HUMAN RIGHTS YEARBOOK

1996



Burma

HUMAN RIGHTS YEARBOOK 1996 BURMA

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

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

PREFACE

BY

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

Another year has passed, yet there are no signs that the ruling military junta in Burma, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), has changed or is willing to change its repressive ways. Systematic persecution of elected representatives, leaders, and members of the National League for Democracy (NLD), repression of pro-democracy activists and politicians, and atrocities against ethnic nationalities at the border have all continued unabated for the sake of keeping the military entrenched in power.

One encouraging sign, however, is that despite the intensifying repression, people continue to show outstanding courage, demanding change at every available opportunity. Demonstrations by students, monks, and the general population are breaking out intermittently. However, each time a display of public dissent takes place, the military junta takes the opportunity to persecute members of the NLD by arresting, torturing, and imprisoning NLD leaders, members, and supporters.

The root cause of human rights violations in Burma is a self-fulfilling belief by the military that Burma can remain secure only under military rule, and hence, the military justifies its suppression of dissent and, worse, oppression of its people. The ruling military junta is convinced that international and domestic pressure for democratization can be ignored as long as they continue to have access to financial resources to maintain their agenda.

The military is wrong in assuming that it has a monopoly over patriotism. Unfortunately, history has shown that it is difficult, if not impossible, to change the minds of dictators while they remain strong. For the sake of the country and its people, the military junta must be forced into a situation where it can no longer resist change. Human Rights violations in Burma will cease when the generals see the futility of working against the people and agree to work for national reconciliation with the democratic forces as well as the ethnic nationalities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Burma continues to be under a reign of terror imposed by the ruling military junta. The situation is aggravated by the lack of rule of law in the country.

When a general uprising for reforms started in Burma on August 8, 1988, the military violently crushed the democracy movement. After staging a coup, the generals imposed military rule in Burma in the name of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC).

SLORC promised to hold multiparty democratic elections and to hand over the state power to the election's winning party. When elections were held on May 27, 1990, the National League for Democracy won by a landslide garnering more than 82 percent of the seats. The generals, however, ignored the wishes of the people and refused to acknowledge the election results. Power has yet to be transferred to the people.

In 1993, SLORC convened the so-called National Convention. It invited a few elected representatives and stacked its convention with an overwhelming majority of its hand-picked delegates. The sham Convention was to draft a constitution preferred by the military -- one which would prolong the military dictatorship in Burma. Today, the constitution drafting process is still going on and no fixed timetable has been announced as to when that process is due to finish.

Since there is no constitution in the country, the SLORC is taking all liberties with regard to constitutional and legislative matters, and has been acting as an entity above the law. Thus, it has been acting as the sole maker of the law and has hijacked the entire judicial system. Law courts have lost their right to uphold the law or to be independent in making decisions. Since SLORC has a monopoly over legislative, administrative and judicial powers, no one dares to criticize the injustices being committed by the SLORC.

Today, an untold number of human rights violations by the SLORC are taking place all over the country and in many different ways. Using various excuses, the SLORC has been threatening and harassing people who refused to tow its line. People who criticize the military are jailed under trumped-up charges. Students, monks, politicians and other activists advocating democracy and human rights are illegally detained, tortured, and given long prison terms. Torture and inhumane treatment of political prisoners have become routine practice for SLORC.

In November 1996, the SLORC also used a crowd of its unruly supporters in an attempt to assassinate Nobel Peace Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who is well known for her leading role in the efforts to restore democracy and human rights in Burma. These atrocious acts are glaring evidence that there is no rule of law. Since the law has remained silent, brutality and atrocity by the SLORC have been ruling the day in Burma.

SLORC has consistently been urging the people of Burma to work for law and order. Yet, it is the SLORC that breaks the law, commits human rights abuses, and violates all principles that accompany the rule of law.

This Report documents incidents in 1996 that reflect the life of the people in Burma under a reign of terror brought about by a regime that cares little about human suffering. The first two reports were initiated in 1994 with the support of the Norwegian Law Students (HUMAK).

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the members of the Norwegian Burma Council for their unwavering support in making this Report possible. In addition, I would like to thank all the ethnic organizations and the many individuals who supported this project. The very existence of the Human Rights Documentation Unit (HRDU) would not have been possible without the assistance of these friends of Burma. The emergence of the HRDU has given me a greatly satisfying opportunity to work closely with organizations that are noble and just and have a profound sympathy for the people of Burma. I wish to put on record my profound gratitude to the KHRG, ABSDF, HRFOM, MIS, SHRF, CHRO, GN-32, FTUB, SAIN, Burma Issue, Images Asia, and the Burma Relief Center for their enthusiastic assistance and cooperation for the publication of this book. Sincere thanks also to all those people who helped prepare this book for publication, including Mr. Cameron Beatty and many individuals whose names cannot be mentioned but whose contribution cannot go unnoticed. I also would like to express my gratitude to the Foreign Ministry of the Royal Danish Government which generously assisted the publication of this book and to Ms. Lisa Patlis who has contributed much of her precious time to editing the report.

Victory to the rule of law in Burma!
Down with the military dictatorship!

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

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS, TERMS, AND MEASUREMENTS

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABSDF:	All Burma Students' Democratic Front
ABSDF/WB:	All Burma Students' Democratic Front - Western Burma
ABSL:	All Burma Students' League
ABYMU:	All Burma Young Monks Union
aka:	also known as
ALP:	Arakan Liberation Party
approx:	approximately
ASC:	Arakanese Students' Congress
BAD:	Border Area Development Program
B.E.:	Burmese Era
Brig :	Brigadier
BI:	Burma Issues
BIG:	Burma Information Group
Bn:	Battalion
BPP:	Border Patrol Police (Thailand)
BRC:	Burmese Relief Center
BSPP:	Burma Socialist Program Party
Capt:	Captain
CEC:	Central Executive Committee (NLD)
CHRO:	Chin Human Rights Organization
CNF:	Chin National Front
Comdr:	Commander
Col:	Colonel
Coy:	Company
Cpl:	Corporal
CPPSM:	Campaign for the Publicity of the People's Struggle in Monland
DDSI:	Directorate of Defense Services Intelligence
DKBA:	Democratic Kayin (Karen) Buddhist Association
DPA:	Democratic Patriotic Army
Dta Baw:	The Yellow Ones (the common Karen names for DKBA)
DVB:	Democratic Voice of Burma
FEC:	Foreign Exchange Certificate Officially valued at US$ 1 = 1 FEC = 5.6 Kyat.

	Unofficial/black market FEC 1= 210-230 kyats
ft:	feet
FTUB:	Federation of Trade Unions, Burma
Gen:	General
HRDU:	Human Rights Documentation Unit (NCGUB)
HRV:	Human Rights Violations
HURFOM:	Human Rights Foundation of Monland
IA:	Images Asia
IB:	Infantry Battalion
IDC:	Immigration Detention Center (Thailand)
ILO:	International Labor Organization
Ind:	Independent
Lt:	Lieutenant
kg:	Kilogram
KHRG:	Karen Human Rights Group
KIA	Kachin Independence Army (Military wing of KIO)
KIC:	Karen Information Center
KIO	Kachin Independence Organization
KNLA:	Karen National Liberation Army (military wing of KNU)
KNPP:	Karenni National Progressive Party
KNU:	Karen National Union
Ko Per Baw:	The Yellow Headbands (the common Karen names for DKBA)
Ko Per Kit:	The Striped Headbands (usually red-and-white headbands) A relatively small group which has allied itself with DKBA.
Ko Per Wah:	The White Headbands which was recently formed. Formed by a monk who then allied himself with DKBA chief U Thuzana
ks:	Kyats (approx. value: official US$1 = 5.6 ks; unofficial US$1 = 210-230 ks)
LIB:	Light Infantry Battalion
LID:	Light Infantry Division
LORC:	Law and Order Restoration Council (on the ward, township, state, and division levels)
MAMD:	Mon Army, Mergui District
Maj:	Major
Ma Wa Ta:	Township-level SLORC authorities
MIS:	Military Intelligence Services (aka DDSI)
MIS:	Mon Information Service(Bangkok)
mm:	millimeter
MNRC:	Mon National Relief Committee
MOGE:	Myanmar Oil & Gas Enterprise
MOI:	Ministry of Interior (Thailand)
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 organization
NLD:	National League for Democracy
NLD (LA):	National League for Democracy (Liberated Area)
NLM:	The New Light of Myanmar (SLORC-controlled newspaper)
NMSP:	New Mon State Party
Pa Wa Ta:	State-level SLORC authorities
Pali:	Pali, the Prakrit language of the Buddhist Scriptures
Pvt:	Private
Pyi:	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
SUA:	Shan United Army (now-defunct when MTA exits)
SURA:	Shan United Revolutionary Army
Ta Wa Ta:	Division-level SLORC authorities
TOC:	Tactical Operations Command
TRC:	Thailand Revolutionary Council
UN:	United Nations
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
USDA:	Union Solidarity and Development Association
Ya Wa Ta:	Town-quarter-level or Village-level SLORC authorities
yrs:	Years

TERMS

Baht:	monetary unit of Thailand (see "Measurements").
Black Areas:	areas fully under the control of anti-government forces.
Bo:	military commander.
Brown Areas:	areas partially under the control of anti-government forces
Daw:	an honorific used to address an adult female
furlong:	(see "Measurements")
Jaggery:	a hard brown crystallized substance which is obtained from boiling sugarcane juice and sap from toddy palm stems; used as brown sugar or syrup
Kawthoolei:	Karen name for the Karen nation.
Khun:	polite form of address in the Thai language
Ko:	Burmese form of address to a young male
kyat:	monetary unit in Burma
longyi:	Burmese word for sarong
Ma:	Burmese form of address to a young female
Mahn:	Burmese form of address to a Karen male
Maung:	Burmese form of address to a young male
Mehm/Min:	form of address to a young Mon male
Mi:	form of address to a Mon female
Movement Paper :	the SLORC appoints a village "headman" (not the same as the real headman), usually against his will, and this man is then authorized to issue movement papers to his villagers, verifying who they are.
Na Ka Sa:	Burmese abbreviation for paramilitary border patrol on Burma's Bangladeshi border
Nai:	Burmese form of address to an adult Mon male
Naw:	Burmese form of address to a Karen female
plah:	Karen measurement of distance, from elbow to fingertip (1 plah is under 2 feet)
pya:	100 pyas = 1 kyats
ringworm:	derogatory SLORC reference to KNLA soldiers
Sai:	Burmese form of address to a young Shan male
Sangha:	Buddhist order of monks
Sao:	male of Shan royal descent
Saw:	form of address to a Karen male
Sayadaw:	presiding monk of a Buddhist monastery
Tatmadaw:	Burmese Army
Thakin:	master;lord (used to address the British colonial rulers; later politicized by the Burmese independence movement in the 1930s)
tickle:	(see "Measurements")
tin:	(see "Measurements")

tract (village):	area consisting of 4-6 villages
U:	an honorific used to address an adult male in Burma
viss:	(see "Measurements")
White Areas:	area fully under the control of the Tatmadaw

MEASUREMENTS

acre:	1 acre = 4,840 sq. yards = 0.407 hectare
	2.471 acres = 11,960 sq. yards = 1 hectare
	640 acres = 1 sq. mile = 2.590 sq. kilometers
baht:	1 baht = 100 satang = US$ 0.038
	28 baht = US$ 1
FEC:	1 FEC = US$1 = kyat 5.6 (official)
	1 FEC = Kyats 210 - 230 (unofficial)
furlong:	1 furlong = 220 yards (1/8) mile = 201 meters
kyat:	1 kyat (ks) = US$ 0.16 (official)
	1 kyat = US$ 0.004 (unofficial)
lakh:	1 lakh = 100,000
tickle:	1 tickle = 0.576 ounces = 16.33 gram
tin:	1 tin (rice/condensed milk) = approx 250 ml
viss:	1 viss = 3.6 lbs =1.633 kg
	622.22 viss = 1 long ton (2,240 lbs) = 1.016 metric tons

NOTE ABOUT SPELLINGS:

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

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

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

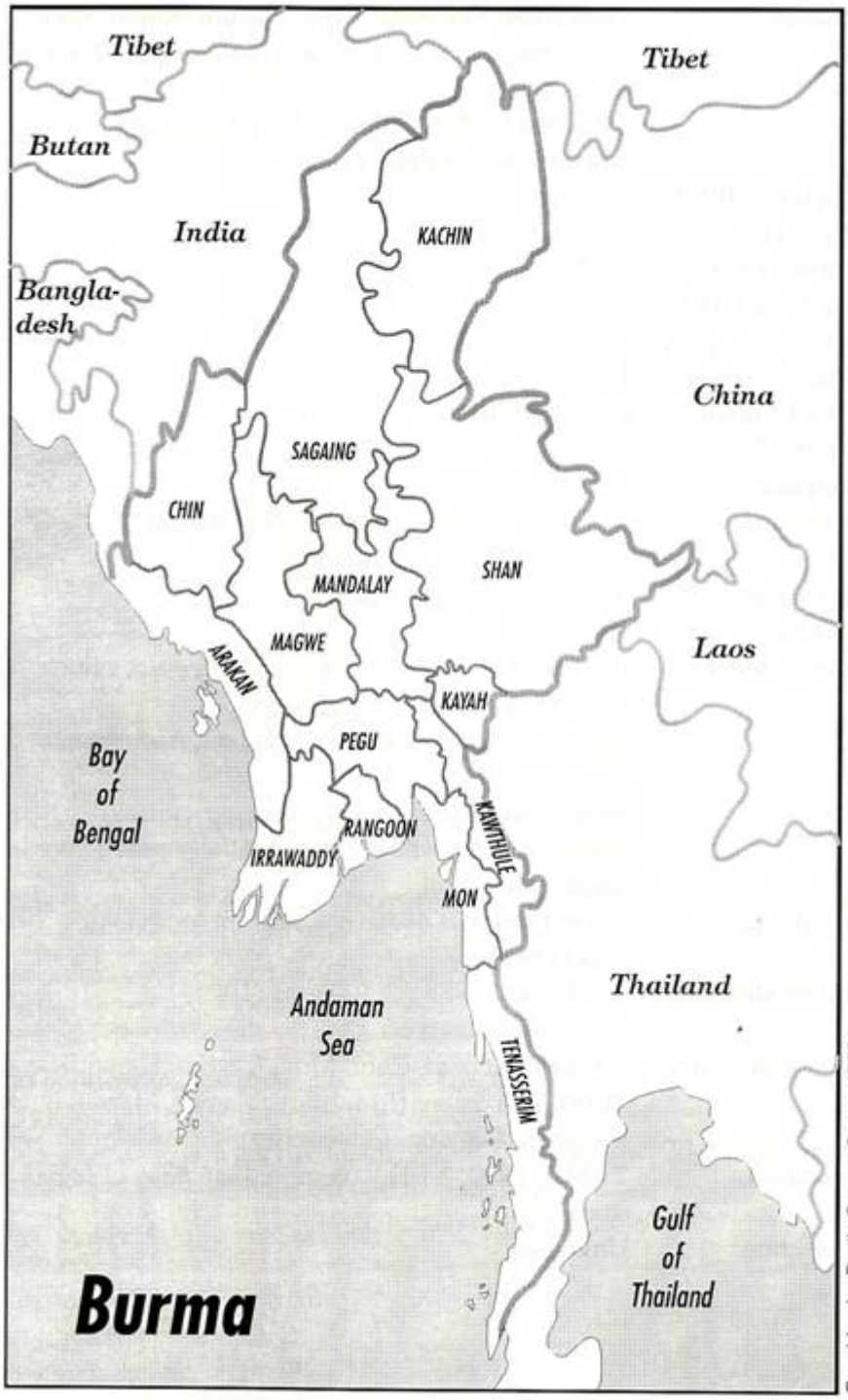
Ayeyarwady:	Irrawaddy
Bagan:	Pagan
Bago:	Pegu
Bamar:	Burman
Dawei:	Tavoy
Hinthada:	Henzada
Hpa-an:	Pa-an
Kayah:	Karenni
Kayin:	Karen
Kyaing Don:	Kengtung
Magway:	Magwe
Mawlamyine:	Moulmein
Muang Tai:	Mong Tai
Myeit:	Mergui
Myanmar:	Burma
Pathein:	Bassein
Pyay:	Prome
Sittoung:	Sittaung
Sittwe, Sittway: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

BURMA AT A GLANCE: FACTS AND FIGURES

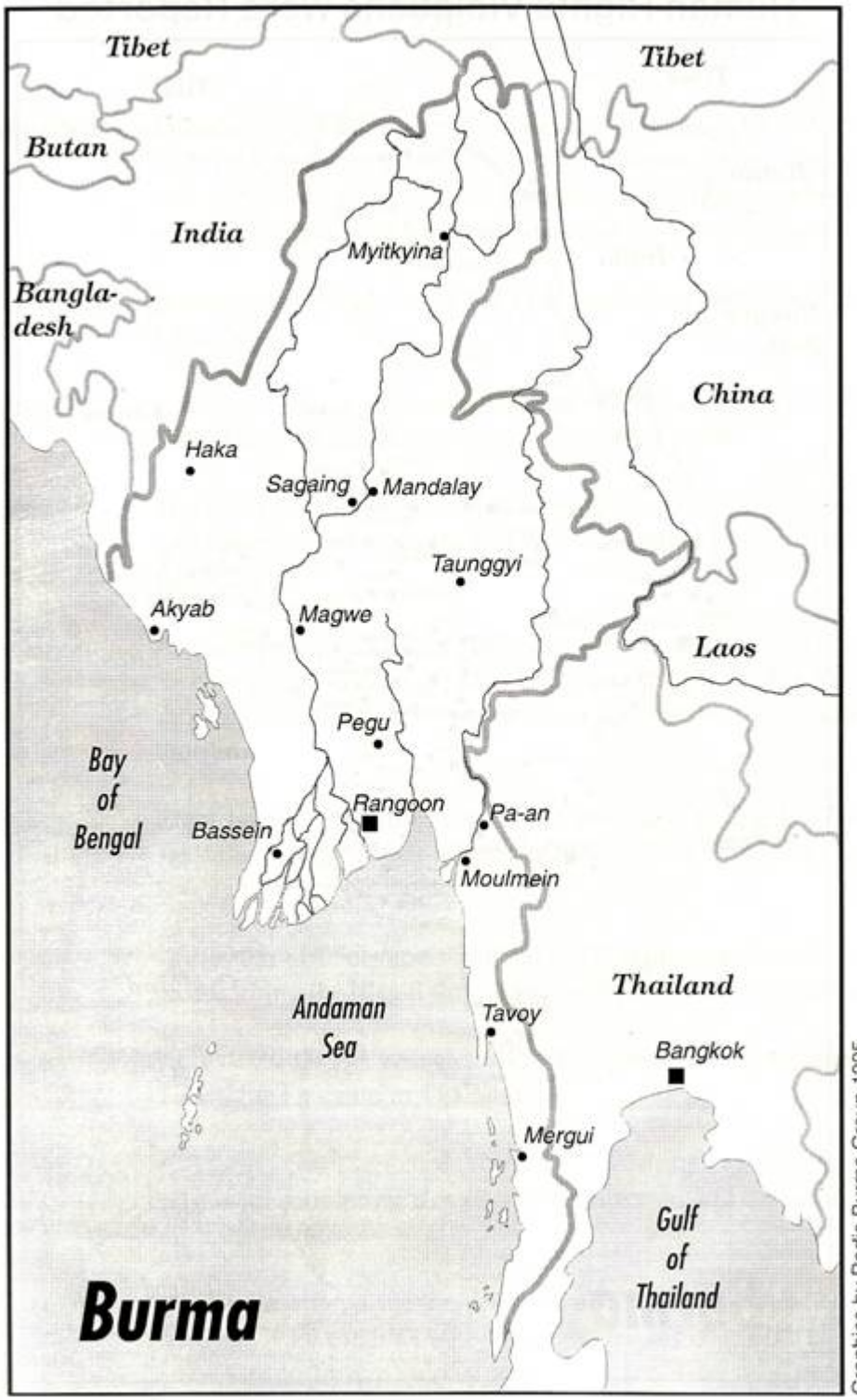
Country name:	Union of Burma (1948); Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma (1974); Union of Myanmar (1989)
Area:	261,000 sq miles
Coastline:	1,600 miles
Population:	48.3 million
Urban population:	26%
Population density:	160 people/sq mile.
Refugees:	approximately 300,000 in Thailand; 20,000 in China and India; 50,000 in Bangladesh
Internally displaced:	approximately two million people
Birth rate:	2.1%
Life expectancy:	59 years
Adult literacy:	19.4%

School attendance:	26.7%
People per telephone:	265.5
People per TV:	22.0
People per doctor:	12,500
Infant mortality:	79
Languages:	Arakanese, Burmese, Chin, Kachin, Karen, Karenni, Mon, Shan, Wa, English and more than 100 minority dialects
Religions:	Buddhist (85%), Animist (5%), Christian (4.5%), Muslim (4%), Hindu (1.5%)
Per-capita GDP(PPP):	US$ 753
GDP growth:	6.0%
Per capital GNP:	US$ 890
Saving % of GDP:	12%
Reserves excl. gold:	US$ 0.2 billion
Cur acct. balance:	US$ 0.3 billion
Exports 12 months:	US$ 1.0 billion
Inflation CPI:	31.5%
Foreign debt:	US$ 8.3 billion
GDP spending:	3. 1 % on military (non-SLORC figures: over 50%), 2.2% education, 0.8% health.
Wage earners:	6 million (rough estimate)
LDC status:	since 1987
Natural resources:	tin, plutonium, zinc, copper, cobalt, gold, rubies, jade, teak (80% of world's reserves), fish (704 metric tons/year), gas, oil, rice, sesame, groundnuts
Agriculture:	68% of workforce employed in agriculture; 15% of arable land; under 50% of potentially productive land under cultivation
Rice exports:	3.5 million tons (1,930); 2 million tons (1962); 20,000 tons (1988)
Opium production:	1,300 tons (1988), 2,400 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:	27 May 1990; NLD won more than 82% of legislative seats
Next election:	Unknown

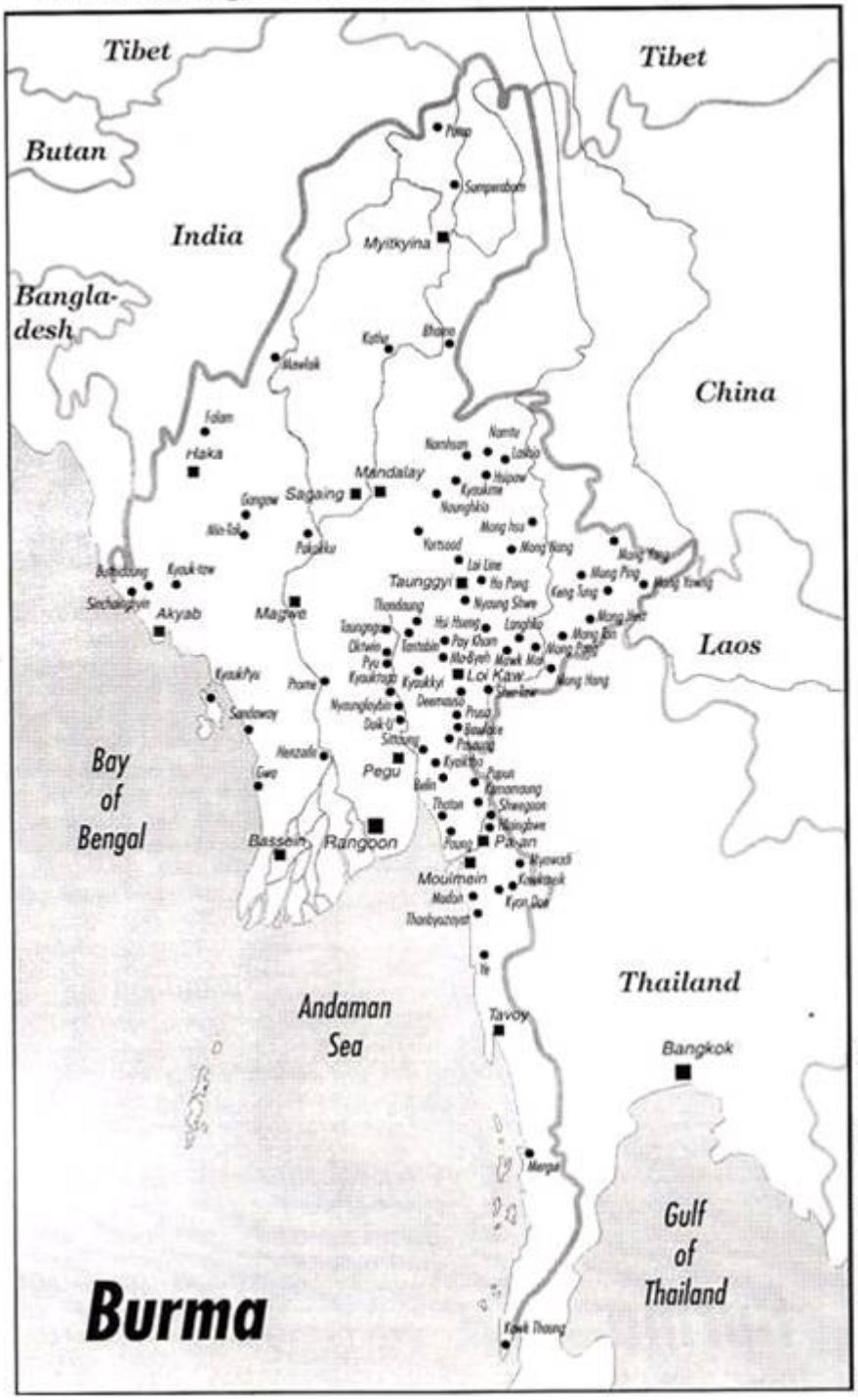
Map of Burma showing State and Division Borders



Map of Burma Showing Major Cities



Townships in which Human Rights Violations were Reported



Headlines in Review 1996

January 1: Japan's Chiyoda Corporation states that it plans to be involved in development projects in Mandalay, Burma. The company will submit 60 proposals to Mandalay authorities, including plans for laying petroleum pipelines and for an oil refinery.

January 2: Burmese troops take over the headquarters of opium warlord Khun Sa.

January 3: A Karenni source announces that the SLORC captured a KNPP base at Doi Thai Sak, Thailand on January 1, 1996.

January 5: The United States places a U.S. $2 million reward on drug warlord Khun Sa and urges the SLORC to extradite him for trial in a U.S. court.

January 6: A senior Burmese official states that Burma will not turn Khun Sa over to the U.S. to face narcotics charges partly due to the sensitive information Khun Sa could disclose to the U.S. authorities.

January 7: Eight people, including comedians Par Par Lay and Lu Zaw, are detained for giving a performance at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's residence on January 4.

January 9: An Indian official meets with SLORC representatives to discuss curbing the illegal drug trade between the two countries.

January 9: At least 20 DKBA renegades kill KNU retired Major-General Ta at Mae La camp in Thailand.

January 24: A Ranong court sentences three Thai fishermen to 25 years in prison for murdering two Burmese crewmen and assaulting a third last August.

January 28: Cambodia official media reports that Burma's Foreign Minister Ohn Gyaw and his Cambodian counterpart Ung Huot signed an accord to form a Joint Commission for Bilateral Coopera-

tion.

January 28: Thailand accuses Burma of sticking stakes into the Moei River, a violation of a border agreement between the two countries.

January 31: Three people, including a monk and a policeman, are killed when 100 DKBA soldiers of attacked a Thai border checkpoint and temple.

February 1: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi states that the ASEAN should set conditions for Burma's military leadership before welcoming it into the regional grouping.

February 5: Thailand's Defense Minister Chavalit Yongchaiyudh states publicly that the Rangoon junta was unable to control the DKBA and is not responsible for the renegade attack across the border.

February 7: A Thai aviation official states that the Thai government has endorsed a plan that will boost commercial airline flights between Thailand and Burma as much as 22%.

February 8: An attack on the French company, Total's, Kanbauk headquarters is launched, wounding five people.

February 9: SLORC's FM Ohn Gyaw states that Khun Sa will be dealt with according to Burmese law and will not be extradited to any other country.

February 11: Approximately 1,000 Burmese civilians flee to Tha Song Yang district in Thailand to escape fighting inside Burma.

February 12: Thai Defense Minister General Chavalit Yongchaiyudh states that Thailand will not push back Burmese refugees across the border but will provide them with refuge until the situation in Burma allows for their safe repatriation.

February 13: About 200 Shan civilians cross the Thai-Burma border into Mae Hong Son province in Thailand to escape harsh treatment by the SLORC troops.

February 19: An official from the Italian Embassy states that a SLORC army truck "escorted" twelve Italian tourists out of a northern hill-

tribe village and sent them back to Rangoon on January 3, 1996.

February 26: Thai army deputy commander General Chetha Thanacharo has lunch with Burma's regional army commander Major-General Tin Htut at Tachileik in Burma.

February 27: Japan, through its embassy in Rangoon, donates U.S.$ 99,405 to the Burmese Medical Association for HIV/AIDS prevention projects in Mandalay.

March 13: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is forced to cancel a trip to Mandalay to attend the trial of four NLD supporters due to supposed mechanical problems with the train.

March 16: Two Thai border checkpoints, at Mae Sai in Chiang Rai and Ranong, are officially reopened.

March 17: The Thai PM Barharn Silpa-archa and a 50-member delegation visits Burma. He is the first Thai premier to visit Burma in 16 years.

March 17: Burma rejects a Thai request to resume fishing ventures in its water during a visit by the Thai PM.

March 18: U Par Par Lay and U Lu Zaw, both comedians, and U Aung Soe and U Htwe, NLD members, are sentenced to seven years imprisonment.

March 19: Thai Cabinet approves U.S. $150 million in credit facilities to finance the construction of the International Mandalay airport.

March 20: Australia's new conservative government announces A. $2 million in new aid for Burmese refugees.

March 28: NLD members send a letter to SLORC General Than Shwe, charging the SLORC with harassing NLD members and supporters through seriously-flawed legal proceedings.

March 28: Twenty-two prisoners, including U Win Tin, all NLD members, are given additional prison sentences of seven years with hard labor for attempting to send a letter to the U.N. describing abominable prison conditions.

April 10: A Dutch couple are robbed at gun point and the woman is raped by Burmese soldiers at a border village near the Moei River.

April 10: A Mitsui official states that a consortium of Mitsui & Co, Total, and Unocal had signed an MOU with the SLORC to become the official joint partners for the Yadana gas field project.

April 17: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi strongly urges the international community to join the struggle in support of the Burmese people in a video statement presented at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

April 19: A 10- strong DKBA band fires AK-47 rounds at a pick-up truck between km. 78 and 79 of the Mae Ramat-Tha Song Yang highway in Thailand, killing one Thai woman.

April 19: Bangkok-based diplomats state that 65-year-old Leo Nichols, who also served as honorary consul for several European nations, was arrested in Rangoon.

April 22: San Francisco, a U.S. city, passes a "selective purchasing" law banning or restricting contracts with companies that do business in Burma.

April 23: Pepsi announces that it will shed its 40% stake in the Burmese franchise after facing heavy public pressure in the U.S.

April 23: Oakland, a U.S. city, passes "selective purchasing" laws banning or restricting contracts with companies that do business in Burma.

April 24: Thein Tun, chairman of Pepsi Cola Products, Myanmar states that it had agreed to buy out the U.S. company's interest in Burma following its decision to pull out of the country.

April 25: Approximately 15 armed DKBA members encircled Ban Panorkhi, Tambon Tha Song Yang, Thailand and steal 13,000 baht in cash and valuables worth about 23,000 baht.

April 26: Lieutenant-General Kyaw Ba publicly states that Khun Sa, the infamous drug lord, is a free man and will not be tried for his crimes.

May 1: In his May Day message, General Than Shwe urges workers to "exert their utmost efforts" to forge a modern nation, building on what he described as government successes.

May 2: A refugee worker states that about 5,000 Burmese refugees living in a camp on the Thai border are facing a serious food shortage after Thai authorities blocked supplies reaching them.

May 10: The pending membership of Burma and India in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is approved.

May 12: UN special human rights rapporteur Professor Yozo Yokota resigns from his post to protest against his continuous battle for funds to carry out his work.

May 14: A senior U.S. State Department official states that Burma, the world's leading producer of opium and heroin, is "a narcotics disaster area."

May 16: Six Rangoon University students are arrested in Rangoon for organizing people in support of the planned NLD congress.

May 17: Mr. Nichols is sentenced to three years imprisonment for the alleged use of illegal telephones and fax machines.

May 20: More than 100 Karen civilians flee to the Thai border village in Tha Son Yang district to escape fighting in Burma.

May 21: U Win Htein, personal officer to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was taken from his home to an unknown place.

May 23: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi publicly states that the SLORC has detained 191 NLD activists, to thwart a key opposition meeting; she also states that the meeting would proceed as planned.

May 23: The U.S. urges Americans not to travel to Burma due to the crackdown by SLORC against the NLD and states it will explore further sanctions with the U.S. Congress.

May 28: South Korean President Kim Young-sam expresses deep concern over the arrests of over 250 political activists in Burma.

May 28: The NLD wraps up a congress and announces its intention to draw up a constitution.

May 28: The SLORC steps up its denunciation of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and stages mass rallies of government employees in a bid to demonstrate popular support.

June 1: Lieutenant-General Khin Nyunt denounces democracy activists as "power-hungry stooges of imperialists" and calls on Burmese people to crush their "destructionist" efforts.

June 4: SLORC Minister of Rail Transport, U Win Sein, tells reporters that "peoples' labor" was no longer being used in the construction of railway lines, effective as of May 31, 1996.

June 5: SLORC issues a new regulation which requires journalist visas be approved directly by the Foreign Ministry in Rangoon and requires that journalists must travel within seven days of the visa's issue.

June 7: SLORC issues an order, signed by General Than Shwe, authorizing the Home Ministry to ban any organization violating laws against unlawful gatherings or obstructing the development of a constitution through the government's National Convention.

June 7: Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew states that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi may not be able to govern her country and would be better off remaining a political symbol.

June 10: A senior Thai Foreign Ministry official states that U.S. President Clinton expressed deep concern over the situation in Burma in a letter addressed to Thai PM Banharn.

June 19: The U.S. State Department warns the SLORC against arresting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi amid published reports they may be preparing for her detention.

June 20: The U.N. international labor agency condemns forced labor in Burma and establishes a three-person commission to investigate the issue and to seek permission from Burma to visit the country.

June 22: Mr. James Leander Nichols is found dead in his cell at Insein Prison in Rangoon.

June 24: The governments of Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Switzerland make separate calls for Rangoon to investigate the death of Mr. Nichols.

June 25: The State of Massachusetts, U.S. becomes the first American state to sign the "Selective Purchasing Law" on Burma.

June 29: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi tells her supporters at a rally that the SLORC had coerced leading members of her party to resign.

July 2: Lieutenant-General Khin Nyunt accuses international, social, and religious organizations of interfering in Burma's internal affairs, during his speech at a refresher course for local Red Cross Society executives.

July 3: Two men are injured when DKBA soldiers fire on an official's house and a border patrol police unit in Tha Song Yang district, Thailand.

July 3: A bomb explodes at a propaganda billboard opposite the U.S. Embassy in Central Rangoon; no injuries were sustained and the bomb failed to topple the sign.

July 9: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi calls for foreign tourists to boycott visiting her country during an interview with a Japanese news agency.

July 9: The Danish brewing giant, Carlsberg, announces its withdrawal from Burma.

July 10: Official SLORC newspapers state that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi must cease her activities and leave Burma if the U.S. wants to discuss matters of mutual interest with the SLORC.

July 10: Heineken announces the withdrawal of its U.S. $30 million investment in Burma.

July 11: Burmese journalists working for the foreign media are urged by SLORC Information Minister Aye Kyaw to be "unbiased" about

the achievements of the SLORC and to serve the national interests when reporting.

July 15: Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas states that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had written to ASEAN heads of state asking them to intervene in the stand-off with the SLORC.

July 16: The KNU rejects SLORC's demand that it lay down its arms before signing a peace agreement.

July 16: About 10,000 businessmen [after being coerced by the SLORC] join a mass rally in Rangoon to support official moves to open up the economy and denounce the political opposition.

July 18: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi calls for international sanctions against Burma to force political change in the country, in a video statement made public by members of the European Parliament.

July 20: The Asean group formally receives Burma as an observer. SLORC Foreign Minister attends the meeting held in Jakarta.

July 21: SLORC Foreign Minister Ohn Gyaw, at a press conference, states that he believes Asean will not contact the Burmese opposition in Burma and will observe the principle of non-interference in other's internal affairs.

August 2: U Hla Than, NLD MP from the Coco Islands, is transferred to Rangoon General Hospital while serving a prison sentence in Insein prison, Rangoon.

August 12: SLORC Senior General Than Shwe begins a five-day visit to Malaysia.

August 15: U Win Htein, along with seven other NLD supporters, is slapped with a seven-year term for his role in the production of a video tape of arid rice fields aimed at countering the government's rosy agricultural projections.

August 24: Don Pa Klan refugee camp in Thailand is raided by about 15 DKBA renegade troops before dawn.

August 25: Two Thai officials are ambushed by a unit of DKBA renegades

at a border village in Tha Song Yang district, Thailand.

August 26: About 30 armed DKBA soldiers open fire with six rounds of mortar at the Huay Bong refugee camp in Thailand.

September 3: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi reports that her personal assistant, Win Htein's jail term was doubled to 14 years.

September 4: The U.S. company, Unocal, states that its joint venture natural gas project in Burma is unaffected by a lawsuit filed by the NCGUB.

September 26: The NLD states it will hold a congress on September 27 and 28 to celebrate the eighth anniversary of the party's founding. SLORC arrests about 500 NLD supporters in an apparent attempt to prevent the congress.

September 28: SLORC's riot police prevent Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's weekend speech for the first since her release.

October 2: Philippine President Fidel Ramos states that Asean might review its "constructive engagement" policy towards Burma after its most recent crackdown on democracy activists.

October 3: A class action lawsuit accusing Total, Unocal, and SLORC of "egregious human rights violations" is filed by 15 plaintiffs in U.S. federal court in Los Angeles.

October 3: U.S. President Clinton signs a ban on travel to the U.S. for members of the Burmese junta and others who benefit from its rule.

October 4: SLORC bars U.S. officials from entering Burma, in response to the U.S. decision to bar Burmese officials from U.S. soil.

October 4: Apple Computer Inc. states publicly that it has ended its business dealings in Burma.

October 5: Malaysia dismisses a Philippine proposal to review the "constructive engagement" policy towards Burma.

October 9: Burma Action Group announces that British Home Stores (BHS) have plans to stop sourcing in Burma.

October 12: Philippine President, Corazon Aquino, urges U.S. officials and other international leaders to be prepared to support democracy in Burma.

October 16: SLORC Senior General Than Shwe begins his official visit to Cambodia and faces protests led by Cambodian opposition leader Sam Rainsy.

October 17: Cambodia and Burma sign two cooperation agreements designed to increase tourism and travel between the two countries.

October 22: More than 500 students in Rangoon protest against the SLORC's handling of a recent scuffle involving students at a food stall.

October 23: The Deputy Chairman of the NLD, U Kyi Maung, aged 75, is arrested in Rangoon for allegedly helping to organize the protest of some 500 students.

October 28: The European Union imposes a visa ban on all Burmese military leaders and their families.

November 6: Thai Army Chief Chetta Thanajaro leads a delegation on a two-day visit to Burma.

November 9: A mob, organized by the SLORC, attacks the motorcade of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other NLD leaders.

November 10: The U.S. embassy in Rangoon strongly condemns the attack on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and calls on the SLORC to ensure that future incidents do not occur.

November 15: New U.N. human rights special reporter, Rajsoomer Lallah, submits a three-page statement to the U.N. General Assembly.

November 24: Saya Chiel, an 84-year-old Burmese author and member of the Multi-party Election Commission dies.

November 25: U.S. First Lady Hillary Clinton, during her trip to Thailand, urges SLORC to start a serious dialogue with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

November 26: U.S. President Clinton, during his visit to Thailand, praises Daw

Aung San Suu Kyi and her supporters as "brave reformers" and blasts the military junta for refusing to honor its own pledge to move to multi-party democracy.

November 28: Japanese official media reports that Japan will grant 4 billion Yen (Bt 900 million) to SLORC as debt relief assistance.

November 31: Asean heads of government agree to admit Cambodia, Laos, and Burma into the regional group simultaneously.

December 2: About 1,000 students march from the Hletan intersection to downtown Rangoon to continue their protest against the SLORC's recent handling of a scuffle in Rangoon and its decision to close the universities.

December 3: Myo Thant, a reporter for the Japanese newspaper, Yomiuri Shinbum, is beaten as police dispersed demonstrating students in central Rangoon. Several hundred students were detained by police as a result of the protests.

December 5: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi breaks three days of SLORC-imposed confinement and attends the National Day ceremony at U Tin Oo's residence.

December 6: Students stage a sit-in protest in Hledan intersection; SLORC uses water cannons and riot squads to crush the peaceful protest. Clashes take place all over Rangoon and over 300 students are arrested.

December 9: Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer states that Australia will not impose economic sanctions on Burma, but criticizes the SLORC's treatment of the opposition.

December 11: Students stage another sit-in protest at the Medical Institute-1 in downtown Rangoon. Similar protests take place in Mandalay.

December 12: The U.N. General Assembly denounces human rights violations in Burma after the U.S. ambassador brands the SLORC's efforts at political dialogue as "a shame."

December 13: SLORC stops a U.S. embassy official from meeting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and labels his attempt to visit her during the cur-

rent unrest "provocative."

December 17: In its official newspaper, SLORC states that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is a traitor conspiring with western governments and will be destroyed by the military.

December 18: The European Commission adopts a provision withdrawing the benefits of the Community's GSP for Burma's industrial sector.

December 22: The NLD states that 64 members were rounded up by SLORC following student demonstrations in Rangoon.

December 25: Two bombs explode at Kaba Aye Pagoda and the man-made Maha Pasana Cave; the second bomb kills five people and wounds 17 others.

December 26: The SLORC announces that it is canceling plans to proceed with the Seventh Rangoon Mayor's International Marathon scheduled for December 30.

Historical Background

Constitutional Period (1947-62)

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

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

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

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

General Ne Win's Caretaker Government, comprised of senior military

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

Military Rule (1962-74)

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

Military Rule (1974-1988)

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

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

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

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

On August 12, 1988, U Sein Lwin resigned and was replaced by a civilian lawyer, Dr. Maung. During this period, the jails were opened and criminals released, causing fear as crime rose. Rumors also were spread by government agents that the water supply was poisoned and that other villainous acts were being committed.

Peaceful student-led demonstrations were snuffed out on September 18, 1988, as the military staged a bloody coup and established a new dictatorship under martial law, called the "State Law and Order Restoration Council" (SLORC). It brutally put down the popular movement resulting in thousands of deaths and arrests. Many students left the city and their homes and fled to border areas. The SLORC suspended the 1974 Constitution.

SLORC's Military Rule (1988-Present)

On September 23, 1988, having established himself as Burma's leader, General Saw Maung, head of the SLORC, assured the public that the sole aim of

his military intervention was to restore law and order, improve the economic condition of the people, and organize multiparty elections as soon as possible. He insisted that it was not his intention to "cling to State power for long."

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

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

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

In 1989, the army achieved an unplanned victory of sorts in the north, along the Burma-China border. A minority cadre turned against the Burma Communist Party (BCP), driving its leaders across the border and declaring themselves free and independent of their former BCP leaders. The SLORC quickly entered into agreements with the leaders of the minority BCP cadres in Kokang

and the Wa State, promising to allow their former enemies to keep their weapons, retain power in their traditional areas, and pursue local trade (mostly opium) in exchange for ending their wars against the SLORC and even fighting on SLORC's side against other minorities.

As time progressed, the SLORC persistently refused to allow the newly elected NLD-led Parliament to assemble. Some elected MPs fled to liberated areas on the Thai-Burma border. In December 1990, the Parliament met secretly and elected the "National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma" (NCGUB) with the support of all major ethnic groups struggling to assert themselves within Burma.

On April 24, 1992, two years after the elections, SLORC issued Order No. 11/92 entitled "Convening of a National Convention." It indicated that a National Convention would be convened "in order to lay down basic principles to draft a firm constitution." In January 1993, the Convention finally assembled with 702 delegates, of whom only 106 were elected representatives. The remaining delegates were either hand-picked by the SLORC to "represent" workers, peasants, intellectuals, national races, and service personnel or were "specially invited persons." The SLORC stated that the Convention would only be drawing up the "principles" of a new constitution, and the final draft would still be written, as promised, by the elected representatives. Moreover, SLORC stated, the principles discussed by the delegates had to conform with the "objectives" of the Convention, as defined by SLORC, which included the "participation of the *Tatmadaw* (armed forces) in the national political leadership role of the State in the future." Despite repeated calls in UN resolutions for the SLORC to give a timetable for the Convention, there is no sign that the Convention is near conclusion.

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

Political turmoil in Burma has increased significantly since the NLD announced that it would hold a meeting in late May 1996 to commemorate the sixth anniversary of their 1990 election victory. The SLORC reacted by arresting hun-

dreds of NLD MPs and other supporters in an effort to prevent the meeting. In addition, on June 7, 1996, SLORC issued Law No. 5/96, the sweeping provisions of which allow for up to 20 years imprisonment for anyone who expresses their political views publicly.

On November 9, 1996, a group of about 200 young men attacked Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's motorcade with iron bars and sticks. The men were thought to be members of the "Union Solidarity Development Association" (USDA), a SLORC sponsored group. In December 1996, more than 2,000 people, including hundreds of students, involved in peaceful student demonstrations were arrested for calling for human rights reforms. Public gatherings on weekends in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's home have been banned since the end of 1996. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is repeatedly refused permission to leave her compound, and has been effectively confined to her house for long periods.

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

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

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

Pleading Not Guilty at Insein

Introduction

In mid-November 1995, the authorities at Insein Prison in Rangoon raided the cells of 22 political prisoners. Following the raids the prisoners were interrogated, and some were beaten, tortured and held in tiny cells usually kept for prison dogs.

Among these prisoners were a prominent journalist U Win Tin, a magazine publisher Myo Myint Nyein, and National League for Democracy (NLD) parliamentarians U Hla Than and Dr. Zaw Myint Maung, both of whom won seats in the 1990 election.

During the raids, the prison authorities allegedly seized "seditious" materials that were "damaging" to the SLORC regime. These materials included pro-democracy magazines, short stories and poems; *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines; transcripts of news items from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Voice of America (VOA) and Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB), and the prisoners' letters to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and the United Nations.

Each of the 22 prisoners was subsequently charged under Section 5 (E) of *the 1950 Emergency Provision Act* for writing and distributing allegedly false information. If found guilty of this charge a person can be jailed for up to seven years and receive a fine. The law states that to receive a conviction, a person must either know that the information distributed was not correct, or there must be enough evidence to show that the information was not correct.

Among the materials seized was also a letter to former UN Special Rapporteur to Burma, Professor Yokota, which contained information about conditions inside Insein Prison. Insein is the oldest and also the largest of Burma's 36 prisons, and is the country's most notorious in terms of human rights abuses. Nearly all of Burma's well known political prisoners have spent some time there. The trial of these 22 prisoners was held inside Insein Prison.

The prisoners were refused access to legal counsel at the trial and they defended themselves. All 22 prisoners pleaded not guilty to the charges brought against them, either on the grounds that what they had written was the truth or that the charge was false. As a testament to their courage, the prisoners spoke out against the authorities, complaining of torture and beatings in prison, and calling for prisoners' rights and for access to legal counsel. Some also accused the authorities of holding a political trial and criticized the handling of the trial and presentation of the evidence.

This case was specifically mentioned in an interim United Nations report on human rights in Burma as an example of the denial of freedom of expression in prisons. The report, compiled by the UN Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, Judge Rajsoomer Lallah, stated that "20 prisoners were" allegedly tried and given additional sentences of 5 to 7 years. However, according to the official report of the trial, translated here, 22 prisoners were tried and they all received an additional seven years with hard labor.

U Hla Than died in custody before he could have served out his sentence. His death certificate states that he died of pulmonary tuberculosis. His request to be allowed to die at home was rejected reportedly because he refused to resign from the NLD.

The other 21 political prisoners are still being held in Insein Prison.

The Trial Report Translation

Rangoon Divisional Court (Northern District Court)

Criminal Regular Trial Case No. 7/ 1996

Police Lieutenant U Khin Htay Vs.

1. Myo Myint Nyein
2. Zaw Tun
3. Nyunt Zaw
4. Soe Htet Khaing
5. Aung Kyaw Oo
6. Zaw Min
7. Phyo Min Thein
8. Win Thein
9. Aung Myo Tint
10. Htay Win Aung
11. Yin Htway
12. Win Tin
13. Hla Than
14. Ko Ko Oo (aka Bo Bo)
15. Kyi Pe Kyaw (aka Kyaw Gyi)
16. Kyaw Min Yu (aka Jimmy)
17. Myat Tun
18. Tun Win
19. Sein Hlaing
20. Zaw Myint Maung
21. Soe Myint

22. Ba Myo Thein
(Complainant) (Defendants)

For Complainant: Maung Maung Hla, District Attorney.

For Defendants: The defendants themselves.

Charge: Section 5 (E), *1950 Emergency Provisions Act.*

JUDGEMENT

In the year 1996, Myo Myint Nyein (inmate no. 9570/C) from Insein Prison and his accomplices secretly wrote and distributed a seditious magazine in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of the founding of Rangoon University, and another news magazine entitled *New Blood Wave*.

A letter written and addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations was also secretly smuggled out of the prison. The letter, entitled "The Testimonials Of Prisoners Of Conscience From Insein Central Prison Who Have Been Unjustly Imprisoned; Demands And Requests Regarding Human Rights Violations In Burma" is dated July 1, 1995.

Furthermore, the defendants smuggled radios into the prison in order to receive news from outside, and distribute it in the form of news bulletins. They did this knowing that the news was incorrect with the aim to distribute false information.

Following an investigation, twenty two defendants including Myo Myint Nyein were charged under Section 5 (E) of the *1950 Emergency Provision Act* by Police Lieutenant U Khin Htay from Insein Police Station.

During the trial, ten out of the 15 witnesses were present and testified against the defendants. U Khin Htay (complainant witness 1) and U Ye Nyunt (complainant witness 2) presented to the court details of each and every part that the 22 defendants had played in the crime.

Myo Myint Nyein

Myo Myint Nyein, 35, has been detained since September 1990 when he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment by a military court for organizing youths and students to create instability. He is a magazine

publisher and worked for the Information Department of the NLD and for the group "Thone Yaung Chae" which provided bodyguards for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. At his 1990 trial, officials stated his magazine "Bar Dwae Phyit Gone Byi Lae" (What Has Become of Us?) was an "anti-government propaganda publication, aimed at making people misunderstand the government and defense forces." Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 he was held in a small cell in Insein in which prison dogs are normally kept.

Myo Myint Nyein smuggled Time and Newsweek magazines into the prison by unlawful means and distributed them for other prisoners to read. He took responsibility for the layout of the magazine written in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of the founding of Rangoon University, which contained seditious literature against the State. Furthermore, he organized other prisoners to write seditious pieces. He also persuaded Nyunt Zaw to copy this seditious literature by hand, providing him with paper and ball-point pens. At the same time, he persuaded Phyo Min Thein, Nyunt Zaw and Kyi Pe Kyaw to make a cloth cover for the magazine and adorn it with illustrations. When the publication was finished in September 1995, he kept it in Cell 18, Long Hall 4.

Moreover, in early May of 1995, he read the magazine *New Blood Wave*, published in Short Hall 4, in memory of 7th anniversary of the death of Phone Maw.[1] U Khin Htay also alleged that from June of 1994, Myo Myint Nyein collected news from visitors during prison visits and distributed this information in a news bulletin every Sunday.

Kyaw Min Yu (aka Jimmy) asked Nyunt Zaw, who had beautiful handwriting, to copy the news from the BBC, VOA, and DVB, but Myo Myint Nyein took charge of distributing it in the news bulletin.

In early May of 1995, Myo Myint Nyein, Nyunt Zaw, Kyi Pe Kyaw, Zaw Min and Phyo Min Thein discussed about collecting information on events within the prison and presenting this information, along with their demands, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. They gathered this information, and in the month of June, 1995, Win Tin asked Nyunt Zaw to copy it on an Ajinomoto[2] plastic bag, spreading out the bag in the form of a sheet of paper. After concealing this paper in the handle of a plastic basket made in prison, it was given to Phone Myint Tun during visiting time.

Similarly, in March of 1993, Myo Myint Nyein held discussions with Phyo Min

1 *Phone Maw was the first student to die in the 1988 demonstrations.*

2 *Company brand name*

Thein and Kyaw Min Yu (aka Jimmy) about a conference to be held in Vienna, Austria [UN Human Rights Conference]. As a result, Phyo Min Thein wrote a paper in English on a short-sleeved prison shirt and smuggled it out of the prison.

In early 1994, he wrote "new year greetings to Aung San Suu Kyi from her colleagues" on a white cloth and asked 107 prisoners to sign their names on it.

Nyunt Zaw

Beginning in the month of June 1995, while serving his term in Cell 7, Hall 4, Nyunt Zaw copied articles and manuscripts in the evening for the magazine to be published in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of the founding of Rangoon University. He also drew illustrations of Shwe Dagon Pagoda and the monument erected in memory of the 1920 Student Boycott on pages 2 and 3 of the magazine.

Additionally, Nyunt Zaw drew cartoon illustrations for an article entitled "Blood Path: Take It. And Walk On It Bravely" and other cartoons on pages 22 and 23 of the magazine. He also copied the final draft letter entitled "The Testimonials Of Prisoners Of Conscience From Insein Central Prison Who Have Been Unjustly Imprisoned; Demands And Requests Regarding Human Rights Violations In Burma" onto the Ajinomoto plastic bag. The letter was concealed in the handle of a plastic basket in Cell 18, Hall 4, where Myo Myint Nyein and Kyi Pe Kyaw lived.

At the request of Myo Myint Nyein, Nyunt Zaw copied the final versions of the news for the weekly news bulletin. He also copied and distributed news from the BBC, VOA etc., which broadcast false news about Burma.

Zaw Tun

> *Zaw Tun, a second-year student from the Workers' College, has been detained since August 1991 when he was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on charges of having links with the 208th Battalion of the ABSDF Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 he was placed in a prison dog cell.*

Zaw Tun sat on the "Committee for the publication of the magazine of the Diamond Jubilee of Rangoon University." His duty was to read and screen manuscripts for the magazine. He contributed an article entitled "Meeting With Great Leaders," and the poems "Historic Peacock" and "Making A Decision."

Zaw Min

Zaw Min wrote in the same magazine an aesthetic piece entitled "Obeisance To Mother," a poem titled "Consequence To A Cup of Low Sweet Strong Tea" and a feature story "A Day Of Hope."

Zaw Min was a signatory to the human rights letter written on the Ajinomoto plastic bag and addressed to the United Nations. He also participated in the writing of a letter acknowledging "happiness" at the release of Daw Suu Kyi and was a signatory to this letter.

Phyo Min Thein

Phyo Min Thein is a member of the Democratic Party for New Society (DPNS) and the all Burma Federation of Students' Union (ABFSU).

After a discussion with Zaw Min, Nyunt Zaw and Soe Htet Khaing, Phyo Min Thein took responsibility for collecting articles from the prisoners in Long Hall 4, Short Hall 4 and Hall 3 for the Diamond Jubilee magazine. He also took charge of preparing the back cover of the magazine and sent it to Myo Myint Nyein when it was finished. Phyo Min Thein translated the letter to the Vienna Human Rights Conference and also sent it to Myo Myint Nyein. Furthermore, Phyo Min Thein was one of the signatories to the letter written in English on the prison shirt. Similarly, at the request of Myo Myint Nyein, he signed his name on the plastic bag as a part of the letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He also signed his name to the letter written on another plastic bag addressed to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, informing her of their delight on her release from house arrest.

Soe Htet Khaing

Soe Htet Khiang, 32, was a second-year Rangoon University student when he was detained in October 1989 and sentenced by a military tribunal to ten years imprisonment. He had reportedly never been politically active, and is thought to have been arrested on account of his father's and brother's reported anti-government activities during the 1988 demonstrations. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 he was held in a prison dog cell.

Soe Htet Khaing participated in the discussions on publishing the magazine to honor the Diamond Jubilee of Rangoon University. He also proof-read articles and other

writings and was a signatory to the letter for the release of Daw Suu Kyi.

Aung Kyaw Oo

Aung Kyaw Oo, a first-year student from the Workers' College, was arrested with Zaw Tun in August 1991 and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on charges of having links with the 208th Battalion of the ABSDF.

Aung Kyaw Oo was a member of the "Committee To Publish The Diamond Jubilee Magazine." He wrote the poem "Together With Infinite Strength" published in the magazine.

Aung Myo Tint

Aung Myo Tint was placed in a prison dog cell between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 in Insein.

In February 1995, Aung Myo Tint discussed with Htay Win Aung, Win Thein and Myint Htway the publication of a magazine in memory of the 7th anniversary of Phone Maw's death. He persuaded other prisoners to contribute articles, poems and cartoons to it. He wrote a short story called "Summer Dream: Purple Flower," and poems entitled "Conception Of A Kant Kaw Flower"[3] and "Night Beyond Its Prime." He rewrote the magazine in his own handwriting. After discussion with Htay Win Aung, the magazine was named *New Blood Wave*. They then sent it to the prisoners of Long Hall 4 and Short Hall 4 to read, after which it was buried in the ground beside the hall.

Win Thein

Win Thein is a member of the NLD Youth.

Win Thein participated in discussions concerning the publication of *New Blood Wave*. He wrote letters to prisoners in other cells requesting manuscripts. He also edited and proof-read them for the magazine.

Win Thein also participated in the prayers and memorial services held for the anniversaries of the deaths of Phone Maw and Thaw Ka, and provided the participants

3 *A hardwood evergreen with sweet scented white blossoms.*

with coffee and snacks. He was a signatory to the letter written for the 50th birthday of Daw Suu Kyi, which called for her freedom. He played an instrumental role in the naming and the successful publication of the *New Blood Wave* magazine. In it, Win Thein wrote poems such as "Phone Maw: Introduction To A New History," "The Immortal," "Anger of 13-16" and "Water Current." He also drew illustrations for the publication.

Yin Htway

Yin Htway is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the DPNS and was placed in a prison dog cell between mid-November 1995 and January 1996.

Yin Htway took part in the discussions to publish the *New Blood Wave* magazine. He wrote an article entitled "With Broad Based Politics," a short story called "Acceleration Of Light" and the poem "Errors On The Right Path." He gave his writings to Aung Myo Tint.

Hla Than

The late U Hla Than won the seat of Coco Islands in the 1990 election for the NLD. He was arrested in October 1990 for attending a meeting to form a provisional government and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment with hard labor. He was also found to have infringed election laws and was banned from future elections. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 he was held in a prison dog cell and was not permitted visits by his family. On August 2,1996 he died in custody at the age of 52. The death certificate attributed his death to pulmonary tuberculosis and stated that he had tested positive for HIV. His request to be allowed to die at home was turned down by prison authorities, reportedly because of his refusal to resign from the NLD.

Hla Than received from Myo Myint Nyein the pieces of thin Ajinomoto plastic bag on which Win Tin had written a letter to the United Nations. Hla Than concealed this letter in the handle of the plastic basket he had made.

Win Tin

U Win Tin, 66, is a prominent journalist and secretary of the NLD's

Executive Council. He was arrested in July 1989 and since then has been sentenced three times to a total of 19 years imprisonment. He was charged in October 1989 with offering hospitality to a young girl who had undergone an illegal abortion and was sentenced to three years imprisonment with hard labor. In 1992 he was sentenced to a further 11 years under the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act. In mid-November 1995 he was placed in a prison dog cell and not allowed family visits, and in January 1996 he was transferred to solitary confinement. He is reportedly suffering from a heart condition, acute inflammation of the vertebrae and is in need of dental treatment having lost several teeth during his imprisonment.

Win Tin wrote a draft paper called "Ten Principles Of Unity" with which he organized and agitated the prisoners. He also wrote another paper under the pen-name of Yae Hlaing [Water Wave], and contributed an article to the New Blood Wave magazine entitled "Students, Youth And Human Rights."

Win Tin wrote reports on NLD meetings held in prison, and other articles and papers calling on people to accept the leadership of Daw Suu Kyi. He wrote a paper supporting the work of Daw Sun Kyi under the title "To The Lady's Birthday" in honor of her release [from house arrest].

Likewise, he wrote policy papers calling for the NLD, DPNS, the Communist Party of Burma (CPB) and others to work co-operatively in areas of common interest, and to work separately in other areas.

Win Tin also wrote papers calling for the release of Daw Suu Kyi, the transfer of power to the Hluttaw[4] and for the abolition of the National Convention. He also attempted to smuggle these papers out of the prison.

Ko Ko Oo (aka Bo Bo)

Ko Ko Oo is a member of the NLD Youth and worked in the organization's national headquarters in Rangoon. He was arrested in April 1991 and was politically active during the high school student movement in 1988, for which he was detained for one month.

Ko Ko Oo secretly brought in a "Crown" 8-band radio receiver to the prison. He listened to the news from the BBC, VOA, and DVB, rewrote the news and distributed it among the prisoners. He also took part in publishing the weekly news

4 *Burma's Parliament.*

bulletin.

Kyaw Min Yu (aka Jimmy)

Kyaw Min Yu is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the DPNS and was arrested in late 1989/early 1990 and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment, which was commuted to ten years in 1993.

Kyaw Min Yu was a DPNS representative in the "Organization To Protect The Rights Of Prisoners" within the prison. He was the one who initiated sending human rights reports to the UN Commission on Human Rights. He also signed his name on the letter to the UN. On the Christmas greeting to Daw Suu Kyi, he wrote alongside his signature "I would like to greet you with genuine democracy." Similarly, he helped put together the news bulletin for which he once contributed an article entitled "False News From Burma."

Myat Tun

Myat Tun is a member of the NLD Youth and was detained in June/July 1991 and sentenced to eight years imprisonment on charges of establishing contacts with NLD members in exile.

Myat Tun listened to Ko Ko Oo's radio in order to collect and reprint news for the news bulletin. He was also involved in the distribution of this bulletin.

Zaw Myint Maung

Dr. Zaw Myint Maung, 45, won a seat in parliament in the 1990 election for the NLD. He was arrested in February 1991 for allegedly attending a meeting with the aim to form a provisional government and was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. This sentence was commuted to ten years in 1993. He was dismissed from parliamentary membership by the Election Commission in November 1991 and banned from running in future elections. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 he was held in a prison dog cell in Insein.

Zaw Myint Maung was a member of the "Organization To Protect The Rights Of Prisoners." He contributed a poem called "Noble Mother [or] To My Mother" to the Diamond Jubilee magazine and another poem entitled "History Of The Fighting

Peacock's Ability" to the *New Blood Wave* magazine. He signed his name to the paper calling for the release of Daw Suu Kyi.

Kyi Pe Kyaw (aka Kyaw Gyi)

Kyi Pe Kyaw is a member of the DPNS.

Kyi Pe Kyaw crocheted pictures of a peacock and of Rangoon University on the front cover of the Diamond Jubilee Magazine. He was also a participant in a meeting organized to write a paper on the protection of the rights of prisoners. Electric wires, a water-heating electrode, a Newsweek magazine, an English dictionary and ball-point pen refills were seized from his cell.

Ba Myo Thein

Ba Myo Thein, 42, is associated with the Democracy Solidarity Front and worked as an assistant supervisor in the Myanmar Agriculture Head Office in Rangoon. He was believed to have been arrested after September 1990 and was sentenced to seven years imprisonment under the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 he was held in a prison dog cell.

Ba Myo Thein signed as a representative of the Da Nya Ta[5] on the document on the protection of the rights of prisoners which was to be sent to the United Nations.

Soe Myint

Soe Myint was held in a prison dog cell in Insein between mid-November 1995 and January 1996.

Soe Myint wrote the song "The Battle Cry" published in the *New Blood Wave* magazine.

Sein Hlaing

Sein Hlaing, 41, is a writer and has been detained at Insein prison since September 1990. He was a Central Committee member of the All Burma

5 *The now defunct Alliance for Democratic Solidarity, Union of Burma.*

Federation of Youth Unions and a former leader of the Thone Young Chae group. He was sentenced in a military court with Myo Myint Nyein to seven years imprisonment under the 1950 Emergency Provision Act. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 he was held in a prison dog cell.

Sein Hlaing took responsibility for the distribution of the weekly News Bulletin in Long Hall 4.

Win Tun

Win Tun unlawfully smuggled a "National" 8-band radio along with 80 batteries into the prison. These were the charges brought against the accused prisoners by [complainant witnesses] U Khin Htay and U Ye Nyunt.

EVIDENCE

The evidence produced in court consisted of radios and batteries, two magazines [the Diamond Jubilee and the *New Blood Wave*] a weekly news bulletin and a number of pieces of paper.

Chief Warden U Zaw Myint (complainant witness 4), testified that he participated in the search of Cells 1 to 18 in Hall 4 on November 12,1995, along with the team leader of the raid Warden U Thein Myint. Chief Warden U Zaw Myint testified that they found:

- an iron water pipe
- a *Thuta Swae Sone* [Assorted Knowledge] magazine issued in November 1994
- a *Veda* [Astrology] magazine
- a copy of February 1995 *Dana* [Wealth] magazine
- six sheets of paper on which were written brief summaries of radio broad-casts
- a letter of condolence and a book of poems written on the 4th anniversary of Maung Thaw Ka's[6] death
- a copy of a hand-written news bulletin issued on May 7, 1995
- 25 sheets of paper containing suggestions for the movement to secure the release of Nobel Peace Prize winner Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

6 *Maung Thaw Ka was a famous writer and member of the NLD who died in Insein Prison after being beaten and tortured.*

- 22 sheets of paper on which were written short news stories
- a number of other papers.

The papers of short news stories and the iron pipe seized from Hall 4 were placed under Evidence Category I. According to Warden U Thein Myint, the team leader of the raid, all the other evidence seized during the raid of Cells 1 to 18 were listed under Evidence Categories C, D, E, F, G and H.

On November 12, 1995, Warden U Nyunt Wai (complainant witness 5) searched Cell 7, Long Hall 4 and found:

- 76 sheets of hand written manuscripts for the Diamond Jubilee magazine aimed at opposing the State
- five sheets of handwritten papers written in English
- a book of [Buddhist] Sutras.

They were listed under Evidence Category J. According to U Nyunt Wai, prisoners Zaw Tun and Nyunt Zaw lived in this cell.

According to the testimony of Warden U San Ya (complainant witness 6) he was told to search Hall 4 on the morning of November 13, 1995 along with the authorities in charge of Halls 4, 5 and 6. The authorities seized 37 sheets of paper torn out from various English magazines from Cell 29 where Sein Hlaing, Win Thein and Aung Myo Tint lived.

Warden U San Ya also testified that Khaing Soe, Saw Myint Maung, Moe Kyaw and Maung Gyi lived in Cell 18, and that 21 pages from an English magazine were seized from their cell. He further verified that the authorities found 3 lamps wrapped up in a cement bag buried in front of Cell 2 1, Hall 4 where Kyaw Zin Htwe and Pyone Cho lived. He also testified that Maung Swe Oo and Phyo Min Thein lived in Cell 5 of Hall 4.

According to the confession of Ko Ko Oo, Warden Maung Hla, Warden Tint Lwin and Corporal Shwe Win searched in the garbage pile and toilet behind Hall 5 on November 19,1995 and found a ten-and-a-half foot long black wire, two four-foot long white wires, ten small "National" dry batteries, a destroyed speaker and broken bits of a radio.

The search team also found, in the area between the pond and the officers' houses a copy of the *New Blood Wave* magazine and another copy of the same magazine, which were listed in Record No. 2 under Evidence Categories M and B. A draft copy of seditious literature listed as Record No. 12 was also found buried in the

ground near Hall 4.

Warden Kan Myint (complainant witness 7) testified that he was ordered to search Cells 2 and 13 of Hall 3 on November 12, 1995. In his testimony, he stated that Win Tin lived in Cell 2. He said his team found:

- two *Newsweek* magazines
- a nail cutter
- two ball-point pens, a pair of felt pens and two refills
- three bottles of home-made medicine
- a lighter
- illegal literature written on 109 pieces of plastic and 39 pieces of paper.

Furthermore, Warden Kan Myint testified that the team found another batch of evidence in Cell 13 of Hall 3. They were:

- two new gas lighters and three old gas lighters
- three shaving blades and a shaving metal blade
- a container for colored pencils
- a painting brush
- two copies of *Today Burma*
- a book of English usage
- a thermometer
- 12 colored pencils, seven colored pens and 14 felt pens
- an article called "Living Revolution" written on eight pieces of torn plastic bags
- 155 kyat[7]
- a *Newsweek* magazine
- five "Spoken English" books
- an old nail cutter
- a picture of Bogyoke [Aung San]
- five pictures of Aung San Suu Kyi.

According to the testimony of handwriting expert U Tin Sein (complainant witness 8), he was able to confirm that the hand writing of the publications, except the weekly news bulletin (Record A-1), was that of Nyunt Zaw. After carrying out an examination of his writing alongside that of Saw Myint Maung, Aung Myo Tint, Aung Kyaw Oo, Zaw Tun, Kyaw Min Yu, Phyo Min Thein, Myat Tun and Win Tin, he found the hand writing in the A-1-1 copy and the magazine for the Diamond Jubilee of Rangoon University was identical to that of Nyunt Zaw.

7 *Burma's currency.*

U Tin Sein further testified that:

- the hand writing on Record A-2 belonged to Nyunt Zaw
- Aung Myo Tint wrote *New Blood Wave* (Record A-3)
- Record A-4 and Evidence Category P were Aung Kyaw Oo's writings
- writing on the back of an oil-soaked paper used for wrapping up snacks from "Joker Bakery" was written by Zaw Tun (Record A-5, Evidence Category Q)
- writing in red ink on 10 pieces of paper was written by Kyaw Min Yu (aka Jimmy) (Record A-6, Evidence Category R)
- Phyo Min Thein wrote two sheets of paper constituting Record A-7, Evidence Category S
- Record A-8, Evidence Category T, was in Myat Tun's handwriting
- Win Tin's handwriting was on Record A-9, Evidence Category N.

Following an investigation, the State brought various charges against Myo Myint Nyein along with 21 other partners-in-crime involved in the case. They were charged under Section 5(E) of the *1950 Emergency Provision Act* for writing and distributing seditious literature and drawing cartoons and illustrations aimed at discrediting the State despite knowledge and proof that the information contained in these documents was false.

The court also produced evidence for the case involving the Diamond Jubilee magazine and 20 sheets of paper addressed to the United Nations (Evidence Category C); the weekly news bulletin -6 different editions of which were seized from Myo Myint Nyein's cell (Evidence Category D); minutes of NLD meetings in prison (Evidence Category F); and the *New Blood Wave* magazine and other literature (Evidence Category K).

All the defendants denied the charges. All the defendants with the exception of Zaw Min, Hla Than and Sein Hlaing testified as witnesses during the trial and produced witnesses.

TESTIMONY OF THE ACCUSED

Myo Myint Nyein

In his main statement Myo Myint Nyein told the court that he discussed with Phyo Min Thein writing a message to the UN Human Rights Conference in Vienna, Austria in 1993. The message stated that "we [Burmese] hope for more support from the

international community for the promotion of human rights in Burma." He also confessed that along with Phyo Min Thein he signed the message written in English on the prison shirt. The message was later sent to the Human Rights Conference.

Myo Myint Nyein stated he made arrangements to send a message of congratulations "from political prisoners, colleagues and friends to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi" when she was released [from house arrest]. He said he made arrangements for the publishing of the weekly news bulletins, distributed them among those who wished to read them, and wrote articles for the bulletin. He testified that he also held discussions with Phyo Min Thein to publish a magazine in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of Rangoon University, and he took joint responsibility for the magazine.

Myo Myint Nyein said he wrote a paper on the "rights and grievances of the prisoners" to be presented to the United Nations through the ICRC during their proposed visit to the prison. He said he was unable to deliver the paper because he could not meet the ICRC delegation.

Myo Myint Nyein also testified that he received messages on the 4th anniversary of Maung Thaw Ka's death, and that he was sent to Cell 2 of Hall 6 while his cell was being searched on November 11 and November 15, 1995. He said he was also responsible for the letter sent to the government suggesting the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi when she was not freed as expected, and that this letter was not distributed.

He further testified that he was responsible for the evidence contained in Evidence Categories C, D, E and K, that he had never seen the *New Blood Wave* magazine before, and that it was not true that he asked Nyunt Zaw to copy the news after recording it from the BBC, VOA and DVB, and nor did he distribute this news. He said it was also not true that the news was read by the prisoners from Long Hall 4, and Short Halls 4 and 3. He said it was only sent to the political prisoners in Long Hall 4 to be read.

Myo Myint Nyein said it was not true that Myo Nyunt Thein signed his name on the prison shirt to be sent to the Vienna Human Rights Conference, and added that the news contained on the shirt was all correct. He said the meeting of the VOA correspondent with leaders of the country was proof of that, and said the information contained in the papers, magazines and bulletins was all true.

Zaw Tun

Zaw Tun testified that his room was not searched on November 11, 1995 and that

he and Nyunt Zaw were brought out of their cell when Hall 4 was searched on November 12, 1995. He said nothing was found in his cell.

Zaw Tun also said he learned from Warden U Nyunt Wai that the search team found a package when another search was conducted in their absence. He said the first time he had seen the package was when Warden U Nyunt Wai showed it to him.

He said he did not read the Diamond Jubilee magazine, and asserted that, as written in the "Historic Peacock" poem, it was true that a number of students had died or were injured on July 7, 1962, during the 1974 U Thant Funeral Strike, at the Hmaing Centennial Strike, during the 1987 Demonetization Strike and on the day of Phone Maw's death in 1988.

He said he was not guilty.

Nyunt Zaw

Nyunt Zaw testified that on November 12 1995, the authorities searched his cell in his absence. He said he did not sign the documentary record [listing the evidence found in his cell]. He also said that the Diamond Jubilee magazine was written by hand in recognition of the plight of political prisoners. Nyunt Zaw further testified that he only copied news collected from visitors during prison visits at the request of Myo Myint Nyein, and said there was also news from Radio Myanmar in the news bulletin.

Soe Htet Khaing

Although he did not refute the charges explicitly, Soe Htet Khaing told the court that the allegations stated by U Ye Nyunt (complainant witness 2) were incorrect.

Aung Kyaw Oo

Aung Kyaw Oo told the court that he was not a member of the "Committee To Publish The Diamond Jubilee Magazine," and that he had only participated in putting the magazine together. He did not deny the fact that Nyunt Zaw, Phyo Min Thein, Kyi Pe Kyaw were involved in publishing the magazine.

Zaw Min

As a defendant, Zaw Min answered 11 questions asked by the court. He did not produce any witnesses to refute the charges, and he did not act as a witness during any of the other cases being tried.

Phyo Min Thein

Phyo Min Thein testified that after a discussion with Myo Myint Nyein in early May 1993, he signed his name on the prison shirt on which they wrote that "the political prisoners welcome the Vienna Conference," that "the rays of hope for human rights will be brightened in Burma" and that "we are still under detention in the SLORC prison where no human rights are practiced."

He said he held discussions with Myo Myint Nyein to compile a paper on human rights violations common in prison to present to the ICRC when its delegation was scheduled to visit the prison. Phyo Min Thein said he was a participant, along with others, in the preparation of the paper to be presented to the UN through the ICRC. He said the paper was unable to be delivered to the ICRC because the proposed visit was canceled. Similarly, he said they could not send the paper [to the UN] by any other means. Phyo Min Thein stated that what was contained in this paper regarding the situation in prison was true and the information was based on his own experience under detention.

Phyo Min Thein said he took the main responsibility for publishing the magazine in honor of the Diamond Jubilee of Rangoon University. He said he drew illustrations on both the front and back covers, and that anyone could participate in the writing and preparation of the magazine. He said there was no committee as such for the publishing of the magazine and that he informed only those who could help him put the magazine together.

He testified that he asked Myo Myint Nyein to do the layout of the Diamond Jubilee magazine, and asked Nyunt Zaw, who had beautiful handwriting, to copy the final draft. He stated the information contained in the magazine was all correct and that it reflected the genuine feelings of political prisoners.

He pleaded not guilty.

Win Thein

Win Thein testified that nothing was found in his cell during the special search con-

ducted on November 11, 1995. He said the *New Blood Wave* magazine that Warden U San Ya alleged was discovered there was not in his possession and stated that he had no connection with the magazine.

Win Thein told the court he was beaten during his interrogation. He pleaded not guilty.

Aung Myo Tint

Aung Myo Tint testified that on November 12, 1995 a warden and other prison officials took him from his cell (no. 29, Short Hall 4) saying that he would have to meet the chief warden. He said that he was tortured that night.

Aung Myo Tint said he was taken away again on November 16, 1995 and officials showed him a hand written book and asked if he had written it. When he denied this, he said they asked him to write something on paper [to check his hand-writing].

Aung Myo Tint testified that the accusations made by the prison officials against him were biased and untrue. He said he had not held any discussions with Win Thein, that he did not share a cell with Pyone Cho and Yin Htwe, had nothing to do with them, and that his prison visiting time was not the same as theirs.

He said that according to prosecution witnesses, the notebook was found near the official quarters. He also said he was not connected with the *New Blood Wave* magazine.

Aung Myo Tint pleaded not guilty.

Htay Win Aung[8]

> *Htay Win Aung is a member of the ABFSU and was placed in a prison dog cell in Insein between mid-November 1995 and January 1996.*

Htay Win Aung testified that on November 12,1995 he was taken away from his cell, his head having been covered with a mask, and was beaten during an interrogation. He also told the court that on November 16, 1995 he was treated in the same way during another interrogation. He said six officials interrogated him using threats and torture.

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8 No allegations were listed against Htay Win Aung in the trial report.

Htay Win Aung said he had no connection with the evidence found elsewhere and that nothing was found in his cell. He said U Khin Htay's allegations against him were wrong. He denied that the handwriting in the *New Blood Wave* magazine was his, that he and Aung Myo Tint named the magazine, that Aung Myo Tint drew illustrations and copied the writing in the magazine, or that he wrote the poems "Summer Dream: Purple Flower," "Phone Maw" or "He Whose History Does Not Die" and "Anger of 13-16."

He pleaded not guilty.

Yin Htway

Yin Htway testified that on November 12, 1995 he was sent to Cell 7, Hall 6 before U Myint Thein and his team searched his cell. He said after he was interrogated, he signed a paper because he was asked to do so.

Yin Htway said that although Warden U San Ya claimed he found the *New Blood Wave* magazine, he could not tell the court exactly where he found it. He said the magazine had nothing to do with Hall 4 where he lived and that he had no connection with the publication.

Yin Htway pleaded not guilty.

Win Tin

Win Tin testified that Military Intelligence Service (MIS) personnel took him to a show entitled "Windy With Big Wave" at Envoy Hall on U Wisara Road while he was serving a prison term for previous offenses. He said the MIS asked him to write a 25 page assessment paper and he complied with this.

He told the court the main points in the paper were: "the Army was working for continued military domination in Burma," "he could not accept the fact the Tatmadaw[9] was creating a destiny for the country," "he objected to the military intervention during the 1988 Uprising in which a new generation of students and the entire nation participated," "he supported Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's tireless effort to establish democracy for the generation to come" and "he presented the sufferings of political prisoners when he was allowed to meet two foreign delegations." He said that when he was allowed to meet a foreign delegation for a second time, he also presented some of his views on the release of Daw Suu Kyi and political prisoners, on the

9 *Burma's armed forces.*

meeting which the SLORC held with Daw Suu Kyi and on the abolition of the National Convention. He said that the current charges against him must not be connected with actions that he had been legally permitted to undertake.

Win Tin testified that the statement in the letter to the UN that "political prisoners did not receive sufficient medication in prison," was a true statement. He said he himself had not received sufficient medication. He told the court that political prisoners refused to eat food for three days to protest against the punishment received by Bala Gyi (aka Than Htut). He said when U Hla told him of the [punishment] incident he refused food as part of the protest. When he was told [by the authorities] to change his mind, he said he did not. He said he began to eat again when Bala Gyi was exempted from punishment.

Win Tin testified that when prisoners demanded their rights, the authorities only allowed prisoners to heat up their food before eating it. He said that although he demanded the status of political prisoners be clearly defined, [the authorities] did not comply with this.

He told the court that the facts contained in the letter to the United Nations, describing the situation with regard to the treatment of prisoners in solitary confinement and other matters, were correct and were beyond the limits of regulations outlined in the prison manual.

Win Tin said that after the search of his cell on November 12, 1995, the officers confiscated many papers and materials from the cell. He said he did not know if all of the confiscated materials were shown to the court, but said that among the materials shown in court he had not seen the paper about the NLD meetings in prison or the paper entitled "To The Lady's Birthday."

He said he had not seen the "Ten Principles of Unity" document or his view on the Joint Action Committee. He said although officials claimed that the letter of Ko Phyo, addressed to "Ah Ba" or father, was found in his cell, this was not correct. He added that the "De Hlaing" poem was not written in his handwriting, and that he could not write poems because he was old. He said he was only a newspaper writer, but testified that he did not write any of the articles in the *New Blood Wave* magazine. He said just because there was no name alongside an article, didn't mean that he had written it.

Win Tin said the letter written on Aung San Suu Kyi's 50th Birthday entitled "Bowing To The Lady On Her Birthday" was a personal letter, not a political letter. He said he wrote the greeting letter to Aung San Suu Kyi on her release [from house arrest].

Win Tin pleaded not guilty because he said all of what he had written was based on the truth.

Hla Than

Hla Than did not act as a witness, but as a defendant. He answered only two questions posed by the court. He didn't produce anything to prove he was not guilty.

Ko Ko Oo (aka Bo Bo)

In his defense, Ko Ko Oo told the court that on November 12,1995 he was taken from Cell 14, Hall 3 and interrogated in the "special" hall. He further alleged that he was interrogated again on the following day in Cell 6, Hall 6.

He said he was again taken away from his cell on November 20, 1995. He said he was taken to the plot behind Hall 5 and saw a group of prisoners digging away a garbage heap of about 6 feet square. Ko Ko Oo said he was then taken to a dug-out for human excrement about 30 yards away [from the garbage pit]. He said an official ordered a prisoner to poke the pit with something and the prisoner refused. He said two officials, Warden U San Ya and U Hla, were present at that time and he saw them abusing and beating the inmates. He said he also saw someone bringing batteries and cables, and that although he had no idea what the group of prisoners who had been beaten earlier had found in the sewerage pit, he saw them cleaning something at the water tap. He said he was then interrogated.

He testified that in February 1996 he was charged for allegedly being involved in the smuggling of an 8-band radio into the prison. He said he had heard news that this had been done in 1994. He denied his involvement in this, further testifying that the radio parts and cables were not his, that they were not found in his room, and that there was no evidence that he listened to the BBC, VOA, DVB, Voice of Myanmar, and Far East Radio, and redistributed the news. He said he was not guilty of this charge.

During cross-examination by the law enforcement officials, Ko Ko Oo refused to answer all the questions and denied that he listened to the news and distributed the news. He also asserted that the news contained in the news bulletin was all correct.

Kyi Pe Kyaw (aka Kyaw Gyi)

Kyi Pe Kyaw was acquitted from a case on November 29, 1995 [while serving a prison term]. He was again recalled to the court on February 5, 1996 to face charges.

He testified in court that a special search was conducted in his cell on November 12, 1995 and that he was transferred from his cell to Cell 2, Hall 6 during the search. He told the court the statement that Warden U Thein Myint searched Long 18 and Long Hall 4 alone was incorrect.

Kyi Pe Kyaw denied that he decorated the Diamond Jubilee magazine and that he sent a letter to the UN detailing the abuse of prisoners in Insein. During cross-examination, he denied his participation in putting out the news bulletin and denied that he had discussed it with anyone. He also testified that he co-signed the letter to the UN written by Win Tin, because the authorities told him to sign the letter.

Kyaw Min Yu (aka Jimmy)

In his defense, Kyaw Min Yu testified that he was recalled back to Insein by MIS (6) and that he had to stay in Thayawaddy Prison from August 6 to November 20, 1995. He said he did not advise Myo Myint Nyein to write a letter to the Vienna Human Rights Conference on the prison shirt in 1995. In addition, he said he did not know anything about the letter. He said he was not involved in the collection of manuscripts for, the finalizing of, or the distribution of the news bulletin, and told the court he had never talked about the news bulletin with Myo Myint Nyein. He also told the court that broadcasting stations such as the BBC and VOA were good for the people and that these stations broadcast only correct and confirmed news.

Kyaw Min Yu denied that it was his handwriting (Evidence Category R) that was found in the news bulletin despite verification from the handwriting expert. He said he grew more confident after he took the [handwriting] test. Furthermore, Kyaw Min Yu said it was not true that he co-signed the Christmas card addressed to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. He said all he knew was that the card was destroyed without it being sent to her. He told the court that the note "I would like to greet you with genuine democracy" had nothing to do with the charge that had been brought against him.

Kyaw Min Yu pleaded not guilty on the grounds that he had done nothing related to the charges.

Myat Tun

Myat Tun testified that the authorities did not find anything illegal in his cell during the search and that they only found a nail cutter, a photo, a small *Dhama Setkya*[10] and a note written on a piece of paper used for wrapping up snacks. He said the note in Evidence Category T was just a note of news that he had received during a prison visit. He said did not distribute any news nor tell any news to anyone.

Myat Tun pleaded not guilty.

Win Tun

Win Tun confessed that the search team found a radio and batteries in his cell. He further testified that the search was conducted in his absence. During cross-examination, he told the court that he listened to the BBC, VOA, etc., but did not distribute any news to anyone.

Sein Hlaing

Sein Hlaing allowed himself to be questioned as a defendant. He answered only two questions and did not have any witnesses to present to the court.

Zaw Myint Maung

Zaw Myint Maung testified that he heard loud noises similar to digging on the ground with axes from the direction of Hall 4 at about 8:30 p.m. On November 11, 1995. He said the following day, a team led by Chief Warden U Kan Myint searched all of the 14 cells in Hall 3 using hoes and axes to dig. He said the officials found nothing in his cell. He said that on November 13, 1995, the team dug the ground in front of Cells 6 to 9 and also dug in front his cell (no. 10, Hall 3) and nothing was found. On November 15, 1995, he said he and some other prisoners were taken away from their cells and ordered into separate cells in which they are still living. He said the officials did not even allow him to drink water during his period of interrogation.

Zaw Myint Maung told the court that he was later shown two sheets of paper and was accused of writing a poem in the Diamond Jubilee magazine, and a poem and an article in the *New Blood Wave* magazine. He said he had never heard of the existence of nor read these magazines. He said he had seen his name in the magazines

10 Wheel of Dharma, first sermon given by the Lord Buddha.

and suggested that it may have been written by the investigators. He added that on November 23, 1995 the authorities took a sample of his handwriting. He said the words he was told to write were designed to hurt his political dignity.

Zaw Myint Maung said although it was alleged that he wrote the poem "Noble Mother" (Evidence Category C), he could not find this title in the table of contents [of the Diamond Jubilee magazine]. He added that the testimony of handwriting expert U Tin Sein was incorrect and that it was unnecessary to counter his claims. Therefore he did not answer the law enforcement official's question regarding his handwriting (Evidence Category O).

Zaw Myint Maung denied all the charges.

Soe Myint

Soe Myint testified that it was difficult to determine who was responsible for putting out the *New Blood Wave* magazine because Warden U San Ya could not verify where it was found. He said he did not write the song "Battle Cry" in the magazine, and added that U Ye Nyunt himself had answered "no" when asked if he knew whether the song was written by Nantawshayt Saya Tin.[11] He refuted the accusation on the grounds that the prosecution told the court that it was true only according to the investigation rather than in fact.

He again denied writing the song when under cross-examination and denied reading or distributing the *New Blood Wave* magazine.

Ba Myo Thein

Ba Myo Thein testified that the search of his cell was conducted from November 12, 1995 to November 14,1995 and that he was interrogated on January 20,1996. He said he learned three days later that he would be charged formally at the court. Ba Myo Thein told the court that he did not sign the plastic bag on which the letter was written to the UN Secretary General, or the white sheet of paper. He said although his cell was searched, the authorities did not find anything so he didn't need to sign any document acknowledging anything was found. Ba Myo Thein pleaded not guilty on the grounds that the prosecution only alleged that they had found evidence of his involvement in the crime on February 5, 1996. He denied all the charges during the cross-examination.

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11 Well-known pre-WWII composer of classical Burmese songs.

The testimonies of defense witnesses U Saw Nay Dun and U Tin Maung Lwin could only verify the accused were put in solitary confinement and tortured during their interrogation. They were not able to tell the court anything that would support the defense case against the other charges.

Myo Myint Nyein

As the court listened to testimony from both sides, Myo Myint Nyein told the court that the information contained in the letter to the Vienna Human Rights Conference was not fabricated, but based on true accounts. He said he wrote the letter to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi when he heard that she had been released [from house arrest] but said it was not sent to her because she was not released.

He added the facts in this letter were correct and contained no false statements. Myo Myint Nyein also testified that when he wrote the news bulletin in 1994/95, the news in it was also true and that those who were interested in it were allowed to read it. He said he also wrote a paper to present to (former UN Special Rapporteur) Professor Yokota when he was scheduled to visit the prison and although he was not able to give him the letter because he did not see him, the content of the letter was based on actual events in Insein Prison.

Myo Myint Nyein took responsibility for publishing the Diamond Jubilee Magazine and said the news and facts published in the magazine were all true accounts. He therefore pleaded not guilty.

Zaw Tun

He further testified that he was not on the "Committee to Publish the Diamond Jubilee Magazine" and said that the facts in the magazine were all correct. He said he did not write any poems and that Nyunt Zaw copied the manuscripts at the arrangement of Phyo Min Thein.

Zaw Tun said statements such as "Phone Maw's death" and "It is better to play chess" had nothing to do with Section 5 (E) of the *Emergency Provision Act* [the formal charge brought against him]. He said although he discussed with Phyo Min Thein what should be told to the ICRC when its representatives paid a visit to the prison, some of the accusations made were not covered in that discussion.

Nyunt Zaw

Nyunt Zaw testified that he wrote the Diamond Jubilee magazine and all the facts published in it were genuine. He said the prosecution could not produce any proof the information in the magazine was not correct. Despite the fact that the letter to the UN investigator was unable to be delivered, the details in it were all based on realities in the prison. He said he also wrote the news bulletin.

Soe Htet Khaing

Soe Htet Khaing said there were no witnesses other than U Khin Htay and U Ye Nyunt who testified that he endorsed both the letter to the UN and the letter to Daw Aung San Sun Kyi. He said their testimonies were based on his confessions which were made during his interrogation. He therefore pleaded not guilty.

Aung Kyaw Oo

Aung Kyaw Oo said it was true that he wrote the poem "Together With Infinite Strength" in the Diamond Jubilee magazine. He said everyone has strength and requested that the court rule to give prisoners the right to read and write if they are convicted under the present charge.

Zaw Min

Zaw Min testified that he was not in Insein Prison during the period between August 6, 1995 and November 21, 1995. He said he did not write the poem "Obeisance To Mother," the poem titled "Consequence To A Cup of Low Sweet Strong Tea" or the feature story "A Day Of Hope." He said there was no proof he had written them, nor had any drafts of them been found.

He also said it was untrue that Soe Htet Khaing and Aung Kyaw Oo had helped him. Zaw Min said there was also no proof that he signed the letter to the UN. He denied he discussed the letter with Nyunt Zaw, Kyi Pe Kyaw and Phyo Min Thein because it was already stated that U Win Tin alone had written the letter.

Phyo Min Thein

Phyo Min Thein also said he was transferred from Taungoo Prison to Insein Prison on November 24, 1995. He said after the investigation he was formally charged for alleged involvement in this case.

He stated that the prosecution could not prove that the contents of the Diamond Jubilee magazine were false or that he edited it. He said although he was accused of writing the poem "Obeisance to Mother," the authorities also accused another prisoner of writing the same poem. He confessed that he wrote the letter to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the other letter on the prison shirt to the UN.

Phyo Min Thein maintained that all the facts contained in these letters were based on genuine accounts and on these grounds he pleaded not guilty.

Win Thein

Win Thein said that a special team searched his cell on November 11, 1995. He testified that on November 15, 1995 he was beaten while being interrogated.

He asserted that there was no proof that he wrote a piece in the *New Blood Wave* magazine. Furthermore, he stated that according to Warden U San Ya the magazine was found at a place far away from his cell and this showed that he had nothing to do with it. He said he did not participate in the publishing of the magazine because he was too tired--both in body and mind--due to his constant torture in prison.

Aung Myo Tint

Aung Myo Tint said he did not organize or discuss with Pyone Cho, Yin Htway and Win Thein about the *New Blood Wave* magazine. He told the court that his handwriting was different from those on pages 5, 28, 32, 33, 35, 37, 53 and 93 although the handwriting expert claimed that these writings were his. He also said he had never met Soe Myint or Ne Oo, and had not seen the news bulletin before.

Htay Win Aung

Htay Win Aung told the court that he was not allowed to hire a lawyer to represent him. He pleaded not guilty on the grounds that the charges against him were unfounded, that there was no proof to back up the accusations, and that the prosecution testimonies were based on information obtained through interrogation.

Yin Htway

Yin Htway stated he was not allowed to hire a lawyer to represent him. He further

testified that the accusations against him with regard to the *New Blood Wave* magazine were erroneous. He asked the court when it sentenced the prisoners to urge the authorities to allow him and the others full rights of prisoners in prison.

Win Tin

Win Tin said he did what he believed was right and there was not a single fact written that was incorrect. He told the court that the loss of human rights and torture in prison were all genuine and added that the prosecution could not prove that these points were inaccurate.

He said he did not write the "reports on the NLD". The facts contained in the letter to the UN he said were real, and that he did not write anything in the *New Blood Wave* magazine under the name of "*De Hlaing*." He also told the court that the materials brought to the court as evidence were all mixed up. He said the "Ten Principles To Unity" document was a confession obtained from him during torture.

Win Tin said that although he wrote the letter to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, it contained true accounts of what was going on. He admitted that he wrote the piece "To the Lady's Birthday." He said he met the UN delegation with the permission of the authorities.

Win Tin pleaded not guilty on the grounds that all that he told the court was correct.

Hla Than

Hla Than attested that there was no way that he could have met Kyi Pe Kyaw. Likewise, he said he did not meet Soe Htet Khaing and Phyo Min Thein.

Ko Ko Oo (aka Bo Bo)

Ko Ko Oo pleaded not guilty on the grounds that the prosecution was not able to produce any evidence against him.

Kyi Pe Kyaw (aka Kyaw Gyi)

Kyi Pe Kyaw said he did not co-operate with Phyo Min Thein, Hla Than and Nyunt Zaw. He said the poem entitled "Mother Irrawaddy" was not included in any of the

publications so he pleaded not guilty.

Kyaw Min Yu (aka Jimmy)

Kyaw Min Yu further testified that he did not know anything about the *New Blood Wave* magazine and that he did not distribute it. He also said he was not involved in the letter to the UN written on the prison shirt and that it was not true that he had written the letter to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

He admitted that Evidence Category R was his handwriting, but he pleaded not guilty on the grounds that the contents were all based on true accounts.

Myat Tun

Myat Tun told that court that he was not guilty because the record of news that he had collected during prison visits (Evidence Category T) was accurate.

Win Tun

Win Tun told the court that it was true the search team found a radio in his possession, but it was not true that he distributed news to prisoners. He said he had no connection with the news bulletin or the Diamond Jubilee magazine. This being the case, he said he should only be punished in accordance with Section 42 of the prison manual.

Sein Hlaing

Sein Hlaing countered the charges on the grounds that the materials allegedly found in connection with him were all mixed up and that the location of where the materials were found were also presented incorrectly to the court. He also told the court that prisoners from Halls 3 and 4 could not see each other and that for this reason he had no way of meeting with Myo Myint Nyein.

Zaw Myint Maung

Zaw Myint Maung said he did not sign his name on the message of congratulations [to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi] and did not write a letter to her on her release [from

house arrest]. He said it was also incorrect that he had written a poem in the Diamond Jubilee magazine and said he had never read the *New Blood Wave* magazine, stating that he did not even know where it was found.
Zaw Myint Maung said the sample of his handwriting had not been taken in accordance with the law and asserted that he was being tried for political reasons.

Soe Myint

Soe Myint contended that he was not guilty because no witnesses other than U Khin Htay and U Ye Tun accused him of the crimes.

Ba Myo Thein

Regarding the accusation that Ba Myo Thein drew illustrations in the Diamond Jubilee magazine as shown in the evidence, the accused claimed this evidence had not been obtained in accordance with the regulations. He denied his participation in the letter to the UN and the endorsement on behalf of Da Nya Ta. He said that the letter was written by Win Tin alone.

Ba Myo Thein pleaded not guilty.

SUMMARY[12]

The judicial officer told the court that all the evidence shown to the court was either seized or found in the possession of the defendants. He ascertained that although they were written by hand, they were still magazines and literature according to Section 2 (a), (b) and (c) of the *Printing and Distributing Act* and that it was clear that the accused co-wrote, read and distributed the magazines and other literature. It was also evident that they listened to the news broadcasts from foreign broadcasting stations and distributed this false information.

The handwriting expert verified that those accused of writing Records A-1 to A-9 had actually written the literature concerned. Since the radios had been seized from Ko Ko Oo and Tun Win, it was evident that they had distributed the news from the radio.

Although Win Tin claimed that he wrote the letters according to his version of the

12 *This heading is not in the original report and has been added by the translator.*

truth, they contained facts that were unacceptable to the government. In addition, Myo Myint Nyein had confessed that he took responsibility for the publication of the Diamond Jubilee magazine and the evidence showed that all the accused worked together to publish the magazines.

He [the attorney] therefore appealed to the court that they be given sentences under the charges that had been laid against them.

As mentioned, Nyunt Zaw wrote the news bulletin (Record A- 1). Similarly, the handwriting found on the Diamond Jubilee magazine was his. The investigators found that he had copied false news from the BBC, VOA and DVB.

The attorney told the court that all the writings - poems, articles, descriptive pieces, aesthetic writings, cartoons, short and long stories-contained in the 102 page Diamond Jubilee magazine were aimed at defaming and discrediting the government. The person responsible was no other than Nyunt Zaw as testified by the complainant witnesses and from the confessions of the accused.

In the defense of Myo Myint Nyein, he confessed that he co-operated with Phyo Min Thein to put out the magazine. Although he claimed the handwriting in the magazine was his, it was obvious from the evidence that it was Nyunt Zaw's. The poem "History Of The Fighting Peacock's Ability" (Record A-2) was entirely against the government. It reads as follows:

> "Let it be known to
> those in the military who hunger for power,
> those demonic military,
> wishing to build a military nation,
> under a military democracy and military politics,
> that we shall resist defiantly with the strength of
> the fighting peacock,
> may it be eternally recorded in history!"

It was evident that this poem was written by Zaw Myint Maung from U Tin Sein's testimony and from Evidence Category N.

The *New Blood Wave* magazine (Record A-3) was written by Aung Myo Tint. He contested the allegation by U Tin Sein that the handwriting in certain pages of the magazine was not identical to that shown in Evidence Category K. U Tin Sein confirmed in his testimony that Aung Myo Tint did not ask a cross question about it. There were poems, stories, satirical pieces, songs, articles and aesthetic writings in the magazine and these were aimed at discrediting the government and presenting

inaccurate information.

From U Tin Sein's testimony combined with the Evidence Category N it was undeniable that the handwriting of the poem "Together With Infinite Strength" was Aung Kyaw Oo's. It was a poem which was libelous to the government.

The two pages of "Meeting With Great Leaders" (Record A-6, Evidence Category Q) as accepted by the court, were clearly seditious literature. They were written in Zaw Tun's handwriting, as testified by U Tin Sein and confirmed by Evidence Category N.

The Record A-7, Evidence Category R, was in the handwriting of Kyaw Min Yu. This was confirmed by U Tin Sein's testimony together with Evidence Category N. In any case, Kyaw Min Yu himself admitted that it was his handwriting.

The two sheet letter that was Record A-7, Evidence Category S, started with the word "Father" followed by the signature "Ko Phyo" and ended with the date "15/1 /95". According to Evidence Category N and the testimony of U Tin Sein, it was written by Phyo Min Thein. The facts contained in this were defamatory to the government.

The Record A-8, Evidence Category T, was the record of inaccurate news broadcast by the DVB. The testimony of U Tin Sein and Evidence Category N affirmed that it was Myat Tun who had copied it out. He admitted that it was news he had collected during prison visits. Myat Tun countered that these were not false statements. The law enforcement official testified in court that the news from the DVB (Evidence Category T) was damaging to the country as it had been fabricated.

Record A-9, Evidence Category T, contains an anti-government poem written on bits of thin plastic bag, and brief notes of NLD meetings and policies. The documents were addressed to Win Tin at Cell 2 in Hall 3 and according to evidence and testimonies of U Tin Sein, it was proven that the handwriting on these documents were Win Tin's. But Win Tin testified that it was not entirely true that all these documents were written in his handwriting, as some were in other handwriting styles that he did not recognize. U Tin Sein did not ask a return question regarding this.

As mentioned, it is clearly evident that Nyunt Zaw, Zaw Myint Maung, Aung Myo Tint, Aung Kyaw Oo, Zaw Tun, Kyaw Min Yu, Phyo Min Thein, Myat Tun and Win Tin had written and published magazines, news bulletins and papers that were all against the government.

Myo Myint Nyein did not deny that he wrote the letter to the Human Rights

Conference on the prison shirt. He also did not deny his involvement in the work of the Diamond Jubilee magazine (Evidence Category C), the letters questing rights for political prisoners, the news bulletin (Evidence Category Q) and the *New Blood Wave* magazine (Evidence Category E). He in fact confessed that he was involved with the Diamond Jubilee magazine and the news bulletin.

Nyunt Zaw did not ask U Tin Sein a cross-question although he denied that the handwriting on the Diamond Jubilee magazine was his.

