation of our village.

Interview: 302 - HRV: Livelihood, Force Labour, Slavery

Name:	Pa Boe
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Pwo Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Single
Occupation:	Trader
Address:	Kya In Seik Gyi Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	24 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*Pa Boe is one of many traders who go with trading boats on the Han Thayaw River.*]

Our village is on the Han Thayaw River and there are 300 houses. I have lived in the area since I was born. I have a house there and I stay with my father. SLORC troops from LIB 310 stay at Kya In. It's not their Battalion Headquarters, it's a Company camp. There is no Company Commander there, only a Sergeant. I don't know his name because I haven't been in their camp. There are only 12 soldiers there, together with four People's Militia. Sometimes the People's Militia stay in the camp, sometimes in the village. They are from our village. They were forced to join the militia, of course. It is a must to become a People's Militia man. They had to stay in for six months, then they were changed. The Army didn't pay them — the villagers had to give them their pay. The villagers had to give them money, and with that money they bought rice. Each militia man got 450 Ks per month [US$3.75 at market rate, only enough for about 10 kg. of rice; a SLORC Army private got 750 Ks per month]. They stayed with the soldiers in the camp, but their duty was to watch the boats which moving to and fro. They had no other duty. The village elders wanted to abolish the People's Militia — they said it was not necessary, and they grumbled because we had to pay money. But as it hasn't been abolished, the villagers still have to join.

We also had to work in the gardens and fencing for the soldiers, and we had to dig their trenches. We didn't always have to do this kind of work — only when their superiors were coming and they needed to clean up the place. Sometimes we had to go once in a month, sometimes twice, for one day or half a day each time. One person from each house had to go. If no one from the house could go, we had to report to the headman and he pleaded for us to be exempted. Whenever there were columns going to the front-line, we had to go as porters. They are always going to attack — even now, there are some such soldiers [a column heading for an offensive] in our village. We had to pay porter fees, sometimes 300 Ks or as much as 500 Ks. It depended on the person and the length of porter duty. Sometimes we had to go as porters for two or three or four days — there were no set time. I had to go six or seven times a year. Sometimes we had to take our own food, sometimes they fed us. We had to carry rice, food supplies, shells and ammunition, from Kya In to An Kong. Sometimes they used

our boats to carry the things in rainy season since it was difficult to transport things on porter's backs.

There are four boats in our village [motorised *wooden trading boats about 20 ft long, owned by traders*]. At their camp they made our boats standby for duties. Each turn was seven days. One boat had to serve them for seven days while another boat had to be on standby. [*Therefore, boat owners could only use their own boat one week out of every two.*] I only made this trip up the river once a month. The boat was not mine, it's someone else's. We brought things like chillies, onions, cooking oil, candles and soap. On the way back, when it's betel-nut season we took betel-nut, and when it's pepper season we took pepper. Before we could start a trip from the village we had to ask permission. There were also checkpoints along the way. We had to face them and gave them money — 500 Ks, or sometimes 700 Ks [per trip]. We didn't always see them at each checkpoint — they were only there at certain times. But when we saw them face to face, they made their demands. Then we had to give them 40 or 50 or up to 100 Ks, whatever they asked. There were checkpoints near Mudon and An Kong where we almost always saw them.

In rainy season, one basket of rice cost 1,000 Ks then it was down to 600 Ks, so we were a little better off [*the price was down in Kya In because it was harvest time, but 600 Ks was still about double of a year ago. Prices of 1,000 Ks would lead to starvation among most of the population*]. We did not want to give the soldiers all the things they demand. But as for us, we just had to live with our problems and hardships. What we needed most was forbearance.

Interview: 303 - HRV: Livelihood, Force Labour

Interviewed: December 1995
Source: KHRG

[*The following note was written by two Mon traders from a village on the Gyaing River, not far east of Moulmein, in Mon State. They earn their living by carrying goods between the coast and inland in small riverboats.*]

There are about 1,000 houses in our village. Each household had to pay 50 Ks for 'occasional porters'. For the People's Militia, we had to give 30 Ks per month regularly. We had to do 'volunteer work' from 7:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m., and we received no payment for that work. For each house, we had to dig a trench 2 ft x 4 ft x 3 ft. We could not stay at our homes most of the time because of their work. We had to be on standby to move them with our boats [all boat owners were forced to rotate being on call to go with their boats whenever SLORC troops wanted a boat for any reason]. We had to pay 100 Ks if we were unable to work on the road construction in Kawbein Town.

At Kyon Doe and Kya In checkpoints, if we didn't pay as much as they wanted they tied us up, they delayed our journey, they abused us, and only 3 or 4 hours

later we were allowed to cross the checkpoint. As there were too many checkpoints where they collected money, we found it hard to make our living. There's nothing left for us to spend. These were what we had to pay:

	Per person	Per boat
1. Kayah checkpoint	20 kyats	40 kyats
2. Than Leh checkpoint	15	30
3. Kauk Yoh	30	60
4. Kayit	100	200
5. Gyaing	125	250
6. Yay Gin	300	600
7. Kyon Doe	200	400
8. Kyon Doe Paddy Buying Centre	100	200
9. Kyon Doe wharf charges	30	30
10. Kyon Doe upper checkpoint	400	800
11. Kan Ni	20	40
12. Mi Galon	30	60
13. Kammayeik South	40	80
14. Kammayeik North	40	80
15. Kya In southern checkpoint	200	400
16. Kya In northern troop station	100	200
17. Kya In people's militia	100	200
18. An Kong camp	30	60
19. Ku Tone	200	400

As the days of the year went by, the prices of commodities became higher and higher. Today one pyi [about 2 kg.] of rice costs 65 Ks and one viss of cooking oil costs 240 Ks. Last year, rice was 40 Ks per pyi and oil was 200 Ks per viss.

We are never free from anxiety when we are in our village. There are so many people who go to find work in Thailand — maybe over 500 just from our village. For now, we merchants take assorted goods like shrimp paste and fish paste to a village [on the up-river of Han Thayaw]. When we go back we carry betel-nut, coconuts, citrus fruits, bananas and a variety of other fruits.

Interview: 304 - HRV: Execution, Torture, Livelihood, Force Labour, Movement, Minority

Name:	Maung Kyaw
Age:	30
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with no children
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kya In Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	20 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

They killed a man from our village. His name was Pa Khaw [this happened in April 1995 — see interview 305]. People were herding buffaloes. As he was poor, he was hired. On the way back he visited one of his friends near the Mah Lay River. The Burmese troops which came from Mudon saw them. If they had run away they could have escaped, but they thought the soldiers wouldn't mind them coming to visit their friends. But the Burmese soldiers came up to the house and seized them. They took Pa Khaw, who is not a Karen soldier. He is a innocent villager. He never joined the revolution. The soldiers threatened him in many ways, and accused him of being a soldier. They asked many things. They poured water into his nostrils, tied up his feet and hung him by his hands. He was in great agony and it seems he wanted to die because of suffering so much. At last after being tortured so much, they killed him on the bank of the Meh Nya Hta River. He was shot and thrown into the river. It was too late. He was just a simple and, a good man. I have friends at Meh Nya Hta, and they witnessed the shooting.

He was arrested with the other four. They were kept at a military camp at which the commander is a sergeant. He asked for a goat as ransom and five bottles of honey. It was not the season for honey, but somehow we managed to find some. He said he would free the prisoners. They arrested five, killed one and released four. Those four were very pale after being so long in the holes. It took many days for their wounds to be healed. Pa Noh [see interview 305] had one of his ribs broken, and he also told me that soldiers used bayonets to hurt him. They burnt his chin with fire. It is hell for you if the Burmese soldiers catch you. You have to be very clever and talk to them amiably. You have to pit your wits against their cunning.

The Burmans are still coming here sometimes. They summoned us to go and work for them, and if we didn't show up, they came to us and speak softly. They tried to trick us. If what they wanted was chickens and when the owners were not there, they stole them. They also took away good clothing on sight if they liked it. They are just like great robbery gang. Two or three of them visited me in the daytime, then at night they came steal my livestock and belongings. Do you think they stop molesting us even after we meet their demands? No, not at

all. They took everything. They came up and talked to us in the house, then they stole the chickens under that very house. As they pointed their guns at us and threatened us, we can't do anything. They didn't even carry their loot, they took porters to carry it for them. The porters were forced to carry loads beyond human strength. Do you think they would give some of the extra chickens to the porters? No, they would never do that. The porters had to take their own food supply. The porters had only rice and salt to eat. The soldiers had nice curries, but they never shared it with the porters. We had to hire porters for them and also provide rice, salt and fish paste for the porters. We had to give 3,000 Ks per month as porter fees. We had to give them pork, 15 viss [24 kg.] each month. To get that we had to kill a pig, and the pig might weigh over 25 viss, maybe 30 viss. So it really cost us more than that. We had to go around the village for collecting money [to pay the owner of the pig], sometimes 35 Ks per house, sometimes 45 for a bigger one. For some villagers who were poor and didn't have enough to eat were allowed to put in only 15 Ks. Other villages were worse off than ours. We were better off, but even though we paid them their tribute regularly they still didn't leave us alone. Even though we were a long way from them, we ourselves had to go to serve them once a year, digging the earth, clearing bushes in the scorching sun and cutting down hardwood trees like 'tala or', and we could never complain. This year it is not yet time — later in dry season we'll have to go. Last year, we had to go twice. Once we had to fence their compound and the other we had to cut and sweep the area and dig the earth. We had to dig up stone slabs with pickaxes and lift them with spades. There were 100 houses in the village. As many as 30 people had to go for three days at a time. They made us sleep in tumble-down shacks, with mosquitoes biting all night, and we had to carry water from far away. Ah! It's very very unpleasant.

There were very few who lived in their sights and escaped their atrocities. Just a month or two ago we went to celebrate Thadingyut festival [October 1995]. More than 30 of us went. When the Burmese soldiers saw us they said our crowd was too big. I told them we needed many people to carry things — there were 20 or 30 viss of onions, 20 viss of jigger, over 20 viss of sugar, two tins of fuel ... How can one or two people carry that? But we had to sit in front of them, and they searched everything, ourselves and our belongings. The camp commander himself led the search. I asked him to give me a paper to allow me to go and buy food for the festival. He said he would and started asking me questions. I answered his questions one by one. As I was speaking, he slapped me in the face. Why did he insult me like this? He slapped me twice. I was angry at that manner. Then he sent me away without any paper. So all 30 of us could do nothing. We had to go on without papers. Then, at Hlaing Wa bridge in Kawkareik they gave us more troubles. I hate them. Slapping and beating are just the usual insults we have to suffer.

When they come to our village they always ask, "Hey! Are there any Karen rebels here? How many families have connections with them?" They never accept "No" for any answer. They force us to answer "Yes" to their questions, then they beat us. If you can speak Burmese you will be better off, but even then they will hit you at least once or twice. There were very few instances when we

were not beaten. Lately, they didn't come because whenever we heard news that they would come, we went and gave them pork beforehand. Once they had pork, they would not come. If we didn't give it, sure they'd come. Because of this, we always had to live in fear! Everyone is afraid of them. That is why we have to oblige them. They tell us that they will come and punish us if we don't pay. From here to their place is six miles, about two hours. Their stay is never permanent.

They have been telling us to give them a list showing the number of villagers and bullock-carts in the village, and the numbers of cattle. They said they were collecting this list so that they could distribute medicine among us. As for me, I don't believe they would ever give us medicine. Just think! When we went work for them they never even offered us a small piece of meat, we had to take our own food. They would never be generous to us. [The list is most likely to determine forced labour quotas, availability of bullock-carts to be commandeered, and relative wealth of the village for extortion purposes.] They wanted this list, and once they had it they would use it to exploit us. So we were reluctant to give them the list, and we did not finish it yet. They have sent papers ordering it once or twice already.

I almost can't express what I think about SLORC. How do you feel about them, after hearing what they do to us? We hate them and we are bitter, but we have no choice but to do their bidding. We don't do it in goodwill. If you try to talk to them you will surely suffer.

I saw the Ko Per Baw [DKBA]. They haven't been here, but they came to Aw Paw village. They wanted to organise us, they told us to go back and stay with them. But we could not go with them. They said if the Burmese mistreat people they would shoot them. They said they would keep their weapons, and that's why they had no agreement with SLORC. We can't easily trust them, and we are afraid. We don't know them or their place very much. Their battalion commander is Pa Nwee, he's tattooed his name on his chest. He came during August-September. They said if the KNU comes back to them, they will not be harmed or hurt. Maybe they are making propaganda. I don't know much about this thing. Their leader is the Myaing Gyi Ngu monk and they go their own way. [DKBA has tried to make inroads into this area by playing on the villagers' lack of knowledge of what is happening further north. So far they have had very little success. Pa Nwee is from Bee T'Ka area, and at one time was thought to have been executed by SLORC — see Interview 71-82]

Interview: 305 - HRV: Torture, Execution, Detention, Livelihood

Name:	Pa Noh
Age:	45
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with six children (age 1 to 19 years)

Occupation: Farmer
Address: Kya In Township, Karen State
Interviewed: 20 December 1995
Source: KHRG

I was arrested during the last Thingyan Festival [*Water Festival, mid-April 1995*]. The whole Burmese company composed of more than 100 soldiers came. I heard them call themselves "commandos". They arrested me at a village, nearly four hours' walk from here. They have a base there. They accused me of being an Intelligence officer, but I was only herding other people's buffaloes. After they arrested me they covered my face with a piece of cloth. One soldier held me down and poured water into my nose. They accused me of being a spy and said I was lying. I think it was because there was a group of us — there were 17 buffaloes, so we needed a crowd to drive them. They caught five of us together, but later they divided us into two groups. They just kept saying, "You are secret agents of the insurgents". They didn't say anything else. We told them we were just herding buffaloes. But they doubted what I said, so one of them cut deeply into part of my neck — now it has healed. They cut me here and there with bayonets on the neck and face. They made me lie down on my stomach and dripped hot wax on my back. They lit a bunch of candles and fixed them on a row all along a stick, and this was the instrument they used to torture me [by dripping a drop of wax and then sticking a candle on it, the soldiers affixed a row of lighted candles along a stick, making an impromptu candelabra. By holding up this stick and tipping it, a whole row of drops of hot wax would fall on his back]. It was too painful to bear. I tried to resist but it was all in vain. They held me down.

It was done by soldiers — NCO's with two or three stripes [*Corporals and Sergeants*]. I don't know their names — we never even saw their faces! Each of us was tortured like that for one hour at a time. They did that to us three times every night, at 8:00 p.m. Later they kept us in an 18-feet-deep hole. We could not see because we were kept blindfolded. Everyday they came to inspect us at 4:00 p.m. They dropped stones that struck our backs and heads, causing us bled. They did this to all of us — there were many holes. They put two of us in each hole. The other pair was in a hole quite far from us. I supposed they were treated the same. One of us [out of the five] was killed. They accused him too of being a spy. He could not speak Burmese. They accused him of being a soldier of the rebel army, and of hiding his weapons in the water. They ordered him to go and retrieve his weapons from the stream and when nothing was found, the poor man was killed. He was killed in the water. I didn't see it because I was blindfolded in the hole. Nobody saw it, they just saw his body floating in the water. His name was Pa Khaw. He was over 30 and came from Thaton [but settled in Kya In Township]. He was still young. He has a wife and a child just three or four years old. As her husband is now dead, I think she will have nothing more to eat.

Among the other four arrested, one is about 45 years old, another is about 20 and the other one who is my nephew is 35. They kept us there for one month and 18 days. The torture lasted for the first 10 days of detention. That 10 days of torture

did so much on our faces and backs, causing horrible to look upon. Our faces and backs were all bruised and blue, and our skulls were cracked. After that time, they put us down in the holes. Then they kept throwing stones down on us in the holes. At least two stones were dropped on us each day, on our heads and backs, causing us bled. We could not see because we were blindfolded. The blindfolds were taken off only when we were released.

These holes are in their military camp. In the holes they gave us rice with dal curry, sometimes once a day, sometimes twice. We had to release our bowels in the pit, in a pail. Each day they lowered a rope, and we tied the pail to the end so they could draw it up to dispose it. The pits were 18 ft deep, 6 ft across at the bottom and only 3 ft across at the top, shaped like a 'tee luh tha' fruit [wider at the bottom, narrowing at the mouth]. Two of us had to stay in each pit. At night as they closed the pit with mats, we could hardly breathe. We asked them to open it up a little bit, but when it rained they covered the top so tightly that I nearly died of suffocation. If they hadn't opened it up in time, we would all have died then.

We never heard them saying anything about our release. My wife tried her best to get me out. Then there was a plea made by a monk, and the village headman also pleaded for our release. But the soldiers didn't allow anyone to see us. Then they dropped a rope for us and pulled us up from the holes. Only when I reached the surface, the Major told me that I could go. My wife was there with the village headman. I didn't know why they released us — I think it was because the people, who were pleading for us, told them that we are Karen farmers who had herded their buffaloes. I think that's why the Battalion Commander finally ordered our release. After all, we were not ever soldiers as being accused. They didn't release us at the same time. They freed my nephew one day ahead of me. We were released one at a time. I was released second. They sent me back on a bullock cart. I could walk, but as I was so weak, I could hardly step forward. You could see the bruises all over my limbs. What could I do? They covered our eyes for so long, for the whole month. As soon as they uncovered my eyes on my release, I could hardly see, my eyesight was blurred. It was about 7:00 p.m. and it was already dark. The following day, it was better. To heal my one of my wounds here [bayonet-wound on his left chest], it took a whole month.

Now I dare not go and see the Burmese again. How can I be happy over my plight? I'm so sad and bitter. I'm not a fighting man. But all I can say is that those people are not real soldiers. When I was there they even ordered me to dig a hole, I don't know why. My Burmese is so poor that at first I didn't even know what they meant. They forced me to dig that hole with a piece of bamboo. Imagine that! It was not even mature or properly dried. Just imagine using a piece of bamboo as a spade or a pick-axe! As I had to work all day, my hands got blistered all over and it hurt so much. I was able to dig only a shallow hole because it was not easy to dig with bamboo. I had to scoop out the earth after breaking it up with the bamboo. A 45 year old man arrested along with us was forced to do it with me. I had to do it blindfolded. They kept my eyes covered and wouldn't even let me see while I was digging. They also bound my neck and

my waist, very tightly, so I couldn't move properly. What purpose was that hole for? It was just torture, that's all. Those people are not soldiers.

Interview: 306 - HRV: Detention, Torture

Name:	Saw Ler Wah
Age:	44
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, two children aged 3 and 14
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kya In Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	21 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

The Burmese detained me when I went to herd buffaloes at a village near the military camp. The Burmese came to the villageand surrounded us. I don't know their Battalion, but I knew their officer who is a Captain. There were many of them, I guess about 100. They arrested us and took us to their camp. We didn't understand why. They asked us whether we were soldiers or not. We told them we're not, we're just ordinary farmers. There wasn't a soldier among us. They locked our feet in wooden stocks and abused us. They gave us only a very small amount of rice with beans. They tortured us while our feet were bound. They poured water into our nostrils. They accused us of having guns with us when we were herding the buffaloes, but we never had guns. They tortured us for quite a long time. We reached their camp in the evening and they started interrogating and torturing us, then a day later they tortured us again. Just imagine! They always asked whether there are any Kaw Thoo Lei soldiers. We told them there are not, but they were bent on accusing us of lying. Then they'd beat us and torture us again. They hit my mouth and broke one of my teeth, and it bled badly. They arrested five of us — one died, and four were left. Later, the four of us were put in the pits in pairs. I was put in the pit with a man who was 20. The one who was killed was Pa Khaw. When he was killed we were in the pits and saw nothing. We only found out when we came back. Of the other two, one was Pa Noh [*see interview 305*].

They made us stay in the holes for one month, we just had to stay there and they gave us food, just rice with one or two spoonfuls of beans twice a day — it didn't do anything to our hunger. We were blindfolded and tied with ropes behind our backs. The holes were hot, and very deep. They were only this wide [he indicated five or six feet]. At the bottom there was just bare earth. To go to the toilet we just had to use a place at the bottom of the hole. It smelled awful. There were many holes like that in the camp, but at that time, only four of us were there. They told us we had to wait until someone came and paid for us. People came, but they didn't release us. We waited and waited, and were released only a month later. When people from our village came, they wouldn't allow them to see us. Only when they came for the third time we saw them.

Then the soldiers told us "You can go. Climb up!" They kept us blindfolded, and went with us. I was pale and thin. After that it took quite a long time for my vision to get better, nearly a month. My other wounds only healed after I got some injections. I still have some pain now. I have trouble in working, because it's painful to exert myself.

The villagers had to give 35,000 Ks for each of us before we were freed. My family had to pay too. We had to sell things to give them the money, because if not they wouldn't let us go. Because of that and the costs for medicines, I had to sell all my cattle. I'll never go back to my village. We are staying here [another village]. So long as I hear the Burmese are coming, I'll run away. Some people from my village have already fled to Thailand. We have to be afraid of them, we have to flee. I can never go back there.

Interview: 307 - HRV: Women, Execution, Livelihood

Name:	Naw Lah K'Paw
Age:	40
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with two children, (one died of disease, another surviving child aged 4)
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	20 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*Naw Lah K'Paw's husband Pa Khaw was killed by SLORC in April 1995 — see related interviews 304-306*]

I cannot remember what month it was, whether it was Tazaungmone or Thadingyut. While he was herding buffaloes, he was killed. I have no idea why. The owner of the buffaloes brought the news. I did not know where to go, I dared not go. [A friend remarked: "She asked us to go and help, but when we arrived there we could not do anything, he was already killed."] Now we just stay here like this. I am tilling the land together with my brother.

Interview: 308 - HRV: Women, Livelihood, Displacement, Forced Labour, Slavery

Name:	Pi Eh Wah
Age:	56
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with seven children (age 21 to 37 years), one deceased
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kawkareik Township, Karen State
Interviewed:	20 December 1995
Source:	KHRG

[*Pi Eh Wah told the story of how SLORC soldiers shot and killed her daughter Aye Myint — see Interview 64. After failing to arrest Pi Eh Wah's husband, they approached their house at midnight, called them out and then immediately opened fire, killing Aye Myint and seriously wounding Pi Eh Wah and her daughter Naw Paw Htoo. Pi Eh Wah was shot through the chest, and Naw Paw Htoo was hit in the leg and the belly. The two women had to spend a month in hospital, but first they had to get an admission letter from the SLORC commander responsible for the shooting, who wrote that they had been shot by Karen soldiers. The shooting was in December 1994 and they were discharged from the hospital in February 1995. The following interview follows up the story since their returning home.*]

This is my daughter, Naw Paw Htoo. She is 37 and married with two children (age 3 and 16 years old). As we no longer dared stay in our village, we moved to another village. SLORC wanted to arrest me, but they failed. [Naw Paw Htoo added: "My mother dared not go home, but I went back. SLORC tried to catch me but when they couldn't, they burned my house."] Now I still hear the news from our home village. People there say the Burmese are doing everything they like and committing atrocities. The village has to send pork to them every five days. Sometimes 10 viss [16 kg.], sometimes 15 or 17 or 20 viss, even 25 or 26 viss. Whatever the soldiers demand, they have to comply. In that village, we have to do so many kinds of things, hard labour in many forms. We have to work at their camps and build their barracks. We have to cut down bamboo plants. There were 90 houses in our village. Sometimes the whole population or sometimes 10 or 15 villagers have to go.