With regard to charges made against Soe Htet Khaing, he countered that U Ye Nyunt's accusations were unfounded because he did not name the Diamond Jubilee magazine. Soe Htet Khaing contended that he saw the magazine only when he arrived at the court. Similarly, he denied the charge that he read the news bulletin which Myo Myint Nyein passed on to him. But according to the confiscated materials and testimonies of witnesses, it has already been proven that he had worked with Zaw Tun, Aung Kyaw Oo, Nyunt Zaw, Kyi Pe Kyaw, Zaw Min and Phyo Min Thein on the publishing of the Diamond Jubilee Magazine.

Aung Kyaw Oo testified in court that he carried out work supportive of democracy and human rights. During cross-examination he confessed that he participated in the work of the Diamond Jubilee Magazine.

Zaw Min allowed himself to be questioned as a defendant. He denied all the charges. He cross-examined U Khin Htay regarding "Obeisance To Mother," the poem titled "Consequence To A Cup of Low Sweet Strong Tea," the feature story "A Day Of Hope" and the letter to the UN in relation to human rights issues in Burma. Evidence Category C contains the poem "Consequence To A Cup of Low Sweet Strong Tea" and "A Day Of Hope" on page 28 and page 96 respectively in the Diamond Jubilee Magazine.

In the testimony of Win Thein, he mainly focused on making an appeal. During cross-examination he denied his involvement in discussions with Pyone Cho, Lwin Oo, Yin Htway and Aung Myo Tint about collecting manuscripts and publishing a magazine in commemoration of the 7th anniversary of Phone Maw's death. He also denied that he wrote "The Immortal" for the *New Blood Wave* magazine. Win Thein however did not say in his main testimony if he was involved in providing coffee and snacks to the participants in the prayers and memorial services [held on the anniversaries for the deaths of Phone Maw and Maung Thaw Ka].

Htay Win Aung in his main testimony did not deny his involvement in naming the magazine *New Blood Wave* and in drawing illustrations for it. Likewise, he could not deny writing "The Immortal" and "Anger of 13-16" on page 2 of the magazine.

Yin Htay's testimony was similar to that of other defendants. He also told the court of his dissatisfaction in prison. He casually denied that he was involved with the *New Blood Wave* magazine. He however could not deny the charges by the prosecution. Hla Than answered only 3 questions [among those posed by the court]. He allowed himself to be questioned as a defendant. He did not defend the charges as a witness or produce any witness to the court.

Ko Ko Oo (aka Bo Bo) did not defend himself against any of the main charges. Instead, he told the court of his feelings, desires, demands and beliefs. He denied smuggling the radio into the prison (Evidence Category F), but he did not deny explicitly the fact that the radio and its paraphernalia was found in the place to which he had guided the search party.

Kyi Pe Kyaw denied the accusation that he crocheted pictures of a peacock on the Diamond Jubilee magazine. During cross-examination, he confirmed that he shared a cell with Myo Myint Nyein and Si Thu (aka Khin Maung Lwin). He denied discussing anything with them, but he did not present any witnesses to support this to the court.

Tun Win confirmed that a radio was seized from his cell and that he listened to news from foreign broadcasts. But he contended that he did not know about the document sent to the Vienna Human Rights Conference, the letter to the UN Secretary General or the *New Blood Wave* magazine. However, he did not deny in his main testimony that he distributed news from the radio as alleged by the prosecution. He confessed that a radio and batteries were seized from his cell (Evidence Category D).

Sein Hlaing answered only two questions and did not present any witnesses to the court.

Soe Myint denied knowing anything about the *New Blood Wave* magazine and said that he believed it was ownerless. He also denied he wrote the song "Battle Cry." He presented no witnesses to the court.

In the main testimony of Ba Myo Thein, he contended that the testimonies of U Khin Htay and U Ye Nyunt were untrue and that he did not sign the document acknowledging the seizure of materials from his cell. During cross-examination, he denied writing the brief news reports and denied he discussed anything with Zaw Myint Maung, Myint Naing and Jimmy. He however was unable to present any proof to back up his denials.

To analyze all the testimonies and the materials shown as evidence the Diamond

Jubilee Magazine (Evidence Category C), the requests regarding human rights issues addressed to the UN Secretary General (Evidence Category D), the message of condolence at the death of Maung Thaw Ka seized from Myo Myint Nyein's cell, the drafts of the news bulletin, and other papers and literature (Evidence Categories F, A, D, P, Q, R, T, and U) - they are all damaging to the State. Furthermore, they contain fabricated news broadcasts from foreign broadcasting stations. The content and style of writing in the magazines is also detrimental to the State. It is evident that although the accused had reason to believe that what they were doing was incorrect, they were distributing and planning to distribute false news not only within the prison but to organizations outside.

Although conclusions cannot be drawn from the testimonies of the handwriting expert alone, it is evident that all the 22 accused worked together in committing these crimes, a fact supported by other materials and testimonies of the witnesses and of the accused themselves.

The accused prisoners committed a crime while serving out prison terms received for various other offenses. For this reason there is no justification in showing them mercy. Their sentences are handed out as follows:

The court hereby sentences the following accused to seven years each with hard labor under Section 5 (E) of the *1950 Emergency Provision Act*:

Myo Myint Nyein	(son of U Kyar Ba Nyein)
Zaw Tun	(son of U Kan Tun)
Nyunt Zaw	(son of U Lay Myint)
Soe Htet Khaing	(son of U Myint Thein)
Aung Kyaw Oo	(son of U Kyaw Hlaing)
Zaw Min	(son of U Tin Swe)
Phyo Min Thein	(son of U Khin Tun)
Win Thein	(son of U Ohn)
Aung Myo Tint	(son of U Soe Tint)
Htay Win Aung	(son of U Win Aung)
Yin Htway	(son of U Mya Soe)
Win Tin	(son of U Pu)
Hla Than	(son of U ---)
Ko Ko Oo (aka Bo Bo)	(son of U Yan Aung)
Kyi Pe Kyaw (aka Kyaw Gyi)	(son of U Hla Kyi)
Kyaw Min Yu (aka Jimmy)	(son of U Tin Yu)
Myat Tun	(son of U Myo Thwin)
Tun Win	(son of U Htway Nyo)
Sein Hlaing	(son of U Ba Yi)

Zaw Myint Maung	(son of U Chit Maung)
Soe Myint	(son of U Maung Phat)
Ba Myo Thein	(son of U Aung Thein)

If they have already served a period of detention for these crimes, this period must be reduced from the sentence. All money presented at the court will be confiscated as the property of the State as soon as the period of appeal has expired. At which time all materials presented as evidence in this case will be destroyed.

Signed,
Kyaw Htun
Deputy-Divisional Judge
Rangoon Division Court (Northern District)
Date: March 28,1996

Conclusion

The official trial report shows the lack of due process of law in Burma and the judiciary's contempt for fundamental human and legal rights. It demonstrates how the SLORC uses its repressive laws as a tool to suppress political opposition with the aid of an acquiescent judiciary.

Denying the prisoners access to legal counsel is contrary to one of the most basic legal rights and to international standards for fair trials. Without such access to legal counsel, the accused should never have been convicted of the charge brought against them.

Perhaps one of the more disturbing aspects of the trial report is how the judiciary accepts the use of interrogations, beatings, and torture in prison. It is evident from the official report that these were used as a means to obtaining confessions for use as evidence against some of the accused.

The denial of freedom of expression also demonstrates how the treatment of prisoners by the SLORC's prison administration falls well short of international minimum standards. The trial report shows how political prisoners are not only refused the right to read, write, or have access to national and international news, but that such activity is regarded as punishable.

An examination of the evidence produced at the trial also shows that the prisoners should not have been found guilty of the charge under Section 5 (E) of the *1950 Emergency Provision Act*. Under this law a person can be convicted of planning

to, or actually disseminating false information either if they know the information to be false, or there's enough proof that it's false. In court, the defendants argued that they knew the information contained in the letters and magazines to be the truth. Therefore, the prosecution had to prove that this information was instead false for the judge to then convict the accused of the charge. However, there was no discussion regarding the truthfulness of the information -- it was only stated that it was "damaging" to the government. For this reason the 22 accused should, once again, never have been convicted of the charge brought against them.

Such abuses of fundamental legal and human rights are used by SLORC as a means to silence political opposition. In the face of such abuses, there is a continuing need for increasing international pressure on the SLORC to respect justice and individual freedoms and heed the will of the people it purports to represent in their call for democratic reform.

Facts on Human Rights Violations in Burma 1996

1. Extra-judicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions
1.1. Background
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1. Extra-Judicial, Summary, and Arbitrary Executions

1.1. Background

> Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.
> (*Article 3, Universal Declaration of Human Rights)*

With the brutal, unjustified execution of its people, Burma's military junta has continued to ignore its pledge to honor the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Having eliminated judicially-ordained death sentences, SLORC's extra-judicial killings clearly violate the most fundamental principle of human rights: the right to life itself. The frequent and well-documented reports of arbitrary and summary killings of civilians and ethnic people by members of SLORC's army under a variety of circumstances, point to the military junta's complete disregard for the human rights and humanitarian law treaties it has signed.

This year, SLORC's executions were largely committed against members of ethnic minorities, people suspected of being members or sympathizers of armed ethnic opposition groups, and villagers enduring forced labor and portering duties. Ethnic minorities, living primarily in areas surrounding the Central Burma plain, have been systematically and summarily tortured, executed, and relocated with little or no evidence or explanation.

Although many ethnic armed opposition groups have signed cease-fire agreements with the SLORC since 1989, several groups, including the Karen National Union (KNU) and the Karenni National Progress Party (KNPP), are still fighting for greater autonomy from the military dictatorship. The *Tatmadaw* (the Burmese name for SLORC's armed forces) continue to carry out its counter-insurgency policies in areas of armed opposition, leading to the repression of civilian populations in the Karen, Karenni, Shan, Chin, Arakan, and Mon States. SLORC's repression of these people is characterized by forced relocation of entire regions, forced unpaid labor and portering duties, extra-judicial killings, torture, and other ill-treatment.

SLORC's arbitrary executions take place anywhere and at any time, by military officials as well as rank and file soldiers. Summary killings also take place in the course of capturing villagers for the purpose of forced labor and portering. When porters try to escape or can no longer work due to

over-exhaustion or illness, they are nearly always beaten and often killed or abandoned without food and medicine. Women are commonly killed by soldiers after being raped, for fear that victims of these double crimes will report or publicize the sexual assaults.

1.2 Death in Custody

In 1996, the Human Rights Documentation Unit (HRDU) compiled comprehensive lists of people taken into custody who subsequently died as well as those who are in failing health, as is the case with many political prisoners. The Burmese prisons are notorious for their abominable conditions and insufficient medical assistance.

- On June 22, 1996, Mr. James Leander Nichols, a 65 year-old Burmese national of European and Burmese descent, who once served as honorary consul for Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Switzerland, was found dead in his cell at Insein Prison just over a month after he was sentenced to three years in prison. He was arrested on April 5, 1996 and sentenced under Section 6(1) of the *Burma Wireless Act of 1933* for allegedly maintaining two unauthorized fax machines and a telephone switchboard at his home. Although Mr. Nichols was not an NLD activist, he was a close friend of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. He raised money for a number of charities and is reported to have paid for a number of material items in Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's household.

  Mr. Nichols died from an apparent stroke he suffered while in jail. His failing health was well-known. Despite public outcries for his release from countries he once represented, he was jailed in Insein prison, notorious for deplorable conditions. He suffered from hypertension, heart problems, and diabetes. Many people believe that the harsh prison conditions contributed to his death. Mr. Nichols had allegedly been deprived of sleep during long interrogations prior to his death. An autopsy, reportedly performed by government doctors, stated that Mr. Nichols had suffered from a massive left coronary atherosclerosis and died of heart failure. He was cremated at a Christian ceremony near Insein prison on June 23, 1996; the military warned his relatives not to attend his funeral. *(Source: Inside sources)*

- In June 1996, a Muslim student detained in Theyet jail, Magwe Division, was beaten by military intelligence agents. His body was given to the Muslims from Thayet town, who reported that the body was bruised

from head to foot and had a crushed skull. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- U Hla Than, an NLD MP from the Coco Islands, died in Rangoon General Hospital on August 2, 1996 while he was serving a 32-year prison sentence. Tuberculosis was the reported cause of his death; U Hla Than had also previously been diagnosed with HIV. According to reports, he had asked to be permitted to die at home; military authorities would only honor his request if he agreed to resign from the NLD. U Hla Than refused to resign.

  After serving in the navy in 1977, U Hla Than received a law degree from the University of Rangoon. He later became the chairman of the NLD of Kyimyindain township, Rangoon. He was arrested and sentenced to 25 years in prison in October 1990 for attending a secret meeting to form a provisional government; the meeting was held at U Ba Bwa's residence, an NLD office of South-West township, Mandalay. In November 1995, U Hla Than and a group of 28 other political prisoners in Insein prison were placed in military dog cells and deprived of family visits for allegedly informing the United Nations of the deplorable prison conditions. On March 28, 1996, he and the other 22 prisoners were given additional prison terms of seven years each. *(Source: ABSDF and Inside sources)*

1.3. Death of Monks in Custody

The following Burmese monks died in custody, most in the concentration camps where they were sentenced to hard labor since 1988.

- Ven. U Sandawara, Weyanbonthar Monastery, Mandalay, Secretary of the Sangha Samaggi, died in Swunpayabom concentration camp. *(Source: SAIN)*

- Ven. U Vimala, Masoeyein Monastery, Northern Mandalay, Member of the Sangha Samaggi, died in Sunpayabo concentration camp. *(Source: SAIN)*

- Ven. U Weyawdana, Hti Lin Monastery, Mandalay, died near Myittkyina in Kachin State. *(Source: SAIN)*

- Ven. U Okktama, Mandalay, Vice President of the Sangha Samaggi, died in Swunpayabom concentration camp. *(Source: SAIN)*

- Ven. U Teza from Saku Monastery, died in Mo Koung jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Arthapa from Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni Monastery, Mandalay, died in Mandalay jail. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Pyin Nyaingda from Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni Monastery, Mandalay, died in Mandalay jail. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Tiloka from Masoeyein Monastery, Northern Mandalay, died in Par Kant Camp, Mokoung, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Zawana from Eindawya monastery, Mandalay died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Pyinya Thiri, Myadaung Monastery, died in Katha jail, Mokaung, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Zawtika from Anauk Htilin Monastery died in Katha jail, Mokaung, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Dhamma Wara Thiri from unknown monastery, died in Par Kant, Mokoung, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Sayadaw U Tiloka (Abbot) from Shwephonepwint Monastery, Rangoon died in Insein prison. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Pyinnya Nanda from Maha Nandi The Na Monastery, Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni died in Myitkyina labor camp. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Zawana from Nanda from Maha Nandi The Na Monastery, Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni died in Myitkyina labor camp. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Teza from Eindawya Monastery, Mandalay died in Mokaung jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Teza from Pagan Monastery died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. *(Source:* IA)

- Ashin Rewata from Pagan Monastery died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Kaw Wida from Pagan Monastery died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

The following monks have received life sentences:

- Ven. U Kawiya, Phayagyi Monastery, Mandalay, is a member of Galonni. Galonni was originally an active Buddhist association opposed to British imperialism; it was reestablished in 1988 in Mandalay as an organization of monks and laypersons. Ven. U Kawiya is an extremely effective speaker; during the "Democracy Summer" of 1988 he spoke almost every day at Maha Muni Pagoda. *(Source: SAIN)*

- Ven. U Kalyana, Mandalay, member of Aung San Kyeh Ni (Aung San Red Star) Association.

1.4. Death in Prison Labor Camps

The SLORC has publicly acknowledged that convicted criminals often participate in labor projects; SLORC maintains that the work is "voluntary." However, thousands of common criminals have been forced to work under extremely harsh conditions. Hundreds of prisoners have reportedly died as a result of disease and ill-treatment. Such labor camps for prisoners exist in Kabaw Valley (Western Burma), Ywangan-Hanmyinmo Road (Sagaing Division), Taungzun/Moke-pa-lin Quarry (Mon State), Pinlaung-Pyinmana Road (Shan State), Aungban-Loikaw Road (Shan-Karenni State), Shwenyaung-Namsan Road (Shan State), Myitkyina-Sumprabom Road (Kachin State), Myitkyina-Shibwe Lawkhaung Road (Kachin State), Rangoon-Mandalay Highway construction, Yezin-Htonbo Quarry (South of Mandalay), Mergui-Kawthaung Road (Tenasserim Division), Kawthaung Airport Extention (Tenasserim Division), 30-Miles camp, Ye-Tavoy railway construction (Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division), Zimba camp, Ye-Tavoy railway construction (Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division), Bokepyin camp (Tenasserim Division), Tuntay camp (near Rangoon), Tuntay Piggery (near Rangoon) and Phaunggyi Piggery (near Rangoon).

- At the labor camp at Ywangan-Hanmyinmo Road alone, 400 prisoners reportedly died within a month during 1996. *(Source: AI)*

- In Taungzun, Moke-pa-lin Quarry, Mon State, 30 per cent of the prisoners have reportedly died. *(Source: AI)*

- At the Bokepyin prison camp,108 out of 530 prisoners died from starvation, sickness and hard work during one month in 1996. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- About 40 prisoners died in 1996 working on the Ye-Tavoy railway project. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5. List of Incidents

1.5.1. On October 18, 1995, about 80 miles north of Akayb (Sittway), in Arakan State, a section of Military Intelligence 18, Buthidaung township, arrested five Rohingya youths from different villages in the township for allegedly having links with insurgents. During interrogation, the youths were reportedly severely tortured. Later, all five youths were executed behind a hill west of the MI office. *(Source: UN Report)*

1.5.2. From December 25, 1995 through January 5, 1996, troops from LIB 391 and LIB 105 (both are under #77 Light Infantry Division) led by Lieutant-Colonel Tin Yu entered the Maw Lo Kloh valley. They went to K'Bler village and shot dead villager Pa Kay Waw, a sixty-five-year-old man from Ler Wah Ko Der village in Papun district. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.3. On January 1, 1996, IB 24 and DKBA began burning villagers' rice barns in hill areas in Thaton district. They began by burning a total of 4,950 baskets of paddy belonging to 38 villagers in two villages and then killed villager Maung Aye Moe. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.4. On January 14, 1996, combined columns 1 and 2 of IB 55 led by Captain Thein Tint reached Wah Kay Der village in Taungoo district. The military columns shot and killed Naw Day Ghay (a 36 year-old woman with a 7-month-old child). They arrested one woman and another man and beat them both severely before releasing them. The military columns also ransacked and destroyed some of the villagers' belongings. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.5. In January 1996, troops from IB 63 shot and killed villager Saw Pah Ka, a fifty-year-old man from Noh Bo Lah village in Papun district. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.6. On January 15, 1996, LIB 440 Battalion Commander Major Aung Kyi Shein took a column to Kaw Thay Der village in Taungoo district; the battalion opened fire with small arms and rockets. Villager Naw Paw Aye, a sixty-year-old woman, was killed and Saw X was seriously wounded. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.7. On January 22, 1996, Company #9 Commander Than Oo Min and Soe Yin of LIB 38, shot and killed villager Saw Toe Yin, a thirty-year-old man from Taw Po Hta village in Thaton district. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.8. On February 11,1996, Column 2 of LIB 534 marched into Baw Naw Kee village and stayed there for 2 nights, looting the villagers' food, livestock, money, gold, and other belongings. The military column shot and killed villager Saw Mya Bu, a twenty-three-year-old man, and stole 1,000 kyats from his family. The battalion beat Naw X, a young woman, and stole 4,000 kyats in cash and other belongings worth 2,500 kyats from her. They also robbed 18 other villagers, stealing a total of 82,500 kyats in cash and belongings. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.9. On February 21, 1996, a column of LIB 20 (under #77 Light Infantry Division), led by Company Commander Kyaw Hlaing, shot and killed Saw Po Aye, a twenty-three year-old man from Lay Bu village in Thaton district.

1.5.10. On February 27, 1996, IB 51 Battalion Commander Soe Oo, shot and killed villagers Naw Beh a twenty-year-old woman (father's name Tee Shein Aye) of Kaw Tee Hta village in Thaton district and Ma Than Yin, a twenty-eight-year-old woman. The Commander also shot villager Pa Thein Oo in the thigh while interrogating him. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.11. On March 1, 1996, soldiers from Column 2 of LIB 20 (part of 77 Light Infantry Division) led by Major Han Tin shot and killed two villagers: Aung Khin Maung, a twenty-three-year-old (father's name Tee Khin Kyu) from K'Law Hta village, and Saw Kyaw Myint, a twenty-year-old man (father's name Kywe K'Lay) from Lay Pya village, Thaton district. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.12. On March 6, 1996, Company #2 Commander Moe Kyaw Shein of IB 96, shot and killed villager Pa Nyunt, a twenty-five-year-old man (father's name Pa P'Deh) of Naw Ghaw Hta village in Thaton district. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.13. On March 8, 1996, two villagers from Kyaw Sah village in Thaton district were performing one of their forced-labor requirements, delivering a message from one SLORC unit to another unit in Yaw Oo Bu. Along the way, SLORC troops shot and killed one of the messengers, Shein K'Lah, a twenty-seven year-old man. The troops fired shots at the other messenger, his father, U Po Kya, but the soldiers missed him and he managed to escape. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.14. Ko Han Shein, a 30-year-old villager from Kyauk Leik village in Palaw township, was killed by warrant officer Aung Gyi (IB 103 stationed in Palaw Gone village) on March 20, 1996. In a nearby village, Ko Han Kyi and Ma Aik from Kan Hmaw Nge were beaten for allegedly having contacts with ABSDF members; both were later expelled from their village. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.15. On March 21, 1996, more than 50 villagers were arrested in Bawdi Gon village, Thantaung township. The village headman was accused of cooperating with the KNU and the ABSDF, and later killed. *(Source: UN Report)*

1.5.16. On March 25, 1996 in the Swa Lo area in Taungoo district, Captain Nyi Nyi of IB 234, killed villager Maung Kah Doh, a fifty-five-year-old man from Saw Mu Day village. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.17. SLORC troops led by Company Commander Aung Naing from IB 103, attacked Pyi Char village, Palaw township, Tenasserim from the 26th through the 28th of March. The village is situated inside a KNU administrative-area Division. The SLORC soldiers entered the village while the villagers were celebrating the 150th anniversary of the village at a Christian church. The village authorities had gotten advance permission to celebrate the festival, but the SLORC troops came without warning and destroyed the festival. Ko Han Shein, a thirty-year-old villager from Kyauk Leik village, was killed by Warrant Officer Aung Gyi (IB 103 stationed in Palaw Gone village). *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.18. On April 7, 1996, IB 234 troops under Western Command's Strategic Command #3, led by Colonel Aung Naing Htun, killed villager Saw Tha Keh, a forty-year-old man from Mi Ee Lay village in Taungoo district. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.19. On April 18, 1996, IB 234 troops shot villager Mya Oo, a twenty-year-old man (father's name U Chit Hlaing), from Bahar village in Taungoo

district. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.20. Maung Myint Aung, from Bahan village, Shan Lelpyin Gyi village group, Thantung township, Karen State, was killed by a military column on April 18, 1996. The military column, led by Captain Myint Aung, LIB 234, is under eastern Division military command. On his way to nurse his ailing grandmother, Maung Myint Aung was killed between Bahan village and Shwe Boe village. No explanation for the killing was given, but the next day, Captain Myint Aung gave 200 kyats in compensation to the villagers, while threatening them not to report the killing to his superior officers. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.21. On April 19, 1996, two army deserters, Private Khine Aung (B.C.852634), aged 24, and Private Shine Aung (B.C.ta.25735), aged 22, from SLORC IB 104 based in Nat Ein Daung ran away from their base to Thailand. On the following day, SLORC troops from IB 104 entered Kyauk Pon village, near the Thai border in the Nat Ein Daung area, and arrested 20 villagers. One of them, U Maung Nyunt, aged 61, was severely beaten up and killed the following day for allegedly aiding in the escape of the army deserters. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.22. On April 23, 1996, Ho Kay village in Papun township, Karen State, was shelled with three heavy rocket launchers and then looted by SLORC troops led by Lieutenant Maung Maung from LIB 340. After the village was raided, residents fled; about twenty villagers reached the Thai border. These refugees reported that SLORC had stolen 7,000 Thai baht, one baby elephant, and other domestic animals from the village. During the looting, SLORC soldiers shot and killed Saw Thay Htoo, a local villager, son of Saw Khaw Nyo Par, at his house. Troops also took hostages, including about twenty women and children, and two prominent villagers, Saw Pawlaw and Saw Chel Htoo Palaw, who had their hands tied behind their backs. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.23. In early May 1996, villagers in Chiang Tong area were told to relocate or they would be shot by SLORC soldiers. After they relocated to Kung Sar, five villagers returned to their previous homes with a bullock cart to fetch some rice; they were shot and killed by SLORC Battalion 99 while loading their carts. *(Source: UN Report)*

1.5.24. On May 25, 1996, Major Nyi Nyi's column from IB 234, arrived near Ta Ker Kee village (between Si Daw Ko and K'Mu Loh in Taungoo district), and opened fire at some villagers. Villager Saw Waw Taw, a

twenty-two-year-old man from Si Daw Ko village was shot and wounded; Maw Ni Paw from Kheh Po Daw village was shot dead. *(Source: KHRG)*

1.5.25. On June 5, 1996, six villagers were arrested for their alleged support of ABSDF in Set Pu-Taung Kant Lant village, Southeast of Mergui, Tenasserim Division; four of the villagers were killed by LIB 265, led by Lieutenant Ohn Wai. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.26. In July, 1996, two women from Nga Meloso village in Karenni State, were burned to death by troops from LIB 530; the women, Pay Mo and Ko Mal, were older than 50 years-of-age. Also during July, another woman, in her 60s, was bayoneted to death by a Corporal from LIB 530. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.27. On July 20, 1996, SLORC brutally massacred 26 people in one incident and 80 people in another. A military column from LIB 358 arrived on the Yengangyi, Ywathit, and Shwechaung islands, Tenasserim Division, accused the 26 timber mill workers there of being insurgent, and shot, and killed all of them. The military column then went on to Kawye island and killed another 80 people, including women and children; the people were rounded-up from their houses and shot dead without any explanation. These brutalities took place during a mass relocation in the surrounding region. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.28. In the first week of August 1996, in Daw Maw Klu village, Shadaw township, Karenni State, SLORC soldiers shot two villagers. Bu Meh suffered a stomach wound; her daughter, Klaw Meh, was shot in the head and killed. The soldiers shot the mother and daughter because they thought that Karenni soldiers had been in their house. *(Source: KNPP)*

1.5.29. In August 1996, SLORC soldiers killed a disabled woman from Daw Meh Khu village, Karenni State. As she was unable to obey their order to exit her house, one of the soldiers stabbed the woman with a knife while she was sitting on her bed. *(Source:KNPP)*

1.5.30. The LIB 97, led by Major Myint Aye, fired randomly at a group of youths on September 24, 1996. The youths were shot while they were tending to the cows in Paepale Wakhee village, 10 miles north of Kawkareik township. Four youths, Saw Ye Hka, Saw Nyo Aye, Saw Thaw Kha, and Saw Kyar Lu were killed on the spot and the two oth-

ers, Saw Phar Kyaw Hlaing and Saw Phar Lu, were seriously wounded. The 42 cows were stolen by the troops after the shootings. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.31. On September 24, 1996, U Se Rehko, a 60-year-old blind Karenni man was bayoneted to death by a soldier from LIB 307. On October 2, 1996, four other villagers from Daw Kalaw Du village in Shadaw township, were also killed after they were found hiding in a deserted village by troops from the military column LIB 307. The four were killed for failing to obey the forced relocation order to evacuate the village. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.32. On September 26,1996, the Commander of Column 2, LIB 540, Soe Myint, shot and killed two villagers who were panning gold at Htee Nga Peh Loh. The soldiers are said to have wanted the gold for themselves. *(Source: UN Report)*

1.5.33. On October 9, 1996, Bawi Kung from Hakka, Chin State, was killed by gunfire from LIB No. 266 while approaching Ngalang village in Than Tlang township where he planned to stay the night on his way back from Mizoram State in India. The two friends accompanying him attempted to flee, but one of them, Pa Lian, was arrested. After the killing, the army imposed a curfew in the village until the next afternoon; they tortured village elders who could not provide them with the names of Chin National Front leaders. Villagers were forced to watch as the torture proceeded. *(Source: CHRO)*

On the day of the killing, Win Than, Commander of Hriphi post, Than Tlang township, under No. 266 LIB based in Hakka, had arrived in Ngalang village, Than Tlang township, accompanied by 20 soldiers who surrounded the village. At about 5 p.m. on the same day, Mr. Bawi Kung and his two friends, Pa Sui and Dawt Hlei Thang, were entering the village in order to spend the night there. As they were proceeding, the SLORC soldiers fired many shots at them. Not knowing why the SLORC soldiers were shooting, Bawi Kung and his friends tried to flee. Unfortunately, Bawi Kung was badly wounded. One friend, Dawt Hlei Thang, was arrested, but Pa Sui managed to escape and was later able to provide information about the incident. According to villagers, the body of Mr Bawi Kung was rolled in a blanket; no one was allowed to provide him with medical care or talk to him. Dawt Hlei Thang was taken away with some SLORC soldiers; no further information is received about him. Before Mr Bawi Kung died, all the

village men were interrogated and tortured by soldiers; SLORC wanted information on the CNF. Mr Pa Maung was badly beaten with the butt of a gun and he is now in serious condition at the hospital. When Bawi Kung died, the soldiers ordered the villagers to bury him immediately. *(Source: CHRO)*

1.5.34. On October 26, 1996, troops from Longko-based SLORC LIB 99, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Khin Soe, arrested 17 villagers from Wan Pha, Pha Hang, and Na Ee villages. All of the villagers were shot to death later near Hang Lin Nam Pang village, Kunhing township, except for three fortunate villagers who managed to escape. *(Source: SURA)*

1.5.35. On November 2, 1996, troops from Lanko-based SLORC LIB 525 arrested and killed Banta, a Karen pastor from Kenglom village, as he made his way home. He was shot near Wan Tung village, Kenglom district. In addition to the arbitrary killing, SLORC has ordered the local people from the other villages in Kenglom district to relocate to Kenglom village. Under the order, villagers have been forcibly moved from their village by the SLORC mobile columns. On November 9, 1996, a military column, led by Major Kyaw Thu, forced the villagers to move from Wan Pai village; they later burned down four houses in



Saw Pho Htoo, a 26-year-old Karen villager from Mae Yetha refugee camp was shot dead by troops from the SLORC LIB 341 on November 6, 1996.(Photo by ABSDF)

the village. The SLORC troops also looted the houses in the village and confiscated cattle, chickens, pigs, and household goods. *(Source: SURA)*

1.5.36. On November 6, 1996, two Karen villagers were killed; another ten villagers were arrested and tortured by a joint military column of SLORC LIB 341, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Hla Phone Kyaw, and some DKBA troops in Papun district. The villagers were rounded-up while they were harvesting their paddy fields near Paw Ka Del village. SLORC soldiers burned down burned down all of the paddy fields and huts in the village. Upon leaving the village, the soldiers ordered two male and ten female villagers to leave with them. After an all-night interrogation, the two men, Saw Pho Htoo, a 26-year-old Karen villager from Ma Yehta refugee camp, and Phar Htu Khar, a 20-year-old villager from Paw Ka Del village, were shot dead near the Klo Mu Khee stream. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.37. On November 13, 1996, Zai Nyunt, a thirty-year-old man from Na Mark Khaw village, Nawng Leo tract, Murugherug township, left his village to buy a cow. When he got near Wan Lauy village he met some troops from Laikha-based No. 515; the troops stopped and searched him. Since he was carrying some money, the soldiers accused him of being a rebel who had come to collect tribute money from the villagers. The soldiers tied him up with a rope and beat him repeatedly while interrogating him. When they could not get any satisfactory answers from him, they tightened the rope and dumped Zai Nyunt in the Nam Tacng river. His body was found six days later by some villagers. *(Source: SHRF)*

1.5.38. On November 14, 1996, SLORC LIB 358 burned Nan Ka Prao village in Tenessarim Division and tortured and killed villager Saw Peter, aged 17. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.39. On December 7, 1996, during SLORC's break-up of student demonstrations, the owner of the Sein Babu laundry on Railway Station Street in Rangoon, was reportedly arrested and beaten to death by riot police. *(Source: Inside sources)*

1.5.40. On December 18 and 19, 1996, Sai Soe Nyunt, a member of the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) and official delegate of the SNLD to the National Convention, was beaten, arrested, and forced to resign from the party by Major Win Thu of SLORC IB 58. *(Source: Inside Burma)* *(Also see 11.4.1. at pg. 281)*

1.5.41. On December 29, 1996, 70 SLORC troops, led by Major Kyaw Khaung of IB 64, searched the old village of Nawng Kham Mon. The SLORC troops shot and killed villagers who had come back to retrieve their property which had been left behind when they were forced to move. *(Source: SHRF)*

1.5.42. In the first week of February, 1997, six privates from SLORC LIB 273, deserted the army and fled to the Thai border. However, all of them were captured by SLORC soldiers and executed near Einda Yaza village, Tenasserim Division. *(Source: ABSDF)*

1.5.43. On February 21, 1997, SLORC Commander of IB 35, Lieutenant-Colonel Kyaw Zwa, forced Maung Htun Nwe, aged 73, headman of Section 20-Taungoo town, to accompany him to the front line as a guide. On February 23, when Maung Htun Nwe could no longer walk, the SLORC Commander beat him to death at a village called Klaw mee Der. *(Source: KNU)*

(See also under "Personal Accounts," interviews 8, 10, 13, 14, 18, 21, 24, 25, 41, 44, 46, 54, 57, 65, 70, 72, 79, 83, 84, 88, and 95)

2. Arbitrary Detention and Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

2.1 Background

The SLORC continues to severely restrict freedom of the press, assembly, and association and maintains a general atmosphere of fear and intimidation. In fact, during 1996, the SLORC launched an even more aggressive campaign against political dissidents. Indeed, political arrests have been on the rise since November 1995 when the opposition party, the National League for Democracy (NLD), withdrew from the National Convention. In the third week of May 1996, the SLORC authorities arrested more than 300 NLD members -- among them 273 NLD Members of Parliament-elect, most of whom won seats in the 1990 general elections -- following an announcement by the NLD that it would hold a weekend meeting to commemorate the sixth anniversary of their election victory. The May arrests marked the largest-scale arrests to take place in Burma since the mass detentions of NLD members in 1990; the mass arrests were seen as a blatant attempt by the SLORC to prevent the NLD meeting from occurring. Despite the release of most of the detainees, about 31 are still in prison. Among those arrested were Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's body guard, Maung San Hlaing, and NLD spokesman U Win Htein. In general, diplomats estimate that there are at least one to two thousand political dissidents in jail.

2.1.1. Illegal Arrests and Detention of NLD Members

The SLORC continues to rule with an iron fist; little to no evidence is necessary to subject students, monks, NLD members, or villagers to imprisonment. The SLORC does not permit prisoners to retain legal representation and in the majority of cases, sentences are meted out in a police station or behind a closed-door courtroom. In the event that a trial occurs, it is usually concluded in a few brief sessions. In August 1996 alone, SLORC sentenced 31 political activists to long periods of imprisonment in trials that fell far short of international standards.

The SLORC uses extreme and lawless tactics to harass, abuse, and suppress members and supporters of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy:

- NLD member, Ko Khin Htun, head of the youth wing of the Pegu

Division NLD, was arrested on November 6, 1995 while visiting a friend serving a sentence in Insein Prison. Ko Khin Htun was accused of allegedly taking a photograph of his friend whom he saw laboring at a vegetable plot outside the jail compound. Ko Khin Htun was charged under Section 5(d) and Section 42 of the *Prison Regulation Act*. He was not permitted to contact his family before or during his trial. Ko Khin Htun was only permitted to contact an attorney on the last day of his trial, seventy days after his arrest. During the trial, the photograph, allegedly taken by Ko Khin Htun, could not be produced. The prosecution's principal witness testified that he saw Ko Khin Htun snap a photo of his friend but was never cross-examined. Despite the overwhelming lack of evidence against Ko Khin Htun, he received a sentence of four years and three months in prison.

- On November 8, 1995, three NLD members, including U Thein Nyunt, Ko Toe Aung, and Ko Myo Zaw, were charged with obstructing an official in the performance of his duties. Both were accused of attempting to remove the barricade in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's residence during the weekend gathering. Without adequate evidence, the defendants were sentenced to two years in prison -- the maximum allowable penalty for their alleged offenses.

- U Saw Hlaing, another NLD member was arrested on March 15, 1996 after the car he was driving collided with a trishaw in Pegu Division, injuring three of its occupants. The car carried Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other NLD leaders including U Kyi Maung, U Tin Oo, and U Win Sein, en route to Mandalay to appear in court as defense witnesses for U Par Par Lay, U Lu Zaw, U Htwe, and U Aung Soe. U Saw Hlaing was not permitted to consult with his family or his lawyer before or during his trial. Under Burmese law, in order for an injury to have caused "grievous bodily harm," the individuals concerned must have remained in the hospital for at least 21 days. In order to build a false case, the police forced the three persons from the trishaw to remain in hospital for 22 days, despite the fact that two of the individuals had only minor injuries, including a dislocated thumb and two stitches on the chin. U Saw Hlaing was summarily tried at the Kyungon police station; he was sentenced to five years in prison for causing "grievous bodily harm."

- U Tin Maung, Chairman of the Bogale township NLD Organizational Committee, Irrawaddy Division, was accused of possessing an illegal lottery ticket and sentenced to nine months in prison. (Date of

sentencing unknown.)

- U Myint Kyaing, U Than Nwe, and U Soe Myint, NLD members, Irrawaddy Division, were each sentenced to three years imprisonment under the Video Act . (Date of sentencing unknown.)

- U Khin Thaung, a member of the NLD Organizational Committee, Irrawaddy Division, was sentenced to two years in prison for the alleged illegal use of electrical power.

- U Hla Min, NLD MP of Kawthaung, Tenessarim, was sentenced to seven years in prison under Section 5(e) of *The Prison Regulation Act*. He was summarily sentenced and given no access to counsel.

2.1.2. Human Rights and SLORC's Laws

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

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

The *1950 Emergency Provisions Act* allows up to seven years imprisonment for any person who "infringes upon the integrity, health, conduct, and respect of State military organizations and government employees, spreads false news about the government, or disrupts the morality or the behavior of a group of

people." This law is widely used by the SLORC to sentence political detainees to long terms of imprisonment. The law also makes it an offense, punishable with life in prison, to "intend to or to cause sabotage or hinder the successful functioning of the State military organizations and criminal investigative organizations."

Under the *1975 Law to Safeguard the State Against the Dangers of Those Desiring to Cause Subversive Acts* (amended in 1991), the Council of Ministers is authorized under Section 7 of the law to "pass an order, as may be necessary, restricting any fundamental right of a person if there are reasons to believe that any citizen has committed or is about to commit any act which infringes upon the sovereignty and security of the State or public peace and tranquillity." The Law also stipulates in Sections 13 and 14, the possibility to continue imposing restraint for "a period not exceeding one year at a time up to a total of five years." This State protection law has been applied extensively to suppress peaceful political dissent; it was used to detain Daw Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest between July 1989 and July 1995.

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

Order 2/88, prohibits public gatherings of more than five persons and has been invoked against many people this year, including in the arrests of people attending Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's weekend addresses outside her home.

A new law issued on June 7, 1996, No. 5/96, allows prison sentences up to 20 years for anyone who expresses their political views publicly. This law, entitled, *Protection of the Stable, Peaceful, and Systematic Transfer of State Responsibility and the Successful Implementation of National Convention Tasks Free From Disruption and Opposition*, prohibits, inter alia, the preparation or

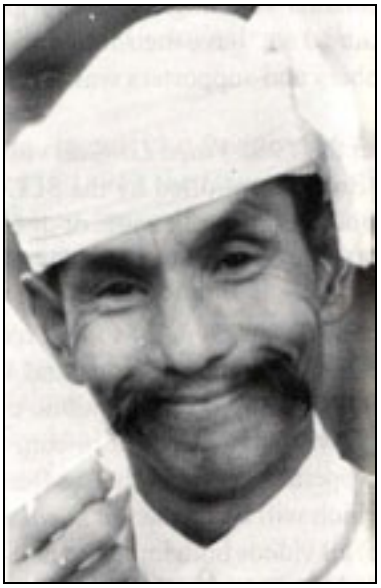
dissemination of speeches or statements that undermine the stability of the State or are critical of the SLORC, and prescribes up to 20 years imprisonment for persons violating the law; organizations taking part in such activities can be banned and have their funds and property confiscated. Harassment of NLD members and supporters was further stepped up with this law.

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

The new *Television and Video Act*, issued on July 31, 1996 requires that: a) foreign diplomatic missions and United Nations agencies obtain permits to show imported videos at 'public exhibitions.' Government video censorship boards will have the right to ban, censor, or restrict the showings; b) private video operators obtain licenses from the Video Business Supervisory Committee which will be formed in all states and Divisions in the Union of Myanmar; and c) all videos both imported and locally-produced, be approved by the Video Censorship Board. Violators of these provisions are subject up to three years in prison and/or a fine of up to 100,000 kyats. The new law also forbids private transmitters that are not authorized by the government, prescribing up to five-year prison terms for offenders.

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

2.2 SLORC's Recent Detainees



2.2.1. U Par Par Lay and U Lu Zaw, both comedians, and U Aung Soe and U Htwe, NLD members, were sentenced to seven years in prison on March 18, 1996. U Par Par Lay and U Lu Zaw were charged under Section 5(c) of the *1950 Emergency Provisions Act* for spreading false news, since they had allegedly made jokes about the military government in a performance on Independence Day at a celebration at the residence of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on January 4, 1996. U Htwe and U Aung Soe had arranged for the comedic entertainment as well as the performance of a dance troupe. All ten members of the dance troupe Myo Daw Win Mar were immediately arrested when they arrived back in Mandalay after the performance. Eight members were later released including, Myodaw Winmar, Ma Hnin Pa Pa, U Tin Myint Hlaing, U Sein Hla, U Win Htein, U Myint Thein, Daw Myaing, and Ma Yin Yin Shwe were released from detention. U Aung Soe and U Htwe were initially sent to a labor camp seven miles from Myitkyina in May 1996; they were reportedly moved to Sumprabom in northern Kachin State where they were forced to perform hard labor in a rock quarry. The two comedians were sent to a labor camp at Kyein Kran Ka near Myitkyina in Kachin State in early April 1996. They were forced to work with heavy iron bars shackled around their legs. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.2. On December 16, 1995, U Sein Hla Aung and Zaw Zaw Myaing, both from Mandalay, were arrested for distributing a video of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's speeches. At about the same time, local officials in Mandalay reportedly began arresting people for watching the videos in private homes. In March 1996, the two were sentenced to three and two years in prison, respectively, for the distribution of those video tapes. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.3. Leo Nichols, a well-known businessman and close friend of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was arrested in April 1996. Mr. Nichols also worked as honorary consul for several European nations. He was accused of using

illegal telephones and two fax machines. He was sentenced to three years in prison on May 17, 1996. Mr. Nichols died in Insein prison on June 22, 1996. (*Source: Inside Source*)



2.2.4. On March 28, 1996, U Win Tin (66 years of age) and 20 others were sentenced under Section 5(e) of the *Emergency Provisions Act* and under the Penal Code for the alleged misappropriation of State property. None of the detainees were permitted legal representation at the trial, which was held in prison. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.5. On May 16, 1996, six students from Rangoon University were arrested in Rangoon for organizing people in support of the planned NLD Congress. Among those arrested were Ye Kyaw Zwa, a technology student and Kyaw Kyaw Htay, a first-year English major. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.6. U Soe Thein, NLD Member of Parliament-elect from Waw, Pegu Division, was arrested on May 21, 1996 and held under provisions of the *1975 State Protection Law*. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.7. U Aye Win, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's cousin and assistant was arrested on May 22; no charges were made. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.8. U Moe Thu, a journalist and prominent NLD member was arrested in May 1996; no charges were made. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.9. U Win Htein was taken from his home to an unknown place by SLORC officials at 10 p.m. on May 21, 1996. U Win Htein asked the arresting officers if there was a warrant for his arrest; he was told a warrant was not necessary as charges had already been brought against him. On August 15th he was given a seven-year prison term for his role in the production of a video tape showing arid rice fields aimed at countering the government's rosy agricultural projections. U Win Htein was charged with sending out some NLD members to collect information on agricultural development in various part of the country. These five NLD members were arrested for their part in collecting this information and for distributing "false data." U Po Aye and his son Htein Lin, Hla

Tun Aung, Kan Shein, and three other NLD members were sentenced to seven years imprisonment under the *Emergency Act*, Section 5(j). The NLD lawyer defending the five men was not allowed to cross examine any of the witnesses during the trial nor was he permitted to meet with U Win Htein privately. U Win Htein was reportedly sentenced to an additional seven years imprisonment on August 26, under Section 5(e) of the *Emergency Provision Act*, for having served as a translator for Tin Hlaing at an interview with a foreign journalist. (*See 2.2.12. for additional information*).



2.2.10. U Kaythara, a Buddhist monk also known as U Kyaw, was arrested in late May 1996 for putting up a poster calling for dialogue between the SLORC and the NLD in front of Sule Pagoda in Rangoon. He was sentenced to seven years in prison on August 15, 1996. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.11. U Ba Min, NLD township secretary from Kalay, Sagaing Division and Soe Thein, the NLD treasurer from Kalay, were arrested on June 12th and moved to Mandalay on June 19, 1996. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.12. Maung San Hlaing, also known as Tin Hlaing or Evak, a 27 year-old Muslim bodyguard for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was arrested on June 13, 1996. On August 26, 1996, he was sentenced to seven years in prison under Section 5(e) of the *1950 Emergency Provisions Act*. According to the SLORC media, Evak had been instructed by U Win Htein to meet with three foreign journalists on April 9, 1996, where he had subsequently provided them with



information about the military's use of torture against political prisoners. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.13. U Tin Hlaing, an NLD member from Rangoon, was arrested on June 14, 1996, for "spreading disinformation"; his official charge is still unknown. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.14. U Maung Gyi, an NLD member from Mandalay, was arrested on June 18, 1996. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.15. On June 30, 1996, Daw Aye Aye Win was arrested at her home in Tharketa township, Rangoon after police officers searched her house and confiscated 40 cassette recordings of speeches given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi together with some NLD papers. On August 15, 1996 she was sentenced to seven years in jail. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.16. U Nyunt Tin, a businessman from Monywa, Sagaing Division was arrested in June 1996. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.17. Nine people were arrested in June for being regular attendees of the weekend talks in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house. These nine were not arrested at the talks, but back at their homes late at night. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.18. U Chit Htwe NLD-elected MP from Myothit township, Magwe Division, was arrested on July 2, 1996 by the police and charged under Section (1) of the Public Property Protection Law. He was accused of stealing Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP) documents. U Nay Lin, an NLD member, and U Myo Myint Zaw, a primary school teacher, both from Magwe, were arrested on July 2, 1996 and charged under the same section of the law. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.19. Kyaw Htwe and Ya Za, students, were arrested on July 8, 1996 in front of Thakin Lwin's house, a senior politician, in Rangoon after Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had gone to visit him. A crowd had gathered, and after she left, the two students shouted, "Long Live Aung San Suu Kyi," at which time they were promptly arrested. Kyaw Htwe has been tried and sentenced, but there is no further information about his case. Ya Zar was released on an unknown date, and was reportedly instructed by the authorities not to leave Dagon township, his home in Rangoon. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.20. Dr. Aung Khin Sint, an MP from Minglataungnyunt township, Rangoon

Division, was arrested for the third time on July 22, 1996 without charges. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.21. Dr. Myo Nyunt, elected MP from Dedaye township, Irrawaddy Division, was arrested on July 24, 1996. On July 26, 1996, he was charged under Sections 18/19 of the National Drugs Law for the alleged illegal manufacture of pharmaceuticals. He had remained in Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's compound after the May NLD meeting and had visited her compound during the last week in July. When he returned home after that visit, he was taken by a combined force of police and Military Intelligence officers to Insein prison. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.22. On August 8, 1996, Ye Htun and four others students were arrested after visiting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.23. Ma Thet Thet Aung, a female student, Min Min, and Kyaw Swa were arrested on August 8, 1996 in Wakhema, Irrawaddy Division, at their homes. The next day they were transferred to a prison in Rangoon. Their arrests are reportedly due to their involvement in activities to commemorate the eighth anniversary of SLORC's massacre of political protesters. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.24. Other students, Ko Ye Tun, Ko Than Oo, Ko Lwin Aung, and Ko Myo Thant were arrested on August 9, 1996. Ko Htay Hlaing was arrested on August 12. They were arrested for their part in planning a meeting of 27 or 28 students groups on August 8, 1996 in order to discuss eight topics: world affairs and the United Nations, students, ASEAN, workers and farmers, ethnic minority issues, political conditions, social conditions and economic conditions. They had distributed a letter to politicians, including the NLD, describing these topics. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.25. Daw Thein Kywe was arrested at her home on August 12, 1996 because of her regular attendance at the gatherings in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house. Officials took two audio tapes of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's speeches from Daw Thein Kywe's house. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.26. U Khin Soe, a Rangoon-based NLD sympathizer, received a seven-year sentence on August 15, 1996. Additional details about the charges brought against him and his trial are not known. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.27. On August 20, 1996, U Do Htaung, an elected member of Parliament from Kale-1, Sagaing Division; Khun Myint Tun, a Member of Parliament

from Thaton, Mon State; Khin Maung Thaung, a youth activist; Kyaw Htwe; U Kyi Aung; Tin Maung Aye; Kyaw Thaung; Aung Kyi; U Pwa; U Hla Soe, an MP from Minbu-2, Magwe Division; Than Htike; Khin Maung Myint; Dr. Khin Ma Gyi; Dr. Khin Soe Win; Phongyi Soe, a monk; another unnamed monk; an unnamed NLD treasurer from Mandalay, Chin State; and U Sein Myint were all arrested and sentenced under Act 122/2 for high treason on the grounds that they had contacts with Burmese dissidents in India. The SLORC media said the group had conspired to send members for trainings in political defiance with the exiled colleagues in India and had distributed leaflets attacking military-organized constitutional talks and had made plans to open a secret office in Monywa. Khin Maung Thaung, U Kyi Aung, and Kyaw Htwe were reportedly also arrested for possessing a critique of the National Convention written by the exiled opposition group. According to the same report, Kyaw Thaung, U Pwa, and U Aung Kyi were apparently arrested for possession of "political letters" and materials from "illegal organizations." The Burmese official media reported on August 22, 1996, that action had been taken against the 19 NLD members for distributing anti-government materials and colluding with outside forces to destabilize the country. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.28. U Sein Myint, aged 47, married with two children, was arrested in August 1996 in Monywa and sentenced to seven years imprisonment with hard labor. He is an ex-Monywa township Education officer who became an NLD officer for Monywa Township Organizing Committee, Sagaing Divison. He was charged with having connections with illegal organizations. He is currently in Mandalay prison. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.29. U Tin Hlaing (I.d. card no. KNI 013666), is a cotton-spinning factory owner in Monywa township. He was arrested in August 1996 and sentenced to seven years imprisonment with hard labor. He was charged with having connections with illegal organizations and is currently serving his prison term in Htonbo labor camp. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.30. Ko Tin Cho (I.d. card no. KIO.044919), is a high school teacher and individual activist. He was arrested in August 1996 for allegedly disseminating information to illegal organizations. He was sentenced to seven years in jail and is currently in Mandalay prison. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.31. Dr. Khin Mar Kyi, a 33 year-old NLD supporter, ran a private clinic in Monywa. She was arrested in August, 1996 for allegedly having connections with illegal organizations. She was later sentenced to seven years in prison with hard labor; she is currently in Htonbo labor camp. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.32. Maung Win Naing, 20, a college student, was arrested in August 1996 for allegedly having connections with illegal organizations. He was sentenced to seven years in prison and sent to Mandalay prison. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.33. Ko Hla Soe, 38, is an NLD youth leader from Mandalay Southeast township and an active leader of the All Burma Student Union (ABSU) in Upper Burma. He was arrested in Monywa in August 1996. He was charged with distributing anti-government literature and other information and contacting illegal organizations. He was sentenced to ten years imprisonment with hard labor. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.34. Daw Khin San Aye (aka Aye Aye), a 35 year-old shopkeeper and NLD member, was arrested in August 1996. She was charged with allegedly having contact with illegal organizations and was sentenced to seven years in prison with hard labor. She is currently serving her sentence in Mandalay prison. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.35. Shin Zawti Bala, 22, a Burmese Buddhist Monk from Old Masoeyein Monastery in Mandalay, was arrested in August 1996. He was charged with having contact with illegal organizations and sentenced to seven years in prison with hard labor. Currently he is in Mandalay prison. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.36. On August 15, 1996, Dr. Hlaing Myint (aka Billy Mckenzie), Kyaw Khin, NLD member from Taunggyi, and Maung Maung Wan were sentenced to 10 years in prison for allegedly attempting to form illegal youth organizations by gathering funding and distributing anti-government papers and video tapes. Dr. Hlaing Myint, Kyaw Khin and Maung Maung Wan were tried at the Insein Township Court; they were sentenced to three years in prison for breaching the 1985 Television and Video Law Act , Section 4 and seven years under *The Emergency Act*, Section 5(j). (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.37. Five students who met with senior NLD members in early August 1996 were arrested. Ye Htun, Taung Ni, Lwin Aung, and Myo Than were taken away on August 9 and Nyein Hlaing was taken on August 12. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.38. On September 14, 1996, NLD members Aung Myint Oo and Khin Aung were arrested in Rangoon for unknown reasons by military intelligence officers. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.39. In September 1996, the wife and son of NLD MP-elect U Hla Than, who died in prison on August 2, 1996, were arrested without any explanation.

(*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.40. On September 23, Rangoon Radio announced the arrest of nine youths charged with "inciting the people and spreading false news and fabricated leaflets with the intention to upset the stability of the State and community peace and tranquillity". The youth are Kyin Thein, Thant Zin, and Ngwe Soe from Sanchaung township, Nyan Win, Hla Hla Win, Kyaw Aye, Tun Aye, Myo Htut Aung, and Tun Naing. On October 21, 1996, the nine youths were sentenced to 13 years in prison. No additional details are known. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.41. On September 28, 1996, small groups of students and others, shouting "Long live Daw Aung San Suu Kyi," marched towards a meeting point at Shwedagon Pagoda. The roads leading to the Pagoda were blocked by security forces, soldiers, and police. One of the groups was reportedly arrested by security forces on Shwedagon Pagoda Road and another group, marching from the Shwedagon side was allegedly beaten, arrested, and taken to Insein jail by army and security forces. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.42. On September 29, 1996, six students taking part in the preparations for the 7th Students' Sports Festivals in Tavoy were reportedly arrested by soldiers from LIB 19 after having taken a picture of a damaged Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) signboard in front of the local SLORC office. The students were charged with illegal possession of a camera, suspicion of stealing firearms, and attempting to incite unrest. (*Source: ABSDF*)

2.2.43. On October 23, 1996, the 75 year-old Deputy Chairman of the NLD, U Kyi Maung, was arrested in Rangoon; he was accused of helping to organize the protest of some 500 students against police brutality which took place on October 21 and 22. He was detained for questioning for having met with two students from Yangon Institute of Technology, Ye Thiha Thwin and Nyi Nyi Myo, at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house. U Kyi Maung was released on October 28, 1996. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.44. Ko Zaw Win, Ko Tin Hla, Ko Kyaw Soe, Ma Kyi Kyi Aung, and Ma San San Cho, all NLD youth members were arrested on December 3, 1996. While two female members were released later, the four other youths remain in detention. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.45. According to a statement by Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt at a press conference on December 31, 1996, Nyein Si (also called Nyein Myint) was arrested on December 7, 1996 in a tea shop on 24th Street in Rangoon. At the time of the

arrest, Nyein Si allegedly had in his possession pamphlets and documents which linked him and other youths to the banned Burma Communist Party; SLORC also maintains that the youths were involved in the student demonstrations. The SLORC statement referred to a total of 34 youths, among them Toe Toe Htun, allegedly involved in underground activities, who were apprehended in December following student demonstrations. Law No. 5/96 was invoked in all of these cases. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.46. A total of more than 60 NLD members were arrested during the month of December. Between December 7th and 13th alone, 28 NLD members were reportedly arrested, among them, 13 NLD Youths and one NLD politician. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.47. On December 7, 1996, seven members of the NLD were arrested including, Ma Cho, Ma Kyi Kyi Win, Ma Khin Mar Yee, Ma Thida Myint, Ko Nyi Nyi Naing, Ko Tin Aye, Ko Aung Aung Htay. Sources say that at least two of the detainees were arrested at their homes after they were identified from CNN footage as being at the student demonstrations. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.48. Military Intelligence Service personnel arrested Ko Soe Htun, Interim Chairman of the Student Union, and eight other students on December 25, 1996 in Rangoon. (*Source: ABSDF*)

2.2.49. Five active NLD members, including U Kyin Swan Khan from Tamu branch, were arrested on December 18, 1996. The SLORC accused the five of holding an NLD meeting on December 28, 1996 without the knowledge of township Law and Order Restoration Council and the possession of anti-government papers. On December 20, 1996, they were sent to an army camp in Kalay town where they were interrogated. They were then sent back to Tamu town; as of March 1997, they are still being held in Tamu police station. (*Source: ABSDF Western-Burma*)

2.2.50. On the evening of February 11, 1997, eleven male and six female NLD members left Prome by train to attend the NLD Union Day in Rangoon. When the train stopped at Tharawaddy station, soldiers and policemen, arrested fifteen of the NLD members; two women were not arrested. The group was taken by car to the quarters of the 35th Regiment. The four women arrested were Daw Myint Myint Khin, Daw Tin Hlaing, Daw Than Than Nu, and Daw Aye Mya San. The men were Aung Myint, U Myo Thein, U Aung Myo Myint, U Shwe Thein, U Myint Than, U Paik Tin, U Myint Htwe, U Chit Tin, U Win Naing, U Aung Thein Win, and U Thein Zaw. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.51. Seven people who had come from Prome and Kama by car to attend the NLD Union Day were also arrested in Tharawaddy. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.52. Fifty eight others were arrested on their way to attend the NLD Union Day including, U Aye Than and U Ohn Naing, NLD Members of Parliament-elect for Paungde; U Khin Maung Myint, Secretary of Paukaung township; U Min Aung of Letpadan, NLD member; U Tin Myint, Deputy Chairman of Gyobingauk township; U Ohn, Thonze NLD member; So Tin Oo, Prome NLD youth member; Daw Tin Tin Hla, Daw San Yee and Daw San San Myint, members of Shwedaung NLD front; Daw Sein Sein, Ma Tin Than Oo, and Ma Tin Than Aye from Natalin; Daw Khin Kyu and Ma Aye Aye Mar from Okpho. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.53. In the second week of February 1997, U Soe Hlaing, Chairman of the NLD Organizational Committee of Thanatpin, Pegu Division; U Tin Tun, Secretary; and U Soe Nyunt, Joint Secretary were arrested because they attended the NLD Union Day celebration in Rangoon. U Tin Tun was released but the others were charged under Section 5(e) and sent to Pegu prison. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.54. Also arrested on their way to attend the NLD Union Day celebration were U Khin Maung, U Chit Than, U Pe Win, and U Thein Han, all members of Thaton township NLD, Mon State. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.55. U Win Naing and U Maung Than, farmers from Kywete village were charged under Section 5(e) and sent to Pegu prison because they had complained to the NLD that the local authorities had taken cuts out of money due to them for paddy sold. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.56. On February 21, 1997, in Taungoo, Pegu divison, at nearly midnight, about twenty people from the town were taken away by the police and members of Ward/Village Lorc without any explanation. Among those taken away were members of the Taungoo NLD Township Organizational Committee including, the chairman, deputy chairman, joint secretary, and treasurer. The NLD MP-elect for Taungoo, U Aung Soe Myint, managed to get away by jumping from the car. On February 22nd, the detainees were taken by army vehicles to Thandaung. Similarly, eleven people from Oaktwin township and one from Yedashay township, in Pegu divison, were also taken away. It is thought that these people have been taken away to act as porters in the latest military action against the KNU. (*Source: SAIN*)

2.2.57. In Minchaung village in Nyaungshwe, Shan State, U Nhuang, U Aung Ba, U Soe Win, and U Chit Pwe were each sentenced to two years in prison for

watching a videotape that featured Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.(*Source: SAIN*)

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

2.2.59. It was reported that two musicians, Ko Min Maw and Ko Zaw Win from "Shwe Than Zin", a musical band, were arrested by the SLORC military intelligence and sentenced to seven years in jail for performing two democracy songs in March 1997. The two musicians recorded these two democracy songs in May Studio in Rangoon and sent the songs to the Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) based in Oslo, Norway for broadcasting. The two songs were broadcast on March 3rd, 10th, and 17th, during DVB's "Songs in the Sky" program. May Studio was also raided and the owner of the studio was investigated by the SLORC MI. According to sources in Rangoon, U Hla Min, an NLD-elected representative from Kawthaung (Victoria Point) constituency, Tennarasim Division was arrested by the SLORC MI for having connections with the two musicians. (*Source: ABSDF*)

2.2.60. On February 19, 1997, Dr. Than Nyein, Vice-Chairman of the NLD's Rangoon Division and an elected NLD MP for Kyauktan-1, was arrested and his medical license was revoked by the Health Ministry for "breaching medical professional ethics," He was released from custody on April 2, 1997 after paying 1,000 kyats. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.61. Dr. Than Aung, an elected MP for the NLD for Mingla Taungnyunt -2, was arrested on February 21, 1997 for allegedly causing the death of a patient through negligence at his medical clinic. He was sentenced to four years in prison on April 11, 1997 at Insein Jail for homicide not amounting to murder. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.2.62. In the wake of community unrest in Mandalay, SLORC detained 10 NLD members, including U Htin Kyaw (a) U Tin Nyunt, an elected MP for Mandalay South-east-1 from Mandalay Division. Other detainees include U Maung Maung Win Shwe, U Aung Tint, Ko Aung Ko, U Kyi Maung, U Ko Gyi, U Tun Win, Daw Khin Win, Ko Aung Myint Ko (NLD-Youth), and one unknown member. They were all arrested on March 18, 1997. One unknown member was later released. (*Source: Inside Source*)

2.3. Student Demonstrations and Mass Arrests

In early December 1996, nearly 2,000 university students took to the streets at the start of a series of the largest anti-government demonstrations seen in Rangoon since 1988. Students across Rangoon demonstrated for the right to establish a student union, respect for human rights, and for the release of three student detainees. In what began as an argument between three students from Rangoon Institute of Technology and a local restaurant owner, students from all around the city and beyond simultaneously rose-up and demanded their rights after police brutality was used against the three students.

SLORC authorities arrested and detained at least 500 students in connection with the demonstrations in Rangoon and Mandalay. Unconfirmed reports stated that many wounded students were being treated in Rangoon General Hospital, although no visitors were allowed. University classes were suspended and large areas of Rangoon and Mandalay were sealed off.

SLORC accused Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her NLD party of inciting the student unrest and confined her to her home. While the students and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi share many of the same ideals, both the students and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi have denied any collaboration with respect to the demonstrations. Many NLD members were arrested by the authorities for their alleged involvement in the demonstrations.

The following is a partial list of the detained NLD-elected MPs, NLD-Youth, NLD members and students since December 1996:

2.3.1. NLD Youth Members Detained Since December 1996

No.	Name	Township	Date of arrest	Remarks
01	Ko Zaw Win	Kyinmyindine	12/03/96	7 years
02	Ko Tin Hla	Lanmadaw	12/03/96	7 years
03	Ko Kyaw Soe	Sanchaung	12/03/96	7 years
04	Ma Thi Thi Aung	Kamayut	12/03/96	7 years
05	Ko Khing Ko Oo	Insein	12/03/96	7 years
06	Ma Cho	Sanchaung	12/06/96	7 years
07	Ma Khin Mar Yi	Sanchaung	12/06/96	7 years
08	Ma Thida Myint	Sanchaung	12/09/96	released
09	Ma Kyi Kyi Win	Kemmedine	12/07/96	released
10	Ma Than Than Suu	Win Insein		released
11	Mg Nyi Nyi Naing	South Okkalapa	12/07/96	released
12	Mg Tin Aye	Thingangyun	12/07/96	released
13	Maung Maung Htay	Sanchaung	12/06/96	released
14	Ma May Chaw Shein			released
15	Ma Sabae Phyu			released
16	Ko Aung Kyaw Soe	West Bassein		
17	Ko Wai Lin	West Bassein		
18	Ko Wai Lu	West Bassein		
19	Ko Zaw Win Tint	Bahan	01/01/97	
20	Ko Toe Lwin	Ngaputaw	12/13/96	Youth Organiser
21	Ko Thein Swe	Pyapon		Youth Organiser
22	Ko Mya Shwe	Sanchaung	12/06/96	
23	Ma Myat Sabae Moe	Kamayut	12/06/96	released
24	Ko Wain	Sanchau	12/06/96	released
25	Ko Soe Naing		02/01/97	
26	U Tin Win	Kamayut		Secretary
27	U Pa Khan	Tamu		Chairman
28	Ko Win Cho	Kamayut		

2.3.2. NLD Members and Supporters Detained Since December 1996

No.	Name	Township	Date of arrest	Remarks
01	Dr. Than Win	North Okkalapa	12/10/96	MP/released
02	U Chit Khin	South Okkalapa		released
03	U Than Oo	South Okkalapa	12/09/96	released
04	U Maung Maung	Kamayut		released
05	U Ar Zar	Ngaputaw	12/13/96	Vice Chairman
06	U Toe Win	Ngaputaw	12/13/96	Joint Secretary
07	U Ko Wai	Wakema	12/13/96	Secretary
08	U Aung Kywei	Wakema	12/3/96	Joint Secretary
09	U Htun Shwe	Wakema	12/13/96	EC
10	U Win Kyi	Wakema	12/13/96	EC
11	U Tin Nyein	Wakema	12/13/96	EC
12	U Maung Kan	Wakema	12/13/96	EC
13	U Yu Wai	Wakema	12/13/96	EC
14	U Pe Tin	Wakema	12/13/96	EC
15	Daw Tin Yi	Wakema	12/13/96	Member
16	U Tin Aung	Wakema	12/13/96	MP-elect
17	U Kyaw Din	Wakema	12/15/96	Chairman
18	Nyunt Win	Ye Kyi		MP/released
19	Dr. Tin Min Htut	Pantanaw		MP/released
20	U Tin Wai	Mohnyin		Chairman
21	U Kyaw Khin	Mohnyin		Vice Chairman
22	U Nyunt Lwin	Mokaung		Chairman
23	U Htun Kyi	Mokaung		MP/house arrest
24	U Thaung Aye	Maubin	12/19/96	Div.EC
25	U Win Shwe	Maubin	12/19/96	Vice Chairman
26	U Kyaw Zaw	Maubin	12/19/96	EC
27	U Lwin Nyein	Maubin	12/19/96	EC
28	U Aung Thuya	West Bassein	12/21/96	Div. EC
29	U Thein Han	Kyaungone		Chairman
30	U Myint Kyaing	Zalun		Member
31	U Than New	Zalun		Member
32	U Soe Myint	Zalun		Member
33	U Than Htun	Nyaungdon		Secretary

No.	Name	Township	Date of arrest	Remarks
34	U Khin Thaung	Pyapon		Member
35	U Tin Maung Kyi	Kyinmyaindine	12/03/96	NLD supporter
36	U Zeya	Thingangyun	12/06/96	NLD supporter
37	Dr. Hla Myint	North Okkalapa	12/07/96	NLD supporter
38	Khin Maung Oo	North Okkalapa	12/06/96	Member/released
39	U Kyaw	Thingangyun	12/06/96	Member
40	U Hla Maung	Kyinmyaindine	12/06/96	Member
41	U Moe Myint	Pazundaung	12/07/96	NLD supporter
42	U Myo Myint	West Bassein	02/03/97	Chairman

2.3.3. Students Detained Since December 1996

No.	Name	Institution	Date of arrest	Remark
01	Ko Ye Kyaw Zwa	YIT	02/01/97	
02	Ko Kyaw Kyaw Soe	YIT		
03	Ko Thet	YIT		
04	Ko Kyaw Wunna	YIT		released
05	Ko Min Zaw thein	YIT		
06	Ma Nilar Thein	YIT		
07	Ko Aung Moe	Dagon		
08	Ko Pho Thar	Dagon		
09	Ko Ba Thein Latt	Dagon		
10	Ko Soe Thaung	Dagon		
11	Ko Ye Min	Dagon		
12	Ko Ye Min Kyaw	Dagon		
13	Ko Mon Gyi	Dagon		
14	Ko Phone Thet Paing	Dagon		
15	Ko Maung Zaw	Dagon		
16	Ko Ye Min Thu	Dagon		
17	Ko Than Zaw	Dagon		
18	Ma Aung Gyi	Dagon		
19	Ma Thin Thin Aye	Dagon		7 years sentence
20	Ma Lay Lay Mon	Dagon		

No.	Name	Institution	Date of arrest	Remark
21	Ko Toe Toe Htun	Distance		
22	Ko Yan Myo Thein	IM2		released
23	Ko Maung Maung Latt	RC 2		7 years sentence
24	Ko Myo Min Naing	RC 2		
25	Ma Yee Yee Htun	University	02/01/97	
26	Ko Myo Zaw Oo			
27	Zaw Maung Maung Win			

Abbreviation:
YIT = Yangon Institute of Technology;
IM = Institute of Medicine;
RC = Regional College;
Distance = Distance University.

2.3.4. Other Persons Detained Since December 1996

No.	Name	Township	Date of arrest	Remark
01	Ko Thet Oo	Mingalataungnyunt	01/02/97	
02	Robert San Aung	Mingalataungnyunt	01/03/97	
03	Ko Wai Lin			Rice shop owner
04	Ko Aye Naing			Tea shop owner
05	Ma Mee Mee Aung			
06	Ko Aung Than			
07	Ko Htay Aung		02/01/97	
08	Ko Thaw Htun Oo		12/11/96	
09	Ko Ye Maw Htoo			
10	Ma Mar Mar Oo		02/01/97	
11	Ko Ye Naing Aung			
12	Ko Min Zeya		12/04/96	
13	Ko Thar Myat Kyaw		12/13/96	
14	Ma Nilar		12/07/96	
15	Ko Htun Myint Aung		12/13/96	
16	Ko Kyaw Zeya		12/13/96	
17	Ko Ngwe Lin		12/06/96	

No.	Name	Township	Date of arrest	Remark
18	Ko Zeyar Win			
19	Ko Lay Lwin			
20	Ko Myint Thein		01/17/97	
21	Ko Myint Swe		02/01/97	
22	Ko Myint Shwe		02/01/97	
23	Ko Aung Naing		02/01/97	
24	Ma Pyone Pyone Aye		02/01/97	
25	Ma Hnin Hnin Hmwe		02/01/97	
26	Ko Win Naing		02/01/97	
27	Ko Nyi Nyi		02/01/97	
28	Ko Tin Ko Oo		02/01/97	
29	Ko Hsaung Win Latt			1 year sentence

2.3.5. List of NLD-elected MPs in Detention

No.	Name	Constituency	State/Div.	Date of Arrest	Remark
01	U Tin Aung Aung	Mandalay NW-1	Mandalay	11/90	25 years
02	U Win Hlaing	Tatkon-2	Mandalay	10/24/90	7 or 10 years
03	U Tin Htut	Aime-1	Irrawaddy	10/23/90	7 years
04	U Ohn Kyaing	Mandalay SE-2	Mandalay	09/07/90	7 + 10 years
05	Dr. Zaw Myint Maung	Amarapura-1	Mandalay	11/90	25 years
06	Dr. Myint Naing	Kantbalu-2	Sagaing	10/90	25 years
07	U Naing Naing	Pazundaung	Rangoon	10/25/90	10 years
08	U Hla Tun	Kyimyindine	Rangoon	10/90	25 years
09	U Mya Win	Ingapu-1	Irrawaddy	10/90	25 years
10	Dr. Zaw Myint	Heinzada-2	Irrawaddy	10/90	25 years
11	U Sein Hla Oo	Insein-2	Rangoon	05/01/92	
12	U Khin Maung Swe	Sanchaung	Rangoon	05/01/92	
13	U Kyi Myint	Latha	Rangoon	08/11/93	
14	U Saw Win	Htilin	Magwe	unknown	
15	U Kyaw Min	Bassein West-2	Irrawaddy	05/21/96	
16	U Soe Thein	Waw-2	Pegu	05/21/96	
17	Khun Myint Tun	Thaton-2	Mon	unknown	

No.	Name	Constituency	State/Div.	Date of Arrest	Remark
18	U Do Htaung	Kalay-1	Sagaing	06/96	
19	Dr. Aye Zan	Kyeikhto-3	Mon	unknown	
20	U Kyaw Khin	Taunggyi-1	Shan	unknown	
21	U Chit Htwe	Myothit-2	Magwe	07/02/96	
22	Dr. Myo Nyunt	Dedaye-1	Irrawaddy	07/24/96	
23	Dr. Aung Khin Sint	Mingla/Taungnyunt	Rangoon	07/23/96	
24	U Hla Myint	Maubin-2	Irrawaddy	unknown	
25	U Kyaw Myint	Zalun-1	Irrawaddy	unknown	
26	U Hla Min	Kawthaung	Tenasserim		7 years

2.4. Life in Prison

Prison conditions in Burma fall far short of international standards (e.g. the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners; the Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners and the Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons Under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment). International and humane standards and procedures for the detention of prisoners promulgated by the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) have been rejected by the Burmese military junta. SLORC continues to ignore international pressure to elevate conditions in Burma's prisons.

Many detailed reports and eyewitness accounts are available about the treatment of prisoners in Burma, including torture, prolonged shackling, lack of proper medical care, and insufficient food. Torture techniques include beatings, often to the point of unconsciousness; being forced to crawl over sharp stones or shards of glass; and being held in the hot sun for prolonged periods. Such gruesome tactics and others are used by SLORC security forces to punish and intimidate prisoners.

Political prisoners are believed to be currently held in ten prisons throughout the country. The prisons are as follows: Henzada and Bassein (Irrawaddy Division); Myitkyina (Kachin State); Mandalay (Mandalay Division); Prome; Thayawaddy; Theyet; Pegu (Pegu Division); Insein (Rangoon Division); and Monwya (Sagaing Division).

Political prisoners are subjected to torture during both the initial interrogation period and after they have been sentenced. Once imprisoned, prisoners can be summoned at any time during the day or night by Military Intelligence (MI) personnel, who maintain a permanent presence in most of the prisons in Burma. Political prisoners who break arbitrary and harsh prison rules are subjected to even harsher punishments. Even the possession of almost any reading material is a punishable offense under prison rules. Political prisoners are often sent to "military dog cells," extremely small cells where military dogs are normally kept, or to other cells where they are subjected to beatings and placed in leg-irons made of chains with an iron rod between the feet.

Prisoners in Burma are also subjected to severe overcrowding, conditions which by themselves constitute cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment in other parts of the world. Throughout Burma, three to four prisoners are held in small cells measuring 8 by 12 feet (2.6 by 3 meters) for more than 20 hours a day. They are fed an inadequate diet of a thin bean soup or vegetables, sometimes supplemented with a small piece of fish only once a week.

Medical treatment is rarely provided and then only when a prisoner's illness has reached a severe stage. The most common diseases among the prisoners are: gastrointestinal diseases (amoebic dysentery, bacillary dysentery and diarrhea), jaundice (viral and amoebic hepatitis), and skin diseases. Conditions in the prisons allow for the easy transmission of these diseases due to poor sanitation, unclean and semi-cooked food, dirty kitchens, polluted surroundings, and a lack of personal hygiene (particularly because of poor water supplies). There is also growing AIDS problem in prisons.

Political prisoners are not allowed to communicate with one another and are often held in solitary confinement. MI officers transfer political prisoners at will to remote prisons where their families cannot visit to provide the prisoner with additional food and medicine. Political prisoners are also forbidden most reading and all writing materials and are not allowed to send or receive letters.

Political prisoners are generally only allowed to meet with their families after they have been sentenced, and then only for fifteen minutes every two weeks; before that time they are held in incommunicado detention. Guards are present throughout the family meetings and often taken notes. Although families can bring food and medicine to their relatives, such supplies are sometimes confiscated by prison authorities. Religious writings which have received prior approval are sometimes allowed.

2.4.1. The Case of U Win Tin, Myo Myint Nyein, and 20 other Prisoners

Prisoners suspected of having sent letters describing mistreatment of prisoners and poor prison conditions to the former United Nations Special Rapporteur on Human Rights, Professor Yozo Yokota, have reportedly been extremely ill-treated since November 1995 in Insein prison. Prison officials were evidently punishing the group of 22 for sending the letter when they moved all of the prisoners involved to prison dog cells where they slept on concrete floors and were denied contact with others between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 when they were apparently moved from the prison dog cells into larger solitary confinement cells. (*Source: Inside sources, AI, and ABSDF*)

On March 28, 1996, U Win Tin and 21 other prisoners implicated in the drafting of the letter to the UN, as well as hiding of three radio sets and distribution of a clandestine newspaper within the prison, were allegedly tried and given additional sentences of 7 years each with hard labor under Section 5 (e) of the *1950 Emergency Provision Act.* The prisoners were denied access to legal

counsel at the trial; they were forced to defend themselves. All 22 prisoners pleaded not guilty to the charges brought against them, either on the grounds that what they had written was the truth or that the charge was false. As a testament to their courage, the prisoners spoke out against the authorities, complaining of torture and beatings in prison, and called for prisoners' rights and for access to legal counsel. Some prisoners also accused the authorities of holding a political trial and criticized the handling of the trial and the presentation of the evidence. (*See Also "Pleading Not Guilty at Insein," pg. 35)*

2.4.1.1. List of the 22 Prisoners Given Additional Sentences of 7 Years

- U Win Tin, 66, is a prominent journalist and Secretary of the NLD's Executive Council. He was arrested on July 4, 1989 during a nationwide crackdown on the opposition by the SLORC; since then he has been sentenced three times for a total of 19 years imprisonment. U Win Tin was an original Central Executive Committee member of the NLD, and a close associate of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. He was originally accused by SLORC of influencing and guiding Daw Aung San Suu Kyi when the NLD was founded by her and others in 1988. He was also accused of being a leftist politician who urged the NLD to adopt a civil disobedience campaign against martial law in 1989.

  He was initially charged with a criminal offense and sentenced to three years in prison with hard labor in October 1989 for offering hospitality to a young girl who had undergone an illegal abortion. In June 1992, just a few months before completing his prison sentence, he was sentenced to an additional 11 years under the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act. In mid-November 1995, he was placed in a prison dog cell and was not allowed family visits. In January 1996, he was transferred to solitary confinement.

  U Win Tin has been in poor health for several years; he suffers from a heart condition and spondylitis, an acute inflammation of the vertebrae. He has also lost several teeth and requires dental treatment. He is dependent on his family for medicine and meat, which he needs for his medical condition.

- Myo Myint Nyein, 35, has been detained since September 1990 when he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment by a military court for "organizing youths and students to create instability." He is a

magazine publisher and worked for the Information Department of the NLD and for the group "Thone Yaung Chae" which provided body-guards for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. At his 1990 trial, officials stated that his magazine Bar Dwe Phyit Gone Byi Lae (translated in English - What Has Become of Us?), was an 'anti-government propaganda' publication, aimed at making people misunderstand the government and defense forces. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996, he was held in a small cell in Insein in which prison dogs are normally kept.

- U Hla Than won the seat of Coco Islands in the 1990 election for the NLD. He was arrested in October 1990 for attending a meeting to form a provisional government and was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment with hard labor. He was also found to have allegedly infringed election laws and was banned from future elections. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996, he was held in a prison dog cell and was not permitted visits by his family. On August 2, 1996, U Hla Than died in custody at the age of 52. The death certificate attributed his death to pulmonary tuberculosis and stated he had tested positive for HIV. His request to be allowed to die at home was denied by prison authorities, reportedly because of his refusal to resign from the NLD.

- Dr. Zaw Myint Maung, 45, won a seat in Parliament in the 1990 election for the NLD. He was arrested in February 1991 for allegedly attending a meeting with the aim of forming a provisional government and was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment; his sentence was commuted to ten years in 1993. He was dismissed from parliamentary membership by the Election Commission in November 1991 and banned from running in future elections. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996, he was held in a prison dog cell in Insein.

- Zaw Tun, a second-year from the Workers' College, has been detained since August 1991, when he was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on charges of having links with the 208th Battalion of the ABSDF. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996, he was placed in prison dog cell.

- Aung Kyaw Oo, a first-year student from the Worker's College, was arrested with Zaw Tun in August and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on charges of having links with the 208th Battalion of the ABSDF

- Phyo Min Thein is a member of the Democratic Party for New Society

(DPNS) and the All Burma Federation of Students' Union. (*Source: ABSFU*)

- Soe Htet Khaing, 32, was a second-year Rangoon University student when he was detained in October 1989 and sentenced by a military tribunal to ten years imprisonment. He had reportedly never been politically active and is thought to have been arrested because of his father's and brother's reported anti-government activities during the 1988 demonstration. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 he was held in a prison dog cell.

- Aung Myo Tint was placed in a prison dog cell between mid-November 1995 and January 1996 in Insein.

- Win Thein is a member of the NLD Youth.

- Yin Htwe is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the DPNA and was placed in a prison dog cell between mid-November 1995 and January 1996.

- Ko Ko Oo (aka) Bo Bo, is a member of the NLD Youth and worked in the organization's national headquarters in Rangoon. He was arrested in April 1991 and was politically active during the high school student movement in 1988, for which he was detained one month.

- Kyaw Min Yu (aka) Jimmy, is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the DPNS and was arrested in late 1989/early 1990 and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment; the sentence was commuted to ten years in 1993.

- Myat Tun is a member of the NLD Youth and was detained in June/July 1991 and sentenced to eight years in prison on charges of establishing contacts with NLD members in exile.

- Kyi Pe Kyaw (aka) Kyaw Gyi is a member of the DPNS.

- Bo Myo Thein, 42, is associated with the Democracy Solidarity Front and worked as an assistant supervisor in the Myanmar Agriculture head office in Rangoon. He was believed to have been arrested after September 1990 and was sentenced to seven years imprisonment under the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996, he was held in a prison dog cell.

- Soe Myint was held in a prison dog cell in Insein between mid-November 1995 and January 1996.

- Sein Hlaing, 41, is a writer and has been detained at Insein since September 1990. He was a Central Executive Committee member of the All Burma Federation of Youth Unions and a farmer leader of the Thong Yaung Chae group. He was sentenced in a military court with Myo Myont Nyein to seven years imprisonment under the 1950 Emergency Provision Act. Between mid-November 1995 and January 1996, he was held in a prison dog cell.

- Htay Win Aung is a member of the ABFSU and was placed in a prison dog cell in Insein between mid-November 1995 and January 1996.

- Tun Win.

- Nyunt Zaw.

- Zaw Min. (*Source: ABSDF*)

2.4.2. The Situation of Dr. Ma Thida



Dr. Ma Thida a surgeon and well-known writer was arrested in July 1993 together with a number of other members of the NLD. A prominent figure among the Burmese political opposition she had been a campaign assistant for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. In October 1993 she was sentenced to 20 years in prison and remains in solitary confinement in Insein jail where she has been suffering from health problems.

Dr. Ma Thida and the others arrested with her were held incommunicado before being brought to trial. The first attempt to start the trial had to be postponed because large crowds gathered outside the courtroom. The trial finally began on September 27, 1993. Dr. Ma Thida and the ten other defendants were charged with endangering public tranquillity under Section 5(j) of the *1950 Emergency Provisions Act*, having contact with unlawful associations under Section 17(1) of the *1908 Unlawful Associations Act*, and distributing unlawful literature under Sections 17

and 20 of the *1962 Printers and Publishers Registration Act*. All defendants were sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on October 15, 1993.

At the time of her arrest, Dr. Ma Thida was working at the Muslim Free Hospital in Rangoon. She had written many short stories, as well as several novels, none of which have been published. Although she was given official permission to publish her latest novel; this has now been disallowed. Dr. Ma Thida is suffering from poor health, including digestive problems, tuberculosis, and ovarian tumors which require surgery. Although she is reported to have recovered from tuberculosis, she is not receiving adequate medical treatment – provision of medical treatment in Insein Prison is negligible. Dr. Ma Thida is held in solitary confinement and has no access to reading or writing materials. (*Source: AI*)

2.4.3. The Situation of Daw San San New



Daw San San Nwe, an NLD member, a 51-year-old journalist, and well-known writer, was arrested on August 4 or 5, 1994 in Rangoon. A widow with four children, she was arrested with her daughter, Myat Mo Mo Tun, and two other political leaders. According to the SLORC, the four were detained for passing on information to foreign journalists and diplomats "against or critical of the government in order to make foreign governments misunderstand the government." They were also accused of sending information to the UN Special Rapporteur on Burma.

On October 6, 1994, Daw San San Nwe was sentenced to seven years imprisonment under Section 59 (e) of the *1950 Emergency Provisions Act* for spreading false information and three years under Section 17 (1) of the *Unlawful Associations Act* for having membership in or contact with illegal organizations. She had been arrested previously in July 1989 during a nationwide crackdown by the military of the political opposition. Her writing has been banned in Burma since the beginning of the 1988 Democracy Movement. However, one of her banned short stories was featured in a book entitled Inked over, Ripped Out, Burmese Storytellers and the Censors, which was published by the PEN American Center I 1993.

2.4.4. The Situation of Min Ko Naing

Min Ko Naing was the elected chairman of the ABSFU in 1988. Currently, he is being held in solitary confinement by SLORC in Insein prison. His health and his memory are in a bad state, and he receives poor medical treatment from doctors there. There is hardly any sunlight in his cell, and he is only allowed outside his cell 30 minutes a day.

In July 1996, Min Ko Naing contracted dysentery. He called for the doctor at 10:00 a.m., but the doctor did not arrive until 4:00 p.m. He felt very ill and asked that someone be with him 24 hours a day. The doctor agreed, but this arrangement was never implemented. Min Ko Naing was only given medicine for his condition one enough for one dose; he was told that there was no more medicine. According to a reliable source, the SLORC intends to let Min Ko Naing die in prison. (*Source: Inside sources*).

2.4.5. The Situation of Zaw Zaw Aung

Zaw Zaw Aung, a third-year history student at Rangoon University, was a member of the Central Committee of the "All Burma Federation of Student Unions" (ABSFU) when he was first arrested and detained for two months after the demonstrations in Rangoon in March 1988. He was tortured while in prison and has still not completely recovered from injuries inflicted upon him. Zaw Zaw Aung was forced to endure many methods of torture including, kneeling down and 'walking' across shards of broken glass while being hit and kicked by the military guards. He was also psychologically tortured through sleep deprivation.

In 1989, the ABSFU held its second assembly at Mandalay University. Zaw Zaw Aung was among the seven students who were re-elected to their posts in the organization. The SLORC subsequently arrested all seven students leaders; Zaw Zaw Aung was arrested on June 27, 1989. On November 6, 1989, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. Between the time of his arrest and his trial, he was kept in military intelligence prisons; his parents were not allowed to see him. After being sentenced, he was moved to Insein Prison where he was kept in an 8 x 8 foot cell with four to five other prisoners. He was allowed out of his cell only for 15 minutes in the morning and 15 minutes in the afternoon for a bath; the remainder of the time, he was confined to his cell. In the past, the prisoners used to receive four ounces of meat once a week, but now they do not receive even this. Since the food served twice a day was terrible, his parents

brought him food, but sometimes the guards prevented him from receiving it. At night he had to sleep on the floor.

About 2,000 prisoners protested against the poor conditions in the prison in 1991. In response, the SLORC authorities transferred the leaders of the protest to different prisons in November of that year. Zaw Zaw Aung was transferred to Thayawaddy prison, 78 miles north of Rangoon. Before the transfer, he was badly beaten by the guards. In the past, his parents were able to provide medicine and food for their son, but now they have been banned from doing that.

2.5. List of Incidents

2.5.1. On May 20, 1996, one column of IB 234 attacked Tee Loh and K'Ser Doh villages, Taungoo district, and arrested villagers there. Later they forced them to stay at Baya Na Thi relocation site. (*Source: KHRG*)

2.5.2. On May 21, 1996, the same column of IB 234 arrested a Pa-O woman who was working in her orchard near Sait Lah Kyaut Pya, between Sha Si Boh and Meh Taw Der. They burned her farm hut and looted all her belongings. The troops also burned down Saw Maung Myint's orchard and hut, looted and destroyed all of his belongings. (*Source: KHRG*)

2.5.3. Hundreds of farmers in Nyaung Done Township, Irrawaddy Division were arrested, detained, and lost their land in May 1996 simply because they could not fulfill a rice quota under a new SLORC dry-season paddy scheme. (*Source: KHRG*)

2.5.4. On May 25, 1996 a column of IB 234 entered Hu Mu Der village, Taungoo district. The column captured villager Saw Po Keh and beat and tortured him. (*Source: KHRG*)

2.5.5. In September 1996, headmen of Than Tlang township villages were arrested by the SLORC Army. Colonel Thein Lwin, Chairman of Chin State Lorc and Major Saw Hlaing, Chairman of Than Tlang township Lorc and No. 266 LIB Camp Commander of Than Tlang, called for meetings of the headmen of Than Tlang township to Haka, capital of Chin State. Those who came to Haka were arrested. They were detained at Haka police station. According to villagers, they were accused of having contact with the CNF. Those who could pay 50,000 kyats were released immediately. But, the following village leaders were kept in detention because they could not pay the bribe to the officers: Pu Chawn Kio of

Thang Zang; Tum Khar of Banawh Tlang; Ni Ceu of Tlang Pi; Than Nawl of Tlang Lo; Sang Chawn of Far Rawn; Sui Hu of Cawng; Thia Hrang Awi of Tlang Rua; Hrang Tum of So Pum; Chan Lian of Hriang Khan; Chan Kung of Thau; and Hlei Ceu of Tlang Te. (*Source: CHRO*)

2.5.6. On January 15, 1996, IB 59 of Southern Command, arrived at Kaw Thay Der village. The military column arrested villagers Naw X, her eldest son Saw X, and her youngest daughter. They detained Saw X in a pit while they stole 150,000 kyats in cash, jewelry, and other valuables from his mother. The military arrested a village elder and his daughter Naw X, stole 17,000 kyats from them, beat them, then let them go. They arrested Saw X and stole everything from his shop, and also stole 1,000 kyats from Saw X, 500 kyats from Saw X and 600 kyats from Saw X. (*Source: KHRG*).

2.5.7. On January 21, 1996 in Pa-an an Township, LIB 313, led by Strategic Commander Kyaw Lay, arrested a 35 year-old, male villager, beat him, and poured boiling water over his head. Later, the villager went to the hospital when he found blood in his urine. SLORC arrested another male villager and beat him until he was unconscious. They also arrested a 21 year-old male, covered his head, and beat him. SLORC arrested 3 women, ages 60, 40, and 35 and ordered them to take them to the villagers who had fled SLORC's forced labor requirement. The women were threatened that they would be killed if no villagers were found. The troops also killed and ate a villager's cow and a pig, then ordered the villagers to pay them for it. (*Source: KHRG*)

2.5.8. On February 9, 1996, following a KNLA attack on two military camps of IB 39 and LIB 434, SLORC troops arrested Pa Reh Si village headman Saw X. They also arrested an elder and a villager from Yin Twin Ko village I Nyaunglaybin district and tortured them severely. (*Source: KHRG*)

2.5.9. On February 14, 1996, SLORC arrested village elders in Yin Leh village, Nyaunglaybin district including the village headman. All the village headmen were ordered to move their villages to Ler Doh. (*Source: KHRG*)

2.5.10. On April 18, 1996, LIB 549, Company 4 Commander Myint Soe went to Naw Law Paw Leh village in Leik Tho township, Taungoo district. He stole a pig, four chickens, and a buffalo without compensating the villagers. He then arrested and tortured the village headman and the two village secretaries. (*Source: KHRG*)

2.5.11. On April 28, 1996, Strategic Commander Colonel Aung Naing Htun threatened people from Bawgali village tract in Taungoo district that he would destroy all their villages within 10 days because they had connections with a revolutionary group. The Commander Colonel arrested Saw Wee Dee, village head of Beh Kaw Der, and dug a hole in the ground to bury him. Bawgali village elders Saw Maung Kay, Maung Ka Sein, Saw Tah Day Po, and Pastor Tha Say, Anglican pastor of Kaw So Ko village, were also arrested and tortured by Colonel Aung Naing Htun. (*Source: ABSDF*)

2.5.12. On June 6, 1996, Commander of LIB 539, arrested U Tin Win from Htee Tha Saw village, U Tin Maung Shwe from Mokhee village, and U Myat Soe from Thaukyekha village. The Commander took them to Leiktho village; all three villagers were detained and tortured in an underground cell in the village for four hours. The men were later released only when fellow villagers gave 20,000 kyats to the military. (*Source: KHRG*)

2.5.13. The Baptist pastor of Zah Di Win village in Tenasserim Division, was arrested on January 12, 1997 because people in his village had not moved to their relocation site, even though he and his family had moved. At last report he was still being held at a camp of Infantry Battalion 17 with his hands tied behind his back day and night. (*Source: ABSDF*)

(See also under “Personal Accounts,” interviews 4, 10, 19, 20, 21, 22, 48, 49, 50, 55, 66, 71, and 80)



Detainees arrested for attempting to attend the NLD Conference in May 1996 being transported to Insein Prison, Rangoon. (Photo by SAIN)

3. Rights of the Child

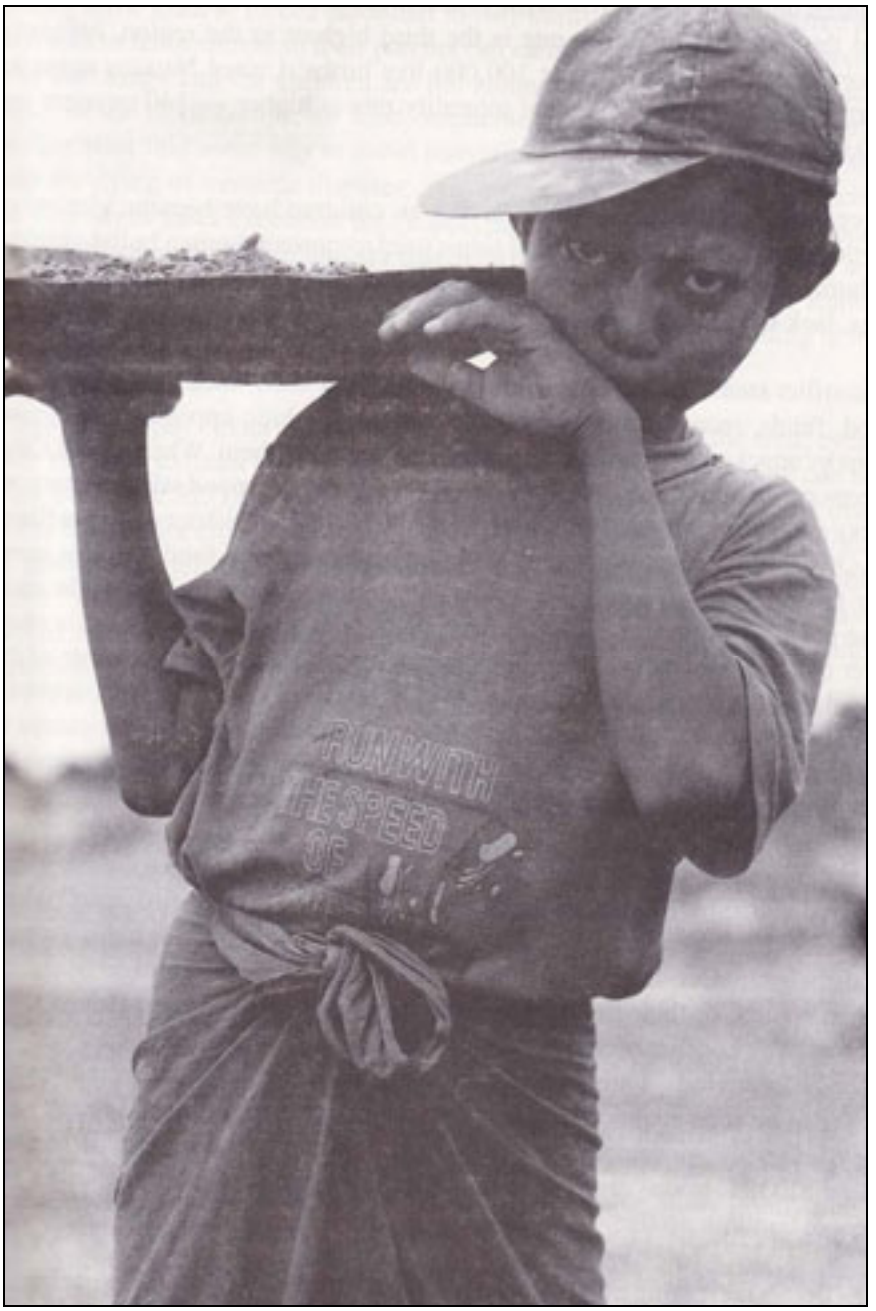
3.1. Background

Burma became a party to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child on August 15, 1991 after acceding to the Convention on July 16, 1991. The SLORC promulgated its new *Child Law* on July 14, 1993 in order to "implement the rights of the child recognized in the Convention." Chapter V, Section 8 of the *Child Law* states that "the state recognizes that every child has the right to survival, development, protection and care, and to achieve active participation within the community." SLORC's *Child Law* was seen as a positive sign internationally and it temporarily improved SLORC's image for the world community; but the law is a farce. The actual treatment of children in Burma is contrary to the objectives and stated purpose of the Convention and the law. In light of abhorrent and inhumane conditions faced by Burmese children everyday, largely due to SLORC policies, SLORC's efforts to win international respect ring hollow and insincere.

The last several years of unfavorable economic conditions in Burma have adversely affected the situation of the most vulnerable groups in society, particularly children. According to a report by UNICEF, the plight of Burmese children is directly linked to the country's economic collapse: "due to inflation and declining living standards, social problems such as early childbearing, marital disruption, migration, and urbanization are likely to worsen, contributing to a rise in child abandonment, labor, homelessness, abuse, and neglect."

The country's declining economic situation often forces children out of school and into the workplace — families need all the free hands they can get to survive difficult economic conditions. In urban areas some families are sending their smallest children into the streets to beg, while many families in rural areas are handing their children over to procurers in return for down-payments of 5,000 kyats or more. Sometimes children flee the country to escape such hardships, with or without their families.

Burmese children face many other hardships. The State provides little welfare support, even for those who have lost parents in the armed conflicts. In a report entitled, "Children and Women in Myanmar: A Situation Analysis 1995," UNICEF estimates that as many as four million out of a total 11.8 million children between the ages of 6 and 15 may be working today in Burma. The infant mortality rate in Burma is 94 per



Child labor on the road to Pegu, Burma. (Photo by N. Dunlop)

1,000 live births, the fourth highest among the nations of the East Asian and Pacific region. The mortality rate for children under the age of five is the fourth highest in the region, 147 per 1,000. And the maternal mortality rate is the third highest in the region, officially reported at the rate of 123 per 100,000 live births; United Nations agencies surmise that the actual maternal mortality rate is higher — 140 or more per 100,000.

Moreover, in the ongoing ethnic civil war, children have become victims or participants in armed conflicts, at times used as porters, human bullet-shields, or human mine-sweepers. Frequently, children used as porters die from beatings, lack of medical care, and exhaustion.

In conflict areas, SLORC has a policy called "four cuts," meaning to cut off all food, funds, recruits, and communications from ethnic opposition organizations by attacking the civilian populations who support them. Whenever SLORC forces come under attack by opposition forces, they respond with military attacks against undefended civilian villages. In Taungoo District of Karen State, SLORC troops are now systematically burning crops and food supplies in order to drive villagers out of the hills into military-controlled roadside sites. The people of at least 26 villages have fled into hiding in the hills with whatever rice they can carry. Even in many non-conflict areas 20% or more of the population have fled their villages. Further south in Papun District, approximately 100 Karen hill villages have been ordered to move to labor camps to build roads. As a result of SLORC actions, children's lives have become tumultuous; they face constant upheaval and displacement.

In order to strengthen its control over the hills and block refugee escape routes to Thailand, SLORC has declared the entire region a "free-fire zone" where adults and children can be shot on sight. Since October 1995, many farmers and their children have been shot with assault rifles and grenade launchers when spotted in their fields. Families are constantly having to flee SLORC troops in all conflict areas. Education becomes an impossibility, and families become scattered. Parents are taken away as porters or "suspected rebels" never to be seen again. SLORC claims to be improving things through military cease-fires in some parts of the country, but once a cease-fire is in place more SLORC troops are sent to establish control, forced labor increases, and people continue to flee.

SLORC is increasing military concentrations to control the civilian population even in non-conflict areas. An average rural village has to serve at least three nearby military camps. This includes rotating shifts as

porters, doing labor at military camps and on infrastructure development projects, primarily at labor camps. On average, one family member will be absent from their home performing some form of forced labor half to two-thirds of the time. Children are often sent to labor camps so their parents can earn a living; sometimes parents go to the camps and the children are left alone to support their younger siblings. In the labor camps, no food, medicine or education is provided and families must find some way to avoid starvation. Malnutrition is rampant and many are dying of treatable diseases. Anyone caught trying to take medicine into such areas faces execution for "supplying the rebels." Medics who penetrate these areas from Thailand say that 50% of children die before age 5, and about 20% of women die before age 40, leaving orphaned children. Rather than go to the labor camps, 10,000 to 30,000 people have fled into hiding in the hills.

Villagers must pay "extortion money" to every military unit in the area; eventually villagers exhaust all of their resources and must flee when they can no longer pay. The SLORC soldiers also force farmers to hand over about onethird of their entire crop with no compensation or for one-fifth of market price, and families are left barely able to survive. The SLORC sells much of this "stolen" rice for export, while Burma suffers a rice crisis. Rice prices have doubled since last year in many areas. Serious malnutrition now afflicts a high proportion of children, even in the urban areas.

3.2. Education of Children in Burma

There is an obvious need for greater investment in education in Burma, yet government expenditure in this sector, as a proportion of the budget, has been falling steadily. Education accounted for 5.9 percent of the budget in 1992-93, 5.2 percent in 1993-94, and 5 percent in 1994-95.