In our new village, we do not have to give anything because we are just visitors there. The other villagers have to send things. I don't know exactly what are they because I haven't asked them about it. As for my own village, we had to send once a week, sometimes even more than that. We even had to send them our rice. SLORC soldiers came very often to our old village, as well as new village. Since they have shot us, every time we see them we are very afraid. They stay by themselves and cook their own food, but they catch our chickens and pick our fruits and vegetables. They take things by force. If we say anything to them they

shout at and abuse us. Usually we have to pay porter fees, but they also demand porters for three days. We have to give 150 Ks if we fail to go. If people have no money, they have no alternative.

There are three battalions in our area. The closest group is not so far from here. Now we do not know what will happen in the future, we have no place, no house and no land. We don't know what to think, we just carry on day by day.

Naw Paw Htoo: The soldiers came and sold us their rice at a cheap price, and they took our rice free of charge. Their rice was not good, it smelled bad. But everyone had to buy their rice. They dumped their bad rice at the headman's house, and he had to sell it. Then they took our rice of good quality for nothing, and if they felt too lazy to cook it, we had to cook and pack it for them. They were always behaving like this, so how could we go on living? Sometimes we are afraid and have to flee. When they imposed "curfew", we could not go out after 6:00 p.m. If we did, they beat us. We were not free to work as we liked for our living. Nothing is easy nowadays. They levied taxes for our rice mills and sugar cane mills, and even for video recorders. We had to pay them five baskets of rice for each recorder.

Interview: 309 - HRV: Livelihood, Detention, Displacement, Slavery, Torture,

Name: Saw Kaw Thaw
Age: 30
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Karen
Religion: Buddhist
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Ka Doh Hta village, Kawkareik Township, Karen State.
Source: KHRG

[*The following account was given by Saw Kaw Thaw after Ka Doh Hta village was attacked by SLORC troops in November 1995*]

At 3:00 a.m. on 7 November 1995, SLORC troops came to Ka Doh Hta village with the strength of over 300, and surrounded the village immediately. At 4:30 a.m. they came in and occupied the village, and all the villagers there tried to flee. The first group of fleeing villagers were caught and detained by the SLORC soldiers. Those behind the first group were also caught, and were tied up with 30 feet of green nylon rope. These villagers, including me, were forced to stay in a place north of the village. About 40 minutes later, we saw smoke coming up from our houses, and I realised that they were setting fire to our houses and paddy barns. Then the soldiers took our group back to the village, untied us, and told us to put out the fires that had just started in some of the houses. After the fires were out, they gathered us in the middle of the villageand tied us again with the same rope.

The soldiers left our village at 3:00 p.m. on that day. We had to go along with them and carry their loads. We were afraid and desperate, but we had to go on with their heavy loads if we wanted to survive. We slept at Myo Haun village for one night. During that night we were still tied up. In the morning, they took away the rope that bound us and gave us rice to eat. They gave each of us a lump of rice and some salt and said, "Eat or you'll die!" Immediately after eating, they forced us to carry their loads to Kawkareik. When we got there, they put the loads onto trucks. Then they held us in the confinement in the camp of IBs 230 and 231. They put us inside holes in the ground. The holes are 12 ft deep and about 9 ft across at the bottom. The only light was through a small hole at the top. In the morning, they took us out for interrogation, and that was when one of them punched me twice in the face. Then he hit me three times in the back with the butt of a G3 rifle, and my back was cut open. The elderly men who were with me were also punched in their faces. They punched each of them four times." [The villagers were then released and told to go home. The reason for the attack on the village is unclear. It was conducted by troops from LIB 355 (based in Thi Ho Dan) commanded by Maj Hla Maung and LIB 300 (based in Kawkareik) commanded by Maj Myint Win. In the process of the attack, the troops burned houses and paddy barns, looted or destroyed household belongings, and poured out and destroyed rice supplies.]

Interview: 310 - HRV: Slavery

Name:	Mg Boat
Age:	40
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Pa-O
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married with eight children
Address:	Sike Khaung village, Hsi-hseng Township, Shan State
Interviewed:	At Thai-Burmese border area
Source:	KNWO

He was arrested as a porter by SLORC soldiers. He had to carry ammunition and food supplies during Tie Lone Hein operation launched by SLORC against KNPP. When he fled and arrived Karenni refugee camp 2, he was suffering from Cerebral Malaria seriously. He escaped on 14 September 1995. Therefore, he was not able to answer his experiences of being porter in the SLORC column. Medics from Karenni refugee camp 2 on the Thai-Burmese border tried taking medical treatment before he died. Later on, he died of malnutrition and cerebral malaria.

Interview: 311 - HRV: Slavery

Name:	Nai Nal
Age:	25
Sex:	Male

Ethnicity: Manaw
Religion: Christian
Parents : U Sar Aye & Daw Anyin Sal
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Nan Phair village, Pasawng Township, Karenni State
Source: KNWO

Nai Nal was arrested on 26 June 1995 by SLORC soldiers from Coy 4 of IB 102 on the way. During Tie Lone Hein operation of SLORC against KNPP, he had to carry a heavy load of ammunitions and food supplies, and when he was not able to carry, SLORC soldiers kicked and slapped him. Each two porters in the column were given only one condensed-milk-tin of rice per day. Finally when he could not carry heavy loads because of malnutrition. As he was not able to bear anymore, he managed to escape . He arrived at Karenni refugee camp 5 on the Thai-Burmese border area on 25 July 1995.

Interview: 312 - HRV: Slavery, Torture, Execution

Name: Ko Hla
Age: 17
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Shan
Religion: Buddhist
Parents: U Chit Maung & Daw Aye Bon
Occupation: Farmer
Address: Wan Mo village, Pasawng Township Karenni State
Source: KNWO
Interviewed: At the Thai-Burmese border area

Ko Hla was arrested in May 1995 by SLORC troops from IB 102 together with his elder brother, U Soe Tint (35) who was sick. He had to carry ammunitions for the troops. His brother also had to carry a heavy load, consisting of ammunition and other supplies for the SLORC troops. U Soe Tint slipped many times along the way and he was beaten and kicked. Finally when he could not carry heavy loads because of malnutrition, the SLORC soldiers left him in the jungle. When he returned, they shoot and killed him

Ko Hla witnessed the killing of 26 porters by SLORC soldiers. Some were killed while they tried to escape and others were killed as a result of illness like U Soe Tint. When Ko Hla was not able to suffer anymore, he managed to escape. He got mine injuries on his legs.

Interview: 313 - HRV: Slavery, Torture, Execution

Name:	Maung Latt
Age:	27
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Padaung
Religion:	Christian
Parents :	U Nyi Rie & Naw Klar Phaw
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Shee Mi Saw Tarr village, Demoso Township, Karenni State
Source:	KNWO

Maung Latt was arrested on 26 July 1995 by troops from Coy 4 of SLORC IB 102 on the way. He had to carry a heavy load of ammunitions and food supplies and when he could not carry, SLORC soldiers kicked and slapped him. Every two porters in the column were given only one condensed-milk- tin of rice per day. Finally when he could not carry heavy loads because of malnutrition he escaped to the Thai-Burmese border area on 25 July 1995. As he was not able to stand anymore, he managed to escape. He arrived at Karenni refugee camp 5.

o0o

SELECTED SLORC ORDERS

ORDER 1

To all the villagers

If the army camp calls you, come.
If the army asks your help, help.
Other villagers have already started helping.
If the villagers help the army, the army will help them in return.

If the insurgents in the jungle who are armed do not make peace, this means they are the ones giving trouble to the villagers.

There is a patient army.
There is an impatient army.
Choose which you like.

[Sd. illegible]
Lieutenant Colonel
Column Commander
31/1 [31/1/95]

ORDER 2

Date : 2-2-95
To : village Head
xxxx village

Subject: Rotating duty for servants

1) In order to carry supplies for the [army] column in Kyauk Hnyat area, your village and village group have to send 20 servants on rotating basis to Kyauk Hnyat army camp starting on 7 February 1995, we hereby inform you.

2) If the servants comply with their duty, the army will help them in return. If you fail to help with what the army needs, that will be your responsibility, gentlemen.

3) Therefore, we beg of you to discuss among yourselves and to try to send the servants, rotating for 7 days each, we hereby inform you.

4) To Wi Der village tract and Wah Ko Der village tract are carrying out rotating servant duties for the other [army] column.

[Sd. illegible]
Lieutenant Colonel
Column Commander

ORDER 3

[This letter was sent to a village after a land-mine exploded in the area.]

Date : 31-1-95
To : The in-charge of the village

- We are being patient for this time.

- For the next time, if you do any shooting or planting land-mines we will burn you down (your whole village will be destroyed), we hereby inform you.

- KNU and ABSDF, make peace or we will uproot you and fight you together with DKBO/DKBA (Democratic Karen Buddhist Organisation/Association [sic: army]), we hereby inform you — now your village head, come and contact the column (or) Kyauk Hnyat camp (or) Pan Hai camp (or) northern Kayah State battalion in urgent.

- For now, we only saw an old man so we took him. village head, come and apologise and take him back.

- U Saw Blu Maung from Papun was killed by the Thay Way Heh group's land-mine [Thay Way Heh is a local Karen army lieutenant]. His family is asking for compensation, so go to Papun and pay it.

- We didn't lay mines around the village, because we don't want to make trouble for female/male villagers, and cattle. We haven't done anything to the village. (This is our last forgiving.)

- The village heads, collect 1 or 2 village elders and 5 villagers from this side [area], and go to Papun.

Let Bo Eh Doh make peace. [*Bo Eh Doh is a Karen Army company commander in the area*]
(Wishing all to stay tranquilly with darling wife and daughter),

[Sd. illegible]
Lieutenant Colonel

[Notes: There was a land-mine explosion in the area, and there is still Karen Army (KNLA) activity there. This order effectively warned local Karen villagers that they were to be blamed for any and all KNLA actions and faced SLORC's retaliation. Despite claiming to be patient "for this time", the Lieutenant Colonel admitted that they had arrested an old man and were detained him until villagers "apologise" for the land-mine. U Saw Blu Maung was not a SLORC soldier, but a Karen from Papun, almost certainly a villager who had been taken as a SLORC porter for their operations in the Kyauk Hnyat area along the Salween River. He might have been sent ahead of their troops as a human mine-sweeper when he was killed by the land-mine. The local villagers, who had nothing to do with the incident, were forced to pay "compensation" for him.]

ORDER 4

Date : 31-1-95
To : village Heads

Now, we army are attempting to get peace. In order to develop all areas, army (*troops and columns*) will often go in and out.

Therefore, in order that all armed insurgents (KNU + ABSDF ...) and all young and old villagers can live in peace and to begin development, notify them that we invite them to co-operate with the army or show them this letter.

For the future — if the villagers around the area contact, support or protect the armed insurgents, the army will solve that by the use of force.

The army never even put a freckle on the skin of the villages, farms in the forest or other property. villagers! Don't run away in the future. If you run, we are not going to take responsibility for what is lost or damaged. [*The expression "never put a freckle on the skin" means "never did a bit of harm". "What is lost or damaged" is written to imply both lives and property.*]

Continuously comply with the following, by order of the Strategic Command Commander from Papun —

- 2 village heads and 5 villagers from villages in To Si Der and To Wi Der village groups, as soon as you have received this letter start to get ready to collect people from villages [for labour], and go to see the Strategic Command Commander not later than 3/2/95. (In order that you should not fail for any reason, the Strategic Command Commander himself now informs you that if you don't go, responsibility for that will fall on whoever doesn't go.)

Matters of peace and development in the villages

In order to begin, report what you need. Warn and notify the following villages: 1) To Wi Der, 2) Wah Ko Der, 3) Pay Ploh Kee, 4) Toe Kaw Kee, 5) Naw Sa Da — and other villages. 1) Chaw Pweh Der, 2) Kyot Ko Der, 3) Meh Saw Kee, 4) Kee Po Der, 5) Lay Ain Zu — and the village leaders from other villages, must go without fail.

[Sd. illegible]
Lieutenant Colonel
Column Commander

[Note: While this implies that SLORC will provide some of the "needs" of the villagers for development, experience throughout Burma have shown that this is very unlikely. It is more likely that the army will report its needs (in terms of forced labour) to the village leaders.]

ORDER 5

[In January/February 1995, an opposition member managed to conceal the following note at one of the work-sites on the Ye-Tavoy railway line. At this particular work-site, prison convicts are being held in a labour camp and being forced to work on the railway.]

Dear Brother,

We have heard about your troubles. We want to help you. We are thinking how we can do this and we want to communicate. If you have a chance to escape, you can. We have already asked the civilians of the surrounding villages, and they will help you too. Always we are thinking of what we can do and how we can help you.

Revolutionaries

(Tomorrow evening, please leave your reply letter here)

[*A couple of day letter the following note, written on the back of the first, was retrieved from the same place:*]

There is full security and we can not escape.
If they catch us, they will kill us. One person has escaped — did you meet him? He didn't come back. the food is scare-food, we never get enough and we have to work the whole day. We have been beaten many times. There are so many sick people. Help us out of this trouble.

[Signed Y—]
8 years (17/1)
Ko-Mile Prison Labour Camp

[Note: No one had encountered the man who escaped — he might have been caught. "Scare-food" is a Burmese idiom which basically means "although the food comes from them, still we are terrified of them". The man signed "8 years (17/1)", meaning he was serving an 8-year imprisonment under Article 17/1 which decrees imprisonment for anyone "associating with illegal or opposition Organisations" such as democratic political parties and ethnic opposition Organisations. In other words, this man is a political prisoner. Using political prisoners for forced labour violates all international norms, but this letter makes it clear that SLORC is using political prisoner for labour on the Ye-Tavoy railway. The number of political prisoners being used remains unknown.]

ORDER 6

Stamp : Front-line LIB 406
Column 1 HQ
Front-line LIB 406
Natkyizin Camp
Date : 1994 November 4
Ref.No.406/1001/Sa Ka 1

To : Chairman
village LORC
xxxx village

Subject: Call for labour to the head of the village

1) Regarding the above subject, we already called many time for the headman of and 25 villagers from xxxx village for railway labour to come to Natkyizin camp.

2) Therefore, as soon as you receive this letter the headman and 25 people, along with rations and needed equipment [tools, etc.], must come without fail.

3) Enclosed with this letter, we are sending some presents for the chairman and secretary (of the village). If you get these presents, come here. If you fail to come, we will give another present to the headman of the village. Wait and see what kind of present.

[Sd. illegible]
(for) Column Commander
Natkyizin Camp

[Note: the "presents" enclosed with this ORDER were 2 bullets.]

ORDER 7

Stamp : Front-line LIB 406
Column 1 HQ
Date : 0900 hr 09 November 94
To : Chairman/secretary
Kyauk Hta Yan village

For railway construction, we have to have a discussion on with the [village] chairman and secretary. Therefore, come yourselves to Natkyizin camp. We offer you your last chance to come on 15-11-94 without fail. If you really work on behalf of the village people, you (chairman and secretary) must come without fail, it will be your responsibility.

If you don't come because you are afraid of Mon rebels, we army must show you that we are worse than Mon rebels. That's all.

[Sd. illegible]
(for) Column Commander
Natkyizin Camp

ORDER 8

Stamp : Village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village
Date : 20 November 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
Village LORC
Mar Yan village

Subject: 1) For voluntary labour for Ye-Tavoy railway construction
2) For gas pipeline, Bok Island
3) For operations servants (porters)

Regarding the above subjects, we have to have a discussion. You yourself must come to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village LORC office on 22-11-94. For the Ye-Tavoy railway construction, we have already hired people. So bring, the charges for this labourer with you, according to your share.

[Sd.20/11/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

[Note: Bok Island is just offshore of the Heinze Basin area, where /Total Oil/Unocal gas pipeline is to come ashore from the Martaban Gulf en route to Thailand. SLORC has also recently built a naval base on this island by the use of forced labour (see related orders in this report). It is unlikely that any labour for the Ye-Tavoy railway has been "hired" — the money demanded is simply extortion.]

ORDER 9

Township Law & Order restoration Council
Yebyu Town
Ref.No.1496/4-8/TLORC(YP)

Date : 1994 August 30
To : Chairman
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village LORC
Yebyu Township

Subject: To send voluntary labour for Ye-Tavoy railway construction

1) To guard and repair the Ye-Tavoy railway labour camps along the construction and to take care of the camp, we will start work from 1-9-94 till 15-9-94. So send labourers from your village without fail (without fail), we inform you.
Three Pagodas Camp
Kyauk Kanyah [village must send:] 10 people

Nat Twin	10 people	31-8-94 at 5:00p.m.
Kyauk Taung	10 people	must arrive at
Nyin Htway	10 people	Township LORC
Baleh Ku	10 people	office

Natkyizin Camp

Wun Phot	10 people	31-8-94 at 5:00 p.m. must
Oke Tha Yun	10 people	arrive at Township
Taline Yah	10 people	LORC office
Kaleinaung	10 people	31-8-94 at 5:00 p.m. must
Kyauk Shat	10 people	arrive at Kanbauk

village LORC office must give a list to Township LORC office

—— camp

—— [those marked '—' are not	10 people	On 1-9-94 Must be arranged
—— legible on the ORDER]	10 people	by Kanbauk region
Onpinkwin	10 people	construction committee
Thet Chaung	10 people	chairman and send a list to
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma	10 people	township LORC office

2) At the labour camp, the people will be paid by Myanmar Railway Corporation, so select people who are really able to work. The village LORC has to arrange to control these workers. 3-milk-tins of rice per person per day will be sold at 20 Ks for 1 pyi by the group for welfare of the labours [1 pyi = 8-milk-tins, or about 1.5 kg. Market price for 1 pyi at that time is about 50 Ks, depending on the grade of rice].

[Sd.]
(for) Chairman
U Myint Soe, Secretary

Copy to:
- Tenasserim Division LORC, Tavoy Town
- District LORC, Tavoy Town
- LIB 410, Kaleinaung, Yebyu Town
- Responsible persons, LIB 410, Natkyizin labour camp, Yebyu Township
- Township Supply and Welfare Association, Yebyu Town
- Township Railway Labour Transportation Group, Yebyu Town
- Office copy

[Note: This is a duplicated order sent to all villages, so some of the name are illegible. The labour demanded is to do post-rainy season work to prepare the labour camps for the dry season forced labour on the Ye-Tavoy railway, which started on 7 November 1994. Despite the claim that workers would be paid, no one was paid on the Ye-Tavoy railway; instead, when the

time to pay them came, local LORC said their pay had been donated for "community development projects which they all want". No such projects were materialised.]

ORDER 10

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Yebyu Township
Ref.No.1272/3-16/TLORC Ya Pa

Date : 24 July 1994
To : Chairman
xxxx village LORC
Yebyu Township

Subject: To send servants to build the camp on Heinzebok Island

In order to build the Naval camp at Heinzebok Island in Yebyu township, send 3 people from xxxx village tract. Chairman of the village LORC, collect the people and send them without fail as mentioned below.

a) Date to come: 26-7-94
b) Time to come: 4:00 p.m.
c) Location: LORC office, Kanbauk village
d) Number of servants: 3

[Sd.,24/7/94]
(for) Chairman
(U Myint Soe, secretary)

Copies to:
- No. 1 Military Strategic Command, Southeastern Command, Tavoy Town
- Division LORC, Tenasserim Division, Tavoy Town
- District LORC, Tavoy District, Tavoy Town
- LIB 408, Kaleinaung village, Yebyu township
- Working committee of Kanbauk area, Kanbauk village
- Office copy

ORDER 11

Stamp : village LORC
Kanbauk village tract
Yebyu Township
Date : 25-7-94
To : Chairman/Secretary
xxxxx village tract

Subject: Calling for labour to build Naval Base on Bok Island

According to the decision at the meeting between Chairman, members and the Department Head of Township LORC (Yebyu Township) held at LORC office in Kanbauk village regarding the construction of Bok Island Naval Camp, your village tract has to send 3 people for labour, to be sent to Kanbauk LORC office at 4:00 p.m. on 27-7-94 without fail.

[Sd.]
Soe Tin
Chairman
village LORC
Kanbauk village tract, Yebyu Township

ORDER 12

Stamp : village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village

Date : 10 October 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
Notification for xxxx village

Subject: Voluntary labour for Ye-Tavoy railway construction

Regarding these subjects:

1) Labour for Ye-Tavoy railway construction
2) Voluntary labour for Heinzebok Island
3) Toddy-leaf roofing shingles

For this voluntary labour, your village has to send one person to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village LORC office on 15-10-94 without fail.

Note: If you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd.,10/10/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village

ORDER 13

Stamp : village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village
Date : 13 November 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
Notification for xxxx village

Subject: Voluntary labour for Ye-Tavoy railway construction

Regarding the above subject, the monthly quota for Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract is 50 people. As soon as you receive this letter, you, the village chairman, yourself must come to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village LORC office without fail, we hereby inform you.

[Sd.,13/11/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

ORDER 14

Stamp : village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village

Date : 24 September 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
Notification for xxxx village

Subject: To send voluntary labour for Ye-Tavoy railway construction

Regarding the above subject, according to the order of Yebyu Township [LORC], Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract must provide 50 people for Ye-Tavoy railway construction. According to your quota, your village must send 5 people. Therefore, we have to have an important discussion about this. Come to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village LORC office on 25-9-94 without fail, we here by inform you.

[Sd., 24/9/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

ORDER 15

Stamp : village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village
Date : 6 December 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
(xxxx village)

Subject: Voluntary labour for Ye-Tavoy railway construction

Regarding the above subject, your village has the duty to dig 20 holes and level the ground. For one hole it costs 380 Ks. Come and pay the money for the 12th month [December], to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village LORC office without fail.

Note: If you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd.]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

ORDER 16

Stamp : village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village
Date : 30 September 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
Notification for xxxx village

Subject: Voluntary labour and toddy-leaf roofing shingles for Ye-Tavoy railway construction

Regarding the above subject, according to the order of Yebyu Township [LORC], your village has to give 5 people or equivalent money for Ye-Tavoy railway construction. Another thing, your village also has the duty to give 1,000 toddy-leaf roofing shingles for the voluntary labour camp. Regarding these two things, send them to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village LORC office on 2-10-94. If you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd., 30/9/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

ORDER 17

Stamp : village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village
Date : 29 August 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
Notification for xxxx village

Subject: As soon as you receive this letter, come and give 2,000 Ks (Two Thousand Ks) for voluntary labour from your village to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village LORC office without fail. If you fail , it will be your responsibility, we inform you.

[Sd ., 29/8/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

[Note: this is extortion money to avoid increased demands for forced labour.]

ORDER 18

Stamp : village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village
Date : 10 October 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
Notification for xxxx village

Subject: Voluntary labour for Ye-Tavoy railway construction

Regarding the above subject, your village has the following responsibilities:
1) Toddy - leaf roof shingles (1,000).... already given.
Labour fees for 15 days ... already given.

For the next 15 days, payment must be given on 20-10-94 according to the population. Come to Kywe Tone Nyi Ma village LORC office without fail.
Note: If you fail, it will responsibility.