While the SLORC claims that the education standard in Burma is being upgraded and that they have allocated extra expenditures for the education sector, the fact is that the students are not staying in school. The overall rate of school drop-outs in Burma, especially under 10-years of age, has drastically increased during the 1995-96 academic year. An estimated 80% of students enrolled in primary school drop out, according to an Education Sector Study jointly published by the Burmese Ministry of Education, UNDP, and UNESCO in 1992. Some 35% of children never even enroll in primary school, as reported by UNICEF in January 1995.

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

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

SLORC uses the school system as a means of imposing discipline and control over the general population. Many people in remote villages are afraid to send their children far away to a SLORC-run school. If villagers try to establish their own school, SLORC authorities invariably shut it down. Existing schools that teach ethnic languages are often near conflict-areas and are prime targets to be attacked and burned by SLORC troops. Even SLORC-run schools near conflict areas often shut down because teachers flee the school when SLORC's military columns come near for fear they will be taken as porters. Since middle and high schools are an easy source for young porters, SLORC soldiers often surround schools and forcibly recruit porters there. As an additional method of controlling schoolchildren, teachers and parents must sign forms promising to keep their children from doing or saying anything against the State; if the child does anything objectionable to SLORC, the parents and teachers are then subject to arrest.

The money SLORC claims it uses to build and renovate schools has been extorted from the local population. The SLORC will often extort two to

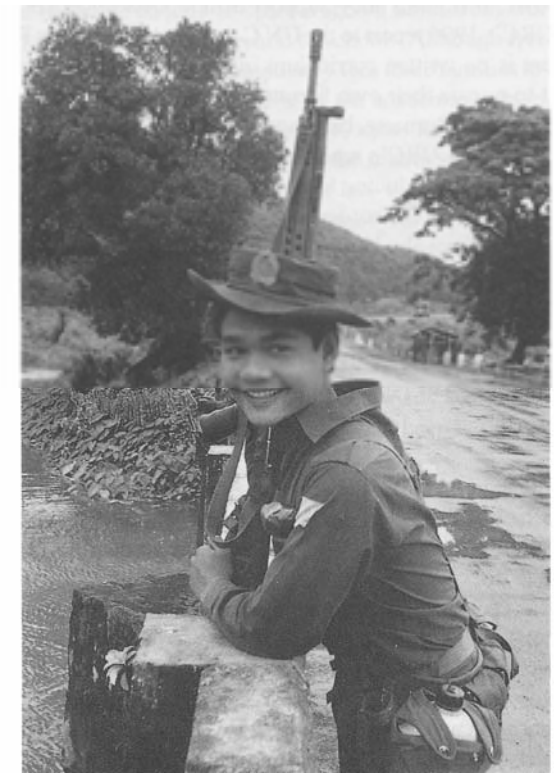
three times the amount they truly need for a school to ensure that they can turn a profit. In SLORC schools, all teaching must be in Burmese; no other languages may be taught or spoken. Ethnic children grow up illiterate in their own languages and ignorant of their own literature and culture. In 1994, in Tan Ta Lan township, Chin State, SLORC issued an order encouraging parents to send their Christian children for free education. SLORC then took many of these children and initiated them as Buddhist novices at Kaba Aye monastery in central Burma, holding them incommunicado from their parents.

Publicly, SLORC maintains they support different nationalities. Paragraph 118(b) of SLORC's 1996 report to the UN Committee for Child's Rights states, "although there is no written curriculum in their languages, the nationalities have the right to pursue their own literature." In reality, publishing literature or periodicals in non-Burmese languages is virtually impossible in Burma. Paragraph 118(b) of SLORC's report continues, "The University of National Races in Ywathitkyi is producing teachers of various nationalities to promote the spread of education in the border areas." In fact, the University of National Races takes people from the border areas, but trains them to teach a strictly Burmese/SLORC curriculum. Indeed, a significant proportion of the "university training" is actually political indoctrination. Moreover, all schoolteachers in Burma must periodically go to SLORC "refresher courses," where they are issued uniforms and military boots and forced to do military parade drills, shout slogans, and sit through SLORC lectures. Anyone who "fails" the course loses his/her teaching job.

3.3. Child Soldiers

SLORC's abuse of power, use of torture, and the dangers of the armed conflicts have made people afraid to join the army; SLORC's drive to increase its army to a force of 500,000 has led it to obtain its recruits largely through forced conscription and coercion. Since 1988, the size of the armed forces has doubled, from 180,000 to approximately 400,000 in 1995. Burmese army regulations prohibit the recruitment of boys under the age of sixteen, however the military has been recruiting boys fourteen years-old and younger. Most townships are assigned a quota, usually amounting to one or two recruits from each village and town-quarter per month. If township or village authorities cannot provide the quota, they face imprisonment, heavy fines, or conscription into the army. At this point, the army has become desperate for recruits — it will take anyone, regardless of age. SLORC uses many methods of coercion and forced conscription to build up their military force.

According to private Naing Win (BC 862213), Loikaw-based LIB 250, who recently defected to the KNPP, SLORC demanded eight youth from each ward in his native Myingyan township. His younger brother, studying at school, was selected by lottery but he decided to enlist in the army himself to replace his younger brother. Another 16-year-old defector, Thet Naing Win, explained that he was forced to join the army by a lottery system in Latputta township, Irrawaddy Division. In September, 1995, five youths from each village in Latputta township were summoned to join the army by force.



Child soldier in the SLORC army, Karen State, September 1996.

Often, boys aged 14 to 16 are drawn in the village quota lotteries. Once drawn, unless their family can pay a huge sum of money in bribes, the boys have no choice but to join the army. The family is often further coerced into cooperating by being told they will be free of forced labor duties if the army gets their son. Army officers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) are offered cash rewards of 500 kyats for any recruits they bring in; they usually target the youngest possible boys, about 13 or 14, because these boys are the easiest to coerce. Many young deserters have described how they were approached in the market or on the way home from school when they were 13 or 14 years-old by soldiers or NCOs

and offered the chance of adventure, a happy-go-lucky life, a snappy uniform, a gun, and the high-sounding sum of 750 kyats per month. All the boys had to do to get the trappings was to follow the soldier to the recruiting center. Usually the boys are also told to lie and say that they are 18 when asked by the recruiting officer. It is obvious by looking at most of these boys that they are well under 18, but the recruiting officers never verify the age of the recruits. In most cases, the boys' families often do not know what has happened to their son for a year or more. In many cases, the boy and/or his parents are illiterate, so he cannot even write to them, and once at the front line, rank-and-file soldiers do not get homeleave.

There are also reports of SLORC battalions taking orphans or unclaimed small children, making them cadets, and using them as company mascots and errand-boys until they are age 13 or so, then using them as soldiers. Karen townspeople from the Irrawaddy Delta claim that in 1993 SLORC organized "shooting tournaments" for the youth, then during one of the tournaments suddenly took away many of the boys to join the army. Parents who protested were threatened. Since 1993 in northern Burma, SLORC has been encouraging parents to enroll their children in a youth organization called Ye Nyunt; SLORC officials persuade the parents to permit the boys to join the organization by telling them that all members will get access to basic and higher education. Once enrolled, most of the boys have been taken away to join the army. There are also reports that Ye Nyunt is operating in central Karen State where SLORC is also using the organization as a source for young recruits.

3.3.1. Incidents of Forced Conscription

- One person from each township and village in Mai Kai township, Shan State was forcibly recruited by SLORC LIB 514, under Eastern military command. The December 5, 1995 order, signed by Battalion Commander Major Kyaw Zeya, demands one recruit from each area or a fine of 20,000 kyats. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- In late 1995, SLORC commander of LIB 229 ordered the recruitment of four to ten youths from every village in Lay Shee, Khanti, Nanyoon, and Lahal townships, Sagaing Division. The size of the quota varied depending on the size of the village. A substitute cost between 15,000 to 40,000 kyats. By the end of January 1996, SLORC had forcibly recruited over 100 Naga youth. All of the new recruits were taken to the LIB 229 base where they were to await their transfer to a new recruitment

training center. Twelve recruits managed to escape before they were sent to the center; six of them were recaptured. The remaining six escapees did not dare to return to their villages for fear they would be arrested or tortured by the soldiers. They fled to the Indian border. SLORC troops fined each of their families 15,000 kyats for their son's escape. According to some Naga youth who have reached the Indo-Burmese border, their training in the military consisted of considerable physical and psychological torture methods. Most of those interviewed spoke of the terrible suffering they had to endure in the army. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- In Tenasserim Division, the cost for substitute recruits has soared to 80,000 kyats per person; previously, the price for a substitute recruit was 20,000 kyats for one person. SLORC is desperately recruiting new soldiers for their recently-established Coastal Regional Division military headquarters and for new battalions under No. 8 Strategic Command Headquarters. According to the order issued by the Divisional LORC, village and ward LORC members were required to find two new recruits from each village and ward within the ten townships of Tenasserim Division. New recruits are usually chosen by drawing lots. According to one 14-year-old secondary school student from Kan Bauk district, Tenasserim Division, he and his family fled to the Thai border in July 1996 to escape SLORC's lottery. His 50-year-old father stated, "soldiers came to our neighborhood and made all the young men stand in front of them. The soldiers selected the young boys who were tall and heavy enough for hard labor, regardless of their age." He continued, "Some students showed their ID cards, but it did not make any difference." According to the 14-year-old, his friends, Toe Toe, a student in sixth standard in the State Middle School and Soe Pyne, who was out of school, were selected and taken to LIB 104 in Tavoy. They later fled and escaped to Three Pagodas Pass. Their families also fled to Thailand because they were afraid of being arrested by troops after their sons deserted. *(Source: ABSDF)*

3.3.2. Army Volunteers

Despite the widespread fear of the army, some young boys still volunteer for various reasons: being a soldier is the only job opportunity for most poor people in Burma today, and the only way the boys think they can help support their family instead of being a burden; the attraction of the

soldiering life; the promise that his family will be free from further forced labor; or, in many cases, because a family member has been beaten, tortured or arrested by SLORC, and the boy hopes if he becomes a soldier it won't happen again. However, once in the army, the boys' dreams are dashed and their childhood stolen. Most of their pay is stolen by their officers every month, their families are still required to perform forced labor, and they must endure physical abuse and inflict harm upon others. Officers further exploit young boys by stealing and reselling food rations and medical supplies; boys have to go into villages and beg or loot for their own food. Officers order young soldiers to round-up villagers for forced labor or face beatings and other punishments if they fail to return without the specified number of laborers. Out of fear for their safety and the safety of their families, the boys begin to abuse civilians physically in the villages and forcibly take them from their families and villages. Boys are not permitted any pleasurable distractions. No newspapers or short-wave radios are permitted and letters home are scrutinized carefully. If a boy writes home complaining about the army, he is beaten with a cane or tied to a post in the hot sun all day without water. Leave is refused even with good reason, and when his enlistment time is up after 5 years, the boy is generally told he cannot leave and automatically re-enlisted. In battle situations, boy soldiers are often forced by the officers to drink alcohol or take drugs such as amphetamines or "myin say" (a combination of amphetamines, caffeine, and opiates, which makes them mindless, sleepless, and aggressive.

3.4. Child Forced Laborers

Hundreds of thousands of local people, including children as young as 12-years-old, have been forced to work without pay constructing roads, railways, and bridges across the country. Publicly, SLORC has claimed that no children under 16 work on the labor projects, but child forced labor is common and well-documented. Often, the family breadwinner cannot afford to spend time working on forced labor projects because they lose time and money.



Child laborers in downtown Rangoon hired by a contractor to rebuild the road. (Photo by FTUB)



Child labor on road outside Pegu, Burma. (Photo by N. Dunlop)

A young boy salvages bricks from a house destroyed in a forced relocation operation in central Mandalay, Burma. (Photo by N. Dunlop)



Subsequently, many children from rural villages must substitute for their parents or siblings and work on the forced labor projects. In many cases, as soon as a child is strong enough to carry a basket or split rocks, he she must perform forced labor alongside the adults.

Children are used for many kinds of forced labor by the army. The youngest children working on road and railway construction projects are between 8 and 10 years old; portering duties require a slightly older and stronger child, so SLORC usually recruits 12-year-old boys and 14-year-old girls. One 17-year-old girl reported, "I've had to go [to forced labor camps] for the last 5 years, since I was 12 years old. We had to go anytime they [SLORC] ordered, because if we didn't they would come and catch us. As I grew older they gave me heavier and heavier loads. I've carried bullets, shells, and many other weapons." *(Source: KHRG)*

In general, porters endure abominable living conditions; children working under these conditions are particularly vulnerable. Children must withstand forced marches over mountains carrying heavy loads. They are fed only one or two small handfuls of rice per day. When they suffer from fatigue, they are often beaten and left to die if they are too sick or weak to continue. The smaller children are generally given lighter loads, but are still sometimes beaten. The small children are also often sent ahead of the military column to act as human bullet shields or mine-sweepers. In January 1995, in a typical portering situation, Naw Sah Mu, a 15-year-old girl from Papun District, Karen State, stepped on a landmine; she lost her right leg. Her 16-year-old girlfriend, Zin Zin Oo, was hit in the face by the shrapnel of the landmine and blinded. Many other children die from disease and exhaustion after when they return home from their portering duties. *(Source: ABSDF)*

3.5. Life as an Illegal Immigrant

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

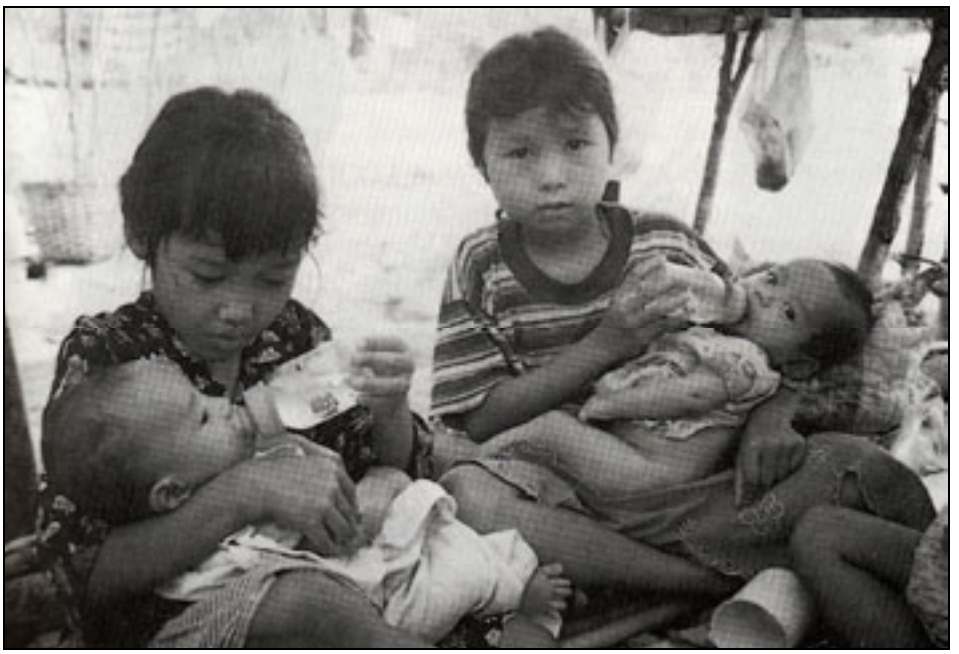
There are estimated at least 100,000 Burmese refugees in unofficial refugee camps along the Thai Burma border.Thai authorities there tightly regulate food and other aid going into the camps, keeping it at barely

subsistence-level, as away of pressuring the refugees to return to to Burma. No educational aid, beyond a few pens and notebooks is allowed in the camps, so it is very difficult for the children there to get a proper education.

Many refugees, including thousands of unaccompanied children, avoid the camps and instead go to Thai cities**.** Once there, children must beg or drift on the streets; they will consider any work that enables them to survive. Even the children who have fled to the cities with their parents, who may find odd jobs, must often find jobs themselves. Many of these "drifting" children end up in low-paid or unpaid construction jobs, or are sold into bonded labor in Thai brothels or factory sweatshops. Burmese children are working in the provinces all along the Thai/Burmese border in towns such as Tak and Ranong at construction sites, gas stations, restaurants, and on fishing boats. Burmese girls and women are also trafficked from Burma to neighboring countries, particularly Thailand, to work in brothels were they live as virtual slaves in appalling conditions. Today, there are at least 50,000 Burmese girls and women working in Thailand as prostitutes.

Due to their illegal status and their lack of Thai language skills, most children are afraid to seek help. When these "illegal alien" children are arrested in Thailand, they are held at the Immigration Detention Center until their cases are processed. Often this takes from six months to one year. At the center, children are crammed together with other adult detainees in small, dark rooms where they wait to be sent back to Burma and an uncertain future.

(See also under "Personal Accounts," interviews 7, 9, 12, 17, 20, 24, 33, 40, 45, 60, 66, 70, 71, 74, 76, 81, 87, and 88)



Refugee children in Phu Muang border camp in Thailand.

Karen children from KNU 6th brigade eating breakfast beside the road near Ban Kleung. (Photo by Images Asia)





Refugee children in refugee camp in Kanchanaburi province, Thailand after SLORC's 1997 offensive.

How about their future in such a war-torn country? Moving from one place to another is what they have experienced since they were born. (Photo by Rosalie T. Mckernan)



4. Forced Portering and Labor

4.1. Background

In 1955, Burma ratified the ILO Convention No. 29 "Concerning Forced Labor," in which it agreed to "suppress the use of forced labor or compulsory labor in all its forms within the shortest possible period." The Convention defined forced labor as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself (or herself) voluntarily."

The widespread use of forced labor by Burma's military junta is well-known internationally. In June 1995, the ILO Conference Committee on the Application of Standards cited Burma for its violation of ILO Convention 29 on forced labor. On March 27, 1997, the ILO established a Commission of Inquiry to investigate a complaint brought by workers' delegates to the 1996 ILO Conference. The complaint addressed SLORC's continued and active use of forced labor in Burma and its apparent unwillingness to repeal legislation allowing the use of forced labor. In September 1996, following an investigation of the country's forced labor practices, the European Union Commission decided to withdraw Burma's benefits under the Generalized System of Preferences.

Laws which permitted the use of forced labor were promulgated by the colonial rulers. To date, neither of the two most prominent forced labor laws has been repealed. Following independence in 1948, successive Burmese governments have continued the practice of forced labor, citing as legal authority the "*Village Act of 1908*" and the "*Towns Act of 1907*." The two laws require that laborers be a) otherwise not employed, b) physically fit, and c) paid a reasonable fixed wage that is agreed upon beforehand.[1]

In 1995, the ILO Governing Body stated that the "*Village Act of 1908*" and the "*Towns Act of 1907*" were contrary to Convention No. 29 and urged the SLORC to amend both Acts in order to bring them in accordance with the Convention

1 In accordance with the laws and as stated by Burma's Prime Minister, U Ohn Gyaw at the 50th Session of the UN General Assembly, the laborers 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 traveling warrants or cash to cover the actual costs of transport between their homes and the work are. The respective military unit has the responsibility of providing accommodation, food, and medical coverage for the recruited laborers. Daily wages must be commensurate with those prevailing in the area. Workers are never required to accompany the troops to the actual scene of battle, nor are they to be xposed to danger. In the unlikely event of loss of life or limb, they or their families must be compensated in accordance with the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923.

(i.e., ensure that the powers to impose compulsory labor be formally repealed and that those who use coercion in the recruitment of labor be punished). According to the Human Rights Report to the UN General Assembly (51st session), SLORC announced that both Acts were under review and apparently formed a board to monitor the review process and its progress. SLORC has stated that the authority given under the Acts were no longer exercised; they consider the laws obsolete since they were established under colonial rule and no longer correspond with the country's "new social order."

Whatever the status or use of these laws, overwhelming evidence shows that SLORC enforces a strict system of forced labor throughout the country. Of course, SLORC derides accusations of forced labor, stating that the concept of "forced labor" is inapplicable to Burma since its people are "voluntarily" participating in labor for the benefit of their community. In truth, tens of thousands of men, women, and children of all ages are forced each year to work without compensation at construction sites, army camps, as porters for the army, and -- this year -- on "tourist sites" as part of SLORC's "Visit Myanmar Year 1996" campaign. SLORC recruits forced labor by means of intimidation, coercion, and flat-out kidnapping. Laborers are taken away from their harvests and other forms of wage-earning only to go uncompensated for enduring weeks of hard labor. They are not even provided with basic necessities like food or tools. If a person refuses to work on SLORC's labor projects, he must pay exorbitant fines, pay a substitute worker, or worse -- he is beaten or killed. Indeed, beatings, rape, and even murder are common even if a villager agrees to cooperate with the army's round-ups.

The labor SLORC calls voluntary is the most degrading, backbreaking, and inhumane kind that exists anywhere in the world. Villagers used as porters must carry packs for the army that amount to half the villagers' weight. In conflict areas, they are sent ahead of troops to act as human mine sweepers or human bullet shields. Often SLORC sends children ahead to sweep for the mines to deter neighboring villagers from supporting SLORC's opposition. And this work is done without compensation. The porters are meagerly fed and sometimes not fed at all. If they get sick from disease, malnutrition, or exhaustion from their work they are offered no medical assistance and are often beaten and even killed.

Burma has ratified the UN Declaration on the Right to Development. Article 8 of the Declaration affirms "equality of opportunity for all in their access to basic resources, education, health services, food, housing, employment and the fair distribution of income." The development projects being undertaken in Burma have failed miserably to ensure the objectives outlined in the

Declaration on the Right to Development. In fact, the Rangoon-based U.S. embassy's Annual Report states that "the irresponsible and destructive development currently taking place in Burma is a significant source of human rights violations." The report further states that in FY 1994-95, forced labor to build infrastructure accounted for approximately three per cent of Burma's gross domestic product (GDP). During 1996, there were repeated allegations by many international human rights organizations that forced labor was being used on a project to build an oil pipeline across the Tenasserim division.

Forced labor on roads, railways, and other infrastructure is becoming even more prevalent as SLORC pushes forward with its "development" agenda. On these projects, SLORC usually sends written orders to villages demanding a quota of one or more laborers per household for shifts of one or two weeks; usually a family's turn will occur once per month on each project in their area (this is in addition to all other forced labor requirements as porters and at army camps). The villagers must provide their own tools and food or risk not eating at all. Children often perform forced labor because their parents must stay home to work the fields to provide some food for the family. Meanwhile, local battalions sap community finances and food where they are stationed.

No excuses are accepted for evading SLORC's labor requirements. If the adults in the household are sick or if the household consists of a grandmother caring for her orphaned grandchild, SLORC still requires that someone from the family go to the labor site; alternatively, the family must hire a substitute, the fee for which has increased dramatically over the last year. Sometimes, people can bribe a soldier by paying heavy fines or "porter taxes," but usually the only option is to send a laborer or flee the area and risk being captured and beaten. On some projects, the army assigns each village or family a specific work task; in these situations, parents often take their children with them so they can finish their work assignment as quickly as possible and return home. On major labor projects, such as the Ye-Tavoy railway line in southern Burma, families must send someone for two-week shifts every month; children as young as eight or ten years of age make up a large part of the labor force, particularly in the rainy season when the adults must work in the rice fields. Unfortunately, the rainy season is also when railway labor is the most brutal and mud embankments often collapse, killing workers.

It is abundantly clear that these laborers are not performing voluntarily; coercion and force are used to make people work on these labor activities. The "system" for recruiting labor is well-established. Typically, a local LORC commander contacts a village headman, or in urban areas, a council chairman, by written order. The order describes the number of laborers needed by a

certain date for a particular infrastructure project. Consequences of not fulfilling such an order are not explicitly stated, rather they are intimated through the enclosure of bullets, chilis, or pieces of charcoal that often accompany an order. The enclosures are meant to be symbolic of the consequences that await those who do not follow SLORC's orders; bullets mean they will be shot and killed; chili means they will be in "hot water" or that their animals will be cooked; and charcoal means that their village will be burned down. The village headman or council chairman is then in charge of choosing families to work on a rotating basis. Sometimes village headmen intercede or try to reduce the demands put on their communities, despite the implicit threats, but this can be fatal for them, especially in ethnic areas where -- if he did not cooperate with the army -- the headmen would probably be accused of aiding ethnic armed groups.

4.2. Types of Forced Labor

Forced labor takes three main forms in Burma: 1) villagers work as "porters" of supplies in war zones; 2) civilians work on construction or infrastructure projects; and 3) prison labor is used for work on construction projects and in war zones. In all three cases, people have no choice but to comply with SLORC's demands.

4.2.1. Use of Civilian Porters

The use of civilian porters is common in areas of armed conflict along the borders of Thailand, Bangladesh, and India where the SLORC army has regularly staged offensives against ethnic armed groups. Offensives occur regularly during the dry season, during which time civilians are taken from their villages and forced to endure dangerous and exhausting conditions. Porters are reported to have been rounded up by the military at home, at work places, and even at schools to carry military materials and other supplies for the SLORC troops. On many occasions, people are arbitrarily picked up off of the street and taken to areas where forced labor or military operations are in progress. Such kidnappings are quite random; some people have even been on their way to the market or attending the cinema in town when they were "recruited." Porters are taken by the army for periods of weeks and months (sometimes repeatedly). There is evidence that even elderly women and children have been used as porters.

The use of porters has become less common in recent years since fifteen ethnic

groups reached cease-fire agreements with SLORC, during which time the use of porters has slowed somewhat, but their use in areas where there is fighting continues. Both the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) and the Karenni Nationalities Progressive Party (KNPP) have reported that the use of portering continues unabated as the SLORC steps up its military presence nearby.

Conditions for porters are horrendous. Porters are generally required to march over rough, mountainous terrain carrying heavy loads, including food stuffs, motor shells, heavy artillery, and cooking and general camp equipment for the troops. Porters for the military camps are also ordered to build bunkers, clear the surrounding area of bush and mines, carry water and supplies to the camp, and work recently confiscated fields for the army. Porters are given very little food if any at all. Daily rations of food are meager: on average, each porter is given one to two cups of cooked rice and an equivalent quantity of water each day. Sometimes, porters are not provided any meal for many days at a time. Physical exhaustion, malnutrition, and beatings often cause porters to become very ill or seriously wounded; SLORC does not provide them with medical care. Porters attempting to escape these atrocious conditions are killed or shot.

4.2.2. Use of Prison Porters and Prison Labor

The number of prisoners in Burma increased considerably after SLORC's coup d'etat in 1988. Since then, prisoners, including political prisoners and student activists, have been used not only in the labor camps but as laborers at military bases. In 1996 alone, hundreds of pro-democracy activists were arrested and sent to prison. Often, political prisoners sentenced to less than ten years in prison are sent to prison labor camps across the country. Political prisoners are more likely to be subject to torture and mistreatment by prison officials. Political prisoners are often kept in solitary confinement and even manacled and chained for no particular reason.

According to eight prisoners who managed to escape to the Thai-Burmese border in late 1996, over 200 prisoners, along with local people, were used in the summer military operation in 1996 to carry supplies, food, and ammunition to the IB 19, LIBs 340, 341, and 434 -- all based in Papon township under the Southeastern Military command. These prisoners and other local people were forced to porter supplies several times from SLORC supply bases in Khaw Poke and Pa High to the military outposts along the Thai-Burmese border. Each trip required the porters to march 15 to 20 miles over rugged terrain. The porters were provided only a minute portion of rice each day. Due to the harsh working conditions, bad weather, and lack of food, many porters contracted

malaria and other diseases; no medical assistance was provided to them. Soldiers kicked those who were sick or weak and beat them with wooden sticks or their rifle butts. Three prisoners died due to the mistreatment. *(Source: KHRG)*

Labor camps for prisoners exist at the following sites:

- Kabaw Valley (Western Burma)
- Ywangan-Hanmyinmo Road (Sagaing division)
- Taungzun/Mopalin Quarry (Mon State)
- Pinlaung-Pyinmana Road (Shan State)
- Aungban-Loikaw Road (Shan-Karenni state)
- Shwenyaung-Namsan Road (Shan State)
- Myitkyina-Sumprabom Road (Kachin State)
- Myitkyina-Shibwe Lawkhaung Road (Kachin State)
- Rangoon-Mandalay Highway construction
- Yezin-Htonbo Quarry (South of Mandalay)
- Mergui-Kawthaung Road (Tenasserim division)
- Kawthaung Airport Extention (Tenasserim division)
- 30-Miles camp, Ye-Tavoy railway construction (Yebyu township, Tenasserim division)
- Zimba camp, Ye-Tavoy railway construction (Yebyu township, Tenasserim division)
- Bokepyin camp (Tenasserim division)
- Tuntay camp (near Rangoon)
- Tuntay Piggery (near Rangoon)
- Phaunggyi Piggery (near Rangoon)

Establishment of *Win Saung* — Porter Battalions

As a result of the increase in the prison population since SLORC's coup d'etat, and in order to cope with the shortage of prison facilities, SLORC has established six new *Win Saung* battalions (porter battalions). These *Win Saung* battalions are mainly used to create a ready supply of porters in the frontier; prisoners are kept ready for porter duties while working at the army battalions. According to eyewitnesses, the treatment of prisoners at prison battalions is barbaric, as one might expect. Only those prisoners who can afford to pay bribes (from 50,000 - 70,000 kyats) can avoid going to these labor camps. Ko Too and Ko Kan Saung, both from Ye-U township, Sagaing division, were

sentenced to three years imprisonment with hard labor for their political activities during the 1988 uprising. They were sent to a prison labor camp and died after brutal mistreatment and harsh working conditions, according to a local resident of Ye-U township. Currently, one porter battalion has been established in Myitkyina, Loi Kaw, Thaton, and Mergui townships, two have been established in Pa-an township. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.2.3. Civilian Forced Labor

Civilians are forced to contribute non-compensated labor to large development projects throughout Burma. The projects include the construction of roads, railways, bridges, and gas pipelines. This year, there has been extensive use of forced labor in several railway construction projects relating to a natural gas pipeline. People living in villages near the various projects are continuously forced to contribute labor under the threat of reprisals. The poor conditions at construction sites have led to accidents and illness, sometimes causing death.

Forced labor is also routinely used to improve tourist facilities, including cleaning pagodas and renovating national monuments. This year, thousands of villagers have been forced to work on "beautifying" Burma in preparation for SLORC's "Visit Myanmar Year - 1996" tourist campaign. Large local populations in tourist cities have been forcibly evicted to clear the way for tourist facilities; they have been relocated to satellite towns where malnutrition and appalling conditions prevail. At least 500,000 people have had their economic, social, and cultural rights abused during 1996.

The following is a partial list of 1996 forced labor projects:[2]

- Shardaw - Tatamaw road, Karenni State.
- Pa Thee Dam construction, Taungoo, Pegu Division.
- "Kanbawza Thadi," or Bayint Naung Palace Project, Taungoo, Pegu Division.
- Cheroot-making Industry, Taungoo, Pegu Division.
- Sittaung River Basin project.
- Taungoo - Maw Chee road renovation project, Pegu Division and Karenni State.
- Mong Hsat Airport Project, Shan State.

2 *The list is not exhaustive; it enumerates only those projects mentioned in this Yearbook.*

- Mong Hsat - Mong Ton road, Shan State.
- Mong Hsat - Kengtung road, Shan State.
- Kyone Doe - Kawkeyeik road, Karen State.
- Kyone Doh - Nabu (15 miles long road) Karen State.
- Kyaw Ywa - Daw Lan - Nabu (10 miles long road) Karen State.
- Kawkeyeik - Nabu (20 miles long road) Karen State.
- Myat Padine - Nabu road, Karen State.
- Pain Kyone - Tukaw Koh - Nabu road, Karen State.
- Sein Gyi-Ta Ka Kloh - Chaung Wa village, Kya-in Township, Karen State.
- Way Sha - Than Ma Ya Taung road, ,Kawkeyeik township, Karen State.
- Pa-an - Shwe Bo - Kaw palaung - Mu Ka Wa - Kaw Tho- Mae Tha Laung road, Karen State.
- Pa-an - Shwe Taw motor-road , Karen State.
- Pa-an - Bee Tka via Pain Gone - Kyeh Toe Ray - Ye Bu, Karen State.
- Papun - Par Haik - Kyauk Nyat road, Karen State.
- Papun - Belin all-season road, Karen and Mon State.
- Kyar Ein Seik Kyi - Win Kat road, Karen State.
- Kyar Ein Seik Kyi - Taung bauk road, Karen State.
- Kyar Ein Seik Kyi - Baw Klo road, Karen State.
- Way Sha - Ko Lay Wah road, Karen State.
- Bawgali - Busakhee road, Karen State.
- Rangoon - Taungoo- Mandalay Highway renovation, Karen State.
- Htantabin - Zayatkyi road renovation, Karen State.
- Taungoo - Kawthede road reconstruction, Karen State.
- Kawthede - Busakhee road, Karen State.
- Nyaung Don - Patanaw road, Irrawaddy Division.
- Myaungmya - Latputta road, Irrawaddy Division.
- Pantanaw - Rangoon road, Irrawaddy Division.
- Nga Saw Sea Beach Beautification Project, Northwest of Bassein, Irrawaddy Division.
- Nga Saw - Tha Lat Kwa road, Irrawaddy Division.
- Kalay- Gangaw railway, Sagaing Division and Chin State.
- Kalay - Gangaw road, Sagaing Division and Chin State.
- Kabaw Valley Project, Sagaing Division.
- Modern Farm Project, Min Kin township, Sagaing Division.

- Kyauk O - Ye Poke Chaung embankment, Min Kin township, Sagaing Division.
- Kyauk O - Min Kin road, Min Kin township, Sagaing Division.
- Kalay - Tamu railway, Sagaing Division.
- Chaung U - Pakokku - Gangaw railway , Sagaing Division.
- Monywa - Ah Myint road, Sagaing Division.
- Homelin - Thamanthi road, Sagaing Division.
- Thamanthi - Laeshi road, Sagaing Division.
- Ye Chaung Dam Project, Sagaing Division.
- Thay Hydro Dam Project, Sagaing Division.
- Matupi - Haka road, Chin State.
- Haka-Gangaw 70-miles road, Chin State.
- Haka - Falam - Kalaymyo 115-mile road, Chin State.
- Haka-Matupi 173 mile road, Chin State.
- Haka-Than Tlang road, Chin State.
- Paletwa-Kuah Daw road, Chin State.
- Matupi - Min Dat - Palatwa 137-mile road, Chin State.
- Khamti-Lahel road, Chin State.
- Zee Chaung Hydro Power Project, Kalay, Sagaing Division.
- Kin Tat sluice gate, Kabalu township, Sagaing Division.
- Chindwin River embankment Construction between Kyauk Methway pier and No.(34) saw mill, Monywa township, Sagaing Division.
- Strand road in the northern part of Monywa, Sagaing Division.
- Ye - Tavoy road, Tenasserin division, Mon State.
- Pyin Gyi - Kan Bauk road, Tenasserim Division.
- Pyin Gyi - Aindayaza road, Tenasserim Division.
- Aindayaza - Mi Chaung Lun road, Tenasserim Division.
- Aindayaza - Mi Chaung Ain Hpaungdaw road, Tenasserim Division.
- Theyet Chaung and Mergui road upgrading project, Tenasserim Division.
- Tavoy - Mergui road , running through Boke, Ka Pyaw, Aleh Chaung, Mazaw and Kyay Nan Daing, Tenasserm Division.
- Tagu - Ta Po Hta and Ta Po Kee 30-40 km-long road, Tenasserim Division.
- Mergui - Tenasserim- Boke Pyin - Kawthaung 300-mile-long road, Tenasserim Division.
- Nat Kyi Zin - Aindayaza - Three Pagodas Pass road, Mon State.

- Thanbyuzayat-Proh road, Mon State.
- Sittway -Rangoon Highway road, Arakan State.
- Buddha Museum Project, Sittwe, Arakan State.
- Maungdaw - Sittwe road, Arakan State.
- Maungdaw - Kyin Chaung road, Arakan State.
- Langkhur Wan Hart 18 mile-long road, Shan State.
- Wan Hart Zalawng 20 mile-long road, Shan State.
- Zalawng - Sop Taeng 20 mile-long road, Shan State.
- WanHart - Mawkmai 15 mile-long road, Shan State.
- Mawkmai - Sai Khao 20 mile-long road, Shan State

4.3. Incidents of Forced Labor by Region

4.3.1. Karen State

The most common forms of forced labor in Karen State are performing road construction, commercial logging, military portering, and building and servicing military camps. SLORC has begun an absolute binge of road-building in the area, most likely to create easy access routes to border areas where ethnic fighting continues. Tens of thousands of villagers from every village in Pa-an an District are being forced to build at least a dozen new roads and upgrading existing roads, creating military access throughout the region. The roads are being constructed wide enough for the military to transport heavy equipment into conflict-ridden border areas.

Road embankments need to be quite high through low-lying ricefields, requiring intense manual labor. Elderly villagers and children as young as ten years old are required to perform this backbreaking work. The villagers must perform all of the labor by hand; no machines are used, except in the rare cases where machines can be “hired” by the laborers. Many villages even have to rotate doing labor on two or three roads at once. Villagers are being forced to cover some of the roads with broken bricks or stones in an obvious attempt to make them “all-season,” but the embankments are only made of dirt and no proper drainage support is being built.

4.3.1.1. Papun District, Karen State

Since December 1995, SLORC orders have been issued to every rural village under SLORC control,[3] to move either to SLORC army camps surrounding Papun[4] or to DKBA headquarters at Khaw Taw (Myaing Gyi Ngu). This area is marked by rugged hills dotted with small villages, averaging ten to fifty households per village; estimates are that 100 or more villages may be affected by this SLORC order. SLORC units involved in the operation include LIBs 340, 341, and 434, and IB 5. DKBA soldiers are also involved in this SLORC order. In the past, DKBA soldiers operated in the area without SLORC, but villagers recently confirmed that DKBA soldiers never operate alone anymore. DKBA soldiers only appear in small groups as part of SLORC columns.

The detained population has been used regularly as porters, army camp laborers, and farmers for the military's profit. However, the primary use of the laborers has been on the construction of two roads: Papun-Par Haik-Kyauk Nyat and Papun-Bilin roads. Laborers are constructing the Papun-Par Haik-Kyauk Nyat road to give the military access to the border area and upgrading the 100 kilometer Papun-Bilin road into an all-season road. In order to upgrade the road, thousands of men, women, and children will be required to smooth the road and break rocks and gravel. The Papun-Bilin road has been washed out every monsoon season; SLORC forces the villagers to rebuild it every year. SLORC troops are anxious to construct an all-season road to give the military offensive capability in the region during the rainy-season. *(Source: ABSDF)*

In the north, the 100-km. Papun-Bilin car road is reportedly being graveled and tarred by villagers who have been driven into labor camps, and similar work is occurring on the 100-km. road from Thanbyuzayat to Three Pagodas Pass in the south. Work started in December 1995 to build a paved road from Pa-an an eastward to Pain Kyone, then southward to Bee T'Ka, most likely intended to continue southeastward to Nabu and Kawkareik and/or southward to Kyone Doh, for a total length of 60 to 100 km.. Since January, another paved road is being built southward from Pa-an an about 50 km. to Shwe Taw, possibly intended to continue to Moulmein or Mudon in Mon State.

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3 This includes villages from Kyauk Nyat in the north to Ka Dtaing Dtee in the south, from the Salween River (at the Thai border) in the east to at least 10 km. west of Papun - an area 50-60 km. north to south and 30 km. east to west.

4 Including Papun, Kaw Boke, Par Haik, and Ka Hee Kyo camps - all located along the Papun - Kyauk Nyat road route.

4.3.1.2. Kawkareik township, Karen State

SLORC has been using civilians in Kawkayeik township for forced labor on road-construction projects, for at least nine months. Currently, roads are under construction from Kyondoe to Nabu, Kawkayeik to Nabu, Dawnan to Nabu, and Way Sha to Than Ma Ya Taung. Construction is being monitored by SLORC LIBs 545, 546, 547, 548, and 549. All family members from every village, with the exception of one person who is allowed to stay to care for the home, have had to report for work daily. Each of the three roads is approximately fifteen miles long. Each group is responsible for a section of roadway eight feet high, 60 feet wide and 1200 feet long; failure to complete the assignment results in a 1,200 kyats fine. There is no break in construction work even during the rainy season. Often, sections of newly constructed roadway collapse due to the heavy rains while the work is still underway. *(Source: KHRG)*

In addition to having to supply unpaid labor on the road construction projects, many villagers have had their land confiscated by the newly-arrived battalions. By order of Colonel Ye Htut, strategic commander, many plots of land have already been confiscated without any compensation. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.1.2.1. Forced Labor on Way Sha-Than Ma Ya Taung road, Kawkareik township

Way Sha village (also known as Quay Sha) is about ten miles north of Thingan Nyi Naung near Myawaddy. Than Ma Ya Taung mountain is about 4 miles west of Way Sha village. The location is a sacred site to local people; a pagoda sits on the mountaintop and Buddha's footprint is imbedded in a rock nearby a pleasant waterfall. The Myawaddy-district LORC Chairman, Colonel Maung Maung Nyaing, ordered the development of the location as a tourist site, probably to attract weekend tourists from Thailand once the Myawaddy-Mae Sot bridge is opened. He also ordered development of the waterfall to supply hydroelectricity to Myawaddy town and the Thingan Nyi Naung military base.

Village headmen from seven villages were ordered to oversee construction of a road from Way Sha to Than Ma Ya Taung in January 1996. Thousands of villagers are working on this project without compensation. Each family from each village[5] is required to send one person, both to construct the road and to perform sentry duty, guarding the road at night. The embankment for the road,

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5 Villages include the following: Tee Wah Blaw, Than Ba Ya, Ker Ghaw, Kyaw Ko, Lo Baw, Kwee Lay, Toh Thu Kee, Thay K'Tay, and Wah K'Lu.

about two feet high and thirty feet wide, is nearing completion. *(Source: KHRG)*

4.3.1.2.2. SLORC Battalions, Kawkareik township

At least six SLORC battalions have been stationed in Kawkareik township since 1995, including three new battalions, LIB 547, 548, and 549. All are stationed at Nabu village, about 15 miles north of Kawkareik town. In addition to forced labor on the roads, SLORC forces villagers from nearby towns to support all of these battalions. One Karen man interviewed in Thailand explained the tasks the villagers were responsible for: "We had to do almost all of the work for them [SLORC soldiers]. We had to clear the ground for construction, cut wood from the jungle, build army barracks, build fences, bunkers, and ditches, and perform sentry duty each night. We also had to tend to the rice fields and rubber plantations for the soldiers; each battalion has hundreds of acres of fields to tend and harvest. All of the villages surrounding Nabu have these responsibilities; we all work and we receive no compensation." *(Source: FTUB)*

4.3.2. Tenasserim Division

4.3.2.1. Palaw Township

SLORC has ordered each village in Palaw township to supply at least 100 pits of rock per village in order to upgrade the road between Theyet Chaung and Mergui into a fifty-foot wide road. A steep fine of 45,000 kyats is levied upon any village which is late in complying with the order or one that ignores the SLORC order. Assignments and fines are increased if a village is larger than normal. For example while Leik Thaung, Kyauk Lon and Wah Nwan Oak village were fined 45,000 kyats for not complying with the order. The bigger villages like Kyauk Kar and Pala village were ordered to dig 300 pits of rock or pay a 150,000 kyats fine.

Thousands of civilians and prisoners were used as porters from December 1996 through February 1997 in SLORC's military offensive operation against the KNU's 4th and 6th Brigade areas. SLORC is planning a new army outpost for LIB 280 and another battalion in Wah Nwan Oak, Taung Yar Gone, and Magyi Gone villages. Many farms were confiscated from villagers without compensation for the new army outposts Twenty villagers have been ordered to provide free manual labor at the new outpost sites each day. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.2.2. Tavoy Township

The SLORC has launched an annual sports program across the country in the hope that Burmese sports will be famous the world over. In December 1996, the 1996 Annual Students' Sport Festival was held in Tavoy. Local people and prisoners[6] were forced to contribute unpaid labor to beautification projects including the repair of roads, throughout the region in preparation of the festival. Local SLORC authorities also ordered all town residents to repair and paint their homes, at their own expense.

In July 1996 alone, at least 100 prisoners from Tenasserim division were sent to Tavoy prison from prisons in Tenasserim Division to work on beautification projects, according to U Maung Aye, age 50, Mergui township and Ko Win Aung, age 26, from Launglon township. Both men recently escaped to the Thai border while laboring on a golf course project. The golf course project, just one of the beautification projects for the festival, was intended to provide entertainment for the SLORC officials while they were in Tavoy, according to the escaped prisoners. The prisoners described long working hours, insufficient food, and other ill treatment by SLORC soldiers while working on the golf course. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.2.3. Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung road

The SLORC has been using forced labor since November 1996 on the Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung road. This road is ruined every rainy season; it takes forced laborers several months to rebuild it each year. SLORC is also constructing new roads with forced labor, including a forty kilometer branch of the north-south road running through Boke, Ka Pyaw, Aleh Chaung, Mazaw and Kyay Nan Daing (40 kilometers long) and a road from Tagu to Ta Po Hta and Ta Po Kee (about 30 to 40 kilometers long).

Almost every village along the Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung car road in the west and the Tenasserim River in the east, from Palauk in the north to Tenasserim town in the south has been relocated one or more times since September 1996. Villagers are being forced to move to the work-sites. Many of their houses have been destroyed to make way for the roads; the villagers have not been compensated. Sometimes, people located over fifty kilometers from their assigned work-site are forced to walk two days to perform their rotating shifts. The laborers work for periods of ten days hauling dirt, building embankments,

6 Previously, only prisoners with long sentences were forced to work in labor camps, but now prisoners sentenced to as little as three months must work in prison labor camps.

breaking rocks, and digging ditches. *(Source: ABSDF/MIS-BKK)*

4.3.2.3.1. Tavoy-Mergui Road

Several thousand villagers[7] have been working on the reconstruction and extension of the Tavoy-Mergui Road every day since the beginning of 1996. SLORC local Infantry battalions 103 and 280 are supervising the road project. SLORC requires villagers from Tavoy and Launglon townships to complete the 51 miles of roadway from Tavoy to the 51-Mile point; villagers from Thayet Chaung township to complete the 15 miles from the 51-Mile point to the 67-Mile point; and villagers from Palaw and Mergui townships to complete the remaining 88 miles of roadway. Three thousand laborers from 31 small villages[8] in Thayet Chaung township are working on the sixteen-mile-long section of the road (from the 51-Mile point to the 67-Mile point) alone.

The local SLORC battalions had officially agreed with their senior authorities to provide their own soldiers to work on the motor road repair and have been given advance payment by the SLORC for the part of the motor road repair. They agreed to implement the project without use of forced labor. But, in practice, the local SLORC battalions have forced the villagers under their control to complete almost all the work on the project by giving them very little or no payment. They promised the civilians that it would pay them 950 kyats per kyin of stones for gathering the stones and carrying the stones to the designated locations on the project, and 3,000 kyats per furlong for laying stones. The laborers have never been paid as promised, according to the local sources. Since they cannot disobey the orders given by the local SLORC battalions, the local people have had to contribute labor on the project whether they are paid or not. But, those households which could not contribute their own laborer had to hire a substitute laborer at a price of 150 to 200 kyats per laborer per day, or were required to contribute monetarily to the road at the rate of 2,000 to 2,200 kyats per ditch of stone.

4.3.2.3.2. Mergui-Kawthaung Road

Since 1991, 1,500 people have been working on the construction of the three

7 This reference includes Karens who have relocated there and the Burmese and Mons who currently live nearby.

8 The 31 villages comprise seven village tracts, namely Ka Twea, Ka Nyin Chaung, Auk Thayet Chaung, Pea Det, Kyauk Hse, Mayanmar Pe Orh, and It It.

hundred-mile long Mergui-Kawthaung road. Villagers from Palaw, Mergui, Tenasserim, Boke Pyin, and Kawthaung have been subjected to harassment and abuse by the SLORC troops from IB 17, 101, 103, 224, and LIB 433, 442, 358, and 343, assigned to oversee the project. At this point, only thirty miles of the road have been paved.

On February 23, 1996, Lieutenant-General U Tin Oo, SLORC Secretary - 2, summoned local authorities in Tenasserim division to Rangoon to issue updated guidelines and quotas for the Mergui-Tenasserim-Boke Pyin-Kawthaung road project.

Each household in each village was ordered to dig three earth ditches and three rock ditches during their two-week assignment at the work site. If a household could not fulfill its quota, it could pay 3,000 kyats to hire a substitute laborer or pay a fine of 6,000 kyats to local SLORC authorities. Villagers must supply all of their own food and tools, except for the concrete and nails provided by SLORC officials. Villagers living near the work-site are required both to provide unpaid labor and to pay taxes for the construction of the road. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.2.4. Ye-Tavoy Railroad

Thousands of villagers have been forced to work on the Ye-Tavoy railway project every two weeks for several years. One twenty-eight year old man, who recently fled to the Thai border, reported that he had to work every fifteen days on the railway project at five different labor camps from 1993 until he was captured as a porter in April 1997. He did not receive any compensation during the entire four-year period. He had to bring his own food and tools to the labor camps. He had to build his own makeshift shelter. He saw many children as young as 12 years old and men and women over 60 years old working at the labor sites. If people tried to rest during working hours because they were sick or exhausted, they were beaten by SLORC officers. If a person did not finish his or her daily quota by 6:00 p.m., he or she had to continue working until the quota was completed. After 15 days at the camp, the laborers were told to walk back to their villages - a journey that took as long as two days.

The young man who reported these events was detained by police to work as a porter after a SLORC order was issued for volunteers and no one volunteered. He was kept in a prison cell overnight with 40 other detained villagers. The "prisoners" were not provided with food; they had to buy food from the

officers. The next day he was brought to LIB 25's base in Tavoy and kept in a warehouse with over 500 other porters. Again the porters had to buy food from the soldiers. They had to pay 20 kyats each time they wanted to use the toilet. The young man was then taken to Aik Wine, where he spent ten days cutting bamboo and coconut palm trees and building fences for bunkers and army barracks for LIB 17 and 25. After 10 days of work, he was ordered to accompany LIB 17. He had to carry food and other supplies for the soldiers, including heavy equipment. Along the mountainous route, he saw one porter die after being kicked and verbally abused by SLORC soldiers. The next day the young man finally escaped to the Thai border. *(Source: FTUB)*

4.3.3. Chin State

Villagers have been forced to work on the construction of a one hundred mile road connecting Kale Town and Phalam town since December 28, 1996 until it was finished in April 1996. U Khin Latt, President of Tun Zan township SLORC, under orders from Phalam-based SLORC regiment 268 and Tetain-based regiment 269, ordered one person from each household to report to work from the following villages in Tun Zan township: Hai Tuu, Tui Ton, Tan Twon, Phon Tong, and Phai Tun. Villagers must work at their expense; they are not paid for their labor, they must forgo their own harvests, and they must provide their own tools and food, usually boiled maize. Daily life in the villages is completely disrupted; even teachers from township high schools No. 8, 9, and 10 must perform forced labor, leaving the classrooms unattended. Despite their young age, many students under 16 years of age are forced to work at the site. Villagers endure terrible weather conditions at this mountainous site. Inexperienced in road construction, they are forced to perform back breaking work in rough wind. Each household must dig six ditches, 10 feet x 10 feet x 1 foot. About six groups of 300 people each work at the site on a rotating basis. Villagers must also collect large rocks for the road from Manipur Streams, three hours away. *(Source:ABSL-Information Unit)*

4.3.3.1. 1997 Students' Sport Festival

Local people from Haka township[9] are being forced to work without pay on many beautification projects in preparation for the 1997 Annual Students' Festival in Haka, Chin State. Villagers have been forced to extend the football

9 Villagers from as far away as the Indo-Burmese border have been summoned to work on these projects.

grounds, build a new stadium, and construct and upgrade roads. Villagers must repair the Haka-Falam road, the Haka-Matupi road, the Haka-Than Tlang road, and the Haka-Gangaw road; they must also work on the construction of new roads. Such construction entails clearing the ground entirely of bushes and trees, leveling the ground, and working on construction. Chin State LORC officials have been forcibly collecting funds from the students for the sport festival since January 1996; each student must provide 20 kyats per month to the authorities. Villagers living along the road leading to the festival grounds were ordered to paint and repair their homes and any other buildings in poor condition. People in Haka have been complaining that they are left with little time or money to support their families. *(Source: CHRO and ABSDF/WB)*

4.3.3.2. Naga Region

The Naga region in Burma is underdeveloped and the local people still live quite primitively. SLORC's continuous portering requirements and forced labor on road construction and in support of nearby military outposts have created a miserable living situation for the Naga people. Local tribes, including the Naga, Shan, and Kuki, from 32 village tracts of Nyaungbinthar in Lashi township are being forced to construct the Khamti-Lahel road without compensation. It is common knowledge that the new road will provide for the easy transportation of military trucks and supplies in the area. The villagers have to perform difficult work with crude tools; they must crush and carry boulders and dig and clear the ground. Any household that failed to perform this duty was required to pay a fine of 1565 kyats to the No. 2 regional-based SLORC battalion.

SLORC troops are using many methods to exploit the "free" labor in the Naga region to support their military outposts. Naga villagers are consistently forced to work as porters any time the military deems it necessary. SLORC troops in the villages have to go and get their rations at Layshi town in the region. Local Naga villagers are ordered to work as unpaid laborers carrying rations for the troops. On the way, they are beaten when the troops are not satisfied with their work. Forced labor in the military barracks is also routine in the region. Naga villagers are ordered to perform cleaning, constructing, and cultivating work without pay in the military outposts or bases nearby their villages. Furthermore, the villagers are required to supply food for the troops. Every household in the village is ordered to supply two tins of rice and one chicken monthly and every village is required to give two to three pigs per month for the troops in their region. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.4. Pegu Division

4.3.4.1. Bayint Naung Palace Project

In Taungoo township, SLORC is forcing people to work without compensation on the restoration of the ancient Bayint Naung Palace in conjunction with SLORC's Visit Myanmar Year" campaign. In addition to their work, each household has been required to donate money on the palace project - from 150 to 600 kyats, depending on the size of the family. SLORC and USDA committee members, as expected, were exempt. SLORC has undertaken similar forced labor projects in Pegu division to lure more tourists into the country since 1989, including the ancient "Oaktha City" and "Hanthawaddy Ancient City." Many villages have been relocated without compensation due to these projects; once relocated, villagers are still required to perform forced labor and to pay additional taxes. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.4.2. Pa Thi Stream Project

For the last five years, local people in Taungoo township have been forced to work on the Pa Thi Stream project two days per week. Villagers from Kyauk Tyne, Ngwe Taung Lay, and Khun Hint Mile villages are forced to build a dyke and dam the stream without compensation. They must also provide their own food and tools for the construction, according to a local villager who recently fled to the Thai border. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.5. Sagaing Division

4.3.5.1. New Kabaw Valley Project -- the "Death Messenger Project"

In 1990, with the assistance of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the SLORC created a "border development" project in Kabaw Valley.[10] While the SLORC publicly agreed to develop the border area for the benefit of local villagers, it has been using the UNDP financial assistance to underwrite its own military build-up. From SLORC's perspective, the New

10 Kabaw Valley, Sagaing Division, borders India.

Valley Project is in a strategic location; the project will allow SLORC to counter armed groups based in the region and to prevent any external invasion from India in the future. Furthermore, SLORC is using prison labor and luring villagers to the area to work on the associated projects under abominable conditions.

SLORC lures villagers from northern Burma with money and job opportunities to settle and work in the Kabaw Valley. Farmers from Shwebo, Monywa, Ye-U, and Pale townships are told that when they settle in the valley they will receive twenty acres of land, 5,000 kyats for a house, and farm tools and materials. New villages such as Aung Zay Ya, Ba Yint Naung, and Yan Gyi Aung were established in the valley. Shortly after they relocated, farmers realized they had been duped; they were forced to work without compensation or materials as "voluntary laborers" on construction projects related to the New Kabaw Valley Project. Hundreds of local people throughout the region are being forced to work under these terms on related projects. Despite the rough terrain and the spread of disease in the villages, people began to flee the new towns to escape the forced labor and inhumane conditions. SLORC's office of Regional Control is monitoring the project from its base at In Thein Kyi in Kalay Township.

SLORC has established prison camps in the townships of Aung Zay Ya, Yan Gyi Aung, Watt Shu, Myo Thit, Tha Nan, Yar Za Gyo, and Sa Khan Gyi, Sagaing Division to provide a constant source of labor on the Valley project. Under the supervision of SLORC's Prison Department and units of the Office of Army Regional Control, the camps are surrounded with three-layers of barbed wire. About 4,000 prisoners (mostly political), must stay under makeshift huts inside the prison compounds assigned to the Valley project. One recent escapee reported that between one and five prisoners die each week due to malnutrition, exhaustion, malaria, typhoid, and other diseases. Moreover, there is no medical attention available in the camps and in bad weather, fifteen to twenty people die in one day. The aforementioned escapee stated that half of the prisoners had either died or escaped the camps over the past four years.[11]

The high incidence of deaths and escapes on the project caused a shortage of laborers, so SLORC summoned new prisoners from jails around the country, including, Insein, Tharawadi, Myin Gyan, Mandalay and Mon Ywa jails. Every six months between 1,000 and 1,500 prisoners whose jail sentences are more than one year are sent to the camps on a rotating basis. The only way a prisoner can escape being sent to the infamous Kabaw Valley Project is to

11 The escapee was interviewed in Moreh by members of the ABSL.

bribe jail authorities with between 25,000 and 30,000 kyats. The project has become so well known for its back-breaking work and the high occurrence of death and disease that the prisoners have renamed the project, the "death messenger project."

According to a few escapees interviewed by the ABSDF, the prison camps have only one tractor to be used for plowing new land in all camps. The use of even this lone tractor is almost impossible however, because it is usually occupied by camp officials for their personal transportation. Therefore, the prisoners must perform all of their arduous work by hand and crude tools.

The prisoners must clear the area of trees, dig the earth, and clear the fields with makeshift plows. For plowing purposes, six feet long iron roles weighing 500 to 750 kilos are pulled by four prisoners. The prisoners are shackled while they work; they must work from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. with an hour break from 11 a.m. to 12 noon. There is no medical treatment available at the prison camps. Prisoners constantly suffer from malnutrition, typhoid, malaria, and skin diseases; they must try to heal themselves with medicinal leaves and fruits they might find in the jungle. Prisoners are allotted two changes of basic clothing. The clothing is poorly made and readily tears while the prisoners perform their strenuous tasks. Once their clothes disintegrate, they are not afforded any others. Often they dry their clothes in the sun while they wait naked. Prisoners are fed a meal of rice, watery pea soup and Ngapi.

One escapee, Koh Maung Maung Oo, aged 18, from Tavoy township escaped from Kan Gyi Village Camp in 1995. At the age of 15, he arrived at the camp after serving a year and a half at the infamous Insein prison in Rangoon. He had been sent to Insein when he was 14 year old. He had boarded a boat to Thailand thinking he could get some work to help his family. He soon discovered that the boat was a smuggling boat; he and fifteen others were arrested by the Burmese Navy. Many arrestees bribed officials to stay out of jail. Maung Maung Oo had no money for bribes and was sentenced to seven years in prison at Insein in 1992. He escaped from the Kabaw Valley prison camp in July 1995.

One civilian laborer who fled the project reported that approximately 3500 to 4500 prisoners died between 1990 and 1996 while performing forced labor for SLORC. The laborer reported that in March 1997 in Yar Za Gyow Camp on Kalay-Tamu road, a 12 year-old prisoner died as a result of beatings from camp officials. The child prisoner was accused of stealing pigeon pea, though the camp officials were known to smuggle the product out of the camp and blame the prisoners for the shortfall. Witnesses at the project have also stated that the

prisoners were often beaten until they were vomiting blood if they were caught eating any pea, even if it was unripened. Local people and prisoners have nicknamed this Border Area Development Program (BADP) the "UN-sponsored BAD program." *(Source: ABSL)*

4.3.5.2. Yer Modern Farm Project

Thousands of local people in Min Kin township have been ordered to work without compensation at the Yer Modern Farm Project since early 1996. SLORC plans to turn the Nga Thaw Di swamp (situated between Mauk Kataw, Let Cheik, and Pin Tin villages) into 3,000 new acres of cultivable land with this project. As expected, the majority of the 3,000 acres will be used by the surrounding SLORC battalions: 1,000 acres each are allotted to SLORC LIB 364 and 366 and another 500 acres each are allotted for Min Kin Township USDA, leaving 500 acres for the local people. One person from each household in Min Kin township[12] is required to work daily from 6:00 a.m. until 6:00 p.m. Some village groups in the township were ordered to work and to pay taxes for the project; those households were required to pay between 350 and 700 kyats on four different occasions. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.5.3. Kin Tat Sluice Gate

Local people have been forced to work without compensation on the construction of Kin Tat sluice gate in Kabalu township since late 1994. People must supply their own food and tools. They are not provided shelter at the worksite, rather they must stay in makeshift shelters while they labor on this project. During the past year, four laborers (two from Seik Khwe village, Shwe Botownship and two from Ye-U township) were killed when the earth collapsed while they were digging ditches at night. U Ko Lay, a retired secondary school teacher from Aung Zeya ward, Ye-U town, also died while working on this project.

People from Tant Se, Ye-U, Depeyin, Butalin, Shwebo, Atadaw, and Khin-U townships have been forced to dig ditches, build a canal, and construct the embankment for the project. Each household must provide one laborer for this project each week; if a household fails to provide a laborer, it is required to pay 100 kyats per undug ditch to the local SLORC officials. The primary job on this project has been digging ditches. Assignments vary with respect to

12 *There are 64 village groups in Min Kin township, Sagaing Division, comprising 188 villages.*

SLORC's categorization of laborer. For instance, government servants are only required to dig two ditches. Ordinary family members from the villages must dig six ditches. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.5.4. Min Kin township

Since May 1995, about 1,800 local people from six villages[13] in western Min Kin township have been forced to divide their time between two forced labor projects, leaving little spare time to provide for their families. Villagers must contribute unpaid labor to both the two-mile long Kyauk O-Ye Poke Chaung embankment and the four-mile long Kyauk O-Min Kin road construction project. One person from each household is required to work one week per month on the embankment project. Anyone who can not fulfill the labor requirement personally must hire a substitute laborer at a cost of 75 kyats per day or pay a fine of 100 kyats per day to SLORC officials. Anyone who cannot afford a substitute or pay the fine is subject to beatings and torture by SLORC's local LIB 228. At the site, people are separated into groups of ten. Each group is required to dig a 5 x 49 x 6 foot embankment. One person from each household must toil on the Kyauk O-Min road construction project for one week each month as well. The work on this project is pure drudgery: the road is to be 6 feet high, 15 feet wide, and 4 miles long. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.5.5. Extension of Chindwin River Embankment

Local people in Monywa township are being forced to work without compensation on both the Chindwin River embankment project (between Kyauk Methway pier and No. 34 saw mill) and the construction of Strand road in the northern part of Monywa. Each day, one person from every household in the township must work on both of these projects. Only those who can afford to pay 1,200 kyats in fines per day are exempt from the work. Many houses along both of the project routes have been demolished as a result of the construction. The people have been relocated and remain uncompensated for the loss of their homes.

According to local residents, local people from Salin Gyi, Yinma Pin, Kani, and Butalin townships will likely be conscripted for these two projects soon due to insufficient labor supply. People from these townships have already been forced to work on the Pakkoku-Gangaw railway construction project and

13 *Including, Kyi Nyine, Kyauk O, Ain Kyin Taung, and Min Sar village groups.*

the Ninety-nine Ponds project in Yinmar Pin township. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.5.6. Monywa township

Since the beginning of 1996, local villagers from U Tha Bon Kine, Khawell Kyin, Salon, Kyun Chan, Htandaw, and Khandaw villages have been forced to labor on the construction of an underground tunnel in Monywa township. This five mile long, fifteen feet wide, and five feet deep tunnel will pass under the Chindwin River to SLORC's Northwestern Regional military command headquarters in Monywa. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.5.7. Tamu township

While visiting Tamu, SLORC's Minister for Border Development, U Maung Thint, made an offhand remark which caused local LORC authorities to impose undue burdens on the local people. During his visit, Maung Thint said that the roads were not wide enough for trucks and should be widened. Later local authorities issued a public order requiring roads in Tamu township to be widened by 30 feet on each side. The order further stated that any buildings or fences which were within 30 feet of any road be demolished by owners within one week. Anyone who failed to follow the demolition orders would be prosecuted. The public capitulated with the LORC's orders for fear of reprisals, though they know the orders are unlawful and burdensome. The people had to demolish their own buildings at their own expense and did not receive any compensation for their loss.

SLORC authorities are also levying heavy taxes in Tamu township for the construction of a new city road. Every household in the township was ordered to pay 600 kyats for the first installment. The people were informed by public order that the taxes will be levied continuously until the construction is completed. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.6. Magwe Division

4.3.6.1. Kan Ni reservoir project

About 25,000 local people have been forced to work on the construction of the Kan Ni reservoir project in Magwe Division since the beginning of 1996.

SLORC is undertaking a wide range of development projects in the area, including the Sittaung River Basin project, the construction of Kaung Tu reservoir, Bine Dar dam, Kawliya dam, Ye Nwe dam, and Baw Ni dam projects local people are being conscripted to work without compensation on all of these projects. Besides enduring the unpaid labor, people are required to pay taxes to SLORC for security fees, porter fees, and other arbitrary taxes and fees. *(Source: ABSDF)*

4.3.7. Shan State

Since November 1996, nearly 2,500 people in the Wan Hart area have been forced to work without compensation on road construction projects for SLORC troops IB 99 and LIB 525. Road construction projects include the following: Langkhur Wan Hart (18 miles long); Wan Hart Zalawng (20 miles long); Zalawng-Sop Taeng (20 miles long); Wan Hart-Mawkmai (15 miles long); and Mawkmai-Sai Khao (20 miles long). These forced labor projects along with other SLORC requirements have severely disrupted the lives of the people in Shan State. Hundreds of young people, including married couples and their families, are continually fleeing to Thailand to find work to support their families and their elders back home. Thus, in many households, only older people are available to work at the forced labor sites.

At least one person from every house in the four village tracts in the Wan Hart area must report to work each day. Any house which fails to provide a worker has to pay 200 kyats per day until a worker reports for duty. The work on these projects is grueling; people must clear the ground by digging out stones and rocks, some too big for two men to lift; carry or roll them to indicated places near the roads; and split them along the roadside. Each household must makes three to four piles of gravel, six feet wide and one foot high each day. Houses with fewer people have to work until they finish at least three piles, while houses with more people have to finish four. Each household must provide their own food and tools at the work sites. For a short time, soldiers provided every ten people with 400 kyats to purchase a three-pound hammer and axes. Now, they no longer provide money or tools for the laborers. Many people live too far from the work site to walk each day. People in Kun Kharn village must sleep near the site under makeshift huts because their village is about 8 miles from the site.

Today, people in the Wan Hart area are working on an eight-mile piece of the road. When the eight miles of road is completed, they will have to continue west towards Mawkmai. In other parts of town people have worked on the

south portion of the road from Larugkbur to Wan Hart; they have completed about half of the distance. People from the Zalawng area are working towards Wan Hart.

According to a group of 31 Khum Oot villagers, including men, women, and children from ages 2 to 27, who arrived in the Fang area, Chiangmai Province, Thailand on March 14, 1997, the gravel is now piled up along the road-sides for the construction projects. However, it will soon be time to spread the gravel over the road. They admit that there will be few villagers left to do the work. *(Source: SHUF)*

4.4. Individual Incidents in 1996

- On January 1, 1996, Strategic Commander Myo Hla called a meeting in Kler Lah village in Taungoo district. He demanded forced laborers from the following villages: 150 people from Kler Lah village; 55 people from Beh Khaw Der; eleven people from Der Doh; eight people from Maw Ko Der; twenty people from Mu Kheh Der, and fifty people from Maw Pa Der village. *(Source: KHRG)*

- A Mon rubber planter was caught by SLORC soldiers in January 1996. He was tied up with a rope. He was forced to carry army materials such as guns and bullets for seventeen days before he was able to escape. *(Source: UN Report)*

- On January 11, 1996, Strategic Commander Myo Hla demanded 150 porters from villages in Taungoo district. He told them to bring their own food to Bu Sah Kee, Taungoo district. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On January 16, 1996, LIB 340 Battalion Commander Aung Kyaw Hla demanded one porter from each house in Taungoo district. Any family that failed to send a porter was fined 1,000 kyats. He also demanded from the villagers ten trucks for use in transporting supplies, carrying logs and planks, and carrying troops and wounded soldiers. *(Source: KHRG)*

- IB 59 and LIB 440 have been active in the Si Kheh Der, Tha Kwee Soe, and Bu Sah Kee areas in Taungoo district since March 1996. Soldiers are continually forcing villagers to work as porters carrying supplies and ammunition to Bu Sah Kee. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On February 3, Strategic Commander Myo Hla placed restrictions on the travel of villagers and movement of foodstuffs in Taungoo district. The Commander is charging 1,000 kyats for each travel permit for cars and 100 kyats for each person. He is forcing every household to send one person, on a rotating basis, to clear roads and work as porters. A family is fined 2,500 kyats if they cannot send a worker. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On February 12, 1997, SLORC's LIB 546 forced the villagers in Pa-an township, Thaton district, to fence the road from Myaing K'Lay to K'Ma Maung villages. Adults, as well as children from age twelve, were forced to work on the road every day. The people had to provide their own food. *(Source: KIC)*

- On February 13, 1996, IB 59 gathered as many elderly men, women, and children as they could from Kaw Thay Der village. The soldiers forced the villagers to lead them back to the army camp, rushing them to get them there before dark. The townspeople were sent ahead of the troops to act as human minesweepers and bullet shields. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On February 18, 1996, Brigadier General Kyi Aung of Southern Command ordered his troops in Column 2 of IB 59 to gather elderly men, women, and children. The troops forced the villagers to clear mines from the roads between Naw Soh and Si Kheh Der villages in Taungoo district. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On February 18, 1996, while on patrol searching for KNLA camps, SLORC troops forced a villager from Tah Paw village in Nyaunglaybin district to act as a guide. The villager stepped on a KNLA landmine and both of his legs were blown off. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On March 4, 1996, SLORC strategic commander Myo Hla from IB 59 arrived at Bagali and Kaw the De village tracts and arrested 200 villagers. The villagers were forced to work on road construction, landmine sweeping, and portering military materials to Naw Soe, Se Ghee Dee, and Palaw Mu De villages. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- On March 13, 1996, SLORC troops gathered all the women, children, and elderly people in Kaw Thay Der village, Taungoo district. The troops ordered the villagers to carry rations for the army and clear

landmines along the way between Kaw Thay Der and Naw Soe villages. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On March 25, 1996 Strategic Commander Colonel Aung Naing Htun of #3 Strategic Command, stationed in Kler Lah, Taungoo district, ordered Ber Kaw Der villagers to send "pork fees" of 4,000 kyats per household. Kler Lah and other villages in the area were also ordered to pay similar "pork fees." *(Source: KHRG)*

- U Win Maung from Henzada, Irrawaddy division was ordered to contribute labor to build an embankment. Since he was too old, he sent 15-year-old son as his substitute; the SLORC authorities refused to accept his son. U Win Maung was then taken to the police station, where he was severely beaten. He was hospitalized from March 17 until March 24, 1996. In early April, he lodged a complaint against the Sub-Inspector of Police, but no action was taken. *(Source: UN Report)*

- In March 1996, villagers were forced to go to the village of Tu Kaw Koh to cut trees and carry timber to the saw mill in Kyet Paung village. Some villagers also had to work at the sawmill. The planks were then taken to a battalion headquarters, each village having to provide a certain number of carts with bullocks. Villagers also had to collect wood for the army brick factory, part of which was then sold back to the villagers by the soldiers. *(Source: UN Report)*

- Civilians from A-Pyoke township, Irrawaddy Division were ordered to work forced labor in the contruction of sluice gate in Thadu Chaung district between April to June 1996. People were ordered to finish 50,000 pitchs. One pitch was 10 ft long, 10 ft wide and one feet high. Many were sick due to the hard weather both in summer and rainy season. Thry were also reportedly treated badly by the authorities. (Source: NLD)

- The people from Hlung Mang village were ordered by U Pe Ku, head of Lailenpi police station, to construct the police station in Lailenpi, 35 miles from Hlung Mang village, between April 5, 1996 and May 4, 1996. The people were required to complete a 40 x 20 feet area within five days. The authorities did not provide food, money, or shelter for the people. *(Source: CHRO)*

- On May 21, 1996, Strategic Commander Colonel Aung Naing Htun

called a meeting at his base in Kler Lah in Taungoo district. He gave orders requiring that every village along the road perform labor without compensation building and repairing the road. The villagers were required to work on a thirteen mile stretch of road from Kler Lah. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On May 21, 1996, a column of 100 troops from IB 234, led by Major Nyi Nyi, took 20 porters from Tha Pyay Nyunt village and set out towards K'Mu Loh, Taungoo district for seven days. *(Source: KHRG)*

- The people of Ahphyauk village, Irrawaddy division, have been forced to work on a twenty-five mile irrigation canal. Those who refused to work were fined 1,300 kyats or, if they could not pay, were prosecuted under section 12 of the Village Act and sentenced to one month in prison from July to August 1996. *(Source: UN Report)*

- On October 27, 1996, two SLORC columns attacked Karen villages north and west of Kyaikdon, well into the KNU-held area. A column of 300 troops from IB 32 came from Kya In Seik Gyi and attacked the undefended village of Kwih Kaneh Khoh. The troops entered the village and looted every house. They took several men as porters to carry their loot back to Kya In Seik Gyi, where the men were released. On the same day, a different column from IB 31attacked Yaw Doh village just north Of Kyaikdon. The troops tried to enter and loot the village but encountered KNU troops. Both sides suffered casualties, so the SLORC force withdrew after looting only the northernmost part of the village, arresting seven villagers as porters (including the village headman), and arresting two other young men whom they tied up and led away with ropes. *(Source: KHRG)*

- In early 1997, the chairmen of Teddim and Tunzan townships ordered the villagers who could not contribute forced labor to pay 1200 kyats each to TLORC through the village LORC. The order came just as villagers needed to prepare their hillside fields for cultivation; failure to prepare the land meant that they would have no food for the entire year. As a result, many villagers had to sell their paddies and some of their belongings to pay the fines to the village LORC. *(Source: ABSDF/WB).*

- During the first week of March 1997, the villagers from Min Tha village, Tamu township, Sagaing division were required to dig out teak

trees from the jungle for BN 228 troops, led by Captain Tun Swe. Many of the forced laborers were beaten by soldiers. One villager were severely beaten until his leg was broken, but as usual, the army would not provide him with medical care. The villager's relatives brought him to Tamu Government Hospital but his admission was denied. The family was forced to go to Kalay Myo for medical treatment. Although they know the individuals responsible for the beating, they are afraid to bring a case against the army personnel. *(Source: FTUB/WB)*

(See also under "Personal Accounts," interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27-46, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 67, 69, 74, 76, 80, 81, 85, 88, and 89)



Forced laborers on Ye Tavoy Railway construction site in Mon State (Photo By HRFOM)





Villagers have to bring their own food to the worksite and are not compensated for their work. (Photo by MIS)

The villagers are on their way to do a shift of forced labor at a road construction site in Karen State where they have to work for five days. (Photo by KHRG)

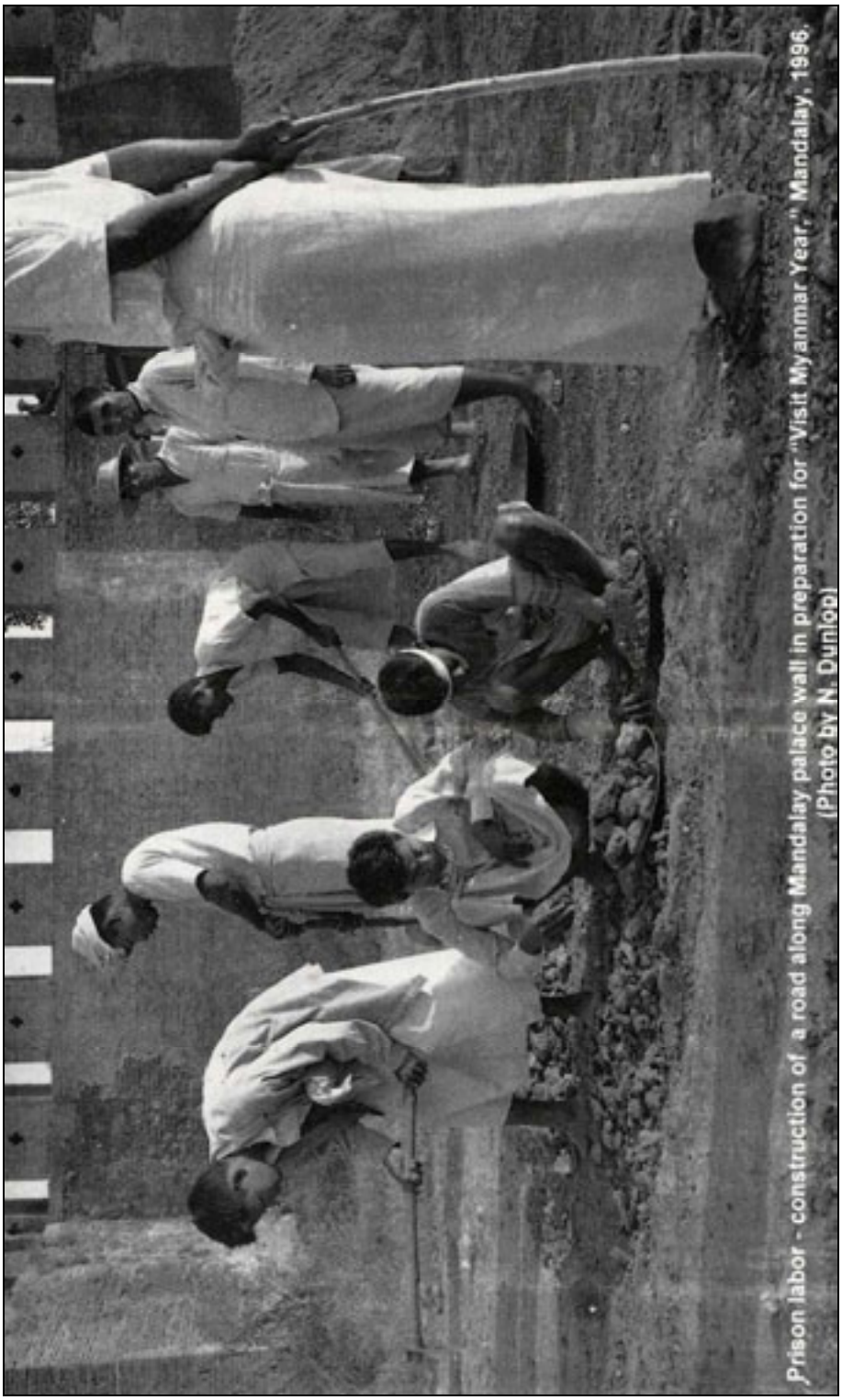




Civilians are working on the Kalay-Gangaw railway construction project in Sagaing Division. (Photo by Tarzan Htun)

Civilians are under watch at the forced labor worksite in Mon State. (Photo by MIS)

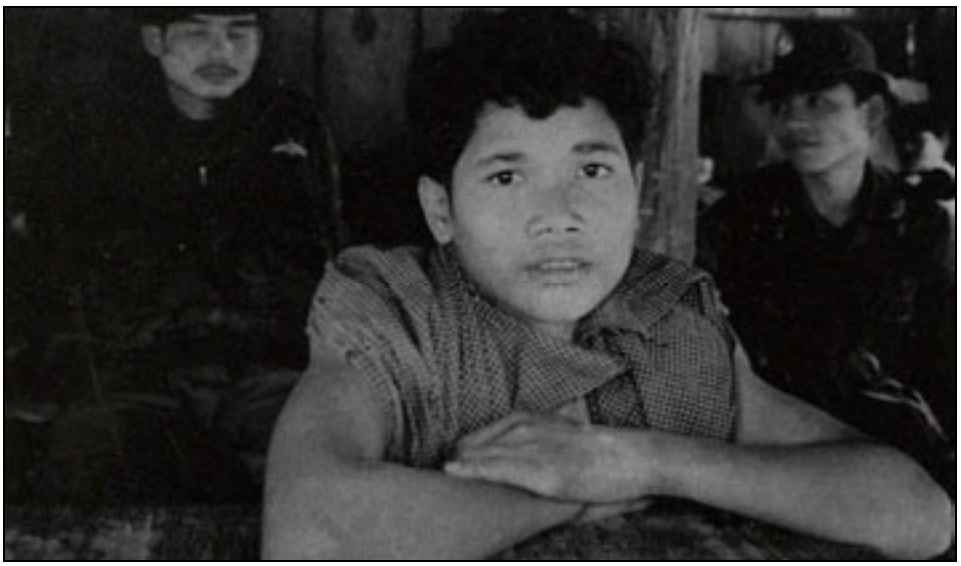




Prison labor - construction of a road along Mandalay palace wall in preparation for "Visit Myanmar Year," Mandalay, 1996.
(Photo by N. Dunlop)



Prisoners labor at Nyein labor camp in Mon State. (Photo by SAIN)



A 14-year-old escaped porter from Ye Phyu in Tenasserim Division. He was rounded up and sent to the front line to carry rice and mortar shells for SLORC's IB 104. (Photo by Burma Initiative)

Two escaped porters, both former prisoners from Rangoon prison. They say they were both beaten often by the soldiers until they escaped on March 5, 1996, in Karen State. (Photo by Burma Initiative)



5. Forced Relocation and Internally Displaced Persons

5.1. Background

Forced relocation has been used as a strategy of the Burmese military for decades, however, the scale of SLORC's forced relocation orders, especially in ethnic areas, increased dramatically during 1996 and continues unabated. SLORC uses forced relocation as a tool in two primary ways: 1) the relocated villagers are used as unpaid laborers on its development projects or are relocated as a result of development projects and 2) villagers are relocated as part of its counter-insurgency operations to deprive the ethnic opposition of its support. In 1996, tens of thousands of people, mostly peasants, including members of Karen, Karenni, Shan, Mon, and Tavoyan people, were relocated. The ill-treatment of villagers by SLORC at the relocation sites and the conditions at those sites have propelled a large number of people to flee the sites or avoid the relocation order entirely and flee directly to the forest or the border. Indeed, the massive relocation being undertaken in the ethnic areas has resulted in a renewed influx of refugees into neighboring Thailand.

These mass relocations have often been accompanied with other forms of human rights abuses. Using a strategy known as "the four cuts," SLORC attempts to "cut" links of intelligence, food, money, and recruits between armed opposition groups and local civilians. After relocation orders have been issued and people have been expelled from their homes, SLORC has declared expansive areas as "free-fire zones"-- anyone who tries to remain in their homes can be shot on sight. Villagers are told that they will not be permitted to go home until the opposition groups have capitulated; SLORC calls this policy, "draining the ocean so no fish can swim."

SLORC issues written orders addressed to village headmen; the orders specify the date by which the entire village must be relocated to a designated site. Relocated persons are not compensated for their homes nor are they given enough time to collect all of their belongings. Nearly all of the villagers must leave behind the majority of their belongings, including their livestock. Often people must also leave behind elderly and sick relatives. Once they leave their village, SLORC troops pillage the villagers' homes and burn them to the ground.

Even though they have just been forced to leave their homes and their belongings, people must purchase new plots of land from the SLORC at the relocation sites, a luxury most cannot afford. As a result, they are forced to live

wherever they can cheaply: in monasteries, abandoned huts, make-shift shelters, or under other people's houses. Furthermore, the designated sites are not prepared for the arrival of large numbers of people; the ground is not clear and there are inadequate water supplies. SLORC does not provide the people with food nor with land to farm. Disease is rampant at the sites; those who want medical help must purchase their own medicine. At some sites, people must even purchase a "clinic ticket" before they are permitted to see a nurse. Relocation communities are subject to strict curfews and other restrictions. For example, in many cases, a written pass must be obtained before leaving the relocation site.

5.2. Forced Relocation and SLORC Development Projects

In some cases, communities are relocated for the sole purpose of providing "free labor" on one of SLORC's development projects like the Yadana gas pipeline project or on a road project to encourage tourism. In other cases, ethnic communities are relocated as a result of SLORC's opposition strategy and then also used to work on nearby labor projects or on projects to aid in military movement.

The following section outlines the major development projects that use relocated villagers as a major source of labor.

5.2.1. Yadana Gas Pipeline Project in Tenasserim Division

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

At the end of March 1996, local villagers from Eindayaza village in Yebyu township, Tenasserim division were ordered to relocate. The order was issued by Brigadier-General Zaw Tun, after TOTAL's field office was attacked on February 8, 1996 near Kanbauk village, Yebyu township by an unknown armed group. The mostly Karen village of Eindayaza is seven miles from the TOTAL office. SLORC's relocation order required villagers to move to the "54-mile" on Ye-Tavoy road, three miles away from their homes. The order, an apparent retaliation for the attack, required that villagers bring only the most basic of their belongings.

On February 12, 1996, just four days after the attack on TOTAL's office, 11 Karen civilians, including the village headman from Eindayaza, were arrested by SLORC's LIB 273 troops. The villagers were tortured for allegedly having contact with the attackers. On the day of the attack, 12 villagers from Eindayaza were found on their way to their hill-side cultivation plots on Phya Gone hill; SLORC maintains that a 107 rocket launcher, used in the attack, was fired from the same hill, five furlongs from TOTAL's office.

In addition to the relocation order, LIB 273 troops ordered 10 villagers, mostly women, from each village in the Kanbauk group to provide security for the TOTAL office. Each day, over one hundred people were forced to act as security guards between Kanbauk and Eindayaza from early morning until evening.

SLORC's LIB 273 has conscripted 20 villagers from every village in Kanbauk village group to work on the construction of the three-mile-long Kanbauk-Pyin-Gyin road between the TOTAL office and the seaport. The road will be used for transportation of construction materials for the pipeline. While local people are being forced to work on the road construction without pay, TOTAL is paying each soldier 50 kyats per day to supervise the forced laborers.

In February 1997, SLORC' LIB 273 relocated five villages in Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract, Ye Pyu township, Tenasserim division including Mae Taw, Cha Bone, Chaung Phyar, Mae Yaung, and Mae Than Taung villages. These villages lie just ten to fifteen km. north of the Yadana gas pipeline. The American oil company, Texaco, is also beginning work on the Yetagun pipeline in the area. *(Source: ABSDF)*

The pipeline will run just south of the Heinze Basin, a large inlet on the coast of the Andaman Sea. The five villages lie near the coast just north of the mouth of the Heinze Basin; the pipeline is to come ashore near Hpaungdaw, just south of the mouth of the Heinze Basin. SLORC's official explanation for the relocations was that there is a dacoit or bandit group operating along the

coast between the five villages and Hpaungdaw. SLORC's relocation orders came after they stormed Mae Taw village, ostensibly to seek out this bandit group and its stash of loot, instead, SLORC soldiers tied up and tortured the village leaders, disrobed, abused and robbed a monk, and kept everyone in the village tied up at the monastery for four days while they searched and looted every house. The soldiers then burned four houses and ordered every villager in the region to move to a village which has an army camp. The soldiers continued to the other four villages to continue their villainous deeds. By the time they arrived at the other villages, however, many people had already fled after hearing about the events in Mae Taw village. The five villages now lie abandoned, the villagers having scattered to the large village of Kywe Thone Nyi Ma, located on an island in the Heinze Basin with an LIB 273 camp, or northward to Ye or Thanbyuzayat villages. *(Source: KHRG)*

5.2.2. Forced Relocation between the Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung Road and Tenasserim River

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

The villagers have been ordered to move along the roadside of the Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung road and the Boke-Ka Pyaw-Kyay Nan Daing road or to Burman villages on the lower Tenasserim River. SLORC does not compensate the relocated villagers for their losses; they receive no land, building materials, or any other assistance.

In October 1996 alone, SLORC ordered approximately 30 villages on the inland part of the coastal plain, between Tavoy and Mergui, to relocate to army-controlled sites along the Tavoy-Mergui road. The reconstruction and maintenance of this road requires extensive forced labor every year. Relocated villages include Mazaw (40 km. southeast of Mergui), Pyi Cha (80 km. north of Mergui, near Palauk), and Pala (40 km. northeast of Mergui, near Palaw).

Rather than face dire conditions at the relocation sites, many people fled eastward across the hills to KNU-controlled areas along the Tenasserim River near the Thai border. At least 400 or more refugees from these towns alone have arrived in three areas along the river.

SLORC is also constructing new car roads, including a branch of the north-south road running through Boke, Ka Pyaw, Aleh Chaung, Mazaw and Kyay Nan Daing (at least 40 km.) and a road from Tagu to Ta Po Hta and Ta Po Kee (estimated 30-40 km.). Forced labor construction on these roads began in November/December 1996. Villagers are being forced to move to these roadsides and work every day along with villagers who already live there, many of whose houses have been destroyed without compensation to make way for the roads. People from over 50 km. away from these roads are also being forced to walk two days to work on rotating 10-day shifts hauling dirt, building embankments, breaking rocks, and digging ditches. Children as young as 12 and people over 60 years of age are being forced to work. In many villages and relocation sites, one person per household must be provided at all times without exception. No money, food, shelter, or medical care is provided. Soldiers are often present but only to guard over forced laborers, never to work. In fact, they often beat the villagers for resting.

Hundreds of villagers are then used every day as forced laborers on various roads. As soon as one road is finished, they are assigned to another road; if there is any break in between working on the roads, they are required to work on building and maintaining army camps in the area. *(Source: KHRG)*

5.2.3. Karen Villages in Tenasserim Division

In October 1996, SLORC ordered all the Karen villages in southern Tenasserim Division area to move to SLORC-controlled relocation sites around the Burman village of Le Nya, where SLORC planned to use villagers as forced laborer to rebuild the Boke Pyin-Le Nya road. Then in mid-November 1996 troops from SLORC's LIB 358 troops looted and burned completely the Karen villages of Nan Ka Prao, Waw Pa Doh, Ler Pa Doh, and Kyet Der, all of which

had been relocated. In late December 1996 or early January 1997, LIB 358 troops also burned part of Meh Naw Roh village. The Karen villages of Ze Daeng and Kaw Bawt were also relocated but escaped destruction by the troops. In every case, SLORC told the villagers they would kill on sight anyone caught in the area after their relocation deadline; some villagers have been executed as a result. By November 23, 1996, LIB 358 troops were already beginning to establish a military base on the burned remains of Nan Ka Prao village. *(Source: KHRG)*

5.3. Relocation as a Military Tool against the Armed Opposition in 1996

In 1996, SLORC instituted the unprecedented and systematic relocation of tens of thousands of villagers as a result of ethnic fighting. The large-scale relocations began in Papun district, Karen State in late December 1995 and January 1996, when at least 100 Karen villages were ordered to relocate within a week or the villagers would risk being shot on sight. In March 1996, SLORC began its forced relocation campaign in central and southern Shan State. At least 400 to 500 villages were included in the relocation orders, a total of between 60,000 and 80,000 people. Throughout June and July 1996, SLORC conducted a mass relocation campaign covering more than half of the geographic area of Karenni State (aka Kayah State), affecting at least 183 villages with an estimated population of 25 to 30,000. Altogether, over 5,200 families from 79 villages in Tenasserim, Boke Pyin, and Kyunsuu townships in Tenasserim division in the southern coastal region of Burma have been relocated since June 1996. Moreover, almost every village between the Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung road in the west and the Tenasserim River in the east, from Palauk in the north to Tenasserim town in the south, was ordered to move one or more times between September 1996 and January 1997. This particular area measures about 120 km. from north to south and 30 km. from east to west; at least 35 to 40, ranging in size from 20 to 150 households each, have been affected.

SLORC's massive relocations in these areas represent a significant shift in military policy, away from the pretext of negotiated cease-fires which aimed for forced surrender of the opposition in every case. Now, while SLORC is declaring that it has brought peace in ethnic minority areas by signing military cease-fire agreements with 17 ethnic armed groups since 1989, these forced relocations are being undertaken in areas where armed opposition by ethnic forces still exists.

5.3.1. Massive Forced Relocation in Karen State

Since December 1995, SLORC has stepped up its campaign to clear out the entire rural population from Papun district, establishing a "free-fire"zone in an attempt to cut KNLA supply lines and to block the flow of refugees to Thailand. Orders have been issued to every rural village under SLORC control (more than 100) from Kyauk Nyat in the north to Ka Dtaing Dtee in the south, from the Salween River (the Thai border) in the east to at least 10 km. west of Papun (an area 50 to 60 km. north to south and 30 km. east to west). This area is marked by rugged hills and dotted with small villages averaging 10 to 50 households each , a population of 50 to 300 per village. Villagers are required to move either to nearby SLORC army camps at Papun, Kaw Boke, or Par Haik, or to DKBA headquarters in the south at Khaw Taw (Myaing Gyi Ngu) in Pa-an district. All of the relocation sites are used as forced labor camps as well.

Villagers have confirmed that DKBA soldiers are working with SLORC soldiers on these relocation orders. Generally DKBA soldiers appear in small groups as part of SLORC columns when issuing the orders. SLORC units involved in this large-scale operation include LIBs 340, 341, 434, and IB 5. Villagers had until January 13 and 81, 1996, to move to their assigned sites. SLORC and DKBA threats of shooting villagers who remained in villages were taken to heart; thousands of villagers fled long before their relocation deadline. Close to one thousand villagers fled to Thailand. Others remain in hiding in the jungle; some people have tried to remain in their village but flee to the forest when soldiers are nearby.

Villagers who fled to Thailand reported that their journey was harrowing. They could only travel at night for fear they would be caught and executed. They reported that crossing the Papun-Par Haik road is impossible due to the extensive SLORC presence. On their way to the border, all the villages they passed were completely abandoned. *(Source: KHRG)*

There is no apparent logic as to which villages have been ordered to Papun and which to Khaw Taw; some villages located a long distance from Khaw Taw have been ordered to move there, while some much closer to Khaw Taw have been ordered to move to Papun. In fact, the majority of villages are being ordered to move to Papun area where SLORC has allocated them sites near military camps.

Villagers are told to take all their food with them because SLORC will not provide any, although SLORC has made a disingenuous promise to allow

villagers to continue to farm their home fields.

Most villagers relocated to the Papun site work as forced laborers on the construction of the Papun-Par Haik-Kyauk Nyat road which is intended to give the military easy access to the border area and on making an all-season road out of the 100-km. Papun-Belin road, giving the military rainy season capability. Previously, the road was washed out each monsoon season; SLORC forced villagers to rebuild it every year.

The roadwork on these two roads alone requires thousands of men, women, and children to work each day. Moreover, other detained villagers are regularly used by SLORC as porters, army camp laborers, and as forced laborers farming for the military.

SLORC moved villagers to Khaw Taw, primarily because the DKBA needed a source of new recruits. Villagers in both Papun and Pa-an districts, where DKBA is the strongest, confirm that no one is voluntarily joining DKBA anymore because DKBA abuses villagers and because it is now obviously under the control of SLORC.

5.3.2. Forced Relocation in Shan State

In January 1996, the leader of the primary armed opposition group, drug warlord Khun Sa, surrendered to the SLORC in Shan State. However, an estimated 2,000 members of his Shan Mong Tai Army (MTA) refused to surrender and have joined with other Shan nationalist groups, including the Shan State Army and the Shan State National Army. These ex-MTA troops regrouped and formed a new army called the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA), led by Major Yord Serk, in the areas of central and southern Shan State; it is in these areas that SLORC's massive relocation orders have taken place.

In early March 1996, the SLORC reacted to the continued Shan resistance by forcibly relocating over twenty thousand villagers in an attempt to sever any civilian links or support for these armed opposition groups, thereby forcing the Shan resistance to surrender. At least 604 villages have been ordered to move on threat of death. SLORC troops ordered villages in eight townships, including Larng Kher, Murng Nai, Nam Zarng, Lai Kha, Murng Kerng, Kun Hing, Ke See, and Murng Su to move into depopulated "free-fire zones." SLORC soldiers committed countless human rights abuses during the relocation process. SLORC battalions conducting the relocations include IBs and LIBs 55,

64, 66, 99, 246, 247, 248, 249, 515, 518, 520, 524, 525, and 551; each battalion has bases at several locations in the area.

Almost every village has been relocated in the areas from the Salween River and 120 kilometers westward to Lai Kha and Mong Kung, from Lang Kha and Mong Nai (just 60 km. north of the Thai border) northward for 180 km. to Kay See Man Sam and the areas west of the Mong Hsu ruby mines. Even areas where cease-fire groups operate, such as SSA-led areas west of Mong Hsu and PNA-led areas south of Nam Saung, have been affected by forced relocations, in attempt by SLORC to weaken these groups.

In most cases, villagers were given only three to five days to move; they were threatened with being shot if they did not comply with the orders. Even if they were following SLORC's orders, some villagers were subject to the random violence of the soldiers. During the relocation, villagers were beaten, burned alive, and shot dead. Some people had their house set on fire while they were still inside and, in several cases, were burned to death in their houses. Others were shot for returning to their villages to retrieve belongings or food after the relocation deadline. Some villagers with ox-carts could carry supplies with them, but the majority of villagers who were on foot could carry almost nothing with them - relocation sites were often at least a days walk away. Nearly all farmers were forced to leave behind their crops and most of their livestock, most of which were immediately stolen by SLORC troops.

The relocation sites were simply empty areas along the sides of roads; absolutely nothing was provided for the villagers at the sites. Living conditions are crude and unsanitary. Many have died of malnourishment and disease. Most villagers are not permitted to farm their old fields. In some areas, villagers may obtain a five-day pass to leave the relocation site; however, only one person per family can leave.

In some areas in Shan State, even though the primary purpose for relocation is a military strategy, SLORC troops still use the detained population as forced laborers. Villagers must stand guard and clear trees and bushes along the roads to prevent Shan armed opposition groups from hiding there. Villagers are also required to work at SLORC military camps and on road construction projects in the area.

At least 15,000 people have already fled the relocation sites to Thailand and they continue to flood across the border. Since there is no refugee camp for Shan people, most often they disappear as cheap laborers in the Thai lichee orchards, at construction sites, factory sweatshops, and bonded-labor brothels

in Chiang Mai and in Bangkok.

5.3.2.1. List of Villages Forcibly Relocated by SLORC in Shan State:

Township	No. of villages relocated	No. of households relocated
Larng Kher	21	822
Murng Nai	56	2,965
Nam Zarng	68	2,704
Lai Kha	80	3,043
Murng Kerng	24	1,230
Kun Hing	95	3,407
Ke See	232	7,112
Marng Su	28	697
TOTAL	**604**	**21,980**

Larng Kher township

In March 1996, 822 households from 21 villages in Larng Kher township, situated in the fertile lower plain of the Nam Teng basin, were relocated. SLORC's IB 99, stationed at Larng Kher, and IB 55, from Murng Pan issued the relocation order. The villagers were given between three and six days to move to Nong Long, east of Larng Kher. They were told that they would be killed if they did not comply the order. (See Appendix 1.1. for more information)

Murng Nai township

SLORC IB 247 and IB 516 ordered 2,965 households in Murng Nai township to move to Tong Hoong, where the SLORC military camp is stationed, within three days or they would be shot. Five villagers from Goong Sar village were killed by SLORC IB 99 soldiers when they returned to their village to collect their rice. The villagers' rice was taken from them by SLORC soldiers and then rationed back to them for five days at a time. One person per family is permitted to return to farm the fields for five days at a time. Forced laborers from the relocation sites are being used to guard the town perimeter; two villagers must accompany each SLORC soldier. The detained villagers were also

required to build guardhouses nearby for the military. (See Appendix 1.2. for more information).

Nam Zarung township

In March 1996, 2,704 households from 68 villages in Nam Zarng township, Shan State were ordered to relocate to ten different relocation sites; five village tracts were affected by this SLORC order. Villagers in Nong Hee village tracts were required by LIB 247 to move from Nam Zarng and Murng Nai to the Nam Zarng and Hai Neng area. Villagers from Nar Poi were ordered to move to four different sites and villagers from Ton Hoong Ha Lai were relocated to two different places. Villagers from Loi La tract were relocated in April 1996 by SLORC IB 55 troops from Murng Pan to Wan Nong Koong Mong. Villagers from Ho Norng were relocated to Kho Lam.

The village headman from Nam Wo village, Nong He, was severely beaten when when he pleaded with SLORC troops not to relocate the village. All 56 villages in Palaung village were burned down between April 4, and 14, 1996 by SLORC LIB 524 troops led by Major Myint Thein. People have suffered many diseases in the newly-relocated sites. At the Kho Lam site, as many as 40 people died of illness in the first month. Moreover, people are subjected to forced labor requirements for the army. Villagers at the Kho Lam site were forced by LIB 510 troops to clear the forest and grow beans for them. (See Appendix 1.3. for more information).

Lai Kha township

On March 5, 1996, in Lai Kha township, villagers were ordered to relocate to four different sites within eight days. The village tract leaders, village headmen, and some senior monks appealed to higher SLORC authorities to remain in their villages. One day later, SLORC LIB 524 at Kun Hing sent a message stating that the relocation order had come from the Eastern Commander himself, therefore it would stand. The village leaders were told that they could return to their village when the 90-man-strong MTA rebels in the area surrendered.

Many villagers were killed by SLORC soldiers for being in the “free-fire zone” after the deadline. At the relocation site, many villagers, mostly children, died due to lack of medical care. Within the first few months at Wan Sang site, ten children under the age of 12 died from Nam Wo village alone. Moreover,

villagers relocated along the Lai Kha-Murng Nawng road were forced to work on the road itself. Each village tract was assigned three to four kms. of road to construct. Villagers at the Tard Mork relocation site were forced to construct a road to the nearby SLORC military camp. (See Appendix 1.4. for more information).

Murng Kerng township

In April 1996, 1,230 households from 24 villages in Murng Kerng township were forced to relocate to the main road north of Murng Kerng. Once at the sites north of Murng Kerng, relocated villagers had to work on repairing the Murng Kerng-Hsibaw road. Each week, half of the households had to provide one person for one-week shifts on a rotating basis. Villagers were allowed to return to farm their fields for several days at a time with permission from the SLORC.