[Sd., 10/10/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

ORDER 19

Stamp : village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village
Date : 22 September 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
xxxx village

Subject: Demand roofing shingles for the second time to prisoner [convict labour]camp

Regarding the above subject, to repair the convict [labour] camp for LIB 410, Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village group is responsible for giving 13,000 toddy-leaf roofing shingles. So your village has the duty to give 1,000 roofing shingles. Send these roofing shingles to Kywe Tone Nyi Ma village on 30-9-94. If you fail it will be your responsibility.

[Sd ., 22/9/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

ORDER 20

[This receipt is for extortion money paid to avoid sending 5 people for 15 days ' forced labour each]

Stamp : village LORC
Kwye Thone Nyi Ma village
Date : 3 October 1994
village LORC
Kwye Thone Nyi Ma village

For Ye-Tavoy rail way construction , from xxx village, for 5 people @ 15 days — 5,000 Ks. In words: Five thousand Ks — Paid.
2,500 Ks remains [to pay].

Send toddy- leaf roof shingles to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma Pier on 9-10-94.
We have already hired people at 1,500 Ks each in Kywe Thone Nyi Ma regarding voluntary labour for the Ye-Tavoy railway construction.

[Sd ., 3/10/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village group

[Note: it is doubtful that they "hired" any labourers for 1,5000 Ks, as SLORC just takes labourers by force.]

ORDER 21

Stamp : village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village
Date : 7 October 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
Notification for xxxx village

Subject: Send toddy-leaf roofing shingles

Regarding the above subject your village has the duty to give 5,500 toddy-leaf roofing shingles for the Ye-Tavoy railway labour camp. You must collect and bring these roofing shingles to the pier ready to load. If you fail it will be your responsibility, we hereby inform you.

[*The following paragraph was in a different hand-writing:*]

village chairman Mr xxxx from xxxx will come with one boat. Send 5,500 roofing shingles on this boat. We will discuss the cost of these shingles later [i.e. nothing will be paid]. Also bring one gallon of diesel for the boat. If you finish doing these things, reply to me.

Aung Htwin
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma Secretary

[Sd., 7/10/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

ORDER 22

Date : 8-10-94
To : Chairman
village LORC
xxxx village

Subject: To send toddy - leaf roofing shingles

1)Regarding the above subject, on 7-10-94 we sent 2 boats from Natkyizin village to carry five thousand five hundred (5,500) toddy-leaf roofing shingles which were collected for use at Natkyizin rail way construction site. (Kept in xxxx pier).

2) For these 2 boats (go and return), I have already arranged for the diesel with xxxx village LORC secretary U xxxx.
- Make sure to load the 2 boats with the leaves.

[Sd., 8/10]
Lt Win Aung
Intelligence Officer
LIB 406
Natkyizin Camp

ORDER 23

[This is written by villagers to the area LORC, verifying that they have done as ordered. The area LORC stamped it upon receipt.]

Stamp : village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract
Date : 8-10-94

We have given 2 gallon of diesel for 2 boats from Natkyizin village to carry the roofing leaves. We hereby notify U xxxx that the boat diver signed a receipt for the diesel .

[Sd.] [Sd.]
Mr. yyyy Mr . zzzz

ORDER 24

[This order is apparently from either a SLORC unit acting under an alias or a local bandit group. Several such groups exist in the area, usually claiming to be independent "rebel" groups even though several of them are supported and given freedom to operate by SLORC(because they tend to undermine the legitimacy of opposition groups). The stamp on this order consists of a childishly crude drawing of a skull and dagger, surrounded by the illegible initials of some kind of group.]

Stamp : [mostly illegible, contains
the initials Ka Gka Dta Ka Nya
and a crudely drawn skull & dagger]

Date : 3-1-94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

Message: Give us 10 bulls because we don't have anything to eat. We don't need cows, send only big bulls. We will not come and collect these bulls. We are just asking. The price of these 10 bulls doesn't concern with the villagers, it concerns only the [village] chairman. If you don't send them, don't any of you stay there. That's all.
[Sd.]
Regional commander
Southern Ye Township

ORDER 25

Township LORC
Ye Township —Ye Town
Ref. No. 200/3-5/TLORC (Ye)

Date : 18 October 1994
To : Chairman
village LORC
xxxxx village, Ye Township

Subject: To pay into the fund [donation]
Attention: Ye Township LORC letter dated 22-9-94, Reference No /3-5/ TLORC (Ye)

1) According to the above reference, in order to implement the development of Ye Township as schedule, collect 250 Ks per acre from each owner of productive rubber plantation in each quarter and village tract. We have realised that you have not paid it yet, so come give it not later than 6-10-94.

2) Therefore, in order to implement development in Ye Township on time, your quarter and village LORC group have to pay for 20 acres at 250 Ks each, totalling 5,000 Ks (Five Thousand kyats Exactly). Come pay it to Ye Township LORC office no later than 24-10-94. This is a first reminder.

[Sd.]
U Soe Win, PA/2141
Chairman

Copy to: Office Copy

[Note: This is a form letter sent to all villages, with the amounts demanded written into the blanks. The fact that it refers to a letter with the same reference number is SLORC's mistake, not ours. It is very unlikely that the money collected will be used for anything most people would call "development."]

ORDER 26

Date : 1-1-95
To : Chairman
xxxxx village

Your village has to give servants' fees of 4,000 Ks (Four Thousand kyats) for November and December. Come yourself and pay on 2-1-95 at Ko-Mile [9-Mile] village. You, the village chairman, yourself must come.

* If you don't come, it will be the responsibility of the Chairman.

[Sd.]
Lt Min Zaw
Company Commander
Company 1
LIB 343

ORDER 27

Stamp : Company 3
LIB 343
Date : 10:00 hr, 10 November 1994
To : village LORC
xxxx village

Come and pay the servants' fees to the army column at Ko-Mile [9-Mile] village not later then 20 November (without fail).

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 3
LIB 343

ORDER 28

Date : 13/12/94
To : Chairman/Secretary

As soon as receive this letter, send one big boat (pa nga type) from xxxx boat station. If there is no big boat available, send 6 fishing boats. Reply by letter regarding whether you have sold the fishing nets that the Major gave you sell. If you already sold them, send the money with one [village committee] member. As for the boat, send it at 5:00 p.m. today.

With friendly regards,

[Sd.]
Capt San Way
Company 3
LIB 410

[Note: The fishing nets were most likely stolen by the Major from another village — this is common SLORC practice.]

ORDER 29

To: Chairman/Secretary
xxxx village LORC
xxxx village

Subject: Preparing contracts for paddy

Regarding this subject, we will prepare the contracts for 94/95 to buy paddy from all farmers in xxxx village, yyyy village tract, Yebyu Township. [They must] bring along their ID cards and paddy planting permits and come to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma LORC office on 30-9-94 without fail. Inform the farmers.

[Sd.]
Nyan Shwe
Paddy Contract Preparation Group 5
Kanbauk Area
Yebyu Town

[Note: 'paddy planting permits' refer to the permits which farmers have to buy from SLORC before they are even allowed to plant paddy in their own fields. The paddy buying contract being prepared covers the annual quota each farmer must hand over to SLORC, either for voluntary or at less than a quarter of market price. The quota does not vary if the crop is damaged or wiped out.]

ORDER 30

To: Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
xxxx village

Subject: To sell paddy for the year 1994/95

Regarding the above subject, we notify you to inform the farmers from xxxx village in Yebyu Township, Kanbauk area, Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract, that we opened the Kywe Thone Nyi Ma paddy buying centre on 15-11-94. Therefore, inform the farmers in your village of the amount they have to sell no later then 28-12-94. Distribute the enclosed quota sheets to each farmer, we beg for you.

Note: There are 14 sheets, please distribute these sheets to each farmer. This is very important.

[Sd.]
Nyan Shwe
Buying Centre Chief
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma Paddy Buying Centre
Trade & Farming, Kanbauk area
Yebyu Township

Coy to: - Responsible person in Township, Trade & Farming, Yebyu Town
- Office copy

[Note: The quota sheets attached with this order demand 8 baskets (about 133 Kg.) of paddy (unhusked rice) per acre from each farmer, but do not specify any price to be paid for this rice.]

ORDER 31

Stamp : Intelligence Unit
LIB 343
Date : 5-1-95
To : Head of village
xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter one person from xxxx village, the village chairman or [committee] member or the religious head, come and see the army operations group immediately . If you fail, we will take serious action. (When you come, bring some food for the army column.)

[Sd. illegible]
Intelligence Officer
LIB 343

[Note: when obtained , the village head had written on this order:
"- if the Mon rebels call , have to go
- if call , have to go
- it is equal
- 2 ways must be even"]

ORDER 32

Stamp : General Staff Dept
LIB 408
Date : 22-7-94

To : Chairman /Secretary

xxxx village

Subject: Sending back government servants [forced labourers]

Regarding the above subject, we sent back the servants from your village on 22-7-94, together with some servants from other villages along the car road who were with the [army] column. Chairman and secretary, arrange a boat to send these servants back to their villages.

[Sd.]
2nd Lt Win Sein
Intelligence Officer
LIB 408

ORDER 33

Date : 23- 8-94
To : Chairman
xxxxx village

Come and send one carpenter for the Natkyizin prisoner building on 24-8-94. As the 7 villages in Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract is responsible for sending some roofing shingles, bring roofing shingles from your village along with you.

[Sd.]
Lt Min Nyo
Natkyizin

ORDER 34

Stamp : village LORC group
Kywe Tone Nyi Ma village
Date : 30 August 1994
To : Chairman /Secretary
village LORC
Notification for xxxx village

Subject: Concerning operations servants [porters]

Regarding the above subject, we have to discuss it with you. You yourself must come to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village LORC office on 1-9-94 without fail. If you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd .30/8/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

ORDER 35

Stamp : General Staff Dept
LIB 408
Date : 26-9-94

To : Chairman/ Secretary
xxxxxx village

Subject: To discuss important matters

Regarding the above subject, we have to have a discussion with you (Chairman/Secretary) as soon as possible. Come and see the column at yyyy village on 27-9-94, not later than 12:00 hour. If you fail, it will be the chairman's responsibility. If you have time, arrange for servants.

[Sd.]
2nd Lt Win Sein
Intelligence Officer
LIB 408

ORDER 36

Stamp : Column 1
IB 104
Date : 26-9-94
To : Chairman or Secretary
xxxxxx village

Subject : Invitation to come and meet

Regarding the above subject, we will have a meeting to discuss the security. As soon as you receive this letter, come to Column 1 of IB 104 in Kywe Thone Nyi Ma. Come without fail, I request.

[Sd. illegible]
26/9/94
(for) Commander

ORDER 37

Stamp : village LORC group
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village
Date : 9 October 1994
To : Chairman/Secretary
village LORC
Notification for xxxx village

Subject: Voluntary labour for Ye-Tavoy railway construction

Regarding the above subject, we urgently have to discuss important matters. So tomorrow, 10-10-94, come yourself to Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village LORC office without fail. If you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd., 9/10/94]
U Than Yee
Chairman
village LORC
Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract

ORDER 38

Date : 16-10-94
To : Mr xxxx (Chairman)
Mr yyyy (Secretary)
village LORC
xxxx village

Dear Gentleman,

We have to discuss about gardens and farms in xxxx area. As soon as you receive this letter, we inform you to come to Natkyizin village LORC chairman's house. If you don't come it will be your responsibility. Come as soon as you get this letter. You can inquire at Mr zzzz's house in Natkyizin.

[Sd.,16-10-94]
Tin Tun
Survey Clerk
Land office, Yebyu Township
Temporarily in Natkyizin village

ORDER 39

Stamp : Column 1
IB 104
Date : 16-10-94
To : Chairman
xxxxx village

Subject : Come to the island

Regarding the above subject, as soon as your receive this letter come to Column 1 of IB 104 at Kywe Thone Nyi Ma island without fail .

[Sd., illegible]
16/10/94
(for) Commander
IB 104

ORDER 40

[marked URGENT]

Date : 29/10/94
To : Chairman/Secretary
xxxx village

- As soon as you get this letter, the chairman/secretary must come and see the army column commander tonight without fail, we hereby inform you.
- If you fail to come, it will be your village chairman's responsibility.
-Come tonight and see me without fail.

[Sd . illegible]
Column Commander
Front-line LIB 406
Temporarily in Kyauk Hta Yan village

ORDER 41

Stamp : village LORC
Natkyizin village
Date : 8-12-94
To : Chairman/Secretary
xxxx village

We inform you to come and see the column commander in Natkyizin village [army] camp. The commander calls you. If you don't come, the guilt will be yours.

[Sd.]
Tun Myint
Chairman, village LORC
Natkyizin village tract,
Yebyu Township

ORDER 42

Stamp : Column 1
LIB 343
Date : 10-1-95
To : Chairman
xxxxx village

Subject : Come and see the army column

Regarding this subject, we have to discuss important matters with you. As soon as you receive this letter, come and see the column commander without fail (without fail). (If you fail, we will take serious action.)

[Sd. illegible]
Intelligence Officer
LIB 343

ORDER 43

[This order indicates that SLORC has decided to build houses for a group of Mon soldiers who surrendered to SLORC in September 1994. However, it is the villagers in the area who were forced to provide all the money, materials and labour to build these houses.]

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Ye Township, Ye Town
Ref. No. 100/ 4-20/ TLORC (Ye)

Date : 1994 September 22
To : Chairman
All Quarter/village LORC
Ye Township

Subject : Help to support construction of houses for the people who returned to the legal fold

1. On 2- 9-1994, 28 people led by Nai Tala Bun, southern Ye region commander, from the New Mon State Party surrendered at LIB 343 and the State government is now planning to resettle them.

2. According to the order of the State government, we are going to build houses with the same designs of cement foundation, floor and wooden walls for their resettlement. All houses will be the same. During a monthly meeting (9/94) among the regional military commanders, township /quarter /village LORC and the leader of the department held at Township LORC office on 21-9-94, they decided to assign duty for all quarters and villages listed on the attached papers to help and support them for building.

3. In recognition of the correct leadership of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, those who were on the wrong path have returned to the legal fold and their families. For their families to be able to stabilise their lives and live peacefully and earn their living in the right way, while the State Government has been implementing for their social welfare, the civilians need to contribute earnest help and support.

4. Therefore we are informing you to help and support those who have return to the legal fold, and to implement this on time very earnestly according to the assignments we have given you.

5. With this letter we attach one set of detailed house plans estimated costs.

[Sd .]
Chairman
U Soe Win, PA/2141

Copy to: Chairman, Mon State LORC
Chairman, State Civilian Labour Resettlement Committee, Moulmein Town
Chairman, Moulmein District LORC
Commander, LIB 343, Ye Town
Chairman, Township Civilian Labour Resettlement, Ye Town
Chief officer, Township Forestry Dept, Ye Town
Engineer, Public Construction, Ye Town
Office copy

Ye Township
Construction to resettle the group from southern Ye
Assignment list for house build ding construction

No.	Quarter / village group	Number of house [to build]	Remarks
(1).	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Yan Gyi Aung Quarter	2	
2	Yan Myo Aung Quarter	2	
3	Mot Kanin village	2	
4	Lamaing village	2	
5	Taungbon village	1	

6	Kot Dut village		2
7	A Zin village		2
8	Zee Phyu Taung village		1
9	Taung Byin village		2
10	Hnitkarin village		2
11	Kyaung Ywa village		1
12	Hangan village		1
13	Kala Gote village		1
14	Ka Law village	\	1 (1:1)
15	Kot Line village	/	
16	Ah Rut Taung village	\	1(1:1)
17	Tu Myaung village	/	
18	An Din village	\	1(1:1)
19	Du Ya village	/	
20	Aung Thuka Quarter	\	1(2:3)
21	Aung Mingalar Quarter	/	
22	Aung Myitta Quarter	\	1(1:1)
23	Ah Baw village	/	
24	Thiri Nanda Quarter	\	1(2:1)
25	Thiri Zaya Quarter	/	
26	Thiri Khema Quarter	\	1 (1:1)
27	Thiri Marlar Quarter	/	
28	Kyauk Mi Chaung Quarter	\	
29	Ko-Mile village	\	1(2:1:1)
30	Thingangyun village	/	
31	Beh La Mu village	\	1(1:2)
32	Bay Lamaing village	/	
33	Kanin Kamao village	\	
34	Done Pi village	\	1(1:2:2)
35	Hnit Sote village	/	
36	Khaw Za village		1
37	Chaung Taung village	1	

[This order document continues for a total of 7 pages. Following the above, there is a page showing architectural drawings for the house, with notes indicating that the house is to be raised above the ground on ironwood posts with a cement foundation under each post, with wooden floor, walls of woven bamboo and a zinc plate roof. Each house is 30 ft wide (in the front half) and 16 ft wide (in the back half). The floor is to be raised 5(ft above the ground, and the house has a 9(ft ceiling. By Burmese standards, these are quite large houses made of high quality and expensive materials. The villages and quarters listed above have been forced to provide all these materials and hire or provide all required labour. Note that 28 people defected, but the list indicates that 33 houses are to be built. Some of them will probably be taken and sold for profit by SLORC officials or military officers. There is also a good chance that the defectors themselves have been forced to buy the houses from SLORC once they're built. Following the pictorial plans, there are 3 pages of extremely detailed lists of materials required with estimated prices. The total amount for

each house comes to 119, 459 Ks (US$ 19,909 at official exchange rate, US $ 1,086 at market rate). However, all prices listed are "official prices " which are not available to civilians unless they pay huge bribes. In reality, each house will probably cost 3 to 5 times as much as the "estimated cost" — a huge amount to poverty-stricken Mon villages.]

ORDER 44

Date: 2-95

We here undersigned take responsibility and guarantee that we will move xxxx/yyyy [villages] and all the villages on the attached list from their respective locations that we will absolutely finish moving them within one week, from 16-2-95 to 23-2-95.

Chairman
Signed: [Sd.]
Name & NRC number:xxxx/yyyy
village: xxxx
Date: 18-2-95

Member(1)
Singe: [Sd.]
Name & NRC number:xxxx/yyyy
village: xxxx
Date: 18-2-95

Members
Signed: [Sd.]
Name & NRC number:xxxx
village: xxxx
Date: 18-2-95

Singe: [Sd.]
Name & NRC number:xxxx
village: xxxx
Date: 18-2-95

Singe: [Sd.]
Name & NRC number:xxxx
village: xxxx
Date: 18-2-95

[Note: NRC stands for National Registration Card. SLORC-appointed "committee" members from 5 different villages were forced to sign this bond. It means that if all the villages specified do not move by 23 February 1995, they will most likely be arrested, tortured and possibly executed. All of the villages are in the Ye-Tavoy railway area near Ye. This may related to reports that SLORC has decided to change the railway route from the east side of the Tavoy River to the west side.]

ORDER 45

Date : 27-2-95
To : Chairman/ Secretary
xxxx[village]

All of xxxx village has to give paddy to yyyy [army] camp, and must finish it within 2 days. You can go ask at yyyy village about this matter. Chairman or

Secretary or members from your village must come and see me. If you don't comply with this letter, the village will bear the responsibility.

[Sd.]
Lt Win Sein

ORDER 46

Date : 1994 December 25
To : Chairman
village LORC
Notification for xxxx village

Subject: Volunteer workers for Ye-Tavoy railway

Regarding the above subject, your village has to take responsibility for 30 earth holes as your quota for Ye-Tavoy railway construction. One hole costs 380 Ks. As soon as you receive this letter you must come together with money for 30 holes to the village LORC office.

If you cannot pay the amount you must send 7 volunteer workers from your village with their own food for one month. They must arrive on 28/12/94 at xxxx camp.

If you fail you must bear the responsibility. With this group, U xxxx must also report to the camp.

[Sd. illegible]
Warrant officer (2)
xxxx camp
Camp Commander
LIB 408

ORDER 47

Stamp : Column 1 Headquarters
LIB 406
Date : 24-12-94
To : Mr. xxxx
Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: To discuss about digging roadbed earth [earth to be used to lay a roadbed]

We hereby inform you that you must come to the xxxx column commander on 25 December.

[Sd. illegible]
Column Commander
LIB 406
xxxx

ORDER 48

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 28/10/94
To : Mr xxx
Chairman
xxxx village

You didn't come when we called. The army column is angry. Your village and ours have a relationship [the wording implies "sometimes we need you and sometimes you need us"]. If we meet your villagers we will punish them. If you don't come see us, it will be worse. That is all.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 49

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 26/10/94
To : Mr. xxxx
Chairman
xxxx village

You didn't come and give servants' fees and sentry fees from your village. If you don't give, okay. But villagers from xxxx will be punished if they meet with the army column. If you don't come, when the column arrives in your village we will crush your village into many pieces. But I'm not going to tell you to come. That is all.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 50

Stamp : Column 1
IB 31
Date : 15-11-94
To : Chairman/Secretary
xxxx village

1. Five days ago we sent a villager to report to you about the case of taking pigs, chickens and ducks. So now xxxx village owes 7,000 Ks compensation to yyyy camp. As soon as you receive this letter come with the money.

(2) Bring along 5,000 Ks of servants' fees for 10/94 to give to the army column.

(3) xxxx village headman Saw yyyy is already arrested. If you don't come and the army column arrives [at your village], action will be taken against another village leader. If you don't come quickly, another xxxx village leader will be sent to the police station.

[Sd. illegible]
Intelligence Officer
IB 31

[Note: Later, someone from KNU wrote on the order "Our column entered and occupied, that's why they grabbed civilians". It appears that SLORC troops looted livestock from the village and the villagers reported it to the military command. As a result, instead of being compensated they are being forced to pay 7,000 Ks compensation to the army. This may also be the reason for the arrest of the village headman.]

ORDER 51

Date : 20/11/94
To : Mr. xxxx
Chairman
xxxx village

Do as I say. Handle the issue of servants and come to the camp together with this messenger.

[Sd., illegible]
xxxx camp
Company Commander
Company 3
IB 31

[Note: "Handle the issue of servants" means "arrange some porters for us".]

ORDER 52

Stamp : 3 Company
IB 106
To : Chairman
xxxx village

As soon as you get this letter, come quickly and give sentry fees, video fees and servants' fees. This is the last notice. If you fail, we do not take any responsibility for what will happen. 23-11-94 is the deadline. Bring them and come.

[Sd., xxxx camp]
Company Commander
Company 3
IB 106

ORDER 53

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31

Date : 16/10/94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

Chairman, come quickly yourself. If you fail, we will arrest people from xxxx village. The army column is demanding servants' fees and sentry fees. Bring them and come quickly to yyyy camp.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1
yyyy camp

ORDER 54

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 16-9-94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

As soon as you get this letter, come quickly with sentry fees of 1,000 Ks and servants' fees of 6,000 Ks. Now it is 16 days overdue. As punishment, bring

one duck. Also bring us the timber. If you fail, we will take action within 2 days.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 55

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 21-9-94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

Five letters have already been sent. You didn't come and send the timber. Gentlemen, if you fail we will come and arrest you.

1. Servants' fees 6,000 Ks, sentry fees 1,000 Ks — Total 7,000 Ks. You have to pay. It is now 21 days overdue. Come and send them quickly.