In September 1996, following the surrender of SSNA troops in the area, some villages were allowed to return home. However, in mid-November, following continued resistance by the SURA in the area, the SLORC once again ordered the villagers back to the relocation sites. SLORC has forbidden the transportation of rice along the road north of Murn Kerng. No one is allowed to purchase more than one pyi (a tin) of rice at a time, to prevent people from supplying the Shan resistance with food. (See Appendix 1.5. for more information)

Kun Hing township

Between March and May 1996, 3,407 households from 95 villages were ordered to move to seven different relocation sites including Keng Lom, Wan Lao, Wan Tong, Wan Phai, Son Sarng Won Long, Sai Khao, and Keng Kham. Most of the villages in the area southeast of Kun Hing between the Nam Pang and Salween Rivers were forced to relocate in March 1996. The villages around Sai Khao were ordered to relocate to the main road by May 15. The Lahu villagers of Loi Khio village tract evaded the relocation orders; they made rafts and crossed to the eastern side of the Salween River, where they were reported to have joined Lahu communities in the Mong Bu Long area.

SLORC IB 518 troops guarded the Wan Lao relocation site and forced villagers to build a camp for them and to stand guard over the shelters. The soldiers also gathered a list of all of the names of the villagers in case they want to recruit them for a People's Militia. Villagers at the Keng Lom relocation site

were initially permitted to return to their fields to farm them but have been banned from doing so since October 1996 when SURA soldiers in the area killed six SLORC soldiers in Nam Men village in retaliation for the rape of a local village girl. (See Appendix 1.6. for more information).

Ke See township

Ke See township has been tremendously affected by SLORC's forced relocation operations. The relocation began in March 1996, but new relocation orders were still being sent to some villages in July 1996, requiring they move within five days. In all, 7,112 households from 232 villages were ordered to move to five different sites.

SLORC troops killed many people during the relocation process and most of the 300 houses in Wan Parng and Nam Hoo villages were burned to the ground. Two village elders were burned to death in their houses in Murng Nang while trying to remove their ancient copper statues of Lord Buddha. At the Murng Nang relocation site (later relocated again to Murng Nawng), SLORC soldiers ordered people to build fences for their army camp, to clear the roadsides, to construct roads for the army, and to stand on sentry duty along the road.

Villagers were also forced to build fences around the relocation site at Parng Phone to prevent Shan armed opposition troops from having access to the villagers there. SLORC soldiers had become suspicious of collusion between the Shan troops and some former MTA soldiers who had surrendered and were living in the relocation site. On June 28, 1996, SLORC's LIB 514, newly stationed at Wan Ter Tard, Nam Morng Nai, Wan Zing tract, arrested eight former MTA soldiers, killing seven of them immediately. Next, they killed a woman who was guarding the road; SLORC troops suspected the woman of being an informant for SURA on a recent ambush in which SLORC troops suffered heavy casualties. (See Appendix 1.7. for more information).

Marng Su township

In May 1996, villages from Marng Su township were ordered by SLORC troops from Kun Hing and Murng Suu to relocate. In all, 697 households from 28 villages were relocated to seven different relocation sites.

The relocated villagers at Murng Zarng were permitted to return to work on their fields five days a week, but had to return to Murng Zarng for the

remaining two days in the week. Every few days they also had to regularly present themselves to the military authorities to have their names checked. Similarly, villagers relocated to Murng Ord were allowed to work on their fields if they obtained a pass from the local military camp. (See Appendix 1.8. for more information). *(Sources for above section: SHRF, KHRG, ABSDF)*

5.3.3. Massive Relocation in Karenni State

The SLORC-imposed relocations in the area of Karenni State represent almost every inch of land area where the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) has ever operated. The KNPP has been fighting Burmese occupation for over 45 years. On March 21, 1995, in Loikaw, the KNPP signed a cease-fire agreement with the SLORC, making it the fourth and final armed group in Karenni State to do so. But on June 28, 1995, SLORC broke the terms of the agreement by sending 2,000 troops into KNPP territory to take porters from the area. Two days later, fighting erupted after SLORC launched an attack on the KNPP headquarters near the Thai border. SLORC claimed the offensive was launched to chase away illegal Thai loggers and to secure a route through KNPP territory to that of drug warlord Khun Sa. In later public statements, SLORC even claimed that it had positioned so many troops in the area near the Thai border due to the possibility of threats to national security as a result of general elections in Thailand. Despite all of its talk to the contrary, by the end of March 1996, SLORC had taken all of the main KNPP bases near the Thai-Burma border. The KNPP reacted by reorganizing its guerrilla columns to prepare for other attacks.

With its policy of forced relocation, SLORC is removing the entire civilian population in the area so the KNPP columns will have no means of support and to terrorize civilians into convincing the KNPP to surrender. The Karenni Public Relations and Information Department estimates that as many as 75,000 people have been affected by SLORC's mass relocation orders in the Karenni state where the total relocated population is between 200,000 and 300,000. Currently, the only areas that remain unaffected by the relocation orders are in southern and central Karenni, where the Karenni Nationalities People's Liberation Front (KNPLF) operates; the KNPLF signed a cease-fire agreement with SLORC in 1994 which is still holding.

SLORC has moved over 30 battalions of 300 to 400 soldiers each to try to eliminate the Karenni armed opposition since the beginning of 1996. There were 27 battalions already in place in the area in March 1996, then another ten were added. These troops were moved immediately following the surrender of

Khun Sa's MTA troops in Shan State. Indeed, SLORC IBs 54, 72, 102, 249, and 250, and LIBs 109, 315, 306, 336, 337, 421, 427, 428, 429, 430, and 530 were sent to the Karenni area during the offensive. Various forms of human rights violations such as extrajudicial killings, rapes, torching villages, forced relocation, forced labor, and forced portering were carried out by the SLORC troops along with its offensive operation.

SLORC issued its first relocation orders in April 1996 in the Baw La Keh (often spelled Bawlake) area on the Pon River. *(See SLORC's order 55)* However, the biggest wave of relocations began on June 1, when an order was issued to all 98 villages between the Pon and Salween Rivers, an area 120 km. (north to south) by 15 km. (east to west), to move to relocation sites next to SLORC army camps at Shadaw and Ywathit. The order clearly stated that after June 7, anyone seen in or around any of these villages would be "considered as enemy," i.e., shot on sight, with no questions asked.

After the first massive relocation order, they just kept coming. To the south, villages in Pah Saung township were ordered to move to a relocation site near Pah Saung by June 20. Villages surrounding Mawchi and to the north and west all through the Too River watershed area, a total of at least 52 villages, were ordered to move to Mawchi, Bu Ko, and Kwa Chi by June 20. At least 26 villages east of Pruso and Deemawso were ordered to move by June 25, and seven to ten villages in the Daw Tama area, east of the Salween River, were forced to move to Daw Tama by the same deadline. Even just to the northeast of Loikaw, the capital, at least 29 villages have been forced to sign papers stating that they will be relocated if any shots are fired in their area.

At the end of April 1996, SLORC Minister of Tourism, Lieutenant General Kyaw Ba, made a public comment which defied SLORC's highly publicized efforts to encourage remaining ethnic groups to return to the legal fold and to join hands in a peaceful, democratic, and modern union. Instead, Lieutenant General Kyaw Ba, while commenting on the recent exoneration of opium warlord Khun Sa, said that SLORC could forgive Khun Sa following his surrender, as was the Burmese way, but the KNPP, who remained "recalcitrant" would not be granted any clemency. He continued, "we will smash them." In a statement issued on May 11, 1996, the KNPP reported several successful ambushes of SLORC troops in the area between the Pon and Salween rivers. Following the ambushes, SLORC killed some villagers living nearby in retaliation.

Most of the villagers affected by SLORC's relocation orders are ethnically Kayah, and there are also many Shans in some areas (no connection to events

in Shan State). Even in areas where people have not been ordered to move, east of the Salween River, most people are hiding in the forest. They fear SLORC troops will take them as porters or forcibly relocate them at gunpoint.

Due to the short notice given by the SLORC authorities, most villagers could only manage to carry limited supplies on their backs; most of their food, livestock, and other property had to be left behind. In some cases even the sick, the elderly, and the disabled had to be left behind to fend for themselves in the abandoned villages because they could not manage the walk through the mountains and their relatives could not carry them. Crippled villagers and sick children were later found by returning villagers or KNPP columns, hiding alone in villages already burned and destroyed by the SLORC. In Daw Ei Hla village, a 60-year-old blind woman was left alone in her house with a little food. Her decomposed remains were later found where she had fallen in her house and died slowly of starvation.

After villagers have relocated, SLORC troops raid the abandoned villages. The soldiers kill the livestock and destroy crops and property, often razing entire villages. They steal everything. In Daw Leh Ku village alone, 22 houses, 300,000 baskets of paddy, and about 10 cattle and buffaloes were all stolen or destroyed by troops. In Ka Ya Kee village, it was reported that all the bibles in the Roman Catholic church there were burned.

On June 15, according to some refugees, one hundred houses in Daw Tama and Daw Bo Leh villages as well as the local schools and churches were burned down by the SLORC. In that village alone, soldiers looted more than 10,000 silver coins. One of the villagers reported that he had left 6,000 silver coins behind. Later, many villagers reported that they saw SLORC soldiers using and selling silver coins in Shadaw.

Although SLORC promises a supply of food at the relocation sites, the people are not provided anything, let alone food. It is important to note that these relocations occurred during the rice planting and growing season -- more than half of Karenni people had no rice harvest in 1996. During June, at Shadaw and Ywathit sites, SLORC permitted some villagers one last chance to return to their homes for seven to ten days to bring back some food. People at Shadaw were told to return by June 27 or be shot on sight. Villagers near Baw La Keh were told that in July 1996 all roads would be blockaded and cross-river ferry service stopped.

Many villagers used their chance to return to their farms as an opportunity to escape into the jungle or flee to Thailand. In July, about one month after the

June relocation deadlines, SLORC troops launched an operation to burn and destroy all remaining villages. A similar operation was mounted in January 1997. Some villages were completely annihilated. Between the Pon and Salween Rivers, of the 98 villages ordered to relocate, 60 to 70 have reportedly been completely razed. In other villages, SLORC soldiers destroyed the best houses and the rice barns and killed all the villagers' livestock and cattle. Some villages were not destroyed but the soldiers laid landmines; some men and women were killed by the mines in Baw Ghu Der township, when they tried to return to their village.

Thousands of villagers are now living at SLORC-designated relocation sites at Shadaw, Ywathit, Daw Tama, Baw La Keh, Daw Tama Gyi, Tee Po Kloh, Kay Lia, Mar Kraw She, Maw Chi, Pah Saung, and Nwa La Bo. At Shadaw, some barracks are being built beside the military camp to house some of the people. However, at most sites, SLORC troops simply allocate an area of scrubland and tell the villagers to clear it. At Wan Mai, near Baw La Keh, the troops have confiscated farmland, marked it out with stakes and are forcing the relocated villagers to buy plots from the battalion to build their houses. At the Shadaw site, after the villagers had cleared the ground for their shelter, the troops decided that the area would be good for growing beans for the army and ordered the people to clear another place to settle. Most villagers are not able to build a house since bamboo and roofing leaves are difficult to obtain, especially during the rainy season. Six months after their relocation, most villagers were still living in make-shift shelters.

Upon arrival at most of the relocation camps, villagers had to hand over whatever rice they had to SLORC troops; the rice was then rationed back to them each week. For example, at Maw Chi, villagers received 8 milk tins per person per week (only half the amount required to feed an average-sized adult). The rations only lasted the first one or two months. At some of the camps, the Catholic Church has tried to help the villagers by providing rice, medicine, and blankets. In almost every case the SLORC has tried to confiscate or block the aid. The soldiers demand that all rice and supplies be handed over to them for distribution, then they take most of it for the army. The SLORC has also tried to stop churches from being set up in the relocation camps and has gone so far as to separate priests from their congregations, ordering them to move to Loikaw instead of the relocation camps. (A large proportion of Kayah people are Roman Catholic, and the Catholic Church is quite prevalent throughout Karenni State.). At Nwa La Bo camp, the township LORC officials ordered each relocated family to grow 3 acres of beans, harvest them, and gather them in the camp to be distributed among the villagers. As soon as the beans were gathered, the army loaded them on trucks and took them away.

Water supplies are inadequate and unsanitary at many of the sites and disease is rampant. People seeking medical assistance must purchase their own medicine. At Shadaw, people must buy a "clinic ticket" before they can see a nurse. Many people are dying of disease at all of the relocation sites. In Shadaw, an estimated 300 villagers have died; in Mawchi, at least 100 have died from disease. Every day as many as 3 or 4 people, mostly children, die from malaria, dysentery, and respiratory diseases.

In most sites, people must perform forced labor for the soldiers. They are required to cut bamboo and wooden posts to build barracks and fences, to dig ditches, and to stand on sentry duty. In Shadaw, Daw Tama Gyi, and Tee Po Kloh sites, people are forced to do road construction work.

In order to ensure that more people do not flee the camps and that opposition groups do not raid them, SLORC has laid landmines around the relocation camps. Military defenses are especially prevalent at Shadaw, Maw Chi, and Ywathit sites, where SLORC is most wary of the KNPP forces. SLORC has built military posts inside the relocation sites and has arrested people inside, usually for suspicion of having contact with opposition groups. In Tee Po Kloh site in August 1996, 12 villagers were arrested for allegedly having contact with the KNPP; the 12 were severely beaten and tortured for their association. Five of the twelve villagers died while being tortured. The survivors were detained indefinitely without charge or trial at army camps. As of January 1997, at a batallion 530 camp alone, 64 Karenni villagers were still being detained for contact with the KNPP, including the seven survivors from Tee Po Kloh. Their fate is not known, nor are the numbers of villagers being held at other camps.

Many villagers who obtain passes to reach their villages go into hiding, constructing small shelters in the forest instead of returning to the camps. They collect food in their village or in the forest to survive. Most people are almost out of rice and will face critical circumstances very soon. Hundreds of people fled Shadaw, a large relocation site holding several thousand people, to KNPLF territory near the Shan border and have been sheltered in various villages. Some have fled across the border of Shan State and have been staying in SNPLO areas but they are now reportedly returning to their home areas. Some people fled the Shadaw relocation site to Loikaw (capital of Karenni), but SLORC didn't allow them to stay in the town, instead they put them in Nwa La Bo concentration camp, along the road north of Loikaw. About 700 people are presently at that site; they are reportedly receiving some rationed rice but the medical clinic is closed and there are no medical supplies.

At least 3,000 people fleeing the relocation sites have arrived at Karenni refugee camps in Thailand, despite the difficulty and danger of the four to seven day walk through the jungle and over mountains in the monsoon rains and mud, with little or nothing to eat, and the all-too-real possibility of encountering SLORC troops along the way. A large proportion of people arrive at the refugee camps suffering from malaria, respiratory infections, fever, vomiting, diarrhea, dysentery, skin diseases, malnutrition, and exhaustion. Many children have died shortly after arriving at the camps. In the first week of July 1996, one observer estimated that one child was dying each day. Overseas aid organizations helping the refugees are treating as many people as possible with the limited resources available. SLORC officers make it difficult, they have already demanded that the Thai army return all of the refugees. *(See SLORC letter for travel to Karenni people in "Selected SLORC Orders")*

At 2 a.m. on January 3, 1997, a force of between 20 and 50 armed men crossed into Thailand and attacked refugee camp 2, firing assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, M79 grenades, 60 mm. mortars and 2-inch mortars. One man and one woman were killed and at least nine refugees were wounded. The dead and wounded ranged in age from 14 to 60 years of age.

A written statement and uniform left behind after the attack indicated that it had been carried out by the Karenni National Democratic Army (KNDA), an armed wing of the Karenni National Democratic Party (KNDP). This "splinter"' organization was formed on November 5, 1996; it allied itself with SLORC to fight against the KNPP. While the group claims to be independent, it is widely believed that the group was initiated by SLORC to divide the KNPP and to use as a front-group for attacking refugee camps in Thailand, just as SLORC has used the DKBA to attack Karen refugee camps further south. Some refugees and KNPP officials believe that the attackers were actually SLORC soldiers simply using the name of KNDA and KNDP, based near Deemawso, quite far from the area of camp 2. The refugees continue to be extremely afraid for their safety, as camp 2 is only a 20-minute walk from a SLORC camp across the border in Burma and the Thai authorities are clearly not willing to expend many resources defending the refugees or Thai territory.

5.3.3.1. List of Villages Forcibly Relocated in Karenni State

The following villages are known to have been forcibly relocated in Karenni State. This list has been provided courtesy of the Karenni Information Ministry; it is not an exhaustive list. Numbers on the lists correspond to the numbered dots on the map showing village locations. Some village names are quite

common and repeat themselves, such as Daw Kraw Aw, Daw Tama, and Daw Mu Say.

Villages Between Pon River and Salween River

On June 1, 1996, the following 98 villages were sent a written order (see example copy in this report -- Order 55) to move to Shadaw or Ywathit relocation site by June 7, with most moving to Shadaw. The villages encompass and area measuring about 120 km. (from north to south) by 15 km. (from east to west).

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
1	Daw Kadweet	30	Pana Leh
2	Daw Taku	31	Tee Tho Ku
3	Daw Eida	32	Tin Loi
4	Daw Naw Klu	33	Daw Leh Ku
5	Tee Taraku	34	Daw Law Bu
6	Tee Leh	35	Nam Loi Yin
7	Naw Plu	36	Daw Ei Taw
8	Daw Tanaw	37	Shadaw (North)
9	Leh Dukaw	38	(name not given)
10	Daw Mu Say	39	Tee Ku Leh
11	Leh Du	40	Shadaw (West)
12	Thaw Thwee Leh	41	Shadaw (South)
13	Daw Mu Leh	42	Pa Lai Lai
14	Nam Aw Lay	43	Daw So Sah
15	Klaw Leh	44	Daw Pu Ei
16	Tee Ka Bo Leh	45	Bu Law Ku
17	Su Leh	46	Si Ko Leh
18	Daw Wai Raw	47	Daw Ta Ma
19	Thirida (East)	48	Daw Ta Maw
20	Thirida (West)	49	Daw Klaw Leh Du
21	Daw The Phu	50	Daw Thaw Bu
22	Daw Noh Ku	51	Daw Ei Lah
23	Daw Klaw Leh	52	Daw The
24	Daw Klo Ku	53	Nga Ma Loh Soe
25	Daw Mumar	54	Daw Klaw Leh Phu
26	Daw The	55	Daw Mi Ku
27	Daw So Klai	56	Daw Ei Sa
28	Daw Soe	57	Daw Klo Ku
29	Daw Kraw Aw	58	Daw Ta Tho

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
59	Daw Klai The	79	Manai Ku
60	Daw Klo Ku	80	Daw Leh Ku
61	Daw So Kyar	81	Tee Tho Ku
62	Tee Kay Leh	82	Daw Kulee
63	Daw Klaw Duh	83	Wan Loi
64	Dee Leh	84	Pa Ku Dah
65	Daw Soh Doh	85	Wan Pi Lu
66	Daw Klo Ku	86	Nam Lin
67	Daw Thaw Ku	87	Leh Way
68	Daw Tama	88	Mine Lam
69	Daw Tamwi	89	Wan Pha Gyi
70	Daw Bo Loh	90	Wan Pla
71	Daw Mu Say	91	Nan Chai
72	Daw Kraw Aw	92	Nan Noh
73	Daw Leh Da	93	Ji Kwe
74	Su Leh	94	Sa Laung
75	Daw Sar Si	95	Wan Aw 1
76	Daw Lar Leh	96	Wan Aw 2
77	Daw He So	97	Saw Lon
78	Nam Phe Ku	98	Tee Ke Leh

Villages in the Pah Saung and Maw Chi area

In June 1996, the following 52 villages (there are possibly more) were ordered to move to relocation sites by June 20, 1996. Villages in Pah Saung township were forced to move to a site near Pah Saung, villages north and south of Maw Chi had to move to sites near Maw Chi, and a few villages, about 30 km. northwest of Maw Chi near the source of the Too River, were forced to move to Bu Ko and Kwa Chi villages. The entire area encompasses about an 80-km long swath going northwest from the Karen State border in the south up to the southern tip of Shan State.

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
99	Peh Ko Kee	104	Baw Tar
100	Ko Baw Doh	105	Bu Law Po
101	Ku Tru	106	Har Thedo
102	Lay Law Tee	107	Kaw Tu Doh
103	Tu Doh Lay Ko	108	Sho Daw Ko

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
109	Plo Ti	130	Ka Tho Kee
110	Ma Tu Peh	131	Pweh Li Ko
111	Yeh Mu Peh	132	Thi Bo
112	Pan Put	133	Hu Mu Kla
113	Nam Kut	134	Ra Raw Bo
114	Pa Haw Ko	135	Lar Wa
115	Yaw Di Ka	136	Thaw Thi Lu
116	Po Bu Ku	137	Par Put
117	Sho Ka Seh (1)	138	Tu Ka Thu
118	Sho Ka Seh (2)	139	Thaw Thi Po
119	Geh Lo (lower)	140	La Par Ti
120	Ka Bweh Doh	141	Doh Po
121	Plah Kee	142	Pain Chit
122	Bwa Doh	143	Kaw Kee
123	La Bweh Po	144	Doh Mo Kaw
124	Ho Sak	145	Sonlel
125	Ka Baw Nga	146	Yu Lay Ko
126	Bu Ko	147	Ko Leh
127	Kwa Chi	148	Bweh Do Tha
128	Sho Lo	149	Keh Kaw
129	Lel Po	150	Par Weh

Villages in the Dee Maw So, Pruso and Baw La Keh area

The following 26 villages east of the Baw La Keh-Pruso-Dee Maw So road were forced to move to relocation sites at Tee Po Klo, Kay Lia, Daw Tama Gyi, and Baw La Keh by the June 25, 1996. The area measures about 40 km. north to south and 15 km. east to west.

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
151	Daw Ku Li	159	Daw Bya Ku
152	Daw Lyah Ku	160	Daw Ta Kleh
153	La Li Leh	161	Daw Law Ku
154	Daw Law Ku	162	Kay Bi Soe
155	Bu Lyar	163	Daw Pet
156	Ta Po	164	Daw Preh Tu
157	Daw Tanaw	165	Daw So Ku
158	Daw Put	166	Tee The Ku

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
167	Daw Takya	172	Daw Par
168	Daw Kyli	173	Daw Tama Gyi
169	Daw Mo Sheh	174	Daw Klet
170	Bu Ku	175	Daw So Pya
171	Daw Kaw	176	Daw Nyeh Ku

Daw Tama area

The following 7 villages in the Daw Tama area, east of the Salween River near the Thai border, were forced to move to a relocation site near Daw Tama by June 25, 1996.

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
177	Thaw Thwi Leh	181	Myeh Leh
178	Tee Kaw Leh	182	Daw Peh
179	Daw Plaw Du	183	Daw Ta Tho
180	Daw Tama		

Loikaw area

Elders in the following 29 villages northeast of Loikaw have been forced to sign papers guaranteeing that they will relocate if any shots are fired in the region. The area, about a 25 km. square area, is located between the Loikaw-Taunggyi road and the Pon River, from Loikaw northward to the Shan border.

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
184	Pa Da Nyeh	194	Nam Ma Hu
185	Pa Kyeh Thit	195	Daw The
186	Pa Temah	196	Daw Par Pa
187	Daw Mu Kla	197	Mai Mya
188	Lar Boi (lower)	198	Tha Wa
189	Lar Boi (upper)	199	Wah
190	Sam Pya	200	Paya Pyu
191	Daw Kraw Ku	201	Ye Kan
192	Daw The	202	Kon Nah (lower)
193	Lay Aim Su	203	Kone Paw

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
204	Wan Kar	209	Tee Lon
205	Kon Mako	210	Nam Sonkuay
206	Koy Ton	211	Wa Ngaw (west)
207	Nam Koy	212	Wa Ngaw (east)
208	Mae Huso		

(Sources for Sections 5.3.3. - 5.3.3.1: KHRG, SHRF, GN-32, & ABSDF)

5.3.4. Forced Relocation in Tenasserim Division

Altogether 25,000 civilians from over 5,200 families and 79 villages in Tenasserim, Boke Pyin, and Kyunsuu townships in the southern coastal region of Burma have been affected by forced relocation orders.

In early 1996, the SLORC established a new Coastal Region Military Command office in Tenasserim division; over 15 local battalions operate from the Command center. According to local sources, SLORC created this new regional command headquarters for the following reasons: to divide the armed revolutionary forces; to build up military power to control the local population; to develop Tenasserim division as an economic region; to ensure all resistance to the Ye-Tavoy railway and gas pipeline construction during the 1997 dry season will be countered; and to stabilize the military power in the region. Since the formation of this new Regional Command office, local people in the coastal region of Tenasserim Division have suffered a new wave of human rights abuses. These abuses have been carried out under the command of Brigadier-General Thiha Thura Sit Maung, a decorated military officer, known for his military campaigns against the Shan communists in 1977 and for the recent SLORC occupation of the Three pagodas Pass region.

In the relocation order, the SLORC authorities accuse the local people of failing to obey previous orders to report the activities of ethnic armed forces and ABSDF students. Under the forced relocation orders, families were to move out from their villages within a very short period of time, they had to leave behind all their belongings. SLORC threatened that anyone found in their village after the deadline would be killed on the spot. SLORC batallions charged with the relocation operations in the region are as follows: IBs 25 and 17, based in Mergui and LIBs 224, 358, 431, and 432 through 440.

Commander Sit Maung developed a harsh strategy to end the ethnic armed opposition in the Tenasserim Division. On June 6, 1996, in Theyet Chaung

township, he outlined his strategy in some detail. The major tactics he announced were: 1) if the insurgents fire a gun in any of the villages, this village is to be relocated within seven days, 2) if an insurgent group attacks inside SLORC territory, all the villages that the insurgent groups came through will have to move, 3) if any SLORC soldiers die during the fighting, the village that is nearest the fighting will have to pay compensation amounting to 50,000 kyats for each dead body, 4) if the insurgents take military equipment or food, the nearest village will have to pay the full cost, 5) if any SLORC arms are lost, the nearest village will have to pay compensation amounting to 15,000 kyats, and 6) the village where any battle takes place or any insurgent supporters exposed will be burned to the ground.

Since the cease-fire talks between the KNU and the SLORC did not look promising, the SLORC launched an offensive against the KNU bases in the Tenasserim region. Before launching its military offensive against the KNU, the SLORC had already begun forcibly relocating the villagers formerly under the semi-control of KNU in May 1996.

Moreover, the negotiations of the continued cease-fire agreement between the MNSP and SLORC has taken a turn for the worse recently. According to the cease-fire signed in June 1995, the NMLA was to give the SLORC the area under control of the most southern military command at the end of 1996. After several rounds of discussion with SLORC, the MNSP leaders agreed to withdraw MNSP troops from the area they had been controlling for several years. However, many low rank Mon soldiers and ordinary soldiers, dissatisfied with the agreement drawn by the NMSP leaders, split from the MNSP and formed the Mon Army, Mergui District (MAMD). The MAMD vowed to resume fighting with the SLORC. Soon after the formation of the MAMD and its declaration to continue fighting, the SLORC launched a military offensive against the MAMD bases in November 1996. *(Source: ABSDF)*

After the relocation deadline, several villagers have been killed by the SLORC troops while they launched patrol or military offensives to rebel bases. The two villagers named U Pho Khwe (52 years old) and his son named Lu Taw (13 years old) from Phar Ma village of Tenasserim Division were shot and killed by the SLORC troops of LIB 358 in the last week of October, 1996, while trying to get to the forest from a rice-farm.

Besides the execution of some villagers, several villagers disappeared from where relocation orders were issued. In the Ye Khan Chang area alone, about 40 villagers disappeared. Most of the disappearees were men; it is speculated that they have been arrested and killed or brought along with SLORC troops as

porters or forced laborers. *(Source: MIS/BKK)*

5.4. Cemeteries Relocated for Hotel Project

In yet another demonstration of its lack of respect for other religions, SLORC has ordered the relocation of Christian cemeteries. In March 1997, families were given extremely short notice in which to collect the remains of their loved ones; SLORC warned that any graves unaccounted for would be bulldozed.

Some months prior to the other cemetery relocations, SLORC officials announced that the Christian cemetery next to the Rangoon Zoological Garden would be moved. Families moved remains from that cemetery to a larger cemetery located at Nat-nat-taw. Recently, SLORC announced its plans for a hotel project at the site of Kyandaw cemetery, the largest cemetery in Rangoon. Kyandaw cemetery is home to the remains of many late great leaders of Burma, including former presidents and prime ministers as well as the tombed remains of the "thirty comrades."

In fact, SLORC has plans to use the sites of both Na-nat-taw and Kyandaw cemeteries for hotel projects. The projects are reportedly to be financed by Japanese interests and the drug kingpin, Khun Sa, who is being given royal treatment by the Generals. The United States has indicted Khun Sa on drug charges, but the SLORC refuses to extradite him. Once again, Christian families have collected the remains of their loved ones from Nat-nat-taw cemetery and reburied them at Ye Wei cemetery near Shwe Nyaungbin on Rangoon-Pegu road.

5.5. Other Incidents of Forced Relocation

- On January 12, 1996, IB 55 Column Commander Tint Nyaing ordered Play Sah Lo village in Taungoo district to relocate to Tha Pyay Nyunt army camp by January 15, 1996. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On January 22, 1996, Kyo Kee, Oo Ber, and Tee Sha Ber villages in Taungoo district were ordered to move to Kler Lah village; they were told that IB 55 troops would shoot all villagers who tried to remain in their villages. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On February 2, 1996, Brigadier General Kyi Aung and Strategic Commander Myo Hla ordered IB 55 Battalion Commander Lieutenant

Colonel Khin Maung Win to relocate Play Sah Lo village, in Taungoo district to Baya Na Thi. At noon the same day, Khin Maung Win and his troops reached Play Sah Lo and captured 40 people, including teachers and schoolchildren, who were having a meeting. The soldiers forced the group to cut bamboo, clear roads, and perform hard labor in Baya Na Thi. The soldiers told the group they would continue abusing them until they convinced all of their relatives in Play Sah Lo to move to Baya Na Thi. To help convince the villagers to move, the SLORC troops went to Play Sah Lo village and looted the village houses and stole money worth about 30,000 kyats. The same troops have ordered Zee Pyu Gone, Taw Ku, and Yay Sha villages to move to Sah Zee Bone village. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On February 6, 1996, IB 20 and LIB 535 formed a combined column of 200 soldiers. They marched into Chin Baung Taung village in Taungoo district burned three field huts and ricefields, destroyed and looted villager's belongings and stole livestock. They forced the villagers in Mein Lah Taung, Sin At Taung, Mi Ee Taung, Seik Pu Taung, and Kywe Kyat villages to move to a site at Bo Tay Gone. They also forced Ah Mya Taung, Shwe Lone Taung, Chin Baung Taung, and Tee Day villages to move to a site at Shan Lay Pyay. Some villagers have relocated as ordered, but many have gone into hiding or fled northward to the hills east of Pyinmana since it is quite difficult to reach the Thai border. *(Source: KHRG)*

- In mid-February 1996, Taw Ma Aye village in Tantabin township was ordered to dismantle all 150 of their homes and rebuild at Aung Myay Yan Za Pya village. Soldiers are forcing people to work at the relocation site, constructing roads, cutting bamboo, and making fences for the army. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On February 13, 1996, following a KNLA attack on two military camps of SLORC's IB 39 and LIB 434, SLORC ordered nine villages in Nyaunglaybin district to relocate. The villages are as follows: Pa Reh Si, Noh Taw Hta, Toh Kain Ko, Karen Yin Leh, K'Mo Meh, Thein Ghay Loh, Aye Pin Su, Oh Chit Ko, and Yin Twin Ko villages. Pa Reh Si village, the closest to the February 13 attacks, was forced to move upon receipt of the order, in just one afternoon. Villagers with larger houses did not have enough time to move everything; in the evening SLORC troops burned all the houses. Shortly thereafter, IB 60 troops led by Bo Aung Kyaw Htoo arrested a man and woman from Pa Reh Si village. Thein Ghay Lo villager bribed SLORC troops with 400,000

kyats in order to avoid relocation. *(Source: KHRG)*

- A total of 30,000 people from Kyun Hla township and nearby villages in Shwe Bo district, Sagaing division were ordered to vacate their native villages by March 1996. They were ordered to relocate to make way for the construction of the Thaphan Seik dam, now underway. In all, 1,084 houses, 40 government offices and monasteries from Kyun Hla township and 5506 houses in nearby villages were forced to move. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- In March 1996, four villages, seven miles east of Taungoo, Karen State, were ordered by SLORC to relocate in order to build a new army training center. The villages forced to move were Lon Bu, Tha Htay Gone, Kya Sakan, and Saw Lo. Despite villagers protestations that the land was covered with their betelnut and coffee plantations, the SLORC forced them to move without compensation. All of the houses and churches in all four villages were demolished. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On May 2, 1996, Strategic Commander Colonel Aung Naing Htun and LIB 344 officer Tin Tun Zaw (both from Western Command) ordered Day Lo village and other villages west of Thauk Ye Kat stream to move to a "combined relocation village" at Su Zee near Than Daung by May 9, 1996. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On May 20, 1996, the same column of IB 234 troops invaded Tee Loh and K'Ser Doh villages in Taungoo district, arrested villagers and forced them to Baya Na Thi relocation site. *(Source: KHRG)*

- On September 3, 1996, villages in Palaw township, Tenassarim division were ordered to relocate to Nandaw and Kyauk Taung villages, under the control of IB 101 by the end of September 1996. The villages were as follows: Pyi Char, Nga Tat, Maw Kamar, Ye Pu, Hti Lu, and Nagar Ai. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- During this forced relocation, brutal massacres have also been taking place in the area by the military. In June, 1996, 87 people were killed in Kyunsuu township on Don Island, and in May another 36 people were killed in the island's Eastern Mergui township. One eyewitness said all of the victims were innocent people working on the island and had no connection with the armed groups in the region. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- In May 1996, seven family members, including an infant were brutally

shot and killed by LIB 358 in Bokepyin township in Kyein-me Taung. Six civilians were also killed by a military column led by Major Htun Hla from LIB 17 in Tenasserim Township in Pawa Chaungwa. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- SLORC's LIB232, led by Commander Major Ohn Myint and deputy Commander Major Kyi Myint ordered people from village groups of Shinmataung, Minlanchaung, and Kothittaung, on the east bank of Sittaung river in Thandaung district, Karen State to relocate to Thitpokepin village, SLORC's so-called "concentration village" by the end of September 1996. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- Locals in Moemauk town, Bamaw District, near the Sino-Burma border, reported that the SLORC had pressured the KIO to relocate villagers in the area to areas under military control. One of designated areas is Nalone village. The primary school the SLORC had established has since been closed because the village only contains about ten households. The locals also reported that the military is pressuring the KIO to allow an army outpost, police, and customs and immigration office to be stationed at Loizar village on the border. However, they say due to the small size of the village, this may not be practical. The locals believe these demands by the military are just the beginning of the demands that it will make on armed ethnic groups after it agrees to a cease-fire with them. *(Source: ABSDF/North)*

- Local SLORC troops ordered villagers to relocate by 10:00 am May 26, 1996; villages that refused to move would be burned down. The relocation operation was carried out by LIBs 443, 265, 267, IB 17, and naval unit 38. So far, Le Thit, Ban Da Ne, Myaing Tha, Kyun Tha, Kan Tha, Than Pya, and Kyauk Tan Nge villages have all been totally destroyed by SLORC troops. Pe Tai, Sit Pu, Bang Taung, Thin Poona Kyun, Kye Ka Yan, Thin Kan Chaung, Phaya Htwet, Ya Mon, Kyauk Kon, Kyauk Pate, and Shaw Taw Maw villages have been relocated. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- In November 1996, SLORC troops from Longko-based SLORC LIB 99, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Khin Soe ordered the villagers in Kenglom district, Shan State to relocate to Kenglom village. On November 9, 1996, a military column led by Major Kyaw Thu forced the villagers from Wan Pai village. The soldiers later burned down four houses in the village. The SLORC troops also looted the houses in the village and confiscated cattle, chickens, pigs and household goods, according

to a Shan United Revolutionary Army source. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- In December 1996, SLORC ordered 14 Karen villages in Tavoy, Tenasserim, near the Thai-Burma border, to relocate to an industrial estate. The SLORC, along with some Thai investors, plans to build a 2 billion baht "Tavoy Deep Seaport" along with a 1,000-rai industrial estate that will be linked with Thailand's Western Seaboard project by a "land bridge" from Tavoy to Kanchanaburi in Thailand. The Tavoy industrial estate will include plants for processing agricultural goods, manufacturing wood furniture, and producing energy. *(Source: ABSDF)*

- On December 14, 1996, SLORC IB 64 Commander Khine Than Aye ordered headman Pu Haeng La of Hai Phak village tract, Murng Nai township, Shan State to move all the villagers from four of the villages in Hai Phak tract. The four villages were as follows: Hai Sen (37 houses/190 people), Nawng Kham Mon (30 houses/140 people), Nawng Khem (26 houses/ 130 people), Mong Kham (45 houses/230 people). *(Source: SHRF)*

- On January 20, 1997, 150 SLORC troops led by Major Aung Zaw Tun of IB. 44 from Kun Hing accused villagers from Wan Nam Oi of supporting Shan resistance groups and ordered them to move immediately to Hai Pa village tract. The village headman, Loong Zai Long, asked Major Aung Zaw Thun to give them 3 days to move; his request was denied. In all, 297 people (137 males and 160 females) relocated in one day. At 3 p.m. the following day, Major Aung Zaw Thun sent his second in command Major Thun Tin along with 60 troops back to Wan Nam Oi to burn down the village and steal all of the livestock.*(Source: SHRF)*

- In February 1997, SLORC local battalions ordered six villages, along the Kami stream, to relocate to the west side of the stream by February 25, 1997. Many villagers chose to flee to the Thai-Burma border rather than adhere to SLORC's orders. The following villages were affected by the relocation order: 1) Kyauk Ai village -- 50 households; 2) Kalat Kyi village -- 40 households; 3 Kadaung Ni village -- 150 households; 4) Gaung Say Chaung village -- over 60 households; Kyaunt Talon village -- over 30 households; and Kami village -- over 60 households. *(Source: FTUB)*

(See also under "Personal Accounts," interviews 15, 52, 53, 56-67, 70-75, 77, 78, 79, and 89-91)



Yadanabon Myothit, a new relocation site in Mandalay. (Photo by HRDU)

People are fleeing to Thailand to escape the forced relocation order in Tenasserim Division. (Photo by PLF)





Newly relocated site for civilians in Kalay, Sagaing Division. (Photo by Tarzan Htun)

Houses in Aung Thitsa ward, Kalay, Sagaing Division were destroyed under the SLORC relocation order. (Photo by Tarzan Htun)





People from outside Mandalay were forcibly relocated to a new place during 1996. (Photo by SAIN)

Houses are left abandoned in a village in Karenni State, as refugees flee SLORC's relocation orders. (Photo by KNPP Information Department)





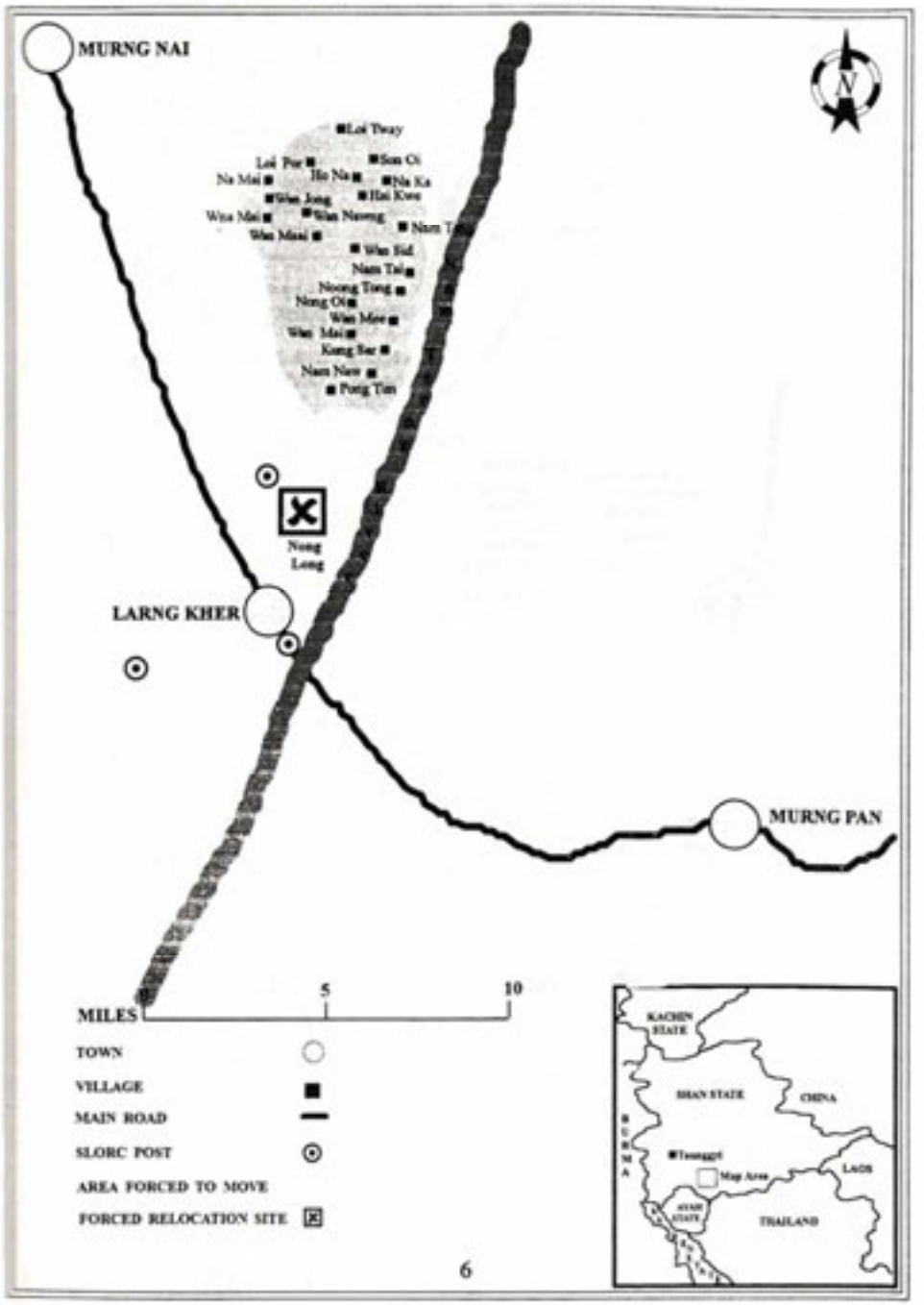
("Rest in Pieces"). Kyandaw Cemetary in Rangoon where the historic leaders of Burma were tombed also faced relocation orders for a hotel project.

Remains of a 60-year-old blind woman in Daw Ei Hla village, Shadaw township, Karenni State. She stayed behind in the village when the villagers fled after the relocation order. She fell down in her house and starved to death. Her remains were found 1 to 2 months after villagers fled. (Photo by Karenni Sources)



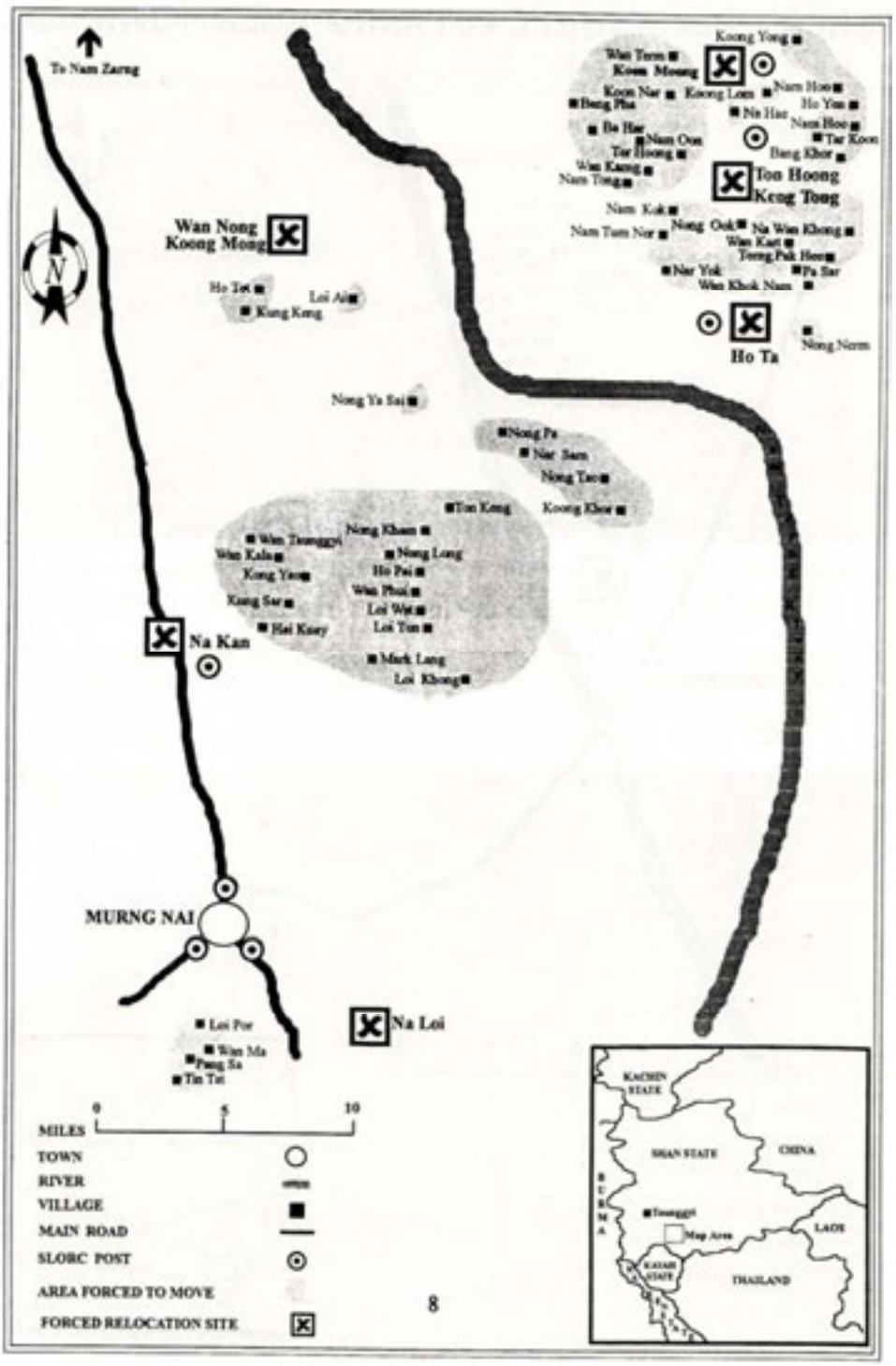
5.6. Maps of Relocated Villages in Shan State

FORCED RELOCATION IN LARNG KHER TOWNSHIP

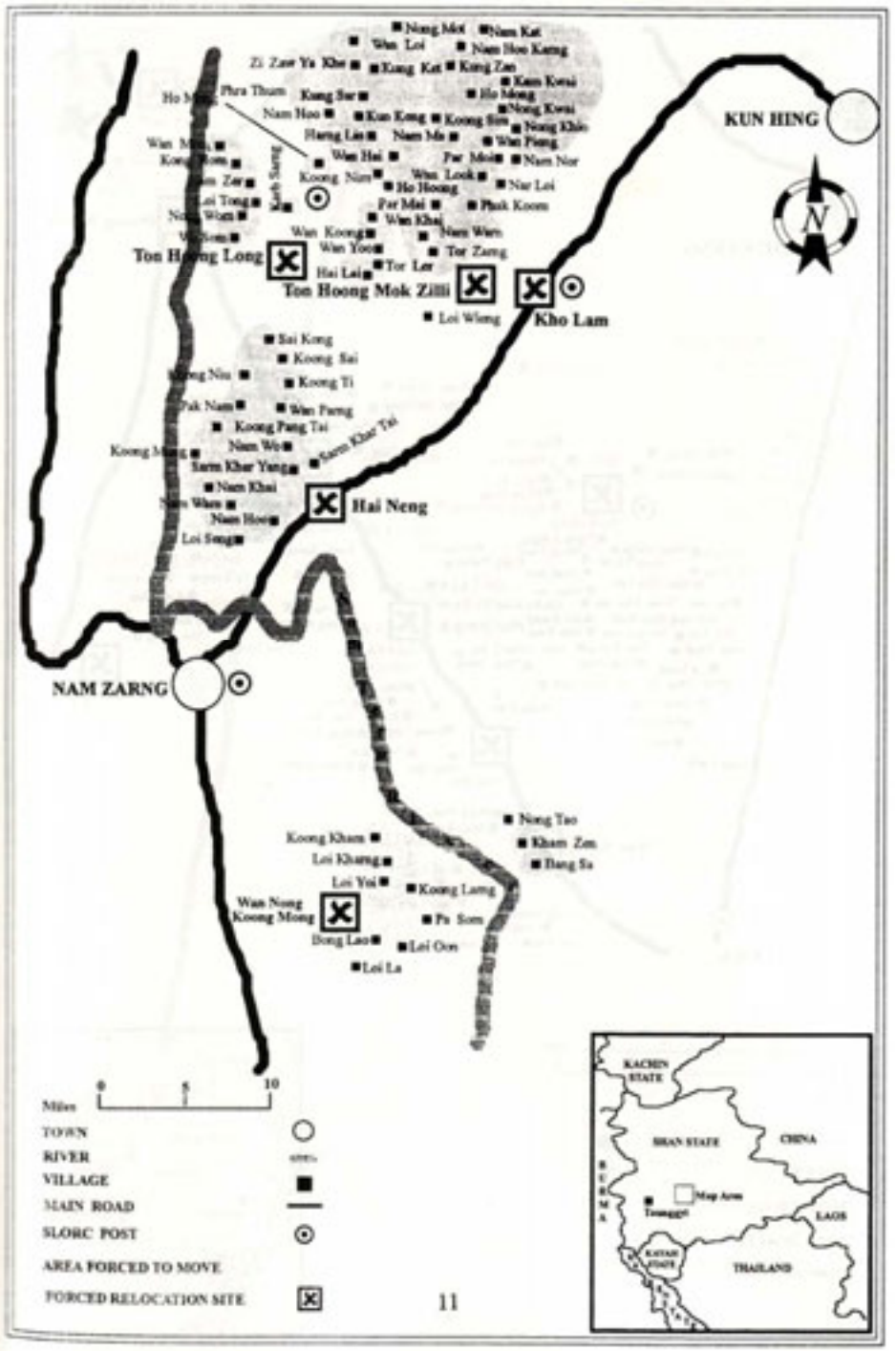


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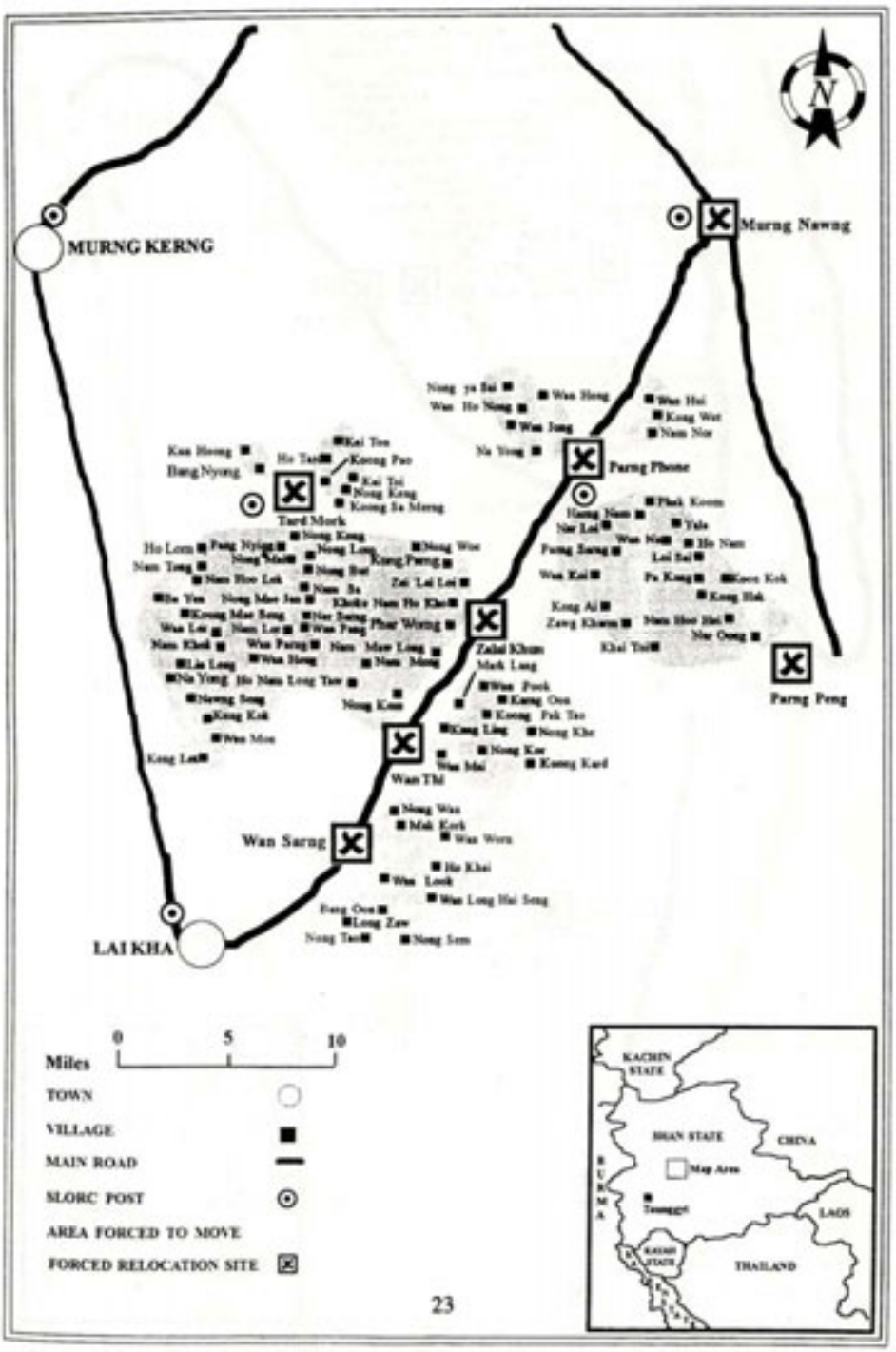
FORCED RELOCATION IN MURNG NAI TOWNSHIP



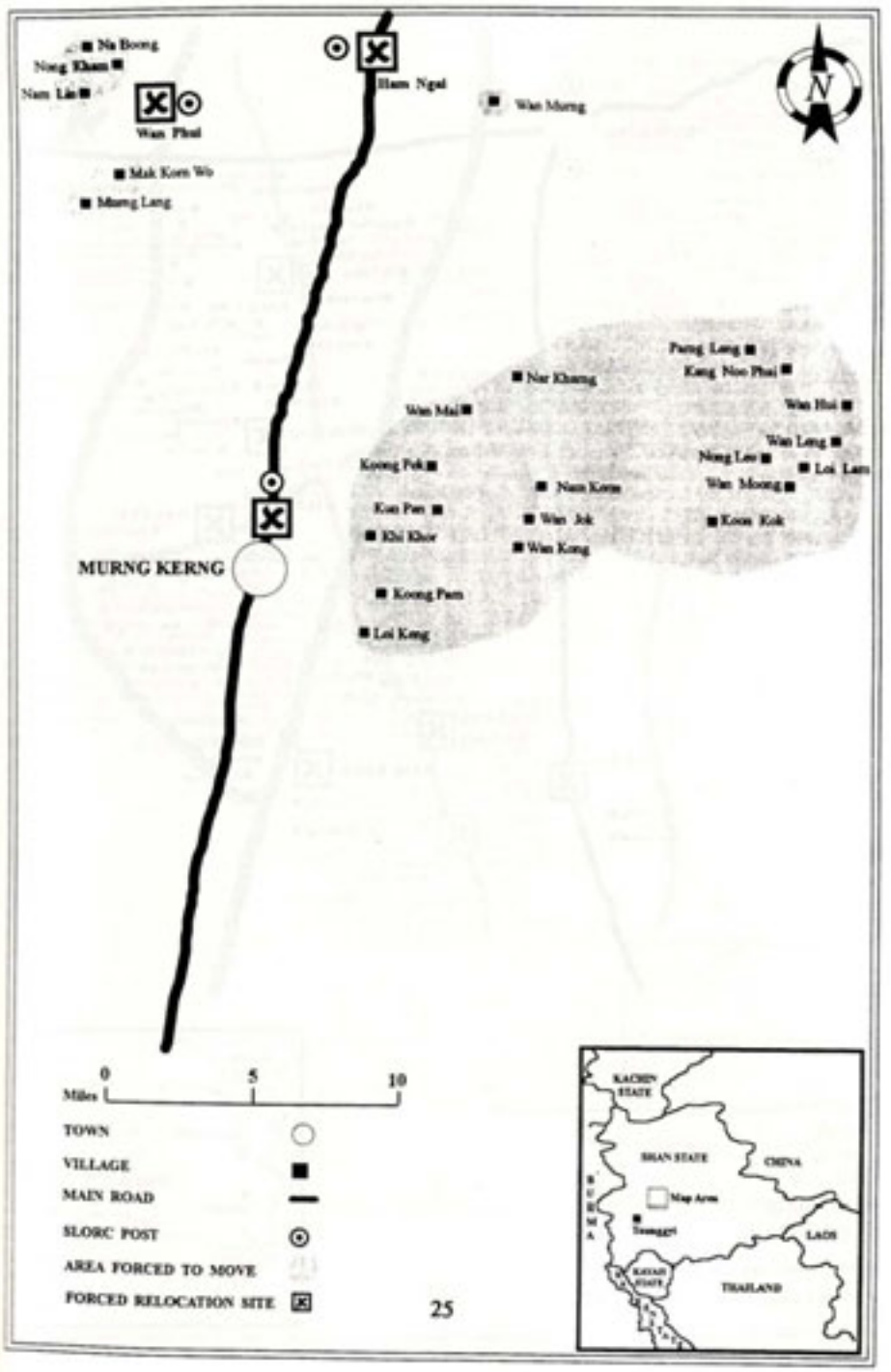
FORCED RELOCATION IN NAM ZARN TOWNSHIP



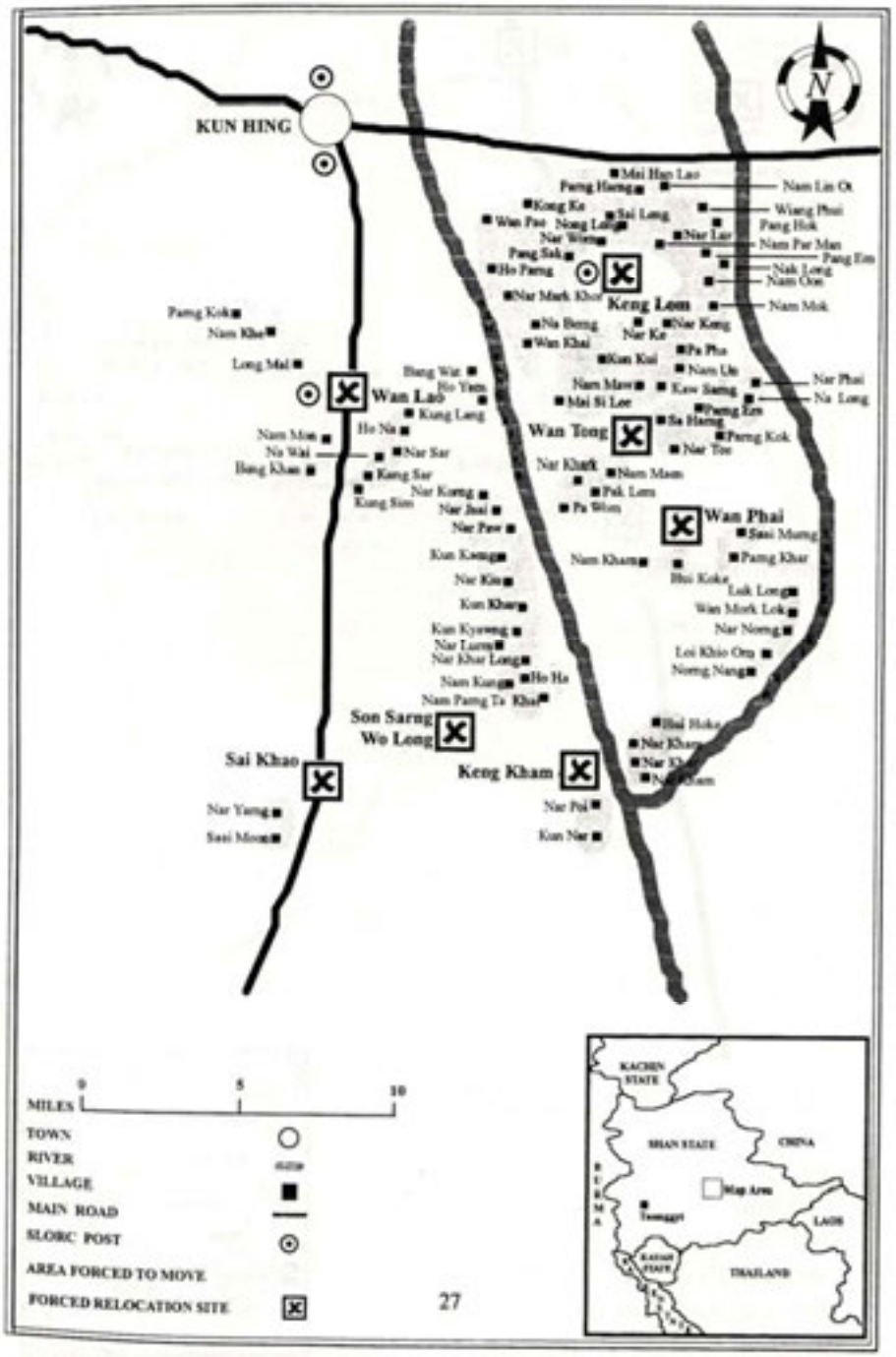
FORCED RELOCATION IN LAI KHA TOWNSHIP



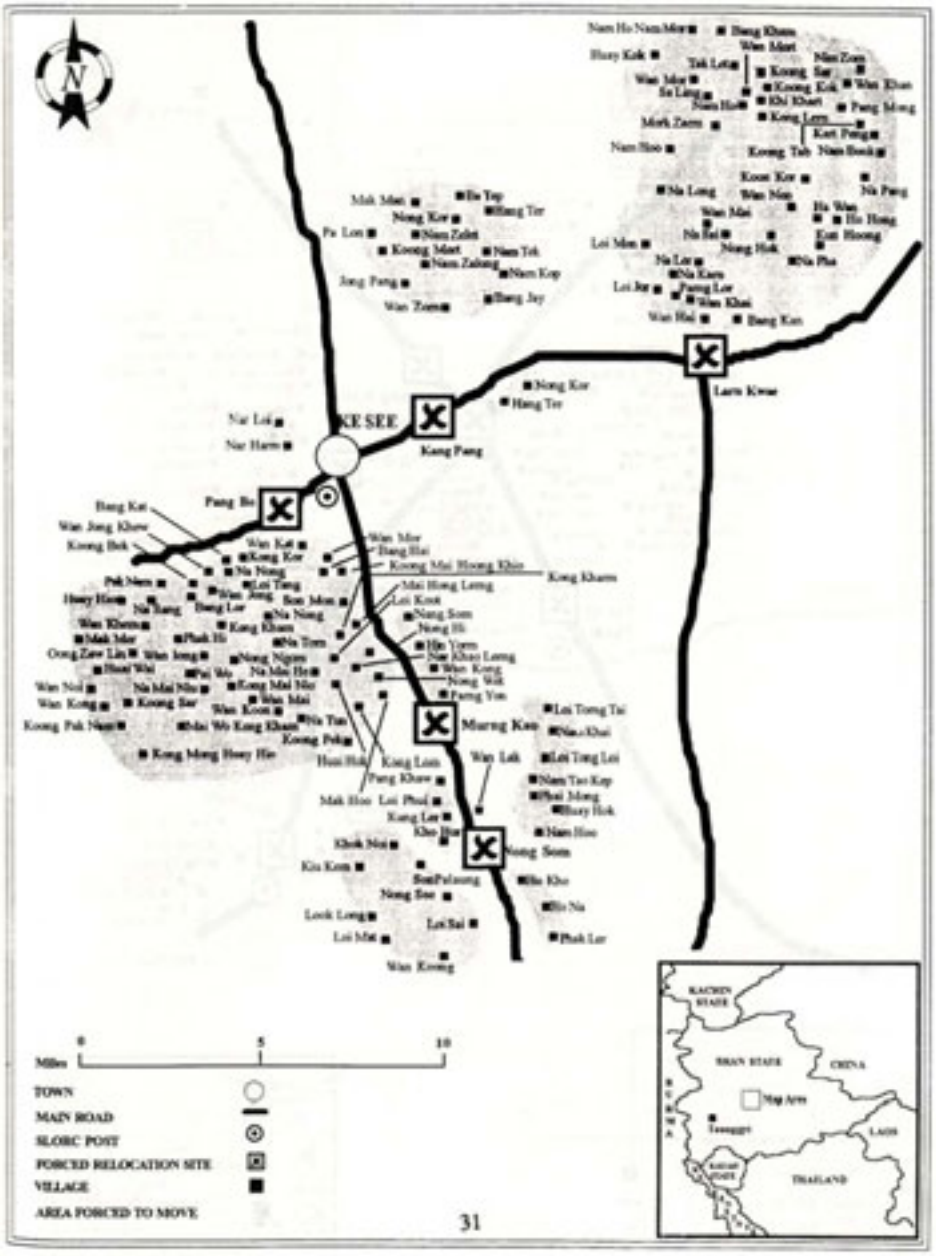
FORCED RELOCATION IN MURNG KERNG TOWNSHIP



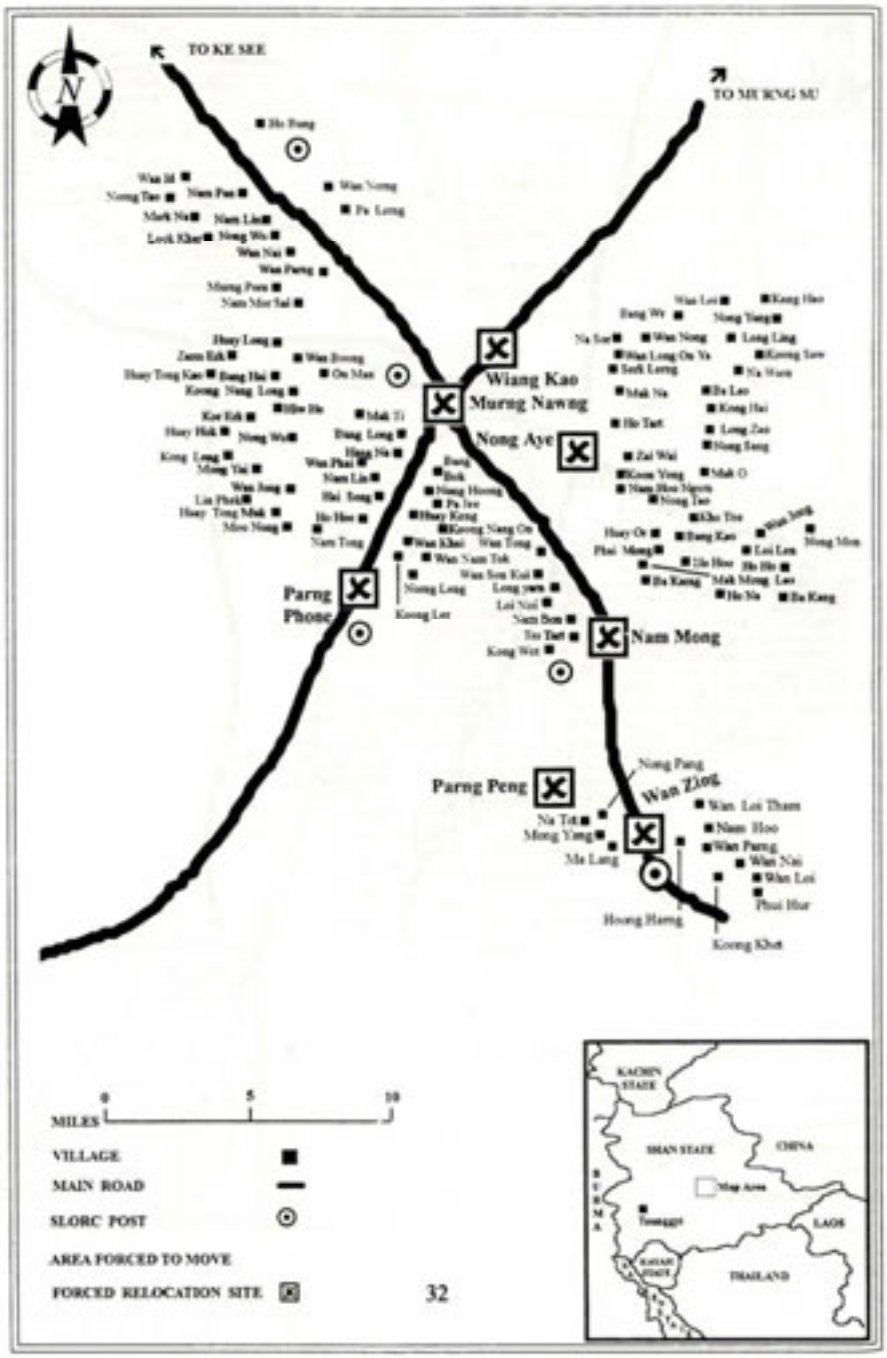
FORCED RELOCATION IN KUN HING TOWNSHIP



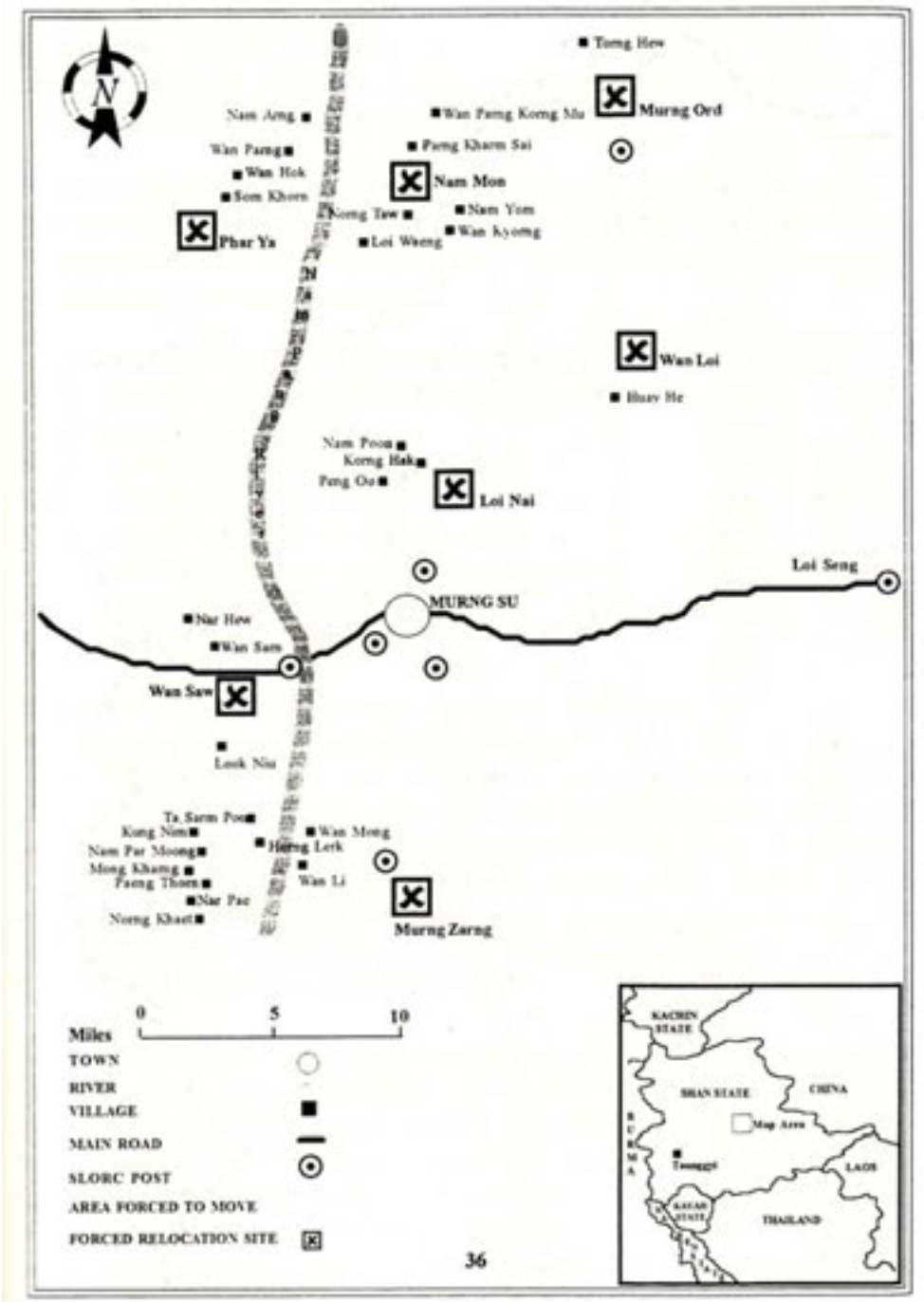
FORCED RELOCATION IN NORTHERN KE SEE TOWNSHIP



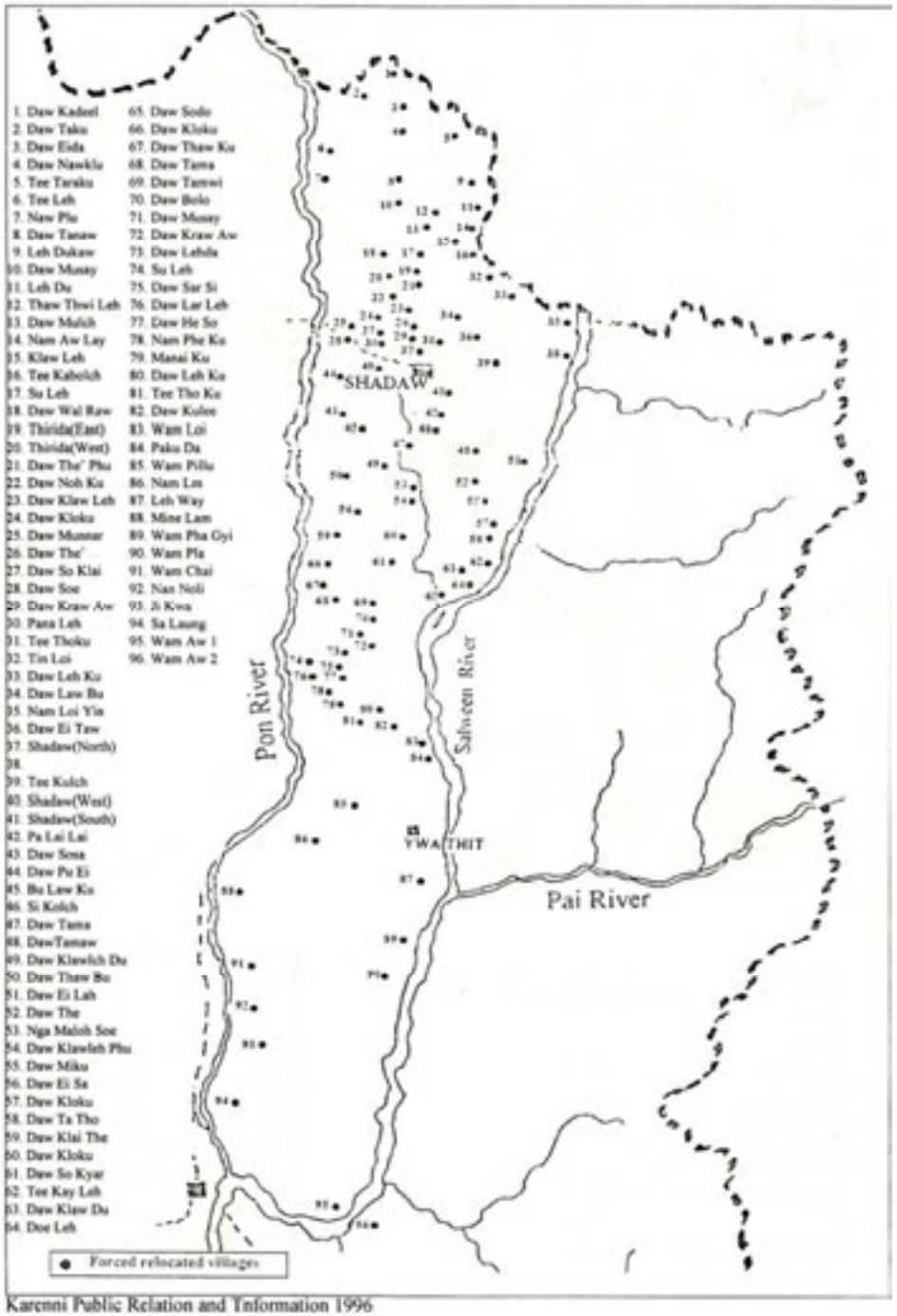
FORCED RELOCATION IN SOUTHERN KE SEE TOWNSHIP



FORCED RELOCATION IN MARNG SU TOWNSHIP



MAP OF VILLAGES IN SHA DAW TOWNSHIP FORCED TO RELOCATE BY SLORC IN KARENNI STATE



Karenni Public Relation and Information 1996

6. Deprivation of Livelihood

The economic situation in Burma continues to deteriorate, leading to significant frustration among a people that are continually mistreated by the military dictatorship. The price of many commodities remains high, while inflation continues unabated. The price of basic commodities is so high that even civil servants are finding it difficult to make ends meet.

The usual salary of a normal civil servant such as an engineer, school teacher, or lawyer, is 1,500 kyats per month. However, the SLORC's tax policies leave the people with little if any cash to spare. The following is a list of the typical taxes that civil servants must pay:

1.	monthly charge for volunteer fire watch	30 kyats
2.	monthly fee in lieu of portering	15
3.	monthly fee for sentries	20
4.	monthly reduction for unpaid loans	150
5.	monthly reduction for rice quota	200
6.	monthly reduction for social welfare	20
7.	monthly reduction for civil servant shops	10
8.	yearly fee for the water festival	50
9.	monthly fees for electricity	200

Therefore, at least 700 kyats alone must go to the SLORC. An ordinary family, consisting of three or four children of school age, has little left to make it through the month. One older civil servant said that when he receives his salary at the end of the month, sometimes there is only 9 kyats left after the fees and charges are removed. He said the largest amount he has ever received is 60 kyats. In April 1996, the SLORC began lending money to civil servants, requiring payment within a 20 month period. However, during this time, the rate of inflation on commodity prices has risen sharply and people have found it increasingly difficult to repay the loans.

Street vendors, small shop-keepers, and people who earn money from random jobs are perhaps the most frustrated with SLORC's tax policies. Small shop-keepers must pay 1,500 kyats a month in fees to the municipal department, as well as pay an extra 1,500 kyats in bribes to taxation officers. Other taxes imposed by the SLORC include a TV tax and deep well water tax. Anyone who owns a TV must pay 1,000 kyats a month in fees to SLORC, while people who possess a deep well water pump must pay 1,500 kyats a month.

These kinds of conditions exist throughout Burma, but the people in Burma's

outlying regions must handle not only the onerous tax policies and general economic underdevelopment; they are also at the mercy of SLORC's forced labor policies and the looting performed by SLORC soldiers. The descriptions below demonstrate how severely SLORC's policies have affected the people's livelihood.

6.1. Situation in Irrawaddy Division

The SLORC has begun using the resources of this region -- known for its rice cultivation -- to its own benefit, leaving people with little to spare. During 1996, the SLORC instituted a rice quota system in the Irrawaddy Division, under which a portion of each farmer's rice would have to be supplied to the SLORC (which the SLORC apparently then sent to China in exchange for weapons). In May 1996, many rice farmers were arrested because they could not meet the rice quota posted by the military authorities. A number of farmers were detained and sentenced to prison for this supposed "crime" for up to one year with hard labor.

Following the rainy season, all farmers in the Irrawaddy Division were ordered to grow dry-season rice. Farmers who had already planted and begun raising Soya bean crops for the dry season were forced to destroy their crops -- without compensation -- and plant the dry-season rice crop instead. If a farmer was unable to grow this rice crop, the farmer's fields were confiscated. (According to laws established under BSPP and which are still apparently selectively employed by SLORC, the State owns the land, water, and air; therefore the State is legally entitled to confiscate the rice fields of those farmers not meeting their rice production quotas. Thus, whereas previously a farmer could possess about 30 acres of rice fields, now the average is 12 to 15 acres.)

The name of the dry season production is "Theetatye," named for a growing method developed in China. The time frame for this crop production is about three and a half months. As a dry season crop, water must be pumped by machine from the rivers. The average production target for Theetatye rice is 100 baskets of unhusked paddies per acre. Production this year, however, averaged 45 baskets per acre. The reasons for the poor production figures were:

- Insects (which are more prevalent during the dry season)
- Lack of fertilizer
- Lack of fuel for pumps and other farm machinery
- Lack of water pumps.

In Mawata township, the LORC had agreed to distribute diesel fuel, fertilizer, water pumps, and hoses to the farmers. According to the arrangement, five acres of fields were to be allocated eight gallons of diesel and 75 kgs. of fertilizer per month. Diesel was to be purchased by the farmers at the official price of 28 kyats per gallon. The farmers, however, received only one delivery of seven gallons of diesel at 80 kyats per gallon. As for urea and/or phosphorous fertilizers, the farmers received nothing. On the black market, the price of urea is about 1,750 kyats per 50-kg bag; the cost of phosphorous is 1,200 kyats per 40-kg bag. Across the cultivation period for dry season rice, approximately five bags of each kind of fertilizer is required for a five acre area. Water pumps -- also not provided by the LORC -- must be purchased on the black market where they are expensive.

In addition to the costs that were supposed to be covered by the township LORC, all farmers also incurred the normal cultivation expenses of a growing machine (costing ten baskets of rice per acre) and a pair of oxen and a cart (costing 200 to 300 kyats per day). All of this is in addition to the 3,000 kyats per month that SLORC collects from all farmers in the region as a general fee.

Amidst these difficulties, each farmer was required to supply the SLORC with a quota of five baskets per acre. Given the costs required for cultivation, and the unfavorable conditions of the dry season, many farmers were not able to meet the quota. Many of those who did meet the quota had very little or nothing left over for themselves and their families.

The farmers unable to meet the quota requirements numbered around 15 to 50 per village (there are usually 100 to 400 houses per village). Rice quota stocks were collected in April. In May, action commenced against farmers who failed to meet the requirements of the quota system. These farmers were instructed to bring their own food supplies and were placed under detention in the police jail cells or, when jail cells were full, in school buildings. Once there, the requirements of the quota were again demanded of the detained farmers. Those failing to cooperate continued to be held in detention.

In May 1996, at Wakema town, the local school was filled with detained farmers. Thirty-three farmers were seen, some handcuffed, some tied with rope, all guarded by police, marching down a road to be relocated. This was a demonstration that anyone who failed to give rice would be treated this way. The same thing happened in Myaungmya, Einme, and Pantanaw. In order to meet the quota, many farmers had to sell their assets including homes, paddy fields, and cattle to buy the necessary amount of rice from other areas to fill their quota. The rice was then sold to the Irrawaddy Division LORC. The farmers

who had nothing to sell other than their paddy fields abandoned their homes with their families. Some of the other farmers who were old and feeble committed suicide because they could not escape like the others. Due to the SLORC policies during the last harvest, the population of farmers in the area has decreased and consequently the paddy fields were left uncultivated. In an attempt to solve the problem, the SLORC later released the farmers who had been imprisoned for not providing enough rice. The farmers, however, were required to sign agreements for the fiscal year 1996-97 to supply SLORC with the pre-determined quota of rice from the new harvest plus the amount left unpaid by the farmers.

6.2. Situation in Shan State

The people of Shan State, where inflation has been severe, have found it difficult to provide for their families due to the extent of uncompensated forced labor requirements of the SLORC. Since early January 1996, people of Larngkhur in Shan State have been required to split rocks to pave the road to Wan Hart; even civil servants are not spared. Each person must finish seven pits (enough to pave a ten-foot square area) and anyone who is unable to perform the work must pay 300 kyats per unfinished pit.

People must work at the sites until they finish their quotas, even if overnight. Soldiers overseeing work at Wan Wawng Leng village required the villagers to provide them with bicycles and tape-recorders. When the Burmese army has a contract to build a road in this area, it always forces the civilian population to do most of the work without pay, while the officials pocket the money meant for hired laborers' daily wages.

Villagers around Siseng town have had to send two tractor-loads of water to the nearby military base every day. People have to take turns to fetch water to fill the loads. The villagers and the tractor owners get nothing in return.

Meanwhile, the prices of consumer goods in Shan State have reached ridiculous levels:

1 viss of pork	400 kyats	
1 viss of small fish	480 kyats	
1 viss of big fish	400 kyats	
1 viss of chicken	400 kyats	
1 viss of garlic	200 kyats	
1 small sack of good quality rice	2,150 kyats	(1 viss is roughly 1.6 kg).

A gallon of gasoline is 370 to 400 kyats on the black-market. Though the price is much cheaper at government-owned pumps, only those who have a written permit can purchase gasoline there, and even they can only get two gallons per car each month. *(Source: SHAN)*

Such prices must be paid by people who spend much of their time performing uncompensated forced labor. But these prices are nearly unaffordable even on a civil servant, teacher, or nurse's salary of 1200 to 1500 kyats per month.

6.3 Situation in Chin State

The people of Chin State are the poorest in all of Burma. In this remote region, no local bus service exists and no transportation service is available to get to Central Burma. To make matters worse, the racial, ideological, and religious discrimination practiced by the SLORC have disproportionately affected these people, making an already difficult life even more unbearable.

Most of the Chin people are farmers, but the land in Chin State is not fertile. Though they are hard-working, it is not easy for them to make a living. Consumer prices in this area, though not as high as in Shan State, are still difficult for these very poor people to pay. Consider the following prices:

rice, 1 kg.	35 kyats
meat, 1 kg.	200 kyats
cooking oil, 1 bottle	80 kyats
egg, 1	10 kyats
tea, 1 cup	15 kyats
sugar, 1 kg.	120 kyats

The lack of purchasing power and consequent malnutrition make the Chin people prone to disease and ill-health.

To make matters worse, SLORC has military outposts throughout Chin State where ethnic fighting is common. Army personnel conscript local people to be porters or to perform other uncompensated forced labor such as building camps or constructing roads. As a result, villagers do not have enough time to work on their own land or otherwise make a living, however meager. Sometimes the conscripted porters are used as mine-sweepers or as the army's bullet shields. Many civilians have died during their porter service for the army, leaving their children and wives as orphans and widows. The army regularly kills cattle, pigs, fowl, and takes vegetables from fields without paying for them.*(Source:CHRO)*

6.3.1. 1997 Students' Festival in Haka

The All Burma Students' Festival is scheduled to be held in Haka in December 1997. This is the biggest Students' Festival ever held in Chin State. This festival is organized by the SLORC, which has collected 5,000 kyats from each landlord and 2,000 kyats from anyone who is paying rent, not only in Haka town but also in all of Chin State. Each student has had to pay 50 pyas (1/2 kyat) every month since December 1, 1995. For this school year, every student will have to pay 100 kyats more as a contribution to the Festival. At the same time, the people of Haka are being forced to work in order to extend the football ground and to build a stadium and new roads. The people who have their homes along the main road leading to the Festival grounds were ordered to repair and repaint their houses; all the buildings in bad condition had to be removed. Besides forced labor for the Students' Festival, the people of Haka township must also work to repair the Haka-Falam road, the Haka-Matupi road, the Haka-Than Tlang road, and the Haka-Gangaw road. The people are complaining that they have no time to do their own work to support their families. *(Source: CHRO)*

6.4. Nyaunglebin District, Pegu Division

Western Nyaunglebin District is in the Sittaung river plain, while the eastern part consists of hills where the Karen National Union still operates. In an attempt to make it impossible for KNU forces to operate in the area, SLORC has recently been intensifying its military campaign against civilians in the hilly eastern part of the district, particularly in eastern Kyauk Kyi township (northeast of Nyaunglebin). Several more villages have recently been ordered to move from the hills to military-controlled sites on the plain. Many people are fleeing and have become internally displaced in the hills. As SLORC and DKBA forces are actively blocking the routes from this area through Papun district to the Thai border, people have no chance to make it to the border as refugees. Stuck in the hills, these people are left with no way to make a living. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.5. Situation in Karen State

6.5.1. Taungoo District

Taungoo District is in the far north of Karen State, consisting of a small plain area east of Taungoo with steep, rugged, remote hills further east covering the northern tip of Karen State. People in Karen villages in the plain just east of Taungoo are regularly used for forced labor at army camps or to perform clearing and maintenance work around Taungoo town. They have also been used extensively as forced labor on the Pa Thee hydroelectric dam just a few miles east of Taungoo, which is now completed. Ywa Gyi and Ta Thay Gone villages were forced to move without compensation to make way for the reservoir of this dam.

Just east and south of this area in the hills, since the beginning of 1995, SLORC has been conducting operation "Aung Tha Pyay," an intensive "four cuts" operation aimed at burning villages, crops and food supplies, and shooting dozens of villagers on sight in their fields.[1] Additional Battalions were brought in from (Arakan) Rakhine State specifically for this purpose. Villages in the area from Bawgali (Kler Lah) to Bu Sah Kee have been especially targeted. Every village is forced to do unpaid labor on the Bawgali-Bu Sah Kee military supply road. Movement in the area is severely restricted and few people are allowed to go to Taungoo town for supplies. Some of the villages have been repeatedly ordered to relocate to Bawgali and other military camps in the area, though most villagers have responded by fleeing to the hills, where they are hiding in groups of two or three families facing possible execution if they are found. They are living on last year's rice supplies which they managed to hide before SLORC could burn it, but very few people were able to plant a rice crop during the 1996 rainy season. They face probable starvation as the months pass. As in Nyaunglebin District, it is difficult or impossible for these people to reach the Thai border because they would have to cross Papun District where SLORC and DKBA are actively blocking access routes to the border. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.5.2. Papun District

Papun (Mudraw) district is adjacent to the Salween River and the Thai border. It consists mostly of small villages in remote hills. In the first part of 1996, all

1 Using a "four-cuts" strategy SLORC attempts to cut links of intelligence, food, money, and recruits between armed opposition groups and local civilians.

100 villages in the area between Papun and the Salween River and south of Papun were ordered to move to SLORC military camps near Papun, Kar Boke and Par Haik, or to DKBA headquarters at Myaing Gyi Ngu (Khaw Taw), and told that if they did not move they would be shot on sight and their villages would be burned. Instead of moving to the camps, the villagers fled into hiding in the forest, and 1,000 to 2,000 crossed to Thailand as refugees. The situation in the region is now variable, with many villagers living tenuously in their villages but always fleeing to the hills when SLORC patrols arrive nearby. Many could not plant a crop this year and so face possible starvation in the coming year.

DKBA troops in this area are generally only operating in small groups attached to larger SLORC units. The DKBA soldiers act as guides for SLORC troops; when the column arrives in a village, SLORC soldiers give orders to the DKBA find and identify any "suspect" villagers and loot any food supplies they find. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.5.3. Pa-an District

SLORC is firmly in control in this region; during 1996 it has intensified its campaign to build a network of military roads throughout the region from the Salween River eastward to the Dawna Mountains. Many villages are being forced to work on two or three different roads at a time. Roads are generally being built to be wide enough so that two military trucks can pass. More battalions have been moved into the area, confiscating land, and using forced labor to build and maintain their camps. Muslims in the area have been particularly targeted for forced labor and portering, and the Muslim section of Nabu village has been destroyed. There is a small but steady stream of refugees fleeing the forced labor and extortion in the area to refugee camps in Thailand. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.5.4. Dooplaya District

Dooplaya District covers the region from Kawkareik southward to Three Pagodas Pass. Already, in the SLORC-controlled areas close to Kawkareik in the north and Kya In Seik Gyi in the west, villagers must constantly do forced labor, such as at army camps, cutting logs, or farming cash crops. In the south of the region many have been required to do forced labor planting rubber trees on army-confiscated land. Between Kawkareik and the Thai border, the Karen villages of Noh Poh, Ta Blu Ko Kee, and Tee Muh Hta were ordered to relo-

cate; some to the houses in these villages have since been burned. Some of the people have fled to Meh Kaneh village, while others have fled eastward toward the Thai border. Just north of Kya In Seik Gyi, the several spread-out hamlets making up Kya In village have all been ordered to move together to military-controlled sites along the Kya In Seik Gyi - Kawkareik car road. Anyone not moved by the end of December 1996 were to be shot and their homes burned. Over 100 households are affected. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.6. Situation in Tenasserim Division

The SLORC has created a new regional command called Coastal Command (similar to Southeast Command or Eastern Command -- sections of the army responsible for an entire large region of the country) under the command of recently-promoted Brigadier General Thiha Thura Sit Maung. Coastal Command has apparently been ordered to implement a major Four Cuts operation against villagers in Tenasserim Division. In mid-1996, SLORC ordered about 30 villages on the inland part of the coastal plain between Tavoy and Mergui to relocate to army-controlled sites along the Tavoy-Mergui car road (building and maintaining this road has involved extensive forced labor every year). This includes the large villages of Mazaw (40 km southeast of Mergui), Pyi Cha (80 km north of Mergui, near Palauk), and Pala (40 km northeast of Mergui, near Palaw), and other villages in those areas. SLORC provides nothing at the relocation sites, so many of these people have fled eastward across the hills to KNU-controlled areas along the Tenasserim River near the Thai border. Further south, halfway between Mergui and the southern tip of Burma (Kawthaung), most of the villages in the area are ethnically Thai, Burman, Muslim, or Tavoyan. (There are only three Karen villages in the area - Nan Ka Prao, Ze Daeng, and Kaw Bawt.) All of these villages have been ordered to move.

The Tavoy-Mergui car road is still under repair with forced labor. Villagers must wade into streams, collect stones for the roadbed, sort them by size, and manually break them. Work continues on the Ye-Tavoy railway, though there are reports that SLORC has now given one million kyats to each battalion and ordered that their soldiers do the work for pay. (Some battalions appear to be doing this, though other battalions did it for a few days and then began keeping the money and ordering villagers to do forced labor once again.) This SLORC initiative may be the result of pressure advanced by the oil companies working in the region -- TOTAL and UNOCAL -- who have received a lot of negative international press due to the benefits they receive from the SLORC's forced labor policies at the Ye-Tavoy railway project. The companies may even have given SLORC the money to pay for the construction and the labor involved.

Both TOTAL and SLORC officials have told villagers in the pipeline area that TOTAL will bring machines to build the 10-mile section of the railway from Ain Da Ya Za to Kalein Aung (only a small segment which crosses their pipeline route). The oil companies are trying to avoid direct blame for forced labor, while actually doing nothing to alleviate the system of forced labor. The oil companies have tried to hire labor but SLORC usually forces villagers to do unpaid labor anyway, with or without the knowledge of the companies. People were forced to participate in unpaid four-day shifts on pipeline-related projects, at jetty and army camp facilities, hauling pipeline supplies arriving by sea at Ka Daik, constructing helipads for oil company helicopters at Ka Daik and 52-Mile (near Mi Kyaun Laun), and building the "pipeline road" (the service road alongside the pipeline) from Hpaungdaw to Kanbauk and Ain Da Ya Za to Mi Kyaun Laun.