2. We will confiscate illegal timber. Come yourself to discuss this. Come quickly, and bring the timber we ordered along with you.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 56

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 16/10/94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

You came in person and paid for the month of July (7/94). Mr. xxxx came and paid for the month of August (8/94). For the month of September (9/94) remains unpaid. The army column is now demanding for the month of October (10/94). You are one month overdue. Come quickly and pay. Quickly prepare yourself and come.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 57

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 7-10-94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

We have already received sentry fees and servants' fees for the month of August (8/94). Now it is already the end of September (9/94). The army column demands servants' fees for September. Bring it together with timber and come quickly.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 58

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 7-10-94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

The army column demands sentry fees and servants' fees for September 9/94. Bring it together with timber and come quickly.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 59

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 10/10/94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

We have already received sentry fees and servants' fees for the month of [August] 8/94. For the month of [September] 9/94, bring [the money] and come quickly.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 60

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 13/10/94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

We already received servants' fees for the month of August (8/94). But we haven't received servants' fees and sentry fees for the month of September (9/94) yet. If you don't come, we will take action when the army column arrives [at your village]. We will arrest the people from xxxx village, if they come to Pu Taw/Anan Kwin Area. Chairman, come quickly.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 61

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 19/10/94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

We have sent many letters. Chairman, bring 7,000 Ks for servants' fees and sentry fees and come in person quickly.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 62

Stamp : Column 1
IB 31
Date : 23-8-94
To : Chairman / Secretary
xxxx village

Subject: Come and see us quickly

Regarding the above subject, we have already called and held the Pastor from xxxx village in yyyy camp. As soon as you get this letter, the Chairman/Secretary yourself must come and see the army column without fail.

[Sd. illegible]
Intelligence Officer
IB 31

ORDER 63

Stamp : Column 1
IB 31
Date : 22-8-94
To : Abbot [of the monastery]
xxxx village

We have arrested all the people connected with xxxx village. If the Chairman and Secretary from xxxx village come and see us at yyyy camp, we will release all the people. If they fail to come we won't release them, and the Chairman and Secretary will be responsible.

[Sd. illegible]
Intelligence Officer
IB 31

ORDER 64

Stamp : Company 1
IB 31
Date : 18-8-94
To : Chairman / Secretary
xxxx village

As soon as you get this letter, bring servants' fees of 6,000 Ks and sentry fees of 1,000 Ks for the month of 7/94 [July] and come quickly. I have already sent 4 letters. You are 18 days overdue. Come quickly.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 1

ORDER 65

Date : 15-8-94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

For Column 1 of Front-line IB 31, you are responsible to pay servants' fees of 12,000 Ks (Twelve Thousand kyats). Come and send it to Company 5 at yyyy village.

Chairman/Secretary/village leaders, come and see us at yyyy tomorrow without fail.

[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 5
IB 31
yyyy village

ORDER 66

Stamp : Column 1
IB 31
Date : 11-8-94
To : Chairman / Secretary
xxxx village
Subject : Come and see us

Regarding the above subject, the army column has already called the Chairman/Secretary from xxxx village but they haven't come. When you receive this letter, come and see us quickly or the village will be damaged if you don't.

[Sd. illegible]
Intelligence Officer
IB 31

ORDER 67

Stamp : Company 3
IB 106
To : Chairman
xxxx village

I heard you will come on the 10th waning day of Thazaungmone [i.e. 27 November]. If you come bring the video fees, sentry fees and servants' fees with you. I hope , gentlemen, that you keep your promise and come on that day.

[Sd., illegible]
xxxx camp
Company Commander
Company 3
IB 106
[Note: the words shown in italic were written in red ink on the order.]

ORDER 68

Stamp : Company 3
IB 106
Date : 13/11/94
To : Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, we have already sent a message telling you to come to yyyy camp on 11-11-94 but you failed. So we remind you now. As soon as you get this letter, come to yyyy camp quickly, without fail. If the Chairman is not there, one of the village leaders should come and see us. If you fail, you will be responsible and we will take harsh action.

[Sd. illegible]
yyyy camp
Company Commander
Company 3
IB 106

ORDER 69

To : Mr xxxx
xxxx village

1. We will have a meeting on 5-12-94 about the construction of the road to Three Pagodas Pass. Come to yyyy camp without fail.

2. If you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy village

[Note: It will be a meeting to assign forced labour duties to the village.]

ORDER 70

Date : 26-12-94
To : village headman
xxxx village

Subject : To come and see us again at the camp

Regarding the above subject, gentlemen, although we have already sent a letter on the 24 [December] to come and discuss about the labourer for your village, you have failed to come so far. As soon as you get this letter, come and see us quickly at the military camp.

If you fail, we will take serious action.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
xxxx Military Camp
IB 97
Date: 26-12-94

ORDER 71

Stamp : Column 2
Front-line IB 101
Date : 13-3-95
To : xxxx village
Chairman /Secretary

Subject : As column commander Major T— of IB XXX has told you, both of you must come to yyyy village to meet the Major on 13-3-95 without fail. If both of you fail to come to see the Major on the set date, then you should no longer stay in your village.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander
Place: yyyy village

[Note: "Should no longer stay in your village" essentially means "We'll arrest or kill you if you are there".]

ORDER 72

Stamp : Column 1
IB 231
Date : 9-12-94
To : Township Public Hospital
xxxx Town

Recommendation

1. Mrs xxxx and her daughter from xxxx village, xxxx township, were wounded by insurgents coming to burn their house at about 12:00 a.m. [midnight] on xx December 1994. We have sent them for emergency treatment.

(a) Mrs xxxx, age 55, Father's name xxxx

(b) yyyy, age 35, Father's name yyyy

2. The first recommendation was a mistake. This is the correct one.

[Sd., 9-12-94]

BC xxxx
Major. xxxx

ORDER 73

Stamp : Column 1
IB 231
Date : 24-11-94

To : Headman
xxxx village

As soon as you get this letter, you yourself, the religious head, and the head of the youth (male & female), come together and see us at yyyy on 24-11-94 [today], without fail.

Remark: If you fail we will take harsh action. Bring one duck or chicken and one pumpkin.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer
IB 231

[Note: This is presumably to discuss the anti-KYO orders listed below (74 & 75).]

ORDER 74

[This orders was duplicated and sent to all villages in the "33 Pagodas" area.]

Stamp : Intelligence Unit
IB 231
Column 1
Front-line IB 231 Battalion
xxxx camp

Date : 21 November 1994
To : xxxx village religious head
village head

village youth group

Subject: Notification

1. On 19-11-94, the KNU destructive elements called a meeting for some of the village youth and made the following decisions:

(a) To form the Karen Youth Organisation
(b) To recruit members in every village
(c) To put up the Karen Youth Organisation sign in every village
(d) To learn Karen songs/Christian hymns

2. We heard that the KNU destructive elements pressured the villages to found a youth Organisation. This is not a social organisation but a Stick in the Hand [Burmese expression meaning a normally harmless object being used as a weapon] for the KNU. Also, this is against the National Unity. This is to be used to suppress the Buddhist religion. Don't allow it to form.

3. Some headmen have claimed that the harvest is not so good in this year because of the weather changed in last year. Therefore, the villagers have a lot of troubles and they should not spend the money in useless ways [implicitly meaning membership or donations for KYO].

4. According to the history of 33 Pagodas [the name of the area], the people had to give a ransom in gold as some people of other religions tried to kill the 33 Buddhist saints. This history is told by the village head and the monks.

5. Now the youth are told that this [KYO] is just for social welfare, but this is only a disguise. Their inner aim is to enforce insurgency which is not serious on religion and national understanding nor supported by the youth. The elders who have experienced the past and present will understand what they ['destructive elements'] are doing.

6. In Kawkareik Township, such kinds of organisations and meetings as a means of support for the insurgency are not allowed. Anyone gets involved in such kind of organisation or meeting will be taken severe (severe) action.

[Sd. illegible]
Battalion Commander

ORDER 75

[This order was duplicated and sent to all villages in the Kawkareik Township area.]

Stamp : Column 1
IB 231

Front-line No. 231
xxxx, Kawkareik Township
Ref. No. 231/1005/U 4
Date: ___ November 1994

To : Headman
xxxx village

Subject: To stop the formation of illegal Karen Youth Organisation by KNU destructive elements.

1. Karen destructive elements want to infiltrate their administrative power in Kawkareik Township and want to change the Buddhists there to another religion. So we have heard that they tried to form the Karen Youth Organisation in villages to work for social welfare (building bridges/repairing roads/clearing ground). This is just pretending. Actually they want to organise to gain achievements in politics and warfare.

2. According to the district report, this Organisation is not formed according to the legal rules and regulations of the State. However, in accordance with the enemy's situation, they want to use the Youth for military purposes. Actually the Youth are not interested in this. So every village must stop this organisation quickly as soon as they receive this letter.

3. They have a fund of 3,000 Ks [the amount they have presumably given each village to organise youth activities]. So buy something and donate it at the monastery immediately, and then close the account. Should the village religious committee receive it, then they come to inform the military column themselves.

4. As soon as you get this letter, the positions of village youth leaders (both boys and girls) should be replaced with those who are not involved in Karen Youth Organisation. And those who are replaced should come and inform the military column together with the religious leaders.

5. 27-11-94 is the deadline. villages which do not comply with this order will face severe action.

[Sd. illegible]

Battalion Commander

Distribution: -Two copy to each village
Copy to: -Chairman, District LORC
-Chairman, Township LORC

-Township People's Police office
-Military Regional Command office
-IB 97

[Note: The aims of the KYO are to promote youth activities in the fields of Karen culture and social welfare at the village level, including health care and farming projects. It is interesting to note in this order that SLORC's idea of social welfare projects is "building bridges, repairing roads and clearing ground", because this is certainly not the KYO's nor the villagers' idea of what "social welfare" means.]

ORDER 76

Stamp	:	TLORC Mudon Town	TLORC Mudon Town
Date	:	20 March 1995	Ref. No. 1/1-3/TLORC
To	:	Chairman Mon Literacy and Buddhist Culture Training Supervising Committee Mudon Town	

Subject: Regarding commencement of training

In order to begin Mon literacy and Buddhist Culture Training in Mudon Township, you must include the following items with your application form and you must send it to the Township Law & Order Restoration Council, Mudon Town. You can begin your training only when the Township Law & Order Restoration Council gives you permission.

1. Details of how the teaching committee is organised.
2. Photographs of teaching committee.
3. Brief biographies of teaching committee.
4. Photographs of male and female teachers.
5. Brief biographies of male and female teachers.
6. Photographs of male and female students.
7. Subjects which are going to be taught and timetable.
8. Duration.
9. Location of the proposed training (must not be a school, but a religious building).
10. Recommendation paper from the owner of the location.
11. Number of male and female students and their respective addresses.
12. Details of how male and female teachers will be paid.
13. Teaching committee members and male and female teachers must be clear from politics or connections with insurgent groups.
14. If there are any patrons [from overseers], their photographs and brief biographies must be submitted.

[Sd. illegible]
(for) Chairman

Copy to: State Law & Order Restoration Council, Mon State, Moulmein
District Law & Order Restoration Council, Moulmein
All village and Quarter Law & Order Restoration Councils, Mudon Township:
Office Copy
File Copy

[Notes: This order follows a recent clamp-down against Mon literature in public schools, in which 's complete ban on Mon literature in the schools in Mon State became rigidly enforced. The Mon people were told that Mon literature and culture could only be taught in monasteries. Then this order enforced strict SLORC control over even the teaching in monasteries. Its terms are extremely intimidating. Asking for photographs and biographies of all committee members, teachers and students is SLORC's way of telling them that they will be arrested even on the slightest suspicion of any 'subversive' thinking or action (furthermore, Item 10 forces the abbot of the monastery to join the list of those liable to arrest). This order is intended to frighten most people from participation in Mon cultural programmes and to strictly control over those who are brave enough to meet its conditions. Many villages would have a difficult time even in finding a camera to be able to submit the required photographs. All these restrictions target against the simple rights of Mon children to learn to speak, read and write their own language and understand their own culture. The New Mon State Party has reportedly indicated its hope that this order will be rescinded under the recent cease-fire with SLORC, although this is unlikely.]

ORDER 77

Stamp : Column 1
IB 231
Date : 30/12/94
To : Mr xxxx

xxxx village

Gentleman, you have to write the opening speech or New Year greetings to be delivered at the Karen New Year festival both in Karen and Burmese and come today in person to yyyy and see us together with the written text.

Remarks: Write it in Karen / Burmese, 2 languages.
Come and see us yourself, without fail.

[Sd.]
Column 1

[Note: This order has been sent because even a "New Year's Greetings" speech has to be censored and cleared by SLORC before it can be presented.]

ORDER 78

LIB 410
Letter No: 100/1/head-3
Date: 12 November 1994

To : Chairman
village LORC
_____ village

SUBJECT: Issuance of order for the locality

1. The villagers living within this area must obey all the following order.

a. They (the villagers) must not run away if and when they are encountered (any where) by the Tatmadaw [Burma Army] and must remain right at the place being encountered; otherwise (if they run away), they will be shot and arrested (by the Tatmadaw).

b. Those villagers who are found serving as informers/messengers for insurgents will be subjected to severest punishment (by the Tatmadaw).

c. They (the villagers) must not travel from one village to another during the night time.

d. They (the villagers) must not keep any extra food on their farms, other than the amount of one meal for the farm worker(s) available; if foods more than the allowed amount is found on their farms, it will all be seized and destroyed (by the Tatmadaw).

e. Only one person is allowed to stay on each farm as a farm guard during the night; if more than one person is found staying on a farm (in the night time), they will be regarded as insurgents and as such will be subjected to legal actions (by the Tatmadaw).

f. Those villagers who stay on their farms at night must make and keep up (wood) fire the whole night (at their farm huts).

2. The village headmen must in advance inform each and every member of their respective village community of all the details of this order, and at the same

time must ensure that all members of their village community definitely obey this order.

(3) This is to inform (the village headmen) that the Tatmadaw will severely and forcefully take actions against those who fail to obey this order.

[Sd. illegible]
Commander
LIB 410

ORDER 79

Stamp : VERY URGENT
Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Kya Inn Seik Gyi Town
Ref. No. 337 / 3-3 / TLORC (K.I.S.G)
Date : 1995 November
To : xxxx
xxxx village
Kya Inn Seik Gyi Township

Subject: To purchase the full amount of paddy for 1995-96

1. Regarding the above subject, according to the Karen State LORC meeting held on 15-11-95, a plan was made to purchase at the previous price (4) baskets of summer paddy per acre, and if possible more than that, in each township of Karen State. Under the Agriculture and Purchasing Plan, according to the decision made by the Karen State LORC, it was directed to fulfil the plan, order reference 212 / 60-2 / Township LORC (Karen State) dated 21-11-95.

2. Thus, we inform you to make arrangements to purchase (4) baskets per acre.

[Sd.]
(for) Chairman
(U Saw Ee Naw — Secretary)

Copies to: Office Copy / by clearance only

[Notes: a village chairman wrote on this order "We received this letter on 3 Dec. 1995". Four baskets per acre for the 95/96 harvest is 4 to 5 times higher than previous quotas. SLORC is increasing quotas exponentially in order to export rice for profit and to show the world "things are good in Burma", as well as to feed its ever-expanding army. As a result, Burma is now in the grip of a staggering rice shortage — people are starving, and rice prices have doubled since last year in many areas (only military families can buy rice at subsidised prices). However, as noted in this order the farmers are still to be paid the "previous price" for the quota, probably 70 Ks per tin. A year ago market price was 225 Ks per tin, and this year market price is 400-500 Ks per tin.]

ORDER 80

Stamp : VERY URGENT
Date : 4 December 1995

Township Law & Order
Restoration Council Kya Inn Seik Gyi Town
Ref. No. 337 / 3-3 / TLORC
(K.I.S.G.)

To : Chairman
xxxx village LORC
Kya Inn Seik Gyi Township

Subject: Invitation to a Meeting

To discuss the milling of the rice bought from Kya Inn Seik Gyi Township, rice-mill owners are invited to come to the Township LORC office on 12-12-95 at 10:00 a.m. We inform you to attend the meeting without fail.

[Sd.]
(for) Chairman
(U Saw Ee Naw - Secretary)

Copy to: Office Copy / by clearance only

[Note: By SLORC order, the Township LORC confiscates rice from all farmers at only 10-20 percent of market price. This will be a meeting to order all rice-mill owners to mill it for SLORC, most likely with no compensation whatsoever for their costs.]

ORDER 81

Stamp : VERY URGENT
Date : 4 December 1995

Township Law & Order
Restoration Council
Kya Inn Seik Gyi Town
Ref. No. 201 / 2-1 / TLORC
(K.I.S.G.)

To : Chairman and Headmen
xxxx village LORC
Kya Inn Seik Gyi Township

Subject: To carry out voluntarily Kya In Seik Gyi to Tee Paw Kloh road construction

Regarding the above subject, we inform you that since the work on the Kya In Seik Gyi to Tee Paw Kloh road has to be finished on (8-12-95) and (9-12-95), each village has to dig (217) holes as assigned and has to bring along all the tools needed in order to carry out the voluntary work.

Note: You must gather at 6:00 a.m. at Ku Doh Say village.

[Sd. / 4-12-95]
(for) Chairman
(U Saw Ee Naw - Secretary)

Copies to: No. 32 Infantry Battalion, Kya Inn Seik Gyi Town
Township Law & Order Restoration Council, Kya Inn Seik Gyi Town
Office Copy / by clearance only

[Note: the villagers have to dig the holes to get earth and rock, then carry it to the roadbed.]

ORDER 82

To : Chairman

We notify you that nobody from your village turned up at xxxx village at 6:00 a.m. on 8-12-95 to finish digging the (200) holes assigned to (4) villages for the construction of the Tee Paw Kloh road. Give the assignment to share equally amongst your villagers for the above mentioned (200) holes. The other villages have all arrived. If your villagers cannot do this, you can also hire people in Seik Gyi. For one hole, 200 Ks, as it was for the Dali road. Come to me to make a contract if any quarter people [people from the quarters of Kya Inn Seik Gyi town] need to be hired. The wages will be paid as follows: 100 Ks first and then 100 Ks the second time. Come and make a contract.

[Sd./ 8-12-95]
(xxxx)
Rice collector for the government

[Note: This order in Burmese is full of spelling mistakes and written in a shaky scrawl, by an official who is apparently semi-illiterate. "The wages" of 200 Ks does not mean they will be paid for the work — it means the amount villagers must pay to hire replacements if they can't go.]

ORDER 83

Stamp : Column 1 HQ
IB 97
To : Headman
xxxx village

Subject : Relocation

Regarding the above subject, we inform you that since there will be soon a military operation, the following villages: Kaung Nwe, Ta Maing Koh, Naung Naing, Ma Shwe Moe, etc. have to move quickly to a war free zone. When our column enter into these villages, if they see any villagers it will be the responsibility of those villagers.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer
IB 97

Area: xxxx village
Date: 30-6-95

[Note: "it will be the responsibility of those villagers" means any villagers still seen in their villages will be considered as enemy and shot on sight.]

ORDER 84

Stamp : Column ( )
IB 32
Date : 14-8-95
To : Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: To go to cut and to clear

Regarding the above subject, one person from each house must go to No. 32 Infantry Battalion on 15-8-95.

Note: You must bring your own rice packet.

[Sd. / 14-8-95]
(for) Column Commander

[Note: This work is cutting trees and clearing land for an army post or forced-labour farming fields. The village head later wrote "Done" on this order and signed it.]

ORDER 85

Stamp : Column 1 HQ
IB 97
To : Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: To send voluntary labour

Regarding the above subject, the headman has to provide (7) voluntary labourers and rice for 3 days for SLORC and DKBA troops to xxxx monastery. You must send the labourers and the rice on 1-7-95 at 9:00 a.m. If you fail to send them, action will be taken.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer
IB 97

Area: xxxx monastery
Date: 30-6-95

ORDER 86

Stamp : Company 2
IB 231
Date : 4-3-95
To : village Head
xxxx village

I am writing to you. On the 6th at 0900 [9:00 a.m.] you must bring 30 voluntary labourers, food for 3 days, spades, machetes, and baskets to the Battalion headquarters.

Note: Come without fail.

[Sd.]
Company Commander
Company 2
No. 231 Infantry Battalion

ORDER 87

Stamp : Company 2
IB 231
Date : 6-3-95
Acknowledgement

Attached is a list of (30) people from xxxx village. We acknowledge that they are going to xxxx, Kawkareik Township, to do voluntary labour for IB 231.

(Attached: (1) list of people's names)

[Sd.]
Company Commander
Company 2
IB 231

[Note: this document was given to the villagers to allow them to travel to the forced labour site — otherwise they would not be allowed to pass the SLORC checkpoints. The list attached has been withheld from this report for security reasons.]

ORDER 88

Date : 10th day of Thadingyut waning moon
18-10-95
To : village Head
xxxx village

You must arrange that your villagers send 100 logs, each 6 plah [9 feet] long within 3 days from your village to An Kong camp.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
An Kong camp

ORDER 89

Date : 14 November 1995
To : Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: To send wooden posts

To use as lamp posts, you must send (10) wooden posts of teak or pingado [a kind of ironwood] of (4) hands [handspans] circumference and (11) plah [17 feet] long to No. 32 Infantry Battalion on 20-11-95 by the latest.

[Sd.]
xxxx
Intelligence Officer

ORDER 90

Stamp : Column 2 HQ
IB 97
Date : 15-5-95
To : village head

xxxx village

Subject: Come and report to the Column

Regarding the above subject, we want to meet with the headman. So come and report to the column as soon as you receive this letter.

[Sd.]
Column Commander

Note: You have to bring along (2) viss [3.2 kg.] of chicken for curry. We also need (2) tonnes of padauk timber to make beds.

ORDER 91

Stamp : Battalion Office
IB 32
Date : 7-12-95
To : Chairmen
Swe Doh Tho Hta/Dah Lee/Kya Aye/Tah Way/ Kya Ket Chaung/ Chaung Wah/Wah Bo Ko/Mee Law Chaung/May Ka Leh Ko villages

Subject: To send firewood to sell to the battalion brick factory

Each village must come and bring (10) bullock carts of firewood in December. We inform you that we will pay cash.

[Sd.]
Battalion Captain

[Note: The cash paid will almost certainly not be very much, but villages have no option but to obey. In many areas villagers and teenage conscripted rank-and-file soldiers are made to do forced labour at these brick factories.]

ORDER 92

Stamp : Battalion Office
IB 32
Date : 7-12-95
To : xxxx village head

Subject: The headman must come to the Battalion Office urgently

village headman, we ordered you to bring (20) oxcarts of firewood in November but you did not bring anything. So village headman, you yourself must come urgently and account for this at the Battalion Office.

[Sd.]
Battalion Captain

[Note: the language used in this letter is particularly strong and threatening.]

ORDER 93

Myanmar Column and Township Law & Order Restoration Council

Stamp : Column
IB 32
Date : 23-8-95
To : Chairman
xx village

Along with the bearer of this letter, you must send (2) bullock carts to the column at 6:00 a.m. tomorrow.