People in the area also continue to suffer increased forced labor and extortion due to the increased military presence in the area to protect the pipeline. The oil companies have been pressured over this, and their response was to decree that they would pay villagers who are forced to do military portering labor for SLORC. Just before the past rainy season, groups of villagers fled to Thailand to escape the forced labor requirements. Some who had been forced to be military porters for up to one month were requested by the SLORC to appear at the oil company office. There they received retroactive payment for their work, only to have it taken away again by the soldiers. Others who had not worked as porters had been rounded up in their villages, taken directly to the oil company office, forced to say they had been porters and then forced to hand over the money they received to the soldiers. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7. List of Incidents

6.7.1. Throughout January 1996, Columns 1 and 2 of IB 55 entered villages in Taungoo district such as Klaw Mu Der, Shar Shee Po, and Plaw Pu where they looted villagers' belongings and killed livestock. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.2. In January 1996, troops from IB 63 entered Wah Tho Ko, Kaw Po Kee, Meh Baw Kee, Toh Meh Kee, and Noh Bo Lah villages in Meh Wai village tract and looted the villagers' food, money, belongings and livestock. They also destroyed villagers' belongings and looted rice in Lu Thaw Ko village. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.3. On January 1, 1996, IB 24 and DKBA began burning villagers' rice

barns in hill areas in Thaton district. They began by burning a total of 4,950 baskets of paddy belonging to 38 villagers in two villages, and killed villager Maung Aye Moe. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.4. On January 1, 1996, a military column of LIB 105 and DKBA went to Maw Kee village in Papun district and shot and wounded a 29 -year-old villager in both legs. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.5. On January 3, 1996, 300 soldiers from LIB 105 led by Second-in-command Tun Aung Sein and 2nd Lieutenant Win Tin, entered Klaw Hta, Baw Thay Hta, Meh Wah, and Thay Ko Der villages, in Papun district and burned all the rice barns; they returned to Papun on January 6, 1996. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.6. On January 11, 96, troops from columns 1 and 2 of IB 55, led by Captain Thein Tint, destroyed Tee Ler Ghaw village in Taungoo district, including villagers' homes and belongings. They also looted several tins of rice, 40 chickens, chilies, salt, and a big pot. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.7. On January 24, 1996 in Kyu Bay Sheit, SLORC Commander Than Soe ordered each village in the area of Nyaunglaybin district to pay a fine of 8,000 kyats because he said they were in contact with the KNU. All large villages were also ordered to give 350 baskets of paddy; small villages had to give 35 baskets. SLORC Commander Than Soe only paid 100 kyats per basket to the villagers, but then milled the paddy into rice and sold it for 450 kyats per basket. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.8. On February 7, 1996, Column 2 of IB 59 (based in Naw Soh village) burned 20 houses in Ku Lu Der village. In Kaw Thay Der village in Taungoo district, they demanded that each house give them 1,000 kyats. They also took 19 cows worth a total of 120,000 kyats and ordered the villagers to drive the cattle across a minefield in order to clear it. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.9. On February 25, 1996, IB 24 battalion commander Thein Tin said that local villagers in Taungoo district did not report casualties from KNLA landmines, so as punishment, he fined Noh Ber Baw village 30,000 kyats and T'Ru Wah village 20,000 kyats. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.10. On February 27, 1996, Company #2 Commander Po Oo was leading a column from IB 51. They entered Kaw Tee Kee village in Thaton district and forced 24 villagers to hand over a total of 83 baskets of rice,

two chickens, and two viss of dried fish. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.11. In March 1996, the land between Min Dauk pier and Ahlone Lay Pin monastery in Monywa township was confiscated without compensation. The area was renamed Badon New Ward and redistributed to SLORC Northwestern region military command members and their immediate families and associates. *(Source: ABSDF)*

6.7.12. In March 1996, Strategic Commander Col. Aung Naing Htun ordered all motor vehicles in Kaw Thay Der and Kler Lah in Taungoo district be given to Kler Lah and Naw Soe military camps, where they were to remain on standby for military use. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.13. In March 1996, DKBA and SLORC troops stole four buffaloes from Noh Kaw Tay village, close to Nabu, Karen State. The owner of the buffaloes heard that his animals were driven to Thailand by the DKBA; he asked the DKBA officer to take action. The replied, "if you have no evidence, you must pay 400,000 kyats and also be killed." Then the buffalo owner went to the SLORC army officer, who said, "it is the time of organizing [i.e., supporting and enlarging the DKBA], so we cannot take action against them." *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.14. Lo Baw village in Karen State was looted on March 5 by soldiers of LIB 355,357, and IB 230, led by Major Aung Kyaw and Major Than Soe; Day Law Pya village was looted by LID 88 troops led by Lt.-Col. Aung San Chit on the same day; and Meh Bleh Wah Kee village was looted on March 7 by troops from LID 88, led by Major Ye Tun. These three villages alone reported huge losses in rice, oxen, cattle, goats, pigs, and chickens totaling 350,000 kyats in value. Villagers reported that all their personal and household belongings were also looted, even items as small as spoons. SLORC soldiers returning from sorties into the villages were seen using 15 bullock carts at a time to transport their stolen loot. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.15. Between March 1 and 7, 1996, SLORC IB 355 troops , (Commander Maj. Aung Hla), 521 troops (Commander Maj. Nay Win), and 257 troops (Commander Pan Ket; 2nd in command Aung Thein), all of which are operating as part of #1 Strategic Command under Col. Tin Thein, combined with DKBA troops, traveled through villages in Tee Wa Klay village tract in Thaton district looting each village. This was part of their week-long looting raid as they searched for KNU troops who attacked at Ker Ghaw on February 28; the troops never actually looked

for any KNU troops. Villagers supplied a list of at least 71 families who were robbed a total of 179 chickens, 18 pigs, 17 goats, six dogs, two cats, 47 baskets of rice and sticky rice, 76 baskets of paddy, 38 viss (61 kg.) of salt, 11 viss (18 kg.) of chilies, three viss (5 kg.) of fishpaste, one large tin of biscuits, one viss of betelnut, four tins and six viss of tobacco, 61 pots, 47 plates, 26 spoons, 12 machetes, four axes, three saws, four hoes, one torchlight, 330 kyats in cash, and other miscellaneous items including kitchen and household utensils, clothing, fishing nets, ropes, and water containers. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.16. On March 9, 1996, a combined force of LIB 20 Column 1 and DKBA troops went to Kweh Kaw, Baw Paw Lay, Toe Toe Kee, K'Paw Hta, and Ko Hta villages in Thaton district and destroyed 240 baskets of unhusked rice as well as seven rice fields. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.17. As of March 25, 1996, the entire LIB 344 was based around Than Daung in Karen State and along the roads. All of LIB 539 was based around Leik Tho; all of IB 234 was based in Plaw Mu Der and the fields of Shar Si Po. The entire LIB 439 was based around Kaw Thay Der, Naw Soe, and Si Kheh Der. Five companies of IB 59 and one company of IB 911 were based in Plaw Mu Der, Tha Kwee Soe, and Bu Sah Kee. These SLORC troops have all been engaged in burning rice crops and stocks wherever they find them and destroying villagers' property, burning vegetable plots, commandeering carts and vehicles, and conscripting porters every day. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.18. As of March 23, 1996, the Battalion commander of IB 234, under #3 Strategic Command, entered Shin Pa Taw village in Taungoo district and burned 28 teak houses, Byamaso monastery, and 2 rice barns. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.19. On March 25, 1996, LIB 439 battalion Commander Lin Naing stayed in Naw Soe village in Taungoo district. He ordered Kaw Thay Der village to buy and carry food worth 10,000 kyats to Naw Soe village so the soldiers could celebrate Armed Forces Day on March 27. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.20. On April 11, 1996, Capt. Soe Myint Aye of IB 97 from Kyaw Ko camp went to Wa Plaw Wah village in Thaton district and opened fire on the village. No one was injured, but the troops confiscated 120 baskets of rice, by claiming that it was rice intended for KNU troops. They forced the villagers to carry this rice to Kyaw Ko army camp. The next day

the same column burned down four houses in Tee Law Thi village. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.21. On April 26, 1996, Column 2 of LIB 439, led by Maj. Than Win, confiscated three flintlock guns (only usable for hunting small animals) from villagers in Wah Tho Ko village and set fire to part of the village. They opened fire, injuring a Ler Ko village elder, Pu Shwe Aye, a 70-year-old man. The soldiers killed a buffalo worth about 20,000 kyats for their meal. On April 27, 1996, the same column burned down two village houses and destroyed three other houses in Naw Thay Der village. On April 28, 1996 the column went to Kaw Mu Der village and stole two air-guns, a bicycle, a sewing machine, and other valuables. They destroyed villagers' belongings that they could not take with them. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.22. On May 3, 1996, IB 59 troops based at Bu Sah Kee village burned down a rice barn belonging to the village headman, Saw Lah Wah Mu. One hundred baskets of unhusked rice were also destroyed. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.23. On May 25, 1996, the column from IB 234 arrested a Pa-O woman who was working in her orchard near Sait Lah Kyaut Pya, between Shan Shi Boh and Meh Taw Der in Karen State. They burned her farm hut and looted all her belongings. The troops also burned down Saw Maung Myint's orchard and hut, looted, and destroyed all of his belongings. *(Source: KHRG)*

6.7.24. On June 3, 1996, a military column of IB 103 and 433 led by Captain Nyo Win, torched Min Win village and Shan Thay village in Palaw township, Tenasserim Division. No notice or reason was given. Altogether 22 houses and one primary school in the villages were burned while soldiers looted villagers' property. Troops took more than a hundred baskets of paddy and wantonly shot a number of cattle and buffaloes. *(Source: ABSDF)*

6.7.25. Hniar Ling, age 45, former village LORC chairman of Nga Lang village, was called by the commander of Than Tlang camp for a meeting on July 12, 1996. While he was travelling to Than Tlang he was told that there would be no meeting and that he would be arrested if he continued his journey. He therefore, did not attend the meeting. Due to his absence at the meeting, the Commander Saw Hlaing sent troops to Nga Lang village in order to arrest him on October 5, 1996, but

fortunately he managed to escape. Another group of troops led by 2nd Lieutenant Win Than was sent to arrest him on October 9, 1996; again he managed to escape. Since he was evading the SLORC, he was dismissed from his post as village LORC Chairman of Nga Lang. The SLORC soldiers accused Hniar Ling of being a member of the CNF, which means certain death if he is found. He has therefore left his village and gone into hiding. His whereabouts are still unknown. *(Source: CHRO)*

6.7.26. Between July and September 1996, the headmen of most villages throughout all of Than Tlang township were arrested by the SLORC Army and accused of having contact with the CNF. At various times during these three months, headmen were called from Than Tlang township to the town of Haka by Colonel Thein Lwin, Chairman of Chin State LORC, and Major Saw Hlaing, Chairman of Than Tlang Township LORC and commander of LIB #266 camp in Than Tlang. Those who came to Haka were arrested and detained in the Haka police station. Those who could pay 20,000 kyats were released immediately. However, the leaders of at least 11 villages (the villages of Thang Zang, Banawh Tlang, Tlang Pi, Tlang Lo, Far Rawn, Cawng Thia, Tlang Rua, So Pum, Hriang Khan, Thau, and Tlang Te) were detained longer because they could not pay. *(Source: CHRO)*

6.7.27. On October 9, 1996, Second Lieutenant Win Than, commander of Hriphi post, Than Tlang township, LIB 266 based in Haka, led a group of 20 troops to Nga Lang village to arrest former village LORC Chairman Hniar Ling. Without any warning the troops surrounded the village. At about 5 p.m. that day, Bawi Kung from Haka town and his two friends "Pa Sui" [not his real name] and Dawt Hlei Thang were on their way back from Mizoram State, India. They were planning to spend the night at Nga Lang village. As they were approaching the village, SLORC soldiers suddenly fired many rounds upon them, without any questions or warning. Bawi Kung was wounded and later killed by the troops. Dawt Hlei Thang was arrested and taken away along with the soldiers; nothing is known of his whereabouts or well-being. "Pa Thang" managed to escape. The headman, church secretary, and other villagers were beaten; the village was ransacked and the troops took 16 porters and four horses to carry away their loot. *(Source: CHRO)*

6.7.28. On October 9, 1996, Pu Lian Ham, a Chin civilian from Nga Lang village, Than Tlang township, Chin State was arrested by SLORC soldiers led by Second Lieutenant Win Than of LIB, based in Haka, on his

way from his farm. He was handcuffed without being asked anything. He was not allowed to sit down; he was forced to stand against the wall in his house. His children and his wife were prohibited to speak to him. Soldiers searched everything in his house. They found a box made of steel and could not open it, so 2nd Lt. Win Than shot the lock with his pistol and opened it up. They found 10,000 kyats which belonged to the church committee; the money was set aside for the construction of a new church. The soldiers stole all of the money. Pu Lian Ham pleaded that this money did not belong to him, that it was a fund for building a new church. The soldiers ignored his pleas. Moreover, they stole 7,000 kyats worth of medicine from his house (the villagers pool money together to buy medicine because no medicine is available from official SLORC sources.] *(Source: CHRO)*

6.7.29. On October 9, 1996 LIB 266 troops led by Second Lieutenant Win Than entered Nga Lang village and tortured all the villagers. They stole whatever they liked. A cattle trader was shot dead by the troops in the village. The soldiers took 16 porters and four horses from the village to carry their rations and weapons to go on to Khua Bung village, a 14-mile journey. *(Source: CHRO)*

6.7.30. In October 1996, a platoon of soldiers led by 2nd Lt. Win Than arrived to Nga lang village, Than Tlang township. They tortured the villagers and took all their belongings such as rice, money, and cattle. They stole 3,600 kyats, two tins of rice, and other valuables worth approximately 2,500 kyats from the house of Hla Thang. *(Source: ABSDF)*

6.7.31. On November 27, 1996, Aung Naing Tun, the commander of Tactical Command 1 arrived with his troops at Bawgali village in Taungoo District and forcibly collected 800 kyats per household for porter fees. Bawgali village has 340 households, so the military made off with 272,000 kyats. All the money collected went to Commander Aung Naing Tun. Further extortion was carried out by the troops under his command. The following are the villages that were forced to pay porter fees of some amount per household to Commander Aung Naing Tun:

Kaw Thaytae	(150 households)	45,000 kyats
Kawsoekho	(80 households)	64,000 kyats
Wathokho	(24 households)	12,000 kyats
Kalaw Medaw	(50 households)	56,000 kyats
Lelko	(unknown)	16,000 kyats

(Source: ABSDF)

6.7.32. In mid-December 1996, SLORC Commander of Murng Ton-based LIB 225, IB 65 Commander Major Hla Myint, Major Than Aung and Murng Ton SLORC chief Major Than Aung Khin sent their troops to seize land which has long been used as farms and rice fields along the eastern side of the road around a deserted village Wan Nar Leng. They also seized more than 350 acres of peanut, sesame, and sugar cane plantations along the western side of the road south of Murng Ton township. The landowners, who inherited the land from their ancestors, have been working there for generations; SLORC troops ordered them to stop their farming. The troops divided the land among former officers of the Mong Tai Army (MTA). *(Source: SHRF)*

6.7.33. In early January 1997, SLORC LIB 549 troops and the DKBA fined Thee Wah Pu villagers in Pa-an district, 250,000 kyats because a small battle broke out in the village resulting in one killed and one wounded on the SLORC side. Every day about thirty ox carts were ordered to clear mines along the Ta Nay Cha-Kaw Kareik road. All the villages in the Ta Nay Cha township have to "volunteer to work" for the SLORC troops five days a week. A statement issued by the LIB 549 was as follows: 1) Anybody who has any contact with resistance forces will be severely dealt with and 2) If there is any explosion or shots fired in the vicinity of any village, that village will be relocated immediately and a heavy fine paid. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.34. On January 4, 1997, Major Maha Aw (former head of people's militia in Murng Paeng who joined the MTA in 1993), with the help of Burmese troops, ordered a Toyota 4-wheel drive truck, owned by Zai Suay Pa of Me Ken, to carry his family, his belongings, and some of his followers from Murng Sart to Murng Harng. Since early January, he forced about 50 villagers from Murng Harng to clear 30 acres of the land - some of which was recouped by the villagers - after which he paid them very low wages, only 8,000 kyats for ten days work. So far, 15 ex-MTA families have been settled, using the villagers to clear and measure the lands which SLORC troops have seized from the people in Murng Harng, Murng Ton township, eastern Shan State. *(Source: SHRF)*

6.7.35. Since the offensive against the KNU began in Mergui-Tavoy District on February 8, 1997, SLORC troops have burned down Myitta, Kwe Waw Wah, Kalat Kee, Ka Nal Pose, and other villages. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.36. On February 8, 1997, SLORC LIB 219 Commanded by Lt-Col. Aung

Ko Ko, burned unmilled rice belonging to the following villagers in Mae Baw Kee village, Thaton district: 1) Saw Pah Er (75 baskets), 2) Maung Kya Ngay (60 baskets), and 3) Pa Baw (75 baskets). On the same day, the soldiers killed and ate buffaloes belonging to Maw Loh Pha from the same village. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.37. On February 9, 1997, Saw Say Phaw, a Christian Pastor from Kaletgyi village was taken away to Hein Du Chaung village SLORC's LIB 25 led by deputy commander Aung Myint, without any explanation. The pastor was beaten in front of U Maung Sein Hla's house until his hands and legs were fractured; he was later shot. U Maung Sein Hla was also beaten for allegedly providing food to KNU soldiers; he remains in critical condition. *(Source: FTUB)*

6.7.38. On February 9, 1997, SLORC IB 25 set fire to 16 houses in Kalatkee village and executed an innocent villager named Saw Paw Na. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.39. On February 10, 1997, the two villages of Now Baw Kee and La Kyo Ko were relocated to Htaw Klaw Kee village by SLORC IB 63, which is also located in this village. The entire village was fenced in the villagers are now virtual prisoners. They leave only to be used as forced laborers working on a road being built by SLORC troops in this region. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.40. During the second week of February, deputy commander Aung Myint also ordered Gaung Say Chaung village, Ka Taung Ni village, Kaletgyi village and Kamoonchun, all on the east side of Kan Chaung River, to move from their village to the west side or face persecution. During the last week of February, troops from IB 25 arrived at Gaung Say Chaung village and looted the homes of U Phee Hla, U Pho Thalone, U Sue Naw, U Saw Dar, U Saw Tin Aye, U Saw Three, and U Khin Maung. The troops also burned the paddy barns in the villages. *(Source: FTUB)*

6.7.41. On February 12, 1997, the same regiment burned down five houses and a Christian church in Ka Nel Pose village. The commander also ordered the execution of seven sick SLORC soldiers and 20 porters. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.42. On February 16, 1997, SLORC IB 273 burned down Ka Neh Hqae (Pyar Thar Chaung) village in Paw Kin River valley, Ban Chaung vil-

lage in Paw Klao River valley, and Phaung Daw village. The villages were accused of supporting the KNU. All farms belonging to the villages were torched and the farm animals were taken away by troops. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.43. On February 17, 1997, Ka Witt Hta village was burned down and many villagers were forced to serve as porters for the SLORC's IB 17 and 101. The whole village population has fled. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.44. On February 17, 1997, advancing SLORC troops also set fire to Ka Saw War and Ka Maw Htar villages. Htee Pho Lay and Lo Ray villages were burned down on February 18. Some plantations were also destroyed by the troops. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.45. On February 20, 1997, the SLORC reinforced its unit in the hills, in the eastern part of Pyinmana district. Troops from IB 34 arrested Karen from the hill villages in the eastern part of Tantabin township of Taungoo district and forced them to carry food for the troops. They were released only on payment of 2,000 kyats fine. SLORC IB 34 ordered four Karen villages of Shazeebo, Zeebyergon, and Tawgoo in Taungoo district to send 25 men per month to serve as porters. In addition, the troops forcibly demanded 1,000 and 2,000 kyats from each household. Sometimes, the troops arbitrarily arrested the villagers and demanded 2,000 kyats for release. At present, the SLORC's IB is moving among Karen villages in the hills of the eastern part of Tantabin township and harassing the people. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.46. On February 27, SLORC IB 51 entered Toe The Kee village and summoned the villagers and ordered them not leave the village. Then the



Public bus transportation in Rangoon. The high price of petrol and insufficient public services make the people's lives difficult. (Photo by Rosalie T. McKernan)

troops arrested some men and women villagers, beat them up, poured boiling water on them and immersed them in water for no reason. *(Source: KIC)*

6.7.47. On March 2, 1997, SLORC IB 230 and DKBA Maung Han Shwe torched the house of Maung Chit Tu, a villager from Ta Maw Daw village. All the belongings in the house, worth about 35,000 kyats, were destroyed in the fire. They also took a pair of earrings worth about 5,000 kyats, 10 baskets of rice worth 5,000 kyats, and a saw worth 1,000 kyats. The group demanded 500 kyats each from the villagers who went to the forest to collect matured leaves for their house roofs. They threatened the villagers they would shoot them if they returned to the forest to collect leaves. They set the forest on fire so all the leaves were burned and the villagers have no leaves for the roofs of their houses this coming rainy season. *(Source: KIC)*

(Also see under "Personal Accounts," interviews 1, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20-23, 25-28,30, 35, 37, 39, 42, 47, 48, 51, 54, 55-59, 62, 66, 68, 69, 73, 75, 77, 78, 79, 83, 87, 90, and 91)

7. Rights of Minorities

Undoubtedly, the worst abuses against ethnic minorities have occurred in the context of Burma's ethnic armed struggle. Armed opposition by 17 ethnic groups has existed since Burma gained its independence from Britain in 1948. These groups have engaged in insurgency activities against the central Burmese government in order to gain greater autonomy or better -- complete independence. When the military government reasserted power in September 1988 after suppressing the pro-democracy movement, it pursued offensives against the military armed opposition groups. The newly-formed SLORC, also adopted a policy of negotiating cease-fires with individual ethnic groups rather than dealing with the "Democratic Alliance of Burma" (DAB), the umbrella organization which grouped them together.

In areas where cease-fire agreements have been reached, human rights abuses continue to be committed. In fact, in these "national reconciliation" areas human rights abuses have increased rather than abated. There has been no move on the part of the SLORC to engage in political discussions with opposition groups to reinforce the military cease-fire agreements. Under the terms of the cease-fire, some ethnic groups have been allowed to keep their arms and soldiers, however, SLORC had vastly increased the number of its soldiers in those areas.

These agreements do not represent a long-term solution to the ongoing conflict in part because the SLORC never abides by its agreements. As an expression of their dissatisfaction, the Wa, Palaung, and Kokang formed the Peace and Democratic Front (PDF), thereby only strengthening the opposition. The Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) has issued several press releases since their cease-fire complaining that the expected process of political dialogue had not begun. Indeed, one of the most recent cease-fires only lasted three months. On June 28, 1995, the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) issued a statement alleging repeated violations of the cease-fire agreement that they signed with the SLORC in March 1995. The statement said that the SLORC has continued to collect "porter fees," arrested men to work as porters, and has increased its military presence in the KNPP area by an additional 2,000 soldiers. The statement continued, "should SLORC continue breaking the cease-fire agreement, and should it refuse to withdraw the troops -- it will be the SLORC -- not the KNPP that will have to assume the responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities." Two days later, fighting erupted near the border post and in 1996, the headquarters of the KNPP was overrun. In order to bring the KNPP into another round of "cease-fire," SLORC has relocated thousands of

Karenni civilians and forced another massive number of refugees into Thailand.

The groups still waging wars against the military government are as follows: the Karen National Union (KNU), KNPP, Chin National Front (CNF), and small "break-away" factions from other armed ethnic groups.

The KNU, one of the major ethnic groups still at war with the SLORC as of mid-1997, clarified its position with regard to the failed cease fire agreements. The KNU stated that it had entered willingly into peace negotiations with the SLORC between December 1995 and November 1996, however, it was clear that political dialogue was not on the SLORC's agenda. The KNU stated that the SLORC refused to enter into honest dialogue regarding issues of ethnic nationality, affairs of the Union, and maintenance of peace. Instead, the SLORC insisted that the KNU surrender and "return to the legal fold," which the KNU could not accept as a precondition. As a result of the failed negotiations, SLORC launched a massive offensive against the KNU and forced thousands of refugees into Thailand; the civilians fled their villages when they heard that SLORC troops were approaching -- they feared they would be taken as porters, tortured, raped, or murdered.

7.1. Lists of Cease-fire Agreements with the SLORC

1. Myanmar National Democracy Alliance -- March 31, 1989
2. Myanmar National Solidarity Party -- May 9, 1989)
3. National Democracy Alliance Army -- June 30, 1989
4. Shan State party -- September 13, 1989
5. New Democratic Army (Kachin State) -- December 15, 1989
6. Kachin Defense Army (KIA 4th Brigade) -- January 11, 1991
7. Pa-O national Organization (Shan State) -- February 18, 1991
8. Palaung State Liberation Party -- April 21, 1991
9. Kayan National Guards (Karenni) -- February, 1992
10. Kachin Independence Organization -- October 1, 1993
11. Karenni National People's Liberation Front -- May 9, 1994
12. Kayan New Land Party -- July 16, 1994
13. Shan State Nationalities Peoples Liberation Organization -- October 9, 1994
14. Karenni National Progressive Party (cease-fire broke off) -- May 21, 1995)
15. New Mon State Party -- June 29, 1995
16. Mong Tai Army (Khun Sa) -- January 2, 1996

17. Burma Communist Party (Arakan) -- April 8, 1997

For additional information on the ethnic minority situation in Burma see also the following chapters: Chapter 1, Extra-Judicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions; Chapter 5, Forced Relocation and Internally Displaced Persons; Chapter 6, Deprivation of Livelihood; Chapter 11, Freedom of Movement; and Chapter 13, Abuse of Women.

8. Torture, and other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment and Punishment

SLORC tactics of deterrence, including torture and other cruel and degrading treatment, are widespread. At least six departments of the SLORC security forces have been implicated in torture and ill-treatment by former detainees, including political prisoners. The six departments are as follows: 1) SLORC's army or Pyithu Tatmadaw (People's Defense Forces); 2) the People's Police Forces; 3) the Directorate of Defense Services Intelligence (DDSI); 4) the Special Investigations Department (SID); 5) the Criminal Investigation Department (CID); and 6) the Bureau of Special Investigations (BSI). The activities of DDSI, SID, CID, and BSI are coordinated by the National Intelligence Bureau (NIB), under the direct control of the SLORC. The DDSI is also commonly known as the MIS or Military Intelligence Service; the MIS is most consistently identified as using torture as part of its interrogations.

Twenty primary detention centers, where brutal interrogation proceedings and other methods of torture take place, have been identified throughout Rangoon and in seven other divisions and states across Burma. The detention centers include the secret DDSI interrogation center at Ye Kyi Aing camp, right outside of Rangoon, and over fourteen other military intelligence centers located in Rangoon.[1]

Political opposition activists often endure particularly severe treatment while in detention. These activists must endure both physical and emotional torture during the often prolonged periods of detention following arrest while they are isolated from public scrutiny and protection.

8.1. Torture in Detention

SLORC's use of cruel and unusual torture techniques have been well-documented by survivors of such techniques and human rights groups. SLORC's

1 - These include the following: the DDSI and BSI headquarters; Insein prison and its annex; Yankin township military registration camp; Sanchaung police station; Mingladon DDSI interrogation center; Kyeikkasan old race field; Hmawbe Ye Nyunt training camp (all in Rangoon Division); Bassein township MIS office (Irrawaddy Division); Special Branch II office, Police station No.8 and Mandalay prison (Mandalay Division); Tharawaddy and Pegu township prisons (Pegu Division); Regiment 31 Headquarters, Thanbyuzayat township and Moulmein MIS office (Mon State); Pa-an township MI-5 office (Karen State); Regiment 59 Headquarters, Maw Chee township (Kayah State); Myitkyina central prison, No.8 (Northern Command) army headquarters; and Special Branch II office (Kachin State).

methods of torture include beatings rigorous enough to cause permanent injury; shackling of the legs or arms, both in prison cells and in work camps; burning victims with cigarettes; applying electric shocks to the victim's genitals, finger tips, toes, ear lobes, and elsewhere; suffocation; stabbing; rubbing of salt and chemicals in open wounds; forcing victims to stand in unusual and uncomfortable positions for extended periods of time, including "riding the motorcycle," which entails standing with arms outstretched and legs bent and the "helicopter" in which the victim is suspended by the wrists or feet from a ceiling fixture and then spun around; deprivation of light and sleep; denial of medicine, food, exercise, and water for washing; employing the "iron road" in which iron or bamboo rods are rolled up and down the shins until the skin is lacerated; ordering solitary confinement with extremely small and unsanitary cells for prolonged periods; and using psychological torture, including threats of death.

Prison punishment is often very similar to the cruel treatment endured during an interrogation period. Prisoners are severely beaten, placed in solitary confinement, transferred to other cell-blocks, and denied contact with the outside world. Political prisoners are often sent to police dog cells, intended for dogs, where they are subjected to beatings and placed in leg-irons made of chains or of an iron rod thrust between the feet.

8.1.1. Solitary Confinement

An iron rod, about 1½ to 2 feet long is often placed horizontally between the shackled legs of prisoners in solitary confinement, forcing them to stand or lay with their legs astride. Prisoners are locked in tiny cells during their confinement. Normally, small chamber pots are placed in each cell. The pots are never emptied, so the smell becomes unbearable and the cell damp and wet. In the worst case of solitary confinement, prisoners are forced to stand with both arms tied above their head; they are forced to urinate and defecate while standing. Small daily food rations of soup made from rice, are slid through the iron bars from outside of the cell. No blankets or mats are provided; prisoners are forced to sleep on the concrete floor. Most days, prisoners are taken out of the cell, forced to stand in the standard position, with their legs splayed apart, and beaten. Solitary confinement usually lasts for at least one month and may continue for up to three months. In some cases, political prisoners are forced to remain in solitary confinement indefinitely.

8.1.2. Beatings

The SLORC uses many forms of beatings to intimidate and torture prisoners and detainees. Soldiers use typical as well as unusual implements to beat their victims, including their fists, combat boots, rifle butts, leather-coated pipes, wooden sticks, sticks made from three interlaced pieces of cane, solid bamboo sticks, about 3 to 4 feet in length, and hard plastic water pipes. Victims often sustain serious permanent injuries including paralysis and even death.

SLORC beatings are designed to physically harm and to humiliate their victims. The following are a few of the typical types of beatings: the prisoner is beaten while he/she stands and embraces a post and both hands are held firmly by another person; the prisoner is beaten while laying prone on the ground; the prisoner is beaten while being forced to stand with both legs chained; the prisoner is beaten while being forced to crawl along the ground; the prisoner is shackled, a long iron bar is placed in between their legs, and they are forced to crawl while being beaten; prisoners are beaten while being forced to do continuous squat-jumps. Authorities do not hold back during these beatings; they strike victims in the face, chest, abdomen, and back; they also jump on the backs of prisoners while they are being forced to crawl on the ground. Prisoners are routinely seriously wounded; they suffer severe internal bleeding, fractured skulls, broken bones, and paralysis.

SLORC uses various methods of psychological torture along with their beatings. For example, a SLORC officer might his victim if he is afraid and force the prisoner to reply in a demeaning manner. The prisoner is forced to reply: "I am afraid of you, '*shint.*'" '*Shint*' is a Burmese suffix used for politeness by females; the term is not meant to be used by men. When a prison officer asks, "What is your name?" a prisoner must reply, "My name is "Ma" [name], shint." Ma is a Burmese prefix for the names of younger women; it never used by men. The use of these terms is meant to degrade the prisoners. Some prisoners, infuriated by what they are being forced to do, refuse to answer the officers in that way; they are severely beaten by the officers until they comply with the orders. Some prisoners are beaten until they fall unconscious, when they awake, they are beaten again. They have been reports that some prisoners, who can no longer stand the torture, knock their heads against the stone wall to fracture their skulls and render themselves unconscious. When prisoners sustain fractured skulls or severe bleeding from the head, they are finally sent to the hospital. However, once at the hospital, the prisoners still do not receive adequate medical attention. If they cry out in pain, they are often beaten for being noisy. Prison officers are not charged with any crime in these cases, even if a prisoner suffers permanent paralysis or gangrene; the SLORC authorities protect their

security forces at all costs. *(Source: ABSDF)*

8.2. Ill-treatment during Forced Portering and Labor

Local civilians are arbitrarily seized by the military and forced to serve as porters during military offensives lugging heavy army equipment and supplies; porters have been held in army custody for periods between a few days to a month or more. Porters who have managed to escape have given consistent and horrific accounts of extrajudicial executions, beatings, and lack of food and medicine. When porters become exhausted from being overworked, underfed, and sometimes beaten, they are subjected to torture and sometimes beaten to death and left in the jungle. Female porters, mostly ethnic women living in combat areas, are subjected to gang rapes and other sexual crimes.

8.2.1. Other Ill-treatment During Forced Labor

The use of forced labor on SLORC's infrastructure projects is widespread across Burma. During the past eight years SLORC has increasingly forced hundreds of thousands civilian laborers to build railway lines, airports, dams, quarries, and roads without compensation. Conditions at work sites are often harsh, in many cases soldiers use inhuman and degrading treatment to keep laborers working; forced laborers are often shackled in chains and receive inadequate food and medicine.

8.2.2. Ill-treatment in the Ethnic Areas

Ethnic people living in areas of counter-insurgency operations are subjected to harassment, abuse, and ethnic persecution by SLORC troops. Troops systematically force nearby civilian villagers to relocate in order to deprive ethnic armed forces of potential logistical support. Civilians found in their villages after relocation deadlines are shot on sight. Moreover, civilians are routinely tortured by SLORC troops for allegedly having contact with ethnic armed groups or for being "sympathizers."

8.3. List of Incidents

8.3.1. On February 2, 1996, Captain Aung Kyaw Htoo, IB. 60, arrested and

tortured the following villagers: Saw Kalu and Saw Tin Htwe from Pallsi village; Maung Kauk Kway from Htwar No Gon village; Saw Bo Sein from Ye Twin Gon village; Saw Sein Sein and Saw Du Ree from Ye Le village; and Maung Pe and Phar Shwe He from Thay Maw village, Nyaunglaybin district. Shortly thereafter, Saw Kalu, Maung Kauk Kway, Saw Bo Sein and Saw Sein Sein were killed by the troops. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.2. On February 17, 1996, IB 24 company commander Than Shwe severely beat villager Saw Han Yin, a thirty-five year-old man from Theh Ko village, Thaton district. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.3. On March 29, 1996 SLORC Division Commander Ae Rei, Lieutanant-Corporal Khin Nyunt, Corporal Tin Thaung, LIB 101, Division 77 and DKBA members Than Sein, Saw Father, and Kyaw Hla Sein arrested villagers from Mi Chaung Ai in Thaton district. The troops arrested and tortured Saw Aung Kyi, age 45 and Saw Ba Tin, age 25. Saw Aung Kyi was severely beaten and he was stabbed in the mouth with a knife. Saw Ba Tin was also tortured and was eventually choked to death. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.4. On April 8, 1996, a group of soldiers led by Division Commander Myint Soe, IB 549, entered Naw Law poli village, Htee Tha Saw village tract and severely beat two village headmen, Senel Garal and Naw Kar la. The troops also slaughtered one pig and four chickens and stole four buffaloes from the village. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.5. On April 11, 1996, Kyi Sein, Commanding Officer Company 1, Column 2, IB 51, slapped Ma Khin Lay, a 43 year-old woman from Ee Su Kee village, Thaton district and threatened her with his pistol. Another villager, Ma Htoo, a thirty-year-old woman and her child were tied hanging upside down; SLORC soldiers then burned their faces with fire. Ma Thet , a 24 year-old woman, (father's name U Maung Aye) and her child were also tied upside down; they were also severely tortured, including having their faces burned with fire. The SLORC soldiers never accused the women of anything; no reason was given for the torture. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.6. On April 18, 1996, LIB 549 Company 4 Commander Myint Soe traveled to Naw Law Paw Leh village, Leik Tho township. He arrested and tortured the village headman and two village secretaries. He stole a pig, four chickens, and a buffalo from the villagers. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.7. On April 23, 1996, SLORC Strategic Commander Major Aung Naing Htun threatened Baw Gali villagers that he would kill anyone he did not like. He tortured village headman Saw Maung Kaw and villagers Maung Kawai and Saw Kar Day Pho. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.8. On May 5, 1996, a combined column of LIB 344 and LIB 439 led by Maung Maung Soe, traveled to Ta Yeh Blo village, Taungoo district. The troops captured three villagers, Saw Ah Lo Kee, a 20 year-old man, Naw Win Kyi, a 25 year-old woman, and Naw Ra Sheh Lo, a 20 year-old woman. Saw Ah Lo Kee was executed and the other two women were severely tortured, including being beaten and having boiling water poured on their bodies. The troops then stole rice from the village. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.9. On May 19, 1996, one column of IB 234 troops entered Ko Tha Kyaung village, Tee Loh area, Karen State. The troops arrested two men, Aung Thaynown and K'Lah. They tortured the two men before taking them along with the column as porters. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.10. On May 25, 1996, a military column from IB 234 entered Hu Mu Der village, Karen State. The troops captured villager Saw Po Keh and beat and tortured him. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.11. On June 1, 1996, Division commander Pan Zan from IB 234 arrested Sa The Mu and Saw Na Klo from Tamulo village in Nyaunglaybin district and brutally beat them for no reason. *(Source: KHRG)*

8.3.12. On October 13, 1996, SLORC troops from No. 66 and No. 515 ransacked the village of Phak Phaet, Wan Zarm tract, Murngkerng township; they looted all of the houses in the village. Nang Oo, a 28 year-old woman, begged them not to pillage her house, instead, the troops severely beat her in the head with their rifle butts. They stole her bed, blankets, clothes, shoes, and cooking oil. *(Source: SHRF)*

8.3.13. On October 26, 1996, SLORC troops No. 66 , Laikha, seized a 20 year-old male villager named Zai Long at Kung Mark Ki Nu village, Murng Khun village tract, Murngkerng township. The troops tied both his hands to a yoke and forced him to carry their supplies for14 days, untying his hands only when they gave him a meager food ration. After 14 days, Zai Long became too weak to bear the weight of his load; he begged the soldiers to release him. They beat him and left him bleeding in the forest. Zai Long managed to get back to his village where he

was sent to the hospital. *(Source: SHRF)*

8.3.14. On February 27,1997, SLORC's IB 51 entered Toe Teh Kee village. The troops summoned all the villagers and ordered them not to leave the village. They arrested men and women villagers, beat them, poured boiling water on them and immersed them in water for no apparent reason. *(Source: KIC)*

8.3.15. On May 2, 1997, Intelligence Officer Captain Tin Ngwe from LIB 230 arrested Saw Maung Kyaw, a 38 year-old man from Mayangone village, Thaton district. The SLORC officer beat the man and left him seriously injured. No explanation was given for the attack. *(Source: KIC)*

8.3.16. On May 3, 1997, Captain Tin Ngwe arrested U Par Kya, a 40 year-old man from Mi Chaung Ain village. The SLORC Captain took the prisoner to see Major Thet Tin Win at Naunggadoke camp. At about 5p.m., Major Thet Tin Win took U Par Kya and villagers from Mi Chaung Ain to the cemetery and forced them dig a large pit in the ground. U Par Kya was forced to lie down in the pit and was shot dead in front of the other villagers. Next, Major Thet Tin Win stabbed with a knife U Par Kyi, a 50 year-old man and U Par Leh, a 40 year-old man, both from Naunggadoke village. The Major dragged the two into the village and summoned the villagers to look at the two. *(Source: KIC)*

(See also under "Personal Accounts," interviews 1,3, 8, 9, 10, 20, 22, 23 25, 27, 46-50, 53, 61, 62, 74, 77, 80, 81, 82, and 84)

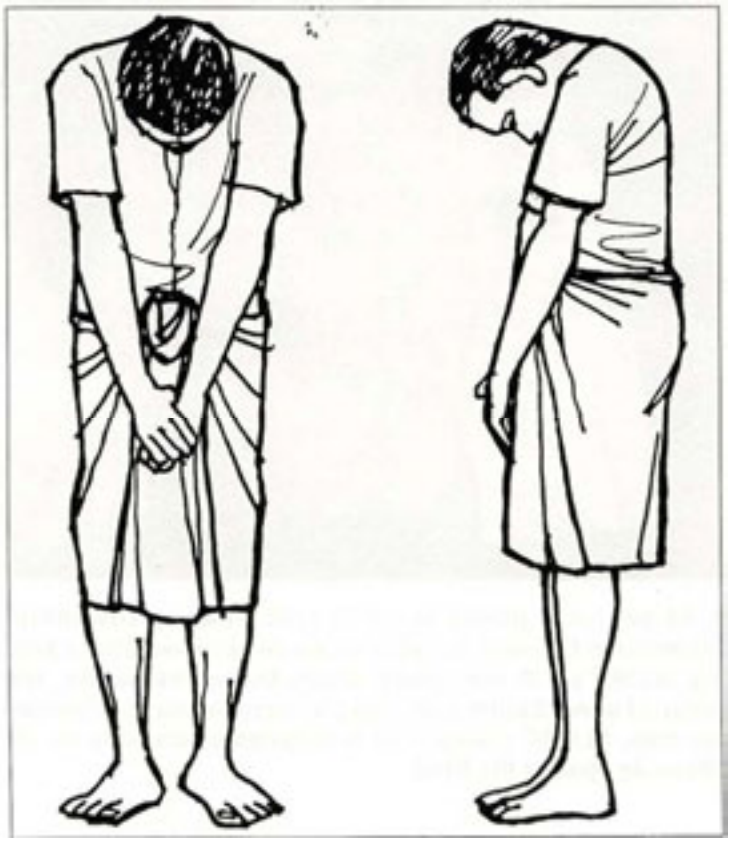


A 24-year-old porter from Thayet Chaung township, Tenasserim Division, showing scars he received after carrying SLORC's 120 mm mortar shells for several weeks. His group of over 70 porters included 11 women and one 75-year-old man. SLORC rounded up thousands of civilians for its offensive against the KNU. (Photo by Burma Initiative)



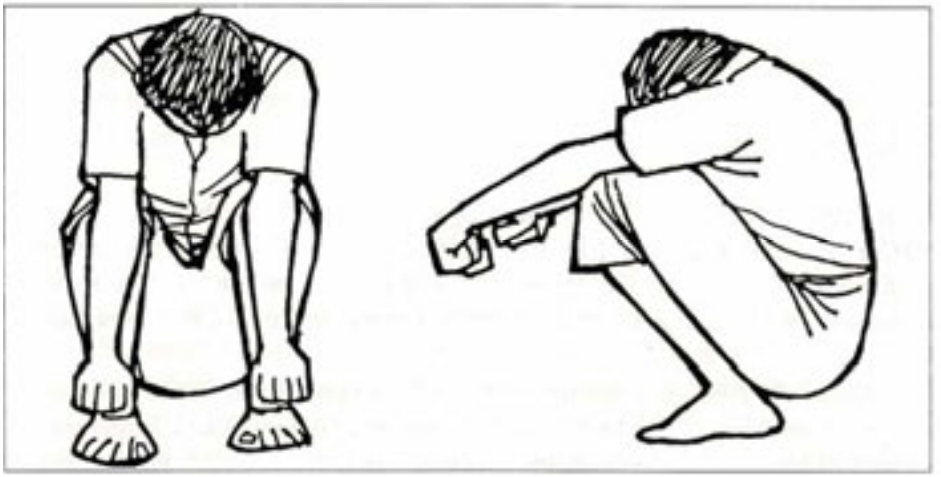
Position (1)

SLORC prison officials have a series of "positions" that prisoners must take at different times during their detention. This position is for counting the prisoners and for inspection of prisoners.

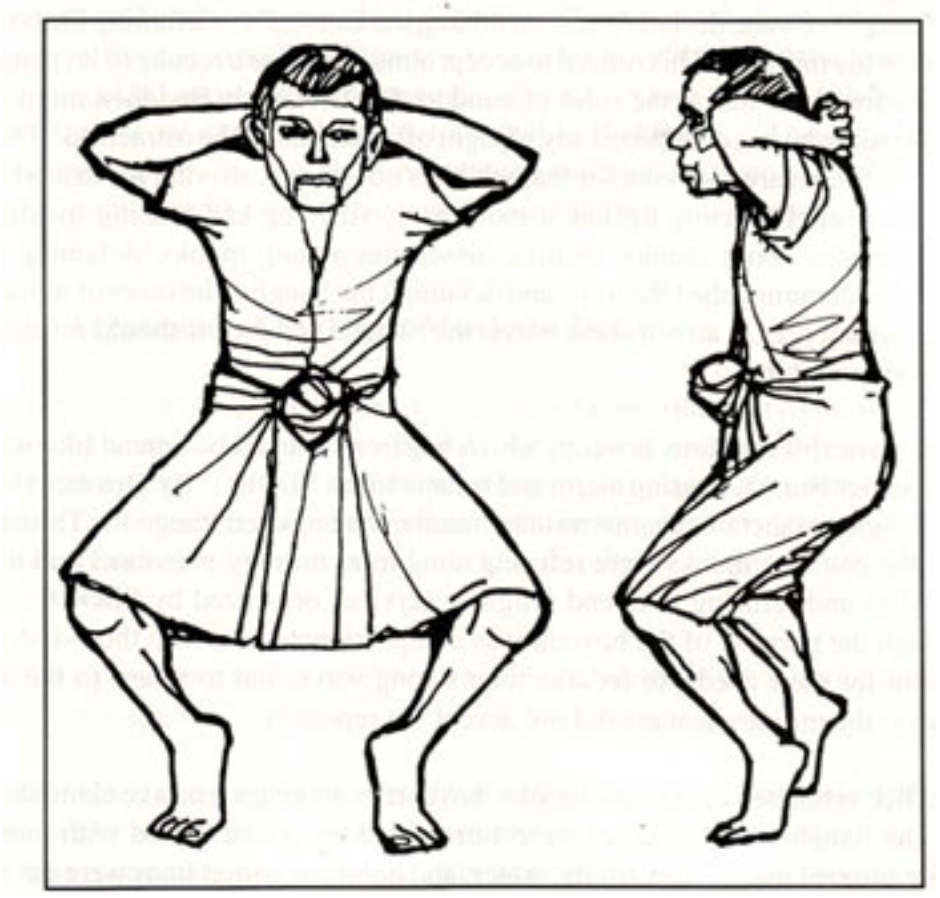


Position (3)

This position is for walking by and standing in front of the prison officials.



Position (2)
This position is an emergency position used when prison officials pass by.



Position (4)
This position is used during punishment. The prisoners are always beaten and kicked while in this position.

9. Freedom of Belief and Religious Discrimination

9.1. Background

Since its inception in 1988, the military regime in Burma, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), has tried to present itself as the preserver and protector of Burmese culture, including Buddhism. The regime's propaganda, laws, and actions, however, make a cruel mockery of its pious facade.

On August 8, 1990, in commemoration of the second anniversary of the democracy uprising, more than 7,000 monks and novices walked through the streets of Mandalay, solemnly and peacefully accepting alms from the people. Soldiers confronted the monks and opened fire, killing two monks and two students and wounding seventeen others. One novice monk disappeared. Following this massacre, the Monks' Union Sangha Sammagi of Mandalay, led by Ven. U Yewata, declared "pattam nikkujjana kamma" (overturning the bowl) against the military. This refusal to accept alms is used as a rebuke to laypeople. According to Vinaya, the rules of conduct for Theravada Buddhist monks, a layperson who has committed any of eight offenses should be ostracized. These eight offenses are: striving for that which is not gained, striving for that which is not a benefit, acting against a monastery, vilifying and making insidious comparisons about monks, inciting dissension among monks, defaming the Buddha, defaming the Dhamma, and defaming the Sangha (the order of monks). If a layman acts in any of these ways, the Sangha believes it should refuse all contact with him.

This powerful religious boycott, which began in Mandalay, spread like wildfire across Burma, causing alarm and trauma to the SLORC. By October 1990, the religious sanctions against military families had reached Rangoon. Throughout the country, monks were refusing alms from military personnel and their families and refusing to attend religious services organized by SLORC. Although the purpose of the boycott was compassionate -- to help the evil doers repent for their deeds, to forsake their wrong ways, and to return to the true path -- the military leaders did not accept the reproach.

SLORC retaliated against the monks' boycott by staging a massive clampdown on the Sangha. Monasteries were surrounded by armed troops with monks were trapped inside. Electricity, water, and communication lines were cut and monks were prevented from going on their daily alms rounds. After maintaining the blockade for one week, armed troops entered monasteries and arrested

the leaders. People living near some of the monasteries were also forced to move and their homes were destroyed. More than 350 monasteries were raided and more than 3,000 monks and novices were arrested. Twenty monasteries were seized and expropriated.

Most monks were accused of possessing anti-SLORC literature, including articles by the NLD, Aung San Suu Kyi's party which won the election in May 1990. Three young monks were arrested for allegedly having written inflammatory poems in their diaries and notebooks. In a crude attempt to smear the Sangha Sammagi movement, some monks were even charged with gambling, illegal possession of jade or heroin, and rape. When General Khin Nyunt, the head of Military Intelligence, explained these arrests on State radio, however, he only accused the Mandalay monks of working with the defunct Communist Party of Burma.

On October 20, 1990, a decree was passed (SLORC Order 6/90) banning all independent Sangha organizations -- historically important agents of political change in Burma. Another decree (SLORC Order 7/90), passed the following day, authorized army commanders to bring monks before military tribunals for "activities inconsistent with and detrimental to Buddhism." These tribunals, whose procedures fall far short of international standards on fair trials, can impose punishments ranging from three years in prison to death.

9.2. Treatment of Buddhist Monks in Detention

The persecution of monks and the desecration of monasteries and pagodas have continued unabated throughout Burma. There have been reliable reports of torture of monks in prison, and those released from prison have reported seeing stacks of hundreds of monks' robes in the prison, clear evidence that many monks are not only being detained, but also disrobed -- an affront to any Buddhist monk.

A former prisoner has described how monks are treated in the notorious Insein Prison, in Rangoon:

It is estimated that there are nearly 200 Buddhist monks in Insein prison alone. The monks have asked to wear robes in prison, but the prison authorities took off their robes and now the monks only wear white prison uniforms. In addition, the monks are not referred to by their monk names, only ordinary names. When the prison authorities call them, they do not use the word U, which is a respectful prefix to a name. The monk Meggin Sayadaw is over 70 years old,

but the warden calls him, "Hey, Shwe Tha Aye" in a very rude way.

Notwithstanding their treatment, all the monks are very patient. They have been staying in prison in accordance with all the traditional principles of a Buddhist monk. They do not eat dinner (Buddhist monks are not allowed to eat after noon) and early morning meals are not provided. This means that they can only eat one meal a day (lunch). No monks in prison are allowed to preach the Buddhist Dhamma and the prisoners are not allowed to pay obeisance (with palms raised together on the forehead) to monks.

9.2.1. Death of Buddhist Monks in Detention

The following Burmese monks died in custody, most of them in the concentration camps where they were sentenced to hard labor since 1988:

- Ven. U Sandawara, Weyanbonthar Monastery, Mandalay, Secretary of the Sangha Samaggi, died in Swunpayabom concentration camp. *(Source: SAIN)*

- Ven. U Vimala, Masoeyein Monastery, Northern Mandalay, Member of the Sangha Samaggi, died in Sunpayabo concentration camp. *(Source: SAIN)*

- Ven. U Weyawdana, Hti Lin Monastery, Mandalay, died near Myittkyina in Kachin State. *(Source: SAIN)*

- Ven. U Okktama, Mandalay, Vice President of the Sangha Samaggi, died in Swunpayabom concentration camp. *(Source: SAIN)*

- Ven. U Teza from Saku Monastery, died in Mo Koung jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Arthapa from Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni Monastery, Mandalay, died in Mandalay jail. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Pyin Nyaingda from Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni Monastery, Mandalay, died in Mandalay jail. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Tiloka from Masoeyein Monastery, Northern Mandalay, died in Par Kant Camp, Mokoung, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Zawana from Eindawya monastery, Mandalay died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Pyinya Thiri, Myadaung Monastery, died in Katha jail, Mokaung, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Zawtika from Anauk Htilin Monastery died in Katha jail, Mokaung, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ven. U Dhamma Wara Thiri from unknown monastery, died in Par Kant, Mokoung, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Sayadaw U Tiloka (Abbot) from Shwephonepwint Monastery, Rangoon died in Insein prison. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Pyinnya Nanda from Maha Nandi The Na Monastery, Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni died in Myitkyina labor camp. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Zawana from Nanda from Maha Nandi The Na Monastery, Payagyi, Maha Myatmuni died in Myitkyina labor camp. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Teza from Eindawya Monastery, Mandalay died in Mokaung jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Teza from Pagan Monastery died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Rewata from Pagan Monastery died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

- Ashin Kaw Wida from Pagan Monastery died in Myitkyina jail, Kachin State. *(Source: IA)*

The following monks have been sentenced to life in prison:

- Ven. U Kawiya, Phayagyi Monastery, Mandalay. He is a member of Galonni (Galonni was originally an active Buddhist association opposed to British imperialism, which was reestablished in 1988 in Mandalay as an organization of monks and laypersons). Ven. U Kawiya is an extremely effective speaker and during the Democracy summer of 1988 he spoke almost every day at Maha Muni Pagoda. *(Source: SAIN)*

- Ven. U Kalyana, Mandalay, Member of Aung San Kyei Ni (Aung San Red Star) Association. *(Source: SAIN)*

9.2.2. Monks Currently in Detention

While about 100 monks are still believed to be in detention, SAIN has also learned the identities of two monks in prison in Myin Chan, near Pakkoku. They are Ven. U Zawtika, from Yelei Village, Nwa Hto Biyi Monastery, and Ven. U Thondhaya.

U Kyathara, a Buddhist monk also known as U Kyaw, was arrested in late May 1996 for putting up a poster calling for dialogue between the SLORC and the NLD in front of Sule Pagoda in Rangoon. He was sentenced to seven years in prison on August 15, 1996.

9.3. SLORC's Control over Buddhism

After the monk's boycott in 1990 in Mandalay, SLORC banned all independent monks' associations. The only Sangha organizations recognized are the Sangha Mahanayaka Committees, with senior monks given the task of establishing rules maintaining discipline and generally overseeing all Sangha affairs. In addition to the State Sangha Mahanayaka Committee, there are local Sangha Mahanayaka Committees. Whereas the members of the Sangha Mahanayaka Committees are all elderly and learned monks, they should be highly respected and venerated. However, it is well known that the committees are controlled by SLORC and they are no longer held in the same esteem by the people. The regime, of course, wishes to include as many senior monks as possible within the ranks of the committees; monks are pressured to join, even though they are reluctant to do so. Until a monk joins, his monastery is kept under strict surveillance. He may be subject to vilification by SLORC propaganda and attempts to ostracize him. Once he relents and joins the committee, the pressure eases. SLORC may then shower his monastery with lavish gifts, but the monk loses his independence and the respect of the people.

In a further attempt to gain legitimacy and respect, SLORC organizes elaborate ceremonies to award titles to monks. In the past, these titles were granted only to very learned monks and carried great honor. Now, however, they are viewed as either a reward for submission or bait with which to lure senior monks under SLORC control.

SLORC has also infiltrated many monasteries in an attempt to monitor any dissent or resistance. A monk from Masoeyein, a famous monastery in Mandalay, reported that another monk had confessed to being a SLORC agent. After graduating from the university, this monk had agreed to become a monk in order to spy on other monks for SLORC. After the army massacred monks in 1990, however, he regretted his role and confessed to the other monk.

SLORC has formed Sangha organizations in the villages, townships, and districts. All monks are required to obey the orders of the organization, whether or not they belong. Buddhist monks cannot do anything without the permission of SLORC. For example, new buildings in the monasteries or even extensions to old buildings can be constructed only with the authorization of the township or district Sangha organization. *(Source: Burma Relief Center)*

9.3.1. Violation of the Ordination Procedures

In 1996 SLORC perpetrated another deed which displays the regime's interference in and complete lack of understanding of the Buddha Sasana. In September 1996, Lieutant-General Myo Nyunt, Minister of Religion, sent a letter to the senior monks' council demanding that all those who wished to be ordained receive approval from the SLORC. Furthermore, on September 29, official Myanmar television reported that SLORC was accusing the NLD of trying to divide the "loyalty of the Sangha" by sending its members to various monasteries to befriend the monks. It was further announced that SLORC had issued Order 85 banning the ordination of any NLD member. The Sangha Mahanayaka Committee was instructed to contact all levels of LORC offices if any NLD member sought ordination. The Order also restricted members of other political parties and their families from being ordained. *(Source: IA and Inside Source)*

9.3.2. Prior Permission Required for Religious Ceremonies

Permission from SLORC is needed to hold even traditional religious ceremonies. The Kengtung and Tachilek Township LORC in Shan State, for example, has ordered that permission be obtained before any religious ceremony can take place in the township; the people have traditionally celebrated their novitiate and ordination ceremonies with a procession through all the wards. Getting permission for this type of ceremony now requires a registration fee of 200 kyats. It is also necessary to supply information such as who will lead the procession, how many people will attend, what music will be played, the type

of band to play, and a tentative route for the procession. SLORC knows that it is very difficult for the people to know these details beforehand. Many have complained privately that this order has greatly restricted religious ceremonies in the township. *(Source: ABSDF)*

9.3.3. Compulsory Recital Groups of Religious Verses in Sagaing Division

In early 1996, Northwest Military Commander, General Hla Myint Swe, ordered the 28 townships in Sagaing Division to form a "Recital Group" of religious verses. According to his Order, participation in a group is a compulsory duty of every township in Sagaing Division.

Every township group was required to recruit at least 5,000 members and wear the yogi (brown color, traditionally symbolic of Buddhist religion). The responsible persons at the township levels were hard-pressed to recruit their required quota. "People were forced to join these traditionally voluntary and religious groups by force," said one resident from Sagaing, the capital city of Sagaing Division.

In February 1996, the district-level competitions for reciting religious verses by township groups were held in Sagaing Division. One eyewitness revealed her experience that every participating group was asked to donate 5,000 kyats as a fee for the competition. The competitors were required to spend their own money on transportation, food, and lodging in Kalay where the competition was held. *(Source: ABSDF)*

9.3.4. Thai Buddhist Monk Escapes from SLORC's Harassment

Rev. Konokpon Sukhum, a Thai Buddhist monk doing a religious mission inside Burma, was put under house arrest and harassed by SLORC troops in Mae All village in Shan State. Mae All village is situated in the triangle area of Thailand and the Burmese Shan and Karenni States, formerly controlled by Khun Sa's MTA. Reverend Sukhum, originally from Thailand and a monk of 16 years had previously performed many religious missions in Mae All village.

He was arrested and interrogated on May 5, 1996, for allegedly spying on SLORC troops on behalf of the U.S. FBI. He was put under house arrest until May 10 when former MTA troops rescued him and sent him to Mae Hong

Song, Thailand. He is currently in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

According to Reverend Sukhum, the Burmese Abbot of the Mae All village monastery is being detained by the same troops in the village. SLORC is forcing Buddhist novices in the area to enlist into the army and to undergo military training. Buddhist monks are also being harassed in Shan State. Meanwhile, SLORC is forcing the local Christians to convert to Buddhism and to build monasteries in Phe Khong and Mow Bye townships in Karenni state where the majority of villagers are Christian. *(Source: ABSDF)*

9.3.5. Ancient Pagodas Destroyed in Sagaing to Make Way for Reservoir Construction

A total of 25 ancient pagodas were destroyed in early 1996 to make way for reservoir construction in Monwya township, Sagaing division.

One person from each household in Twin Chaung, Kan Pyar, Dan Pin Tel, Thegyi Gone, Ain Tai, and Thasi village groups were ordered to destroy the 25 pagodas because they stood in the prospective reservoir's storage capacity area. The villagers did not want to destroy the pagodas given their devotion to Buddhism, but they also did not dare disobey the local SLORC. All the Buddhist relics enshrined in the pagodas were taken to Thazi. However, no systematic account or lists of the relics were made. Many local people suspect that SLORC troops would take the relics for their own benefit. *(Source: ABSDF)*

9.4. SLORC-instigated Unrest between Buddhist Monks and the Muslim Community

In May 1996, anti-Muslim literature, widely believed to have been written by the SLORC was distributed in four towns in Shan State, leading to violent incidents. In October, 1996, anti-Muslim leaflets were distributed in Rangoon and other cities, urging Buddhists to boycott Muslim shops and not to marry Muslims. The leaflets accused Muslims of wanting to expand their territory, predicting that once the State of Islam takes control of the Burmese nation, Burma will become like other Southeast Asian countries, where Buddhism once flourished but has been forsaken for Islam.

Monks took to the streets in Mandalay on March 16, 1997, burning mosques and hounding Muslims of Bengali origin. Within a week the trouble had spread to other cities, including Rangoon, Mandalay, Monywa, Moulmein, Kyaukpyu,

and Magwe division. Security was stepped up around key Buddhist and Muslim sites in five cities. Curfews were imposed in Mandalay, Moulmein, and other cities. Three Buddhist monks in Mandalay died of gunshot wounds and about 100 monks were arrested during the wave of communal violence, according to the All Burma Young Monks Union. Exiled Burmese monks and political groups accused SLORC of instigating the mid-March incidents as a pretext to crack down on dissidents and monks who have played an active role in Burmese politics. *(Source: ABYMU).*

9.4.1. List of Mosques Destroyed, Damaged, or Looted in Burma (February-March 1997)

Mandalay area:
1. Kaindan Mosque
2. Waukhan Mosque
3. Thanlan Mosque
4. Kyungyan Hlwa Daung
5. Jame Mosque, Amarapura
6. another mosque, name unknown, in Amarapura
7. Payagyi Mosque
8. Panset Mosque
9. Aledaung Mosque
10. Ashechore Mosque
11. Anauk Choke Mosque
12. Dunan Mosque
13. Seinpan Mosque
14. Panlachan Mosque

Pakokhu:
1. Surti Mosque
2. Bengali Mosque
3. another mosque, name unknown

Pegu Division:
1. Surati Mosque, Prome
2. Kharkahr Mosque
3. Shwekyarbin Mosque
4. three mosques damaged in Pegu, no names given

Rangoon:
1. Yankin (Kanbe) Mosque
2. Pazungdaung Mosque (twice)
3. Eidgah Mosque
4. 48th Street Mosque & school
5. Myinigone Mosque

6. Sanchaung Mosque
7. two mosques in Kyimyindaing
8. Ayethakar quarter Mosque in Ahlone township
9. Wartan Street Mosque
10. Bangarlisu Mosque, Thein Pyu Road
11. No.7 Quarter Mosque, South Okkalapa township
12. Muslim school at Tharketa township. *(Source: IA)*

9.5. SLORC's Disrespect for all Religions

At least one-third of Burma's population -- about fifteen million people -- belong to ethnic minorities. In addition to the large ethnic groups -- the Mon, Karen, Shan, Kachin, Chin, and Arakan, within which there are dozens of subgroups -- there is also a significant population of immigrants of Chinese and South Asian origin. The ethnic minorities tend to have large Christian or Muslim minorities within them. The degree of integration among ethnic minorities differs greatly, but in general depends on geographic location; those minorities based in remote highland areas are least integrated and mostly Christian. The coincidence of ethnicity, religion, and armed opposition has meant that allegations of religious persecution and racial discrimination are often combined.

Many of these other religious groups have been persecuted under the military reign of the SLORC. Burmese people cannot enjoy the freedoms guaranteed under Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which clearly states the all people have the right to practice according to their own religious choice.

In Chin State, the military has forced Christian villagers to remove crosses from hilltops and to replace them with pagodas. There are many cases of Christians being forced to convert to Buddhism by the SLORC. In 1994-95, SLORC lured Chin children from their Christian parents with promises of education in Rangoon. When the parents tried to communicate with their children or to learn of their whereabouts and well-being, they were denied all access. Later they discovered that instead of having been placed in schools, their children were being converted to Buddhism in Buddhist monasteries, with their heads shaven and dressed in novices' robes.

9.5.1. Religious Discrimination against Christianity in Naga Hill

In early 1996, Sagaing division SLORC chairman and commander of

Northwest command, General Hla Myint Swe, issued an order to promote Buddhism to native Naga people; the soldiers were told to forcibly convert Naga people in the area from Christianity to Buddhism.

One village chief said that SLORC forced the villagers to construct Buddhist monasteries and sent abbots to each monastery in Pansat, Kokailong, Kutki, Phongtharet, Leyon, and Ngakyan villages in Sumra Naga hill tract. These abbots, protected by SLORC, are organizing the local Christian people to be converted into Buddhism. In these regions local Christian people are forced to cut down and carry the bamboo and wood used for the construction of the monasteries.

Soldiers from Light Infantry Regiment 229 and 222 deployed in these regions were asked to marry local Naga girls; once married to the soldiers the girls were forced to convert to Buddhism. After they converted to Buddhism, they were sent on trips to big cities like Rangoon and Mandalay where they were provided good clothing. The army uses these material gifts to persuade Naga girls to convert to Buddhism.

Native Naga people who convert to Buddhism are provided 500 to 1000 kyats by the army. If a person remains a faithful Buddhist for six months following conversion, the army provides for the person's food supplies and clothing. Funds for these benefits are provided by the Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs, whose goal it is to propagate Buddhism among hill tribes.

In addition to paid benefits, converted Buddhists in these regions are freed from the requirements of portering and forced labor. Only Christian people are required to work, usually on sanitation or construction projects. Often such work must be performed on Sundays, the Christian Sabbath.

The army authorities required Christian youths to work during the week before Christmas in order to prevent their participation in Christmas functions in the region. They ordered them to carry army supplies to Leshi town - a ten-day journey on foot. By the time they returned, the Christmas holiday had passed. Three Christian youths who refused the order were badly beaten by the soldiers. *(Source: ABSDF/West)*

9.5.2. Religious Discrimination in Karenni State

There are four central wards in Shadaw town in Karenni State, one of which is called "Mother Mary Ward." The name is derived from the Roman Catholic

faith, the religion of the majority of residents in the ward. To the distress of local Catholic residents, SLORC has ordered the name of the ward changed to "Aung Chan Tha Ward." *(Source: ABSDF)*

Most of the Karenni people are Christians. The SLORC authorities and their local authorities, by intimidation and threat, force the Karenni people to construct Buddhist pagodas all over Karenni State, despite the fact that there are n Buddhist in the region to worship at the pagodas. Many of the Christian crosses erected in towns and villages have been destroyed. Some pastors have been arrested and tortured. Many Christian churches were destroyed and bibles were burned during SLORC's massive relocation operations in Karenni State.

9.5.3. Religious Discrimination against Muslims in Northern Arakan

Muslims have been denied the right to freedom of religion. Muslims in northern Arakan State cited religious persecution as one of the factors which drove them to seek refuge in Bangladesh in 1992 and in 1996. Mosques in the region were destroyed or otherwise closed down. Muslim children are not permitted to attend Madrasahs (Koran schools). SLORC has built Buddhist pagodas in the region and Muslim students are required to study Buddhism in the schools. Parents of the students do not speak out against the program as they fear their children's expulsion from school.

In September 1996, a 600-year-old mosque in the old capital, Mrauk-Oo, was demolished by the army despite appeals by the local Muslim community. In October, 1996, anti-Muslim leaflets were distributed in Rangoon warning all Burmans to be especially vigilant against the "threat of Muslim dominance." The leaflets required "patriotic Burmese" not to eat at Muslim restaurants, buy from Muslim shops, or employ Muslim workers. The leaflets were not signed by any organization, but people believed they were designed by SLORC to stir up religious and racial tension to distract attention from the student demonstrations which had begun during the same month, October 1996.

During 1996, 50 army personnel were deployed to a hill near the village of Nanragone, Buthidaung township where they are erecting a Buddhist pagoda. Nanragone is a Muslim village, no Buddhist residents live there. Nevertheless, the SLORC has ordered the destruction of one hundred Muslim houses around the proposed site for the construction of the new Buddhist pagoda. No compensation was paid to the owners of these houses and no arrangements have been made for their relocation. Most of the residents have therefore traveled to Bangladesh to seek asylum.

The Buddhist pagoda most recently under construction in Northern Arakan State is located in Shujah village, north of Maungdaw township. Since mid-1996, the SLORC commander of border area surveillance, Captain Naing Win, has been forcibly collecting money from Muslims in the area as donations to the project. Those who fail to fulfill the demand are subject to various kinds of humiliation and torture by the SLORC.

9.5.4. Muslims Targeted during the SLORC's Offensive against the KNU 6th Brigade

In February 1997, Muslims in the KNU's 6th Brigade were particularly targeted by the SLORC during its offensive against the KNU. Burmese troops torched mosques and several Muslim religious schools during the offensive. About 4,000 Muslims in Kyaikdon, Pa Klaw Nee, Mae Ha Htee Hta, and Sakhanthit villages in the KNU 6th Brigade were forcibly relocated by SLORC troops to Patein in Kya-Ein-Seik-Kyi district where there are virtually no basic utilities, including water. On March 3, 1997, SLORC troops forcibly removed corrugated iron roofings from the mosque in Kyaik Don. At the same time, soldiers scattered religious books on the ground, ripping them to pieces, and then burning them.

9.5.5. List of Muslim Mosques Destroyed During the Offensive

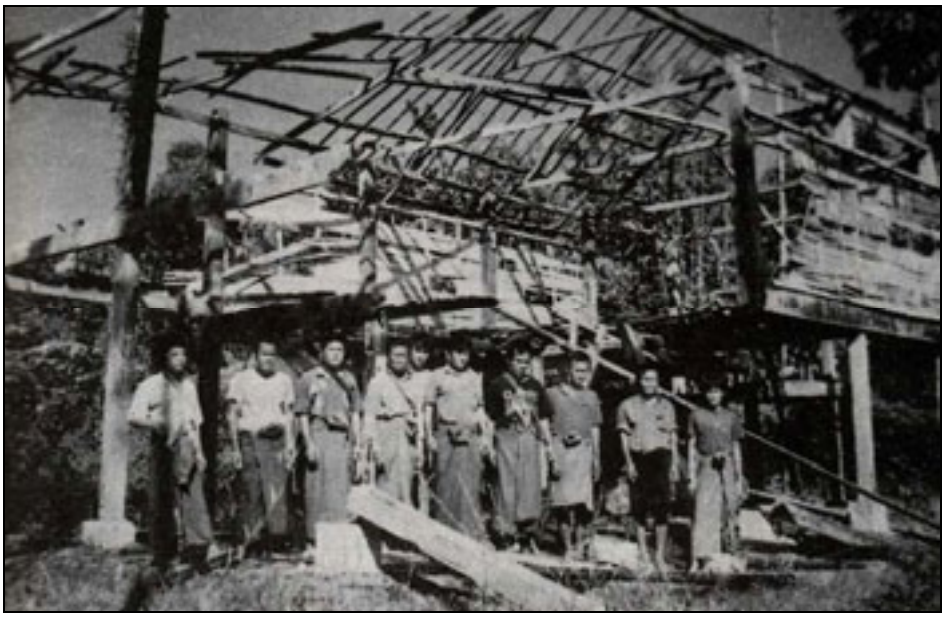
- Kyaikdon, Duplaya district: inside of mosque and Muslim school destroyed
- Gaw Bay, Duplaya district: mosque destroyed
- Naw Bu, Duplaya district: mosque destroyed
- Day Nga Yin, Duplaya district: mosque destroyed
- Kyaung Don, Duplaya district: mosque destroyed
- Kaninbu, Duplaya district: mosque and Muslim school destroyed
- Pa Glaw Ni, Duplaya district: mosque valuables looted, placed in Buddhist temple, then wooden mosque dismantled. *(Source: IA)*

(Also see under "Personal Accounts," interviews 5, 6, 19, 20, 26, 40, 51, 86, and 87)



Church in Tee Khu Thaw village, Kyone Do township, central Karen State, was burned down and destroyed by the SLORC's LIB 546 troops commanded by Major Tin Aye and DKBA troops in November 1996. (Photo by KORD)

Villagers in front of the Roman Catholic Church in Ler pa Doh village, burned by the SLORC troops in November 1996. (Photo by Karen Sources)





This 72-year-old monk fled his temple in one of the "free-fire zones" to KNU-held territory along with these two young nuns.

10. Freedom of Opinion, Expression, and the Press

10.1. One of the Ten Enemies of the Press

Burma's Senior General Than Shwe is included in the 1997 top ten "enemies of the press" list released by the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists. In its statement, the SLORC leaders and other listed international leaders were condemned for their "relentless hostility to the very concept of a free and independent press in their own countries and around the world." The ten had "deliberately engaged in hundreds of press freedom violations ranging from censorship, harassment, and physical attack to imprisonment and even assassination," the statement said.

All forms of Burma's public media (television, written press, and radio) are officially controlled and censored by the SLORC. The media continue to be subject to governmental censorship and are largely used as instruments to propagate governmental points of view. With the exception of reporting on some aspects of the National Convention, these official media did not report opposing views except to criticize them.

Foreign radio broadcasts, such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Voice of America (VOA), and Norway-based Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) remained prime sources of uncensored information, though the SLORC attempted to jam or otherwise interfere with the reception of these broadcasts.

The SLORC's power over the media has encouraged self-censorship on the part of writers and publishers in Burma. Private citizens are generally unable to subscribe directly to foreign publications, though a limited selection of foreign newspapers could be purchased in a few hotels in Rangoon. Even where available, however, foreign publications containing unwelcome articles are either banned entirely or redacted by SLORC's censors.

10.2. SLORC's Laws Restricting Freedom of Expression

Freedom of expression in Burma is seriously restricted under a set of SLORC laws which are difficult to reconcile with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The right to freedom of expression in Article 19 states "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." These laws affect not only freedom

of expression but also access to information for the people of Burma.

Under the *1962 Printers' and Publishers' Registration Law*, periodicals, magazines and films must be submitted to the "Press Scrutiny Board" prior to being printed or distributed. Authors, editors, publishers and distributors convicted for having transgressed its provisions face harsh penalties, which have been increased in June 1989 by SLORC Order 16/89 to a maximum of seven year's imprisonment and/ or fines of 30,000 kyats for each infringement of the law.

Another law which restricts freedom of expression is the *Myanmar Wireless Telegraphy Act*. This law, which was amended on October 22, 1995 (Amendment Law No. 15/95), stipulated that whoever possesses any wireless telegraphy apparatus without a license shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or a fine which may extend to 30,000 kyats, or both. Mr. James Leander Nichols, a former consular representative of some European countries, was arrested in early April under this law for illegal possession of communications equipment (telephones and fax machine). He was sentenced to three years imprisonment on May 18, 1996 and died in custody on June 22, 1996.

During 1996, the SLORC issued a series of decrees designed to strengthen its control over all forms of political expression and its citizens' access to information. On June 7, 1996, the SLORC issued Order 5/96, which prohibited speeches or statements that "undermine national stability" as well as the drafting of a constitution in the National Convention. That law entitled, *The Law Protecting the Peaceful and Systematic Transfer of State Responsibility and the Successful Performance of the Functions of the National Convention against Disturbances and Opposition*, prohibits, inter alia, the preparation or dissemination of speeches or statements that undermine the stability of the State or are critical of the SLORC, and prescribes up to 20 years' imprisonment for persons violating the law, while organizations taking part in such activities can also be banned and have their funds and property confiscated.

Under the 1985 Video Law, all videos must be submitted to the Video Censorship Board for scrutiny. Those involved in the making, copying, or distribution of videos have been threatened with prison terms of up to three years under the Law. A new *Television and Video Act*, issued on July 31, 1996 requires that:

(a) Foreign diplomatic missions and United Nations agencies obtain permits to show imported videos at "public exhibitions". Government video censorship boards will have the right to ban, censor, or restrict the audience for such showings;

(b) Private video operators obtain licenses from a "video business supervisory committee" which will be formed in all states and divisions in Burma;

(c) All videos both imported and locally produced, be approved by the video censorship board. Violations of these provisions are subject to punishments of up to three years' imprisonment and/or a fine of up to 100,000 kyats. The law also forbids private transmitters that are not authorized by the Government, with five-year prison terms for any offenders.

A new law entitled *The Computer Science Development Law,* issued on September 27, 1996, makes the unauthorized import, possession and use of certain types of computer equipment, for example computers with networking capability -- punishable with sentences of seven to 15 years in prison and/or a fine. A "Myanmar Computer Science Council" was established to approve the type of equipment to be restricted. The punishment is prescribed, according to the Government-controlled newspaper "New Light of Myanmar," for anyone setting up links with a computer network without prior permission or who uses computer networks or information technology for undermining State security, law and order, national unity, the national economy or national culture or who obtains or transmits State secrets. Members of unauthorized computer clubs may, according to reports, be sentenced to prison terms of a minimum of three years. A punishment of five to ten years imprisonment is prescribed for anyone who imports or exports computer software or information banned by the Myanmar Computer Science Council.

The SLORC restricts the reception of satellite television broadcasts. Penalties of up to three years' imprisonment for operation of unlicensed satellite television receivers can be imposed.

10.3. Visa Restrictions and other Forms of Harassment of Journalists

Burma is strict about ensuring journalists have visas. Its embassies abroad have issued journalist visas on a selective basis only ahead of monthly news conferences organized by the SLORC. SLORC denied visas for foreign journalists whose reports displease the junta. SLORC's Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw said in Jakarta on July 22, 1996, "Correspondents who are persistently attacking or writing bad things will not be allowed visas." SLORC has repeatedly alleged that international media fabricate reports of human rights abuses in Burma and distort other development there. The SLORC harassed journalists during the abortive September 1996 NLD Party Congress and subsequently during student demonstrations in December 1996.

On December 4, 1996, the Foreign Correspondents Club of Myanmar (FCCM), whose members are all Burmese nationals working for foreign newspapers and wire services, issued a protest at the detention and beating of one of their members, U Myo Thant, a photographer for the Japanese Daily *Yomiuri Shimbun*. U Myo Thant, a 40-year-old Burmese journalist, was beaten around the head and upper body at the Shwedagon Pagoda on December 3, 1996 by Lone Htein riot police despite his attempts to identify himself as a journalist. He was then forced into a police van and taken to the Kyaikkasan racefield. After finally convincing the authorities that he had an official journalist's pass and that he had the authorization to enter the Shwedagon area -- at the time already cordoned-off by the riot police -- he was released and went to Insein General Hospital, suffering from head injuries.

A Japanese journalist working for *Yomiuri Shimbun*, a 39-year-old Shigefumi Takasuka, was badly beaten as he watched the demonstrations on December 7, 1996. He was beaten in the melee while some students were stoned and injured by security forces; he sustained unspecified injuries. He was taken for questioning by military intelligence and finally released two days later. He was turned over to the SLORC intelligence division despite repeatedly explaining he was a reporter. SLORC authorities later said the incident took place "because military and security troops could not understand a journalist's reporting activities on the spot."

At least three other free-lance journalists were deported from Burma during the first week of December 1996. All of them deported were on their tourist visas, and SLORC officials said they were deported because they had worked as journalists while in Burma without permission. On December 9, 1996, a Dutch woman, Williamke Joanna Nyhuis was questioned by Burmese immigration officials about links with the students and deported later for allegedly working as a journalist. She denied the charges when interrogated in Burma.

10.4. Sentencing for a Joke: Case of U Pa Pa Lay and U Lu Zaw

January 4, 1996 marked the 48th anniversary of Burma's independence from the British. On that day some 2,000 NLD members and supporters attended a celebration at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's home. "Myo Daw Win Mar Anyeint" troupe, a traditional Burmese entertainment group from Mandalay, gave a performance which included dances, songs, and jokes satirizing the authorities. All ten members of the dance troupe, including Myo Daw Win Mar were arrested as soon as they arrived back to Mandalay after their performance. However, Myo Daw Win Mar, Ma Hnin Pa Pa, U Tin Myint Hlaing, U Sein Hla, U Win Htein, U Myint Thein, Daw Myaing and Ma Yin Yin Shwe were later released.

U Par Par Lay and U Lu Zaw, both comedians, and U Aung Soe and U Htwe, both NLD members and organizers of the performance, were reportedly sentenced to seven years imprisonment on March 18, 1996. U Pa Pa Lay and U Lu Zaw were charged under section 5(c) of the *1950 Emergency Provisions Act* with spreading false news, since they had allegedly made jokes about the military government in a performance at the Independence Day celebration. The two comedians were sent to a labor camp at Kyein Kran Ka near Myitkyina in Kachin State in early April 1996. They were forced to work with iron bars shackled across their legs, and had lost a considerable amount of weight. These two comedians were detained solely for the peaceful expression of the their political views. U Pa Pa Lay had been imprisoned previously in 1991 for one year because he had made a joke referring to the popularity of the NLD. U Aung Soe and U Htwe were initially sent to a labor camp seven miles from Myitkyina in May 1996, they were reportedly moved to Sumprabom in northern Kachin State where they were forced to break rocks. *(Source: AI, Inside Burma)*

10.5. Sentencing for Production of a Video: Case of U Win Htein

U Win Htein, personal assistant to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was taken from his home at 10 p.m. on May 21, 1996 to an unknown place. When he asked the arresting officers for a warrant, he was told that a warrant was not needed as charges had already been brought against him. On August 15, he was slapped with a seven-year prison term for his role in the production of a videotape of arid rice fields aimed at countering the government's rosy agricultural projections. Along with U Win Htein, U Po Aye and his son Htein Lin, Hla Tun Aung, Kan Shein, and three other NLD members were sentenced to seven years imprisonment under the *Emergency Act* 5(j). U Win Htein was charged with sending present and former NLD members to collect information on agricultural development in various parts of the country; the others were charged for their part in collecting this information and for sending "false data." The NLD lawyer defending them was not allowed to cross-examine any witnesses during the trial, and he was not allowed to meet with U Win Htein privately. U Win Htein was reportedly sentenced to an additional seven years imprisonment on August 26, under section 5(e) of the *Emergency Provision Act* for having served as a translator for Tin Hlaing at an interview with a foreign journalist. *(Source: Inside Burma)*

10.6. Sentencing for Meeting a Foreign Journalist: Case of San Hlaing

Maung San Hlaing, also known as Tin Hlaing or Evak, a 27-year-old Muslim

bodyguard for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was arrested on June 13, 1996. He was sentenced on August 26, 1996 to seven years imprisonment under section 5(e) of the *1950 Emergency Provisions Act*. According to the SLORC media, he had been instructed by U Win Htein to meet with three foreign journalists on April 9, 1996 and had then provided them with information about the military's use of torture against political prisoners. *(Source: Inside Burma)*

10.7. Sentencing for Distributing NLD Video: Case of U Sein Hla Aung and Zaw Zaw Aung

Under the repressive new video law, many people were arrested solely for possessing or distributing video tapes of NLD weekend meetings. In March 1996, U Sein Hla Aung and Zaw Zaw Myaing from Mandalay were sentenced to three- and two-year prison terms, respectively, for distributing video tapes of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. At about the same time, local officials in Mandalay reportedly began arresting people for watching the videos in private homes.

Similarly, in Minchaung village of Inle lake in Nyaungshwe, U Nhuang, U Aung Ba, U Soe Win, and U Chit Pwe were sentenced to two years imprisonment each for watching a video tape that featured Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. *(Source: SAIN)*

Similarly, on June 30, 1996, Daw Aye Aye Win was reportedly arrested at her home in Tharketa township, Rangoon after police officers had searched her house and confiscated 40 cassette recordings of speeches given by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi together with some NLD papers. She was sentenced to a seven-year prison term on August 15, 1996. *(Source: SAIN)*

10.8. Sentencing for Espousing Peaceful Dialogue: Case of U Kaythara

U Kyathara, a Buddhist monk also known as U Kyaw, was arrested in late May 1996 for putting up a poster calling for dialogue between the SLORC and the NLD in front of Sule Pagoda in Rangoon. He was sentenced to a seven-year term in prison on August 15, 1996. He was arrested for his non-violent expression of a peaceful political views. *(Source: Inside Burma)*

10.9. Sentencing for Two Songs: Case of Shwe Than Zin Band

It was reported that two musicians, Ko Min Maw and Ko Zaw Win from *Shwe Than Zin* band were arrested by the SLORC military intelligence and sentenced to jail for seven years in Rangoon for the creation of two democracy songs in March 1997. The two musicians recorded these two democracy songs in May studio in Rangoon and sent them to Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) based in Oslo, Norway for broadcasting. These two songs were broadcast on March 3, 10, and 17, from DVB's "Songs in the Sky section." May studio was also raided and the owner of the studio was investigated by the SLORC MI. According to the sources in Rangoon, U Hla Min, the NLD-elected representative from Kawthaung (Victoria Point) constituency, Tenasserim Division, was arrested by the SLORC MI for having connections with the two musicians. *(Source: ABSDF)*



This "People's Forum" where Burmese people briefly enjoyed their freedom of opinion and expression, has now been banned. (Photo by SAIN)

11. Freedom of Assembly and Association

11.1. Mounting Pressure on Pro-democracy Opposition

In 1996, SLORC stepped up its repressive campaign to stifle any political opposition; limits on freedom of assembly and association were particularly severe this year. The military junta continued its systematic harassment of the opposition, especially the pro-democracy opposition; it prohibit gatherings of more than five people, requiring permission be obtained for even informal meetings, and it detained and arrested political party members, and hired a mob of thugs to intimidate and attack the opposition. In 1996 alone, more than 2,000 people were arrested for publicly calling for political reforms, and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's "weekend talks" were terminated and her movement severely restricted in the name of "maintaining the stability of the State."

11.2. Restrictions Placed upon NLD Party Leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

Throughout 1996, the SLORC repressed peaceful NLD political meetings, gatherings, and demonstrations, often using violent means. The SLORC has exhibited nearly complete intolerance of any peaceful NLD activity. At the beginning of the year, Burmese people and NLD supporters could gather every weekend to listen to speeches by NLD leaders, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, at the gate of her home on University Avenue in Rangoon; the weekend talks were terminated in September 1996. The state-controlled media has made increasingly strident personal attacks against Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD. Independent foreign reporters have been denied access to interview NLD members. Aung San Suu Kyi's compound, as well as the homes of other NLD leaders, are under constant surveillance.

Since September 1996, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has been repeatedly refused permission to leave her compound, rendering her virtually under house arrest. Her phone line is often cut and she is confined to her house for long periods without any outside communication. According to a statement issued by Lt. General Khin Nyunt at a press conference on December 31, 1996, authorities had temporarily requested that Suu Kyi stay within her compound boundaries as a precautionary measure because they had discovered anti-government "underground elements" actively trying to foment trouble in Rangoon and wanted to prevent further disorder. At this point, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remains

isolated in her compound most of the time.

The SLORC has stepped-up its war of words against the pro-democracy opposition and enacted sweeping legal measures designed to intimidate NLD supporters. SLORC passed a law on June 7, 1996 which forbids people from speaking, preaching, or writing anything that "disrupts the stability of the State, community peace, tranquillity and prevalence of law and order;" the law allows up to twenty years detention for such crimes. This law was passed in direct response to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's weekly "people's forum" meetings in Rangoon. SLORC also invokes Order 2/88, which prohibits public gatherings of more than five people,[1] to prevent gathering in front of Aung San Suu Kyi's house.

Since the end of September 1996, barricades, police, and security forces have blocked the roads leading to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's home to prevent people from gathering outside the compound to attend weekend speeches or any other NLD meetings. According to SLORC, "the road-side talks and news that circulated among representatives of foreign media and external organizations were meant to cause disruption of stability, peace, and rule of law and meant to cause collapse of economic order in Burma." SLORC's Military Intelligence personnel had been filming those who attended the meetings and in many cases, contacted those individuals and threatened that they would lose their jobs if they continued to go to meetings.

Since October 1996, the road directly in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's residence has been closed altogether. On October 12, 1996, SLORC announced that "in order to avoid the undesirable consequences arising from gatherings there, including the outbreak of confrontations and riots, disturbance of existing peace and stability in the nation, unruly actions, and incitement in the street affecting the daily life of the ordinary people, the authorities decided as a preventive measure temporarily to close University Avenue from Kokang Road junction to the Inya Myaing Road to both traffic and pedestrians." On the same day, there were four clashes between SLORC security forces and people approaching Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house. In the first incident, security forces allegedly chased and attacked a crowd at Kokkhine intersection, until the crowd dispersed. Later, people assembled again, and the security forces

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1 In some townships, (e.g. South Okkapala, Mingladon, Hmwebe and Insein townships) permission is required seven days in advance for NLD township-level meetings. Also NLD members have to agree that not more than 5 members will attend the meetings, in accordance SLORC's Orders 2/88 and 8/88. Permission is even required for informal meetings in some townships such as in North Okkalapa, Rangoon Division. Some NLD meetings are attended by SLORC representatives who take notes during the meetings.

lifted the barricades to let people pass, then quickly replaced the barricades, trapping people inside and attacking them. There were also clashes between crowds and security forces in the Campbell and Hermitage areas of Rangoon. SLORC reported 25 arrests; all were apparently released later.

Other Incidents:

- In March 1996, NLD leaders, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, attempted to travel to Mandalay to give testimony at the trial of other NLD members. SLORC authorities prevented them from testifying; just before they were to board the train at the station in Rangoon they were told the railway carriage was broken.

- On November 1, 1996, the authorities suggested that larger public meetings could be held within Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's compound, but that not more than ten persons could gather outside her gate. On November 3, 1996. several groups of NLD supporters were roughly dispersed by riot police on the roads leading to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house. A few monks were beaten with batons in the ruckus.

- In December 1996 Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was prevented from attending a Karen New Year celebration in the Karen ethnic community in Rangoon.

11.3. Mass Arrests of NLD Members

In May 1996, SLORC security forces arrested 23 party activists and 235 NLD MPs, who were gathering for the NLD party congress at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house. The congress was to be held between May 26 and 29 to mark the sixth anniversary of the NLD victory in the 1990 democratically-held elections. The arrests were widely seen as a pre-emptive strike by SLORC to prevent the meeting from occurring. While most of the persons detained were released a few days later, some still remain in custody, although the exact number of detainees cannot be confirmed.

SLORC made additional mass-arrests in Rangoon and surrounding townships on September 26, 1996, the eve of another NLD congress, to be held in Rangoon, to mark the eighth anniversary of the founding of the NLD. At least 159 people were arrested on their way to the celebration. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house was surrounded by approximately 150 soldiers. Some of the soldiers entered

her compound, kidnapping her maid. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remained under house-arrest; all roads leading to her house had been barricaded by troops and SLORC issued a statement ordering Daw Suu not to leave her compound for three days. On September 28, 1996, violent scuffles ensued between the crowd, gathered outside Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's compound, and Riot Control Forces. The riot-control police attacked the crowd and forced, at gun point, at least 100 people onto military paddy-wagons.

In the strongest display of their discontent since the 1988 demonstrations, hundreds of students held peaceful demonstrations on December 2, 1996, less than a month after the attack on Aung San Suu Kyi's motorcade. SLORC blocked passage to streets near Yangon Institute of Technology where students were demanding their right to form a student union and other student's rights. Over a period of many hours, SLORC trapped students inside their barricades and eventually attacked students with water cannons and beat them with their batons. At least 700 students were forcibly tossed onto trucks by riot police in the early morning hours on December 3. Many students sustained serious injuries. SLORC sources reported that 609 students were released later that day but diplomatic sources stated that the students believed some of the demonstrators were detained longer. (*Source: Inside Source*)

In an effort to head off a planned party congress to commemorate the NLD's overwhelming victory in the 1990 elections, SLORC forces began rounding-up NLD members one week before the May 27, 1997 celebration. SLORC troops were searching houses of known party members and looking for overnight guests who had not been reported to the authorities in Rangoon and in the provinces. The junta detained at least 315 NLD supporters on their way to the congress in Rangoon. Despite SLORC's crackdown, approximately 150 NLD delegates managed to slip into the capital from the provinces for the congress. (*Source: Inside Source*)

11.4. Systematic Harassment of NLD Leaders and Forced Resignation of NLD-elected MPs

NLD Members of Parliament elected in the democratic 1990 elections, have been harassed mercilessly by SLORC. The MPs are "warned" that their family members might lose their jobs, their children might fail state exams, or they might endure arbitrary tax increases if they do not resign from their seats and renounce their association with the National League for Democracy. In one verbal statement, SLORC authorities made clear the seriousness of their threats to NLD members: "You are fair game. It is because we do not want to shoot

you down in an ambush that we are giving you warning. You get only one chance -- not two. You must understand that the army is governing; we will act according to orders from above. We shall clear away all obstacles." (*Source: NLD*)

List of Recent Incidents

- Irrawaddy Division: U Win Kyaing, Bogale township, constituency (1); Dr. Sein Myint, Bogale township, constituency (2); U Thar Soe, Nyaungdon township, constituency (2); and U Thaung Yi, Danubyu township, constituency (2) were all forced by local LORC to resign from their elected-MP positions.

- Other elected-MPs, also from Irrawaddy Division, refused to comply with the LORC's threats by maintaining their positions. These MPs were arbitrarily accused of breaking laws. They were tried and sentenced. For example, Dr. Myo Nyunt, Dedaye township, constituency (1) was sentenced under the *Medicine Act*; U Min Swe, Pyapon township, constituency (2) was sentenced under the *1984 Private Tuition Act*; U Hla Myint, Maubin township, constituency (2) was sentenced for "disturbance of civil duties"; U Sann Myint, Laymyatnhar township, constituency (2) was sentenced under the *Video Act*; and U Tin Aung, Wakhema township, constituency (1) has been charged with violating the *Emergency Provisions Act*, Section 5(j). (*Source: Inside Source*)

- Dr. Than Nyein, vice-chairman of the NLD's Rangoon Division and an elected NLD MP from Kyauktan-1, was arrested on February 19, 1997 for "breaching medical professional ethics"; his medical license was revoked by the health ministry. He was released from custody on April 2, 1997 after paying 1,000 kyats. (*Source: Inside Source*)

- Saw U Rei, NLD MP from Prusoe, Karenni State, was forced to resign from the NLD and his position as an elected member. He was then sentenced to seventeen years imprisonment. (*Source: Inside Source*)

- Dr. Than Aung, an elected MP for the NLD from Mingla Taungnyunt-2 was arrested on February 21, 1997 for allegedly causing the death of a patient through negligence. He was sentenced to four years in Insein prison on April 11, 1997 for "homicide not amounting to murder." (*Source: Inside Source*)

- U Tin Maung, chairman of the Bogale township NLD organizational committee, Irrawaddy Division was accused of possessing an illegal lottery ticket and sentenced to nine months in prison. (*Also see Chapter 2, date of sentencing unknown*)

- U Myint Kyaing, U Than New, and U Soe Myint, members of the Zalun township NLD, Irrawaddy Division were each sentenced to three years imprisonment under the *Video Act*. (*Also see Chapter 2; date of sentencing unknown*)

- U Khin Thaung, a member of the Pyapon township NLD organizational committee, Irrawaddy Division was sentenced to two years in prison for the alleged illegal use of electric power. (*Also see Chapter 2; date of sentencing unknown*)

- The NLD-elected MP from Kawthaung, Tenessarim division was sentenced to seven years in prison under Section 5(e) of the *Prison Regulations Act*. He was not permitted to confer with counsel. (*Also Chapter 2; date of sentencing unknown*)

- Many NLD members have been evicted from state-owned apartments where they had lived for many years. U Win Tin and U Tin Latt, NLD membersthey had lived for many years. U Win Tin and U Tin Latt, NLD members and Bo Aung Naing of the People's Volunteer Organization were evicted from their state-owned housing in 1996. (*Source: SAIN*)

- Since June 1996, at least thirteen MPs have succumbed to SLORC's pressure and resigned from the NLD.

11.4.1. Forced Resignation from National Convention: The Case of Sai Soe Nyunt

On December 18 and 19, 1996, Sai Soe Nyunt, a member of the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) and official delegate of the SNLD to the National Convention, was beaten, arrested, and forced to resign from the party by Major Win Thu of SLORC IB 58.

On the evening of December 17, 1996, Sai Soe Nyunt was sitting on a bench near a movie theater not far from his house in Murng Na village, Waeng Maw township, Kachin State. Nearby, a noisy quarrel erupted between a villager,

Maung Soe Thein, and two army officers in civilian clothes. Sai Soe Nyunt interceded peacefully by scolding all three of them and turning the two soldiers over to the village LORC Chairman, U Kyaw Nyein. Other villagers witnessed the two army officers, Sgt. Lin Aung and Corporal Thein of IB. 58, confess their guilt.

On the evening of December 18, 1996, five armed soldiers arrived at Sai Soe Nyunt's house and severely beat him and another villager, Maung Pho Tha Htoo. The soldiers beat the two men with their guns; they both suffered severe injuries, Sai Soe Nyunt's jaw was fractured. The soldiers bound the hands of the two men as well as Maung Mya Oo -- who happened to be in the house -- and took the three men to a military camp at Murng Na. The soldiers continued beating the three without any explanation and in spite of Sai Soe Nyunt's pleading that he was an official delegate to the National Convention. The three men were left in a prison cell at the IB 58 base for the night.

The next morning, on December 19, 1996, all three men were lined up in front of Major Win Thu, company headquarters commander (IB 58). The Major threatened to kill them and interrogated them as to their membership in the Communist Party of Burma (CPB), the All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF), or other "rebel" groups. After a long tirade, he threatened to charge Sai Soe Nyunt with a crime. Sai Soe Nyunt denied committing any crime and restated that he was an official delegate to the National Convention. The Major furiously retorted, "what National Convention? It is full of whores, drug abusers, and drug runners. It is nonsense! Get out of it!" The three were then locked-up again.

At about 11: 00 a.m., Sai Soe Nyunt was forced to sign a resignation from the SNLD party and the National Convention and a letter of apology. Sai Soe Nyunt had not received any medical attention since his arrest and was in grave condition; he hoped that by signing the resignation, he would be allowed to die at home. Upon his release, Sai Soe Nyunt tried to get medical attention -- for fear of SLORC reprisals, no medical clinics or hospitals in Myitgyina would treat him. He finally traveled to Rangoon, hoping to receive treatment at the medical center arranged for National Convention delegates. (*Source: SNLD*)

11.5. Harassment of NLD-office Landlords and Systematic Removal of NLD Signboards

During 1996, landlords of NLD offices were summoned by the SLORC authorities and ordered to sign an agreement that, in the event of legal action

against their tenants (the NLD), they would accept the consequences, including sealing of the premises, confiscation of the building, and even arrest of the owner. SLORC told building owners that the NLD would be declared illegal and that they risked grave legal consequences as the landlords.

The NLD signboard has been a matter of contention since the founding of the Party in 1988. When NLD offices, with their distinctive signboards, spread across the country after the Party was registered in September 1988, a SLORC regulation was promulgated forbidding village party offices from erecting signboards. After a discussion between leaders of the NLD and the Multi-party Elections Committee in January 1989, it was agreed that signboards could be retained in village offices where they had already been erected or where applications were already made to the relevant authorities to establish an office and erect a signboard. In spite of this agreement, SLORC authorities have continued to harass the NLD over signboards, as it is seen as a strong symbol of public support for the Party and of defiance in the face of intense persecution. A concerted effort was made by local authorities to remove all NLD signs from main roads or any place where they might be widely exposed to the public. In many cases, NLD signboards have been replaced with a sign that states the NLD no longer occupies the office. Many NLD offices have been forced to relocate to obscure locations.

11.5.1. The following is a list of locations at which NLD sign boards have been removed by local LORC officials:

State/Division	Township Office	Ward/Village Office
Kachin	all township/ward/ village except State NLD party's signboard	
Kayah	all township/ward/ village except State NLD party's signboard	
Karen	all township/ward/ village except State NLD party's signboard	
Irrawaddy	Maubin township	Kywe Don village,
		Kywe Kyut village,
	Naungdon township	
	Ah Pyauk township	
	Nga Thaing Chaung township	
	Pyapon township	Kantkyat village
	Ingapu township	Shwe Laung village,
		Chaungwa village,
	Ngaputaw township	Thingangon village,
		Pyinkhayaing village,

State/Div.	Township office	Ward/ village offices
		Kyaukchaung village,
		Kyagan village,
		Phayataung village,
		Ahtetpyaw village
	Kyankhin township	Betye village,
		Khonggyi village
		Yelekyin village,
		Hseiktha Pauktime village,
	East Bassein township	Kan Ywa village,
		Darka village
	Bogale township	Kadon Kani village
Shan	Moe Meik township	
Sagaing	Pale township	
	Kanni township	
	Tamu township	
	Minkin township	
	Wetlet township	
Rangoon	Twunte township	
	Yakin township	
	Dawpon township	
	Thingangyun township	
	Kamayut township	
	Botataung township	
	Kyinmyindine township	
	Pabetan township	
	Dagon township	
	Seikkyi/Khanaungto township	
Tenasserim	Nergui township	

11.6. List of Typical Incidents

- On September 27, 1996, the NLD office on Shwedagon Road in Rangoon was closed and the NLD signboard was removed. According to the officials, the office was closed because the lease had expired and the landlord was disturbed by the 300 persons that gathered on his property, preparing for an NLD Congress. In truth, SLORC forced the landlord to annul the lease and illegally remove the signboard. SLORC officials told the landlord that the NLD would be declared illegal and

they would confiscate his building if he did not comply with their "request (*Source: NLD*)

- The NLD offices in South Okkalapa township relocated on September 29, 1996. Shortly thereafter, township LORC officers, led by the secretary, warned NLD members that moving an office without prior permission was illegal. The owner of the new office was also threatened by the LORC officers. (*Source: NLD*)

- U San Pe, a member of the NLD, Shwebo township, allowed an NLD office to be opened in his house. His wife, Daw Ohn Kyi, had a small shop in the grounds of Shwebo college; she was forced to close her shop in October 1996 due to her husband's party affiliation. (*Source: SAIN*)

- On the night of October 26, 1996, U Ba Kyi, a member of the Kachin State organizational committee and U Kyin Thein, a member of the Myitkyina township organizational committee were called to the township LORC office. The chairman of the local LORC ordered them to remove the NLD state and township signboards. U Ba Kyi and U Kyin Thein refused. Later, LORC officials removed the NLD signboards. (*Source: SAIN*)

- On October 27, 1996, Maran Zaw Aung, an NLD MP from Wainmaw township, Kachin State, was summoned by the Chairman of the township LORC and forced to remove the NLD signboard above the township office. (*Source: SAIN*)

- On November 30, 1996, in Chaungwa village, Ngaputaw township, Irrawaddy Division, township LORC Chairman, U Tin Yi, a Major, soldiers from the 92nd Regiment Sub-Inspector of Police, U Than Shwe, policemen from Pyinkhayaing village, the whole Chaungwa village LORC, the voluntary fire-brigade, and members of the local USDA advanced to the local NLD office, also the home of NLD MP (Ngapudaw 1), U David Hla Myint. The large group of soldiers and policemen pointed their guns at the MP and other NLD members and ordered them to remove the NLD signboard. The NLD members initially refused but eventually capitulated when the soldiers became more threatening with their guns. When the signboard was removed, NLD organizational committee members were rounded-up and forced, at gun point, to remove all of the NLD signboards in the villages and township.

- NLD members were forbidden to hold a ceremony to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the opening of the Ngapadaw NLD office. (*Source: SAIN*)

- The NLD signboard in Nga Thaing Chaund was erected at the home of the chairman of the NLD Organizational Committee, U Tin Thein. At the end of 1996, township LORC officials removed the signboard. U Tin Thein erected the sign again. Township LORC officers called for the arrest of U Tin Thein. He has been forced into hiding and has not returned home to avoid arrest. (*Source: SAIN*)

- In Sagaing Division, the township LORC offices sent a letter to all NLD offices instructing them to remove their signboards. (*Source: NLD*)

- In Mayangone township, Rangoon Division, the SLORC authorities demanded that the NLD signboard be reduced in size. (*Source: NLD*)

11.7. No Free and Independent Trade Unions

In 1955, Burma freely ratified ILO Convention No. 87 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize. However, workers in Burma do not enjoy the right to join organizations outside SLORC's existing structure. Furthermore, no Burmese organizations are permitted to join international federations or to affiliate with international organizations without SLORC's permission.

In June 1996, at the eighty-third session of the International Labor Conference in Geneva, before the Committee on the Allocation of Standards, the matter of freedom of association and protection of the right to organize in Burma was raised for the ninth time since 1981. Tragically, Burma's military junta continues to ignore international standards and no steps have been taken to allow workers to establish organizations of their choice or to become affiliated with international workers' and employers' organizations.

11.8. USDA, SLORC's "Brown Shirt"

On various occasions the SLORC has blatantly used the "Union Solidarity Development Association" (USDA) to serve the interests of the military regime. During 1996, the USDA was primarily used to attack violently senior

members of the NLD, including Aung San Suu Kyi, and to damage and disrupt the activities of the NLD. It is widely accepted that the regime is hoping to create an unbearable situation for the entire NLD, in order to provoke the organization and its members into a violent confrontation with SLORC, allowing the military an excuse for another repressive crack-down on the NLD and its supporters.

The SLORC is trying to create the illusion that there is a groundswell of support for the USDA. Since December 1995, the SLORC-controlled media has begun to report that mass rallies attended by tens of thousands of people throughout the country are being held in support of the USDA. According to inside sources, USDA membership is not voluntary; people join out of fear of the army. Attendance at USDA rallies is mandatory; in many cases people are fined if they do not attend required events. Often, mobs are paid by SLORC to perform violent acts against NLD members. *(See Appendix 2 for background information on USDA)*

The following incidents are a few examples of SLORC's attempts to use the USDA - SLORC thugs - to discredit Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD, disrupt activities, and to cause bodily harm to members:

- On February 14, 1996, at the commemoration of the first anniversary of U Nu's death (the first democratically-elected Prime Minister), SLORC sent USDA members in plain clothes to disrupt the service.[2] The USDA members wore red rubber bands around their right arms in order to identify each other in the crowd. The SLORC used MI (Military Intelligence) vehicles to supply the USDA supporters with tomatoes, which they encouraged them to throw at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi when she made her scheduled speech in front of the monastery where the service was held. However, when some of the USDA members learned of their "assignment," they refused to participate and left the gathering. Clearly part of the reason SLORC's plot was thwarted lay in the fact that the USDA members were in the minority, among a large crowd gathered to listen to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. (*Source: Inside Source*)

- On February 26, 1996, a rumor spread that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

2 USDA members are required to wear USDA "uniforms" for their gatherings. It is widely understood that USDA members wear plain clothes to blend into crowds when they are "assigned" to create a ruckus; later SLORC can claim that NLD members are causing disruption or that there is internal strife among NLD members.

would join a celebration of the centennial celebration for famous temple called "Taung Ton Lone" near Pegu. Three of the most revered monks in Burma, Thamanya Taung Sayadaw, Shwepaw Kyun Sayadaw, and Ko Lone Sayadaw were also supposed to visit the temple to conduct religious rites. SLORC sent a number of USDA members to the gathering to physically harm Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. They were later ordered to cancel the mission when they discovered Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was still at her home. (*Source: Inside Source*)

- The roads leading to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's home were barricaded by soldiers and police on Burmese New Year's Day in April 16, 1996. Despite the fact that the NLD canceled the planned event, USDA members at the site were instructed to beat with their batons any NLD members that tried to pass the barricades. (*Source: ABSDF*)

- On November 9, 1996, a group of about 20 USDA members were paid to attack the motorcade in which Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and a few NLD leaders were riding. Iron bars and bricks were used in the attack. The NLD's Vice Chairman, U Tin Oo was slightly hurt. Each of the men were paid 500 kyats by SLORC to participate in the attack. Shortly before the attack on her motorcade, Aung San Suu Kyi was told that U Win Sein, a government minister, had announced to a meeting of USDA members that she should be killed. (*Source: Inside Source*)

11.9. SLORC-run NGOs in Burma

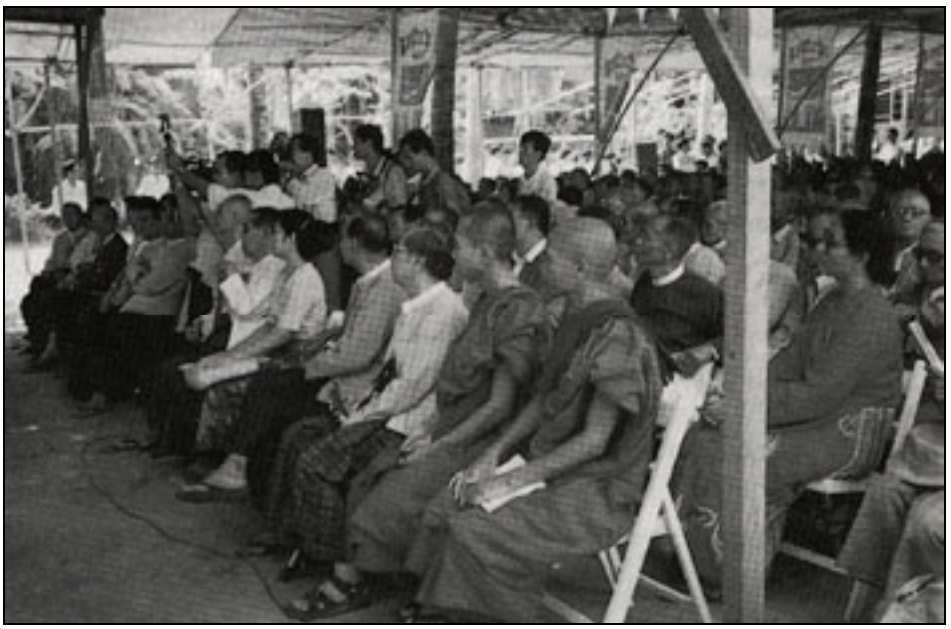
Founded in 1949, Burma's oldest non-governmental organization (NGO), the Myanmar Medical Association (MMA), began as a professional association. It currently boasts over 6,000 members, with 50 branches at the township or state/divisional levels. Consisting of physicians from both the public and private sectors, the MMA was pulled into the government's orbit when senior BSPP officials in the Ministry of Health took up key leadership posts in its governing hierarchy. Today, many health workers feel that the MMA has yet to reestablish its independence under the present SLORC authorities.

The other NGOs, the Myanmar Red Cross (MRC) and the Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association (MMCWA) have even closer links with the government and Ministry of Health. With over 180,000 volunteer members, the MRC is supported by public donations and government funds and it supposed to have branches in each of the country's 319 townships. Similarly, the MMCWA is also trying to establish branches in townships throughout the

country. Its joint General-Secretary (a doctor) is the wife of the SLORC Secretary- 1, Lieutenant-General Khin Nyunt; the President is the wife of Colonel Pe Thein, the former health minister; and the Vice-President is the sister of the late Dr. Maung Maung, a leading BSPP functionary and, originally, one of the Ne Win's chosen successors as party chairman. As with other so-called nongovernmental organizations in Burma, critics often question the MMCWA's NGO status given its intimate association with the SLORC.

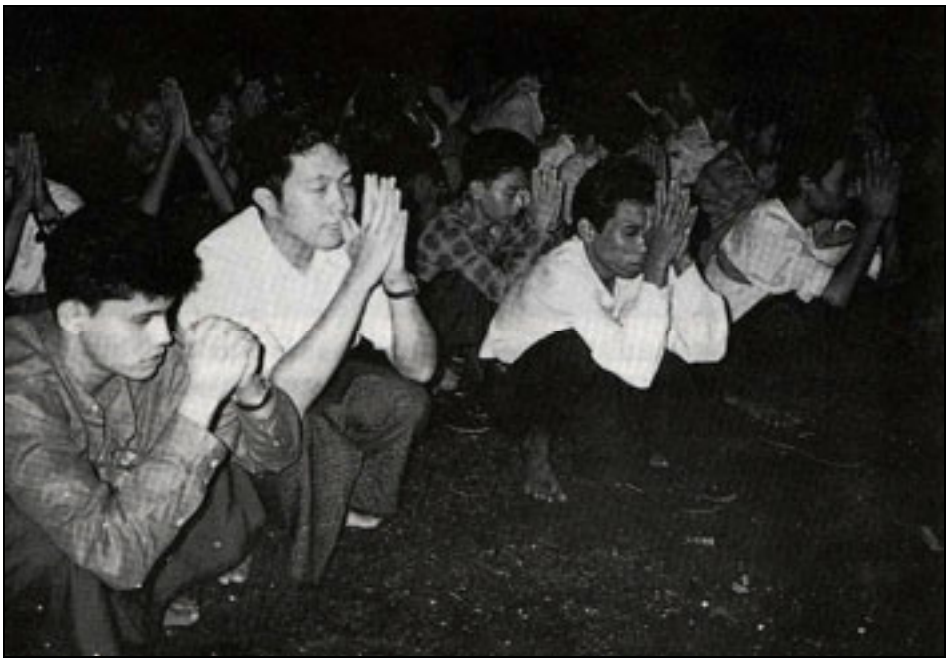


One of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's weekend addresses outside of her compound in Rangoon. (Photo By Yamamoto Munesuke)



The NLD and its activities are being restricted and suppression has mounted. Not even peaceful NLD gatherings or meetings are allowed. (Rosalie T. McKernan)

Students peacefully calling for the restoration of a student union and their rights during their demonstration in December 1996.



12. Freedom of Movement

12.1. Background

All Burmese citizens are required to inform the authorities of their movements within the country. The names of overnight guests must be reported to and registered with the local authorities. Furthermore, only citizens carrying identity cards are free to travel within the country, which precludes movement by those unable to meet the restrictive provisions of the "citizenship law." For example, it is virtually impossible for Muslims to move within Arakan State or to other parts of Burma from Arakan State. Rohingyas (Bengali-speaking Muslims) who would like to travel outside their villages must apply to the local LORC, which passes the request on to the nearest administrative base. The Immigration and Manpower Department, police, riot police, military intelligence, and customs departments all have to agree to the individual request. In most cases, passes are only granted for a twelve-hour period; only on a rare occasion are Muslims permitted to stay outside their villages overnight. To travel further -- for instance to the township capitals at Maungdaw or Buthidaung or the state capital at Sittwe -- is virtually impossible.

Leaving the country (legally) requires the possession of specific government authorization, which it is extremely difficult to obtain. The SLORC carefully scrutinizes all prospective travel abroad and rampant corruption results in many applicants having to pay bribes to obtain a passport -- a document to which they are legally entitled. The application for exit visas and passports requires certificates of nationality and security clearance, which many citizens either do not possess or cannot obtain. All college graduates (except for certain government employees) are required to pay a special education clearance fee to the SLORC government in order to obtain a passport. Passport applications are reviewed by a board and -- based on a series of denials -- decisions appear to depend on political considerations. In January 1996, the SLORC began restricting the issuance of passports to young, single, female applicants seeking work abroad. The new procedures are reportedly intended to prevent young women from being enticed into the commercial sex industry abroad. Each time Burmese citizens come back to the country, they are required to return their passports to the authorities; a passport application must be submitted each time they want to travel outside the country.

In anticipation of the SLORC's "Visit Myanmar Year 1996," restrictions on foreign travelers entering Burma were lifted. Burmese embassies now issue tourist visas, valid for one month, within 24 hours of application. However, selected categories of applicants, such as some human rights advocates and political figures, continue to be

denied entry visas unless traveling under the aegis of a sponsor acceptable to the SLORC. Although some areas of the country remain off-limits to foreigners for security reasons, the authorities allow travel to most destinations. In some areas, tourists are allowed only to travel by plane or train and in some places, prior permission is required.

12.2. Restriction on the Movement of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

Since her release from house arrest in 1995, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's ability to travel within Burma has been repeatedly barred or severely restricted. Indeed, during 1996, the most severe restrictions on Daw Suu's movement have occurred since her six-year house arrest was set in place. The SLORC has repeatedly refused her permission to leave her compound. She has been effectively confined to her house for long periods. In March 1996, when some NLD leaders, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, attempted to travel to Mandalay to give testimony at the trial of NLD members, the authorities found a way to squelch their efforts. They were told just before they arrived at the train station in Rangoon that their railway carriage was having mechanical difficulties. The coach was detached from the rest of the train, which proceeded on schedule. In December 1996, Aung San Suu Kyi was prevented by the authorities from attending a Karen New Year celebration in the Karen ethnic community area of Rangoon; three Karen NLD members from Insein township and another Karen were detained by SLORC for 12 days for inviting Daw Suu to the ceremony.

Since September 1996, SLORC guards posted at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house have been discouraging and sometimes even preventing her from leaving her compound. According to a statement made on December 31, 1996, by Lieutanant-General Khin Nyunt at a press conference, "the main reason why a request had been made to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi not to leave her residence was a precautionary measure to prevent untoward incidents because of the current situation. It had been discovered that anti-Government underground elements were actively trying to stir up and foment trouble in Yangon [Rangoon]. So to prevent further disorder the Government had simply requested Daw Aung San Suu Kyi not leave her compound for the time being."

The state-controlled media has made increasingly strident personal attacks against Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD. Independent foreign reporters have been denied access to interview NLD members and the telephone line to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's home was cut several times.

12.3. Restriction on Movement of NLD Members

Since November 1995, when the National League for Democracy party withdrew from the National Convention, SLORC authorities, including armed forces personnel and local officials, have increasingly harassed, intimidated, and arrested NLD members. SLORC has created new restrictions on NLD local party members. SLORC has issued both written and oral orders that prohibit NLD members from traveling beyond their respective township boundaries without express permission from authorities; these new orders prevent NLD members from almost any travel including attending party meetings. NLD members are accused of "opposing the State" are punished arbitrarily when they attempt to defy even SLORC's oral orders. The NLD's Vice-chairmen U Tin Oo and U Kyi Maung are under constant surveillance and routinely are harassed by the SLORC.

When NLD members are permitted to travel outside of their residential areas, they are required to report to the local SLORC authorities at their destination. NLD travel destinations are carefully searched and the owners of the homes entertaining NLD members interrogated. SLORC authorities often intimidate the owner of the home; if the owner is a member the civil services, he is strongly advised not to allow members of the NLD to stay at his house.

12.3.1. List of Recent Incidents

- On January 17, 1996, in Minkin township, Sagaing Division, the Secretary of the NLD township organizing committee was summoned by the local LORC. The Secretary was told that no NLD organizing activities were permitted within the township; he was forced to sign a statement of acknowledgment. (*Source: NLD*)

- On March 15, 1996, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Irrawaddy Division Organizing Committee for the NLD were summoned by the Bassein West Commission (the local LORC authorities). The NLD leaders were told that not more than five persons were allowed to gather during their organizing trip within the division. (*Source: NLD*)

- On December 30, 1996, Ko Than Htut, NLD-Youth Leader, Danubyu township Organizing Committee, Irrawaddy Division, was prohibited from leaving his township for a period of one year under the *1961 Restriction and Bond Act*. (*Source. NLD*)

- On January 26, 1997, at approximately 1 a.m., local LORC authorities from

Myaungmya township marched into the "Tawwin Guesthouse" where two NLD leaders were staying. U Hla Pe, a member of the NLD Central Executive Committee and Chairman of the NLD Divisional Organizing Committee, Irrawaddy Division, and U Zeya, Chairman of the NLD Township Organizing Committee, Myaungmya, were searched and manhandled by the LORC authorities. The authorities confiscated their citizen identity cards and official NLD letters and documents. The next day, the two NLD leaders were summoned by the Chairman of the township LORC and accused of trying to agitate unrest in the township. The two NLD members tried to explain rationally that the NLD was a legal political organization functioning in accordance with the law and regulations. They further explained that the purpose of their trip was merely to meet with members of the NLD organizing committee of Wakhema township who were summoned to appear before a local court on January 28, 1997. However, the Chairman refused to accept their reasons. At that point, the two were allowed to return to the guesthouse but they were threatened that they could be summoned at any time. Indeed, at 5 p.m. the same afternoon, the LORC Chairman summoned them again. They were told that there had been no summons issued by Wakhema township for NLD to appear on January 28. They were ordered to return to Rangoon immediately and forced to sign a letter promising to do so. The LORC officials watched as the two members boarded a ship and left the harbor. (*Source: NLD*)

12.4. Harassment of Foreign Visitors

A group of 12 cyclists from America and Britain were mercilessly harassed by Burmese intelligence, police, and security personnel during their trip to Burma in January 1996. The group from "Cycle Southeast Asia" had traveled to Burma upon the invitation and endorsement of the Myanmar Cycle Federation. Heavy security surveillance haunted them during their trip and the cyclists became used to seeing SLORC forces guarding the hotel in which they spent the night. Just three days after starting their tour, the group discovered in Prome that Burmese authorities had broken into their rooms, cut off their bicycle padlocks, and transported all their belongings to Prome for their forced trip back to Rangoon. Five of the cyclists abandoned the tour and flew to Thailand after the group was forcibly escorted back to Rangoon, where they were told they could not proceed with their already-approved itinerary. The rest of the group continued by train to Mandalay, but were told that their cycling was restricted to within the city limits. After tough negotiations, the cyclists were permitted to take their prearranged boat ride to Pagan, but only under escort by 15 security guards. In Mandalay, one of the members of the team, who was followed by security guards during their bike ride to Mandalay Palace, had US $800 in traveler's

checks, 20,000 kyats and US $500 in gemstones, stolen from his bicycle pack. The group was followed everywhere in Mandalay and five officers watched them around the clock at their hotel "as if we were under house arrest," the team leader said. They were later refused permission to take the train from Thazi to Rangoon and were forced to return to Rangoon by air from Pagan. A team member was later shown a law passed on April 8, 1995, that forbids independent tourists from traveling in the country and requires all travel arrangements to be done through the Myanmar Travel and Tourism Association.

Twelve Italian tourists were escorted out of a northern hill-tribe village and sent back to Rangoon, according to a statement issued by an official from the Italian Embassy on February 1996. In their letter to the embassy, the group reported being awakened at 1 a.m. on a morning in January in the Kachin village of Nam Khan, by soldiers who said they did not have permission to be there. The travelers believed permission had been previously obtained by their tour operator. They said they were loaded on to an old, open-backed military truck in temperatures of 0 degrees C (32 degrees F) and driven to city of Putao. During the journey, the truck nearly careened off of a bridge, they said. In Putao, they were forced to board a plane for Rangoon.

12.5. Foreign Travel Restricted Areas

Area	Permitted Means of Travel	Remark
Kachin State:		
Myitkyina:	plane or train	
Ho Pin, Moe Hnyin	train	Prior permission required for land travel
Moe Kaung	train	
Ain Taw Gyi	car	Prior permission required for land travel
Pu-ta-O	plane	
Pa Kant area	n/a	No foreign travelers permitted
Shan State:		
Keng Teng	plane	
Tachilek	plane	

Area	Permitted Means of Travel	Remark
Tenasserim Division: Mergui, Tavoy Kawthaung Lanpi island Zadat island	 plane or ship only plane and ship only plane and ship	 No foreign travelers allowed
Mandalay Division:	Limitations on travel to Moe Goke township	
Sagaing Division:	No foreign travelers allowed outside of Kanni No foreign travelers allowed outside of Homalin Foreign travelers allowed within four miles of Kalay Municipality	
Kayeh State:	No foreign travelers allowed in the whole state	
Chin State:	No foreign travelers allowed in the whole state	
Arakan State:	No foreign travelers allowed in Ann and Kyauktaw townships	

13. Abuse of Women

13.1. Background

Throughout history Burmese women have suffered discrimination. Society and tradition in Burma tend to denigrate the role of women. For example, although women constitute an estimated 40 per cent of the workplace, few women have ever been allowed to rise to top government positions. Gender discrimination also severely restricts women's right to express their legitimate interest in social and political affairs. Women -- particularly ethnic women -- are extremely vulnerable under the SLORC regime.

Although a signatory to the 1952 UN Convention on the Political Rights of Women, Burma has still not ratified the 1981 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, nor has it established any official agency to advance or protect the status of women. As a result, social, health, and educational problems which many women suffer daily are overlooked.

SLORC has repeatedly denied all reports of human rights abuses against women by citing the existence of equal rights and five key laws which, it argues, would prevent any such abuses from occurring: the *Suppression of Prostitution Act* (1949), the *Myanmar Buddhist Women's Special Marriage and Succession Act* (1954), the *Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association Law*, the *Nursing and Maternity Law*, and the Penal Code. Despite SLORC's denial of the existence of human rights abuses against women in Burma, there has been overwhelming evidence of a disturbing pattern of grave human rights abuses and humanitarian neglect throughout Burma since 1988, in which women have been particular victims.

13.2. Burmese Women in Politics

Burmese women who become politically active, by expressing their opinions for human rights or simply by aligning themselves with a particular political party, are systematically discriminated against and harassed. Moreover, those who directly confront SLORC's political system by demanding certain freedoms are arrested and brutally treated. The situation of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the most prominent leader of democracy in Burma, illustrates the discrimination that political women must endure. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has been physically attacked by the SLORC-sponsored group USDA. Slanderous statements by SLORC are routine and her ability to move freely is severely restricted. These kinds of restrictions and harassment on

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi are clear evidence of the violation of "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women."

This year, a number of well-known women political prisoners remain in detention, including Dr. Ma Thida and San San Nwe (Thaywaddy).

13.2.1. Incidents

- Dr. Ma Thida and ten other NLD members were arrested in July 1993 and held incommunicado before being brought to trial on October 15, 1993. They were charged with "endangering public tranquillity" under Section 5(j) of the *1950 Emergency Provisions Act*, "having contact with unlawful associations" under Section 17(1) of the 1*908 Unlawful Associations Act*, and "distributing unlawful literature" under Sections 17 and 20 of the *1962 Printers and Publishers Registration Act*. Dr. Ma Thida and her colleagues were found guilty and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

  Dr. Ma Thida had previously been a campaign assistant for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi; at the time of her arrest she was working at the Muslim Free Hospital in Rangoon. The doctor is an accomplished writer; she has written many short stories and several novels, none of which have been published. Although she was given official permission to publish her latest novel, she has now been prohibited from doing so.

  Dr. Ma Thida is currently being held in solitary confinement in Insein prison with no access to reading or writing materials. She has suffered from failing health since the beginning of her detention; her maladies include digestive problems, tuberculosis, and ovarian tumors which may require surgery. The medical treatment in Insein Prison is negligible; although she reportedly has recovered from tuberculosis, she is still not receiving appropriate medical care for her other ailments.

- Daw San San Nwe, a 51-year-old NLD member and well-known journalist, was arrested in Rangoon on August 4 or 5, 1994. A widow with four children, she was arrested with one of her daughters, Myat Mo Mo Tun and two other political leaders. According to the SLORC, the four were detained for passing information "critical of the government" to foreign journalists and diplomats in order to make foreign governments "misunderstand the SLORC government." The four were also accused of sending information to the UN Special Rapporteur on Burma.

On October 6, 1994, Dan San San New was sentenced to seven years in prison under Section 59(e) of the *1950 Emergency Provisions Act* for spreading false information and three years in prison under Section 17(1) of the *Unlawful Associations Act* for membership or contact with illegal organizations. She had been previously arrested in July 1989 during one of SLORC's nationwide crackdown on the political opposition.

Daw San San New's writing has been banned in Burma since the beginning of the 1988 democracy movement. However, one of her banned short stories was featured in a book entitled, Inked over, Ripped Out: Burmese Storytellers and the Censors which was published by the PEN American Center in 1993.

13.3. 1996 Arrests of Female Activists

During 1996, dozens of women and female students were arrested, detained, and interrogated by SLORC authorities for their support of the NLD or for their participation in the student-led demonstrations in November and December 1996.

13.3.1 On August 22, 1996, Burmese official media reported that "action had been taken" against 19 NLD members for distributing anti-government materials and "conniving" with outside forces to destabilize the country. Three women were among the 19 NLD supporters cited for these "crimes": Dr. Khin Mar Kyi, Daw Khin San Aye, and Dr. Khin Soe Win. Dr. Khin Mar Kyi, age 33, ran a private medical clinic in Monywa. She was arrested for allegedly having connections with illegal organizations; she was later sentenced to seven years in prison with hard labor. Currently she is in Htonbo labor camp. Daw Khin San Aye, age 35, is a shopkeeper. She was also arrested in Monywa and sentenced to seven years in prison with hard labor. She was sent to Mandalay prison. All three women were sentenced under Act 122/2 for high treason on the grounds that they had contacts with Burmese dissidents in India. The SLORC media later stated that the group of three had conspired to send NLD members for trainings in political defiance with exiled colleagues in India, had distributed leaflets attacking military-organized constitutional talks, and had made plans to open a secret office in Monywa. (*Source: SAIN*)

13.3.2. On February 11, 1997, eleven men and six women left Prome, Burma by train to attend the NLD Union Day in Rangoon. Soldiers and policemen boarded the train at Tharawaddy station and arrested fifteen of the NLD members (two of the women were not arrested). The prisoners were taken

to the quarters of the 35th Regiment. The women arrestees were Daw Myint Myint Khin, Daw Tin Hlaing, Daw Than Than Nu, and Daw Aye Mya San.[1] (*Source: SAIN*)

13.3.3. On December 3, 1996, Ma Thi Thi Aung, NLD youth member from Kamayut township, was sentenced to seven years in prison along with four other NLD members. The five were charged with having contacts with the student demonstrators in Rangoon. (*Source: SAIN*)

13.3.4. On December 7, 1996, seven student members of the NLD, including four women, were arrested for attending democracy demonstrations in Rangoon earlier in the month. The arrestees were: Ma Cho, Ma Kyi Kyi Win, Ma Khin Mar Yee, Ma Thida Myint Ma Cho, Thi Thi Aung, and Khin Mar Yee. The youth were sentenced to seven years imprisonment. Ma Kyi Kyi Win was later released. (*Source: SAIN*)

13.3.5. The following activists were also arrested for their alleged connections with the student demonstrations: Ma Yee Yee Htun, Ma Lay Lay Mon, Ma Thin Thin Aye, Ma Aung Gyi, Ma Myat Sabae Moe, Ma Sabae Phyu, Ma May Chaw Shein, and Ma Than Than Suu Win. Some individuals were released, but more detailed information is unavailable. (*Sources: SAIN*)

13.4. Women and Forced Labor

During the past few years, increasing numbers of women, including young girls and the elderly have been forced to work on SLORC's infrastructure projects and to act as porters in war zones. Such uncompensated, forced labor continues despite Burma's ratification in 1955 of Article 11 of ILO Convention No. 29 Concerning Forced or Compulsory Labor, ratified by Burma in 1955, which confines compulsory labor to "able-bodied" males between the ages of 18 and 45.

SLORC's has continued its widespread use of porters to carry military supplies, stand on sentry duty, build and maintain army camps, and act as human minesweepers. SLORC has no problem using women for such jobs. While SLORC battalions generally prefer male porters because they can carry heavier loads, some battalions deliberately demand or capture women porters in order to provide captive rape victims. SLORC soldiers generally select unmarried girls under the age of 18 for "porter duty." Women are considered more versatile and useful to these battalions.

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1 The men arrested were Aung Myint, U Myo Thein, U Aung Myo Myint, U Shwe Thein, U Myint Than, U Paik Tin, U Myint Htwe, U Chit Tin, U Win Naing, U Aung Thein Win, and U Thein Zaw.

They can be employed as porters, human shields, property to be sold, and, of course, as sexual entertainment for the soldiers.

When these young girls are finally permitted to return home, they often discover they are pregnant. Many attempt to abort using primitive methods which sometimes causes their death. Despite the fact that the girls were violently raped and humiliated against their will, cultural norms require secrecy in the decision to abort; they fear that if the villagers learn that they have been raped, they will be unable to marry.

Even women with small infants are forced to report for portering duties. In some cases, a woman porter can be seen carrying a baby on her chest and a heavy load of mortar shells on her back. In other cases, soldiers order women to leave their infants behind in the village, where they must hope the other villagers will care for it. As part of portering duties, women with infants must also report for rotating shifts of usually three to seven days, building and maintaining army camps, cooking, cleaning, doing errands for soldiers, and standing sentry. Such duties are rotated among families. If a family can not provide an able-bodied adult at its turn, a child must report for duty. In conflict areas, able-bodied men are often afraid to report for duty because the soldiers often accuse the men of being rebels and then torture or execute them at will. In these cases, women or children are sent to replace the men.

SLORC soldiers use women and children to sweep roads for landmines each morning before they attempt to use the road. The soldiers hope that their use of women and children will dissuade nearby villagers from supporting any opposition groups. Often SLORC soldiers will force a large number of children to ride along the road in an army truck or a bullock cart and search for landmines.

SLORC's use of female forced labor on its infrastructure projects, including building railways, hydro-electric dams, and building and maintaining military supply roads, is also prevalent throughout Burma. The women and children, like the men, are forced to endure arduous work such as repairing collapsed sections of embankment and digging ditches. Often men stay at home to cultivate the fields while women report to the forced labor camps. One of the largest such projects is the Ye-Tavoy railway project. Women younger than 16 and older than 60 are forced to work on this project; some women are even in late stages of pregnancy. The working conditions at this camp, as with most of the other labor camps, are horrendous. Conditions are unsanitary, no medical care is provided, little food is available, and the makeshift shelters must be constructed by the workers themselves. The women with infants and young children are in a particularly precarious position as they must try to endure backbreaking work while also caring for their children. The unsanitary conditions and lack of adequate shelter make the children especially vulnerable to sickness and disease.

13.5. Incidents of Rape and Sexual Assault

More than half a century ago, rape in war was outlawed by the UN Geneva which states "Women shall be especially protected... against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault." Rape may be outlawed under the international rules governing conflicts, but Burmese women remain unprotected by the SLORC government; rape and sexual exploitation at the hands of SLORC soldiers is a common occurrence for Burmese women. Burmese and ethnic women have been raped by army soldiers in their homes and in their villages; sometimes their husbands and family are forced to watch. Women porters or women being temporarily held hostage have been raped by soldiers in the frontier areas and on military bases. Local women are raped during their forced labor duty on SLORC's development projects or at their places of work. Women who flee to Thailand to escape their situation in Burma, are still not guaranteed safety. Some women are raped during the deportation process back to Burma or right after they are forced back to the country.

13.5.1. After its cease-fire agreement with SLORC in 1994, the "Kachin Independence Organization" (KIO) started selling logging tenders to China. Despite the cease-fire agreement, SLORC's military columns often attack people working in the logging concession area and seize goods and money. At the end of 1995, SLORC's LIB 437, located near Nalone village, Momauk township, led by Major Sein Pu raped two 22-year-old Chinese women working in the area. One woman died after being gang-raped by SLORC soldiers; the other woman managed to escape. The battalion also arrested 17 men, stole three logging trucks, 24 mules, jewelry, and one walkie-talkie. (*Source: ABSDF/North*).

13.5.2. On January 3, 1996, Lance-Corporal Khin Zaw and Corporal Soe Tin from LIB 313 and LIB 77, respectively, arrived at Htee Phado village. The Corporals spotted Naw Than Nwe, a 30-year-old woman and her sister Naw Ma Mu, 25 years old, working on their sugar cane plantation. Both young woman were raped by the two men on the plantation. (*Source: KHRG*)

13.5.3. On February 18, 1996, Brigadier General Kyi Aung of Southern Command ordered his troops from IB 59, Column 2, to gather nearby villagers to a meeting. The troops gathered women, men, children, and the elderly; they ordered them to clear land mines between Naw Soh and Si Kheh Der villages. While the villagers were working, the soldiers raped a 23 year-old woman in front of them. (*Source: KHRG*)

13.5.4. On April 18, 1996, SLORC Division Commander Pan Zan from IB 234 raped Ma Hla Sein, a 36-year-old married woman from Thapyay Nyunt

village, Nyaunglaybin district. (*Source: KHRG*)

13.5.5. On April 24, 1996, SLORC Division Commander Maung Maung Thein from IB 39 arrived at Maubin village, Nyaunglaybin district. The commander arrested Ma Pan Cho, daughter of U Tin Myint, allegedly to interrogate her. Maung Maung Thein took the young woman to Let Kaw Wah village and raped her at the home of U Pay Pay. The commander then took Ma Pan Cho to Ho Thay Phu village and raped her again, this time at the home of Saw Hla Win. The young woman was finally released on April 26, 1996. (*Source:KHRG*)

13.5.6. On May 5, 1996, SLORC Division Commander Pan Zan from IB 234 raped a young woman named Naw See Phaw from Thapyay Nyunt village in Nyaunglaybin district. On the same day, Pan Zan also raped a woman named Naw Mu Pho, a villager from Phalay Sa Lo in Nyaunglaybin district. (*Source: KHRG*)

13.5.7. On May 15, 1996, SLORC Division Commander Chit than Win and Lieutannt Commander Kyar Htun raped Ma Sein Myint, the 15-year-old daughter of U Win Maung from Ko Kya The village, Thaton district. The young girl was raped three times by the men. (*Source:KHRG*)

13.5.8. On December 21, 1996, 80 SLORC troops led by Major Kyaw Khaung, deputy commander of IB 64, were inspecting the vacant village of Hai Seng. They seized four women who had returned to the village to collect some of their belongings left behind when they were forced by SLORC soldiers to relocate. All four women were quite young: Narng Kya, age 17, daughter of Loong Aw and Pa Mu; Narng Thun, age 18, daughter of Loong Saw and Pa Ae; Narng Seng Awn, age 20, daughter of Loong Ta and Pa Aung; and Narng Yun, age 22, daughter of Loong Taw Ya and Pa Kham. Major Kyaw Khaung raped young Narng Kya. The other three young women were raped by the other officers and soldiers. (*Source: SHRF*)

13.5.9. On December 31, 1996, SLORC IB 64 Commander Khin Than Aye from Murng Nai, led 100 troops into the recently vacated village of Nawng Khem to ransack it. The soldiers came upon two young girls who had returned to the village in search of their cart oxen. The commanding officer, Khin Than Aye raped both women; the soldiers killed both oxen for food. They then released both Narng Mya, age 16, daughter of Loong Taw and Pa La and Narng Khawng, age 17, daughter of Zai Aw & Narng Ing. The SLORC troops eventually burned down all of the houses in the nearby four villages. (*Source: SHRF*)

13.5.10. On January 11, 1997, 13 people, including ten women and three men who had recently been relocated by SLORC soldiers to a site near Kho Lam between Nam Zarng and Kun Hing, fled to a Thai border village in Fang district, Chiangmai province. According to the group, they fled their country because the soldiers constantly forced them to work without pay, leaving them virtually no time to work for themselves and their families. They were routinely forced to dig ditches, cut wood, build fences, fetch water and gather firewood for the soldiers. When the men were unavailable, the soldiers took women to work. The soldiers would separate the women, sending especially attractive women to work in remote spots where they could rape them. (*Source: SHRF*)

13.5.11. One young woman, Nang Non, age 22, wept as she described the two times she was raped by soldiers. The first time, in late November 1996, she was forced to clear away roadside bushes east of Kho Lam. Sergeant Sein Win of IB 66, based at Nam Zarng, ordered Nang Non and three other women to work in a distant location, away from the other villagers. When Nang Non was alone, the Sergeant ordered her to work near a lush area of bushes. A few minutes later he dragged her behind the bushes and raped her at gunpoint; he told her he would shoot her if she made any noise. Nang Non's parents, Loong Su and Pa Zing, live in Kho Lam. (*Source: SHRF*)

13.5.12. On January 18, 1997, SLORC IB 99 commander, Major Myint Thu from Nam Zarng , Shan State, ordered his second-in-command, Captain Than Than, to lead 60 troops to Wan Phui village. His orders were to have the village headman, Loong Yi Ya, relocate all the villagers to Kho Lam village within 5 days (both Wan Phui and Kho Lam are in Nam Zarng township). Upon his arrival in Wan Phui, Captain Than Than saw an 18 year-old woman named Narng Ae. He ordered his soldiers to keep Narng Ae's father, Loong Mu Ling, away from the house; the Captain then proceeded to rape Narng Ae in her home for over an hour. (*Source: SHRF*)

13.5.13. In early February 1997, reliable eye-witnesses reported that three girls from Azin village were raped and then killed by SLORC soldiers. The soldiers also killed one man. No other information on the incident is available. (*Source: KIC*)

13.5.14. On February 17, 1997, SLORC troops from Division 55 forced 13 women from K'Hser Doh township, Mergui-Tavoy district to serve as porters. The women worked as porters from K'Neh Kaw, to Maw P'tru and to Leh Mu villages. The soldiers raped all of the women and then shot and killed them. On the same day, the same troops gang-raped a 25-year-old woman at her

home, in the presence of her parents. (*Source: KIC*)

13.5.15. On February 18, 1997, the same SLORC troops from Division 55 gang-raped a 50-year-old woman who eventually managed to escape from them. She arrived back at K'neh Kaw village the following day. (*Source: KIC*)

13.5.16. In February 1997, SLORC troops entered Phaung Daw village in Ka Set Do township and arrested male villagers to work as porters. Before they left on their military operation, the SLORC troops looted each house in the village, stealing whatever they could carry; they also killed domestic animals. One woman was gang-raped; her husband and father were forced to watch with their hands tied behind their backs. The soldiers continued to gang-rape the woman until she became unconscious; she later died. After being forced to watch the gang-rape of their loved one, the two men were beaten to death by the soldiers. (*Source: ABSDF*)

13.5.17. In February 1997, Refugees report that at least ten young women from Ka Nel Khaw village were arrested and brought to a military outpost in Ta Mae Hta. Nine of the women were gang-raped at the outpost; one woman, Naw Phaw Khwar, managed to escape. (*Source: ABSDF*)

13.5.18. In February, 1997, two women, from Phosimu village, between the ages of 28 and 38, who prefer to remain nameless, were repeatedly raped by SLORC soldiers. According to the two, they were forced to do odd jobs for the soldiers during the day. At night, they were forced to have sexual relations with between five and 15 soldiers per night. (*Source: NCUB*)

13.5.19. On March 20, 1997, Sergeant Tway Nge and a private from the SLORC's LIB 208, under the command of Major Htay Aung, raped Naw Paw Lweh, a 15 year-old girl from Pu-yay village. The men raped at her home. They threatened her aunt with death if she leaked any information about the sexual crime. (*Source: KIC*)

13.5.20. On March 23, 1997, the Company 1 commander from LIB 205, Captain Thein Aung and his entire company gang-raped Naw Aye Yin, a 35 year-old women and her sister Ma Thein Za, 17 years old. The women were from Gar-lay-kee village, Kya Ein Seik Kyi township; after they were repeatedly raped, the soldiers shot them to death. Their naked bodies were left at the edge of a nearby forest. (*Source: KIC*)

13.5.21. On March 28, 1997, SLORC Major Saw Win and 100 soldiers from IB 246 arrived at Wan Phui, Kho lam circle, Nam Zarng township. The

soldiers saw twenty people moving their belongings to Kho Lam village. Major Saw Win and his soldiers accused the men of being Shan United Revolution Army (SURA) soldiers; they accused the women of being married to SURA soldiers. After Major Saw Win and his soldiers raped the six women, they beat and killed them, along with the 14 men.[2] (*Source: SHRF*)

13.5.22. On April 1, 1997, SLORC Major Maung Kyaw Tun from LIB 424 based in Kunhing township, raped Nang Than, a 16-year-old girl and daughter of Sai Su Nan Tar and Nan Aye Kham. The Major arrived at the girl's house in Wan Beang Khan, Wan Lao circle, Kunhing township and gave her father 50 kyats to go buy a hen; the Major told Nang Than's mother to get some vegetables. While her parent's were away, he told the young girl that he needed to inspect her home for illegal belongings. He ordered his men to guard the house for him. He took her inside the house and raped her. After the Major had finished raping the girl, she ran to the village headman and reported the rape. The headman and other villagers confronted the Major who proceeded to accuse Nang Than of lying; he beat the girl until she fell unconscious. When her parents returned from their assigned errands, Major Maung Kyaw demanded 10,000 kyats from them since their daughter had falsely accused him. (*Source: SHRF*)

13.5.23. On April 2, 1997, SLORC troops from IB 45, led by Major Aung Lwin, newly stationed at Murngsart village, patrolled the area of Waeng Nur village tract. They came upon the headmen, community leaders, and other villagers without incident. On April 6, 1997, the Major and some of his soldiers returned to the Waeng Nur village, this time dressed in civilian clothes. Major Aung Lwin went directly to the house of an 18 year-old Shan girl named Nang Zarm, who he had seen on while he was patrolling a few days earlier. The Major sent Nang Zarm's parents to get something to eat. He had his men guard the downstairs portion of the house while he raped Nang Zarm upstairs. Upon the return of her parents, young Nang Zarm cried and told them that the Major had raped her. As expected, Major Aung Lwin denied the accusation and aggressively slapped Nang Zarm. Nang Zarn's parents sought help from the village headmen, but the Major had already told him that he had been falsely accused. Nang Zarn's parents were told that nothing more could be done. (*Source: SHRF*)

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2 The villagers killed by the IB 246 soldiers are as follows: Loong Sai Long, age 40; Loong Yawd Kham, age 45; Loong Par Hla, age 47; Loong Thi, age 42; Sai Hla Kyi, age 32; Sai Tee Ya, age 30; Sai Kham, age 29; Sai Nu, age 28; Sai Myo, age 22; Sai Leang, age 20; Sai Ar Lee Ya, age 29; Sai Vi Sing Tar, age 22; Sai Vi Mar Lar, age 19; Nang Pong, age 18; Nang Aye, age 19; Nang Pool, age 24; Nang Kham Arm, age 23; Nang Parng, age 20; and Nang Soi, age 30.

13.5.24. On April 2, 1997, the following four women were raped by SLORC troops: Nang Hla, age 16; Nang Sai, age 18; Nang Bok, age 22; and Nang Tun, age 25. All the women are originally from Nong Khan village, Ho Yarn circle, Kunhing township. On April 2, the women had returned to their village to collect some of their belongings after being forced to relocate to another village by SLORC troops. Major Myint Lwin and 26 of his troops from LIB 424 also happened to arrive in the village on the same day. Major Myint Lwin raped the four women and then told the 26 soldiers with him to rape the women. After the repeated rapes, the women fled back to Kunhing township. Major Myint Lwin and his soldiers proceeded to burn down 35 houses in the village. Most of the villagers who were forced to move from Nong Khan village were unable to find work and have subsequently fled to Thailand. (*Source: SHRF*)

13.5.25. In the Kaeng Kham village track, Kunhing township, the village men often work nights at the local logging company. A platoon of SLORC troops from LIB 519, led by Sergeant Hla Phyu, are stationed at Kaeng Kham village. At night, while the men are away, Sergeant Hla Phyu and his men repeatedly rape the women, going from house to house. Every adult women in the small village has been raped. (*Source: SHRF*)

13.6. The Situation of Refugee Women

Ethnic minority groups in Burma are often caught up in the SLORC's counterinsurgency efforts against armed ethnic groups who have been seeking autonomy since the end of British rule in 1949. The ethnic people suffer from SLORC's abuses, especially during forced relocation of villages, forced portering, and seizure of land and property. During these military operations, SLORC soldiers commit atrocities such as rape, extrajudicial executions, arbitrary arrests, torture, beatings, and forced portering. As a result of these human rights violations (combined with severe economic difficulties, caused in part by SLORC's arbitrary tax policies), hundreds of thousands of ethnic people have sought refuge in bordering countries.

More than 80 percent of ethnic refugees are women and children. Unfortunately these vulnerable refugees often face further persecution in supposed safe-haven neighboring countries. In Thailand particularly, refugee women often suffer abuses which are in violation of international standards established by the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. However, Thailand is not a party to the UN Convention; in fact, no one entering Thailand illegally from Burma is permitted to apply for asylum. As a result, there is no permanent international presence within the refugee camps, leaving the refugees, especially women, vulnerable to sexual abuse by the

Thai Border Patrol Police, who pressure them to return to Burma.

In addition to mistreatment at the hands of the Thai border police, many refugee camps inside Thailand remain under threat of attack by SLORC and its alliance forces. In 1996, Karen refugee camps along the Thai border were attacked and razed several times by the SLORC and the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army, a breakaway faction of the KNU. On January 3, 1997, over forty heavily-armed SLORC troops attacked the refugees in Cher Le camp near Mae Hong Song province in northern Thailand. The camp was shelled for 20 minutes, during which time the SLORC troops used 60 mm, 40 mm, and RPG anti-tank launchers. Soldiers from SLORC's LIB 84 brazenly walked into the camp and slaughtered defenseless refugees. Ei Pyone, a 19-year-old Shan refugee girl, and Ai Pun, a 30-year-old father of two, were killed in the attack. Ten other villagers, including a 13-year-old boy and two-year-old girls were seriously wounded during the shelling.

13.7. Burmese Women and HIV

While the number of HIV-infected individuals continue to rise in Burma, the general public remains woefully uninformed about its risks, with women suffering greatly from the lack of public education. Prostitution and the risk of HIV is widespread, yet the SLORC-controlled media does not supply adequate public health information to the populace in any systematic way. SLORC's widespread restrictions on the media, freedom of expression, and the right to community participation are some of the main obstacles that Burmese must overcome to acquire information on even the most basic health care questions. Moreover, traditional mores in this conservative Buddhist country conspire with SLORC's repressive nature to prevent prostitution and the sex trade -- the primary reason for the spread of HIV/AIDS -- from being publicly acknowledged.

Obviously, stopping the spread of HIV/AIDS and other sexually-transmitted diseases is closely linked with ending the spread of prostitution and the allure of the sex-trade. However, even if women were well-informed of the effects of HIV, there remain compelling reasons for them to enter the sex trade or a career of prostitution. Economic upheaval and ethnic warfare in Burma create a powerful incentive for women, even young girls, to earn money to support their families.

The large number of Burmese women working in prostitution in Thailand and Burma continues to rise. Health officials estimate that women constitute at least one-third of all cases of HIV-infection in Burma (over 175,000 individuals).[3] Other reasons for

3 *From the Southeast Asian Information Network's report, citing survey data collection since 1992.*

the high incidence of HIV among Burmese women are the country's poor medical facilities, including unhygienic injections and the frequent need for blood transfusions after childbirth due to anemia or poor prenatal care.

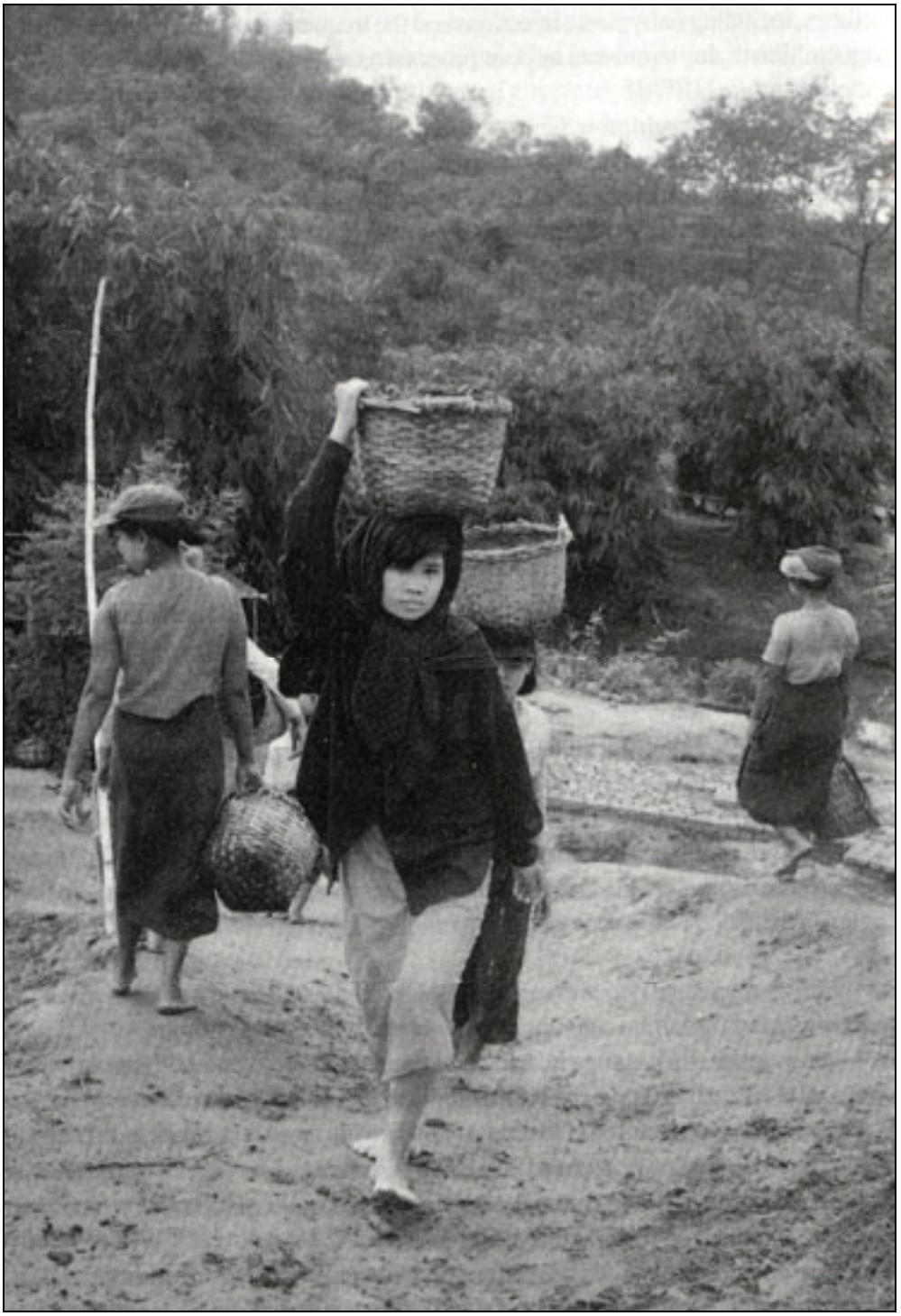
Under the *1949 Prostitution Suppression Act*, four training schools, with capacity for up to 600 former sex workers, were established in Rangoon, Mandalay, Mergui, and Kengtung under the Department of Social Welfare. Women attending these schools were chosen for some of the first HIV-testing programs in Burma. In 1994, UNICEF interviewed 78 residents in one training school; 70 percent had sexually-transmitted diseases and eight percent were HIV-positive. Not surprisingly, 98 percent had no knowledge of AIDS or how it could be prevented, according to the UNICEF report.

While the number of active commercial sex workers has increased dramatically in response to social and economic upheavals since 1988, it is nearly impossible to estimate accurately the number of young women involved. Some young girls are forced to enter prostitution to support their families, while others have taken it up while trying to eke out a living on the streets. However, much of the sex-trade is covert and therefore difficult to analyze; girls as young as 12, under the control of pimps, frequently move among different houses to work or are brought directly to a "client's" home at night.

In an effort to escape the dire economic and social situation in Burma, many young women flee to Thailand for jobs. Many women have been exploited and forced into the sex trade. However, those women who temporarily escape the sex trade and find a legitimate job are often lured into it by the prospect of making big money. Today rough estimates of the number of Burmese girls and women working in prostitution in Thailand is approximately 40,000.

Burmese women are often lacking in Thai language skills and are most often in a precarious position of having entered the country illegally. As a result, they are usually forced to work at the cheapest and most dangerous end of the sex market, where rates of up to 90 percent HIV-infection rates have been recorded. Advertised to clients as pure and AIDS-free, many Burmese women work at brothels in which they become trapped in a form of debt bondage. In 1994, Human Rights Watch Asia published a report on the trafficking of Burmese girls and women into Thailand, which described regular beatings and over 15 deaths at these brothels.

(Also see under "Personal Accounts," interviews 2, 5, 6, 7, 17, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 61, 65, 66, 70, 73, and 76)



Woman laborer seen at the forced labor worksite in Mon State. Women and children are not spared from the forced labor projects across the country. (Photo by MIS)



Women are frequently the victims of violence. Ei Pyin, a refugee, was brutally killed during an attack to a Karenni refugee camp in January 1997.

A mother and her children in a detention center in Thailand. Due to the economic hardship and political repression in Burma, thousands of Burmese illegal migrants including this family work in Thailand illegally.





Bu Meh, a Karenni girl was gang-raped by the SLORC troops after she was caught fleeing into Thailand. Her village was among those forcibly relocated in Karenni State.

14. The Refugee Situation and Forced Repatriation

In conflict areas around the world there are increasing reports of extreme human rights violations against refugees, and a corresponding inability on the part of the international community to either stop the violations or protect the victims. The problems faced by those concerned with the protection of refugees are well illustrated by the plight of Burmese refugees, particularly in Thailand.

14.1. Refugees in Thailand

Despite the massive numbers of Burmese refugees in Thailand, the country does not technically consider them refugees, as Thailand is not a signatory to the "UN Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees." Technically the UN High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) does not have a right to operate in Thailand, however, Thailand allows the UNHCR to maintain a limited presence in the country. Notwithstanding its presence, the UNHCR cannot legally protect Burmese refugees in Thailand as it can in countries that recognize the relevant UN Convention.

In 1996 and early 1997, two major SLORC offensives against the KNU in Tenasserim Division and in the Dooplaya Region caused a renewed and massive influx of refugees into Thailand. This mass exodus of villagers comes at a time when the SLORC is attempting to gain international legitimacy. In order to terrorize refugees into returning to Burma where they will not provide physical evidence of SLORC's human rights abuses, the SLORC has undertaken a continuous string of joint SLORC/DKBA attacks across the Thai border. Moreover, SLORC's policies of forced relocation, especially in Shan State, forced labor and portering, religious persecution, and excessive taxation have caused an almost continuous flow of refugees including Shans, Chins, Karens, Karennis, and Mons.

Thai refugee policies, in general, and Thai migrant worker policies illustrate Thailand's lack of support for the refugees. Despite life threatening situations, the Thai authorities continue to forcibly repatriate Burmese refugees because it serves Thai economic interests in Burma. A new law passed in 1996, while on its face seems to provide some legitimacy for Burmese migrant workers, is also in the best interests of the Thai Government. Thai authorities, facing a shortage of unskilled workers in some provinces, enacted legislation to allow the legal employment of unskilled Burmese laborers.

14.1.1. SLORC/DKBA Border Incursions

Since its inception in December 1994, the DKBA has vowed to destroy all Karen refugee camps in Thailand and force Karen refugees back to Burma. Since early 1995, the DKBA has been conducting cross-border raids into Thailand to attack and burn Karen refugee camps, kidnap or kill Karen leaders and refugee camp leaders, and loot both refugee camps and Thai villages. The DKBA allied itself with SLORC as soon as it was formed, and SLORC has been supporting them in the aim of terrorizing refugees into returning to Burma. Furthermore, as SLORC forces have captured more and more of the territory directly adjacent to the Thai border, SLORC troops have also been conducting their own cross-border looting raids and attacks, as well as participating in the DKBA's attacks often masquerading as DKBA troops in order to escape blame for some of the attacks. On numerous occasions in 1996, armed DKBA and SLORC troops crossed the border into Thailand and attacked the Karen refugees camp. (*See list of incidents below.*)

Threats continue to be made against the refugees in an effort to coerce them to return to Burma. DKBA's main objective in driving the refugees back to Burma is to establish a civilian support base for themselves at its headquarters in Myaing Gyi Ngu (Khaw Taw) and at other locations; SLORC would benefit by being able to use many of the refugees in labor camps, while screening out and punishing those who participated in anti-SLORC activity or who have relatives in the KNU. SLORC also knows that the existence of Burmese refugees in Thailand is physical evidence of the human rights abuses performed by the SLORC. If the refugees return, SLORC could point to this as evidence of peace, stability, and improvement in the country.

Many of the attacks on the refugee camps inside Thailand were in fact carried out largely by SLORC troops disguised as DKBA. The DKBA now operates in most areas as a SLORC militia; its troops cannot make a move without SLORC permission, and usually just a few of them are taken along on operations with moving SLORC columns. A SLORC column of 50 or 100 soldiers will take about five DKBA soldiers along with them. When they arrive in villages, SLORC orders the DKBA soldiers to steal livestock and other supplies for them and point out any villagers who have formerly had contact with the KNU. SLORC then gets the loot and often executes the DKBA's prisoners, while the villagers blame it on the DKBA. The DKBA soldiers have little choice but to comply, because SLORC provides all their food, ammunition, uniforms, and salaries. None of these are provided in sufficient quantity, so most DKBA units have fallen into a pattern of looting villages, extorting money, and taking forced labor from villages for their own benefit as well as for the SLORC's.

The current strength of the DKBA is hard to estimate, but it is most likely somewhere between 1,000 and 2,000 soldiers, most of whom operate in Pa-an, Papun, and Thaton Districts. However, some of these soldiers have no weapons or only a few bullets, and they are very thinly spread over large areas. As yet, DKBA has no notable presence in Taungoo District in the north or in Tenasserim Division in the south. The DKBA is currently trying to make inroads into the KNU's 6th Brigade area south of Kawkareik, but its presence there is limited to only a few places. The DKBA army consists of only four brigades: 333, 555, 777, and 999.

The Thai authorities have not protected refugees from attack by DKBA and/or SLORC troops. When DKBA and/or SLORC forces have attacked, Thai guards are said to have vacated their posts in advance of the attacks and remained away throughout the attacks. Many refugees live in fear because the DKBA continue to threaten to attack their camps and they have little confidence that the Thai authorities will protect them. (*Source: KHRG*)

List of Incidents

The following lists the attacks into Thailand performed over the last year by SLORC and DKBA troops:

November 1995: A 10-man strong force of unidentified intruders encircled Ban Mae Salid Lung market in Tambon Mae Song on Tha Song Yang-Mae Sarang Highway and got away with 60,000 baht in cash and valuables. The market is 800 meters from the Ban Mae Salid police booth, and only one kilometer from a BPP checkpoint.

November 11, 1995: Eight men blocked the highway with a fallen tree at kilometer 103-104 and fired M-16 and AK-47 assault rifle rounds at pickup trucks driven by a police officer from Mae Moei. The shooting killed a nine-year-old girl and wounded four other passengers. The raiders escaped without taking anything, but left a shirt bearing KNU insignia.

November 26, 1995: Five Karen troops threw an M-26 grenade at a tourist van at kilometer 105 at Ban Mae Lemeng. The driver was killed instantly and ten tourists were seriously wounded. The van was destroyed. The attackers hung a shirt bearing KNU insignia and a pair of canvas shoes on a tree.

December 2, 1995: Some 50 DKBA soldiers crossed the border to attack the Sho Khlo refugee camp with assault rifles and rocket-propelled grenades. They

killed a Karen clergyman and seized three former KNU soldiers. The raiders robbed refugees of 10,000 baht in cash and valuables and torched an accommodation unit before escaping to Burma.

December 7, 1995: A group of 30 former KNU soldiers fired assault rifle rounds and M-79 grenades at a petrol station near the Mae Sod-Umphang highway at kilometer 44 in Phop Phra. An 11- year-old boy was wounded.

December 9, 1995: More than 100 DKBA soldiers forced the Thai driver of a long-tailed boat at gunpoint to take them from Bho Paw Hta camp, opposite Tambon Mae Song, Than Son Yang, to Sho Khlo. As 15 of them boarded the boat, two were killed in an attack by an unidentified band.

December 10, 1995: A villager in Ban Phakrajer, Phop Phra, was held hostage by 14 former KNU soldiers who demanded a 30,000 baht ransom but came under fire from Thai troops. A BPP officer and an infantryman were killed along with one Karen, and three others.

December 27, 1995: Some 30 DKBA soldiers encircled Ban Tee No Kho, Tambon Mae Usu, at kilometer 95 on the highway at 10:30 p.m. The troops sprayed a villager's house with machine-gun fire, killing an eight-year-old boy instantly and injuring his 53-year-old father. Before retreating to Burma, the renegades abducted the boy's 16-year-old sister, who has disappeared. They also took 100,000 baht in cash and gold ornaments from the house.

January 4, 1996: DKBA troops stole medical supplies from Sho Khlo camp.

January 9, 1996: At least 20 DKBA renegades killed retired Major-General Ta Ru, 71, of the KNLA. The retired KNLA officer had been paralyzed and was receiving treatment at Mae La camp.

January 14, 1996: DKBA requested a meeting near the river on the Thai side with the camp committee of Don Pa Kiang refugee camp.

January 24, 1996: The DKBA attempted an attack on Shokhlo and later were surrounded by Thai troops. An exchange of fire took place. On their way back, some of the DKBA stepped on mines planted by Thai Rangers. One Karen soldier was seriously injured.

January 26, 1996: A group of DKBA soldiers entered Don Pa Kaing camp. They announced that they would seek out and attack KNU leaders and foreigners providing assistance to refugees along the border.

January 30,1996: In the middle of the night a large DKBA force attacked a Thai Karen Buddhist monastery at Mae U Su, about 90 kilometers north of Mae Sot along the paved road which parallels the border. A Buddhist monk, a 67-year-old lay helper, and a Thai policeman were shot dead by the troops. Before retreating back across the river to Burma, the troops looted the monastery as well.

January 31, 1996: About 100 DKBA soldiers slipped across the border at Ban Mae Usa, Tha Song Yang, attacked a Thai police officer, a monk, and a villager and left two of them seriously wounded. The renegades returned to Burma with 100,000 baht in cash and valuables.

February 6, 1996: 30 members of the DKBA entered Don Pa Kiang camp at around midnight. They announced that the DKBA was clearing space for them at Htee Sa Ra village, about 12 kilometers inside Burma. All refugees were expected to return by the end of the year, they said.

March 15, 1996: SLORC troops entered Don Pa Kiang camp looking for a defector.

March 23, 1996: Troops from the DKBA and SLORC LIB 301 robbed Mae La camp and arrested five people including two ABSDF members. Later Aung Aung, age 24, an ABSDF member, was killed.

April 1, 1996: Some 30 DKBA renegades with assault rifles and grenade launchers robbed five villagers in Ban Mae Lae Yang, Tha Song Yan, of 200,000 baht in cash and valuables. While crossing into Burma, the renegades clashed with a Thai BPP unit but escaped.

April 2, 1996: A Thai BPP unit fired two mortor rounds in an unsuccessful attempt to stop Burmese renegades from recovering a stolen motorcycle hidden in a bush and taking it to Burma.

April 3, 1996: At least 100 heavily-armed DKBA soldiers raided a processed wood factory near Ban Mae Tan Tha Song Yang. The factory was owned by Promsap Phiewnuan, son of former Third Army commander Lieutanant-General Prom Phiewunan. The raiders held a manager and two workers hostage before getting away with 100,000 baht in cash and valuables. They have threatened to torch the factory unless a 50,000-baht protection fee is paid.

April 7, 1996: Pol L/Cpl. Thananpong Parnkaew, an officer in the Thai Border Patrol Police, narrowly escaped injury after coming under machine-gun fire

while driving close to the Thai-Burma border in Tha Song Yan. The shooting was carried out by suspected members of the DKBA.

April 19, 1996: A 10-man strong DKBA band fired AK-47 rounds at a pick-up truck between kilometer 78-79 of the Mae Ramat-Tha Song Yang highway, killing Rungthip Khampradit, age 26, the driver, and robbing her ten passengers of 50,000 baht in cash and gold ornaments.

April 22, 1996: Two Thai villagers were robbed by a group of DKBA at gunpoint in Mae Taw, Mae Sod district. Two Thai villagers from Tambon Mae Tan in Tha Song Yan reported that two armed men flagged down their pickup between km 148-149 and robbed them of 3,000 baht in cash and valuables.

April 25, 1996: Some 15 armed DKBA members encircled Ban Panorkhi, Tambon Tha Song Yang, at 3 p.m. and robbed the headman and five villagers' homes stealing 13,000 baht in cash and valuables worth around 23,000 baht. They also ordered a pair of villagers to help carry the loot across the border.

April 27, 1996: A bomb exploded in Pwe Pa Lu. One KNU soldier was killed and two injured.

May 4, 1996: KNU attacked a DKBA base near Mae La (Palu Paw)

June 13, 1996: DKBA shelled Shokhlo. One refugee was killed and several wounded.

June 19, 1996: DKBA attacked the KNU's stronghold, hoping to retake the Pulupaw camp from the KNU.

June 20, 1996: The DKBA fired several shots towards the Shokhlo refugee camp in Tha Song Yan district, Tak.

July 3, 1996: At least ten DKBA soldiers with AK-47 assault rifles and M-79 grenade launchers entered Ban Mai, in Tabom Mae Ton on the Tha Song Yang-Mae Saraing highway. They opened fire on the house of assistant district chief Sananfa Donkhammon. They also fired an M-79 grenade at the BPP's headquarters and killed a truck driver Thaweesak Jaiyod, age 26. The owner of the truck, Siam Cheu-ar, age 23, was injured and taken to Mae Sot hospital. The soldiers also fired at a territorial defense unit at Ban Mae Tan before fleeing to Burma.

August 24, 1996: Don Pa Klan refugee camp in Ban Huey Bong, Mae Ramat

was raided by about 15 DKBA renegade troops before dawn. They robbed 3,000 baht from Mrs. Naw Da's store. They abducted two deputy chiefs of the camp. Kyaw Lawa, age 55, and Kyaw Swe, age 50, both Karens, were forced to go with the DKBA troops in two commandeered long-tailed boats belonging to Thai villagers.

August 25, 1996: Two Thai officials were wounded by a rocket propelled grenade when their patrol was ambushed by a unit of DKBA soldiers at a border village in Tha Song Yang district. Warrant officer Samran Changkhunthod, age 42, and Private Suchart Thamma, age 22, of the 4th Infantry Division were hit by shrapnel. They were attacked while conducting a joint patrol with forestry officials to inspect illegal logging in Mae Moei National Park near the border.

August 26, 1996: Around 30 DKBA armed soldiers crossed the Moei River to Na Kanasu village and opened fire at the nearby Huay Bong refugee camp with six rounds of mortar. No one was reported as injured. More than 3,000 Karen refugees in the Huay Bong camp fled further into Thailand for fear of future attacks by the DKBA.

August 28, 1996: At least 20 DKBA men crossed the Moei River at Ban Namdib Bonwan in Mae Ramat district and tried to arrest Captain Taw Kyae, former KNU forestry officer. He fled before the DKBA raided his house in a Thai village, but Thwe Kyaw, age 40, a farm worker was shot dead while trying to escape from the scene of the fighting. Upon leaving, the soldiers forced Moe Maw, age 25, and another unidentified Karen to go with them in their boats.

September 11, 1996: Six members of the DKBA and four others were wounded during an attack on a KNU base opposite Ban Muenruechia, Prop Phra, about three kilometers west of the Thai-Burmese border. The attack began at 11 p.m. when 100 DKBA entered the KNU temporary base with heavy weapons and rifles.

September 23, 1996: DKBA headquarters commissioner Lieutenant-General Sa Thwe issued an ultimatum to the 344th unit of the Thai BPP demanding the immediate release of two DKBA men -- Pa Selu and Me Tho -- who had been arrested on September 11. The commissioner threatened that an attack would otherwise be launched in the Thai border district of Tha Song Yang.

September 30, 1996: A battle between the BPP's 344th unit and the DKBA troops in Tha Song Yang district left one DKBA soldier dead. The BPP seized

an M-16 rifle, a pistol, and some ammunition. The clash occurred after the BPP unit discovered three DKBA crossing the Moei River into Thailand. The dead DKBA man, identified as Phaya Lay, was believed to be chief of the DKBA's 9th division.

October 1, 1996: Residents along the Thai-Burmese border are moving out of their homes after a Karen DKBA leader was killed in the clash with BPP on September 30, fearing that the group would retaliate.

November 7, 1996: About 30 armed members of the DKBA crossed the border and robbed three Thai stores and 11 Karens of cash, dried food, and goods worth about 50,000 baht. They were led by Lieutenant Ta Ner and had crossed the border into Wang Takhian village, Tambon Tha Sayluad, in Mae Sod. After the looting, they also threatened to burn the village if Karen refugees sheltered there refused to return to Burma.

December 10, 1996: At least 60 armed DKBA troops, accompanied by three Karen monks and led by Captain Maung Chit Tu, surrounded the village in Tambon Valley, Ban Muen Ruechai village, Phop Phra district. They then arrested former KNU governor Padoe Kyaw Ngwe Tin and his family, the wife and two sons of former KNU military officer Lieutenant Ta Ki, and 17 other Karens and Thais. The DKBA troops also robbed Thai territorial defense volunteers of three cars and a shotgun before retreating back into Burma with the hostages and valuables.

December 28, 1996: Three armed DKBA soldiers came into Ward No. 6, Hway Kaloke refugee camp, near Mae Sot and killed U Myint Naing, a Mon resident of the camp.

January 3, 1997: At about 2:30 a.m., 25 Burmese soldiers fired motor shells and automatic weapons into adjoining Karenni refugee camps in Mae Hong Son, about four miles inside Thailand. The attack killed two refugees and wounded ten others. Those killed were 19-year-old Ai Pyin and 35-year-old Aik Phone. Nearly 6,000 Karenni refugees immediately fled deeper into Thailand.

January 4, 1997: At about 4:30 p.m. a refugee camp was shelled with mortars fired from Baw Pa Hta, a former KNU trading gateway now occupied by SLORC and DKBA troops just across the Moei River. Five or six 2.5 mm mortar shells were fired into the middle of the camp, four of which exploded. The leader of Section 3 of the camp (Saw Pay, age 33) was wounded in the neck and the body by shrapnel; he died from his wounds on February 12 in the Mae Sot

hospital. At least two other refugees were wounded. The shells exploded in the market, at the monastery, at the church, and in front of Saw Pay's house.

January 8, 1997: Around ten DKBA soldiers crossed into Thai territory in pursuit of former KNU members who had attacked a sawmill owned by the DKBA and Thai businessmen. They fired several rounds of 60 mm motors at the fleeing KNU soldiers.

January 10: 1997: Approximately 40 DKBA troops slipped into the Karen refugee camp in Ban Nong Nam Khoo inside Thailand with the help of three Karen monks. They first seized a Burmese man who was guarding a nearby plantation and forced him to lead them into the camp. There they kidnapped six Karens, one of whom was identified as Sa Taw, age 37, a former missionary.

January 28, 1997: A force estimated at over 100 DKBA and SLORC soldiers attacked Huay Bon (Don Pa Kiang) refugee camp, which has a population of 3,678 (as of February 1997) and is located 20 kilometers north of Mae Sot. The force came on foot from the other side of the Moei River. They looted medicines and microscopes from the camp's medical clinic and other belongings from the refugees. They burned down the camp and shot a Thai merchant who was attempting to drive his truck away from the camp. The merchant died instantly. The houses were bamboo huts with leaf roofs tightly packed together, so the fire spread on quickly and about 95 per cent of the camp was completely destroyed. Only a couple rows of houses were left behind the market section of the camp.

January 28, 1997: At about 10:15 p.m, a force estimated at 150 to 200 SLORC soldiers attacked Huay Kaloke (Wan Kha) refugee camp, which contains a population of 6,576 (as of February 1997) and is located 10 kilometers north of Mae Sot. The group went first to the medical clinic and demanded a microscope. Upon obtaining one microscope, they smashed the other and then set the entire clinic on fire. Other soldiers went to the camp leader's house, the school, and other houses and set them all on fire. Witnesses estimate that there were 20 to 40 Karens and the rest were all SLORC soldiers.

January 29, 1997: A force of at least 30 to 40 DKBA and SLORC soldiers attacked the Mae La camp from the northwestern corner near the camp's Bible School. They were backed up by a larger force which remained outside the camp, between the camp and the border. The force came on foot from the other side of the border a few kilometers away and was supported by SLORC shelling from the Burma side. At least 35 shells were fired into the camp, and the

attackers themselves used assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, and M-79 grenade launchers. A rocket-propelled grenade killed one elderly woman trying to flee the attack. The Burmese soldiers managed to burn down 15 houses in the course of the attack. As the attackers moved into the camp, firing into houses and then setting them on fire, they encountered camp security forces who fought back and were later joined by Thai military troops. The attackers were eventually forced to retreat to the border, leaving behind two or three dead and taking along with them an unknown number of wounded.

January 30, 1997: A Thai military plane flying on a reconnaissance mission over northern Tak province was fired on by DKBA soldiers. The attack prompted the OV-10 Bronco aircraft, which narrowly avoided being hit, and Thai ground forces to return fire.

February 2, 1997: Thai paramilitary forces fought a gun battle with the DKBA, which had crossed the border into Tak province in Thailand in a bid to launch an attack on a Karen refugee camp.

February 15, 1997: Thai authorities disarmed security forces at several refugee camps. As a result, Don Pa Kyiang (Huay Bon) was attacked by the DKBA. Nearly the whole camp was burned down. Huay Kalok was attacked and burned by DKBA and SLORC. Approximately 1,110 houses out of 1,300 were burned. People panicked, but the Thai authorities did not allow them to leave the camp.

March 21, 1997: More than 200 armed troops from the Burmese 13th Battalion's 88th Division troops led by Lt Col. Than Kyu circled Ban Kor Tor village in Umphang district. Some of the troops entered a villager's house and abducted two former KNU soldiers -- Cha Wa and Kyaw Kyaw -- both of whom had sought shelter there. Before retreating to Burma, the troops threatened that they would attack any Thai villagers who provided shelter to former KNU men.

April 4, 1997: About 80 heavily-armed Burmese troopers slipped across the border into Huay Nam Nak village in Tambon Chong Khaeb in the early morning to harass the refugees. Frightened by the shots, two refugees ran from the scene, prompting Burmese troops to fire on them. A man named Ar Ngae, age 37, was shot in the back and died instantly. The other refugee was a woman by the name of Na Boe, age 40, who was seriously wounded. During the incursion, the Burmese soldiers also forced 40 other refugees to return to Burma.

April 27, 1997: A group of 15 to 20 armed DKBA soldiers crossed from Burma and invaded the Ta Per Poo camp, about two kilometers (one mile) inside

Thailand's northern Tak province. This camp was established as a result of SLORC's 1997 offensive in Dooplaya. The men looted the market, torched 19 shop stalls and houses, killed one refugee, and took eight refugees hostage (all of whom were later released). Thai civilian militia fought with the armed group, killing one of the Karen fighters who had invaded the camp. Ta Per Poo camp was to be moved to Noh Po shortly thereafter.

May 10, 1997: About 200 armed troops from the SLORC's IB 106 led by Major San Lwin attacked the Mon Refugee Camp (Halockhani). The camp is situated about 60 kilometers southwest of Sangkhlaburi district, Kanchanaburi province, Thailand. The same camp was attacked by SLORC's troops in July 1994 when the refugees' makeshift huts, along with all their belongings, were burned down while ASEAN ministers held a meeting in Bangkok. This time the SLORC troops occupied the refugees' rice store.
(*Source for incidents: ABSDF, NCUB, MUL, and KHRG*)

14.1.2. SLORC 1997 Offensive Against the KNU and the Renewed Refugee Crisis

SLORC's 1997 offensive against the KNU has resulted in more than 7,000 new refugees entering Thailand. Meanwhile, Thai authorities have stepped up their efforts to prevent entry to Burmese refugees, some of whom have been subsequently attacked by SLORC troops. Many remain displaced inside Burma near the Thai border and face difficult circumstances, having no fields to grow or any other means of making a living while SLORC carries on its war with the Karen and Karenni people.

In early 1997, SLORC launched two new major offensives against the KNU. Both were in areas formerly under the firm control of the KNU and the KNLA. During January and February, the SLORC commenced their attacks on KNU-held areas along the upper Tenasserim and Paw Kloh Rivers in Tenasserim Division, also known as KNLA 4th Brigade area. On February 12, they attacked the Dooplaya District of central Karen State, formerly controlled by the KNLA 6th Brigade and home to KNU Headquarters.

14.1.2.1. Offensive in Tenasserim Region against the KNU 4th Brigade

Over 4, 000 SLORC troops launched a new offensive against the KNU 4th Brigade area on January 7, 1997 called operation "Thu Ra." Strategic

command is in Tavoy township where the headquarters of the newly formed Coastal Command led by the notorious Major-General Thi Ha Thu Ra Sit Maung is located. Colonel Thura Maung Ni is the Deputy-Chief Strategic Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Thein Win, Lieutenant-Colonel Saw Hla Min, and another unknown Lieutenant-Colonel are the field commanders of the three operation commands.

The SLORC's treatment of the people in this region has been particularly severe. SLORC has forcibly recruited civilians, along the roads and in villages between Tavoy and Palaw townships, as porters for the frontline area to carry military supplies, and to act as human mine-sweepers. In early February, SLORC troops were already conducting mass roundups of civilians all along the Andaman seaboard, from Moulmein (capital of Mon State) southward to Ye, Tavoy, and beyond. Troops surrounded Moulmein town market and other markets and captured all adult men, rounding them up on their way out of video halls and other gathering places, and even set up checkpoints along the main north-south road between Ye and Tavoy to stop passenger vehicles and capture all able-bodied men. SLORC troops have forced these porters to walk in front of the troops, in order to make it difficult for KNLA troops to launch guerrilla attacks on the SLORC columns. More than 1,000 civilians were recruited from Tavoy township and were ordered to perform forced labor on the roads leading to Htee-Kee (Minthamee). On another road project in this area, near Nan Thila village, over 1,000 forced laborers were used in order to complete the road into the KNU 4th Brigade headquarters area. Due to the recent massive recruitment of porters and forced laborers from Tenasserim Division and Mon State, many villagers have become internally displaced and are trying to flee to the Thai border in order to avoid continual recruitment as porters and forced laborers, and the accompanying ill-treatment and human rights abuses perpetrated by the SLORC.

Due to heavy fighting and the difficult terrain, there is as yet relatively little information available as to the behavior of SLORC troops on entering villages during the recent military activity in this area. Most information indicates that upon capturing each village, if there was any resistance encountered then the troops burned all or part of the village and tortured or executed some of the villagers. There are reports from several sources that when they reached Kaneh Khoh village in the Paw Kloh valley, SLORC troops captured 12 women and took them to Ler Muh village. After the fighting in Ler Muh village, the 12 women were all raped and killed as a retaliation, including Naw Kri May, age 25, who was raped in front of her husband and family by three soldiers and then executed with a knife. If there is no resistance encountered on entering a village, the troops are reportedly under orders not to destroy the village but

they often do anyway. Villagers who are caught outside their villages face possible execution or at least conscription as porters, while villagers found in their villages must depend on luck — their treatment depends on the mood of the troops. Women porters have been sighted with SLORC troops at Amla, Minthamee Kee, and other locations.

14.1.2.2. Refugee Influx from Tenasserim Region to Thailand

Notwithstanding the fierce fighting that has commenced in Burma during this year, Thailand has attempted to seal its border with Burma in this region and instituted a policy of forced repatriation for those refugees that have successfully crossed the border. In an effort to prevent armed combatants from entering Thailand, the Thai army's 9th Division in Kanchanaburi separated men aged 15 years and older from the women and younger children. The men and boys were forced to return to Burma and told to continue fighting. Obvious non-combatants including male children, sick and elderly men, and a priest were included among those forced to return to Burma. As evidence of their folly, on the morning of February 25, 1997, the Thai army also refused to allow U.S. embassy officials to pass through the Pu Nam Rawn checkpoint. (The embassy officials had planned to visit refugees and assess the situation.)

On February 26, about 3,000 women and children from Ban Bong Ti Pass in Sai Yok district and Ban Pu Nam Rawn in Muang district were loaded aboard trucks belonging to a Thai logging company and forcibly relocated to Suan Phung district, Ratchaburi, Thailand. From Suan Phung they were forcibly repatriated to Taw Ma Pwu village in Burma, a four hour walk away from active military fighting and heavy shelling. Fortunately, international pressure appears to have put a temporary stop to such actions. However, those fleeing across the border are still facing great insecurity, as Thai authorities continue to insist they are going to be repatriated. Meanwhile, the Thai 9th Division is actively spreading misinformation in the camps (which are closed to most outside access) that the fighting has subsided and that SLORC troops have withdrawn from the refugees' home villages.

Thailand's response to the refugees crisis has sent a clear signal that it will only provide temporary asylum. As there have been no former refugee camps in Ratchaburi, Kanchaburi, and south of Thailand before, Thai authorities have decided to set up new "temporary sites" and relocate the refugees camps in that region. About 5,000 refugees from Hway Sot and Ban Baw Wi were relocated in a new "temporary site" at Baw Rakha in Ratchaburi in May 1997. Similarly, refugees from Htee Lai Pah and Thukha were relocated in Don Yang,

while the refugees in Phu Muang were allowed to stay as of May 1997. The refugees are not allowed to build any semi-permanent structures, and many have been living in the dirt under plastic sheets in unshaded farm-fields for over a month, during a time when the weather varied between daily rains and blazing sun.

Another 6,000 new refugees from Tenasserim region have taken refuge along the Thai-Burma border near Hua Hin, Prachuap Kiri Khan, Chumphon, and Pran Buri, but so far have not been bothered, nor assisted, by the Thai authorities.

14.1.2.3. SLORC Offensive in Dooplaya Region Against KNU's 4th Brigade

The offensive against the Dooplaya District, Central Karen State was launched on February 12, 1997, with over 20,000 SLORC troops from at least six different Light Infantry Divisions 22, 44, 55, 77, 88, and 101 -- each Division contributed several, but not all, of its 10 battalions -- and other non-Divisional battalions moving in rapidly from several directions at once. One force consisting largely of troops from Divisions 88 and 101 sped down the Thai border from Thingan Nyi Naung/Myawaddy towards Kyo G'Lee and Sakanthit (Dta Law Thaw), with part of the force heading further east to KNU headquarters at Tee K'Pler. A second force came south from the Kyone Doh/Kawkareik area and was joined by a third force from Kya In Seik Gyi in the west. This combined force of Divisions 22 and 44 then swept southeastward through the fertile and heavily-populated Han Thayaw River plain, taking control of Kyaikdon, Saw Hta (Azin), Kwih Kler, and pushing on to the Thai border at Lay Po Hta/Ber Kler. Another force, mainly SLORC Divisions 55 and 77, head up along the border from Three Pagodas Pass in the south. The clear objective was to race for the Thai border, take control of the area, and then work back in, consolidating control over the civilians trapped inside.

The civilian population of the newly-occupied region is at least 50,000. Most villagers in the northern and northwestern areas (Kawkareik and Kya In townships) could only stay in their villages or briefly flee to the forests as SLORC troops passed through with Karen forces already on the retreat; for these people there is almost nowhere to run, as the Thai border is several days' walk away. In the central parts of the district and in areas closer to the border, all previously KNU-controlled, almost all of the villagers tried to flee to the forests and hills, but because the advance was so fast, they often found their escape already cut off by SLORC troops.

In many villages people only learned of the offensive when they heard shooting or when SLORC troops arrived a half-hour's walk from their village. Many farmers, working in their fields, were surprised by a SLORC column; when they tried to run, they were shot on sight. The troops opened fire on any villager seen running.

Upon occupying the villages, the first action of the SLORC troops was to capture any villagers they could find in the area, round them up, and send some of them out with orders to bring back other villagers -- sometimes holding their family members as a guarantee. The troops then arrested, tortured, and in some cases, executed any villagers they felt looked like KNU sympathizers, and any villagers who had been pointed out to them (usually by other villagers under torture) as having any knowledge of KNU activities in the area or the location of KNLA arms caches.

In each village, the troops then began systematically looting the houses, shooting the livestock for food, and stripping the fruit and coconut trees. They said that anyone who had fled must be KNU, so they looted everything from any house that was abandoned. They took as much rice as they wanted, and if there was excess rice, they poured it in the streams or spread it on the ground and walked all over it. The troops stole valuables, clothing, and other items to keep or to send to their families in the cities. Whatever they did not want, they destroyed or threw away in the forest, including the cooking pots and sleeping mats. The troops even stripped the houses of useful building materials to be sent to their camps. In many cases, the abandoned houses were then burned. Where the entire village was abandoned, such as in Meh Tharoh Kee, every house in the village was burned. After the torture and the looting, the troops began forcing villagers who had remained or had returned to stand by with their bullock carts to haul the loot to new SLORC camps, particularly to the new SLORC army camp being built at Saw Hta (Azin).

Villagers, usually men, are now taken as porters whenever needed by the troops. Thousands of people, including convicts, had previously been rounded up in Moulmein and other coastal towns and brought as porters for the offensive. At one point, Moulmein market was surrounded by SLORC soldiers and all able-bodied men were taken. However, many porters had died during the offensive and when the fighting was over, many of the non-convicts were released to find their own way home. As a result, the troops needed new porters to carry the supplies and loot the had taken from the villagers.

The villagers are also being forced to do shifts of labor building barracks, bunkers, trenches, and fences to establish new army camps in the area. The

principal village of Saw Hta (known by the Burmese as Azin) is being turned into a military base. The high school grounds have been turned into a helicopter pad, and movement is restricted even within the village. Other key posts have been established at Lay Po Hta and Sakanthit (known in Karen as Dta Law Thaw or Tee Hoh Kee), both adjacent to the Thai border, and at Kyun Chaung in the southern part of Dooplaya. Independent observers from Thailand have witnessed large groups of porters, including women, being herded at gunpoint as they haul loot from Lay Po Hta back to Kwih Kler and Saw Hta.

In most of the newly-occupied villages, everyone has been forced to hand over their entire rice supply to the local SLORC army camp. Then the villagers are only permitted a small ration of rice per family -- the SLORC soldiers take as much rice as they need, leaving the villagers with extremely small rations. Villagers who need to go to their farm-fields must obtain a movement pass from the army, valid for only 1 to 3 days. In many villages, people are allowed to go out in the morning but must return by sunset. If someone must cross areas controlled by several army units to reach his/her field, then he/she needs a pass from each and every unit. As one villager said, "to go work your field you need one pass, and to search for your cattle you need another pass. If we go to search for our cattle in 22 Division's area (very close by) we have to go and get a pass from them as well, one from 44 and another from 22." The penalty for exceeding the limits of a pass or not having one is being shot on sight or arrested and beaten on return. (*Source: KHRG*)

14.1.2.4. Refugee Influx From Dooplaya Region to Thailand

During SLORC's offensive against the region, over 10,000 villagers from the Dooplaya region made it across the Thai border, often after spending a week or more hiding in the forest dodging SLORC columns. However, the vast majority of villagers in this region were trapped in the newly-occupied areas, rounded up in their villages, or remain in hiding either in remote farm fields or in the forest.

As soon as SLORC began occupying villages in mid-February, refugees began flooding across the border into Thailand. At least eight to ten thousand refugees crossed the border within the first 10 days, at Tee K'Pler, Sakanthit, Htee Sgaw Sghi, Lay Po Hta, Meh Tharoh Kee, Kwih Law Der/Lay Taw Ko, Tee Hta Baw, and many other crossing points covering a stretch of border at least 100 kilometers long. Most of these first arrivals managed to get out of their villages before the SLORC arrived and fled either directly to the border or into the forest, gradually making their way to the border. Some died on the way,

shot by SLORC patrols or stepping on Karen landmines which were laid in a futile attempt to slow the SLORC troops. Many arrived at the border not knowing where their family members were after the sudden flight. Some had left children or parents behind, while others had given birth in the forest on the way. Some newborns and others died on the difficult journey over the mountains.

The treatment received by these groups from Thai authorities has varied. At Tee K'Pler and Sakanthit, the refugees were allowed to stay in Thailand but were pushed back to sites within easy range of SLORC mortars. Over 1,000 refugees from the Sakanthit area were placed in a farm-field with no decent water. The bulk of the refugees, who had crossed in the Lay Po Hta/Tee Sgaw Sghi area, were allowed to stay along the roadsides at Ka Hee Pa Leh, which is a safe distance from the border, but they were forced to stay on the ground in the dirt and gravel and in the rain gutters right along the edges of a dusty heavily-traveled road for over a month. Over 1,000 Muslims were separated from the group of refugees and moved one kilometer up the road toward the Burma border because the Thai authorities believe, in their words, that "Muslims are troublemakers." (*Source: KHRG, IA, and NCGUB*)

In marked contrast to the experiences of these refugees, No Pho refugee camp in Umphang District, Tak Province was officially opened on March 7, 1997 as a refuge for Burmese people escaping the Dooplaya offensive. Thai officials from Tak District attended the opening ceremony and have been monitoring the situation and ensuring that the basic necessities of the refugees are being met. New refugees are continuing to arrive at the camp every day. There are already over 12,000 refugees in the camp, including refugees from other camps in Umphang District which were located close to the border and in danger of attack. Refugees from other camps such as Lay Pho Hta, No Pa Law Wah, and No Pado have been moved to No Pho. At the site, each family has been allocated 25 by 30 foot lots for the construction of their homes.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been allowed access to provide humanitarian assistance including basic foods and necessary medicines to the refugees at No Pho. They have also supplied roofing materials and installed water pipes and taps throughout the camp.

Most of the new arrivals at No Pho had either remained in their villages willingly or were captured and forced back to their villages by SLORC. They recently fled because of the forced labor, looting, and other abuses committed by the occupation troops. At the same time, some of the refugees at Noh Po have returned to Dooplaya for various reasons: they have heard that SLORC is

taking all belongings and destroying the houses of those who have left, so they hope to save their property by returning; they believe that SLORC will attack and destroy the refugee camp; they believe that the Thai authorities plan to force them back to Burma and hope they will be treated better by SLORC if they go back willingly; and some hope that conditions will get better in their villages.

In fact, it appears unlikely that conditions will improve in Dooplaya. For the moment, SLORC has been limiting some of its abuses, such as forced labor and extortion, in villages very close to the border in hopes that refugees will be drawn back. However, further from the border this is not the case. New refugees already report that SLORC has begun using villagers as forced labor to improve some of the roads in the area, such as the road between Saw Hta and Kwih Kler. Convicts are also being brought in for this forced labor from Rangoon and Moulmein. These prisoners have been seen on the road between Saw Hta and Paw Taw Mu, some in white uniforms (worn by those with longer prison sentences) and some in blue (worn by those with shorter prison sentences). They are not shackled but are closely guarded. Every morning they must sweep this stretch of road for mines, in case any were planted overnight. On the road between Kyo G'Lee and Sakanthit, villagers are also being forced to sweep regularly for mines. (*Source: KHRG, NCUB, ABSDF, and IA*)

14.1.3. The Situation of the Mon Refugees

The SLORC and the New Mon State party (NMSP) agreed to a cease-fire on June 29, 1995 after nearly 40 years of conflict. Repatriation of some 10,000 refugees still living in camps in Thailand began in December 1995 and was completed by May 31,1996. However, 65% of Mon refugees who had previously been in camps in Thailand had already been forcibly returned across the border in Burma before the major repatriation took place.

The Pa Raw refugee camp in Kanchanburi , Thailand, which once housed more than 2,500 ethnic Mon refugees from Burma, was burned down on April 2, 1996 by approximately ten Thai men in military uniform who flew into the camp on a helicopter.

In April and May 1996 alone, over 1,000 villagers fleeing human rights violations joined repatriated refugees at the new camps in Mon State administered by the NMSP. Others fled directly to Thailand. The refugees are fleeing forced labor projects on the 100 mile-long railway between Ye in the Mon State and Tavoy in Tenasserim Division. According to the Mon refugees, the cease-fire

between the SLORC and the NMSP has not benefited the Mon people, and the Mon refugees whom Thailand forced back into Burma following the cease-fire are no better off than they were before they originally fled to Thailand, in fact, many are worse off. They also said that human rights abuses such as forced portering, forced labor, and forced relocations continue in Mon areas.

14.1.3.1. New Mon Refugees in Thailand

Since the Mon Army, Mergui District (MAMD) split off from the NMSP and took control of the Mergui District area where the Mon and other ethnic refugee were taking refuge, the war in the area has resumed. The SLORC troops began an intensive offensive again in the third week of April 1997 in an effort to occupy the whole region. The SLORC troops arrested and used several civilian porters during their march through the area. The operation was organized by Coastal Region Military Command, based in Mergui, and utilized SLORC's LIB 626, 358, and 224 to conduct the offensive. Over 800 SLORC troops arrested a total of 300 villagers from Mergui, Tavoy, and Yebyu townships to be front-line porters. The porters were forced to carry ammunition and other supplies for the military; as in other areas, the soldiers also used them as human shields and mine-sweepers when they advanced across battlefields. Following the military attacks in the Mergui region from April 13 to 27, more than 2,500 Mon people, including 21 Buddhist monks, have become homeless --scattered throughout the jungle and facing food shortages.

Two Mon villages with about 300 makeshift shelters were set ablaze after Burmese forces overran a Mon military base at Tab Guncha on April 27, 1997. As a result, some 800 Mon refugees from Ban Chong Chi and Ban Tan Guncha villages created makeshift shelters at the border police checkpoint in Thai territory and many others are living in the jungle in Burma as internally displaced persons. Thai authorities provide them with temporary shelters close to the border checkpoint, but they may stay only temporarily and are quickly forced to resettle in Hlockhani, a Mon refugee camp border area in Kanchanaburi province.

14.1.4. The Situation of the Shan Refugees in Thailand

In January 1996, the SLORC agreed to a cease-fire with the Shan Muang Tai Army (MTA), led by drug warlord Khun Sa. Since the cease-fire thousands of MTA troops have surrendered their arms to the SLORC military. However, others who did not agree with the cease-fire have continued to retain their

weapons, along with other Shan nationalist armed opposition groups. The SLORC reacted to continued Shan resistance by forcibly relocating tens of thousands of villagers in an apparent attempt to sever any civilian links or support for these Shan armed opposition groups. Beginning in March 1996, the SLORC troops ordered village after village in eight townships -- Larng Kher, Murng Nai, Nam Zarng, Lai Kha, Murng Kerng, Kun Hing, Ke See, and Murng Su -- to move, turning once thriving farming communities into depopulated "free-fire" zones. Over 100,000 people from over 600 villages in Central Shan State have been relocated to 45 main sites. (See also Chapter 5 on Forced Relocation.)

Driven to desperation by a lack of food and security, it is estimated that over 20,000 Shans, including young children and elderly, have fled to Thailand. Unlike the Karen, Karenni, and Mon refugees from Burma, current Thai policy has denied these Shan fleeing to Thailand safe refuge and the right to receive humanitarian assistance. At this point, there has been no official Thai acknowledgment concerning this huge influx of Shan refugees. Foreign Embassy staff who have questioned local Thai officials in Chiang Mai province about the large numbers of refugees arriving since April 1996, have been told by the Thai officials that only the usual migrant laborers from Shan State have been coming across the border to work on farms and at other worksites.

Shan refugees, therefore, have been forced to survive as illegal migrants, seeking temporary shelter and food at construction sites or on farms. The refugees have ended up mostly on farms in Chiang Mai or Mae Hong Son provinces, or on construction sites in Chiang Mai or Bangkok. The main difference between these refugees and the usual migrant laborers from Burma is that the refugees generally consist of whole families including young children and grandparents, whereas migrant laborers tend to be mostly working adults without dependents. Their precarious status in Thailand has made it difficult for the Shan refugees to survive in Thailand. (*Source: SHRF*)

14.1.4.1. Forcible Repatriation of Shans by Thai Authorities

Some of the Shan refugees, without protection of any kind, have been forcibly repatriated by Thai armed forces.

At 6 a.m. on October 10, 1996, some 200 villagers from Ban Ai Long village in Shan State fled across the border to the Doi Tung area, northern Chiang Rai province in Thailand due to the widespread human rights violations in their area. They encountered Thai Rangers in Thailand, who are members of the

security forces often deployed in border area. On October 12, the commanding officer of SLORC Battalion 256 met with the Thai Ranger commanding officer, declaring that it was safe for the refugees to return. At about 11:30 a.m. on October 12, the refugees were ordered by the Thai Rangers to return to Ban Ai Long village. The 100 SLORC troops who remained in Ban Ai Long village forced the returnees to accompany them to their camp at Aye Tee in order to carry food, livestock, and other supplies which the SLORC troops had looted from them. The returnees were later permitted to go back to their village. (*Source: AI and SHRF*)

14.1.5. Thai Policies on Refugees

As Thailand and Burma increase their economic links, Thailand's support for refugees has correspondingly decreased. Indeed, Thai authorities along some stretches of the Thai-Burma border have increasingly yielded to SLORC pressure to return the refugees and not permit new refugees to enter Thailand. The primary motivation of the Thai authorities is their desire to promote Thai business interests in Burma, in which some Thai authorities may have personal stakes. Major Thai business and economic interests in Burma, both current and proposed, include the construction of gas pipeline from the Burmese coast to Thailand; a deep-sea port in Tavoy and the improvement of the road linking Tavoy to Thailand; development of another deep sea port on the Burmese coast near Kalegauk island; potential development of various tourist sites along the Burmese coasts; logging concessions; and numerous other Thai-backed projects and ventures.

Among specific actions by Thai authorities in recent years that indicate their yielding to SLORC pressure on the refugee question are: forcing residents of various refugee camps to relocate their camps to sites within Burma; pressing for the inclusion of a cease-fire agreement between SLORC and Mon insurgents; calling for the repatriation of Mon refugees, and forcing the Mon refugees to repatriate following the cease-fire; preventing thousands of new Burmese asylum seekers from entering Thailand and forcibly returning some who managed to cross the border; failing to adequately protect the refugees from cross-border attacks by armed Burmese forces; regularly keeping the refugees uninformed about plans being made regarding their future and sometimes purposely spreading misinformation; and forcing back refugees whose homes and camps have been destroyed during the attacks by the DKBA and SLORC.

On February 27, 1997, some 3,000 refugees were forcibly repatriated from Bon Ti in Kanchanaburi where an old World War II supply road once linked

Tavoy to Kanchanaburi. The road will be upgraded for the highway route between the Thai town and Burmese town. It will also be linked to Thailand by other roads which will help the construction of a deep water port at Tavoy. The area happens to lies to the south of the U.S. $1 billion TOTAL/UNOCAL natural gas pipeline project. The pipeline will span southern Burma and provide a source of energy for Thailand. Refugee camps in the area would have inconvenienced the opening of this region to trade, hence the Thais have stepped up their efforts to repatriate Burmese refugees despite the danger they may face.

A Thai National Security Council (NSC) meeting, chaired by Thai Prime Minister Chavalit and attended by top military leaders on March 12, 1997, passed a resolution whereby Thailand will repatriate more than 100,000 ethnic minority refugees to Burma once fighting subsides and "peace" is attained.

The main instrument governing international standards of refugee treatment is the 1951 UN Refugee Convention. While Thailand is not a signatory to the convention, it is bound by certain provisions that are accepted as customary international law (CIL). The CIL provides that legitimate refugees must be given safe asylum and may not be forcibly repatriated as long as they are in danger in their country of origin.

As such, Thailand periodically allows international non-governmental organizations to clothe and feed the "ethnic refugees." According to the SLORC and some Thai officials, the fact that most ethnic groups have signed cease-fire agreements means that there is "peace" in those areas. However, it is widely understood that SLORC's cease-fire agreements often represent only a temporary truce ; fighting could break out again at any time since no attempts have been made to reach a political settlement nor is SLORC true to its word. Moreover, as documented by many human rights groups, since the cease-fire agreements, human rights abuses committed by SLORC troops have increased rather than diminished. This is reflected in the number of "ethnic refugees"' fleeing to Thailand. Two years ago, there were only 70,000 refugees, by March 1997 there were more than 120,000.

In order to continue to maintain control of the refugee situation, the request to formally allow the UN High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) to provide aid and assistance to the refugees was denied by the Thai authorities. The Thai government insisted that the NGOs currently handling the situation were capable of continuing to do so. The Thai authorities further stated that the refugees had not fled the kind of warfare that might require the presence of the UNHCR. Thai Army Commander in Chief, Chettha Tanajarno said the

government considered the latest influx of refugees "victims of fighting inside Burma and not victims of warfare," and that the UNHCR presence would complicate the border situation and cause misunderstandings with Burma. Moreover, he said, "if the UNHCR became involved, then the Thai government would have to consult them before repatriation could occur."

Thailand believes that UN involvement will encourage more refugees to flood across the border causing the country to confront a similar situation to that of a decade ago when it hosted over 1.3 million refugees along the border, 380,000 of them Cambodians. In December 1996, Lieutenant-General Sanan Kajornklam of the Supreme Command and a veteran of the Cambodian border problem stated, "if we allow the UNHCR to help them, many more Burmese will come."

14.1.5.1. Thai policy on Burmese Migrant Workers: a New 1996 Law

Estimates of the number of Burmese migrant workers range from 500,000 to one million. The number increased dramatically during 1995 and 1996, as human rights abuses forced many young men and women to leave Burma in search of a better life.

Originally, Burmese people saw Thailand simply as a place of refuge, but the booming economy in Thailand also attracted them to the potential for work. As with migrant labor all over the world, however, what this has meant is that the Burmese are used as the cheapest form of labor. They work under conditions some call the "three Ds workplace" -- the dirty, dangerous, and difficult workplaces where most Thais, who have choices, avoid employment.

Under the Thai Government's labor law, foreign workers can be classified into four categories;

(1) Those who have received a life-time work permit: These people emigrated before restrictions were placed on aliens working in Thailand. Chinese and Indians constitute the majority of this group. In 1992 (latest available figures), the number of aliens with such work permits was estimated to be 126,000.

(2) Those who receive work permits under investment promotion legislation: Workers in this group are mainly professionals and high ranking administrators. Most are Japanese, Chinese, or American. In 1992,

3,466 such permits were granted and about 11,000 foreigners were believed to be working in Thailand under this scheme.

(3) Those who receive work permits under other laws: These workers are mainly skilled or semi-skilled. In 1992, 8,191 work permits were issued under this category. The total number of such foreigners who retained such permits in the same year was 24,000.

(4) Those who enter Thailand illegally: Burmese make up the majority of this group. They are usually unskilled and employed in wood cutting, rubber plantations, and fishing where the work is hard and the pay is low. Before the 1996 law was passed, their numbers were increasing as Thai nationals moved out of the unskilled labor market and into the more preferred skilled labor market.

In order to solve its unskilled-labor shortage problems and register illegal immigrants in Thailand, the resolutions concerning foreign laborers were passed between June 25 and August 27, 1996 during the administration of former Prime Minister Banharn Silpa Archa. On June 25, 1996 the Cabinet approved an NSC proposal for the government to impose controls on foreign laborers. In accordance with Thai Immigration Act 27 of 1979, illegal foreign workers have the status of foreign immigrants awaiting deportation. The resolution covers migrant workers from Burma, Laos, and Cambodia, but only affects those that entered Thailand after June 25, 1996.

According to the resolution, the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare may grant temporary work permits, valid for two years, to foreign laborers in 39 provinces, conditioned on a guarantee paid by the employer. Under the scheme, firms are required to register their workers every three months. The workers may only perform unskilled jobs, specifically in the fishing industry and the manufacturing sector. A factory's foreign workers must not exceed 50 percent of the total number of its employees. Ten days prior to hiring foreign laborers, the factory must first announce the job vacancies for Thai nationals. In the process of registration, the Thai employers must pay 1,000 baht per person for registration fees and 500 baht for a medical examination. Another 1,000 baht is required for the work permits. While the Thai employers pay these fees, many later deduct the fees from the salaries of workers.

On July 2, 1996, the Cabinet approved the addition of Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani, Saraburi, and Lamphun to the list of provinces needing foreign labor under the scheme, bringing the total number of provinces permitted to hire migrant laborers to 43 (out of a total of 73). New allowances were made for

jobs that can be held by foreign workers, increasing the number of business sectors to eight, including agriculture, construction, fishery, fishery-related, manufacturing, mining, transportation for fishery production, and housework. Employers were given 90 days from September 1, 1996 to register their foreign workers (though Thai authorities have been lax on enforcing this deadline). As of March 1997, 340,819 foreign people had been registered by their employers.

The new regulations, while giving some legitimacy to the status of migrant workers, have proven difficult in practice. Foreign laborers covered by the new law may work only in the province in which they are registered, but those working in the construction industry are often required to move several times within their two-year registration period. When such workers are found violating the law, they are subject to harassment by the Thai police who either seek a bribe or threaten to arrest the workers.

The increase in legal migrant workers has caused Thai authorities to crack down more forcefully on those immigrants remaining in Thailand illegally. If arrested, these immigrants face the appalling conditions of Thai prisons, known for their overcrowding, sexual abuse, unsanitary conditions, and inadequate food rations. To be released from prison, these immigrants must pay 2,000 baht only to be deported back to Burma where they face life-threatening circumstances. (*Source: Thai Research papers on the illegal migrant workers in Thailand*.)

14.2. The Rohingya Muslim Refugees in Bangladesh

At least 300,000 Rohingya Muslim men, women, and children have fled to Bangladesh since 1991, at the rate of several thousand a day. (Rohingyas are Bengali-speaking Muslim people). They describe stories of rapes, killings, slave labor, and acts of religious discrimination in Burma. A UN-brokered agreement between Burma and Bangladesh for the "safe and voluntary" return of the refugees was reached on April 28, 1992, but contained no provisions for impartial screening of the refugees before they went back or for monitoring their well-being afterwards.

During the first forced repatriation from Bangladesh, between September 1992 and the end of 1993, the UNHCR was not permitted in Burma to provide assistance to returnees. Even more seriously, while the UNHCR was present in the camps in Bangladesh, it could not prevent serious abuses, including beatings and the denial of food rations by camp authorities directed at forcing the

refugees back to Burma. The vast majority of the 50,000 refugees who returned to Burma did so involuntarily, and it took well over a year before they received any assistance from the UNHCR.

The second repatriation effort took place after the UNHCR had established a limited field presence in Arakan State, Burma in 1994. It began promoting mass repatriation on the grounds that the situation in Arakan had stablized, but the UNHCR failed to interview each refugee individually to ensure that she or he was returning voluntarily. In 1996, approximately 23,000 of the Rohingya Muslims who fled to Bangladesh in 1992 returned to Burma, bringing the total number of returnees to about 220,000.

The repatriation process agreed to by the UNHCR required that lists of people willing to repatriate, the names of the villages they had left in Burma, and any other identifying information be sent to Burma's Immigration and Manpower Department (IMPD) for verification. After checking with the village LORC, where lists of all householders are maintained, the person or family was then accepted or rejected as a resident of Burma. In some cases, this verification process was very lengthy, especially if the person married while in Bangladesh or if families had become separated while in the camps. When they arrived back in Burma, the returnees were photographed in a reception center where their village of origin, number of family members, and other details were verified. For a fee of fifty kyats, the returnees received a yellow card identifying them as having returned from another country, but giving them no legal status in Burma.

The UNHCR reported that the Bangladeshi authorities cooperated in investigating the isolated incidents of abuse that were reported. This particular repatriation is held up as a success story for the UNHCR in speeches by senior officials as well as in publications, including its annual State of the World's Refugees 1995. For the UNHCR, the return of most Burmese refugees to Burma by early 1996, most of whom had fled in 1991 and 1992, was a vindication of its shift from providing refugee relief to promoting voluntary repatriation as the most durable solution to refugee problems.

14.2.1.Rohinngyas Continue to Face Discrimination in Burma

Notwithstanding the UNHCR's claims of success, returning Rohingya refugees continue to face discrimination and persecution by the SLORC because of their ethnicity. Although the arrangement between Bangladesh and Burma and between Burma and the UNHCR was that returnees would be granted

"appropriate identification papers," the yellow cards that were provided to the Rohingya returnees simply gave the SLORC further justification to mistreat this ethnic minority. As non-citizens, the SLORC can now more legitimately restrict their ability to travel freely within the country and deny them access to government-sponsored health care services and education, and even to employment. To move within Arakan State or from Arakan to other parts of Burma is virtually impossible for Muslims. Rohingyas who would like to travel outside their villages must apply to the local LORC, which then passes on the request to the nearest SLORC administrative base. Here, the Immigration and Manpower Department, police, riot police, military intelligence, and customs all have to agree to the request. In most cases, passes are only given for a twelve-hour round trip to nearby villages; only in exceptional cases are Muslims permitted to stay overnight. To travel further, such as to the township capitals at Maungdaw or Buthidaung or the state capital at Sittwe, was cited by both returnees and the UNHCR as virtually impossible.