You have already paid 1,800 Ks out of the 2,100 Ks servants' fees for the 11th to the 31st. So you must send the rest of the money, 300 Ks, immediately along with him.

Thank you,
[Sd.]
Date: 23-8-95
(Sergeant xxxx)

[Written on the back of the order: "Please collect and send as quickly as possible and bring the remaining servants' fees. The column is asking for it and also for the (2) bullock carts." The following was written in later on the order paper:

"We didn't go and meet.
25-8-95
[Sd.] Chairman, xxxx village"]

ORDER 94

Stamp : Column 2
IB 32
Date : 3-12-95
To : Chairman/(U xxxx)
xxxx village

Subject: To send (4) bullock carts

Regarding the above subject, Chairman U xxxx, you yourself and (4) bullock carts must come to the place where the Column is staying. You must come without fail. If you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd. / 3-12-95]
(for) Column Commander

ORDER 95

Stamp : Column 2
IB 32
Date : 6-11-95
To : Chairman
xxxx village group

Subject: To come and attend a meeting about the restoration of Wah Baw Gone monastery and the building of the road.

Regarding the above subject, the following village leaders have to come and attend a meeting on 7 November 1995 at 8:00 a.m. at Wah Baw Gone monastery without fail.

1. U xxxx
2. U xxxx
3. U xxxx
4. U xxxx

P.S. Attend without fail.

[Sd. / 6-11-95]
(for) Column Commander

Copies: Township LORC Chairman U Myint Thein
Secretary Saw Ee Naw
IB 32 Commander U Myo Htint
Coy 2 Bo San Win (Operation Officer)
Company Commander Aye Min Maung

[Note: this will be a meeting to assign forced labour quotas for the two projects.]

ORDER 96

To: Headman
(xxxx) village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, we inform you that the headman himself has to come and attend a meeting on 18-10-95 at the (xxxx monastery) about "security and military operations" and "development of the area" without fail.

[Sd.]
Dot Pa Lah Infantry
Column 1

Date: 16-10-95
xxxx Infantry
No.: 1000/01/ (8)

[Note: this is a typed form letter with the place names written into blanks enclosed in brackets.]

ORDER 97

Stamp : Column 2
LIB 310
To : Chairman
xxxx village

village Chairman, you must come to xxxx camp or to the place where the column is staying on 18-10-95 at 1:00 p.m. to discuss about control of the area and servants' matters [porters]. We inform you to come as soon as you can.

Note: Come without fail under any circumstance. If you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander
LIB 310

ORDER 98

Stamp : Company 2
IB 231
Date : 14-2-95
Full Moon Day of Tha Bo Twe

Layman-in-charge of monastery/Headman
xxxx / yyyy villages

- You must come and meet us at xxxx army camp without fail on the first day after full moon day of Tha Bo Twe.
- We inform you that you must bring a video player on the first day after full moon day of Tha Bo Twe.
- If you fail to come, we won't take any responsibility [for what happens to you].

[Sd.]
Company Commander
Company 2
IB 231

ORDER 99

Stamp : Column 1
IB 231
Date : 21-2-95
To : village head
xxxx village

Kyaw Lait Thait [orchestra and dance] troupe will perform, so give today without fail 500 Ks for the fund from your village.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer
IB 231

Place: xxxx village

[Note: Written on the back in red ink was "Important, Quickly"]

ORDER 100

Stamp : Column 2 HQ
IB 97
To : village Head xxxx
xxxx village

I write this letter to let you, xxxx, know. The subject is that the Column arrived at xxxx so send 30 limes and chicken, about 2 viss [3.2 kg.], today at about 4 o'clock. I remind you, xxxx, come and send these things yourself.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

ORDER 101

From : Column xxx
Date : 29 January 95
To : Honourable village leader

Please kindly send 150 mangoes on 30-1-95 from your village.

ORDER 102

Date : 11 February 95

Elder Brother,

Clean my watch. It keeps stopping. Change the winder.

[Sd. / Lt., IB 231]
xxxx Camp Superintendent

ORDER 103

Stamp : LIB 310
Intelligence
Date : 19 August 95
To : village head
xxxx village

Subject: Send information quickly

1) The village head herself must come and report to xxxx camp as soon as you receive this letter.
2) Give information for this week.
3) After sending information to the nearest Column, come and report to xxxx amp.

[Sd.]
Intelligence

ORDER 104

Stamp : LIB 310
Intelligence
Date : 17 December 95
To : xxxx (xxxx village head)

Send a messenger with the information about yesterday's asking for rice [by Karen soldiers who came to the village], recent information, afternoon information and evening information. Write a complete report about the direction the enemy left in and when.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander
LIB 310

ORDER 105

Stamp : LIB 310
Intelligence
Date : 22 December 1995
To : Chairman
xxxx village

xxxx, yyyy: You two from xxxx village must come and meet us as soon as you receive this letter. If you fail to come, the honourable village head will be held responsible.

[Sd. / 22-12-95]
Column Commander
LIB 310

[Note: Written on the back of the order was "Important / Come Immediately", with "Come Immediately" in red ink. When the two village leaders obeyed this order and went, they were both held under interrogation for several days at the camp for "not reporting rebel movements".]

ORDER 106

Stamp : LIB 310
Intelligence
Date : 12 December 1995
To : xxxx village

Dear xxxx / yyyy: Come to the Column with zzzz's wife as soon as you receive this letter. If you fail, when the Column enters the village we will not (WILL NOT) be responsible for what happens.

[Sd. / 12-12-95]
(for) Column Commander
LIB 310

ORDER 107

Stamp : LIB 310
Intelligence
Date : 18 November 1995
To : xxxx village
village Chairman xxxx

As soon as you receive this letter, we inform you to come and meet the Column Commander where the Column stays, as soon as possible.

[Sd. / 18-11-95]
(for) Column Commander
LIB 310

ORDER 108

Stamp : Column 2
IB 32
Date : 29 November 1995
To : Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: To come to xxxx monastery

Regarding the above subject, the headman must come to xxxx monastery to discuss about the middle school and health, education and social welfare on 30-11-95, tomorrow, at 6:00 a.m. We inform you that you must not fail to attend the meeting.

[Sd. / 29-11-95]
(for) Column Commander

ORDER 109

Stamp : Column 2
IB 32
Date : 9 December 1995
To : U xxxx
xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter, come to the place where the Column is staying. If you fail, it will be the headman's responsibility.

[Sd. / 9-12-95]
(for) Column Commander

ORDER 110

Date : 15 December 1995
To : village Head
xxxx village

The village head must come quickly to the Column as soon as you receive this letter.

Note: 1) Do not fail. If you fail the village head will be held responsible.

[Sd.]
(for) Intelligence Officer
Column Office

ORDER 111

Date : 21 August 1995
To : xxxx

Send a chicken, limes, and a bottle of oil as requested by our Captain, along with the village sentry man from xxxx village [a villager being forced to do sentry duty and act as messenger].

[Sd.]
Lance Corporal xxxx
(acting Captain)

ORDER 112

Date : 14 September 1995
To : Mother xxxx

This letter is written by your elder son. The subject is, I have things to do so please send a fat duck. There are guests at your elder son's place, so please help without fail. Mother, it's a hard time for me.

With love and respect,

[This letter] Sent with 100 Ks

[Sd. / 14-9-95]

[Note: a fat duck is worth at least double 100 Ks.]

ORDER 113

Stamp : Column 1
IB 97
Date : 1 June 1995
To : Chairman xxxx (xxxx village)

xxxx, come to the Column as soon as you receive this letter. We call you because there are important matters. You will be responsible if you fail to come.

Note: You are reminded again to come immediately without fail.

[Sd.]
Company Commander
Company 1
IB 97

ORDER 114

Stamp : Column 2
LIB 310
Date : 14 October 1995
To : Chairman / Secretary
xxxx village

Honourable village headman, send xxxx or yyyy to the Column to meet the Column Commander.

Note: The Column Commander asks to meet both xxxx and yyyy.

Without fail.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

ORDER 115

To : xxxx village

village Chairman, when you receive this letter we inform you that you must come on the 21st to the place where the Column is staying.

[Sd.]
(Ko Tha)

ORDER 116

Stamp : Company 1
IB 97
Date : 20-5-95
To : Chairman (village Head)
xxxx village

Subject: Summoning the headman

Regarding the above subject, we inform you that you have to come without fail to the army column on 21-5-95 at the latest to discuss important matters.
Note: Come without fail.

[Sd.]
Company Commander
Company 1
IB 97

ORDER 117

Date : 1-2-95
To : Headman
xxxx [village]

We inform you that you must come to the meeting at the camp on 2-2-95 without fail. You must arrive at 10:00 a.m.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
xxxx camp

ORDER 118

Stamp : IB 32
Military HQ (Intelligence)
Date : 10-11-95

To : Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: To sell *'Sah kweh'* [broken rice] for pigs to the Battalion

Regarding the above subject, we have no food to feed the pigs. As we need food, come and sell (3) sacks of *Sah kweh* from each village to the Battalion urgently. We will pay you cash in hand.

[Sd. / 10-11-95]
Intelligence
IB 32

ORDER 119

Date : 5-11-95
To : Chairman
xxxx village

You yourself or someone on your behalf must bring (3) sacks of *'Sah kweh'* [broken rice] to the Battalion today. You must send it without fail. We will give you the market price.

Respectfully,

[Sd.]

ORDER 120

Stamp : LIB 310
Intelligence
xxxx village
To : Chairman

1. Headman, for the report to No. 310 Light Infantry Battalion / No. 2 Column, you must deliver the following list to Column No. 2 , as soon as you can but at the latest on 3-12 [Dec. 3]:

1. village name

2. Total number of houses
3. Number of people aged 12 and above (male/female)
4. Number of people aged under 12 (male/female)
5. Total number of schools, high/middle/primary
6. Total number of teachers (male/female) and students (male/female)
7. Number of monasteries/abbots, monks, and monk attendants
8. Total number of cattle
9. Total acreage of fields
10. Total number of oxcarts and boats
11. Total number of video machines/TVs
12. Total number of rice-mills/sawmills /oil presses/generators

2. We inform you that the village LORC Chairman or Secretary must come and deliver by himself the above list without fail.

Note: You must send it by the given date without fail.

[Sd.]
Column Commander
LIB 310

[Note: The details for the particular village were filled in on this order, but have been omitted here for security reasons. All villages in the area are being ordered to provide such lists. They will most likely be used to determine quotas for forced labour, confiscation of livestock, commandeering of carts and boats, and extortion money.]

ORDER 121

Stamp: VERY URGENT

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Ref. No. 113/1-5/TLORC (K.I.S.G.)
Date: 25 August 1995

To: village Head
xxxx village LORC
Kya In Seik Gyi Township

Subject: You have to come and meet

1. New people were selected for the xxxx village LORC and we asked for the detailed personal background of the newly elected people to be sent to this Township LORC. But, until now, we have not received anything yet.

2. The people who were chosen in the election must come with their NRC [National Registration Card] to the Township LORC office on 28-8-95 at 10:00 a.m. without fail.

[Sd. / 25-8-95]
(for) Chairman

Copy to: Office Copy/by clearance only

ORDER 122

Stamp : Column 2
IB 231
Date : 3-9-94
To : xxxx village
Monastery layman-in-charge/headman

village leaders, as soon as you get this letter, you have to send (2) people to serve in our camp as promised. Moreover, you must send (2) more people to take over from the previous ones and you must also send back (2) people who ran away and did not finish their duty. The fact that they returned [home] is your responsibility and we consider that you did not fulfil your duty.

The operation column warns you that if they take the opportunity to leave while the troops are not around, we will not take any responsibility [for what we do to you]. Should this happen in the future, we will take action and you will be charged with disturbing and causing delay to our military operations.

You have to take action and find those (2) undutiful servants, and inform us when you have done so.

You must send them quickly to xxxx Column.

[Sd. / 3-9-94]
Column Office

ORDER 123

Stamp : Column 2
IB 231
Date : 17-9-94
To : xxxx village
village Head/Layman in charge of monastery

Today we have released (2) servants from xxxx village. Arrange for them to be replaced since they have been in xxxx [the SLORC camp] for a long time. Do not pretend as if you forgot about them. village leaders, you have to take this matter seriously. We do not want to hear any excuse, such as "it is far away and it is flooded". Try to remember to be ready to replace on time those who have completed their duty. Do not think it is not your duty. You have the

responsibility to look after the people you sent. Replace the people that we have now released and replace also those who are still left in the camp.

[Sd.]
Column Office

[Note: villages are forced to send forced labourers on a rotating basis, and normally one group is not released until their replacements arrive. The village head is obviously not replacing the forced labourers often enough for SLORC.]

ORDER 124

Stamp : Column 2
IB 231
Date : 6-5-94
To : Monastery layman-in-charge
xxxx village

1. Thank you and we are very pleased about the voluntary servants that came.

2. Please do help us again and deliver (10) big and good durians on the 10th day after full moon day of Tagu (8-5-94) to xxxx camp and we will give you compensation.

3. We will send back the (2) servants from xxxx village on the 1st day of Ka Son.

Thank you,
[Sd.]
Battalion 2nd-in-command
IB 231
Acting officer, xxxx camp

ORDER 125

Stamp : Column 2
IB 231
To : xxxx village
Monastery layman-in-charge, village Head

Following my previous letter asking to send (2) servants and replace (2) others, you must come to xxxx camp on the 7th of the English calendar or 3rd of the waxing moon of the Burmese calendar. The column commander is angry that you neglect your duty. You have to come and explain.

Don't make the excuse that it is too difficult and too far to come. When you come to xxxx, you have to bring information about the situation of your village.

Are you afraid of the insurgents or do you feel pity on the villagers? Think carefully and do as we have ordered unconditionally.

[Sd.]
Column Office

[Note: village heads often avoid going when called like this, then tell the commander that they were too "afraid of the rebels" to go. This commander suggests that perhaps the real reason the village head doesn't come is because he "feels pity on the villagers", which is apparently considered a serious crime by the Tatmadaw.]

ORDER 126

TRAVEL PERMIT
Date : 14/11/94

1)	Name:	xxxx / yyyy / zzzz
2)	Age:	xx / yy / zz
3)	Father's Name:	xxxx / yyyy / zzzz
4)	Place:	xxxx village
5)	Ethnicity:	Karen
6)	Occupation:	Farmers
7)	Destination:	xxxx village
8)	NRC No.:	None

Kawkareik Township, xxxx village. We acknowledge that these 3 people are simple villagers and are not involved in politics.
Travel period: (14-11-94) up to (15-11-94).

[Sd.]	Sd.]
xxxx	xxxx
Camp Commander	Chairman
xxxx camp	xxxx village

xxxx headman U xxxx and 3 labourers.

[Note: this is a standard form with the details filled in the blanks. This travel permit was required just so 3 villagers could go to another village for forced labour without being arrested. It is included here to show what people have to go through just to travel short distances in SLORC's Burma. NRC is National Registration Card — most villagers do not have one.]

ORDER 127

Stamp : IB 263
Tha Pyay Nyunt Camp
Date : 1-7-1995
To : Chairman (village LORC)
xxxx village

Subject: Relocation of mountain villages

1. Regarding the above subject, as soon as you receive this letter, the mountain villages must move to and settle in Tha Pyay Nyunt resettlement village within 10 days and not later than (10-7-1995).

2. If you fail to report before the deadline, the Tatmadaw will march into your village. The villages-in-hiding will be burned down and attacked with arms. The hill fields will be burnt and destroyed.

3. Each village has to report to Tha Pyay Nyunt camp and resettlement village by the deadline. If they fail to report, I warn you again that serious action will be taken.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
Tha Pyay Nyunt Army Camp
Front-line IB 263

[Note: This is a duplicated typed order with the name of the village and the deadline date written in; it was sent to several villages.]

ORDER 128

Stamp : Column 2
Front-line IB 232
Date : 10-4-95
To : Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: To send voluntary labourers to build the camp

Regarding the above subject, Chairman / Secretary, we inform you that you must send (20) male or female workers from your village to Ye Tho Gyi army camp with their machetes on 11, 12, and 13 April 95 at 0700 [7:00 a.m.] without fail.

[Sd.]
Column Commander
IB 232

ORDER 129

Stamp : Auxiliary Company
IB 48
Date : 16-6-95
To : Chairman and members
xxxx village

I am informing you now that:

(1) The headman must send (15) voluntary male workers from your village to Ye Tho Gyi army camp on 20-6-95 at 7:00 a.m. without fail.

(2) To make a fence, each one must bring along one machete and food for one day.

(3) I inform you that the headman or one member must come and lead the group without fail.

[Sd.]
Company Commander
Auxiliary Artillery Company
IB 48

[Note: "Important and Urgent" was written on the back of the order. "Chairman and members" means the appointed Chairman and members (secretary, etc.) of the village LORC.]

ORDER 130

Stamp : Auxiliary Company
IB 48
Date : 29-7-95
To : Chairman and members
xxxx village

(1) Send (22) voluntary workers from xxxx village to Ye Tho Gyi army camp on 30-7-95 at 7:00 a.m. without fail.

(2) One of the village leaders must lead the group and come without fail.

(3) Bring along a list of the villagers who fail to come.

[Sd.]
Company Commander
Auxiliary Artillery Company
IB 48

ORDER 131

Stamp : [illegible unit stamp]
Date : 30-7-95
To : Chairman and members
xxxx village

(1) Why have the voluntary labourers not come yet?

(2) Come immediately.

[Sd.]
Company Commander
Auxiliary Artillery Company
IB 48

ORDER 132

Stamp : IB 48
Date : 31-7-95
To : Headman and members

(1) This is the last letter.

(2) This evening, 31-7-95, (22) voluntary labourers from xxxx village must come without fail.

(3) One of the village leaders himself must lead them and come.

(4) If you fail to come, we will not take any responsibility for xxxx village. Headman, you yourself must come and solve this problem at Ye Tho Gyi army camp.

[Sd.]
Company Commander

[Note: "We will not take any responsibility for xxxx village" means they will come and destroy the village.]

ORDER 133

Date : 5-8-95
To : village Law & Order Restoration Council
xxxx village

Subject: To send voluntary labourers

Regarding the above subject, Headman/Secretary, you must send (5) voluntary labourers from your village on 7-8-95, Monday morning, to No. 48 Infantry Battalion at Ye Tho Gyi army camp without fail. I inform you, Chairman/Secretary in charge, to send voluntary labourers according to the list below:

List of villages to send voluntary labourers

(1) Pa Gya	(25) people
(2) Thay Way Taw	(20) people
(3) Myay Way Tho	(15) people
(4) Ku Myaung	(15) people
(5) Doe Doh	(15) people
(6) [illegible]	(10) people
(7) [illegible]	(5) people

[Sd.]
Deputy Army Commander
2nd-in-Command for Operation
No. 2nd Military Strategic Command
Western Command Headquarters

[Note: Units from Western Command, normally deployed in areas such as Arakan State, have been sent to Taungoo District for the offensive against Karen civilians.]

ORDER 134

Stamp : Column 2 Headquarters
Front-line IB 48
Date : 30-8-95

To : Chairman
Secretary and Members
xxxx village

I inform you in this letter that:

(1) One person from each house in xxxx village must come to Ye Tho Gyi army camp on 31-8-95 at 7:00 a.m. without fail.
(2) The Chairman or Secretary must lead the group himself without fail.

[Sd.]
Captain Ye Win
(for) Column Commander

[Stamped:] Company Commander
Auxiliary Artillery Company
IB 48

ORDER 135

Stamp : Company 1
LIB 354

Date : 15-9-95
To : Chairman/Secretary
xxxx village

Chairman (or Secretary), we inform you that you must come and bring one person from each house with food for (2) days on 15-9-95 to contribute voluntary labour in Ye Tho Gyi army camp.

On 15/9/95 at 6:00 p.m., report to Ye Tho Gyi army camp.

[Sd.]
BC 24357
Bo Kyaw Oo
Company Commander
LIB 354

ORDER 136

Stamp : Column 2
IB 234
To : xxxx village

Subject: Calling servants for military operation

1. Regarding the above subject, on 8-2-95 the Column Commander and Chairmen had a meeting to consider and discuss the military operation. We all agreed about the operation.

2. In accordance with the above, the Strategic Command and (20) servants have been ordered to go to Taungoo town within (2) days for labour.

3. As agreed with your village, you will come and give 3,000 Ks per servant to the Bawgali Gyi army camp on 11-2-95 without fail. If you need more details, we inform you that you can come immediately.

[Sd.]
Column 2
Front-line IB 234

[Note: This is a typed form letter which was sent to several villages. As it refers to previous arrangements, the meaning is somewhat unclear. Apparently each village is being ordered to send 20 porters, or 3,000 Ks for each person who doesn't go. Here "servants" is SLORC's way of referring to porters. When it says "agreements" were made, it means orders were issued — civilians have no say in "agreements" with SLORC.]

ORDER 137

Date: 22 June 1995
To: Chairman
village Tracts Law and Order Restoration Council
Onpinkwin/Zadi/Phaungdaw/Yar Phoo/Zinba [village]
Yebyu Township

Subject: To contribute volunteer labourers for the Railway Construction

(1) As it is in need of more volunteer labourers at Nwe Lein Work-site of the Ye-Tavoy Railway Construction, Zadi, Phaungdaw and Onpinkwin village tracts, which have taken a rest from working on the construction of the army buildings on Heinze Island, are informed to contribute (blurred spot) labourers each to work for the railway construction at Nwe Lein Work-site from 25 June 1995.

(2) Yar Phoo and Zinba village tracts, which have taken a rest from working on the railway construction are herein informed to contribute 30 labourers and 15 labourers respectively to work on the railway construction again from 25 June 1995.

(3) It is informed that the necessary shelters for these railway construction labourers to stay are to be built with own expenses of respective villages; that the labourers from each village are to be sent to the work-site by one of the members of the VLORC themselves; and that the work-site is to be supervised and overseen by the respective VLORC in rotation.

[Sd.]
For Chairman
U Myint Soe
Secretary
Township Law and Order Restoration Council in Yebyu

ORDER 138

Date: 31 August 1995

To: Chairman
(Name of individual) Quarter/village Tract
Yebyu Township

Subject: Re-setting the numbers of hired labourers for the railway construction

(1) So as to have the Ye-Tavoy Railway Construction (Yebyu-Kaleinaung Section) completed most quickly, the number of hired labourers to be provided by your quarter/village tract is increased to and re-set as (60) from 1 September 1995.

(2) You are informed to send these hired labourers to Nwe Lein Work-site from 1 September 1995 according to the number re-set now. In so doing, you must ensure that no women or minors be included amongst these hired labourers and that only men of full age be selected. You the VLORC must stay with your respective labourers and oversee the work-site yourselves in rotation, and must ensure especially that you can send the full hired labourers in the re-set number.

[Sd.]
For Chairman
U Myint Soe
Secretary
Township Law and Order Restoration Council in Yebyu.

ORDER 139

Date: 2 August 1995

To: Chairman
village Law and Order Restoration Council
Kaleinaung, Pharchaung, Kanbauk, Eindayaza, Natkyizin and Minthar [villages]
Yebyu Township

Subject: To co-operate with the railway route-finding team.

(1) The route-finding team from Tavoy, working on the Ye-Tavoy Railway Construction Project, will arrive at your village tracts on 5 August 1995 to conduct necessary railway route-finding activities.

(2) Your respective village tracts are herein informed to provide 50 labourers each for clearing foliage and doing other necessary works with the route-finding teams as well as to ensure that the labourers also bring the necessary tools such as choppers, axes, mattocks and etc., together with them.

[Sd.]
For Chairman
U Myint Soe
Secretary
Township Law and Order Restoration Council in Yebyu.

ORDER 140

Date: 17 August

To: Chairman
(Name of)village
Subject: To clear foliage for the railway route

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, you are herein informed of your village's responsibility to contribute (11) labourers. You must send these labourers to Minthar village by the evening of 17 August 1995 and must ensure that the labourers also bring their own choppers together with them.
Note: There must not be any failure on your part at all.

[Sd.]
Chairman
Minthar village Tracts LORC

ORDER 141

Date: 16 September 1995
To: Chairman
(Name of) village

Subject: To refill volunteer labourers

Re the above-mentioned matter, you are informed to send (8) volunteer labourers from your village to Minthar by 3:00 p.m. of 17 September 1995.

[Sd.]
Chairman
Minthar village Tract LORC

ORDER 142

Date: 6 September
To: Chairman
(Name of) village

Subject: To contribute labour for the Ye-Tavoy Railway Construction

Re the above-mentioned matter, Kywethonnyima village Tracts has been given responsibility (by the Township LORC in Yebyu) to contribute a total of 50 volunteer labourers. In sharing this responsibility, your village must contribute (6) volunteer labourers so much send them to Kywethonnyima on 10 September 1995.

Note: There must not be any failure on your part.

[Sd.]
U Than Yi
Chairman
Kywethonnyima village Tracts LORC

ORDER 143

Date: 16 September 1995
To: Chairman
VLORC
(Name of) village

Subject: To contribute labour for the Ye-Tavoy Railway Construction

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, according to the instruction of the Yebyu Township authorities, there is piecework on the railway construction and Kywethonnyima village Tracts is responsible for digging a total of 1440 holes. In sharing this responsibility, your village is responsible for 70 holes. The hire of labour for each hole costs 350 Ks. Therefore, your village must provide labourers from 20 September 1995 to fulfil your quota.

Note: There must be no failure. Any failure on your part will only be your own responsibility.

[Sd.]
U Aung Din
Secretary
Kywethonnyima village Tracts LORC

ORDER 144

Date: 21 September 1995
To: Chairman
(Name of) village

Subject: To contribute volunteer labour on the Ye-Tavoy Railway Construction

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, Kywethonnyima village Tracts is responsible for a total of (1440) hole of soil and in sharing this responsibility your village is responsible for (25) holes for one month.

To fulfil this quota, you chairman/Secretary are herein informed to bring along with yourselves the volunteer labourers and foods for one month for them as soon as you receive this letter.

Note: If you fail (to act accordingly), it will only be the responsibility of the Chairman/Secretary yourselves.

[Sd.]
U Than Yi
Chairman
Kywethonnyima village Tracts LORC

[Sd.]
Myint Oo
Warrant Officer II
IB 273
commander of
Kywethonnyima
Encampment

ORDER 145

Date: 25 September 1995

To: Chairman
VLORC
(Name of) village

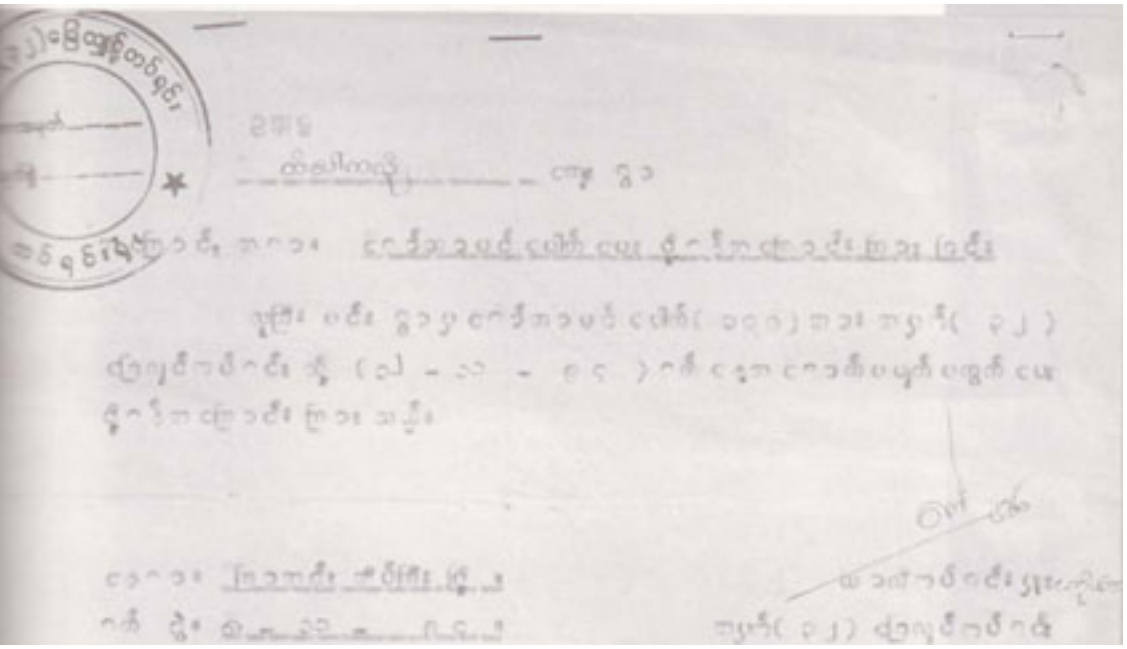
Subject: To contribute volunteer labour on the Ye-Tavoy Railway Construction

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, Kywethonnyima village Tract is responsible for digging a total of (10800) holes. You Chairman must, therefore, come to Kyun Sakhan yourself as soon as you received this letter.

Note: Any Failure on your part will only be your own responsibility.

[Sd.]
U Than Yi
Chairman
Kywethonnyima village Tracts LORC

[Sd.]
Myint Oo
Warrant Officer II
IB 273
commander of
Kywethonnyima
Encampment



ORDER 146

Stamp : Office of Battalion
IB 32

To : Chairman
Htee Paw Ka Loh village

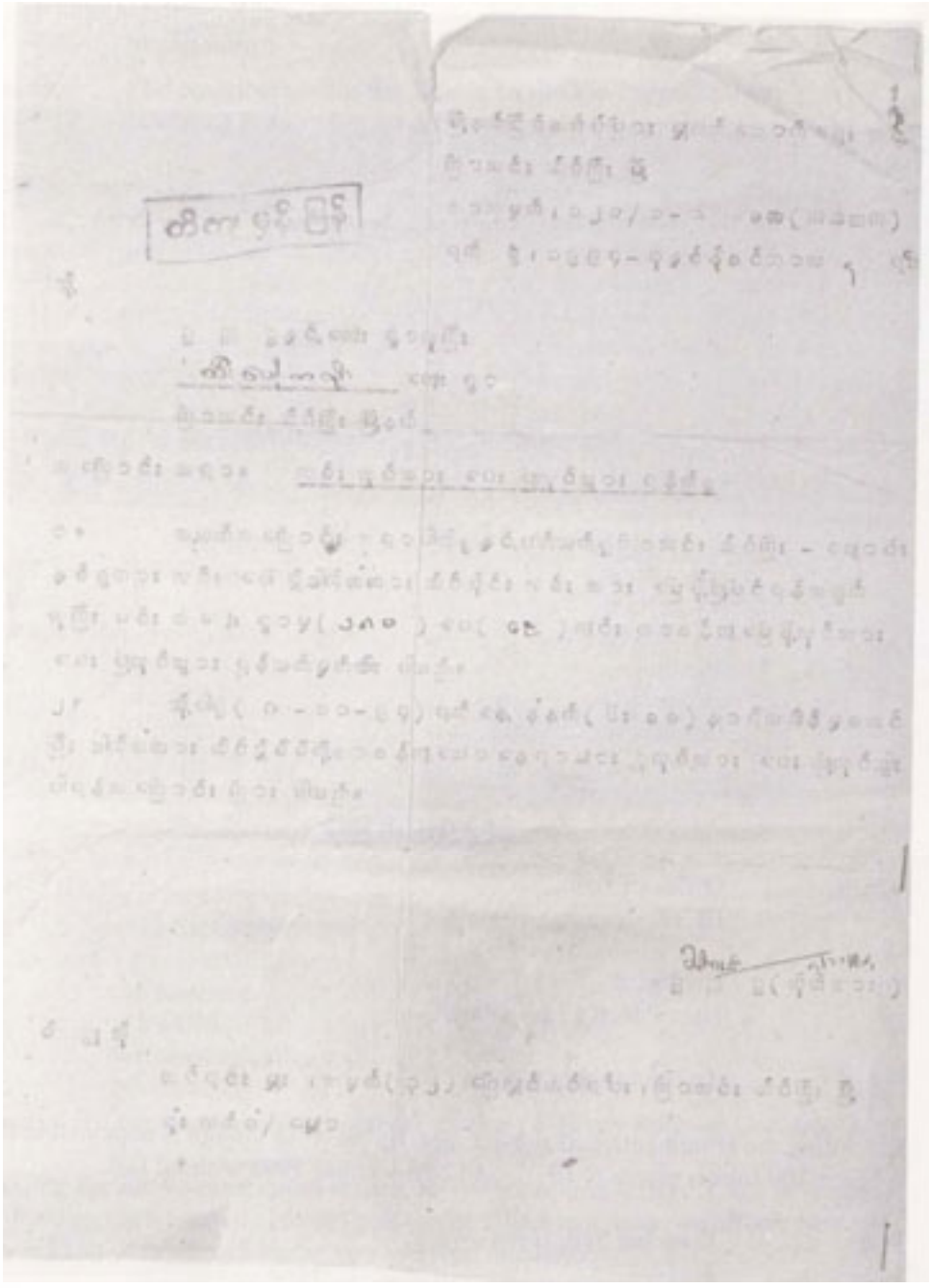
Subject: To send rubber plants

Regarding the aforementioned subject, gentleman, your village is responsible for sending 100 rubber plants to IB 32 on 12 November 1994 without fail.

Place : Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Town
Date : 8-11-94

[Sd. illegible]
(for) Acting Battalion Commander
IB 32

HRDU



ORDER 147

ORDER 147

Stamp : Exactly, Right & Quick

(K.I.S.G.)

Township LORC
Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Town
Ref. No.121/1-1/LORC

Date. 4 November 1994

To : Chairman
Htee Paw Ka Loh village
Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Township

Subject: To contribute voluntary labour

1. Regarding the aforementioned subject, we have fixed that your village is responsible to dig 180 feet of 69 earthen pits for the embankment on the road at the mouth of Dar Li Bridge, which is on Kyar Inn Seik Gyi-Chaung Hna Khwa motorway.

2. Therefore, we inform you that all those assigned duties should contribute labour at their places at the mouth of Dar Li Bridge starting from 6:00 a.m. on 8-11-94.

[Sd. illegible]
(for) Chairman
4/11/94

Copy to: Battalion Commander, IB 32, Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Town
File copy

ORDER 148

Stamp : Shwe Taung Bo village-tract LORC
Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Town
Ref. No. / /LORC (Shwe Taung Bo)

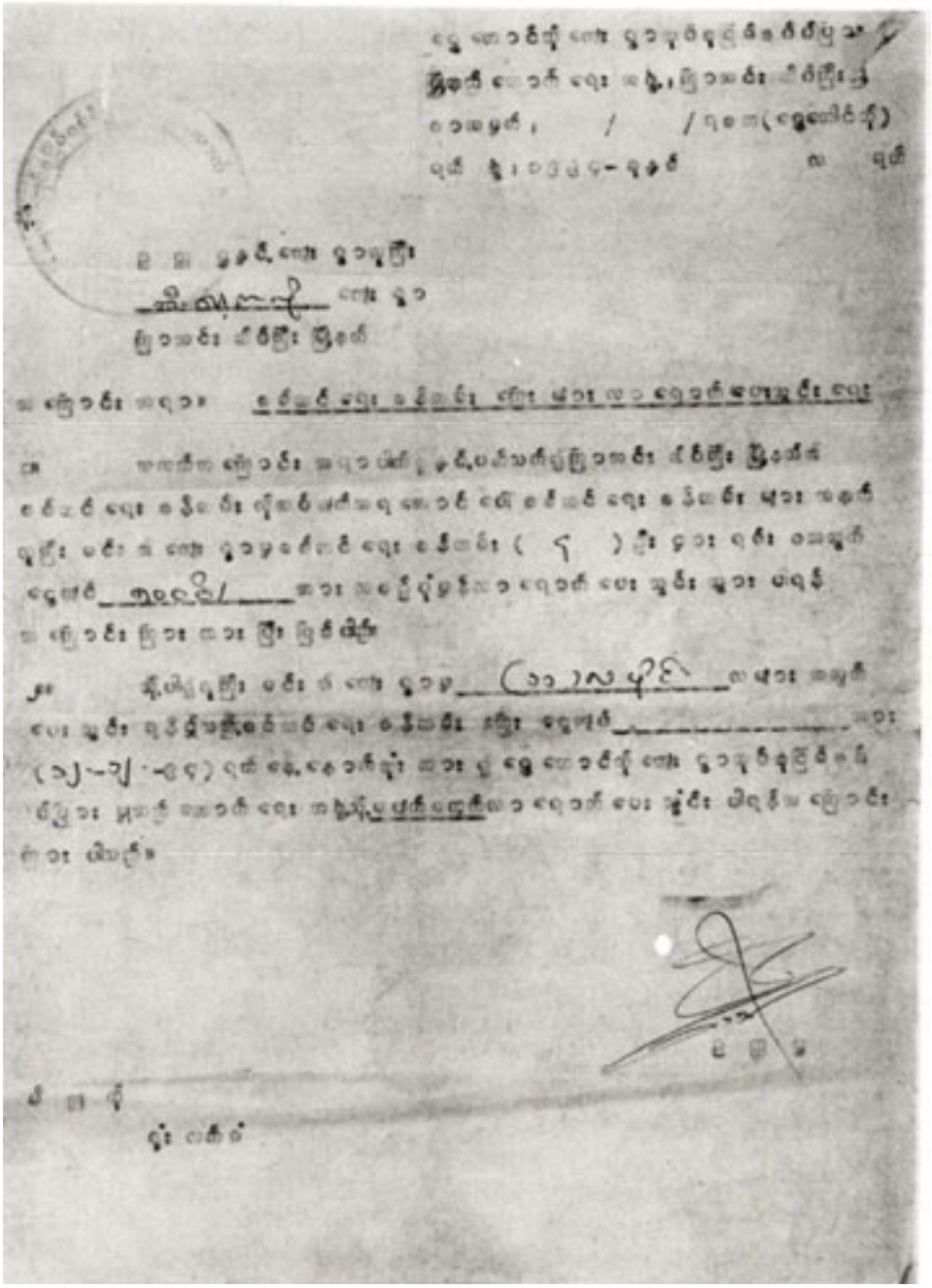
Date : 1994

To : Chairman and village head
Htee Paw Ka Loh village
Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Township

Subject: Inform you to send fees for operation servants

1. Regarding the aforementioned subject, due to the need of voluntary servants from Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Township for military operations in the hills, we have already informed you that your village is responsible to give a monthly servants' fees of 8,000 Ks in order to hire four servants.

HRD



ORDER 148

2. Therefore, we inform you to come and pay the operation servants' fees of 8,000 Ks for the month of November (11/94) to Shwe Taung Bo village-tract LORC on 12 December 1994 by the latest, without fail.

[Sd. illegible]
Chairman

ORDER 149

Stamp : Shwe Taung Bo village-tract LORC
Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Town
Ref. No. / /LORC (Shwe Taung Bo)
Date : December 1994
To : Chairman and village head
Htee Paw Ka Loh village
Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Township

Subject: Inform you to send fees for operation servants

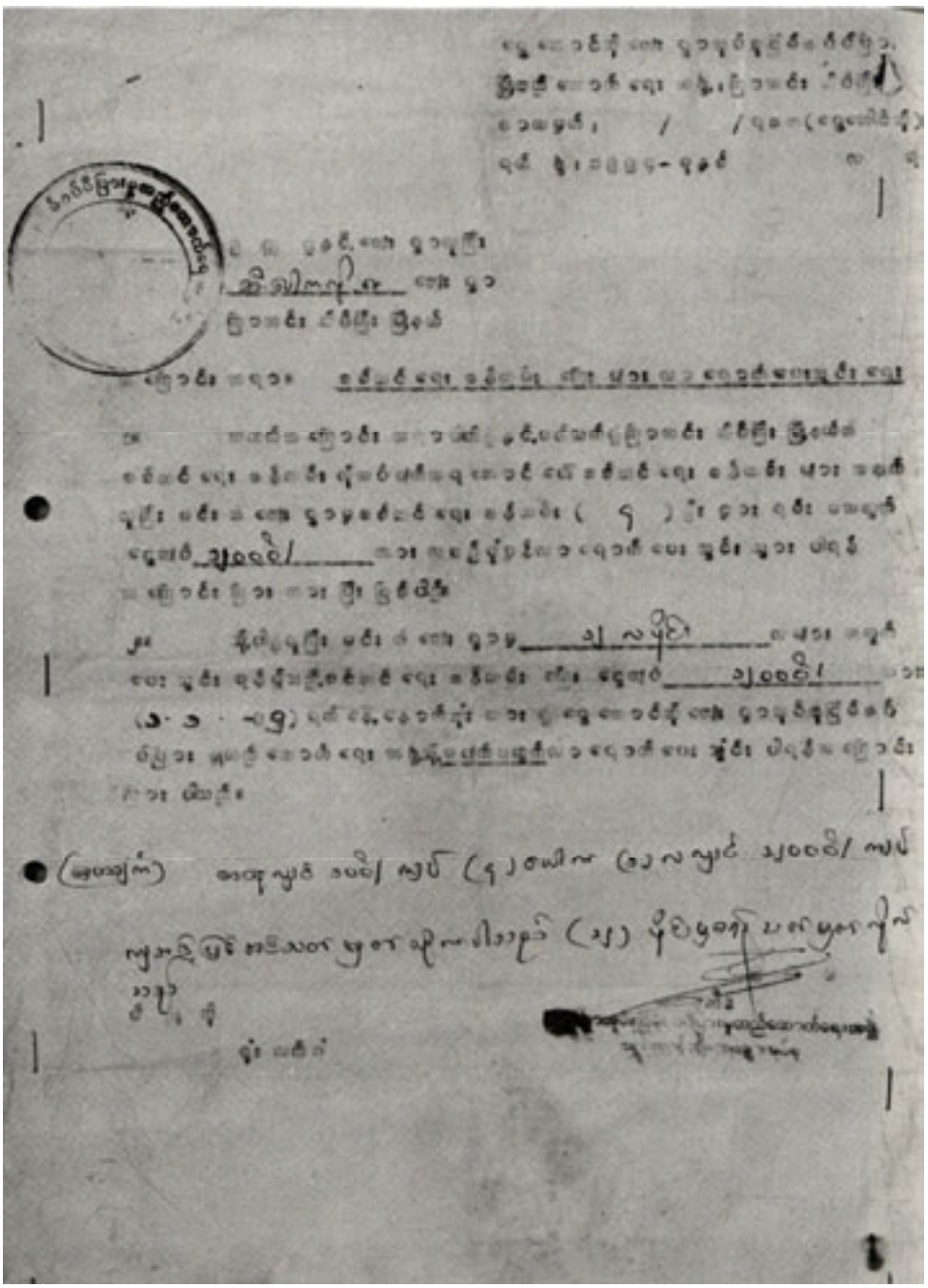
1. Regarding the aforementioned subject, due to the need of voluntary servants from Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Township for military operations in the hills, we have already informed you that your village is responsible to give a monthly servants' fees of 12,000 Ks in order to hire four servants.

2. Therefore, we inform you to come and pay the operation servants' fees of 12,000 Ks for the month of December (12/94) to Shwe Taung Bo village-tract LORC on 1 January 1995 by the latest, without fail.

Note : From December, we fix the rate as follows:
100 Ks per person per day x 4 person x one month = 12,000 Ks.

[Sd. illegible]
Chairman
Village-tract Law and Order Restoration Council
Shwe Taung Bo village-tract

HRDU



ORDER 149

ORDER 150

Stamp : Village-tract Law and Order Restoration Council
Shwe Taung Bo village-tract
Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Township
Ref. No.
Date : January 1995
To : Chairman
Htee Paw Ka Loh village
Subject: Inform you to send voluntary labourers

Regarding the aforementioned subject, we inform you that as your village is responsible for sending four monthly regular labourers or 1,200 ks in cash, we want you to send four labourers on 13 June 1995 without fail.

Note : Bring along with you 3,500 Ks for sports fund, 800 Ks for donation and 600 Ks for supporting People's militia, a total of 16,900 Ks. If you fail it will be your responsibility.