These former refugees, like other members of their communities, have found it increasingly difficult to survive in Burma due to forced labor requirements and SLORC's excessive taxation. The Rohingya people are forced to work on government-sponsored projects for no pay and in often appalling conditions. The frequency of work, determined by the SLORC's ambitious plans for the development of road and rail links between Bangladesh and Burma, and by the desire for free labor on business ventures by corrupt members of the army, is such that often Rohingyas are left with no time to earn a living for their families. Massive forced labor projects, including building prawn ponds for the army in Ponnagyan, constructing the Kyauktaw- Myauk-Oo road, or building a new hydroelectric plant at Sayde-taung, are being carried out in the region. Since Arakan State is a particularly undeveloped region of Burma, and since the military would like to establish road and rail links from Bangladesh to Rangoon and to encourage tourism in the region, infrastructure projects abound.

The UNHCR has not denied that forced labor remains a problem for the returnees and other residents of northern Arakan, but it has determined that since forced labor also takes place everywhere else in the country, it cannot be considered a persecutory practice and therefore cannot generate "a reasonable fear of persecution on the grounds of race, nationality, religion, membership of a social group or political belief." In its June 1995 Bulletin UNHCR stated: "Compulsory labor continues to be a nationwide practice in Myanmar. The UNHCR had intervened repeatedly on behalf of returnees being called for compulsory labor, and feels it has succeeded in reducing significantly the burden for the local population and returnees. The authorities have agreed to limit compulsory labor in Rakhine State to a maximum of four days of work from

every family per month."

14.2.2. The 1996 Influx of Rohingya Refugees to Bangladesh

The plight of the Rohingya continues. Despite the UNHCR's statements that the situation has improved, the cycle of exodus has not ended. Since February, 1996, an estimated 10,000 new asylum seekers entered Bangladesh to escape economic hardship and human rights violations. On April 15, 1996, fifteen Burmese Muslims, all women and young children, part of a group of 150 who were seeking asylum in Bangladesh, drowned in the Naf River as they were being towed back to Burma by the Bangladesh Border Rifles, a branch of the Bangladesh army. This incident brought much-needed attention to the plight of the most recent Rohingya Muslim refugees in Bangladesh. On August 26, two refugees reportedly died after they stepped on landmines trying to cross the border into Bangladesh. The Bangladesh government effectively denied asylum for the new Rohingya arrivals by categorizing them as "illegal economic migrants." Its security forces arrested 254 refugees without permitting them to apply for asylum and forcibly returned an estimated 200 others refugees, in violation of international standards. The Bangladesh government also denied UNHCR officials access to refugees who successfully entered Bangladesh. The UNHCR in Dhaka publicly stated that all the new arrivals were "economic migrants" who were escaping poverty not persecution, and stepped up efforts inside Arakan State to ensure that those planning to leave would not do so.

Sadly, the UNHCR has in many cases avoided addressing human rights concerns in Arakan State. In particular, the UNHCR must ensure that it does not neglect its responsibilities to the refugees in a situation where there is a conflict of interest: where the need to publicize and advocate against continued abuses takes second priority to the need to maintain good relations with both the country of origin and the host country. The UNHCR's policy since 1996 of discouraging and reportedly assisting the SLORC to prevent possible asylum seekers from leaving Burma is a cause for great concern.

14.3. Chin Refugees in India

Thousands of Chin people have fled to India to escape the ongoing brutality of the SLORC. According to the daily newspaper in Mizoram, India, there are currently about 40,000 refugees in India.

Chin refugees are mostly in India's Manipur and Mizoram States, although some have gone to Bangladesh. Chin refugees receive no aid and are subject to increasing harassment and forced repatriation by Indian forces. There are also about 2,000 Rakhine refugees from Arakan in Mizoram who receive no aid. Most people believe the abuse is increasing because the Chin are sympathetic to the Nagas in Burma and the Indians are fighting their own Naga people. "Operation Golden Bird," the new joint military operation between the Indian and SLORC armies undermines the humane treatment of Chin refugees in India. As such, the refugees are increasingly fearful of abuse by Indian forces and the joint Indian-Burmese military operations. In one refugee camp in India, Maung Pu Chay, there have even been reports of SLORC troops entering the camp and taking porters. In late September 1994, more than 5,000 Chin refugees were deported to Burma by the State Government of Mizoram. (*Source: CHRO and KHRG*)

14.3.1.Chin Leader Handed Over to SLORC

John Khaw Kim Thang (Burmese name No Than Kap), founder and former President of the Chin National Front (CNF), was living in Aizawl, Mizoram, India, until the last week of August 1996. On August 21, 1996, he met Colonel K.J. Griwell, alias Colonel Sathi, of the Directorate of Military Intelligence, Delhi. According to reports, Colonel Griwell told Mr. John that India was willing to train his men; he invited him to Vairengate Training Center, Mizoram, to meet a superior officer to discuss the proposal in detail. John and three of his men apparently accompanied Colonel Griwell to Vairengate, where he telephoned his wife to say that everything was fine, that she should not worry, and that he might continue on to Delhi. Contact with John was then lost until August 28 when a relative received information that the Indian Army had handed him over to the SLORC and that he was being held in Kalaymyo army camp in Burma. Indian intelligence services, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), attached to the Ministry of External Affairs, and the Special Intelligence Bureau (SIB), attached to the Home Ministry, have denied all knowledge of the matter. (*Source: ABSDF/West*)

(Also see under "Personal Accounts," interviews 3, 8, 11, 12, 14-18, 20, 23, 53, 58, 67, 70, 72, 74, 75, and 91-96)



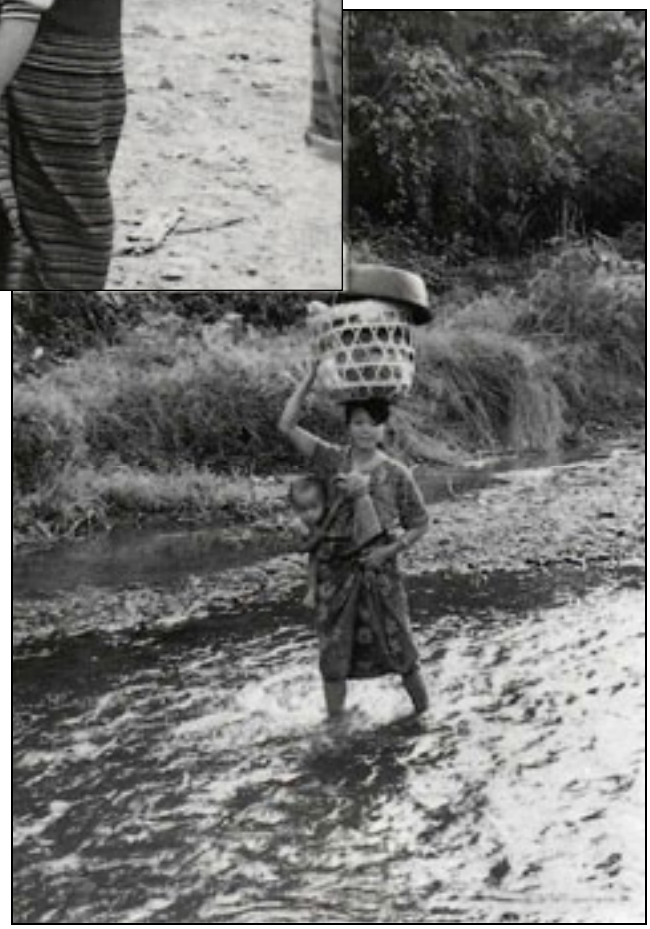
Shan villagers moving to a relocation site at Kho Lam, Shan State. (Photo by SHRF)

A victim of SLORC's attack on Karenni refugee camp 2 in January, 1997.





Mon refugee woman and her baby in Pa yaw Mon refugee camp. The camp was later relocated to Burma.



Karenni refugees in Mae Hong Son, Thailand have been forcibly relocated several times in 1996. This refugeewoman is carrying her baby and belongings during the relocation. (Images Asia)



Karen handicapped man and his children at Huay Nam Rawn temporary site in Kanchanaburi province, Thailand.

An elderly man resting at the Hyay Suu refugee camp in Thailand (Photo by ABSDF)





Refugees watch hopelessly while almost all of Huay Kaloke refugee camp burns on the night of January 28, 1997. Fire spread so quickly through the tightlypacked bamboo huts that most could escape with nothing more than their children. (Photo by Brian McCarten)

After the fire: A child in the former Huay Kaloke camp searches through the ashes for belongings. (Photo by WEAVE)





Karen villagers run for their lives with whatever they can carry across the Thai border in mid-February 1997. The villagers were fleeing from villages throughout the Azin-Kyeikdon plain and crossing the Thai border near Dooplaya district.

Refugees having their food in the refugee camp in Dooplaya district and southern parts of Thailand. SLORC launched a mass offensive against KNU-led regions in February 1997. Thousands of new refugees streamed across the Thai border and are temporarily sheltering under such condition. (Photo by ABSDF)





In Tenasserim Division, refugees on their way to Thailand during the SLORC offensive.



A Karen woman was also killed during an attack to Mae La refugee camp by the DKBA troops in January 1997.



Burmese migrants arrested for illegal entry to Thailand. Economic hardship and political repression force thousands of Burmese to enter and work in Thailand illegally. They routinely face arrest and deportation back to Burma.

Burmese in Thai detention. Human rights abuses routinely take place during detention and deportation.



PERSONAL ACCOUNTS

Notes: Names of people and places have, in some cases, been withheld or changed when deemed necessary to protect the victims, their families, or our information sources; however, the original source documentation contains complete and accurate information. Most of the events described took place in 1996, however, some events occurred in early 1997.

The following keywords describing human rights violations (HRV) have been used to index and cross-reference the report; the keywords appear at the beginning of each interview.

Assembly:	Freedom of assembly and association
Child:	Rights of child
Detention:	Arbitrary detention and enforced or involuntary disappearances
Displacement:	Internally displaced persons
Execution, Killing:	Extra-judicial, summary, or arbitrary executions
Expression:	Freedom of opinion and expression
Forced labor:	Forced labor and slavery
Judicial:	Judicial system and unfair trial
Livelihood:	Rights of livelihood (i.e., pillaging, extortion)
Minorities:	Protection of minorities
Movement:	Freedom of movement
Refugee:	Situation of refugees
Religion:	Freedom of belief
Relocation:	Forced relocation
Repatriation:	Forced repatriation
Slavery:	Forced labor and slavery (i.e., portering)
Torture:	Torture and other cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment or punishment
Women:	Discrimination and violations against women

Interview 1: HRV: Forced Labor, Livelihood, Torture

Name: Nai Ohn Myaing
Sex: Male
Age: 52 years
Nationality/ Religion: Mon/ Christian
Occupation: Carpenter
Native Place: Sin Ku Village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division.
Interview Date: January 1, 1996
Source: HRFOM

When did you arrive here (Payaw Mon refugee camp) and why?

I arrived here just two days ago. It took me five days to get here through Alesakan village. I fled from my village because I had no choice; I could not move to other places and had no more money for food or for payment to the military. I had worked (as a carpenter) mostly in several villages of Ye township, building houses there and I sent back cash to my family so they could survive. In this year [1995] I could not work smoothly as a carpenter in Ye, because we have to provide manual labor [as per SLORC requirements] nearly for the whole year on the railway construction. In my work to complete a house (some were big), it would take more than two weeks. For the railway construction we have to work for at least two weeks in every month and I have to take one day to travel to Ye and I have to find jobs of building houses for at least for two days. I could not work on many houses in my home village or villages nearby. When the [LORC] village leaders made us work continuously on the railway, you see, it was impossible to seek a job in Ye township, and then my family was finding it hard to survive.

My main occupation is as a carpenter and I have helped my family for many years. Since the Burmese soldiers started this railway construction, we have had many difficulties to find income, we had nothing left after we sold all of our belongings. Now, I have already sold my house to my younger brother and I decided to stay here.

Can you tell me who was responsible for conscripting villagers for the railway construction? Please explain to me what you know.

Sin Ku village is a small village (with about 100 households), even we have to provide laborers from nearly 50 houses every two-weeks. The number of laborers depended on the amount of assigned work. The military came to the village only sometimes. But, whenever they came, they asked for chicken and

other food. I think when they came, they would give orders to the village [LORC] leaders. When they left, the village leaders told us how many holes or trenches we were assigned to dig at the construction site. Then, the village leaders made assignments to individual village families.

The military has not directly ordered and instructed the villagers, but when the group of villagers arrived at the assigned construction site, they had to inform the military officers and the railway authorities (officials of Myanmar railway project) there. As soon as we arrived at the construction site, we had to work in earnest, because the work-duty for our village was too much. Almost all the able-bodied persons in the village had to go to complete the village assignment.

When did you start to work in the construction? What kinds of work?

I have a son about 16 years old, and recently he had to work on the construction instead of me, as I was working away from home. Actually, the work was too hard for my son and later I had to go in his place as my wife asked me. The villagers were conscripted on this project almost all of 1995. I started working on the construction in the third week of August. The village leader explained to the villagers that the military asked for about 10 laborers from our village. We thought we would have to work on building the embankment somewhere. But we had to travel to Min Tha village. When we arrived there, the military and railway authorities explained to us we had to clear foliage for the new railway route. In our worksite near Le Gyi Village, there were more than 100 villagers from several villages.

In our work, we had to clear foliage and cut down the trees such as rubber which were owned by the villagers nearby. Before we arrived at the worksite, the soldiers told us we would have to clear and cut everything that lie on the railway route. This route was a new one. Along the new route, we cleared foliage about 50 feet in width along the way. Before our arrival, the engineers and the railway authorities had already lined the route with poles and small flags -- we had to clear foliage between those poles. The route passed through rubber plantations and we had to cut down rubber trees. We did not always know who owned those plantations but most of the owners were from Le Gyi village. I do not know for sure that the railway authorities paid compensation to those plantation owners. I do not think so. Since they started the construction they confiscated many plantations and rice fields by force and without any compensation. This kind of confiscation is like normal in our area.

How many times have you worked in the railway construction and can you

describe me the working conditions?

I had to work on the construction project four times since August of 1995, including the first time clearing foliage near Le Gyi. In comparison with other worksites, my first worksite's working conditions were the best. When we worked there, we had to work while it was raining and it was not so hot. In some places we had to work under shady trees or on rubber plantations and the work was not so hard just clearing foliage and cutting down trees. At other times, working conditions were terrible. The work assigned to us was much too much, such as to complete the digging of 10 ditches in the ground, sometimes up to 15 ditches, and had to carry dirt to build the embankment. It was hard work for me as I never did this type of labor before. Almost all of my life I have been working as a carpenter leader in building houses in Ye Township. I never worked hard like farming or fishing. At the time the rainy season had already ended and we had to work regardless of the beating sun. We had to build up the unfinished embankment to make it larger and higher. If I was alone, I could not finish digging and carrying dirt for 10 ditches and my son had to help me every time.

Immediately upon arrival at the worksite, we had to find a suitable place to build a small temporary shelter which was close to the stream and also shady. We had no time to build a proper toilet. After building the shelter, we started digging the ground. Sometime we had to go to the worksite from the shelter about l5 minutes. Normally, all along the small stream, there were over-crowded villagers from several villages making many shelters. Surely, after we stayed for five days,we got a bad smell from that surrounding area.

If one family was unable to work or someone could not work, for example if he became sick, on the worksite, what was the treatment by soldiers or railway authorities?

Normally, for nearly two years, after the military started building Ye-Tavoy railway, if some families or someone could not work on the defined time and to do the work-duty, they had to pay to the SLORC through their village headmen, with explanation to hire a substitute. But in most cases, the military or railway authorities took such cash without hiring someone for replacement. In my first time of work clearing foliage at the new route, two of our villagers could not go to worksite and they had to pay 2000 kyats each to the village headman; he gave that cash to the Burmese military officer, maybe LIB No. 409, in Min Tha village. When we arrived at the worksite and started clearing foliage for the new route, I found out that there was no extra laborer hired by the military. Before we left for the worksite, the village headman told us that

the military would hire two more villagers for substitution. Nobody came to work with us, then we had to complete work on the defined distance of the route by ourselves.

The soldiers did not stay with us all the time and watch us, but they came about two or three times in a week to check how much of the job we had completed. As soon as they arrived, they shouted at us to frighten us and to ensure we would complete the jobs, so we had to be careful and worked hard. If they saw someone taking a rest when they arrived, they would beat the person. I was an eyewitness of two Burmese soldiers beating an old man. The old man was about 65-years-old and he was too weak to work. So we allowed him to work as he could and to take a rest any time he needed. One day, when he took a rest under a big shady tree beside the embankment we built, a small force of soldiers sent in advance by a company of Burmese troops appeared at our worksite and saw that old man taking a rest. The soldiers took him to the commander. The commander ordered two soldiers including one sergeant to beat the old man. They beat the old man with rifle butts, fists, and army boots. The man was not one of our villagers. The village headman of his village approached the commander and explained his situation, and then they stopped beating the old man. The commander then shouted and warned villagers not to bring disabled and unhealthy villagers to the worksite. Instead of bringing such men, they should collect cash for those families to hire a substitute. Later, we knew that the old man was from The Chaung village and he knew he was weak because of sickness but he had nothing to pay for substitute. He had to come to the worksite afbecause he had no choice. All villagers sympathised with him.

Did the railway authorities pay any villager for the labor contribution and were the villagers treated by the military or government clinics or hospitals when they got sick or suffered injuries at the worksites?

Never. I never heard the railway authorities pay the villagers for their manual labors. Nothing was provided by them. When we came to the worksite, we had to spend our own travelling money. We had to bring our own food, especially rice and our own tools. I brought some cash to buy palm oil, vegetables, and medicines at the worksite. There were small shops at each worksite run by villagers nearby, but for medicine we had to buy from the military medic or at a village such as Kalein Aung. I was lucky asI never suffered from sickness at the worksites. For a patient who was sick in the worksite, the military never treated them and if he/she was very seriously ill, the concerned villagers had to send her/him to clinics or hospitals in Tavoy or KaleinAung. He/she had to pay for their own treatement at a private clinic. Even in Tavoy or Ye town hospital you had to buy the medicines. Additionally, the patient had to pay the

military to hire the substitute to complete pieces of work assigned to him/her. As long as you worked at the worksite, you had to take care yourself and try not to become sick. At every worksite, many villagers were getting sick because of surroundings, but they tried to complete their work becaise they could not afford to hire a substitute.

How much money did you lose due to your labor contribution on this construction?

Recently, instead of me, my son had to work on the construction as I had to make an income for my family's survival. But my income could not cover expenses at home or the many kinds of taxes we had to provide to the SLORC. Sometimes, when my son could not go to the worksite, we had to pay the military. My wife sold everything that belonged to her, including her gold necklace and ring. My income could not cover all of our expenses for a long time. Last year in June, I sold my five acres of rice fields and then I spent that cash to pay to the military and for family survival. In October I had nothing left in my rice barn. When I worked on the construction, I had to buy rice at a very high price. When I abandoned my village, I left only one small. My wife and I sold everything that belonged to us.

Will you hope to return back again to your native village?

At the moment it is impossible to return. If the military stops conscripting laborers and collection of so many taxes, maybe, I will return back.

Interview 2: HRV: Women, Forced Labor

Name:	Mi Aye Yin
Sex/Age:	Female/ 41 years
Nationality/ Religion:	Mon/ Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Native Place:	Hamaw Gyi village, Yebyu Township.
Interviewed:	January 14, 1996
Source:	HRFOM

I always meet pregnant women working on [railway] construction whenever I worked there. The pregnant women had to work because their husbands were away working for an income or working on their own farms and plantations. At every worksite, Nwe Lein, or Ye Bone or Kalein Aung, I met many pregnant women working there. From our village alone, among 30 villagers who

had to work for 2 weeks every month on a rotating basis, there were at least two pregnant women.

Some women were between three and six months pregnant. Most villagers at the worksites helped the pregnant women as much as possible, such as digging ditches, carrying dirt, and letting them take a rest. Some women even gave birth at the worksite.

Did you meet the women who gave birth at the worksites? And when? Did the railway authorities take care of them?

Yes, I met a women who gave birth at the Kalein Aung worksite in third week of October, 1995. She came to worksite with her 11-year-old son. After she stayed and worked for one week carrying dirt for the embankment, she gave birth. The women villagers from her village helped to facilitate the birth. Her baby was a girl. Her village headman brought her back to village. I think she came from the area of Chat Taw or Mae Daw villages. Maybe, her husband was a fisherman or day-worker and away from home when she left from village or they have nothing to pay to the military to hire a substitute worker.

No special attention or care was provided by railway authorities or the military for women giving birth at the construction site. They just shouted at village headmen for bringing such women to the site and and warned they they had to find a substitute for that woman. After the village headmen guaranteed to find out a substitute, then the military agreed to allow her to return to her village.

Other kinds of inhumane treatment by the military or railway authorities include forcing women with babies or small children to work on the construction. Those women and their children face terrible conditions at the construction sites.

And, did you meet women with babies who worked on the construction? How did they take care of their babies while they were working?

Yes, I met them. Many women came with babies. They had no more choice as they could not provide payment to the military or village headmen. The railway authorities or the military in the construction site never told villagers not to bring mothers of small babies. All they said was that one family member from each household had to report for duty. If not, those families had to hire a substitute or provide payment to the authorities. You know, most villagers in any village are very poor and cannot provide payment, so they have to work even if they have a small child.

There were three women with babies from our village alone, when we left to the worksite in November to Kalein Aung. At night time, we slept at the labor camp of Kalein Aung -- about one kilometer from the worksite. The women also brought their babies with them and walked to worksite everyday and returned back to camp again in evening. When they reached the worksite, we also helped such women to find a good shady tree to hang a hammock. Sometimes we found one easily. but, if we were far from the worksite, we had to make temporary shelters with bamboo, leaves, and clothes, and put the baby inside the shelter after they were breast-fed. The reason those women have to come to worksite was the same as with other women -- their husbands had to find income and had no time to work on the construction or they were away while the military or village headmen instructed the villagers.

Did the women and children become sick at the construction sites and did the authorities provide medicine and treatment?

It depended on the worksite. When we were working in Kalein Aung, if someone got sick, we just brought them to the military medic and he was treated for free. But sometimes, the miltary medic made you buy medicines from a private shop. At the beginning of the dry season in October and December, many villagers on worksites, mostly women and children became sick because the weather was changing. It was too hot during the day and it became difficult to get pure water after no more rain. Anyhow, we had to maintain our health as long as we were working so we could finish our assignments. We had to treat ourselves in traditional ways by taking medicines taken from home and betelnut leaves to reduce our fever. When we worked in Ye Bone worksite in October, the patients who were down with fever could not go to Kalein Aung because it was too far from the worksite.

Can you estimate how many women there are among every ten villagers (the percentage) who had worked on the construction? Not exactly, please provide a rough estimation.

There were more women than men on every construction site I ever worked on. There were approximately six women in every ten villagers (about 60%) who worked on the construction sites. The women range in ages -- some girls were only 10 years old, while some women were sixty years old; they all worked together.

Why did your husband always let you work on the construction projects and he did not go and work?

He was always busy with work on our farm and he knew better than me how to cultivate rice. In the past I could not work on farming cultivation and I just have taken care of my home. In extra time, my husband also went to the sea for fishing to seek more income. Most of his work is very difficult, I can not do it. But, I can work on the construction, such as digging ground and carrying dirt. The construction work was very difficult, but we have no payment and no extra family member to provide a substitute worker for me. That was why I always had to work there.

How did you know this refugee camp and when do you think you can return back to your home?

We knew this camp for about three years. Recently, we knew this village as a Mon soldier village and later, we knew that this village is a camp that receives people who fled from their villages and provides assistance, especially food. Then, we decided to come here and, besides, we don't know how to go to Kaw Thaung or Ranong, because we have no experience to work in Thailand.

I think when the military finishes the railway construction we will retum back, but we are not sure. Besides the railway project, we had to pay them many other kinds of taxes and maybe it may not be so safe to return back.

Interview 3: HRV: Porter, Torture, Refugee

Name:	Saw Kyaw Lay
Sex:	Male
Age:	36 years
Nationality:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Occupation:	Farmer
Native Place:	Law Thaing Village, Yebyu Township
Interview Date:	January 24, 1996.
Source:	HRFOM

The cease fire agreement between the NMSP and the SLORC did not bring the betterment of human rights in most areas where the Mon and Karens are staying. Continuing human rights abuses force the local villagers to abandon the villages and become displaced persons.

When did you arrive at this refugee camp? Why did you decide to stay here?

I arrived here just three days ago. I came from Lae Thaing village just two days walk. Fortunately, I had no trouble on the way. I have come here several times over the last two years to sell or carry some products from Burma. Now I decide to stay for only this year. Maybe, if the situation is better next year, I will return back. But I can not predict what the situation is.

I knew I couldn't continue to provide them [SLORC] the labor they required and cash as well. When we were in villages we were constatnly arrested to be porters or had to work in the military barracks. We had to carry the military logistics on a rotating basis very often .

How many times you he to go with military operation as porter since September of 1995? What logistics did you have to carry?

I have been a porter three times since September 1996. My last time as a porter for Light Infantry Battalion (LIB) No. 407 was on December 23. The last time time I left here, on the same day, all male villagers had to go with a military operation according to arrangement of village leaders. Recently, we resorted to the trick of fleeing the village to the forest nearby. When the Burmese soldiers returned to their base or left the village, we returned. But, villagers who were found fleeing were severely beaten by the soldiers. Later, SLORC commanders issued orders and instructed every village leader in area that if they [soldiers] came to the village, they would not rashly arrest the villagers. They said they would kindly ask them to provide the needed porters. If the village disagreed with their instructions, their villages would be burned down. In our village, the village leaders have to give the local military battalion a register of households including the names of family members. The SLORC warned that if you fled, you would be accused of giving information to Karen troops and would be severly punished.

I was a porter for LIBs 407, 410, 104, respectively. Normally, we have to march with the military outpost for at least three days. However, the last time I portered starting on December 23 we asked to return back for the Christmas festival on December 25.

We have to carry several kinds of supplies for SLORC , including ammunition and food. The first time I had to carry six big shells of ammunition that weighed about 30 kilograms. On that trip we did not encounter any fighting. With me there were four other villagers and 23 villagers from another village. We had to carry ammunition and food for the troops for three days. I thing the troops were from LIB 410. I don't know the name of the commander, but they have about 50 soldiers in that military operation. We had to walk Alesakan

village. The second time I had portering duty I had to carry the soldier's rice and belongings, including their military bags and boots. The last time I portered, I carried rice and vegetables, weighing about 25 kilograms. We only had to walk for one day but then we had to work for a day in the barracks.

How was the soldiers' treatment of villager porters? Was anyone hurt as a result of the portering?

We always became weak after we returned from portering. The soldiers only fed us one meal a day consisting of a small amount of rice and bean curry. The soldiers ate two meals a day. It was better when we passed through a village; the villagers knew how poorly the soldiers fed us. They sympathized and gave us some food. We could not ever stop for a rest without express orders from the commander. If you asked for a rest, the soldiers would shout at you and kick you with their boots. They always shouted, "this is the army, you must follow orders." Some men were also beaten behind with soldiers' boots or rifle butts, if they walked too slowly. Such treatment is normal during portering for Burmese troops.

You said they released you to celebrate the Christmas festival. Do you think the military commander had respect for religious rights of your community?

Maybe. Colonel Thaung Yaza is of Chin nationality. I think he is a Christian like us. Maybe, he sympathized with us. They released us, but they made us prommise to do work after we left.

Besides the portering, the villagers also had to provide the facilities for the military's use. In every community, villagers have to find out facilities and they have to work in the military barracks.

What kind of work did they order you to do before you returned back for the Christmas Festival?

Captain Kyaw Myint told us that "if you would like to return back to your village for the Christmas festival, you have to cut trees to send them to us when you are through," we agreed. He told us to cut down small trees from the forest, one foot in diameter and cut them into 100 pieces, 5 feet in length. Then he told us to send the wood pieces to them. After the festival we went into the forest in the east of the village, even though the military had ordered villagers not to travel to the east side of the motorway. We had no choice, we could not get trees around our village and plantations nearby.

Four of us travelled to the east side of the village. We had to go about 5 miles from our village and it took us four days to get all 100 pieces of one foot dimension wood. We were lucky because there was no activity of Burmese troops at that time. We brought the wood to the village and then to the military base with five bullock-carts from the village. Totally, we had to spend one week cutting wood and bringing it to military base.

I think the soldiers will use the wood to build their barracks, bunker, and trenches with the wood. They also made fences with the wood. Other villagers also provide such kind of wood and bamboo. Some of them also worked on the construction of the military barracks and all jobs at the military base.

Besides the facilities, what kind of other material do your villagers have to provide to the base?

Several things. Besides wood for the construction , the villagers also had to provide them with firewood. Before I left, another villager and I had to collect firewood from every house in the village and then, send the soldiers two bullock-carts full of firewood. We gave the firewood to Captain Kyaw Myint.

Sometimes, the commanders sent letters to village leaders and asked for vegetables or meat. Then, we had to send them vegetables and pigs from the village. If they asked for chicken, we had to give them at least ten chickens. If they asked for a pig, at least we have to give them one pig, they did not accept one or two kilograms of pork. During the Christmas festival, they also asked for one pig, and we gave it to them.

Y*ou said the military barred the villagers not to travel o fYe-0Tavoy motorway. Why?*

Because of fighting between Karen and Burmese troops. In October and November when the Burmese troops from LIB 407, 410, and IB 104 launched patrols and military offensives, they were ambushed by Karen guerrillas several times. Some of their officers were killed, which angered them very much.

On December 10, there fighting occurred in the southeast of our village, about 6 kilometers away. The Burmese troops were IB 104 at Kyaukadin. According to Yabu and Kyaukadin villagers, many Burmese solders sustained many injuries. The troops took out their anger on Karen villagers. After battle was over, some rice plantation were burned down by the SLORC troops. Then , they issued the order to every village not to move east of the motorway as I mentioned. The soldiers were still fighting when I left. The village leaders

warned us not to go east of village. If they (the soldiers met us on the way they will kill us for sure). They also ordered the farmers who were on plantations to stay in the village.

On December 12 Captain Kyaw Myint himself came to villages and arrested about 20 villagers including women and village leaders. He brought them to Kyaukadin. The soldiers accused those villagers of being the relatives of Karen guerrillas. The guerrilla leader is Dar Lace. They said those villagers are relatives of Dar Lace troops and sometimes they returned back to the villages. The village leaders cannot bar them. Actually, not all of the arrested villagers are relatives of the rebels, but some of them are. They detained them for 15 days in Kyaukadin military detention center. Some of the villagers were severely tortured and I don't know if they raped girls or not. They were put under the burning hot sun in mid-day and poured water over their heads. Sometimes, they covered the faces of villagers and beat them. Next time they wanted to launch a military operation, they also used the village leaders of every Karen village as guides to show the troops where the KNU had taken bases.

The situation is very serious. After the SLORC soldiers died, they always beat any Karen person they saw. The Karen men who travelled to Kalein Aung or Alesakan described that they were always beat by Burmese soldiers at military checkpoints on the way or when they met a soldier mid-way or sometimes, even on the truck.

The restriction of movement of local villagers has affected the rice production of that area and as a result, those local inhabitants have to abandon their native villages and become displaced persons.

Why did you decide to come here (Payaw refugee camp)? What is the difference between here and your village?

I also have a small highland rice plantation east of my village near Kin Chaung (river). After the fighting began, I had no opportunity to have a look at the plantation and to harvest. I didn't know what happened to my plantation. I would like to go, but my wife stopped me. She said it was too dangerous, she worried that the soldiers would kill me. After they were ambushed, the Burmese soldiers launched patrols around the area to catch the Karen rebels. But the Karen troops had disappeared.

I left with nothing. Our family was totally dependant on that plantation and we had no more rice even for the Christmas festival. We had to borrow sticky rice from other houses to make food. I also grew sticky rice on the plantation, but I

lost all of it. Nobody in our village dared to go to their plantations and you had to sell belongings to buy rice. I have no more belongings to sell so I decided to come here.

Another difference between here and my native village is that here I do not have to worry about food, portering, working for military, or being tortured by the soldiers. But I get very small house , I would like to return back again when the situation is better.

Interview 4: HRV: Porter, Forced Labor, Arrest, Detention

Name:	Tar Lae
Sex:	Male
Age:	43 years
Nationality:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Occupation:	Farmer
Native Place:	Ye Bu Village, Yebu Township
Interview Date:	January 29, 1996.
Source:	HRFOM

By using guerrilla warfare tactics, the ethnic nationalities of Burma have struggled for autonomy and the establishment of a democratic federal union since Burma's independence. The central successive Rangoon government could not defeat those opposition groups even though they consistently increased their forces, and they used inhumane tactics of discrimination against ethnic communities. The interviewees explained the experiences of his community.

Why did you flee from your village to here (a place near border area under the control of NMSP) and how often did Burmese troops come into your village?

I came here because I don't want to stay in the village anymore. All our villagers have provide to the Burmese soldiers with porters or cash, and they always beat villagers when they dissatisfied. They came into our village very often -- at least two times in one month. I don't know how many times they sent letters to village leaders within a month. But every time, when the Burmese officer sent a letter, the village leaders would ask for a meeting and then we had to provide laborers for railway construction, motorway construction, or portering. Every time the Burmese soldiers came into our village they always asked for porters. I have had to go as a porter several times.

According to the villagers from Law Thaing, there was alot of fighting occurring in the Ya Bu-Law Thaing area. Do you know about those fights and how has it affected your village?

I knew about them very well because I was a porter when the fighting happened in the third week of November. We were taken as porters by LIB 407. The day before I left, the village leaders had to provide 7 villagers for them. Then we moved to the east side of the (Ye-Tavoy) motorway along the Kin Chaung River. We left in the early morning on that day. I had to carry rice and ammunition for them. The SLORC troops were led by Colonel Hla Htun and they had about 60 soldiers and about 30 porters including us.

At mid-day, the Karen soldiers shot at us. I think the Karen forces had only ten people. I didn't know how to flee. The bullets came at us very fast and the Burmese commanders shouted at us to lay down. We laid down on the ground and the officer ordered soldiers to advance and shoot. Some very young soldiers (children soldiers) were scared to advance, but they had to follow their orders. One corporal took ammunition from me brusquely and shouted at me not to flee.

Three Burmese officers died and other three were severely injured during the fighting. The three included one Corporal, one Sergeant, and one Lieutenant. The fighting took place just for 15 minutes and then the Karen soldiers fled away from the site. One rice plantation nearby was also burned down as a result of the fighting. I don't know who owned that plantation. When we returned that way, we had to carry the dead bodies up to Ye Bu and then to Kyaukadin. The soldiers shouted at us along the way to hurry up.

Two days later, the Burmese troops travelled to east of the motorway again and burned down the rice plantations and farm-huts in the area. When they returned, they also ordered villagers not to go to the east side of the village. This order had a terrible impact upon us because many villagers were preparing to harvest their rice on the east side. We had no opportunity this year to harvest rice and we lost all of our crops. Many villagers lost all of their rice, just like me.

Some of our villagers were also arrested for allegedly being rebel-supporters. They were detained in Kyaukadin military detention center. From then on, whenever the military launched an operation, they asked village leaders, not as porters, to follow them and show them the base of the Karen soldiers. The soldiers also burned the rice plantation of the Ya Bu and other villagers in front of village leaders, but they could not stop the soldiers.

What did the army do if you could not fulfill SLORC's portering requirement?

If we could not go for portering for some reason, we had to inform the village leaders and pay at least 2000 kyats to the military. Every time we were taken as porters we had to spend one full week with the troops. If the troops were not going on an offensive then we had to work in the military barracks. Most of our villagers are poor and cannot pay the fee. In some cases, when a father is busy, the boys had to go with the troops as porters instead.

Can you give me some background on your village?

Our village had about 50 households with a population of nearly 300. Recently, our villages have only about 100 households because many families have moved to refugee camps or joined the Ya Bu big village. Our village is small Ya Bu and most people call it Ya Bu Ywa Thit (new village). Another village is Ya Bu Ywa Ma (big village) and our village is under the administration of Ya Bu village group. Really our village is situated beside Kin Chaung River. About four years ago when the military launched its "four cut campaigns," our village was relocated to this place. (Four cut campaign is the attempt of the Burmese Army to cut off information, recruitment, logistics, and tax from civilians to limit their assistance to the ethnic armed opposition). All the time our villagers were accused of being rebel-supporters by the soldiers.

What other violations by Burmese soldiers occured in your village?

Normally, we also have to work on the railway and motorway construction like other villagers.

Interview 5: HRV: Refugees, Women, and Rape

Name:	Daw Ma Shin
Age:	54 years
Sex:	Female
Nationality:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Occupation:	refugee
Native Place:	Law Thaing Village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interview Date:	January 10, 1996
Source:	HRFOM

Traditionally, the ethnic communities in Burma who believe in Christianity celebrate Christmas Day on December 25. On the eve of Christmas Day, the Christians must prepare for the celebration.

Why did you return back to your native village (from Payaw refugee camp)? For what purpose? When did you leavefrom the village?

I returned back to Law Thaing village to buy pigs for the elebration of Christmas Day. We could not get pigs here (in Payaw refugee camp) and it may be expensive in Sangkhalaburi (Thai border town). So I decided to return back to Low Thaing village. I have relatives there and I thought I could get a low price if I went there. I first left there on November 28 with two of my grandchildren, a girl Naw Maw Nee and a young man, Mem Kow Htaing.

How many days you did spend in your native village and when did you return back again?

We had to walk for two days to reach Law Thaing village and I arrived on November 29. We stayed there for three days and returned to Payaw village on December 3. On those days we stayed there, we visited to our relatives' houses and bought two pigs. Then, we tied the pigs to a leash and pulled them along the way back.

The local SLORC troops always accuse the innocent local ethnic population of being supporters of the armed ethnic opposition and are often terribly treated by soldiers.

When did you meet up with Burmese soldiers (the most local villagers refer to the SLORC troops as Burmese soldiers) and what did they ask you?

We left Law Thaing village on the morning of December 3. My grandchildren pulled the pigs and we walked along the way of Kin Chaung River. At about 6:00 p.m. when we arrived in a place Naw Gyar Ai (Ai Shay in Burmese), we met three Burmese soldiers; we had no time to flee as I am an old woman and we had two pigs with us. The Burmese soldiers shouted at us not to flee and if we did flee, they would shoot. They arrested all of us and brought us to the place where they made a temporary camp. We had to walk there for one hour.

As soon as we arrived at their outpost, they tied my grandson up with ropes. I saw there were about 30 soldiers and 11 porters at the camp. All of them were taking a rest and they prepared a shelter to sleep. Then, the Captain ordered his men to bring me to meet him.

He asked me many questions such as where I was staying, about the fighting, and the background of our family. I answered that I recently stayed in Law Thaing village and now I stayed in Payaw refugee camp and I was a Christian. He also asked me did I know the fighting happened just previously between Dar Lace-led Karen rebels and Burmese soldiers and made sure he knew the location of the base of Dar Lace group. I told him I did not know the happened fighting as I was in Payaw. I also did not know who were "Dar Lace" and his base.

He asked who was the young girl accompanied with me and how she was related with the young man. I told him that the young girl and man were my grandchildren. When he asked me the young girl was already married or not, and I told him the truth that she was not married yet. After her parents died, she had come to the refugee camp with me.

The sexual abuse always occurs by the soldiers. Mostly, three Burmese soldiers, including senior officers always threaten to kill the victims if they tell anyone about their rapes.

Then, how did he threaten or violate you?

He did not make any problem with me, he just threatened me that I bought pigs from the village illegally (without informing the military) and he can confiscate pigs, arrest m,e and send me to Ya Bu military detention center. I told him that I bought pigs just to use for Christmas Day and to sympathize with me not to confiscate. Then, he let me go back to the place where the soldiers had put up to stay that night.

Later, what was the treatment of the commanders and soldiers?

About 9:00 p.m., the soldiers who got the order from that officer, came and took my granddaughter to the Captain. After one hour, my granddaughter screamed "grand-ma, please help me," "please come here." All of us, including porters, soldiers nearby heard her loud voice, but nobody dared to help her. Nobody could sleep. The rape of my granddaughter took place only about 15 meters from us. After a while, she came back, crying, and told me that the officer had raped her. While she was telling me about the incident, one soldier shouted at us to sleep and stay quietly. Maybe, other porters and soldiers slept well, but my granddaughter and I could not sleep for the whole night.

How did the soldiers treat you?

About 4:00 a.m. in the morning on the next day, one warrant officer came and told me that the officer agreed to release all of us, but he would confiscate the pigs. And, I told him it was very important for me to get the pig back to the camp and please give one pig and confiscate another one. He said he needed to ask theofficer. He told me he would bring me to him and would explain about the pig. I agreed and followed behind him to meet the officer again. On the way, before we reached the officer's tent, we arrived under a cluster of bamboo, he gripped me with his hands tightly and tried to push me down to the ground. I tried to stop him from raping me, but he threatened kill me with his knife. Then he raped me.

Interview 6: HRV: Refugee, Rape, Women

Name	Naw Maw Nee
Sex:	Female
Age:	17 years
Nationality:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Native Place	Thaing Village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Interview Date:	January 10, 1996
Source:	HRFOM

Most of the ethnic civilians cannot speak Burmese -- it is a weak point for them in communicating with Burmese soldiers and they have always been looked down upon and mistreated by the soldiers.

When you were taken to the military officer , Bo Gyi (Captain), what did he say to you?

As soon as I arrived, he asked if I could speak Burmese. I said, "no, I can't speak Burmese. He said he could speak Karen. Repeatedly, he asked me how I was related to the old woman and man who accompanied with me along the trip. I told him the man was my cousin and the old woman was my grandmother.

When he asked me if I knew Karen rebel leader Dar Lace, I answered that I did not. He said, "why not, he is a Karnen and you are a Karen, so you must know him. ar I told him I really did not know.

Did they ask you why you stayed at the refugee camp?

Yes, he asked me. I told him my parents died and then I stayed with grandmother as I have no other relatives. And I did not know how to work to get income. He also asked me what kind of assistance we received at the camp. I explained to him that we received rice, fish paste, and salt. He also asked our occupation at the camp and I answered we cultivated rice in a hilly area close to the camp.

How did he force himself upon you?

He said that he sympathized with me and told me he would like me to stay with him. He told me he loved me. He said it might be too tiring for me to work in cultivation and that he could create a better life for me. I refused to stay with him. He forcibly embraced me and kissed me. I shouted, then he gripped me tightly with his hands and showed me a hoe, with which he threatened to kill me if I was not quiet. He shouted at me that I shouldn't make him angry. Then he raped me.

Interview 7: HRV: Forced Labor, Child, Women

Name:	Hla Hla Aye
Age:	14-year-old
Sex:	Female
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Native:	Mayan Chaung village, Yebyu township, Tenasserim Division
Place of interview:	Payaw refugee camp in Mon region
Date of interview:	Feb 4, 1996
Source:	ABSDF

I first went to work at the Ye-Tavoy railway project last September. I was 14 years old at the time. My family was ordered to provide one laborer. My parents were old and my brother was already performing forced labor for the military outpost in my village. So, I had to go to fulfill my family quota.

The village LORC knew my age but they did not say anything about being too young. I was the youngest among all the villagers in my group. There were 15 people from my village. Most were women because it was harvest time and their husbands could not go. Among them, five were my friends, the same age as me.

I took rice, salt, oil, and a bamboo basket with me. Also I took 800 kyats for expenses because some people told me that we had to pay for our own transportation. We left our village at 4:00 a.m. by truck. The truck came from Ya-phu village, already loaded with 25 villagers. I later learned that they were all going to work with us. I noticed that among the people from Ya-phu village, some were only 12-13 year-old girls. Later we had to pay 100 kyats each at the 42-mile camp.

We all got off the truck when we arrived 42-mile camp. We arrived there at noon. I saw many people had arrived before us. There were about 1,500 people from other villages already there. The local authorities ordered us to stay in the barracks. Everyone from my group stayed in one barrack. There were many barracks where people from other villages were living.

We all were woken up at 4:00am the next day and we walked to worksite at 6:00 a.m.. Everyone had to go to the worksite. It took half an hour to reach to the work-site. Villagers from Ya-phy and from my village were grouped together and shared the work place. Then we all were made into five-member-groups. Normally three women and two men were in each group. However, as the number of men was less than the number of female workers, some groups consisted five women in their group. In that case, women had to dig and carry too. In my group, two men dug for us and three women carried the dirt to the designated place. Each group had to finish two pits of 10 x 1 x 10 feet each day. Sometimes as the ground was so hard, it was impossible to finish our quota. So we had to work and we got back to barracks very late. The working hours were from 6-11 a.m. in the morning and from 11-5 p.m. We could not take rest while we were working. The work was so hard for the young girls.

I worked 15 days there and rested at home 15 days. The next time when my family was assigned, I had to go again for the same reason. I did not want to work because it was so hard. However, if I did not go my family would be in grave trouble.

Interview 8: HRV: Forced Labor, Killing, Torture, Refugee

Name:	San Nam Si
Age:	52-years-old
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Marital status:	married with 2 year-old child

Native: Ya -Phu village, Yebyu township, Tanessarim Division
Place of interview: Payaw refugee camp in Mon region
Date of interview: February 4, 1996

We have to pay porter fees is one of the taxes we are required to pay regularly. Our village had about 40 households and was divided into four groups consisting of 10 households each. There was a rotating system amont the four groups in the village. Every two months, each houshold in one group was required to pay 3,000 kyats (for 10 households) or provide 15 people for two weeks labor. If we could not pay on time, extra fees were added. Our villagers always paid for that because we were afraid to be arrested. Some villagers from Nat Kyi Zin village, nearby ours, were arrested July last year for failing to do so. They all were taken to the military barracks in chains. They worked for one month there for the soldiers and officers.

I have had to worked as a porter over 20 times because I was often too poor to pay money for a substitute. Let me tell only one story of my porter experience. I was conscripted as a porter in February two years ago, even though I paid the porter fees that time. It was an emergency order for the mobile column. Altogether 18 men from my village and 4 from Nat Kyi Zin were conscripted. The military colum was from LIB 409 based in Klaing Aung village. All 22 of us were forced to carry bomb shells, ammunition boxes, food, and other supplies. I had to carry two 60mm shells and also two visses of oil. The column toured in Tuang Khun, Min Zun, Kyauk Kayen, Maiya, Dani Chaung, Metha Taung, Kyel Thone Nyima, Kan Bauk, Mi Chaung Ain, Pay Chaung, Yea Nge, Taung Man Pyaung, Wartaw Chaungpya, Letwell Kyaung; all in Yebyu township. Sometimes we did not stop to sleep for four days at a time, except to cook rice and eat for a few minutes.

When we arrived in Wartaw Chaungpya, Than Lwin, a 35-year-old villager from Nat Kyi Zin, could no longer climb up the mountain. He was quite sick and too weak after nonstop walking for four days. I got malaria four days before and was not allowed to take a rest. Nat Kyi Zin had to carry a rice sack and he was shivering with the chills. He asked the soldiers to let him rest. But the soldier said, “You are lying. You’re always lazy and never work hard. I’ll kill you so that we don’t have to give you more food.” Then three soldiers beat him up with a wooden stick. He walked just behind me so that I saw it all very clearly. He was beaten up until his head was bloody. The soldiers checked his pulse rate and announced that he was dead. They shouted, “ See this as your lesson. I will beat like this anyone who does not work hard.” We worked for two months like that.

I also had to perform another type of forced labor starting three years ago. Like a slave, I had no choice but to go and work. One time, I was conscripted as a porter for two weeks and another two weeks for the Ye-Tavoy railway project. I did not have a single day to work for my own family. My wife with our very young baby had to work for our survival. Even though she worked hard, it was hardly enough to provide for the family. We had to sell our buffalos first and then later our cattle.

For the forced labor in Ye-Tavoy railway, I worked several times at Yabu camp. I cannot recount how many times I worked there, it was so many. It was like my second home. The camp was not so far from my village, only 7 miles away, but all of us were required to sleep there. We worked one time for 15 people from my village and 30 people from Yapu (Mon)village for fifteen days. These 45 people were assigned to finish digging 250 ditches of 30 x 30 x 3 feet within two weeks. Then we had to build up the railway embarkment. There were about 14,000 people from other villages in Yebyu township and I also saw about 500 prisoners in chains at the camp. They were closely watched by the police. We were guarded by the local LORC.

In late May 95, the working site was changed. The authorities said the previous route was wrong. It had been built in the wrong way. So they ordered the people to go and work in Klaing Aung (also in Yebyu township). We had to start from the begining again, cutting trees and bushes in the area and burning them, then making the route clear of foliage. The same duty (digging 250 ditches for 45 people) was ordered. People from Yebyu, Long Lon, and Kan Bauk township were there, totaling about 8,000 forced laborers. Some were very young children because their parents were unable to come and work; the children had to work for them.

Before we started to build up the railway embarkment, new army bases were moved to Klaing Aung. They were LIB 407, 408, 409, 410. All villages in Yebyu township were ordered to work for the establishment of the new army barracks in Klaing Aung in October 94. It was during the harvest time so many people had to leave their farms behind. We were ordered to cut the rubber trees and bamboo and then build up the new barracks. We also had to dig the army trenches in the area. People were ordered to work for a month during the harvest time so that they could not work on their farm. As a result, many faced poor production on their farms.

In addition to building the army bases, we were again forced to provide security by guarding the motor bridges in Yebyu township. Five people from each village were summoned to guard 24 hours a day near the bridge for at least one

week at a time.

In December 1995, a new forced labor project was introduced. It was an extension of the road from Ye to Tavoy. My village had to take care of that extension between 51 and 52 milestones (between Yapu Karen village and Mon). Every family was required to dig two ditches of rock and take it to the road. If they failed, 1,500 kyats per ditch was required.

The KNU troops came to my village on December 1, 1996. The fighting occured on the next day between the KNU and SLORC. It was between King Chaung village and Nat Ein village near my village. I heard that four SLORC soldiers were killed and three wounded seriously. Major Htaung Zar Lian from LIB 409 was angry at the KNU. Another attack by the KNU was launched near Loh Thaing village that caused one soldier to be wounded. The SLORC column retreated to our village. They accused our village of supporting the KNU. We really did not know where the KNU troops came from and had no communication with them at all. Major Htaung Zar Lian told us that nobody was allowed to go to the east side of Tavoy stream nearby our village, the place most of our farms were situated. "Anyone found in that region will be killed without any question," he said.

He furthermore said, "You Christian Karen are trouble-makers. Only you are left to make the destructive things to the State. All other ethnic groups have returned to legal-fold -- even the Buddhist Karen. You Christians and students are minions of the colony. I will kill all Christians and students for the sake of our State."

He also said all Christian Karen could go anywhere they wanted during the next two weeks, including moving to another village or the border refugee camps. He said the remaining villagers would be his own and would have to obey all his orders. As most of our villagers were Christian Karen, we were scared to stay in the village. We thought he might take revenge on us for the KNU attack. So I decided to go to the refugee camp here. Many other villagers also did. They will be arriving very soon. I arrived only two days ago.

Interview 9: HRV: Child, Torture, Detention

Name:	Tin Win
Age:	24-years-old
Position:	Private, motor maintenance section Headquarters, LIB 343

Serial number: BC. 820304
Education: 7th standard
Place of birth: Thingangyun township, Rangoon.
Interviewed: January 1996
Source: ABSDF

I joined the army in March 1992. I went to school until 1989 when I was in my seventh standard. I also took part in the demonstrations as a high school student in Thingangyun township. When the school reopened, I had a problem with my principal, Daw Thein Yin. She had a photo of me taken during the 1988 uprising. She asked me to sign a bond stating that I would obey all the regulations of the school and that I was not allowed to engage in any political activities. On the same day, I had a fight with her son who was in the 9th standard. She scolded me and ordered me to bring my parents. I had only a father with his second wife and I stayed with my grandmother. I returned back home and told my grandmother that I did not want to go to school anymore. She did not say anything. So, I quit school.

My grandmother died in December 1991. I worked at the motor care workshop until 1992. My father and my stepmother moved into my grandmother's house. I had a big problem with my stepmother so I decided to join the army to get out of the house. Everybody in my quarter looked down upon me. However, joining the army was the only way to escape from my daily pressures. To join the army was also very easy. I noticed the soldiers enjoyed many privileges, especially the officers. I thought everyone would respect me in an army uniform.

I joined No. 1 headquarter of army new recruitment at Mingladon in March 1991. The official checked my health, and gave me a blood test and heart test. I submitted a short biography of myself in which I wrote my name, address, criminal record, etc. Also I was required to sign a bond attesting to the fact that I would serve 5 years in the army. There were two kinds of time: one was 5 years service and another was ten years. I chose five years. Actually, nobody gets pension pay after serving only 5 or 10 years in service. You usually have to stay in the army for 20 years. I was asked if I participated in the 1988 uprising and if I belonged to any political organization. I replied no. They also asked me if I had any relatives in the army. After this whole procedure, I had to take an oath saying, "I will keep my faith to the State as I am given food by the State." Then they took me to the barrack .

Aroung 6:00 a.m. the official ordered all new recruits to gather in the big parade ground. There were about 4,000 new recruits from all across the country.

We were divided into groups by our hometowns (e.g. Mandalay division, Rangoon division, etc.) The new recruits were sent to their respective headquarters. I was in the Rangoon group of about 500 recruits. I saw some boys as young as 13 or 14 years old. The officials from the recruitment center did not make restrictions on the age of recruits because they desperately needed the new recruits. Only those who failed the medical test were rejected.

I was sent to Division Training School No.4. At 10:00 p.m. 250 new recruits twere sent to the rail station to leave for No. 4 School. The next day at 4:00 a.m. we left for Moulmein by train. While the train was stopping at Wan railway statio, about 50 new recruits jumped off of the train and ran away. Later I learned that they got frustrated after spending over one month in the recruitment center in Rangoon. We slept over night at Moulmein recruitment center and then the next day we took the train again to Thanbyuzeyat from Mupon station. Then we took buses to Welgali village where the No. 4 Training School was situated. It was a 25-minute drive from village to the school. We all were given military equipment such as blankets, mosquito-nets, uniforms, and a military bag. Then the official divided us into five groups in which I was assigned as the group leader.

My training was 2/92 Intake and took six months. The basic military training was so hard that many young recruits attempted to run away. I think about 20 people made attempts. However, only six of them successfully managed to escape because the neighborhood of the school was very isolated and surrounded by the mountains. If somebody was missing from the group, the remainder of the group was ordered to gather on the main grounds. Then they were ordered to stand naked and then beaten up, one by one with canes by the trainers. They beat 15 strokes for the privates and 30 strokes for the group leaders like me. I was beaten like that three times because three privates from my group attempted to escape.

When the trainers could rearrest the escapees, the treatment was inhumane. About ten trainers from the school beat up the attempted escapee with military equipment belts and punched and kicked him all over his body until he became unconscious. I saw some unfortunate boys vomit blood from their mouths due to the beating. After the beating, it did not stop. The trainers ordered all remaining people in the school (199 trainees) to beat five strokes of cane each to the escapee. If you did not beat harsh enough, you would be beaten instead. Then the escapees were forcibly ordered tocontinue with their training. I felt bad for them and upset with the treatment by the officials, but I did not dare say anything or attempt to run away.

Apart from our training tasks, we were ordered to cut the trees, cultivate the paddy and sugar cane for the school and so many other tasks every weekend. All the money the officers earned by selling paddy, sugar cane, and logs were taken by the training officials, nothing was given to us. I did not get any money. In addition, we were not permitted any out-passes. Officially we got 400 kyats during the training time but actually not more than 100 kyats were left after the training officials deducted some taxes and fees.

I finished my training on September 12, 1992. I was assigned to LIB 343 in Ye township. After three months there, I was selected to attend the Intelligence Training in Kan Thone Kan, Moulmein. It was 5/92 Intelligence Training intake. About 70 privates from all the battalions in Mon State, Karen State, and Tenasserim Division under the command of southeastern military command participated in the training.

At the training, various subjects relating to intelligence were given such as: the method of interrogation of the POWs, how to use the map and campus, demolition, counterintelligence, 10 characters of the interrogator, method of reporting, how to interrogate the suspects, how to interrogate the enemies found in the battle field, how to interrogate the counterintelligence, how to interrogate the enemy found with documents, and how to interrogate the political prisoners. Captain Win Swe (Training section, Southeastern commander) was in charge of the training and the instructors were Corporal Htay Aung and Corporal Maung Maung.

In the lectures, we were told that the way to get information from the suspects or enemies was to torture them. We learned the various methods of torture. We were told that if we arrested a suspect or soldiers from the other side, we were allowed to use any brutal torture method in order to get the name of the leaders, the strength of the outfit, his position, future military strategy, and whether there were any problems among the troops. After that we were ordered to kill the person immediately if he was not a high official. If he was in a high position on his side, we had to transfer him back to the headquarters for further interrogation. We were given authority to torture or kill the suspects having communication with insurgents. Our unit was not involved with political prisoners, only the Special Intelligent Unit or the Military Intelligence Service took care of those cases. But in general, for this subject, we were told to arrest political prisoners as secretly as possible and if the political prisoners died, we had to blackout the news.

We went on a field trip to the Special Interrogation Section in the Intelligence Division No. 5 headquarters in Moulmein. All the trainees were told about the

interrogation methods. We were taken into the building which was 20 x 30 feet wide. There were many instruments such as video cameras, reorders, type-writers, and underground celsl. The lecturer explained the various methods of torture to us. One instrument was an iron stick about 3 feet long, with a battery attached to it. When you turned it on and touched the victim, he got an electric shock. It was made in China. Another one was an electric shock machine. It was like a motor cycle helmet with wire. When the victim put on the helmet and turned on the power, he got shocked. We were told that the electric shock machine could not be used for more than 2 seconds per each human being. In the underground cell, we found out that there was a closed room with air-conditioning. The temperature could be dropped down to freezing level. The instructor told us that a cup of water would become ice within half an hour. The temperature was controlled from another control room. There were other buildings in the Intelligence Division 5 compound. All were surrounded by three rolls of barbed wire and one mine field. I saw one inmate in the building, but he was being tortured at that time.

I returned back to my battalion after the training. I was assigned to the Intelligence Unit of LIB 343. There were three privates, two Intelligence Corporals and one Sergeant in my group. Our main task was to go to Ye and nearby villages in order to get information about the activities of the insurgents. Then we were to write an intelligence report to the Commander of Southeastern command. We also had to collect porter fees from the villages and taxes from the trading boats going from Ye to Kawthaung. We taxed 10,000 kyats, two tanks of petrol oil, and 20 zinc sheets from each trading boat. We also got taxes from the logging and other businesses. When we got all the money, we put half of it aside for our battalion's fund. The remaining half we shared among the rank and file. In every month one private got 2-3,000 kyats from these taxes. For the Commander of battalion, he got over 200,000 kyats and other officials received 50,000 kyats per month.

I was on the military column in November 1994. We went to Kyeik Mayaw to Chaung Hnagwa. We took twenty porters from Mae Khlo, Kyeik Mayaw, and other villages. We we arrived Pha Thin pier, where we were attacked by the KNU troops. After 10 minutes of fighting, they retreated back to U-Lay village. We followed after them. The KNU soldiers fired from the house and retreated again. When we got to the house, we found one Karen old women and one gun left by KNU soldier. She was so scared and crying. Corporal Kyi Maung pointed the gun to her head and was about to shoot. I intervened and told him the old Karen woman was same age with my grandmother. I believed she was innocent of supporting the KNU as well. My intelligence Sergeant Nyi Nyi Moe slashed my face and accused me of supporting enemy. I could

not say anything because he was my superior. When we arrived to Chaung Hnagwa, he put me in the police station and the column kept going on. I spent two weeks in jail as a criminal. When the column returned, Captain Htein Lin released me and took me back to the base. I was transferred to the signal unit after that.

In April 1995, I was on the column in Taung Kalay. The column commander assigned three privates including myself and Sergeant Nyi Nyi Moe to stay in one house. At night, Nyi Nyi Moe entered the girl's room in the house and attempted to rape her. I heard everything. I could not tolerate anymore. I shot a gun into air. Other officers came to the house where we were staying and asked me the reason I shot the gun. I could not explain the true story so that they beat me up. The next day I was sent back to the base with the supporting column.

I was sentenced to a week in a detention cell with hard labor. Also, my salary was cut off for three months. I explained to the commander of our battalion that I was trying to prevent a rape, but no action was taken. I was transferred again to the motor maintenance unit.

On Christmas night in 1995, the battalion had a farewell party for our Commander. He had gotten a promotion to headquarters. All privates were ordered to serve drinks and food for the visiting army officers. One officer ordered me to bring him a cup of whiskey. He was drunk. I accidentally spilled the drink on his uniform. He got mad at me and punched me in the face several times. I could not bear anymore so I fought back. We were fighting in a small separate room so not many people were there. I stabbed the officer in the stomach with the broken bottle and ran away. I did not bring anything with me. I ran to Ye and hid one night and then took a bus to Ale Sakhan and stayed three days. I then walked to the border and arrived at Paraw camp. I arrived here on January 29, 1996.

Interview 10: HRV: Refugee, Forced Labor, Porter, Torture, Arrest, Killing

Name:	Ma Sein Aye
Age:	25-year-old
Sex:	female
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital stuatus:	married with two chidren

Native: Mintha village, Kanbauk twnshp, Tenassarim Division
Place of interview: Payaw refugee camp in Mon region
Date of interview: Feb 3, 1996
Source: ABSDF

I just wanted to add to what my my husband said. My cousin Ah Htun, 30-years-old and married with three children, was arrested by the LORC soldiers from LIB 406 on January 25 for failing to give 2,000 kyats for the porter fees. Five soldiers who were stationed in our village went to his house, along with the LORC authorities. The five soldiers beat him about his head with their rifle butts right in front of his house with his wife and children watching. Then they took him away. His wife asked to borrow some money from me to get her husband released. Our relatives and I gathered money together for her. Her husband was released immediately after the soldiers got the money. I heard that he was on the way to Payaw refugee camp at the time.

My brother, Ah Pu, 30-years-old, was killed when he stepped on a land mine while he was portering for the military mobile column at Nat Ein Daung in 1992. At that time there was a major offensive attack to the KNU base in Nat Ein Daung. Seven men from my native village -- Moe Gyi village -- were conscripted as porters for the military column in December 1992. They were forced to carry food and ammunition for the army to Chaung Son. All six escaped from the portering slavery, but unfortunately my brother did not. It is reported that he was killed when he stepped on the land mine. No medical help was given by the army.

Interview 11: HRV: Refugee, Forced Labor

Name: U Ba Yin
Age: 57-year-old
Sex: Male
Ethnicity: Mon
Religion: Buddhist
Marital status: married with five daughters (13, 15 and 17-year-old)
Native: Moe Gyi village, Kanbauk township, Tanessarim Division
Place of interview: Payaw refugee camp in Mon region
Date of interview: Feb 3, 1996
Source: ABSDF

I was 57-years-old and could not work very hard. However, I was not spared

from forced labor. I fell under SLORC's category of "under 60" so I was on the list for forced labor. My wife was the same age as me but she was in ailing health. I had to provide forced labor to replace my wife as well. My three daughters were not on the list but sometimes they had to go to replace me when I had to work for family income or when I was sick.

Since 1993, we were ordered to report for work at Nat-Kyi-Zin, but recently we have been ordered to work at Ye-bon. The last time the orders were different from previous orders. According to previous orders, one person from each household had to work This time, all people between 16 and 60 years old (except for one person who could stay behind to do household duties) had to report for work. This order was a great burden for the farmers because it was harvest season. Some farmers had to hire substitute laborers because they had to stay to harvest their crops. The price of hiring people went up during that time as everybody was busy with their own work. Previously, it cost 2,000 to 2,500 kyats, but during the harvest time it cost over 3,000 kyats for a replacement worker. But, we knew we could not ignore the order. The local LORC threatened that if we failed to do as they ordered, they would inform the army and we would be punished harshly. We did dare not ignore it.

On December 15, 1995, 12 people of my yard who did not have money for substitute workers, reported for duty at Ye-bon, in Yebyu township. Other people paid bribe money to the LORC so they did not have to go. We had to bring our own food and instruments to the work site. We took a boat from our village to Kanbauk and paid with our own money. It cost 60 kyats each for transportation. The village LORC ordered us to wait at the Independence Monument at Kanbauk. When we arrived, we saw over 500 people from Maung Ngo, Kan taing, Thingan Taw, Sin-gu, Payat, Zardi, Sel-chaung, in Phaungdaw township and Kaw Mo, Lai-Hmaw, Kyel-gone in Kan Bauk township. When all the people arrived, we were all taken by trucks to the Ye-Bon worksite. Again, we had to pay 60 kyats for transportation.

At the site, we had to cut all bushes and trees within 25 feet to prepare for the proposed railway route. There were about 1,000 people working at the Ye-bon camp. Soldiers from a military outpost in Klaing Aung monitored the workers. Besides the two weeks work for railway construction, sometimes people were conscripted as porters for military purposes. When fighting between KNU and SLORC occured between Klaing Aung and Ye-bon, some laborers from the Ye-bon labor camp were immediately conscripted by the military column. During this slavery duty, one laborer from Kyel-gone was killed by a landmine.

The army came to our village in the third week of December 1995 and told us that we had to work as they ordered, as long as we stay in our village. Thus many villagers fled to the border or went to work in Thailand. Some moved out of the village to Moulmein, Tavoy, and Mergui. Those who have a business such as a farm and land could not do so. They remained in the village and paid many forms of taxes to the SLORC and continued to do forced labor.

For myself, as an ordinary poor civilian, I paid a minmum of2,000 kyats per month in taxes and fees and provided unpaid labor. If I failed to provide my labor, I had to pay 7,000 kyats. The people who had their own land and a good business had to pay more. Just before I came here [the refugee camp], the village LORC ordered us to contribute 600 kyats for the establishment of a new military base and barracks in Ohn-pin-gwin in Kanbauk township. It is the same place where the natural gas pipeline construction is underway.

Many local people applied to be daily wage workers at TOTAL, but nobody from my village got it. I heard TOTAL pays 200 kyats per day for their workers.

Interview 12: HRV: Forced labor, Child, Refugee

Name:	Myo Thet
Age:	17-year-old
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Tavoyan
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital stuatus:	single
Native:	Singu village, Kanbauk township, Tanessarim Division
Place of interview:	Payaw refugee camp in Mon region
Date of interview:	Feb 4, 1996
Source:	ABSDF

I am the second son in my family. I quit school when I was in third standard. Both of my parents were old and it was imposible for them to go and work as forced laboers. Since October 1995, all villagers between the ages of 16 and 60 were ordered to work at the labor camp every two weeks, fifteen days each time. If they failed to do so, people had to pay 3,000 kyats for each person. The military ordered the village LORC to conscript the laborers from the village. They threatened the villagers to go or otherwise face arrest by the military. Nobody dared to say “no.” Many people went even if they were sick. I heard that some people died due to the hard working conditions and

malnutrition during their time of working.

I first went to work in October 1995 when I was 16-years old. Our family had three adults between 16 and 60 years old, so they all had to report for work. According to the regulation, my father, mother, and brother were supposed to go to work there. As both my parents were ill, I had to work for them. My brother also came with me. He was 20-years old at that time. To replace my parents, I had to work a month at Nat-kyi-zin (the quota for one person is two weeks, so by myself, I needed to work four weeks to replace my parents)

Altogether 50 people from my village went to Nat-kyi-zin on foot. It was a whole day-long walk from my village. Among the 50, ten were as young as me. Some were younger than me. They were among us because their parents were not able to work like my parents. They were Kyaw Naing Oo, Ah Naing, Soe Naing, Saw Mon, Than Lwin, Myint Thein, and Soe Aung. They had been schoolmates of mine when I was in school. We were all between 15 and 16 years old; none of us was currently going to school.

When we got to Nat-kyi-zin, we were assigned to dig 50 pits each day. That meant one person had to dig one pit daily. The pits y were 10 x 10x 1' pits. During fifteen days there, everyone must finish fifteen pits. For young people like us, it was hard to finish one every day. My villagers helped us. Some people were not feeling well or were ill. They also could not finish, but nobody dared to take a rest. When we took a rest, the soldiers came and scolded us. Even going to the toilet, we had to ask permission from the soldiers. They were from LIB 410 Klaing Aung. When we could not finsh our daily quota, we had to work overtime until we finished. Sometimes we finished our quota, but some girls could not finish their quota, so we had to help them. Some women brought their infants along with them to the worksite because there was nobody left at their home. They put their babies in cradles while they were working . At night, we all slept in the temporary bamboo hut without cover. I worked 30 days plus I spent two days traveling.

In this way, since 1995, I worked fifteen days every month, and sometimes I had to work the whole month, until I fled here [the refugee camp]. All the young people have left their villages because they are fed up with the unpaid labor-duties. Even whole families moved to other places or left for the border. At first, because of the increasing taxation, we paid the taxes by selling our property, such as cows and farms, but now we have nothing left. The only way to survive is to flee somewhere. So I decided to come here, and when I am settled here, my family will follow.

Interview 13: HRV: Livelihood, Killing, Forced Labor, Looting

Name:	Pu Tee Ku
Sex:	Male
Age:	60-year-old
Ethnicity:	Karen, farmer/pastor
Religion:	RC Christian
Marital stuatus:	Married, 6 children aged 5-25
Address:	Toh Wih Der village, Bu Tho Twp., Papun Dist.
Interviewed:	February 14, 1996
Source:	KHRG

I've been here about one month, because of SLORC soldiers' demands. They ordered us to be their porters, and some villagers died from landmines when they went as porters. People who didn't go had to hire someone to go in their place. First they would order us to go for 5 days, but then they didn't release us. Sometimes it was 10 days, or sometimes they only released us when they got someone to replace us. The SLORC stays at Ka Hee Kyo [northeast of Par Haik camp]. It is 2 hours [walking] from our village.

They are LIB 434. Sometimes there are 80 to 100 soldiers there, sometimes 300 to 400. They also made us work on the roads, like Papun to Bilin and Kaw Boke to Par Haik. We have to go by turns, one group every 5 days until the road is finished [these roads have to be rebuilt every year in November through February, after every rainy season]. At least 5 people have to go each time, everybody including women, children 10 years old, and old men 70 or 80 years old. When I was there I had to go, and now my brother still has to go -- he's only one year older than me. We have to take our own food and sleep at the workplace. This year they started on January 1st, on the Kaw Boke to Par Haik road. It is an existing road and they are rebuilding it. They do it every year. They also demanded 5 baskets of rice from Toh Wih Der, and money for porters ["porter fees," which are not given to porters.]

They sent letters 3 times ordering us to move. They sent a letter along with a chillie and a bullet [a standard SLORC message meaning we will kill you and burn your village if you don't obey]. It ordered us to move to Par Haik, near their military camp. Some villages have to move to Papun and some to Kaw Boke, around their army camps, and after that they will burn and destroy all the villages. That letter came one month and 10 days ago. It said that within 10 days we had to arrive at Par Haik military camp, even that we should arrive tomorrow if possible. But before that 10 days was up we came to Thailand. After 5 days, we left our village.

There are 50 houses in Toh Wih Der. We all left the village, but some ran into the forest and some came to Thailand. About 30 families arrived in Thailand. As for the people in the forest, they hide and some still try to tend their fields and animals. If SLORC leaves the village the villagers go and tend their farms, but if SLORC stays around they have to cut new fields and plant in the hills. They don't know where else to go. Nobody went to the SLORC place. We asked the SLORC, "If we go to Par Haik will you give us food?" and they said we have to take our own food to the camp. We know that if we stay there they will demand everything from us that they want at any time. SLORC will take people as porters, and they will order them to show where other villagers are hiding. If SLORC finds people hiding in the forest they will arrest them. All the villages around us have been ordered to move. Toh Wih Der and Baw Khaw Der were ordered to move to Par Haik, and Saw Bweh Der village was ordered to move to Kaw Boke village.

Before this year, they only asked us for labor. Last year they killed two villagers from Toh Wih Der: Pa Tweh, 60 years old, and Kyaw Dee, 40 years old. Also, one man from Toh Wih Der died as a porter last year, Klo Htoo Mu. He was 40 years old, married with 4 children. He died in the fighting. Now his family lives in the forest. In our village they always took the headman away and asked him questions before releasing him. Other villages like Baw Khaw Der, Saw Bweh Der and Kaw Wih promised to do everything SLORC wants, so their people didn't suffer as much. [Note: these villages have also now been ordered to move.] In our village, after they killed people and took all our animals last year we asked permission to work with them [they promised to do everything as demanded], but then they started ill-treating us again. The situation just got worse and worse until we had to flee to Thailand.

I have seen DKBA in the village. They came at night and killed the village tract headman last year. His name was Pa Maw Heh, he was 50 years old with 4 children. I don't know why they killed him, maybe they didn't like him. He was a Christian. In Toh Wih Der 10 households are Baptist, 10 are RC [Roman Catholic] and the other 30 are Buddhist. Now there are only SLORC around [no DKBA], and they stay in their camp not far from the village.

It took us 2 days to walk here. It was not easy -- we had to come secretly at night. They are trying to stop people from coming to Thailand. But if the situation keeps getting worse, I think everyone will come here. If you go back there, you have to do everything for SLORC. I know that they won't ever stop giving trouble to villagers, so I won't ever go back to my village.

They ordered it last dry season, and this year too. They said if people don't

move they will come themselves and move us by force, so we were afraid and some villagers ran to hide in the forest and some came to Thailand like me. There are 10 houses in the village, but no villagers because they are hiding in the jungle. Six families arrived here. If we go to Khaw Taw they won't allow us to do farming. They will give rice, but not enough. People don't want to go because they'll have to work for SLORC and there's not enough food. Ko Per Baw are Karen people, but they give trouble the same as SLORC. When I was a porter there were Ko Per Baw soldiers as well in the column. They are travelling together [DKBA and SLORC].

We had to walk just one day to get here. We went at night, or else SLORC soldiers would see us. They would arrest us and torture us, because they don't allow us to come to the refugee camps. Along the way I saw only deserted villages. All the other villages were ordered to move too - Saw Bweh Der, Dee Taw Kee, May Say Kee, Kyo Ko Der, Meh Wah Ler and Oo Thu Kloh villages. Now we can't go back, because they already said if they see us and arrest us they will kill us on the spot. [This was written in the relocation order, that anyone found after the relocation deadline would be considered as enemy rebel soldiers.]

Interview 14: HRV: Livelihood, Killing, Refugee

Name:	Saw Lay Htoo
Sex:	Male
Age:	35, Karen Christian farmer
Family:	Married, 5 children aged 22 months to 13 years
Address:	Ler Wah Ko Der village, Lu Thaw Twp., Papun Dist.
Interviewed:	February 14, 1996
Source:	KHRG

We have been here one month and 15 days, because SLORC burned and destroyed 4 houses in our village on December 29, 1995. SLORC sent their informer into the village and found out that these were the houses where Karen soldiers slept, stayed and cooked their rice when they come to the village. So when the Karen soldiers left the village, SLORC came to the house owners, beat them, hit them, and burned their houses down. There were about 400 soldiers. They took all the rice from every house and our storehouses and threw it on the ground, they burned the rice storehouses and they stole all the pots, machetes, and things from the villagers. They did that to every house. There are 28 houses in the village. When they saw rice stored in safe places outside the village they burned that too. They saw rice already harvested and

not yet in the rice barns [i.e., still stacked on the threshing floor] and they burned that too. Then they slept one night in the village and went up the hill in the morning. Those SLORC were from Papun, one day's walk from our village. When they came into the village we didn't dare stay, because we knew they would kill anyone they saw. I had to run carrying my child, my 13 year old son -- he can't walk and can't talk. Whenever SLORC comes to the village I have to carry him, and he's very heavy! It's not easy.

Then when we knew they were going back to Papun some people went back into the village, but some still stayed in the forest. I didn't go back, I followed some other people from another village to Thailand. I had no food, and I had to carry my son on my back. It took us 5 days. Only my family arrived here from our village. The villagers who are still hiding in the forest, they go secretly to the village to get food, but they can't dare go when SLORC is around the village. It's not easy to stay like that for long. They may all come to Thailand if the situation stays this bad. If SLORC finds them in the forest they will kill them. They try to stay in the forest, but they say if SLORC comes around the village they will all have to come to Thailand. As for us, we had to come first because I have to carry my son, and if SLORC blocks the path it would not be easy for us.

In the other villages it's the same, people have to run just the same. They burn houses, and they burn the rice stores that people have hidden in the forest, and everyone has to run. In Baw Kwa they burned some houses. They burned the rice barns in Lay Po Khaw Tee. Other villages haven't been burned because SLORC hasn't arrived there yet, maybe they'll burn them later. DKBA is afraid to come to our village, because it's a bit far for them to come. As for the SLORC, when they were in our village they said, "We will destroy all the Karen people!" so I have no affection for them. In December they killed a village elder from our village. We called him Yweh Htoo Pa. He was 50 years old, a widower. He has 2 daughters, both already married. He lived in a different section of the village than me. He came to his nephew's house, and his nephew told him the Burmese were coming so he head home. On the way he saw SLORC and they shot him dead. They put his body on top of a bush and laid a bag [probably a cloth Karen bag] on it. So his children didn't dare go and get their father's body, because they were afraid there was a mine or a bomb [hidden in the bag - they may have been right, as it is very unusual for SLORC to treat a body like this].

Interview 15: HRV: Forced Labor, Relocation, Livelihood, Refugee

Name: Saw Tee Wah
Sex: Male
Age: 38, Karen Christian farmer
Family: Married, 5 children aged 3 months to 15 years
Address: Meh Law Kee village, Bu Tho Twp., Papun Dist.
Interviewed: February 15, 1996
Source: KHRG

I arrived here in January. I didn't want to carry the loads of SLORC and DKBA any more. Also, we got the same order to move as Saw Bweh Der village [to move to Khaw Taw]. We saw that if we were going to stay in our village we would be in trouble, so we came here. They said we had to move by January 15, so we left before that day. They said if we didn't move they would come and force us, and they said if that happened we wouldn't even have time to carry our shoes. There are twenty families in the village. Fifteen arrived here, and only five families stayed behind in the jungle. No one is staying in the village now.

Even before they ordered us to move we had to go and work in their camp carrying water, digging trenches, carrying logs, making fences and doing other labor. We could only work for ourselves 2 or 3 days in a row, then we'd have to go to their camp again. Three people had to go at a time. Whenever they went to the frontline we had to follow them as porters. And one time every year [after rainy season] we had to build their car road. We had no time to breathe, we always had to be their slaves. They always said we could go home as soon as replacements arrive, but then they wouldn't allow us and we had to keep working for a long time. Moreover, they demand money.

Ko Per Baw never came to our village alone, but we met them whenever we were porters because they are working with SLORC. When SLORC and DKBA came to the village they took our animals, clothing, pots, and everything they saw. Nobody around my village joined DKBA. We don't like them, they are bad and short-tempered people.

All the villages around ours are in the same situation. Saw Bweh Der, Kyo Ko Der, Tee Po Der and Oo Thu Kloh, all were ordered to move by January 15, all the same. It is a day's walk from our village to here. Our village is close to the Salween River [the border], but the problem is that we had to come in between two SLORC military camps. We were afraid of SLORC or DKBA along the

way. If they saw us on the way they would kill us. I know, because they already told us that if they see anybody on the way to Thailand they will kill them.

Interview 16: HRV: Forced Labor, Slavery, Livelihood, Extortion, Refugee

Name: Pu Tha Muh
Sex: M
Age: 58, Karen Christian (RC) farmer
Family: Married, 3 children aged 6-25
Address: Wah Mi Day village, Dweh Loh Twp., Papun Dist.
Interviewed: February 16, 1996
Source: KHRG

I came here over a month ago because of SLORC. They ordered us to do a lot of work, and they ordered some to move to Papun and others to move to Khaw Taw. They ordered our village that we must all arrive at Papun by January 13. They ordered this at the end of December. By January 13, I had left already. There are 14 houses in our village. Three families arrived here, and some arrived in xxxx refugee camp. Only 4 families stayed in the village, and I don't know what has happened to them. They tried to stay in the village, but I worry that maybe SLORC forced them to move to Papun after we left. At Papun they have a special place to keep people, and if the jungle villages go they will keep us there. They won't let us go back to our fields, and as for food, they would never give us food in a million years. Even when we go as porters we have to take our own food.

All the villages around our village must move to Papun: Kler Pu Der, Maw Thay Der, Klaw Hta, Plaw Oo Aw, and Thu Kay Hta. If we refuse they will move us by force, because the village headman couldn't get permission from them to stay this time. It took us 3 days to come here. We had to cross the road by night and we couldn't see anything, but we couldn't dare cross in daylight. It was the Kaw Boke - Par Haik car road. Along the way we only saw a few villagers. Some joined us and came together, from Thay Taw Kee and Kaw Meh Law villages.

If you stay in your village, you must always pay and go as porters. They [SLORC] order it by turns, and if you can't go you must pay. It's been like this for the last 10 years in our village. We have to pay 1,400 kyats per month [100 kyats per house] as porter fees and we have no money to pay this. If we

manage to get any money we can't dare use it to buy any clothing, because we must always be ready to pay any fees or taxes they demand. As for Ko Per Baw [DKBA], sometimes we see them in the village, but most of the time they come along with SLORC and almost all the soldiers are SLORC army.

Interview 17: HRV: Slavery, Forced Labor, Women, Child, Refugee, Livelihood

Name: Saw Lah
Sex: Male
Age: 31, Karen Buddhist farmer
Family: Married, 2 children aged 3 days and 5 years
Address: Kyo Ko Der village, Bu Tho Twp., Papun Dist.
Interviewed: February 14, 1996
Source: KHRG

I've been here about one month, because SLORC was forcing us to another place. First they said they wouldn't take porters from the village, but later they ordered us to give porters and porter fees. Whenever they saw us in the forest they would take us for more than 10 days. I had to carry ricepots and ammunition, about 20 viss [32 kg.]. We had to carry to Kyauk Nyat, then in the camp there we had to carry water and find firewood for them. Their soldiers are moving around Kyauk Nyat, Par Haik, Kaw Boke and Papun area, so people in this area have a lot of trouble and have to leave their villages. We have to be porters and work in their camp, and we have to cut trees and clear the way for the car road from Papun to Kyauk Nyat. Two people have to go from my village, sometimes for 10 days and sometimes 15 days. People from every village have to go. When I went I saw 20 or 30 people there, and soldiers. The soldiers did nothing. Women go, and both children and old people have to go, from 14 or 15 years old up to 60 or 70 years old.

Now SLORC has ordered villagers to move to Papun and Kaw Boke. We said to them, "Let us stay in our own houses and we will do everything for you," but they said "You must move right now," so we all left our village. First the DKBA ordered us to move to Khaw Taw [last year], but then the SLORC staying near our village told us we could still stay in our village for a short time. Then the headman came back from a meeting in Papun in rainy season and said we were ordered to move to Papun. Now they have ordered us again.

We had no more money or strength for SLORC, so we came here. Very few families are still in our village. I hope to go back to my village sometime, if the

situation gets better.

Interview 18: HRV: Killing, Forced Labor, Livelihood, Refugee

Name: Saw Thu Meh
Sex: Male
Age: 46, Karen Christian farmer
Family: Married, 6 children aged 2-20
Address: Baw Bo Kyo village, Bu Tho Twp., Papun Dist.
Interviewed: February 16, 1996
Source: KHRG

[Saw Thu Meh used to be a village headman, and fled to a refugee camp a year ago. His daughter arrived at the same camp on February 6, 1996 but was too shy to speak, so he spoke for her.]

I left my village after SLORC and DKBA killed two of my villagers in May last year. First SLORC killed Saw Bu Poh on May 15. He was 63. They killed him because he ran away, and SLORC saw him in the jungle so they shot him without asking any questions. On May 28 they killed Kyaw Aye, who was 26 years old. DKBA and SLORC killed him. He was in his house, and when he saw SLORC coming he tried to run away and they shot him. Then I left my village, and my villagers moved to other villages or hid in the jungle because they didn't dare stay in the village anymore. But later they did the same as me and came here. In October 1995 they killed another villager there, he was 18 years old and his name was Win Mya Htoo. He had already been to the refugee camp, then when he went back to his village SLORC and DKBA were there looking for animals like pigs, chickens, and goats and burning some houses. He was unlucky, and when he arrived SLORC killed him in the village. They arrested him, tied up his hands and shot him. I'm not sure of their battalion number - I think the battalions there are LIB 311 and 340.

People in the village still have to go work at the camp, build roads, and also pay porter fees. Now they [SLORC] sent a letter ordering them to move. It said, "If you don't go, your whole village and all your rice will be burned." So people don't dare stay in the village anymore. They were ordered to move near the military camp of LIB 341. They received this letter in January, so a lot of people rushed to go to Thailand. Dee Taw Kee, Saw Bweh Der, Hee Ko Der, and Kyo Ko Der also have to move to the army camp. All the people must go by January 18,1996. But nobody is going there, everybody is arriving here. Now our whole village has been burned down by SLORC, and they have eaten

all our coconuts and destroyed all our coconut trees. If we go back they will kill us. The situation is really bad now - if it was good, you surely wouldn't see our faces here in Thailand!

Interview 19: HRV: Killing, Torture, Arrest, Slavery, Forced Labor, Religious Persecution

Name: Pi Tha Htoo Paw
Sex: Female
Age: 56, Karen Christian farmer
Family: Married, 1 daughter
Address: Peh Kru village, Hlaing Bwe Township
Interviewed: February 1996
Source: KHRG

I came here on January 2, because of Ko Per Baw and SLORC. In rainy season [July-Oct/95] SLORC arrested me, tied me up, and covered my head and eyes with plastic. They beat and kicked me, and put me in water. Then in dry season Ko Per Baw [DKBA] arrested me. They said they suspected me of working for the KNU, but I'm just a villager. When SLORC arrested me they came at night and I couldn't see clearly, and they tied me with a rope. They held me in the village for a night, and they punched me a lot, they hit me on the head with a torchlight and they hit my back with a gun. They twisted my hair around my head and sank my head underwater. They told me to give them guns and show them where I keep guns. But I have no guns, because I'm a farmer. It was raining and I was wet, and that night I had to sleep in my wet clothes. Then they took me to the monastery in the morning. Then they took me to their camp over a mile away and put me in the lockup for 3 days and 3 nights. They gave me some food in there, but I didn't want to eat because I was afraid and I hate them. They kept asking me to find guns for them, and I told them I'd pay them money if they would release me. Nobody dared come to help me. Finally they released me after considering my story. That was Batallion 25. They often come to the village.

The second time was in January [1996]. The Ko Per Baw [DKBA] came and took me into the village for a meeting. They said they would let me go, but after the meeting they tied me with rope. They arrested me because of my religion - that day they arrested two Christians, and the other was killed. They took me to the monastery, and they told me, "If you know or see KNU are coming to the village you must inform us immediately, and you must not have any contact with them." I had to stay together with a nun in the monastery.

They kept me tied up except when they fed me. They didn't beat me, but at first one of them said they would kill me. Then another one of them said "If you kill this woman, where will you hide your wife and family?" [Referring to the fear of revenge by the KNU.] So instead they made me drink promissory water, and then they released me. The man they killed that day was Thra Shee ['Teacher' Shee]. He was about 36 or 40 years old. They took him to the monastery together with me, but then they gave him to the SLORC soldiers. They took him outside. I don't know how they killed him, I think they killed him in Pway Taw Roh village. I think Ko Per Baw [DKBA] had him killed because of his religion, because they say "We want to kill all Christians." After I was released I saw six people who'd had their earlobes cut off by SLORC and Ko Per Baw. Some people were hanging under the monastery on ropes [the ropes were slung around their chests and under their arms]. In the daytime they put them in the lockup, and at night they left them hanging. One person died from the hanging. I don't know why they were arrested, but I think they were held for 3 or 4 months. As for the man who died, he didn't belong to any organization. This was all done by Ko Per Baw [DKBA], at Peh Kru monastery. I heard that some other people were also killed.

Peh Kru village has about 60 or 100 houses. Only 10 houses are Christian. The Ko Per Baw are Peh Kru villagers. I don't know why they join. Sometimes they come together with SLORC, sometimes not. We have to do whatever they ask and go wherever they go as porters. I am alone, so I have to hire someone else to go instead of me. I have to pay 25, 45, 100 or 150 kyats -- they ask for porters many times, all the time. They are also building a road near our village. It is going to Paw Yin Pyu [army] camp, and maybe to Myawaddy or Kawkareik. Every day 10 people from the village have to go. We have to carry sand and everything else they want. We also have to go and clean and carry water in their camp. We have to do everything they order. It is the same for Buddhists and Christians. People don't want to stay any longer in the village, under the thumb of SLORC. Many families are leaving. It took me 3 days to come here by myself -- my daughter stays at her husband's village, and my husband was already here. I had to come secretly. Some families want to come to the refugee camp but they have a lot of children, so it is not easy for them to come. They have so many problems, but they can only fear and cry their tears. Some families have no rice to eat, we have to give so much. We have to pay porter fees and taxes so many times, and we have to give 4 big tins of paddy [over 60 kg.] to SLORC for every acre. They don't pay us anything for it. They also ordered me to give them rice for people who are blind and lame, but I don't know whether they give this rice to the blind and the lame. I don't know who ordered this, I just have to do everything they order. We've been suffering since I was young. Now even here [at the refugee camp] I don't

know if it's safe, I can only stay quietly and worry every night. Every night I hear rumours.

Interview 20: HRV: Torture, Arrest, Slavery, Forced Labor, Refugee, Religious Persecution, Livelihood, Child, Women

Name: Naw Sah Ghay
Sex: Female
Age: 38, Karen Christian farmer
Family: Married, 4 children aged 5-13
Address: Bee T'Ka village, Hlaing Bwe Township
Interview: February 1996
Source: KHRG

I arrived here on January 20, because we had no money to pay the fees and taxes. We had to pay at least 700 kyats per month, sometimes 1,000 kyats, for porter fees. Even if we don't have any money we must pay -- they [SLORC] tell us to borrow it from other people, and we have to give it to them. On top of that, we also have to send porters. The money is for Ko Per Baw [DKBA] and SLORC. They stay together. There are more SLORC than Ko Per Baw. They come and stay for a day, then they move from one village to another. The Ko Per Baw stay in people's houses, and the SLORC stay in the monastery. In October they made us move near the Church. They said they were searching for guns but they couldn't find them so all the houses had to move near the road. They separated the Buddhists and Christians. I have a garden where I plant many things like oranges and lemons, but after they made us move near the Church the Ko Per Baw destroyed my garden. I used to get 700 to 1,000 kyats per month from that, but now nothing. From other people's houses, they steal so much chicken and fruit. The Ko Per Baw also stole one of my sister's cattle. They don't eat the meat, they just steal it for SLORC.

Since they started coming to our village [last year] we have to go as porters for 5 days every month. I was called to go, because after paddy planting time my husband was never home [he was staying in his field], and because even though we aren't KNLA soldiers they always arrest the men and ask them to find bullets and guns. I hired people to go instead of me, because if we go we have to carry everything for them. This is not a duty for women -- it is so heavy to carry. The men who go have to carry bullets and rice up and down the mountains, and do everything that SLORC or Ko Per Baw orders. Sometimes we have to go for a day to carry their food, one person from each house, 100

people or more. Some women take along their babies, and 10 or 12 year old children have to go because their parents can't go. We have to carry for about one and a half hours' walk. We have to carry one basket of rice between 3 women, or one basket between 2 men. We also have to cut and send them bamboo, usually 20 or 30 bamboos per section. There are 10 sections in Bee T'Ka. They use it to make fences for their yellow bean garden. They were not building a road yet when I left, but they are going to build one. They allow us to go to Pa'an or to other villages, but not to the [Thai] border. If we try to come to the border they say we belong to KNU. Some people who went to the refugee camps and then came back have been arrested by Ko Per Baw, so people who have been to the refugee camps are very worried. The Ko Per Baw accuse them of having guns and ask them for money. They ask 1,000 or 2,000 kyats to release them. Many people are beaten. One man named Ta Dah Pee, when the Ko Per Baw arrested him they dug a hole for his grave and said, "Do you dare to die?" But they didn't kill him, they were just threatening. Because of all this, when Ko Per Baw went to Paw Ler village some of the villagers who had come back fled to xxxx refugee camp again.

None of the Christians join Ko Per Baw, but some of the Buddhists. There are two brothers from Bee T'Ka who are their officers, Kyaw Tha Dah and Kyaw Nu Poh. They are really cruel and do mean things to people. They used to be villagers and earned their living by farming. Before I came here, Ko Per Baw demanded 15 tins [over 200 kg.] of paddy from each section of the village. They don't get their rice from SLORC anymore so they take it from the villagers. They also ask money -- Buddhists and Christians both have to pay the same. Ko Per Baw are a small group, so they always follow with SLORC. When they stay in the village at night, they always order villagers to stay together with them.

Interview 21: HRV: Killing, Arrest, Slavery, Forced Labor, Livelihood

Name: Naw Muh Muh
Sex: Female
Age: 38, Karen Christian farmer
Family: Married, 4 children aged 7-14
Address: Ler Dah village, Hlaing Bwe Township
Interviewed: February, 1996

We came here two months ago because SLORC and Ko Per Baw [DKBA] make trouble in our village. My husband is in the resistance[KNU], so they

always came to our house and told me to give them guns. My husband was not staying there, they only suspected that I kept his gun at home so they gave trouble to my family. One day they came to my house and arrested me, but when the SLORC soldiers were taking me, I collapsed along the way because I suffer from thwe toh [very high blood pressure]. Then they released me. Another time they sent me an order to come, and I had to go and meet with the Battalion Commander. That was 2 months ago. He asked me when my husband left home and he said my husband should join with them, but my husband has no desire to join SLORC. The Commander said if my husband comes back home I have to report it to them, and he threatened that if I didn't he would burn down my house. He also said if he saw me become pregnant he would take serious action against me. SLORC and Ko Per Baw came to my house one after the other, again and again, saying "Your husband must keep some guns at home -- show them to us," and "Why don't you convince your husband to join with us."

Our village only has 16 or 17 houses. Most of the Ko Per Baw stay in Kaw Paw section of the village. Some people joined because the monk [U Thuzana, patron of DKBA] told them that the Buddhists will get their own country. Some people didn't want to join them but the others arrested them and told them, "You must join us or you won't be in this world any longer." Mostly the Ko Per Baw make trouble for people whose husbands or sons are in KNU. I've only got 3 cattle but they told me to give them, so I said, "My husband was your friend and worked with you for many years, and he never stole from villagers, but go ahead and take them if you want." So then they didn't take my cattle, but they take things from other people. We also have to send porters and pay porter fees for both SLORC and DKBA. Each family has to pay 50 or 100 kyats per month porter fees, depending on how rich you are. We also have to go and plant vegetables like carrots and yellow beans in the SLORC army camp.

Now everyone is even more afraid of SLORC because of DKBA. The DKBA knows all about everyone, so when they tell SLORC we get more trouble than ever. SLORC gives the orders. Last summer [April-May] SLORC killed a man in the village, because all the villagers had convinced him to be KNU headman for the village. But SLORC found out because of DKBA, so they arrested him and killed him. As for me, my husband is in the KNU, so I can't dare stay in my village anymore.

Interview 22: HRV: Torture, Arrest, Religious Persecution, Livelihood

Name: Saw Tee Ler
Sex: Male
Age: 46, Karen Christian farmer
Family: Married, 5 children aged 5-22
Address: Bee T'Ka village, Hlaing Bwe Township
Interviewed: February 7, 1996
Source: KHRG

I just arrived here today. I left the village on December 25th, but I have been staying in different places. I left because just within the last year I've been seized and bound 8 times by the DKBA, between June and December. The first time was July 14, and the last time was December 20. It's because I'm an ex-KNU soldier and now my son is a KNU soldier. Sometimes they came and arrested me in the daytime, and sometimes they came at night when I was asleep, aimed their guns at me and tied me up. When they arrested me they bound my hands and feet, they put iron handcuffs on me and took me to their office. I couldn't do anything bound like that, and it was not easy to sleep at night. When the village headman found out, he had to come and give them 10,000 kyats to release me. Usually it was the DKBA leader who arrested me, Pa Bu Lah, who comes from #1 Brigade area [Thaton District]. The real reason they arrested me is because some people told them I had plenty of money. They thought they would get plenty of money if they arrested me. They already took five cattle, one bicycle, and my household belongings from me. They can't take away my farmland, so they said I have to pay them twenty thousand kyats for my three plots of land. I also had to give 1,600 kyats every month to SLORC and DKBA.

The DKBA seized a student from Bee T'Ka village school and asked him whether he has sympathy for Kaw Thoo Lei [KNU]. When he said yes, they beat him up even though he is just a schoolboy. They also seized and bound the pastor of the village. His name is xxxx. People had to vouch for him, and then they released him. That was in August. The DKBA are staying in Bee T'Ka village, sometimes 8 of them and sometimes as many as 30. They tried to get people to destroy the Church by telling them that if they dig up the Church compound they'll find a relic of the Buddha. They lighted candles around the place and they made incantations. We told them there is no relic there, but they insisted that there is. Our Church building cost us 700,000 kyats. So we told them to go ahead and dig it up if they like, and if they find the relic that is good and fair and we won't ask any compensation - but if they don't find

anything, they will have to pay us 700,000 kyats to rebuild the Church. When they heard that, they changed their minds and didn't dismantle the Church.

Interview 23: HRV: Forced Labor, Torture, Livelihood, Refugee

Name: Saw Simon
Sex: Male
Age: 45, Karen Christian teacher
Family: Married, 5 children aged 12-23
Address: Po Yin village, Kawkareik Township
Interviewed: February 2, 1996
SOurce: KHRG

I arrived here [in the refugee camp] yesterday evening. I came because there's trouble around our village. For now we could still stay there, but there will soon be troubles. In the other villages they have troubles -- SLORC is forcing villagers to move and arresting people, so some villagers have already fled to be Baw Naw Hta. I know this will happen in every village, so I moved here with my family. We know that SLORC will give trouble to all the villages where they arrive. If they come, they'll burn down all the houses like they did before. Some villages where they are already staying, they order people to join them [probably as People's Militia], they steal chickens and they force people to carry water for them at their camp and cook for them. It's at Ka Dee Kee camp. There are two camps, Ku Doh and Ka Dee Kee, Battalions 62 and 32. The people have to go for a few days. If the village head can replace them after a few days, they can come home. If he can't they have to stay and work a long time. Just two weeks ago one of the village leaders from Ka Dee Kee village was beaten. His villagers ran away from them, so SLORC got angry and came and beat the headman.

There are about 100 houses in my village. Now some of the families have moved here, and some families are moving to other camps. Three or four families already arrived here. People from other villages are also leaving, but some are also staying in their villages. Our village is about 10 miles from their camp, so if the soldiers want to come [on offensive] it will only take them a few hours to walk.

Interview 24: HRV: Child Soldier, Killing, Forced Labor, Slavery, Freedom of Expression

Name: Aung Myint
Sex: Male
Age: 29, Karen Buddhist
Address: Pantanaw, Irrawaddy Delta

Name: Zaw Oo
Sex: Male
Age: 18, Burman Buddhist
Address: Hmawbi, Rangoon Division

Name: Maung Nyunt
Sex: Male
Age: 16, Burman Buddhist
Address: Daik Oo, Pegu Division
Interviewed: March 24, 1996
Source: KHRG

[All 3 were Privates with LIB 547 in Pa-an District. They escaped to Thailand in March 1996.]

Aung Myint: I was in the army for about one year. I gave my name to the army recruiting officers who arrived at my village. Out of about 50 houses [his section of town], 5 to 10 people must be recruited. They recruited about twice a year. [Actually this is forced conscription by quota; section leaders face arrest if the quota is not met.] Then, I had training in Weigali, Than Byu Zayat, at Division Headquarters No. 10 [Training Centre]. After the training, I was stationed in Nabu [north of Kawkareik in Pa'an District] where our headquarters were.

We mostly worked doing fatigue [army term for soldiers' labor], building barracks and baking bricks. We needed more bricks, so later we hired civilians to work, and we gave money to them. For those who carried the earth, 70 kyats per day and for those who dug the ground, 110 kyats. This is the fixed amount, but they [the officers] cut some of it for the battalion funds. So, that's why if the civilians rest, we had to bake bricks, alternating -- civilians 10 days, soldiers 10 days, and so on. We had to bake 2,500 bricks a day, starting from 6 a.m. until 11.30 a.m., then 12.30 p.m. until 6 p.m. [Rank and file soldiers throughout Burma are being forced to bake bricks for the profit of their officers. Villagers from Nabu area say they are constantly forced to provide wood

fuel for LIB 547's brick kilns and that this has wiped out most of the forest in the area. They also say that they are not paid when forced to bake bricks. The officers may be claiming salaries for villagers from SLORC authorities, then pocketing the money.

We were moved [from the camp] to the brick kiln site. The food was bad. Sometimes the beans were unavailable. And beef -- according to the rules we should get 3 pieces of beef [per issue] but actually, we received 3 beef bones -- we could not eat them. Two meals per day, lunch after 11 a.m. We always rushed to have lunch and dinner. We never received tinned meat from the battalion [the officers sell it]. We could still have accepted this if an effort was made to do the best possible. As soldiers we had to follow orders and sometimes finished our duties late -- we came back, and without time to have a bath, packed our dinners, took our guns and went to sentry duty. But when we would open our dinner, we despaired because of the food. On patrol, not much was different. If we asked the villagers, we could get vegetables, and we usually sold condensed milk [to the villagers, to get extra money] but this was not sufficient. We could not carry enough rice, so we had to ask the villagers [for rice]. At the brickworks site we received 5 kyats per day for food, plus money from sales of condensed milk, so our food was so poor and so bad that dogs could not eat it, and we had to work very hard.

We had to make 2,500 bricks [per day] and we used a cow on a rotating beam mechanism to grind the mortar. There were three shifts, so the total number of bricks to be completed per day was 7,500. If we did not finish, we were beaten. Those who beat us were also soldiers, the same as me but a different section, and some were younger than me. So once I told them, "My younger brothers, don't beat us. Look at that cow, we are the same as that cow. Willingly or unwillingly, we must work."