[Sd. illegible]
Chairman
Village-tract Law and Order Restoration Council
Shwe Taung Bo village-tract

ORDER 151

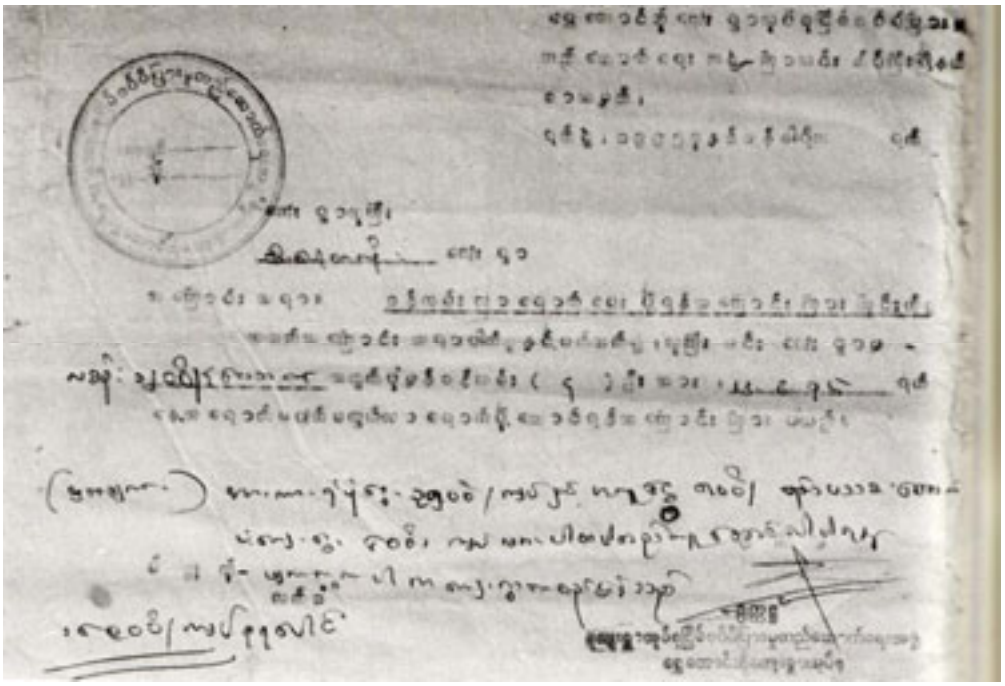
Stamp : Company 4
IB 106

Acknowledgement

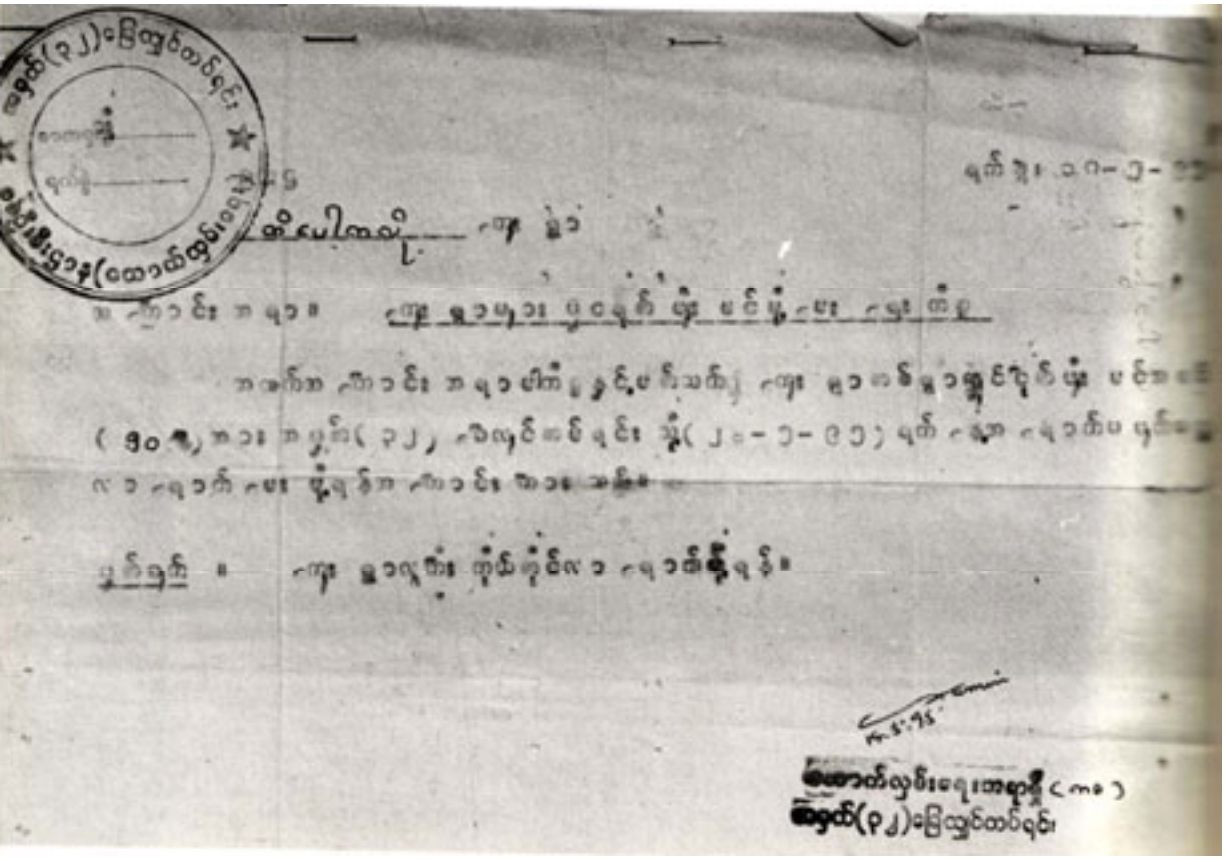
This is to acknowledge that we have received the servants' fees of 3,000 Ks from We Ka Lun village for the month of April (4/95).

Date : 24 April 1995
Place : Taung Bauk

[Sd. illegible]
(for) Company Commander
Company 4
IB 106



ORDER 150



ORDER 152

ORDER 152

Stamp : General Staff Department (Intelligence)
IB 32
Date : 18 May 1995
To : Chairman
Htee Paw Ka Loh village

Subject: To send chilli plants

Regarding the aforementioned subject, every village is responsible for sending 50 plants of chillies to IB 32 on 20 May 1995 without fail.

Note: Village head himself must come and send.

[Sd. illegible]
(for) Intelligence officer
IB 32

ORDER 153

Stamp : Company 4
IB 106
Date : 24 May 1995

Acknowledgement

This is to acknowledge that on 24 May 1995 we received the servants' fees of 3,000 Ks from We Ka Lun village for the month of May (5/95).

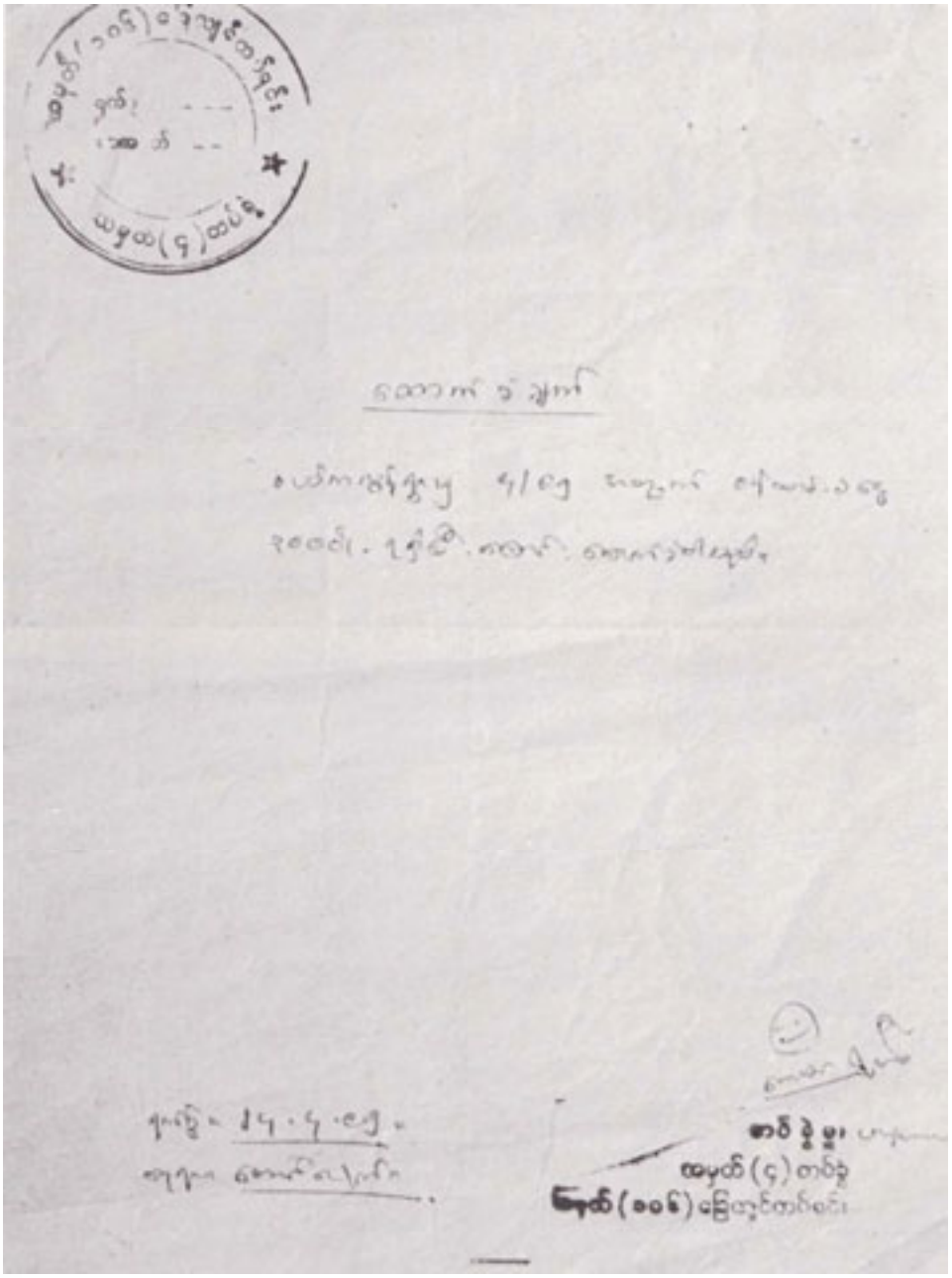
[Sd. illegible]
Company Commander
Company 4
IB 106

ORDER 154

Stamp : Village-tract Law and Order Restoration Council
Shwe Taung Bo village-tract
Date : 18.6.95
To : Chairman (URGENT)

Operation servants' fees, sports funds and other donations fixed for your village Operation servants' fees, sports funds and other donations fixed for your village should be sent at 8:00 a.m. on 19 June 1995 by the latest.

HRDU



ORDER 151

If you are arrested due to failure, we will take no responsibility

[Sd. illegible]
Chairman
Village-tract Law and Order Restoration Council
Shwe Taung Bo village-tract

ORDER 155

Stamp : Column 2 Headquarters
IB 62
To : Chairman
We Ka Lun village
Subject: Acknowledgement for receiving servants' fees

This is to acknowledge that on 23 June 1995 we received the servants' fees of 3,000 Ks from your village for the month of June (6/95).

Date : 23 June 1995
Place : Taung Bauk

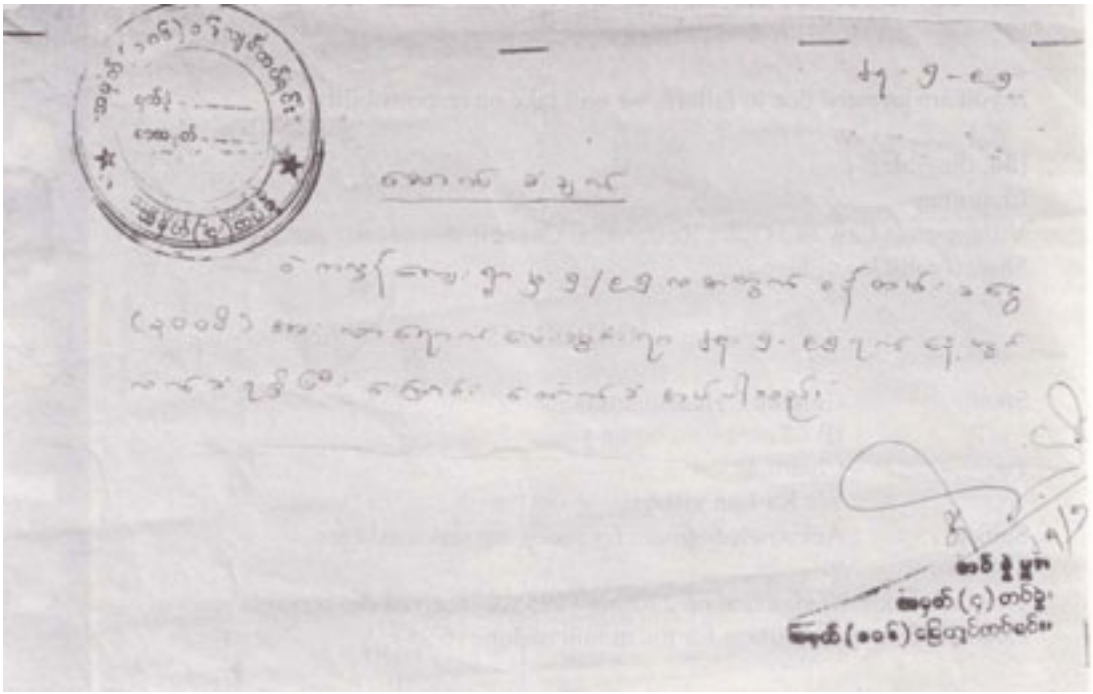
[Sd. illegible]
(for) Column Commander
Column 2 Headquarters
IB 62

ORDER 156

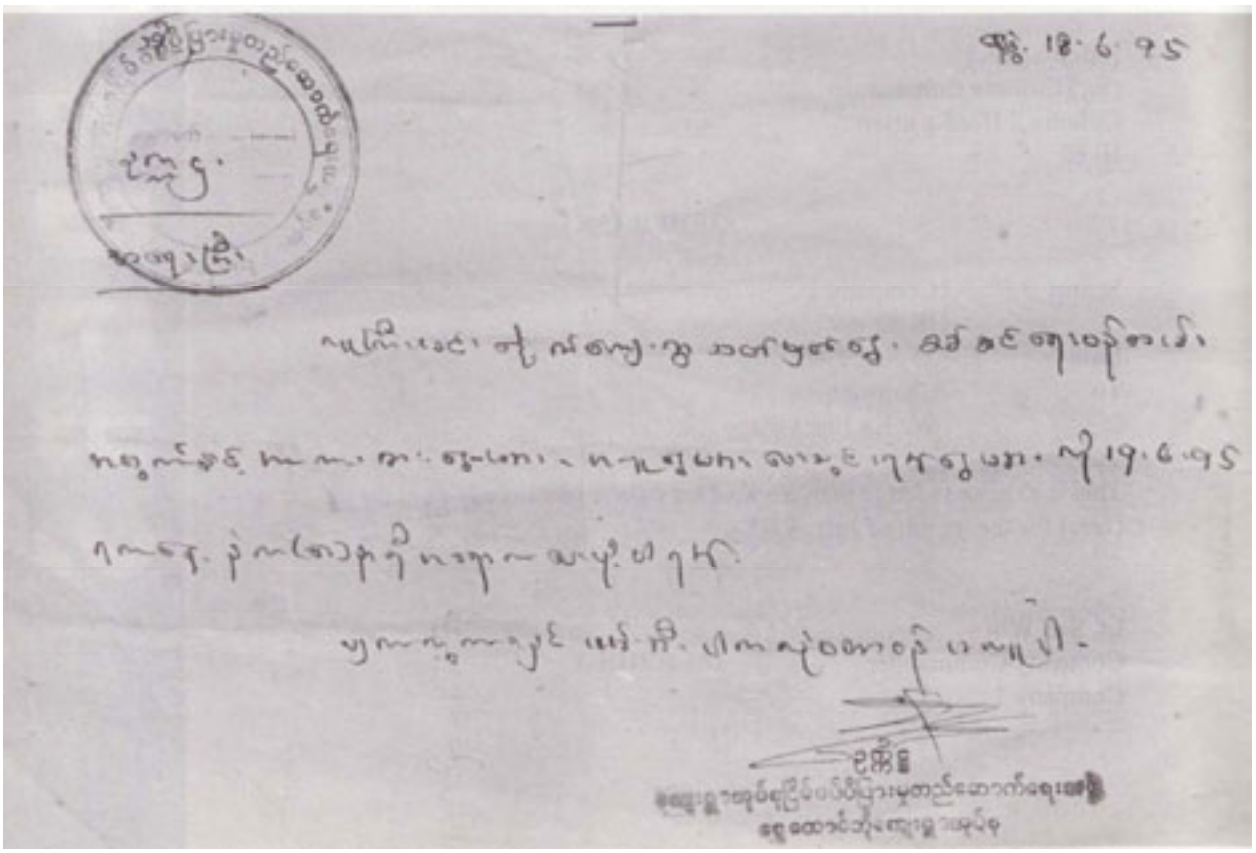
Stamp : Company 1
IB 32
Date : 25 July 1995
To : Chairman
We Ka Lun village

This is to acknowledge that We Ka Lun village has already paid for the servants' [fees] for the month of July (7/95).

Lt. San Win
Company Commander
Company 1



ORDER 153



ORDER 154

ORDER 157

SECRET

Stamp : Exactly, Right & Quick

(K.I.S.G.)

Township LORC
Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Town
Ref. No.101/1-1/LORC

Date. 1 August 1995

To : Chairman
Htee Paw Ka Loh village
Kyar Inn Seik Gyi Township

Subject: To clear the bushes along the Zami River bank

1. As there were bushy on both sides of Zami River bank between Kyar Inn Seik Gyi and Chaung Hna Khwa, No. 32 Infantry Battalion has informed by Telex No. 2/Urgent-2/Secret-2 dated 27 July 1995 that the insurgents can hide in those bushes and ambush vessels of army and civilians.

2. Therefore, in collaboration with military columns, companies and sections in your village-tracts, you have to clear all the bushes with labour by the people in surrounding villages and owners of the farms on both sides of the bank, and as we will inspect the work you are informed to report the completion of duties to this office.

[Sd. illegible]
(for) Chairman
1/8/95

Copy to: Battalion Commander, IB 32, Kyar Inn Seik Kyi Town
File copy

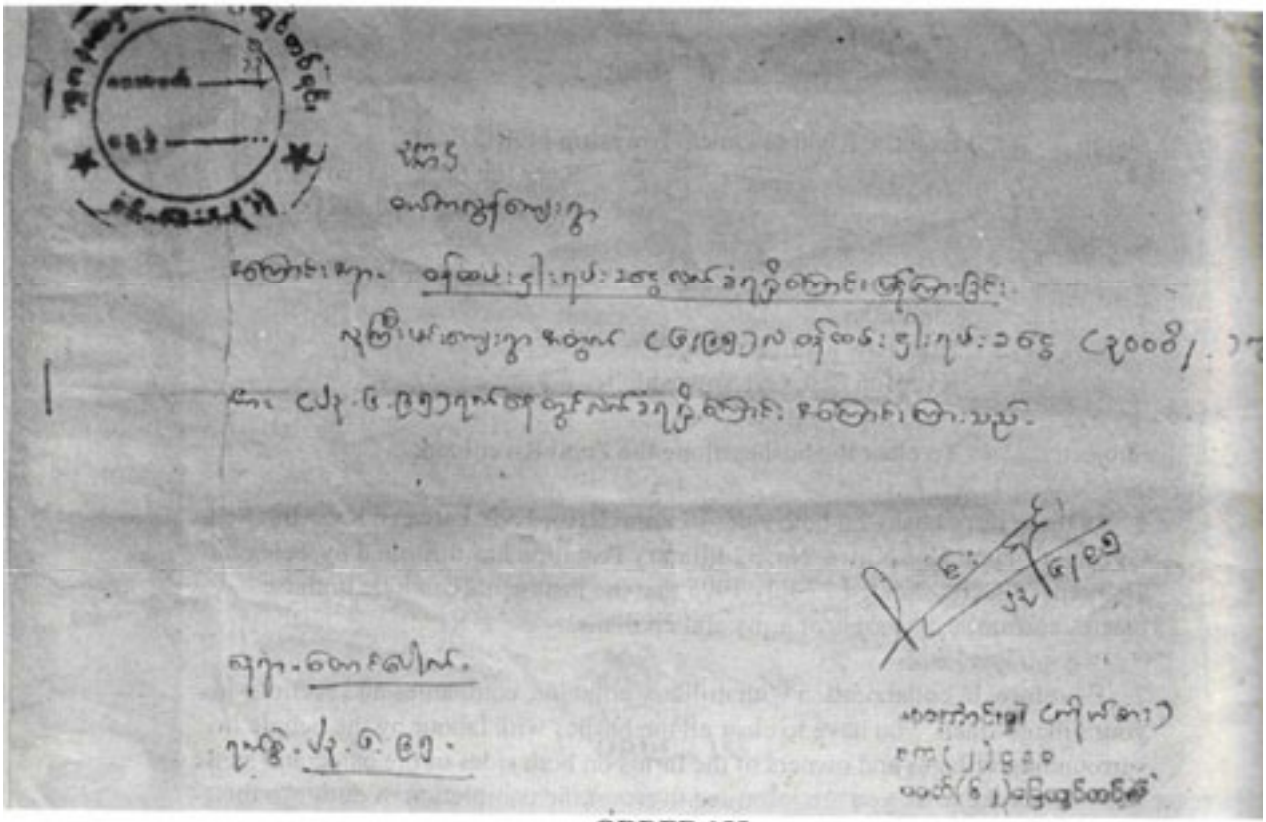
SECRET

ORDER 158

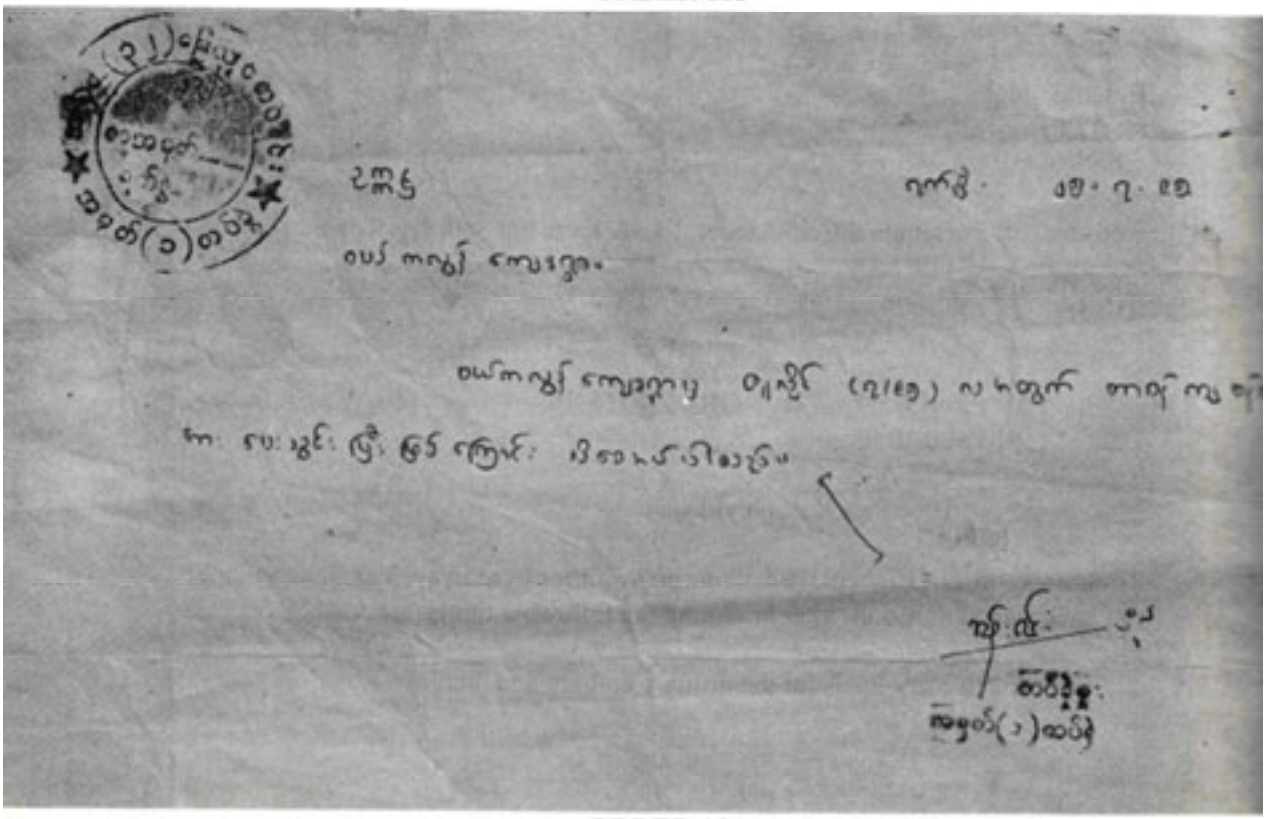
Date : 20.10.95
To : Chairman
Htee Paw Ka Loh village

Tomorrow, on 21 October, 1995, come and wait for us at Pyaw Yar Gone village not later than at 8:00 a.m. after arranging the following things.

1. Two carts to carry loads for the military column and medics
2. One tin of rice as the soldiers are facing with difficulty of food supply



ORDER 155



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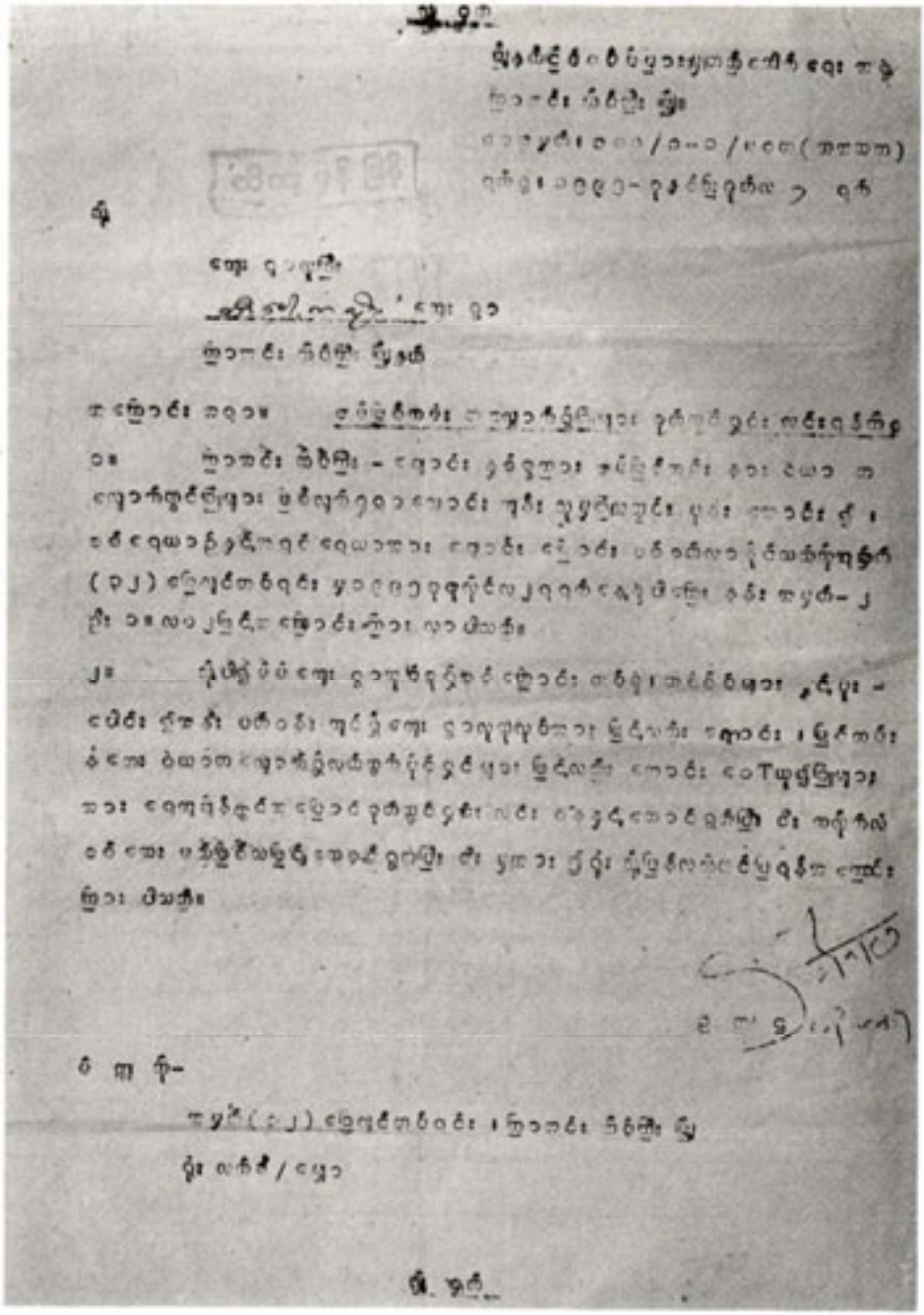
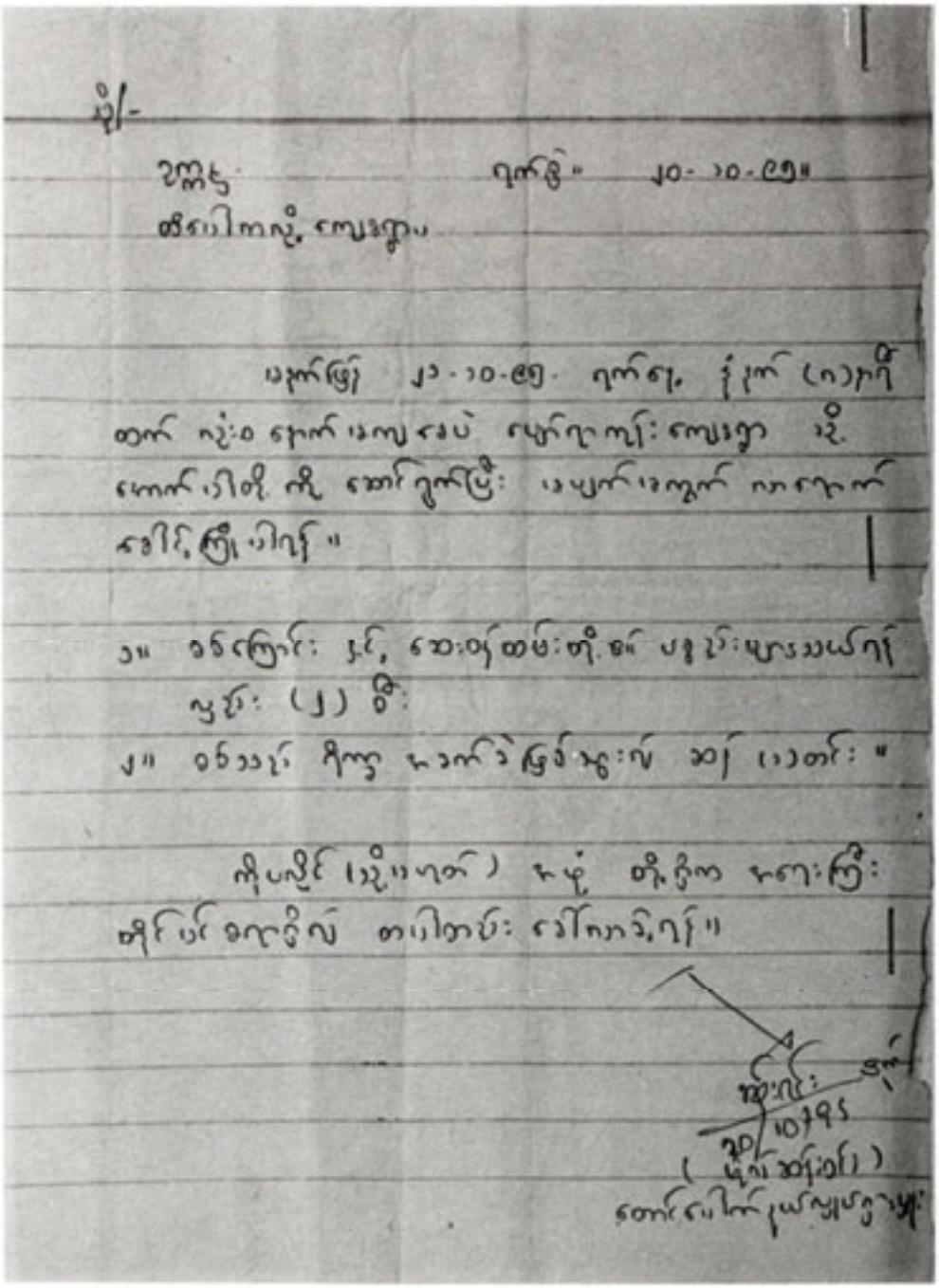


ORDER 157

HRDU



ORDER 158

If there is Ko Balai (or) Ah Phon, please bring them along as we have important matter to discuss.

Sd.
Lt. San Win
Commander for Taung Bauk area
20.10.95

ORDER 159

Date: 25 July 1995

To: (Name of) village
VLORC Chairman

It is true that a total of 14,000 Ks (Fourteen Thousand Ks) in cash, which is for the cost of hiring 4 substitute labourers for (name of) village at the price of 3,500 Ks per labourer, has been received via (a person mentioned by name).

[Sd.]
Chairman
Kywetoonyima village Tract LORC

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LIST OF RESOURCES AND CONTRIBUTORS

All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) (Central Headquarters)
P.O. Box 31, Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son Province, THAILAND
Tel/Fax (+66-2) 53 68 18 13
G. P.O. Box 1352 Bangkok 10501 THAILAND
Tel (+66-2)300 0631
(Publishes Dawn/Voice of the Peacock and Research Papers. Good articles, especially on human rights, published bi-monthly by ABSDF)

All Burma Student League
Delhi Office, 3, Krishna Menon Marg, New Delhi 110011, INDIA
Tel/Fax (+91-11)) 301 7172, (+91-11)) 301 6035; Fax (+91-11) 379 3397

Amnesty International
Burma Researcher, 1, Easton St, London WC1 X8DJ, UK
Tel (+44-71) 413 5500; Fax (+44-71) 956 1157; Email: amnestyis@gn.apc.org
WWW:
http://www.traveller.com/~hrweb/ai/aihtml
(Good on political prisoners, forced labour and human rights in general. Effective in the human rights forums in Geneva. Publishes reports and issues Urgent Actions)

ANTI-SLAVERY INTERNATIONAL Lesley Roberts, Unit 4, The Stableyard, Broomgrove Rd, London SW9 9TL, UK. Tel (+44-171) 924 9555; Fax 738 4110 (Publishes reports, including Martin Smith's latest: "Ethnic Groups in Burma". Is active at the Human Rights forums in Geneva. Particularly interested in indigenous peoples and forced labour)

Article 19
Frances D'Souza, 33 Islington High St, London N1 9LH, UK
Tel (+44-71) 278 9292; Fax (+44-71) 713 1356; Email: article19@gn.apc.org
(Specialises on freedom of information and expression. Publishes reports.)

INDEX ON CENSORSHIP Judith Vidal-Hall, 33 Islington High St, London N1 9LH, England Tel (+44-71) 278 2313; Fax 278 1878 (Freedom of information and expression; publishes a magazine and reports)

Burma Action Group (BAG) UK
Sarah Sutcliffe, Collins' Studios, Collins' Yard, Islington Green, London N1 2XU, UK
Tel (+44-71) 359 7679; Fax (+44-71) 354 3987; Email: bagp@gn.apc.org
(Publishes Burma News quarterly and thematic ranging from refugees, ethnic groups, environment to narcotics. Good on general information; maintains resource centre and small library; conducting campaign on tourism in Burma (published "Burma, the alternative guide"; produced a women's pack and an educational/schools pack)

Burma Alert, ASSOCIATES TO DEVELOP DEMOCRATIC BURMA
Harn Yawnghwe, R.R. 4, Shawville, Quebec, CANADA JOX 2YO
Tel (+1-819) 647 6131; Fax (+1-819) 647 5403, (+1-613) 794 2719 (home);
Email yawnghwe@hookup.net
(Burma Alert published monthly. Good, systematic presentation. Especially good on companies. Also publishes lists of prisoners and other documents.)

Burma Information Group (BIG)
P.O. Box 1027, Suan Phlu Post Office, Bangkok, Thailand. Email steele@mozart.inet.co.th
(Publishes The Irrawaddy twice a month, with summaries of mainly local press and radio news on Burma. BIG is also especially good on info relating to Burmese students in Bangkok. BIG reports are frequently posted on soc.cult.burma and reg.burma)

Burma Issues (formerly B.U.R.M.A.)
P.O. Box 1076, Silom Post Office, Bangkok 10504, THAILAND
Tel (+66-2) 234 6674; Fax (+66-2) 631 013; Email durham@mozart.inet.th
(The most comprehensive Burma information service in Thailand. Includes information on human rights and companies investing or interested in investing in Burma. Publishes a monthly newsletter, Burma Issues.)

Burma Border Consortium
Jack Dunford, Church of Christ in Thailand,
Tel. (66-2) 236 021, Fax. (66-2) 236 7000
Sally Thompson, 12/15, Convent Rd, Silom Rd, Bangkok 10500, Thailand. Tel (+66-2) 238 2568; Fax 266 5376; Email dunfoj@mozart.inet.co.th (Coordinates NGO and Agency assistance to Burmese refugees on the Thailand/Burma border. Hosts the monthly Burma Meetings, 9am sharp. 1995: 13 October, 10 November, 8 December. Contact above for venue. Has the most comprehensive information on the refugee situation)

Burmese Relief Centre (BRC), Chiang Mai
P.O. Box 48, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai 50002, THAILAND
Tel/Fax (+66-53) 278 152
(Reliable and wide general knowledge. Good on border conflict, notably in Karen and Shan States.)

Campaign for the Publicity of the People's Struggle in Monland (CPPSM)
P.O. Box 227, GPO, Bangkok 10501, THAILAND
(Produces a Newletter.)

FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (BURMA) c/o Maung Maung, P.O. Box 1270, GPO Bangkok 10500, Thailand Tel/Fax (+66-2) 321 5948; Email c/o strider@igc.apc.org (Particularly for labour issues)

Human Rights Foundation of Monland (HURFOM)
P.O. Box 11,Ratchburana, Bangkok 10140, THAILAND
(Excellent information on HRV in Mon areas, and railway/gas pipeline/forced labour, which they regularly publishes reports.)

Human Rights Watch/Asia
Sidney Jones, 485, 5th Avenue, NY NY 10017, USA
Tel (+1-212) 972 8400 (ext 290); Fax 972 0905; 687 9786; Email: hrwnyc@hrw.org;
Zunetta Liddell, 33 Islington High St, London N1 9LH, UK
Tel (+44-171) 713 1995; Fax (+44-171) 713 1899; Email hrwatchuk@gn.apc.org
(Good knowledge of Burma. Does field work and publishes reports)

IMAGES ASIA
P.O. Box 2, Prasingha P.O., Muang, Chiang Mai 50200, Thailand Tel (+66-53) 211 282; Fax 406 155; Email dg@DS90.intanon.nectec.or.th

(Human rights info and training; Ecological Issues - Brenda Belak)

Institute for Asian Democracy
Michele Bohana, 1518 K St NW, Suite 410, Washington DC 20005, USA
Tel (+1-202) 737 4101; Fax (+1-202) 232 0427; Email 76513.1112@compuserve.com
(Good contacts with US senators and congresspeople. They work also on Cambodia and Vietnam.)

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)
Ingeborg Schwarz (Human Rights), Place du Petit Saconnex, BP 438, CH 1211 Geneva 19, SWITZERLAND
Tel (+41-22) 734 4150; Fax (+41-22) 733 3141
(Particularly involved in working for imprisoned Burmese parliamentarians, as well as constitutional issues and the independence of the judiciary)

Karen National Union (KNU)
P.O. Box 22, Mae Sod, Tak 63110, THAILAND
Fax: (+66-2) 332 1924

Karen Human Rights Group (KHRG)
Box 68, Mae Sot, Tak 63110, THAILAND. Email khrg@bnms.wov.com
(Puts out high quality human rights information including interviews and photos.)

Karen Relief Committee (KRC)
Pastor Robert Htwe, PO Box 5, Mae Sod, Tak 63 110, Thailand
Tel. (66 55) 532 947, Fax. (66 55) 546 869

Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP)
Aung Than Lay, Abel Tweed, P.O. Box 19 Mae Hong Son 58000, THAILAND
Tel (+66-53) 611 691; Fax (+66-53) 612 469

Mon National Relief Committee (MNRC)
P.O. Box 1, Sankhlaburi 71240, Thailand
Tel/Fax (+66-34) 595 080

National League for Democracy (Liberated Area) (NLD-LA)
U Thein Oo, PO Box. 159, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai 50200, Thailand

Norwegian Burma Council (NBC)
H.K.Kuloy
Josefinesgate 9, N-0351 Oslo, NORWAY
Tel (+47) 22 56 79 10; Fax (+47) 22 56 79 20; Email: hkk@oslonett.no

Shan Human Rights Foundation (SHRF)
P.O. Box 41, Mae Hong Son, 58000, THAILAND
(Detailed reports of human rights violations in Shan State)

Southeast Asia Information Network (SAIN)
P.O. Box 217, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai 50002, THAILAND
Tel/Fax (+66-53) 278 549
(For hard news, including video footage.)

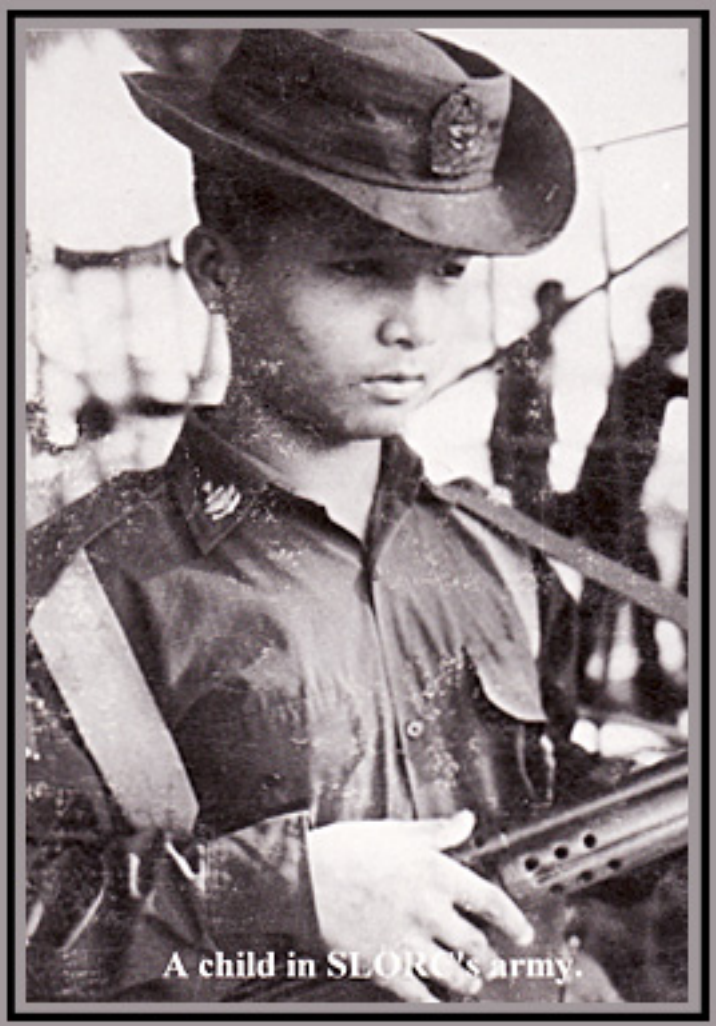
Special Rapporteur on Myanmar:
Professor Yozo Yokota, Professor of Law, Division of International Studies, International Christian University
3-10-2, Osawa, Mitaka-Shi, Tokyo 181
Tel. (0422) 33-3184, Fax. (0422) 33-3229

ELECTRONIC MAIL

BurmaNet	strider@igc.apc.org
	reader's list reg.burma@conf.igc.apc.org
	<directly to your mailbox
newsgroup	soc.culture.burma@conf.igc.apc.org
	<via 'rtin' or 'tin'
SEA newsgroup	seasia-l@msu.edu
to subscribe:	listserv@msu.edu
SEA languages	sealang-l@nucleus.nectec.or.th
to subscribe:	listserver@nucleus.nectec.or.th
ABSDF	Caroline@ksc.net.th
	lurie@mozart.inet.co.th
ABSDF (Europe)	absdf@oslonett.no <Aye Chan Naing
Article 19	article19@gn.apc.org <Martin Smith, Frances d'Souza
Boycott Pepsi	brschmidt@aol.com <Brian Schmidt, sells stickers
Buddhist Relief Mission	brelief@gol.com <Ken & Visaka Kawasaki
Burma Alert	yawnghwe@hookup.net <Harn Yawnghwe
BAG-London	bagp@gn.apc.org <Sara Sutcliffe, Niels
BAG	tlandon@ewu.edu
Boycott Pepsi	brschmidt@aol.com <Brian Schmidt
Burma Border Consortium	dunfoj@morakot.nectec.or.th <Jack Dunford
Burma Project	burma@sorosny.org <Open Society Institute
BCN (Amst'dam)	bcn@xs4all.nl <Gijs, B. Centre NL
Burma Debate	burmad@clark.net Soros publication; Mary Pack ed.
BPF Foundation	darnott@igc.org David Arnott, Burma Peace
BSG-Norway	tormodl@ulrik.uio.no <Tanja, Burma Support Group
CFB	cfob@web.apc.org Penny Sanger, Canadian Friends of Burma
DVB (Oslo)	dvb@oslonett.no
Franklin R&D	frdc@igc.apc.org <ATTN Simon Billinness
FREE BURMA	free.burma@aol.com
Free Burma Coalition	peck@ae.agecon.wisc.edu <John Peck, Univ. of Wisconsin
HRDU	kyaw@ksc.net.th
Info Birmanie (France)	agirici@globenet.gn.apc.org <Brian McGee
Burma Support (Nor)	tormodl@ulrik.uio.no <Tanja
Maureen Ag Thwin	maungthwin@sorosny.org <Soros/Open Society Institute
	aungthwn@acfcluster.nyu.edu <New York University
NCGUB (Wash.)	maung@igc.apc.org
Swedish NGO	mrkarltun@nn.apc.org <Stina Karltun, Swedish NGO Fund for HR

UN Mission	burma1un@igc.apc.org <Dr Thaung Htun
NBC, Oslo	hkk@oslonett.no <H.K. Kuloy, Norwegian B.Council
Refugees Int'l	burmad@clark.net <Mary Pack, Zaw Zaw
Michael Beer	mbeer@cap.ywu.edu
Gijs Hillenius	gijsh@xs4all.nl <Gijs works for BCN
Jan-Egil Berg	jan-egil.berg@pr.uninett.no <journalism teacher, Voss, Norway
Amnesty Int'l	amnestyis@gn.apc.org <Demelza Stubbings
HRW (NY)	hrwatchnyc@hrw.org <Sidney Jones, Janine Guthrie, Human Rights Watch
HRW (London)	hrwatchuk@gn.apc.org <Zunetta Liddell
Buddhist PF	bpf@igc.org <Alan, Buddhist Peace Fellowship
DharmaNet	dharma@netcom.com <network for radical Buddhist monks
IRC (Heidi)	heidi@irc.com <Heidi Wagner, Int'l Rescue Committee
ITWF	Geonet - GEO2:ITF <David Cockroft,
LCHR	lchr@igc.apc.org <Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
OPIRG	wcsbeau@superior.ccs.carleton.ca <Boycott Pepsi Campaign, Canada
ACPP in H.K.	acppasia@hk.super.net <Asian Center for Progress of People
ASA	asa@peg.apc.org <Asian-Pacific Students Assoc.

Children in a refugee camp.



A child in SLORC's army.

The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportinities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity.

(Declaration of the Rights of the Child)