Our commander was Major Sein Win. He was just promoted and receives a major's salary. Our battalion also does other activities, like bean plantations, and pig and duck rearing. They are using soldiers for this work too. There are not so many soldiers in the battalion. After those who are on leave, in training, and who have run away, now our battalion has only 504 soldiers [technically, a full Battalion should have close to 1,000, but 500 is more common in the SLORC Army].

Our company stationed at the headquarters of the battalion worked in brick production. The other companies did other duties. I went to the frontline for two months, for mobilization in Myatpadine [southeast of Nabu towards Kawkareik]. There is a new road from Myatpadine to Kyone Doh. The

battalion called villagers as porters. If the column arrived to a village, we changed porters. Some villagers could not go as porters, so sometimes old women had to attend as porters, they couldn't carry things. The battalion gave no money to the porters. Each group of porters had to serve for at least a week. If we went to rest in a village we changed the porters, and collected new porters and new carts. If the porters didn't bring food with them we shared food with them, but I didn't see any special arrangement of food for the porters.

The villagers have to send logs for the battalion sawmill. The villagers must cut the trees and send them to the battalion. We used them for buildings and bridges. [In Nabu] there are quite a lot of Muslims, but now some ran away and some moved because LIB 547 took exactly half of the village. The only Indian [Muslim] part remaining is right around the mosque. The road cut the village down the middle, and one side became the LIB 547 compound. Many good houses were demolished. The Army also took the ricefields for their own bean plantations, 'bocate' and 'mart' beans. Nabu village has about 700 families, and about 300 families lost their land. The situation of the Muslims there is pitiful. The Nabu villagers lost their homes, farms, even their ricefields, so now they do not want to see the soldiers anymore.

As for road construction, from Nabu there is one main road headed to Kyone Doh and Kawkareik [actually this is 2 roads], and another headed to the DKBA monk's place [Myaing Gyi Ngu -- he may mean via Pa'an or via Pain Kyone]. That one starts at the Nabu mosque. The roads are about 40 feet wide. I myself didn't have to call the villagers, but a lot of villages have to work on that: Myatpadine, Nan Kaw Tay, Mon Su, Kalah Gone, In Chay, Da Way Hta, Tone Poh and so on. Sometimes 80 to 100 people per village. They had to sleep around the ricefields, and we [soldiers] also lived without shelter at the brickmaking site. Neither group had any decent shelter. We [soldiers] also had to volunteer to work on the road, but just for show, just for a very short time, together with policewomen and other soldiers. That day the TV reporters recorded it. They wanted to show that the Army served and worked for the people, but actually the people did the whole thing. About 40 policewomen came. They also helped to build army barracks. The battalion has many buildings yet to build.

I don't want to be a soldier, because we didn't have our basic living requirements met, especially for food, and they did not instruct us as human beings or treat us as human beings. If we are tired, they beat us like dogs and cows. They should speak encouragingly and gently, especially because there are many young guys in the battalion. The higher ranks usually say, "Stay if you can, and if you can't, you can run." Saya Tin Ngwe said that. He is a

quartermaster. But if we were caught [running], they would detain us. When they detain us, each time we come in or out of the cell they beat us five times -- 5 times going in, 5 times coming out. They beat with a stick, not by hand. Sometimes they order the prisoner to fill a bag with sand and stones and run for 3 hours [carrying it].

There are few Karen soldiers [in 547 battalion], and only two soldiers understand the Karen language. The DKBA soldiers, we called them "yellow headbands," and we use them only as guides, and to get information about the situation in the villages and the region. I know about them and their places because I am from headquarters, and we provided rations [to them], the same as our own, and we supported them with arms and ammunition. Before operations, they asked us for a number of weapons. The battalion provided them G-3 and G-4 [assault rifles], the same as ours. We also use Uzis, carbines, machine guns, 81mm and 82mm [Chinese manufactured] mortars and also RPG's [rocket-propelled grenades]. The Uzis are used by patrol leaders, assistant patrol leaders, medics, signals men. Yes, also medics.

I don't know the names or units of DKBA soldiers and leaders, because they seldom came to the battalion compound. The deal between us and them was for guidance on routes. Sometimes, they guarded the [SLORC army] compound. But I didn't deal with them myself. We did not trust them, because they have no clear policy or aims and no good leadership. What I heard is that they just demand paddy totalling 10 to 15 baskets from each family in the villages.

We also had other duties, but brick production was very hard and the reason we ran away is because of the brick production work. We could not eat well, and at night time, we had to carry timber for fuel. After that, for those who had sentry duties that night, they could not have a bath, only rush dinner and go away again. Sentry duty lasts for two hours per person per night, and I managed to escape when I was on sentry duty. I woke them [the two other interviewees] and we ran together. Then I gave my gun to one of my friends, who remained behind, and first we travelled towards xxxx village, but we could not find it and we lost our way. So we slept the night near a stream and we got up early and reached a village in early morning. We arrived at a house and begged for rice, had breakfast, then continued. But we did not know the way, we lost our way, and we had only one fork and three plates, but we decided to throw them away because they were army issue. We reached xxxx. We all had some money, totalling 350 kyats. On the way, we saw a rice stall, selling plates of rice and curry for 50 kyats, and we ate two plates of rice and curry costing 65 kyats each. Then, after that, we met some Karen adolescents and I

talked to them. They explained that they were going to the hills [this is often used to refer to crossing over the Dawna Range, into Thailand] so we joined with them. Later, the boys asked me about where we wanted to go, so we replied that we wanted to go to Thailand, and then the boys suggested that we go to a monk, and advised us to follow him, pointing him out to us along the way. The next morning, the monk woke us up and we travelled again. Close to Thailand, we reached a village, which we did not enter. We crossed a stream a short distance away. At that point, we saw a group of DKBA or militia, who asked us where were we from. We said nothing, but continued to follow the monk. We slept that night at a house not far from that village. At that house, we said to the monk that we wanted to find jobs. The monk said he knew a place where there was a stone mill and brick factory!

Later we saw a group of either DKBA or militia following us, and they asked us to stop, including the monk. We stopped, and we were all afraid. They said every person travelling along that road had to pay 200 kyats to them. I think they were DKBA. One of them explained that the money was for the village, the monastery and them. I had only 75 kyats, and they [the other interviewees] had no money, so I asked them to please accept 75 kyats. I begged to them and they agreed and gave permission to continue. After that, the monk said, "You were lucky because of me. If I were not with you, maybe it would have been dangerous for you." So, we all agreed and we all gave our thanks to the monk, but we didn't explain about ourselves. He didn't ask, but I think he knew something about us. He was a Karen monk. Then we continued, and we arrived at xxxx. I heard that SLORC soldiers were there. There, the water in the river [Moei River, which is the Thai border] was about the height of our necks, so because of the monk we went to find a shallower place to cross. Then we planned to cross when we met an old Indian man, who asked us where we were going. We answered that we were going to cross the river and he said, "This is the direction to jail. You will be arrested [by the Thais]". He showed another direction to cross the river. On the other side of the river, there were trucks and people carrying timber, so I said nothing, just lowered my head and crossed the river. We slept the night there. The monk had his acolyte, who had previously worked at the brick mill, and the next day he returned to say that there were no jobs available there, but there were some other jobs, such as making charcoal. He took us to a man who works baking charcoal, but he explained that we all were newly arrived, so we ought to rest a few days. Then he wanted to accept me only, because the other two are quite young. So I decided to work, to follow him. At that time, we had 55 kyats [that was evidently hidden from the DKBA] and I gave 50 kyats to them and followed him. But it is difficult for one to work and three to eat.

There are many soldiers who want to run away, and before there were many who ran, prior to us. Also some of the higher ranks like Saya San Myunt, and other sergeants. I heard they went to the hills. I hope I will see many ex-soldiers in Thailand! At least 6 to 8 soldiers wanted to join with us, but we didn't have enough time to call them. Also, I thought we could not all manage to escape. We reached here because of the monk. As for me, I don't have any good vocational training. In my village, I was a local farmer of betel leaves. It was not so bad, but because of inflation it is hard to live. The paddy farmers too have many difficulties. About four or five years ago, farmers had to give, for a reduced special price, about 12 baskets of unhusked rice per acre. Now they have increased it to 18 baskets per acre. Their price is less than half the value of the local market price. For those who have to borrow money from the government, they suffer the most. Some have no money at the start of the paddy season, so they take loans. Most of the farmers take loans.

On the way, we had one pair of clothes each, and now some people helped us for some more. He ["Zaw Oo"] had no sandals on the journey. As a soldier, it is very difficult to buy a longyi. My salary was 600 kyats [per month], but each month, I put 50 kyats into a savings account [the usual advice of army officers], plus had to give some for social welfare and we did not receive our full kit, so they cut our salaries in order to buy equipment. For example, we had no boots, belts or shoulder straps,...

Zaw Oo: These were never reissued since we were first stationed, after training.

Aung Myint: These things were excluded from the 1025 form [some kind of army issue document], so we had to pay out of our own salaries, as it was necessary to have them for patrols. So the battalion issued these things and cut the costs from our salaries. I received 600 kyats, but this was not sufficient for my expenses for the whole month, and they ["Zaw Oo" and "Maung Nyunt"] received 450 kyats, so it was very hard for them.

Zaw Oo: We only received between 360-390 [in the hand]. Before, I worked in a shop selling dry goods [chillies, onions, spices, etc.] in Hmawbi. I didn't do any regular school study. I joined the army in April 1995 in Mingaladon. I met some soldiers who encouraged me to enlist. My younger brother followed me and tried it also. He was placed with another battalion. I had training for 4 months at Training Centre No. 9 in Thaton. After the training, I was sent to LIB 547.

Maung Nyunt: I was a student. I attended 7th Standard, then I left school. I

am the eldest of six, my brothers and sisters are in Standard 7, Standard 5, and some do not attend school. My family has a lot of problems, I did not want to stay at my house. I was not good in education, and my parents beat me. So my friends and I enrolled in the army, but my parents came to the Nyaunglebin recruiting camp and took me back home. My friends and I, the four of us enlisted together there. All of our parents and sisters came to take us back home, so they let us go back home. I was about 15. After that, I left school and I stayed with my grandmother, then I joined the army again with my friend. His name is xxxx. He was appointed to the same battalion, but on the night we escaped he was on patrol, not in the battalion compound. That is why he could not join with us. We had planned to run together. He is the same age as me.

Aung Myint: In the battalion there are many young soldiers, younger than him.

Maung Nyunt: They are about 13 or 14 years old. During the training, out of 250, there were about 8 or 9 soldiers who were around 13 or 14 years old. I don't know exactly for the whole 547 battalion, but in my company about four were younger than me.

Aung Myint: Now the blind or cross-eyed are accepted too.

Maung Nyunt: During the nighttime they cannot see, so they bump into people and things.

Aung Myint: My experience during training was that before I thought I would be the oldest, but I saw that grey- and white-haired people without teeth also had joined. They were older than me, so I had to lower my head to them. They were about 45 to 50. Now they are still in the battalion. They also work but at light jobs.

They ["Zaw Oo" and "Maung Nyunt"] both finished the same training course and arrived at the same time.

Zaw Oo: About three weeks were for basic military training, and after that fatigue, such as carrying stones from the stream to the training compound, and constructing roads and bridges. Sometimes, finding and collecting wood for fuel. We went to Ngamoeyaik Hill to collect wood. Usually, morning was for drill practice, and afternoons for fatigue. We had to work even if it was raining. We were beaten, at least three slaps per day.

Maung Nyunt: We were kicked.

Zaw Oo: We had to jump like frogs too. Put your hands on your head and jump up and down for quite a long distance, and sometimes we had to jump across the drilling practice field. It was so tiring that we could not eat sometimes. The field was quite wide, and we had to go back and forth sometimes three times.

Maung Nyunt: After the training I never shot a gun, but during the training I did. About 3 or 4 times. Firstly, we practiced shooting from 100 yards at a 4 foot square target. Then, using a submachine gun, shooting mobile targets from 50 yards. Then, we practiced shooting water pots and bottles. I hit the pot from a distance of 100 yards. I used 5 rounds, with a G-3. And I shot ten rounds of a G-4 also.

Zaw Oo: I had to try two times, but hit nothing. And then I shot 22 rounds and hit only once. We did not receive enough practice. We had to spend most of the time on road construction, and clearing scrub. Even then we were not finished. We had to go to the top of the mountain and build a pagoda. We carried sand and stones to the hill.

Q: What did you do at #547 battalion?

Maung Nyunt: Mostly fatigue. Before working at the brick site, we had to carry bricks to the battalion compound, and clear scrub around the perimeter. They did not provide enough equipment, such as machetes, to clear the thick bushes.

Zaw Oo: Our company commander was Major Tin Win Kyi. We worked for the battalion funds. Actually, to carry 1,000 bricks we should get 600 kyats. One time, we took 3,000 bricks, and we did that three times in one day.

Aung Myint: The army battalion commander kept that money, for the battalion funds.

Q: Why did you escape?

Maung Nyunt: We could not persevere.

Q: Persevere... Don't you know about our 3 causes? [The "3 National Causes" constantly trumpeted by SLORC: Non-disintegration of the Union, Non-disintegration of National Solidarity and Consolidation of National Sovereignty]

Maung Nyunt: Yes, I know of them.

Zaw Oo: We don't want to go back.

Aung Myint: The army's administration is not fair. Officers and privates; his men and my men [gesturing to indicate different places for each]. Privates are treated as cows, that is why many soldiers try to escape. Some try to go to Thailand and some try to return home. It is very dangerous, and we are very lucky. Many soldiers will try to escape in the near future, because they suffer a lot and there is inequality. For those who run to their homes, they are mostly rearrested and the army forces them to serve again. I didn't want to be rearrested. I prefer to choose between death or freedom. Before leaving, we discussed about what the Karen soldiers would do to us [if they surrendered], that we would explain the truth and let them decide, because we had only one chance to be free. If there is equality, we could serve. If a soldier accidently fires a round, he is punished. When the same thing happened to an officer, he was promoted. An officer misfired his pistol and he was not punished, but got a promotion a month later. But if this happened to a private, he would be punished. And officers are very proud -- they never treat the lower ranks as human beings, so most of the privates suffer a lot and then despair. My experience with an officer was with Captain Aung Nyo Thein, who slapped me because I had put only a small amount of Ajinomoto [Japanese MSG seasoning] in his curry, which was not sufficient for him. Then he clicked his tongue, and I was slapped again. The army considers only rank, not right or wrong. This is injustice. Maybe this is the higher ranks' mistake or the lower ranks' mistake, I don't know, but there is injustice.

Q: What is the soldiers' opinion of the NLD?

Aung Myint: As for the soldiers, we can see Aung San Suu Kyi and NLD are not a problem. I don't know about my officers' opinions, but I know they listen to BBC and VOA. We could not because we had no radio, as they are very expensive and very hard to buy. [Even if they can get a radio, soldiers are generally strictly prohibited from listening to foreign broadcasts.]

Interview 25: HRV: Forced Labor, Killing, Livelihood, Detention, Torture

Source: FTUB

The DKBA soldiers in Ger Ghaw demand a tax of 15,000 kyats per month for every saw mill operating in the region. They use this money only for their own benefit. The villagers receive no benefit. These soldiers order the villagers to

construct places for them to stay in that are of a very good standard. The villagers in Meh Pleh Toh area [the area around Ger Ghaw] must always help them. This DKBA group is 'a lawless band' which wants to catch and kill people who have done nothing wrong. They do this because the SLORC is behind, supporting them. Many DKBA are now always taking "*kyaw law dee*" and other drugs. [Kyaw law dee means 'cockroach eggs', more commonly known as '*myin say*', or 'horse medicine' -- a strong amphetamine which is smoked and can be fatal if swallowed. It makes the user sleepless and aggressive for about a day. It is common in Thailand, where possession is punishable by imprisonment. It sells for US$ 3-5 per tablet depending on quality.]

On February 6, 1996, DKBA soldiers executed Htoo Nu (male, 35, Karen Buddhist farmer from Tee Sah Ra village). Htoo Nu was single and had been staying in Thailand for some time. He returned to Tee Sah Ra for his engagement ceremony on February 2, as he was to be married. On February 6, at about 10 a.m., DKBA soldiers Kyu Wah, Twee Maw, Blar Kay, Plah Wah, Par Klaw, Thaw Kya, and Ka Lu entered Tee Sah Ra village and arrested Htoo Nu. Kyu Wah, Twee Maw, and Blar Kay had previously been KNLA soldiers at Kawmoora and had known Htoo Nu for a long time. Htoo Nu was not a KNU member, though in the past he had some contact with them because Tee Sah Ra used to be a strongly KNU-held village. He may have been arrested simply because he had been in the refugee camps. Witnesses say that Htoo Nu could have fled at the time of his arrest but chose not to. The armed DKBA tied his hands behind his back and took him to the village elder's house. His relatives begged for his release and testified to his innocence, but this was not accepted and the DKBA warned everyone not to follow them, threatening to kill anybody who did.

Htoo Nu was taken to Ger Ghaw T'la Aw Kla, their camp near Ger Ghaw, where he was beaten and tortured severely. Finally, his hands were tied to his waist and he was hung from a tree by his midriff until his death, which occurred in the afternoon of the same day (February 6). His death was witnessed by monks in the nearby monastery. All seven soldiers involved in his arrest also participated in his execution, however it is not clear if others were also involved. The execution was ordered by Thein Shwe, an officer of DKBA #333 Brigade.

On February 27, 1996, some time before 4 a.m., KNLA soldiers launched an attack on the DKBA unit stationed near the monastery in Ger Ghaw village commanded by Yay Naun Keh, commander of DKBA #4 Battalion, #999 Brigade. The battle lasted for approximately one to two hours. Of the 20-30 DKBA present at the time, 8 DKBA soldiers were killed and their camp was

destroyed. One villager and two white-robed lay monastery attendants were also killed. In withdrawing, the DKBA left some wounded behind in the ruins, but the KNLA did not have sufficient time available to safely enter the location and capture them. After the 1-2 hours of combat, SLORC and some DKBA troops approached and shelled the KNLA, and pursued them as they withdrew.

Subsequent to the attack, about six SLORC Battalions, including Light Infantry Battalions (LIB) #355 and #357, Infantry Battalion (IB) #230, and battalions from #88 Light Infantry Division (LID) formed a combined column of over 1,000 soldiers commanded by Colonel Kyi Thein in order to pursue the KNLA soldiers. On 28 February more than 30 SLORC army trucks arrived in Tee Sah Ra village, loaded with these fully equipped SLORC troops and supplies. Their officers went to the village elders to demand an adequate number of carts from the village in order to transport the equipment and supplies in pursuit of the KNLA soldiers. From February 28 through March 7 the column moved through the area, taking civilians as porters along the way. Although the purpose of the column was supposed to be to seek out and destroy the KNLA force, the primary activity of the troops throughout that time was looting of villages. Many villages suffered heavy losses. For example, Lo Baw village was looted on 5 March by soldiers of LIB 355 and 357 and IB 230, led by Maj. Aung Kyaw and Maj. Than Soe; Day Law Pya village was looted by LID 88 troops led by Lt. Col. Aung San Chit on March 5; and Meh Bleh Wah Kee village was looted on March 7 by troops from LID 88 led by Major Ye Tun. These 3 villages alone reported losses in rice, oxen, cattle, goats, pigs, and chickens worth about 350,000 kyats in value. Villagers reported that all their personal and household belongings were also looted, even items as small as spoons. SLORC soldiers returning from sorties into the villages were seen using 15 bullock carts at a time to transport their loot. Given their focus on these activities, after an entire week they were still completely unsuccessful in finding the KNLA force.

At the same time, the DKBA ordered each village in the Ger Ghaw area to pay 10,000 kyats toward the funerals of the dead DKBA soldiers. Villages which had to pay included Ker Ghaw, Sgaw Ko, Kwee Lay, Pah Klu, Taw Oot, Tee Sah Ra, Tee Wah Blaw, Tee Law Thee, Paw Baw Ko, B'Naw Kleh Kee, Way Hsah, and Meh Bleh. On March 7 the village elders paid the money.

After the KNLA attack, the DKBA proceeded to intensify their efforts to go in search of villagers who had made "mistakes" [against them]. In retaliation for the KNLA attack, the DKBA arrested Tee Sah Ra villagers Tee Kler (male, age 20, Karen Buddhist farmer, married) and Dee Heh (male, age 35, Karen Buddhist, married with 5 children, used to be village secretary) on 3 March.

At the time Tee Kler and Dee Heh were attending the annual temple festival just outside the village. At about 1 a.m. they were at a betting stall at the festival, when DKBA soldiers Po Law and Kyu Wah (a former KNLA soldier who joined DKBA in July 1995; he is from Tee Sah Ra and knew the 2 men) approached with their weapons. Dee Heh's wife told him to run, but he said, "I have made no mistakes, if they want to kill me they can do so." Tee Kler and Dee Heh bought food for the two DKBA soldiers. Then Po Law and Kyu Wah arrested them and took them into the village together with 5 or 6 other DKBA soldiers who had been waiting just outside the festival. In the village they tied the men's hands behind their backs, put them inside a cattle corral and guarded them there until daybreak.

In the morning, Tee Kler and Dee Heh's relatives came and begged the DKBA soldiers to release them, but they did not. At around 7 a.m. they loaded Tee Kler and Dee Heh into a car and the two victims' relatives begged the DKBA soldiers to permit them to go with them, but the DKBA refused. After they boarded the car and left the village they traveled only about 50 yards, then dismounted the car and took Tee Kler and Dee Heh across the fields, by another route back to their camp at Ger Ghaw T'la Aw Kla. The victims' relatives followed them a short time later, and along the way at Paw T'Lu Noh Pa Doh they saw blood on the ground and the earth was disturbed from the apparent beating that had taken place. The victims' parents arrived at Ger Ghaw on the same day but did not get permission to meet with their sons. When Dee Heh's wife went to Ger Ghaw and asked Kyu Wah, "Son, where is your father?" [Here "Son" and "Father" are used as terms for age, "Father" meaning Dee Heh], Kyu Wah replied, "Didn't my father go back already?" and Po Law said, "If you want to see Dee Heh, go to T'la Aw Kla." At that time on 3 March, nobody knew if Tee Kler and Dee Heh were alive or dead.

On March 7, DKBA soldiers in Ger Ghaw called for the village elders from Tee Sah Ra to go and meet with them regarding Tee Kler and Dee Heh. On 8 March the DKBA soldiers called Tee Kler and Dee Heh's relatives to go and meet with them at Ger Ghaw. On 9 March, people learned that Tee Kler had been released and Dee Heh had been shot twice and executed in the afternoon of 7 or 8 March by the DKBA soldiers. Tee Kler did not see the execution because his face was covered at the time, but he heard the shots. Tee Kler had also been seriously beaten. Regarding the execution of Dee Heh, the DKBA said that he had "made a mistake", and regarding the arrest of Tee Kler, the DKBA soldiers said that he was "a leader of Kawthoolei [KNU] spies". DKBA held Dee Heh responsible for guiding the KNLA forces who attacked them, but at the time of the attack Dee Heh was in Thailand trading goods. He didn't know anything.

In Tee Sah Ra, almost all of the villagers are now afraid because of the DKBA murders. DKBA get their power from SLORC in order to seize members of KNU or people who sometimes help KNU. Thus, some of the men in the village who are under surveillance of DKBA are not at ease. Some of the elders in the village are not trusted by the people because many villagers think that they are working together with the Burmese military. So now villagers feel unable to trust each other, because some DKBA soldiers have relatives and family in the village and they are always watching and listening.

DKBA members from Tee Sah Ra are involved in the use of drugs, especially Twee Maw, Kyu Wah, Po Law, Pah Klaw, Plah Wah, Kah Lu, Blah Kay, and Thaw Kya. One myin say ["horse medicine"] tablet costs 500 kyats, or 100 Thai baht [US$4], or less for people who buy a lot. They are readily available at Way Sha village south of Tee Sah Ra, and the Burmese soldiers and leaders do not prevent it or enforce the laws. They are also available in Thailand. The effect lasts for about a day, so some DKBA try to use one every day [it is unlikely that many of them could get enough money by extorting it from villagers; there is a good chance the SLORC is supplying at least some of the drug, especially further north and at DKBA headquarters in Myaing Gyi Ngu.].

So the situation now in Tee Sah Ra village is not peaceful, and it is as if every person is against the others, not like before. Some villagers say that they have no hope that the situation will become better in the future and believe that the village could be destroyed again [the village was previously razed to the ground by the Burmese military in l984]. The villagers do not trust between one another any longer. Everybody is always under surveillance. The average number of SLORC soldiers in the village at any one time is 50-60. The DKBA have no fixed presence, but they are not far away and can come quickly and easily. They frequently come to visit their families.

On December 22, 1995, the Township LORC and Customs and Timber officials from Myawaddy held a meeting in Tee Sah Ra monastery and told village elders and the public that the villages in the area would begin working together and that they would improve life in the area. The Township LORC leader said that they would develop good administration for the village and make a complete registration of the village members in order to decrease their demands upon the villagers. Regarding education and health, he said that they would choose people who had a certificate of passing of Standard 8, 9, or 10 at a Burmese school for teacher training or nursing training. They promised to make new laws limiting tree cutting and unsound forestry practices. But the situation has not in the slightest developed as LORC leaders had said. The DKBA soldiers have been given power over the villages by SLORC and they

control the villages as they like. The SLORC has said to DKBA, "Your work is to rule with the villagers, and we will not intefere in the matter; you yourselves do as you please." There is no good administration, as they said there would be. As for the registration, most villagers do not want to be involved in this, only the few villagers who travel back and forth to other places in Burma. [The registration is most likely to determine the size of forced labor, extortion and rice quotas.]

As the Township and Village LORC leaders instructed at the meeting, the fence along the road to Meh Bleh to be constructed by the villagers is now complete, however it is not very good and serves no benefit [this fence of several kilometers was built entirely with forced labor and materials from the villagers]. It was only done because they ordered it. As for forestry, there are still no laws. To cut down trees to sell, all that's needed is to give money to SLORC soldiers and then loggers can cut as many trees as they like. A new clinic has been constructed and some nurses have been selected according to qualifications, but the clinic has still not opened and not all the staff have been chosen.

In August 1995, Township LORC leaders ordered construction of a school at Tee Sah Ra village. They refer to this as a Border Area Development school [part of the SLORC BAD programme]. For the construction of this school, they needed timber and the Township LORC took this timber from the monastery, totaling 170 planks [other sources say the planks on the monastery average about 8-10 feet long by about 10 inches wide; apparently the planks were actually ripped from the existing monastery building]. They did not want to give these planks, but because the Township LORC leaders have the power and the soldiers have the power, the people had to give them. The money given amounted to only half the worth of the planks, and until now they have not received the other half. Also, the Christian Church had to give planks and did not receive any money for them. Additionally, one villager named -- had wood and the Township LORC took all of his wood, although they did reimburse him for the cost of the wood. The Township LORC said the total cost of the school was 600,000 kyats, and they made the village pay them 300,000 of this [actually the whole school probably cost less than 300,000]. It took a great effort of the villagers to raise the money. The village community also had to work hard on the construction of the school, but did not receive any pay. As a result of having to do this work, the villagers are not free to do their own work. So the rice fields were neglected and ruined. Many of the villagers did not have enough food and some of them have serious illnesses. The people do not have anything coming to them, but they have to give away all the time. These villagers cannot live stay happily and contentedly.

Now the school is finished as ordered. There was already a school there, but the old one was demolished to make way for the new one. The old primary school had 5 teachers whose upkeep was taken care of by the villagers, but they have all now lost their positions because they do not have the formal qualifications demanded by the Township LORC. [The former teachers probably graduated from KNU schools and taught in Karen, whereas SLORC enforces a Burmese-only curriculum.] Many people are now in debt because of the cost of the school. The Township LORC has given not a single kyats for the upkeep of the new teachers, so the villagers will have to provide that as well.

The SLORC soldiers also always take the domestic animals from the villagers all the time and pay only half the worth of the animals. This is the situation all through out Meh Bleh Doh area. Each group of SLORC soldiers take animals like this 3 times every month, and there are so many groups of soldiers that it is a great burden for the villagers.

Interview 26: HRV: Forced Labor, Porterage, Livelihood, Religious Persecution

Name:	Ma Chit
Sex:	Female
Age:	37
Nationality:	Karen
Religion:	Indian Muslim
Family:	Married, 4 children
Address:	xxxx village, Hlaing Bwe Township
Interviewed:	March, 1996
Source:	KHRG

Way Sha (also known as Quay Sha) village is about 10 miles north of Thingan Nyi Naung, in Kawkareik Township near Myawaddy. Than Ma Ya Taung mountain is about 4 miles west of Way Sha. On the hilltop there is a pagoda built on a boulder on the hill outcrop. There is also a holy Buddha's footprint about 18 inches long in the rock and a pleasant waterfall. The Myawaddy District LORC Chairman, Colonel Maung Maung Naing, ordered the development of the location as a tourist site, probably to attract Thai weekend tourists once the Myawaddy - Mae Sot bridge is opened. He also ordered development of the waterfall to supply hydroelectricity to Myawaddy town and Thingan Nyi Naung military base.

Villagers were ordered to begin constructing a road from Way Sha to Than Ma Ya Taung in January 1996. Thousands of villagers are involved. The military are not directly supervising the work, but are giving work assignments to village heads assigning each of their villages a portion of road which they must complete. They have not specified what punishments will follow if the assignment is not completed. Each family is required to send one person, both to construct the road and to do sentry duty along the road route at night. The villagers receive no money, and no medical assistance if they suffer an accident. The embankment for the road, about 2 feet high by 30 feet wide, is now nearing completion. Villages involved are Tee Wah Blaw, Than Ba Ya, Ger Ghaw, Kyaw Ko, Lo Baw, Kwee Lay, Toh Thu Kee, Thay K'Tay, and Wah K'Lu.

I left my village in February [1996] because of the hardship and the loss of rights, especially because of the very bad economic situation. We were legally issued ID cards years ago. The SLORC changed to new ID cards in 1989 and 1990, and they refused to issue us [the Muslim community] new cards. So we are not able to travel and are not looked on as Burmese citizens.

We have to serve for three days each week at different kinds of "voluntary" work, such as repairing the roads, cleaning the clinic in the village, and serving as [military] porters. At night, our village has a duty to act as sentries guarding the road, one person every 20 feet [along the roadside]. This duty is rotated through every family, so we had to go once every 5 days. Sometimes I had to send my daughter, who is only 11 years old. Porter duty comes around to our [family's] turn once or twice each month. Every time we have to carry to Ta Le camp [about 30 km. to the east across the Dawna Mountains] carrying supplies and ammunition. It is a must for each family to provide one person when called, so if people can't go they have to hire someone else to go for them at 150 kyats per day. Last year some people tried to refuse to go for this duty, and they were locked in wooden stocks [mediaeval-European style leg stocks] and placed in a pit in the ground 5 plah [8 feet] deep, though I didn't see this myself.

Porter fees of 50 kyats per month [per family] must be paid, "volunteer labor" fees of 150 kyats per month, and many other fees, such as "road repair" fees. [All of these are just extortion by military commanders.] Also for the USDA fund, even though I am not a USDA member. [USDA = Union Solidarity Development Association, SLORC's "mass support" organization formed in 1993 by threatening and coercing people into joining; non-members get nowhere under SLORC.] If they have [USDA] activities in our area we have to give money for the cost of their food, travel expenses, etc.

In early 1995, the DKBA led by Saw Nyunt Tin and Ye Nan Geh arrested 3 Muslims and 3 Christians in our village. One of the Christians, Saw Ni, was badly beaten and secretly executed. His relatives heard about this and reported it to a SLORC officer, hoping that they would take action against DKBA. Then the SLORC came and checked the place where Saw Ni had been buried. They saw that he had been badly beaten and killed with his hands tied behind his back, but instead of taking any action against DKBA they just took the other 5 prisoners away with them. They were finally released in December (1995).

So the villagers are not happy to live in our village, especially the Muslims and Christians. Now almost all of the Christians have already left, and only one third of the Muslims are still living there, about 45 Muslims families.

Interview 27: HRV: Forced Labor, Torture, Livelihood, Women

Name:	Nai Myint Naing
Sex:	Male
Age:	23
Nationality:	Mon, fisherman
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, 2 children aged 3 and 6
Address:	Taung Kun village, Ye Township
Interviewed:	March 20, 1996
Source:	KHRG

[Nai Myint Naing did forced labor on the Ye-Tavoy railway and as a porter.]

I arrived here 6 days ago because of the railway line. They asked for people to work every week. If we can't go, we have to pay 3,000 kyats per family. We also have to pay porter fees. Even if we go, we have to pay 4,500 kyats. And we have to carry our own food. If we don't go, we have to pay 3,000 kyats more. SLORC first told us that if we pay the 4,500 kyats and come to work once, then for one year they won't call us anymore and won't ask any more money. But that was not true. They call us all the time. After they finish the rotation among all the houses, they call us again. But not next year, the same year!

I worked on the railway in September, after the harvest. I had to work between Nat Gyi Zin and Pya Thon Zu [Three Pagodas village in Ye Pyu Township, not Three Pagodas Pass] to build a new embankment along the old Japanese telegraph route. It is all new. Last year during rainy season they stopped the work, and this year they started a new route. I had to work for 15 days. We also had

to bring food with us, and 1,500 kyats per person to buy food [they carry only rice with them and they have to buy vegetables and other things at the worksite, which are very expensive].

This year, some people from our village and a nearby village have to work in the Kalein Aung/Kyaun Sone area. We don't have to walk there. They take us by truck but we have to pay for the truck.

I was a porter 15 days ago. At first, the headman asked me for porter fees to give to SLORC but I couldn't give. I had no money left, and not even enough food to eat at home. That's why I couldn't pay. So I stayed at home and SLORC soldiers from #409 Battalion came and arrested me. "Why didn't you pay the money?" they said. And they kicked me with their big army boots in my back. Until now, I cough with blood. Then they took me to carry heavy things. They arrested me in the village. Many people were sleeping outside the village [in field huts or in hiding], so they only arrested two men. The SLORC said: "If you don't come as a porter, we will consider you as a rebel!" I was a porter for 15 days but they didn't let me go. I ran away.

After we ran away, the SLORC came back to our village and asked the women: "Where are your husbands?" They questioned them and beat them too. Sometimes they called the women on various days [to the Army camp] and some had to stay for the night. Some were forced to sleep with them.

Interview 28: HRV: Forced Labor, Livelihood, Women

Name:	Mi Pan
Sex:	Female
Age:	45
Nationality:	Mon, daily wages
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, 4 children
Address:	Proh village, Thanbyuzayat Township, Mon State
Interviewed:	March 20, 1996
Source:	KHRG

[Mi Pan fled because of extortion and forced labor on the Ye-Tavoy railway and the Thanbyuzayat-Proh road. Thanbyuzayat is 80 km. north of Ye, far from the railway.]

I arrived in Plat Hon Pai about one month ago. In my village, we are working

[for SLORC] all the time and we can't get enough food to feed our family because we have to pay too many taxes like porter fees, fees for the car road and for the railway. That is why I left. We had to pay 100 kyats for general work, and for porter fees 50 kyats every month for each family. The people from Thanbyuzayat township have had to work on the railway since last year. Last year I had to work on the railway. Not this year, because we left just before they called for people again.

The railway goes from Ye to Tavoy through Kalein Aung. People from Thanbyuzayat township have to work near Ye. Other people work in other sections. Our village has to work in Kaloh village, about 2 miles south of Ye, in Ye township. One person from every family in the whole village has to go. I had to dig and cut through the mountain. They are repairing the railway from Kaloh village to Kalein Aung. They stopped the work last year and started building a new embankment which is going in a straight line. The old embankment had many curves. Now they are building in a straight line.

We also have to work on the road from Thanbyuzayat to Proh village. This is a new road. The road is passing through six villages: Pa Nga, Krok Pi, Ah Khong, Ang Kae, Koh Lee and Proh villages. The people from these villages have to work on the car road. They started building this road this year but I don't exactly when [they started in October 1995]. They are working on several parts of that road.

Interview 29: HRV: Forced Labor, Porterage

Name: Nai Kyin
Sex: Male
Age: 50
Nationality: Mon, rubber planter
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, 4 children
Address: Thaung Bauk village, Kya In Seik Gyi Township
Interviewed: March 20, 1996
Source: KHRG

[Nai Kyin did forced labor on the road from Thaung Bauk (30 km. east of Thanbyuzayat) to Kya In Seik Gyi, 20 km. to the north on the Ataran River. He was also a porter.]

I arrived here 10 days ago because of the car road from Thaung Bauk to Kya In

Seik Gyi. It is a new road. They started it in October 1995. Our headman called every section to work there. Later, the SLORC kept ordering him all the time to get workers for the road. Our headman doesn't like to call the villagers so often, who have no more time for their own jobs. So the headman told the SLORC, "If you want people, take them yourself". Now the SLORC come and arrest people all the time to work. We have no time to find money for our family.

In Thaung Bauk, there are five "islands" [before there were islands; now there is no more water in between, but the villagers still call the 5 parts "islands"]. On each "island", there are about 100 houses. Every day, the headman called 40 people from one "island" to go. First one "island", then the next one, etc. Then they took 40 people from the first "island" again [by rotation]. We had no time to rest. I worked on that road 3 days every week. No pay. We could not go home at night. We had to stay at the worksite. Now the headman doesn't select like before, and the SLORC themselves arrest people to work. Now, it is no longer 40 people per "island", it is as many as they can grab. When they catch people, they order them to work much more than 3 days. If the villager doesn't want to go, he has to pay money.

They also take porters. If the villager doesn't want to go, he has to pay money. They catch porters themselves. In January this year SLORC arrested me to go as a porter. I was on the way back from my garden to my house. They tied me up with a rope. I had to carry army things, like guns and bullets. I was a porter for 17 days. They didn't release me but I ran away.

Interview 30: HRV: Forced labor, Extortion, Porterage

Name:	Nai Maung Hla
Sex:	Male
Age:	25
Nationality:	Mon, trader/labor
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, no children
Address:	Ye town, Ye township
Interviewed:	March 19, 1996
Source:	KHRG

[Nai Maung Hla is a trader from Ye town who tells of the curfews and extortion being imposed on the citizens of Ye. He has also done railway labor.]

I arrived here four days ago, but I am used to coming here and going back to Ye. I have relatives here but I am a trader. I came here with goods from Burma to sell here.

The situation in Ye is hard. People to pay a lot of taxes and also the cost of living, like the rice price, is very expensive. So most of the people, mainy the teenagers, would like to try to go to Thailand to seek jobs. Also the SLORC have made a curfew in Ye, so after 10 p.m, nobody can leave their houses and go on the streets. if someone is caught on the streets after 10 p.m., he will be arrested and put in jail for one day. This curfew is because many SLORC leaders come often to the area to deal and discuss about the gas pipeline project. They always have meetings and get-together in Ye and SLORC is afraid that they can be a target and these leaders are in danger, or that the people could start demonstrations like in 1988. So to prevent this from happening, they impose a curfew for ten days or 15 days at a time. When they have leaders in Ye, they impose curfew. When the leaders leave and they see everything is okay, then they lift the curfew. The curfews started a long time ago. Before 1988, we also had curfews but with the SLORC it is much stricter.

Before Ye was a happy place. Many people were walking around the streets. In the night, we had movies and a lot of businesses were going on. But now, Ye is so quiet. Now we have a very big cinema hall but we don't have enough electrical power. This oil lamp here gives more light than the lamps in the cinema. And after 8 p.m., there is no more power supply at all. This means no more movies. At night time, nobody walks in the streets. It is quiet and the business is not so good. Ye now is not so happy.

[He drew up the following list of taxes that people in Ye have to pay:]

Normal Tax:	200 kyats/month
Porter fees:	300 kyats/month
Railway protection fee:	40 kyats/month
Fire guard:	6 kyats/month
Section fire protection:	20 kyats/month
Railway construction fee:	
minimum (for poor families):	3,000 kyats
maximum (for richer families):	7,000 kyats
House tax for the poor:	22 kyats/year for a bamboo house

For others, tax on the value of the house, which is half the price of the house. For example, if your house is worth 50,000 kyats, you have to pay 25,000 kyats per year.

Farm tax per acre: 1,000 kyats/year
Paddy tax per acre: 3 baskets of paddy/year

The porter fees are collected by the section leaders. After collecting this money they find people to hire as porters and they pay them with that money. But for example, if they collect a total of 30,000 kyats and need to hire 5 people as porters, they just pay each porter 3,000 kyats. In total, they pay 15,000 kyats to the porters. The section leaders keep the rest of the money for themselves. They are corrupt. They are appointed by SLORC. If the people are unable to pay this tax, they have to go as porter without any pay.

Even if you pay the porter fees, sometimes the soldiers see you in the street and arrest you. Then your family has to go with money, 5,000 kyats to pay to the SLORC and after that you can go back home. If you don't pay, you have to go as a porter. Yes, they are doing this in Ye now.

Q: The 3,000 kyats as a minimum for railway construction fee, is that per year?

A: No, not per month or per year. It depends on the project needs. If the work is not completed, people have to pay another round. Just this year [1996] I've had to pay this three times already. Each family has to pay this - and 3,000 kyats is only for poor families. If the family is wealthy, they have to pay 7,000 kyats. The people who cannot afford to pay all that money have to go and work on the railway. A lot of people from Ye have to go. Five months ago people from Ye went to work on the railway. Two people were just taking a rest on the side of the railway. The ground collapsed and these two people died.

At present, people from Ye township have to work on different stretches between the border of Tenasserim Division and Ye. Some people have to go to some stretches and others on other stretches, far from Ye. At this moment, people from Ye don't have to work on the Ye-Tavoy car road, only on the railway. But before, they used to go to repair that road. Now they are only enlarging small parts of that road. Near Ye as well.

Also at army camps. Before, the people had to build for Battalion 61. Now, they have to build for 343 Battalion. It is a new battalion, so they need a new army camp close to Ye town. People have to pay for camp construction fees. And after they have already paid, people have to go and work there. They have to do construction work. They have to build bunkers too. Everything! 343 battalion seems good [not too bad], better than 61. 61 Battalion always steals

chickens, pigs. They shoot them and eat them. When they see women, they call them and rape them. When they see men, they catch them to be porters. 343 is better. They don't take people's chickens and don't rape women. 61 is still in Ye. These two battalions do not cooperate well together.

I bring dried fish, books, chilly powder, thanaka [makeup], and cigarettes to sell here. I carry nothing back to sell in Ye. As a trader, I earn sometimes 1,500 kyats, sometimes 1,800 or 2,000 per month.

Q: How can you afford to pay the railway construction fees?

A: I had to go and work there twice. The first time for 10 days in October 1995 near Bauk Pin Gwin and the second time for 6 days in January 1996 at the "12-mile" site. These sections were not completed last year yet. There were many prisoners there too. I had to dig the ground and carry the earth to the embankment. No salary. I had to bring food and rice from my house in Ye. At the worksite, villagers sell food but it is very expensive. For example, two cigarettes cost 5 kyats in Ye and at the worksite, you get only one cigarette for 5 kyats. At night, I just slept in the forest.

Interview 31: HRV: Forced labor, Porterage, Women

Name:	Ma Tin
Sex:	Female
Age:	35
Nationality:	Mon, farmer/trader
Religion:	Indian Muslim
Family:	Married, 3 children
Address:	Yah Pu village, Ye Township
Interviewed:	March 17, 1996
Source:	KHRG

[Ma Tin has done 45 days of forced labor on the Ye-Tavoy railway since last November's harvest.]

I have a slash-and-burn field. It is very small. We grow paddy and we get between 15 and 25 tins a year. We don't have to give any to SLORC. It is not enough to feed our family. We can only eat a few months with that. We have to buy rice from other people. It costs 60 kyats for one pyi [about 2 kg.] of rice. We have to work as day laborers in other people's gardens. I am also trading. I brought some dry fish, dried chilies and cooking oil to sell here. I will buy

and carry back 10 pyi of rice. The rice price is different between here and there. In Yah Pu, it is very difficult to get. We have to go and buy it in Ye. Here, we use the barter system.

I had to work on the railway in Nwe Lay for 45 days after the harvest. First time, 15 days. After 15 days, I could go home and rest for 15 days. But the next time, I worked for 30 days without stopping. Altogether 45 days. I didn't get any money. I had to work there for my family [as the one person demanded from each family]. Now I have finished the work on the railway for my family and I am crushing stones. For this job, I get money.

On the railway I had to dig holes to get earth. A work assignment is given to each village. We had to buy food ourselves. At night we slept in a labor camp, in a place like a barracks for the workers. We had a roof and walls. Fifty villagers had to sleep in one barrack and there were more than 10 barracks. It is near Nwe Lay. All of the villagers had to build the camp themselves. There were no soldiers there. Some of the headmen worked with us and were in charge. The headmen had to go together with the workers but they only watched them. They had to stay there all the time. One of the villagers was sick at the time and she was given medicine, but as soon as she returned home she died. I think that woman was about 30 years old and she had two children. There were men too. But if a woman has no husband, she has to go herself.

Yah Pu villagers have to crush stones and do the railway construction. Sometimes the army also orders porters, each time for 5 days. Whenever the soldiers go, the villagers have to follow them. My husband has to be a porter twice a year. He went to Kywetalin and Kyauk Taung, not so far. Four months ago he was a porter for 5 days, then they replaced him. They are still calling porters since the Mon cease-fire, and they will call us again for the railway construction.

Interview 32: HRV: Forced Labor, Women

Name:	Ma Nyi Nyi
Sex:	Female
Age:	32
Nationality:	Burmese, trader
Religion:	Muslim
Family:	Married, 3 children
Address:	Yah Pu village, Ye Township
Interviewed:	March 17, 1996

Source: KHRG

[Ma Nyi Nyi's husband does forced labor on the Ye-Tavoy railway and crushing stone for the Ye-Tavoy car road. As a trader, she comments on the growing number of SLORC posts which are making it harder to travel.]

I've just come from Yah Pu but my home village is Chaung Daw. I sold my house in Ye three years ago and moved to Yah Pu. Now I live in Yah Pu. I am usually trading with my husband. Now he is sick and that is why he couldn't come with me.

I only know a few things about the situation in Yah Pu because I am so busy with my business. There are about 500 soldiers there. We have to be "voluntary laborers". My husband had to work on the railway construction. The SLORC never gives food to the "voluntary laborers", so all the villagers have to take their own food and cook it themselves. They have to wake up early in the morning at about 4 a.m. and they come back in the evening at dusk. Some villagers got sick. Last year, so many people died of fever. Before he was sick, my husband had to go. All the villagers have to work, one person per family. He worked three times, each time for 15 days. Altogether 45 days. He worked at Nwe Lay, near Kyaun Sone. Nwe Lay is too far - we have to go by motorcar and we have to pay the transport ourselves. A return trip is 250 kyats. We had just finished Yah Pu's "voluntary labor" for one and a half months. The headman said that we'd already completed our work for this year. He signed for it, but then he called people again. At the time my husband was ill, so I had to hire another person for 2,500 kyats. One of the rocky mountains is very difficult to cut, even with dynamite. The villagers had to go and hit it with pickaxes. Then after they didn't order villagers for that anymore. I don't know exactly how the headman complained to the SLORC about it.

Now they don't order people anymore for the railway. They order the villagers to crush stones in small pieces for the car road. The road goes from Rangoon to Tavoy, passing through Ye. We get the rocks from anywhere. Wherever we can find rocks, we have to crush them and inform the SLORC. Then we have to carry them ourselves by truck to the car road, in order to widen the road. They have no machine to load the truck, so they use manpower, same as for crushing the stones. They pay 300 kyats for each kyin [10'x10'x1' of stones]. They lay a bamboo [cut to length] for measurement and the people have to pile the small stones there. We have to carry them ourselves by truck. This truck belongs to the villagers.

They have already started laying stones on the road from Yah Pu to Kywetalin.

We are responsible for the part between Kywetalin and Ma Hla Weh Taung. Other villages from Ye township worked at other places but that doesn't concern us. They called other villagers to work building the car road, not us, but the stones we have to crush are for the car road. Each family has to do two kyin, volumes of 10'x10'x1'. My husband is alone, that is why he can't finish in one day. He has to spend three days for each kyin.

They formed different groups. For example, 10 villagers have to be porters and 80 have to do "voluntary labor" and go to Tavoy. Now they can't do it anymore because it is too difficult. We always have to hire labor to do the "voluntary labor". My husband also had to be a porter because of the rotation system.

Last time when we came here we didn't meet any soldiers on the way. But yesterday on our way here a Captain called us to their camp between Yah Pu and Kwan Kyauk Dan and asked some questions like "Where are you going to?" I answered, "I am going to the refugee camp to sell things". He allowed us to go. I don't know what news they heard and why they have put an outpost here. I come here to sell cooking oil, coconut oil, onions, liquor and children's medicine and buy paddy to sell in Burma. I cannot say whether I will face problems coming back here next time.

Interview 33: HRV: Forced labor, Child

Name:	Nai Tint Win
Sex:	Male
Age:	44
Nationality:	Mon, daily wages
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, 6 children
Address:	Talaing Myaw village, Ye Pyu Township
Interviewed:	March 15, 1996
Source:	KHRG

[Nai Tint Win has done forced labor building an army camp on the pipeline route, and had to pay or send his son for other labor.]

I arrived this morning. I have no field for my family. I am working on other people's farms. We had to give money for the railway construction even if we had no money to eat in my family. Before I left my village I had to give 800 kyats. If I need to hire someone else to go instead, I have to pay more money:

2,000 or 5,000 kyats, for the railway and for porter fees. If we don't have money to hire someone else, we have to go ourselves. I had to work on the railway construction.

I was a porter once, at the beginning of the rainy season last year, but I always try to find money to hire someone else. After that, I didn't go but I had to give money. Before we left our village in the month of Na Daw [Nov. 22 - Dec. 20/95], they asked for porters again. I paid 700 kyats to the headman and then he hired someone else. They asked for porters once or twice a month, 2 or 3 villagers each time. There are at least 40 houses in our village. The army stay near our village but I don't know which battalion.

They are still calling people now for the railway to work between Ye Pyu and Kalein Aung. My son worked there 15 days in the month of Thadin Kyut [Sept. 24 - Oct. 22/95], before the harvest. After that, they called again but I moved out of my village. I went to stay in Kyauk Daw near Yah Pu for three months before I went back to Talaing Myaw. I went there to work in a paddy field. After my job was finished, the owner of the field gave me some paddy. Then I went back to my village and stayed there for one month. Then I left to come here as they were asking again for people to work on the railway. I didn't go myself but I always sent my son to work there. He went more than 10 times. I didn't hear that he had problems with the soldiers.

They didn't call people for car road labor but we had to go and build the army camp between On Bin Kwin and Kanbauk. I heard about the pipeline but I have never been there.

It took me 6 days to come here because we rested along the way, we had no problem. I feel better staying here, although everything depends on fate. I have to stay like other people - I can't predict the future. I am going to stay here. I won't go to Thailand. But it is too late now to clear the mountain to do slash-and-burn for this year.

Interview 34: HRV: Forced labor, Women, Gas Pipe

Name:	Nai Tin Aung
Sex:	Male
Age:	27
Nationality:	Mon, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, 2 children aged 3 and 7

Address: Mayan Chaung village, Ye Pyu Township
Interviewed: March 14, 1996

Name: Mi Sein
Sex: Female
Age: 36
Nationality: Mon, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, 4 children and pregnant with a fifth
Address: Mayan Chaung village, Ye Pyu Township
Interviewed: March 14, 1996
Source: KHRG

[Nai Tin Aung and Mi Sein fled their village due to forced labor on the Ye-Tavoy railway, Ye-Tavoy road, as porters, and on gas pipeline infrastructure.

Nai Tin Aung: I arrived here [Mon area near the Thai border] one month ago. I came with all my family and it took us 3 days. We had to work on the railway and on the road. Every month, we have to pay so much money to SLORC. We are a poor family. We could not provide for ourselves any more. We had to come here. That is why we came here.

I was growing rice. With one basket of seed paddy, you can grow 100 baskets. Out of 100 baskets, you have to give 8 or 10 to SLORC and they pay nothing for these. The rest was not enough, because we had to sell some to get money to pay the taxes to SLORC. For porter fees, we had to pay 2,500 kyats for two months to hire other people. Because there are a lot of people in our village, our turn comes up less often [each family's turn to work or pay is once per 2 months instead of once per month as in most villages]. Every time SLORC come unexpectedly to our village, they even catch people. Whenever they come they ask for things like chickens, pigs, meat. If the people don't give or if anyone says something, they are beaten up. They come all the time. When a group arrives, they stay for three days. When one group leaves, another one arrives. The troops are from LIB 404, 410, 415. LIB 410 ask for the porter fees. I had to sell my rice to pay these. After all my rice was sold, I had no more provision for my family and we came here. I know I can get rice here. If you don't pay, they will beat you, arrest you and put you in jail. Sometimes they tell you that they will take you to the battalion [camp] or the worksite. If you can't pay anymore, you have to flee.

Sometimes they don't care who pays or doesn't pay porter fees, they just come and catch porters. SLORC came when they wanted and caught people. But if

it is by turn, the headman will go and collect people for SLORC. I had to go for 7 days. I had to go to Nat Ein Taung [the remote area at the Thai border where the pipeline is to cross - SLORC has been mounting offensives there to secure the pipeline route]. At the time, I was working around my house, making bamboo ropes. Three people were arrested with me. I couldn't give money. They didn't take money. There was some fighting in the area between SLORC and KNU [Karen National Union]. I was a porter 4 or 5 times. Sometimes I was a porter for 15 days. I had to carry bullets. The last time I was a porter, I ran away and came here. Then I went back to my village to call the whole family, and we came here. When I left, the army was around the village and I had to call my family to get out of the village.

I was beaten once, with a rifle butt in my waist because I couldn't carry the bullets. It was too heavy when I climbed the mountain. It was 2 or 3 years ago, during the rainy season, when I was a porter. I couldn't carry well and they beat me in my back with their gun.

I had to work on the Ye-Tavoy car road, between Mayan Chaung and Yah Pu. They are widening the old road. During the first week of February this year, I worked there for 4 days. After I finished the work on the car road, I had to be a porter and then I escaped. There are about 60 families in Mayan Chaung. One person from every family had to go for 4 days. Each village had a work assignment. When I finish, I can go home. If not finished, I can't go back home. People had to dig and place a volume of rocks of one kyin [10' x10' x 1']. Each two men had to do 5 arm lengths [15 feet] wide and one falong [220 yards] long [of embankment].

Mi Sein: We worked together on the railway in September. When he came back from the railway, he was a porter then he worked on the car road, then porter again.

Nai Tin Aung: From my family, only I myself went to the railway. It was near Kyaun Sone. We traveled one day in a passenger car and then we worked there for 15 days. The car costs 50 kyats. We didn't receive any food or any pay. I worked on the railway three times. September was the first time. Then the second time was in October, and the last time in November, everybody from the village went for 15 days. After the railway, they called people for the car road and for the helipad. The helipad is for SLORC at "52-Mile", near Mi Kyaun Laun.

Interview 35: HRV: Forced labor, Extortion, Gas Pipe

Name: Nai Kyaw
Sex: Male
Age: 50
Nationality: Mon, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, 6 children aged 6-25
Address: Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village, Ye Pyu Township
Interviewed: March 15, 1996
Source: KHRG

[Nai Kyaw fled because he could no longer pay the extortion. His daughter also had to do railway labor, and he did pipeline and portering labor.]

I arrived here yesterday together with five families from Kywe Thone Nyi Ma. SLORC asked for porter fees and money for the road. We couldn't give anymore. It took us 5 days to get here. Our group had no trouble coming but we heard from some traders that other people after us ran into troubles. SLORC stopped them on the way. They were traveling from Kywe Thone Nyi Ma to Yah Pu and then to Kin Chaung to come here. Three days ago, when they arrived at Kin Chaung, the SLORC stopped them. There were about 100 people. The SLORC don't want people to come to Pa Yaw, and sent them back. I also passed near Kin Chaung but I made my way around. In Kywe Thone Nyi Ma, there were about 500 families. I don't know how many left, but about 30 families already arrived here.

In our village, SLORC ask for porters but people are afraid to go so they have to give money. We have to pay 1,000 kyats regularly every month. Sometimes, we have to pay special porter fees in addition to that. It depends on the number of porters that they want. We have to give this money directly to the army. In Kywe Thone Nyi Ma there is an army camp for battalion #273. Some people have to go as porters if they don't have money, for one month, sometimes more. My family and I didn't go because I gave money.

I had a field of 3 acres. Sometimes we got 100 tins of paddy, sometimes 70 or 80. For the last harvest, I got 60. We had to sell 24 tins to SLORC for 90 kyats/tin when the market price is 370 kyats. I only grew rice. To get money to pay the fees to SLORC, I worked for other people cutting bamboo and trees. They paid me about 100 kyats per day. We had some gold and we sold it all. Now, we have no more gold and we can't pay any longer. We also sold our pots, our jars and all our belongings. I had to borrow money from other

villagers. So when I left, I sold my field to pay them back. Now, we have nothing left.

People from Kywe Thone Nyi Ma have to go to the railway too. I couldn't go, so my 25 year old daughter went last December. She worked for one month near Kyaun Sone digging the ground and carrying stones. She went by boat to Kanbauk, and from Kanbauk she walked. She had to pay 45 kyats for the boat. When the laborers arrived in Kyaun Sone, they were given an area to finish. If they didn't finish after one month they had to stay on until it was completed, but if they finished early they were given more work to make them stay for the whole month.

We had to do railway labor, labor to clear the pipeline route, clearing ground for pipeline buildings and portering. I know of the pipeline. They call for people to clear the road, cut the bamboo and trees and build things near the pipeline road. This construction work is to protect the pipeline. They are building buildings for the army, buildings for the soldiers to do the protection on the pipeline. For #408 battalion. Sometimes, my child went. But when they were sick and couldn't go, I had to pay 2,000 or 3,000 kyats. It depends on the number of people they need. The people usually worked there for one month. I had to clear the place to build a building.

Interview 36: HRV: Forced Labor, Gas Pipe, Porterage, Women, Prison Labor

Name: Nai Sein Hla
Sex: Male
Age: 42
Nationality: Mon, farmer/sawyer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, 6 children
Address: Yah Pu village, Ye Pyu Township
Interviewed: March 17, 1996
Source: KHRG

[Nai Sein Hla has done forced labor on the gas pipeline infrastructure, the Ye-Tavoy railway, the Ye-Tavoy motor road, at army camps and as a porter.]

I left Yah Pu one month ago because I was really afraid to work on the railway construction. I am a slash-and-burn farmer and I have been working in a saw-mill for 8 years. Since the beginning of Taw Tha Lin month [Aug. 25/95], I've

worked on the railway near Kyaun Sone over a 3-month period. I worked for 15 days each month, altogether for 45 days. Prisoners, police and villagers were there but they were staying separately. The prisoners all had shackles. I saw them working. The soldiers used to come and check twice a day where we were working. There were 2 policemen and one soldier, and also a group of 5 prisoners and 3 soldiers. I saw their beatings and killings. When someone tried to escape, they shot him with a gun. They didn't give enough food to the prisoners, so how can they work? They didn't beat the villagers. If someone was sick, they never gave treatment but they allowed them to go home.

I also worked on the Ye-Tavoy car road. First I had to crush stones, then load and unload them from trucks. Then I had to carry and put the stones on the road, and the steamroller passed over them. Afterwards, I had to melt the tar and pour it on the road. My duty was finished by then. They only use man-power to crush and load stones and the steamroller is the only machine they use on the road. Now, SLORC is still working on that road. I had to work there since a long time ago, since my son was a child. He has a baby now. Now a bus is running. I also worked there after the SLORC took power. The last time was 4 years ago. Now this road is damaged and they called people again but I didn't go. They are widening the road to 50 feet.

I also worked building army buildings near the pipeline at On Bin Kwin and also in Ka Daik harbour. In On Bin Kwin, it is a new building for the army. I don't know for which battalion. I worked there in Taw Tha Lin month [Aug. 25 - Sept. 23/95]. I worked twice in Ka Daik and once in On Bin Kwin in Thadin Kyut month [Sept. 24 - Oct. 22/95]. Twice two days in Ka Daik and three times 5 days in On Bin Kwin. I had to cut trees and clear bushes for the road.

I had no time to work for myself. That's why I left my village. I had to do so much "loke ar pay work" [forced labor] for SLORC. Sometimes I had also to go as a porter and I had to weave bamboo and build walls for the soldiers' buildings. Just before I came here, I had to follow the soldiers as a porter for 5 days. I carried bullets from Yah Pu to Kin Chaung, and to Kywetalin. Also to Mayan Chaung.

Now, NMSP and SLORC have made a cease-fire for almost one year. I can't count how many times I have been a porter since then. When I was a porter in Nat Ein Taung and Kyauk Tha Yan, near Ma Yen, they took all the belongings of the villagers and raped the girls. At the time, I was with them [this is on the offensives to secure the eastern end of the pipeline route]. There was a battle between SLORC and revolution groups, probably MNLA, for 6 hours. This

happened about one year ago, before the cease-fire. The woman was from Ma Yen and after raping her, they released her.

Q: In Yah Pu, did SLORC ask for taxes?

A: Yes. Why Not? They always take money from the villagers. They didn't take the money directly themselves, they always ordered the money from the headman. 30 or 40 kyats per family for their eating and their drinking.

It is better to stay here. I lost 3 bulls this year. When I couldn't go to work on the railway construction, I had to hire someone and pay 2,500 kyats. Also I had to pay 3,000 kyats for porter fees. I had to sell my bulls to pay this money.

Interview 37: HRV: Livelihood, Extortion, Women, Gas Pipe

Name:	Nai Tin Shein
Sex:	Male
Age:	48
Nationality:	Mon, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, 5 daughters
Address:	San Ngan Taw village, Ye Pyu Township
Interviewed:	March 20, 1996
Source:	KHRG

[Nai Tin Shein's village is near Kanbauk, which is right on the pipeline route. He had to sell his field so his daughters wouldn't have to go work on the pipeline supply road from Ka Daik, and says his girls are no longer safe in Kanbauk because of all the pipeline security troops.]

I arrived here about 10 days ago. I have a farm and a boat but my 5 children are all girls, no boys. When they ask for porters and workers for the railway, I am too old to go, so my daughters have to go instead of me and SLORC insulted them. I heard that and I worried for them because they could be raped. Also, before we can go out in our boat we have to give money, and when we come back we have to give money to SLORC again. We had to stop traveling with the boat. Our family decided together that we had to leave to another place. Now we feel safer here.

In our village, people have to work on the railway and on the car road. In February, my daughter had to go to work on the railway, from San Ngan Taw

to Kalein Aung. Two of my daughters had to go - one each time. For 15 days each. They had to dig the ground to make a new embankment. Also, in our village SLORC called everyday for 3 people to stay at their camp to carry water, clean the compound, bring firewood for them. For my family, it is very difficult because I have no man at home. When they call us, I have to send one of my daughters to stay with them. That is not good. I worry for them.

The "pipeline road" has two parts. One is from Hpaungdaw to Kanbauk, that is the pipeline road. At another part, near the sea [at Ka Daik], other laborers have to go from other villages but we have to pay money for that part too. The road goes from Ka Daik to Hpaungdaw [actually the road goes from Ka Daik to On Bin Kwin, where it joins the road going west to Hpaungdaw and south-east to Kanbauk], from Hpaungdaw to Kanbauk and from Kanbauk to Nat Ein Taung. It was too far to send my daughters to the Ka Daik road [for forced labor as ordered], so I had to hire another man to go. To get the money, I had to sell my field.

It is a big road. The pipeline will go from the sea to Kanbauk and from Kanbauk to Nat Ein Taung. I didn't see but that is how they planned it. The road is near the pipeline, from Hpaungdaw to Ain Da Ya Za and it crosses Mi Kyaun Ain. They have not laid any pipes yet. People say that. The Germans at first gave compensation to the landowners like 100,000 kyats, but SLORC said that the value of the land was not that much. "In Burma, no need to pay compensation", they said. That was from Hpaungdaw to Mi Kyaun Ain. From Hpaungdaw on, they started giving compensation then they stopped. The first group of people got high compensation because they had a lot of cashew nut trees. The Germans knew that cashew nut trees can be used for the fruit, the leaves, the nuts and to make oil. But later, SLORC talked to them and nobody got compensation. Before, some did. Not now.

Q: Who gave the compensation?

A: The German company.

Q: Which company?

A: I don't know. We just call them "the Germans." [This is almost certainly TOTAL, but someone in the area may have encountered a German - hence the name.]

Q: Who called the people to work on the road?

A: The SLORC. At first, when the Germans called people for work, they wanted to pay money. But SLORC said no. The Germans started the road construction, but at that time SLORC took over for security reasons. The Germans brought their own trucks and bulldozers. I think the Germans gave money for that but SLORC took it. SLORC doesn't want to pay. The SLORC said it is voluntary work.

Q: Do foreigners travel on that road?

A: Yes, they are traveling a lot. Each truck with foreigners is accompanied by three trucks of SLORC soldiers. Now in Kanbauk there are 8 battalions to give security to the Germans. Battalions 104, 408, 409, 410. KNU attacked them once.

Q: Have they build new army camps along the pipeline recently?

A: In Ka Daik, one camp. In Ka Daik harbour, ships come and big bulldozers to make the road come often. More bulldozers to make the road, more [forced labor] work for the villagers. They never get to stop working.

Q: Are there any benefits to your village because of the pipeline?

A: No benefit. Some people work for the company and earn 200 kyats per day. Only the people who work for the company can go into their area. The others can't go.

Q: Do people from your village get jobs at TOTAL headquarters?

A: No, they just want people they like. They only choose a few people who can read and write English.

Q: What changes has the pipeline brought to Kanbauk area?

A: The place has changed a lot compared to before. Now, there are a lot of soldiers in Kanbauk. Now, it is not safe for the girls. They can't go everywhere as before.

Q: Did you hear about a Karen attack on the pipeline in February?

A: Yes. The shelling was in On Bin Kwin - between Kanbauk and On Bin Kwin, but closer to On Bin Kwin. Now they [SLORC] have declared martial law in every village after the Karen attack. If there is fighting in a village, this

village will be destroyed and burnt down. Some village elders moved here [Mon area near the Thai border] because they were afraid. After the attack, two elders from Nat Kyin Pyan village were killed [east of Mi Kyaun Ain]. I only know about these two elders. SLORC said to them, "Why did KNU come and you didn't inform us?" and they killed them. They said the two headmen fed the KNU troops before they shelled the pipeline.

Often, beside the railway line, near the forest, I heard mines exploding. KNU or SLORC mines, I don't know. Part of the railway line built by the villagers was bombed by them [KNU]. Some people died, villagers who were working to build the railway line. Two villagers died. No SLORC soldiers were wounded. These two villagers were looking for food in the forest. The mines exploded and killed Ye them. That was two months ago, on the railway line southeast of Kanbauk, between Ye Phyu and Kalein Aung. So now the SLORC doesn't allow people to sleep just anywhere, they have to sleep and stay together with the soldiers. And if KNU comes to attack them, they use the forced laborers as porters.

Now nobody can go in that area, nobody can go near the pipeline route except on the big road.

Interview 38: HRV: Forced Labor, Gas Pipeline

Name:	Nai Kror
Sex:	Male
Age:	43
Nationality:	Mon, farmer, village elder
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, 8 children aged 2-22
Address:	Kywe Gone village, Ye Pyu Township
Interviewed:	March 15, 1996
Source:	KHRG

[As village secretary, "Nai Kror" had to respond to SLORC orders demanding labor clearing the "pipeline road" near On Bin Kwin and building an army headquarters building in On Bin Kwin near the TOTAL camp. He also comments on SLORC's retaliation for the February attack against the pipeline.]

I was the Secretary of the village Council for four years. I was chosen by SLORC. In Kywe Gone, there are 40 houses. My family left alone 5 days ago and we arrived yesterday with the families from Kywe Thone Nyi Ma. If I stay

in my village, I have to pay money for porter fees. Sometimes, I have no money to feed my family. Even though I am a village leader, I have to go and do "voluntary labor". I have no time to work for my family. That is why I left.

When SLORC calls for people from our village, we have to send 10 people. They send a written order, on average about 5 times a month - sometimes once a week, sometimes twice a week. Sometimes once in two weeks. These orders call for voluntary laborers, porters. Also for money for sports competitions and railway construction. Sometimes we have to send food like chicken or fish for the army officers. The orders are sent from Kanbauk to Thet Chaung and from there to our village. They come from Ya Wa Ta [Village LORC, local-level SLORC administration] and also from the Army, but Ya Wa Ta and the Army are the same. Actually, all these letters come from the battalion. The messenger brings the letters to Ya Wa Ta. A soldier is sent to Ya Wa Ta to write the orders for them. They are from #273 battalion in Kanbauk and from #408 battalion in Kanbauk. #408 is there for road security.

For the pipeline they don't demand money, they demand people. One village has the responsibility for one building. Now we have just finished and it is the turn of another village. All the villagers from Kanbauk village group, like Thet Chaung, Tha Put Chaung, Tha Ngan Thote, Kin Tha, Talai Kyon, Mone Tha, and other villages, all had to go and work on that building. It is a building for the army in On Bin Kwin [where TOTAL's base camp is located]. These buildings are new ones. SLORC is building new army places in On Bin Kwin, Thet Chaung, Hpaungdaw, Min Saing, Maung Ngan, Lay Myaw, and so on. They started in the month of Thadin Kyut [Sept. 24 -Oct. 22/95]. We had to send 4 people three or four times a month for one week.

We have to do things according to their orders, between On Bin Kwin and Mi Kyaun Ain. It is along an existing road. The other pipeline road is between Pyin Gyi, Mi Kyaun Ain and Sat Kone.

They haven't started the pipeline [i.e. actually laying the pipe] yet, but the army officers ordered us to do "voluntary labor" on the pipeline project in On Bin Kwin. Some other villagers also told me about that, that they had to work on the pipeline. All the villagers in my village have been there. I had to send two people for one week, or sometimes 7 people. We had to clear the bushes between On Bin Kwin and Mi Kyaun Ain. When the work is completed, the villagers can go home. They have to stay one week or more on the pipeline road. There is no pay. SLORC only gave money to some people, those who are permanent workers. We saw some foreigners. They were just walking around that place, and they took pictures in order to get the news. When we

were working, they took pictures of us. They always came with guards.

Q: Did you hear about an attack on the pipeline?

A: I don't know exactly but some people told me about that. It was near Ka Daik, on the 14th day of Da Bo Dweh month [February 2, 1996].

Q: What happened there? Were some people wounded or not?

A: No.

Q: What was the reaction of SLORC?

A: They didn't respond. Karen shelled 4 times but only one shell exploded. Nobody was hurt. Afterwards, SLORC captured Karen villagers from Ain Da Ya Za. They killed 7 villagers and they increased their troops near On Bin Kwin.

Q: Did the shell explode near TOTAL?

A: Yes, near there.

Most of our villagers in Kywe Gone are farmers. SLORC demanded 10 tins [of paddy] per acre this year, in 1996. In 1995, the farmers who had their own paddy field had to give 10 tins for the year and those who had a government paddy field had to give 8 tins to SLORC. This year, it is the reverse. This year, there was a problem with the irrigation system. The paddy fields were flooded and the harvest was not good. SLORC didn't increase the quota.

I had no chance to do my own work as long as I stayed there. When SLORC called the villagers to work I had to go with them, because I was more responsible than the villagers. I was in charge. If I didn't want to go and work there, I also had to give money. I have so many children. I could not go every time. If I stayed in my house, they could come and call me to do something. As long as I stay in my village, I would have to stay with them [SLORC]. I was really upset about that situation, so I left.

Interview 39: HRV: Forced Labor, Gas Pipe, Extortion, Women

Name: Mi Aye
Sex: Female
Age: 34
Nationality: Mon, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, 7 children aged 2-16
Address: Maw Kyi village, Ye Pyu Township
Interviewed: March 14, 1996
Source: KHRG

[Mi Aye's village is near Kywe Thone Nyi Ma, just north of the western half of the pipeline route. While doing forced labor on the railway near Kyaun Sone, she witnessed a car of "French people" stop to take a 15 year old girl who had been gang-raped by soldiers to hospital, but the girl died.]

Before we had a field, but one month ago we had to sell it to pay all the taxes to SLORC. Now, we have no field anymore. So I arrived here one week ago with my family. It took us 3 days to come here. We feel safer here. They were asking for porter fees twice a month. Each time 2,400 kyats, to get another person to go instead of us. If we don't go, we must give this money to the headman. The army orders the headman and he asks the villagers. If he doesn't give, they will beat him.

I didn't go and I paid. SLORC don't need people to go as porters, they only want the money. When we had no more money, my husband was not well but he told the SLORC that we could not pay so he would go as a porter. "We have no money to pay. I am sick but I will go even if I have to die", he told them. And they beat him up. They slapped him hard. They called him to the army camp. He was there for 3 days. They slapped him twice on his ear and now he can't hear from his right ear anymore. His face was swollen too. They also hit his ribs and his feet once, and he became unconscious. They wanted to kick him down into the river which is near the army camp but the headman went and requested the soldiers not to push him. "He is really a poor man. He has no money to pay", he said. The village headman had to vouch for him. He brought money to the camp and my husband was released. Another man was also beaten with a gun butt.

They also called villagers to do forced labor on the railway between Kalein Aung and Kyaun Sone. Even if the villagers go, they have to pay 400 kyats. If they don't go, they have to pay 2,400 kyats. Go or not go, we have to pay. The

400 kyats are for the army. I had to pay this at home while my husband was working on the railway. We have been working there many times. Twice in a month. I have been there three times but my husband countless times!

When my husband came back after 15 days, I had to go. It was by turn. If some families have more people, they all have to go. My village has the worst conditions in Ye Township area. In my family, 4 of us went separately, each time for 15 days: my husband, myself and my two sons aged 16 and 15. When I have to go, my old parents are looking after the children. I worked there last month, in February. After we came back from the railway, they called my husband to be a porter. He was sick and they slapped him. Then we came here.

There were many soldiers on the railway. They were not working, but if you are not able to work they will beat you. It was hard work to dig very deep and carry the earth. I had to do that. They didn't give us any food. We slept under a shelter that we built ourselves. Sometimes when it was raining, we couldn't even eat rice. More than one hundred people were there. For the people who left [fled] the village, SLORC said that they will try to get them back. About 60 people from four villages wanted to come to Pa Yaw [refugee camp]. SLORC said: "If we meet you on the car road, we will rape the women and kill them." So when we villagers crossed the road without problem, we were very happy.

[At the railway worksite] They point their guns at women and rape them. The next day, they let them go. I saw many women that the soldiers took away. When they see a beautiful girl, they call her and rape her. They raped many women but one of the girls died. She was 15 years old. She was raped so many times and she died. Her name was Mi Thein, she was from Kywe Thone Nyi Ma. It was in February when I was on the railway. I didn't see the soldiers taking her but the next day, I saw that she was taken to hospital with a French car. The French people from the car felt great pity for the young girl. She was unconscious. They tried to take her to Tavoy hospital but she died on the way. Many girls were raped but didn't die. Only this one died.

We also had to carry for the army, and when they come to our village they take our chickens, pigs, cows and they do as they want. We usually harvest 160 tins of paddy and we have to give 28 tins. They don't pay anything for this paddy, and we had to carry it ourselves to the army in Kywe Thone Nyi Ma.

Interview 40: HRV: Forced labor, Women, Child, Religious Persecution

Name: Maung Win
Sex: Male
Age: 35
Nationality: Burmese, daily wages
Religion: Muslim
Family: Single
Address: Pata village, Hlaing Bwe Township, Pa'an District

Name: Daw Hla
Sex: Male
Age: 33
Nationality: Burmese, daily wages
Religion: Muslim
Family: Widow, 6 children
Address: Pata village, Hlaing Bwe Township, Pa'an District

[These two newly arrived refugees were interviewed together on 6 April, 1996 by the Hsaw Wah Deh human rights monitoring group.]

Our village has Karen, Burmese and Muslims living together. Now there are about 200 families living there. Last year about 100 Muslim families lived there, but now there are only 50. About 50 families fled to refugee camps because of hardship and oppression of the Muslim community.

We had to work on the Nabu - Daw Lan road, which is about 7 miles long and wide enough to drive two cars parallel. Every day each family had to dig an area of earth totalling 4 feet by 12 feet by 12 feet deep, then move the earth to the road site. Now [in hot season] it is very hot, so it was very tiring work. If we couldn't go, we had to hire a person by giving 200 kyats per day. Porter fees are 100 kyats per family every month. Moreover, SLORC soldiers take porters to carry supplies every month, and if a person can't go for that he has to hire another person for 200 kyats per day. Villagers are always forced to work for SLORC and DKBA and also have to give them at least 1,000 kyats per month in total.

We had to support DKBA members' families by giving rice and money, and by building houses for their families. We were also called by LIB 547 [SLORC Light Infantry Battalion] to cut bamboo, clear their compound and build barracks for them. There, we were beaten often. If a villager resists, he or she is

beaten and fined 3,000 kyats for this behaviour. The work orders come from LIB 547 at Taung Zun camp, and from Captain Meh Bya of DKBA. For road construction and building barracks for LIB 547, everybody has to go, men and women, young and old. About half of the workers are women and children. Even the widows have to pay for their funds and fees, except porter fees. Not only in Pata village - other villages are also suffering the same, so many villagers have fled to refugee camps.

Interview 41: HRV: Forced labor, Women, Killing

Name: Saw Hla Say
Sex: Male
Age: 25
Nationality: Karen, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, 2 children
Address: Kawpalan village, Kawkareik Township, Pa'an Dist.
Interviewed: April 1996
Source: KHRG

I left my village during Water Festival [mid-April] and reached this [refugee] camp on 20 April. Since January this year, my village has had to work on many road construction projects without a rest. First the Nabu - Myatpadine road, then the Daw Lan - Nabu road, then other construction projects. Now it is very hot, and villagers have already been working on road construction for about 4 months, so everyone is talking about going to Thailand. We heard that there are many more construction projects that we will have to do soon. We have to dig the earth and carry it to the embankment to build the roads. Men usually dig the earth and the women carry it. There is no machinery. There are no stones covering the roads and some parts are just made of sand, so when it rains these roads will collapse. There were some accidents while we were working. In March at the Kyone Pine worksite on the Tu Kaw Koh - Nabu road, a hoe accidentally broke and the blade hit a girl in the neck while she was scooping up the earth. She died on the spot. The boy who caused the accident was in shock - he ran back to his village and committed suicide by drinking insecticide. In the first week of April, also at Kyone Pine, a man about 40 years old died when he was working [probably from heart attack]. The weather is too hot for this work. There are many children at the worksite too.

If a person cannot go for the work, he or she has to hire someone to go by paying them 150 kyats per day plus rice and fishpaste. SLORC and DKBA

soldiers control the construction. They say the roads are just for us to travel on, but I don't know about that. These roads are not strong enough to last the rainy season, so everyone is planning to leave the village [because they know they'll be forced to build the roads over again next season]. Some flee to Tha Menya monastery, but I heard that many from Tha Menya are leaving for Thailand also. I do not know why.

Interview 42: HRV: Forced Labor, Livelihood

Name: Saw Tha Pwee
Sex: Male
Age: 33
Nationality: Karen, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, 2 children
Address: xxxx village, T'Nay Cha tract, Pa'an Township
Interviewed: April 4, 1996
Source: KHRG

I went home in T'boh Tweh month [about September 1995], to visit my parents. I saw that the Burmese are forcing people to labor, such as hauling timber. I stayed for 2 months. We had to work for the Burmese, road work, hauling timber. When they demand something to be done, so must it be done. They demand it all the time. Road works, hauling timber, everything. Children as young as 13, everybody, by rotation. For example, if a village has 60 houses, they go and register with the Burmese as having 30 houses [they give false information], and then they must send 30 people for 3 or 4 days at a time, and when they return another 30 people must go again, rotating like that, always. Each village gets a designated length of road. For example, a village of 50 houses gets given a length for 50 people, and a village of 100 houses is also given a length as registered. If your people are too few for your length and you don't finish you cannot go back home [until it's done].

The road is about 3 kilometres from our village. It is 2 cars wide. It's not done yet, but should soon be finished. Cars can go from Nabu to Kawkareik. Our village has 30 houses. We had to build 1 kilometre, 10 feet wide, elevation less than the head height of some people. 15 or 20 people had to go from the village. We have to walk there, have to take our own tools, machetes, and our own food. They [soldiers] don't feed us and don't eat amongst us. They watch over, with some guns. In the hot season the workers can work at their own pace, because we must do the work until it is finished. So some people come

very early, pre-dawn, work until it becomes hot, and then they rest. The work is not finished in T'Nay Cha District, and also there's a bridge to be made. The villagers are making it, from timber. Now they are also putting earth and grasses along the middle of the road in order to make it stronger.

Most of the people are farmers. If two people are in one house, one goes [to the road] and the other works [growing food]. People also have to cut timber and take it near T'lah Aw Kla, about half a mile from our village, or to T'Nay Cha, and some to Ku Lah Kaun. They have to go until the ordered timber is cut. I myself didn't do this. With the wood the Burmese are constructing some houses, and constructing a bridge on the car road that can be used if the water rises. They started cutting timber at the start of the cold season [November-December]. They get carts from the villages. For example, if there are 20 carts, 10 carts must go on rotation. Really, how long before this timber hauling will cease, I have no idea! Before, there were a great number of trees, now they have become scarce. When the Karen soldiers [KNU] stayed there before they didn't like people to cut the trees. [It was a KNU forest preserve.]

They [soldiers] never come for labor, it is the responsibility of the village elders to get people. It is said that if you are not free to go you must send another person in your place, and give a wage. The wage costs 50-100 kyats per day.

Ko Per Baw stay at Ku Lah Kaun, 3 kilometers away. They don't force people to construct roads, but they do force us to haul timber. There are 30-40 of them in the area. We must work for them in the same way as we do for the Burmese. Now they are working very hard at sawmilling timber at T'lah Aw Kla. The wood is T'la Aw, there is no teak. They get carts from Bat Dat and other villages like K'Nee Bu, Kyeh Baw, and Lah L'Maw. We have to saw the timber, and for example, if they require us, we must construct houses for them. We must do that. If they require us to construct a camp, we must do that. They've established a battalion there. Before Indian-Burmese [Muslims] were staying there, but now there are no longer Indians there. I don't know where they might be now. Only Ko Per Baw, their wives and children stay there now. Their leader is Meh Bya. The Burmese are at T'Nay Cha, about 20-30 together with wives and children. Before that was an Indian [Muslim] village, but the Indians' houses were destroyed in order to make the new road.

Q: Can people get permission from the Burmese to go to Thailand?

A: No. Not the Burmese. Not Ko Per Baw. They don't really like it. For example, when there are full moon celebrations you could say you are taking a car to Kawkareik to participate in the religious activities. You must use your

brain like this. If you tell them where you are really going, they won't like it. I said I was going to Tee Sah Ra. At xxxx I said I was coming to visit my uncle and aunt. I also said like this to Ko Per Baw on the riverbank at xxxx. I saw Burmese at xxxx and had to give them 100 kyats and again at the river bank at xxxx I had to give 50.

Interview 43: HRV: Forced Labor

Name: Naw Lay Htoo
Sex: Female
Age: 16
Nationality: Karen
Religion: Buddhist

Name: Naw K'Paw
Sex: Female
Age: 21
Nationality: Karen
Religion: Buddhist
Address: Ko Lone Sein village, Pa'an Township
Interviewed: April 29, 1996
Source: KHRG

Naw K'Paw: We arrived here [the refugee camp] three days ago. We were very tired of working at new road construction, that's why we left our village. One person from each family has to work on road construction. Anyone who can't go has to hire another person by giving 100 kyats per day. The work site is near Shwe Taw, close to our village. That construction started in November 1995 and has not finished yet. We heard that this is part of the "Union Road" and they plan to finish it within 3 years. The road starts from Pa'an and goes to Shwe Taw, Kaw Palaung, Maw Maw Ler, Bena Ay Per Ko, and then will go to Three Pagodas Pass. The height of the road is about 10 feet and it is wide enough to drive 2 cars parallel. Some ricefields were destroyed for the road, and at that time farmers had not finished their harvest so they lost some crops.

We have to start work at 8 a.m. and work until noon. Then we start again at 1 p.m. and work until 3 p.m. Then we go back home. People whose villages are far from the road have to sleep there. We have to form groups of 3 people each, and each group has to finish a piece of road 6 yards long. Children about 10 years old and people over 60 years old have to work with us. There are some bulldozers and loaders, but they only work if villagers give money. There

is no clinic. A young man named A'Pway from Ko Lone Sein village got fever, but he continued to work and later he died.

Ko Per Baw soldiers supervise the villagers at work. They scold the villagers who try to rest. The Ko Per Baw soldiers always stay in a group, about 10 of them on the road. They all call themselves 'officers', none of them are Privates.

Interview 44: HRV: Forced Labor, Killing

Name: Saw Eh Say
Sex: Male
Age: 20
Nationality: Karen, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Single
Address: Myatpadine village, Kawkareik Township
Interviewed: April 29, 1996
Source: KHRG

I arrived here [the refugee camp] on April 27. Now on the Nabu-Myatpadine road they have finished the earth work. Now we have to lay the road with damaged bricks. The road is about 10 feet high, and wide enough for two trucks to drive aside. SLORC trucks bring damaged bricks from the brick kilns to the road site. Then villagers have to arrange the bricks on the road. There are about 500 people there from Myatpadine village tract, which includes 5 villages. We have to work for about 15 days. We start work early in the morning and work until noon, then we rest for about 2 hours. It is very hot. Then we continue to work from 2 p.m., sometimes until 9 p.m. if the moon is shining.

There are soldiers watching along the road, and they scold people when people rest. Sometimes the young soldiers let the villagers rest for a while. There are some Burmese who give orders to us through the village heads. Children about 11 years old and old people with no teeth have to work there. In March 1996 an old man 60 or 70 years old who had already worked there nearly a month died of exhaustion at the road. He was from Naung K'Loung village. His body was taken to his village. A week later, a Sergeant shot his Lieutenant at the Naung K'Loung worksite. The Sergeant let the villagers rest, so the Lieutenant scold him and then the Sergeant killed him with a gun. I don't know what happened later to that Sergeant.

I always have to do the road construction, and my father also does forced labor for them. He is called to grow rice, then reap the harvest, and then to carry the harvested paddy to the Army compound. Now he also has to carry wood for the bridges along the road in his cart.

Interview 45: HRV: Forced labor, Child

Name: Naw Myint
Sex: Female
Age: 20
Nationality: Karen, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married
Address: Noh Play village, Pa'an Township
Interviewed: April 30, 1996
Source: KHRG

I came [to the refugee camp] 2 days ago, together with 4 girls from Naw Wah Pone village. Noh Play village has about 300 families and Naw Wah Pone village has over 500 families. Our village was called by SLORC and DKBA soldiers to cut down and carry trees and bamboo, so the villagers had to go about 15 miles with our carts to cut trees. Each log had to be 15 plah [22 feet] long. Then we had to carry them to two Army camps. I don't know the Battalion number, they are from Pa'an. Then we had to build camps and barracks for SLORC soldiers and their families.

Since March 1996, Noh Play and surrounding villages have received orders to work on road construction at Kaw Tho village. The villagers took food, supplies and tools with them and went to Kaw Tho. They had to work and stay there for 15 days. The road starts from Pa'an and goes to Shwe Bo, Kaw Palaung, Mu Ka Wah, Kaw Tho, Meh Tha Laung and on towards Three Pagodas Pass. The height is about double a person's height, and the width is about 30 feet. Children about 11 or 12 and also people in their 50's have to work there. If people get sick the soldiers allow them to go home, but there is no clinic. Some villagers hired people from Pa'an to go for road construction work by paying them 1,000 to 2,000 kyats. There are about 100 soldiers along the road to watch the villagers. The soldiers are from Shwe Pyi Taung camp, and they often scold the villagers.

Interview 46: HRV: Forced Labor, Torture, Killing

Name: Tha Muh
Sex: Male
Age: 19
Nationality: Karen, farmer
Religion: Christian
Family: Widower
Address: Bee T'Ka village, Kawkareik Township
Interviewed: April 1996
Source: KHRG

I left because the Ko Per Baw and Burmese troops make so many problems and fees in our village. They do to you as they like - even though you aren't guilty of anything they can make up things, say you have weapons and torture you. They do it for money. If they beat you, they will ask you only a few questions about your weapons and then they'll surely start asking for money to release you. Mostly they do it to people who have some money or animals with them. If people don't have money to pay then they have to give half of their animals. If you try to complain then they say, "I'll kill you without a single drop of your blood coming out". [A Karen expression meaning to kill someone especially brutally and painfully.] They did that to a Pa'O man whose village is not far from mine. His name was Maung Khin Kyi. He was 49, with 3 children - 2 sons and 1 daughter. His son told us about it. He owed some money to a Karen, and the Karen asked for rice instead of money. Maung Khin Kyi agreed, and when he was coming along to the Karen village with the rice in his bullock cart, unluckily he met with Ko Per Baw and Burmese troops. They said to him, "We know you're taking this rice to KNU soldiers. We are very sorry we have to kill you, but don't you know we have to kill all Ta Bee Met ["Closed Eyes", DKBA's name for KNU] and everyone who helps Ta Bee Met?" They killed Maung Khin Kyi by stabbing him in the throat 3 times, but first they burned him with fire. His son xxxx was with him in the bullock cart. They didn't kill his son, I guess they didn't want to. If they'd wanted to kill his son, his son would also be dead. That happened on March 14th.

These Burmese troops and the Ko Per Baw, if they want your ear to eat with their whisky then you have to chop off your ear and give it to them, or you'll be killed. They say, "The ear is very delicious to eat, when you chew it it goes 'kyet-kyet-kyet' and it is very pleasing". They did that to Tee Paw Bu Say, he is 47 and already married 16 years but he has no children. The Ko Per Baw and the Burmese ordered him to get them a chicken to eat with their whisky, but he couldn't find a chicken. When he got back to them, they said, "Where is the

chicken?" He said, "I couldn't find any". The SLORC were drunk, they said "Come here", and then they chopped off his ears. There was so much blood. He asked the Ko Per Baw to release him to go and get treatment, but he had to stay with them the whole night with no treatment. He nearly died because he bled so much. Early in the morning he was very angry, and he said, "I'm going to get traditional medicine even if you don't release me. If you kill me, I dare to die." But the Ko Per Baw didn't do anything, and he went to Kyet Tu Ray village and got traditional medicine. The old man gave him a cup of water to drink, and then the bleeding stopped. Ko Per Baw said they would give him an injection, but he was afraid to have an injection. Most Karen people still believe in our traditional medicine and are afraid to have injections or to drink medicine.

We also have to go as porters and carry food, bullets and weapons, about 10 viss [16 kg.] weight. Not the women and children, but they have to go for forced labor at the military camp. At the camp they have to gather bamboo to build the soldiers' fences and houses, carry water, cook and clean in the camp - but the main work there is building fences, digging trenches and building bunkers. Fifteen people have to go for 3 days and nights, then it changes to another group. They sleep at the military camp. Sometimes the soldiers sleep with them. They are afraid and dare not speak, and if they shout the soldiers will kill them. The Ko Per Baw do it too, so the Burmese have no respect for Karen girls, they copy the Ko Per Baw and do it even more. To them Karen girls are just a meal, and to Ko Per Baw they are just leftover rice. [In a Karen kitchen the leftover rice sits in a pot to be taken anytime by whoever's hungry.] Some of the Ko Per Baw soldiers travel around and get married with girls in different villages. If any villagers complain, the Ko Per Baw soldier goes to them and says, "If you complain again we'll kill you", and they have to stay quiet. Kyaw K'Htee, he is 28 and he already has 2 wives and 2 children. He is from Tawon Thee village, west of Bee T'Ka. Now he's left his new wife and gone back to his old wife. His new wife also has one child by him. She named the child "Saw Ko Per Baw", because she got the child from Ko Per Baw. She keeps it to remember her hate for Ko Per Baw.

In January [1996] Ko Per Baw arrested me. About 100 soldiers tied me up and ordered me to direct the way to where the Kaw Thoo Lei soldiers stay, and they asked me for a gun. I have no gun, I'm a civilian. It was a group from Khaw Taw [DKBA headquarters]. They took me to Meh Tah Ma village and tied my eyes tightly with a yellow scarf. They kept me under a house, tied to a post. They beat me 4 times, about 20 hits each time. They pierced my earlobes with a blunt pin, twice a day for 3 days. It was very painful. One of their leaders, Kyaw Dee, told me, "You have to give me your weapon, or you'll be killed". I

was afraid and I told him, "Don't kill me. I'll give you my cow", and he agreed. They do that to so many people. First they ask for weapons, then if you don't have any they ask for money to release you, and if you don't have money then you must pay them your livestock. After 3 days I had to carry for them, then after 1 week and 4 days they handed me over to the Burmese troops. I was released exactly 2 weeks after I was arrested, on a Friday. After that I couldn't work for several days because of the beatings.

When I was arrested, my wife was in the hospital. She was sick, and then after the Ko Per Baw arrested me she died. I don't know how she died. I was being held by the Ko Per Baw, and no one told me the news. I don't think I'll marry again. We were married only two months.

Interview 47: HRV: Livelihood, Torture,

Name: Saw Wah Lay
Sex: Male
Age: 27
Nationality: Karen, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, 1 child aged 4
Address: Tee Per village, Hlaing Bwe Township
Interviewed: April 1996
Source: KHRG

I left because Ko Per Baw and the Burmese burned my house and my rice barn. They said, "You have a lot of rice, you will give it to Kaw Thoo Lei". Once when Kaw Thoo Lei soldiers came to our village, I was kind to them and gave them some rice, so they heard about it and they came to my house and burned it. They took all my animals - 20 buffalos and 50 cows. That was at the end of March [1996]. About 20 of them came. People said his name is Kyaw Tha Da, from Bee T'Ka village. I wasn't home, but my wife and mother-in-law were there. They slapped my wife's face and kicked her with jungle boots, and they put my mother-in-law's head in water for 2 or 3 minutes. She nearly died. They are a really bad group of Ko Per Baw. Now I heard that Kyaw Tha Da and Kyaw Nu Poh [Kyaw Tha Da's brother, also notorious] lost their rank, because all their walkie-talkies and handcuffs were captured by KNU during an attack at Bee T'Ka. Pa Nwee [a senior DKBA commander who is less hard on the villagers] took away their rank, and now they are trying to get it back. Maybe that's why they burned my house. These two brothers are very hard on the villagers. People say their parents were dogs, that they are dog children. I

think they won't quit, because if they stay at home without their weapons people will probably kill them.

We have no contact with KNU, but even so if we stay in the village, though we are born with mouths of our own we dare not speak. If we speak about Ko Per Baw we must only say good things, and if we speak about KNU the Ko Per Baw come and torture us. That's why I don't want to stay in my village anymore. There are plenty of Ko Per Baw informers in the villages. If someone leaves the village, the Ko Per Baw take his land and belongings and give them to their informers. So some of the informers plan ways to push people out of the village to Thailand. Maybe that's what they did to me. I'm not sure, because I haven't heard anything since then. When I left for Thailand, it took me 1 week because I had to avoid the Ko Per Baw. I had to hide 2 nights in the forest.

My friends go as porters, but I always hired someone to go for me. It cost 1,000 kyats each time, twice a month. The people who go have to carry weapons and food from village to village, and when they come back I've seen that there is no skin on their shoulders. Sometimes they beat them until the porter dies and then leave them there. Saw Pa Deh from Kyet Tu Ray village was sick and couldn't carry, so the Ko Per Baw beat him on his head and he died very easily. They hit him only 3 times. They beat the other people more than that, but they didn't die. Saw Pa Deh was about 35 and had no family. The headman didn't dare ask for compensation - when someone dies there is no compensation, moreover the Ko Per Baw usually ask money from the headman or the family, saying, "This person showed disrespect to us and didn't do a good job, so we killed him".

Interview 48: HRV: Arrest, Torture, Detention, Livelihood

Name:	Pa Ler
Sex:	Male
Age:	57
Nationality:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, children
Address:	xxxx village, Pa'an District
Interviewed:	April, 1996
Source:	KHRG

[Pa Ler used to be head of the Karen village militia (KNDO) in his village

several years ago.]

Now I have been in Thailand 10 days, because I cannot stay there. With Ko Per Baw always trying to arrest me, I dare not stay there so I have to come here. Ko Per Baw asked me to work with them but I wasn't interested in their group. They told me to go to Myaing Gyi Ngu to drink vow water. The order came from Maung Cho, he is Ko Per Baw in Toh Kaw Ko village. I didn't go there and I avoided them, so they got very angry with me and sent me a letter in red ink. It said, "If you avoid going, we'll take serious action against you". They forced every headman to go and drink the vow water. When the headmen came back from Myaing Gyi Ngu I asked them, "Do I have to worry about it?" They said, "Don't worry about it", so I didn't take care. I thought it would be no problem. Then after one month they came and arrested me. It was in the month of the solar eclipse [October 1995].

I was alone in my field hut. I'm not sure how many of them arrested me, because it was dark. It was Burmese troops together with just 2 to 5 Ko Per Baw who showed them the way - the Ko Per Baw were Bo Sat Lat ['Officer Machine-Gun'], Kwih Lay, and Ta Muh Heh. They searched my bag and took 21,500 kyats, 2 rings, 1 stone, and my Seiko watch. After they searched my body they tied up my hands, took me to the village and handed me over to another group. They pulled me under a house and started to torture me. They kicked, punched, and poked my temple with a gun barrel. They asked me, "Where do you keep your walkie-talkie, your AR [a small version of an M16 assault rifle] and pistol?" I told them I had these things before, but I don't have them anymore. I'm not doing anything for KNU anymore so I don't have them. They asked me again for a long weapon [rifle] and told me to stop helping the Revolution. But I don't have a weapon. Then they beat me until they got tired, and they stopped.

They tied my hands to a beam [above his head] and my legs to the house post. Only my legs and my butt could touch the ground, but just barely - my body was hanging like a hammock. Then they hit my face, punched my head, kicked my back, then kicked me in the ribs and the chest and hit me in the nose with a gun. They hung me up and burned my stomach and my hands with fire. They took firewood that was really burning and put it on my stomach - until now I still have black and green marks on my stomach. When he put the firewood on my hand I pushed him, and he came back and kicked me. They asked about my weapons and walkie-talkie. I told them I've been retired 5 or 6 years already.

They kept me tied like that for one night, then they untied only my legs and

pulled me like a bull on a rope to Kaw Toh village. I asked them for a cigarette but they didn't give me one. When we arrived in Kaw Toh village I was handed over to another group. That group put me in a cattle corral, and the Burmese came and tortured me again. They kicked my head, rolled my shins with a piece of bamboo and burned me for a while. Then they asked me, "Have you eaten yet?" I said "No", and they gave me a plate of rice. After eating they moved me to Tee Klay village. They pulled me on the rope, and then to Ler Pu and Noh Baw Heh villages. At Noh Baw Heh they just tied me tightly to the post of a rice barn, and under the rice barn was all cowshit. They tied me by my legs, hands, and neck, and they kept me tied there. Altogether I was tied for 6 days. They tortured me again. They punched my face, my nose, they stabbed my hand with a knife - there's a hole right through my hand from the knife. They stabbed all over my body - the knife was blunt, and I could hear it go "kru-kru-kru" [as it cut his flesh]. My hand was really bleeding, my longyi [sarong] was dirty with my blood and I hadn't had a bath for 6 days. They did feed me though, twice a day, rice with fishpaste and chillies, or sometimes curry.

After that, my son's mother [his wife] came with the villagers to vouch for me. They took me to the Major, and he told me I would be released. He handed me over to Ko Per Baw officer Maung Cho, who took me to his house. He untied me, and I took a bath and ate. My wife gave him 70,000 kyats - that doesn't include the 21,500 kyats they'd already taken from my bag. That 70,000 was just to release me. My wife borrowed it from other people, then later we sold all our things to pay it back. The Ko Per Baw demanded that money. They got a gun and said it was my weapon. I heard it was an AR. It was like I had to pay them for this weapon. Then they gave that gun to the Burmese troops. That was at Noh Baw Heh - they didn't tie me, but it was like I was under 'house arrest' while some of my wounds healed. A Ko Per Baw Sergeant looked after me, he gave me medicine two times. Then a soldier took me to Kawkareik. There Bo xxxx said he had to go with an officer to Thingan Nyi Naung and told me to wait for him for 2 days, then he would take me for the vow water. I waited for 2 days, 3 days, and they hadn't come back. After 6 days I ran away into the jungle. Altogether they had held me for about 1 month. After I ran I didn't dare stay at home, I stayed in the forest for a month. In that one month they took my bullock cart, 11 buffalos and 20 baskets of paddy from my house. They said my children had helped me run away, and they fined them 10,000 kyats and tortured them. The Ko Per Baw said my nephew's mother was hiding my cattle and buffalos and fined her 7,000 kyats. Bo Sat Lat and Maung Nyunt Kyi did that. So I can't stay there anymore, and I had to come here.

Interview 49: HRV: Arrest, Torture, Detention

Name: Naw Ghay Muh
Sex: Female
Age: 47
Nationality: Karen, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, children
Address: xxxx village, Pa'an District
Interviewed: April 1996
Source: KHRG

[Naw Ghay Muh is the wife of Pa Ler (see interview above).]

It was 7:30 at night when they arrested my husband. I was not with him. It was mainly Burmese troops who came, with Ko Per Baw only to guide the way. The same night my children told me, "Our father was taken away by some people". They didn't know who had taken him, but when I got halfway to our field hut people told me he was arrested by the Burmese. I followed right away to the Ko Per Baw base, and they told me to find his weapon. I told them, "I can't find it. I have no weapon." They said, "You have. Your husband's weapon is with Pa Ta Roh's column. You must go and find it." [In effect ordering her to go find a Karen Army column and beg a weapon from them.] Then I left.

I tried, but you can never find them [the KNLA column] because they stay in the mountains. When I came back, my children said the Ko Per Baw told them, "I know that your mother couldn't get it. They will give us one weapon anyway, and you have to give 70,000 kyats for it urgently." I said to my children, "We will give it to them if they release your father, we will borrow the money and then sell all our things to pay it back later." The Ko Per Baw said, "Don't tell anyone that you borrowed money from people and I gave the weapon for you. That wouldn't be good." I told him, "I won't tell, I only want my husband to be released."

Then he packed up the weapon and we followed him to xxxx monastery. We sat in the corner and he talked to the officer, and then my husband appeared. They took all the rope off his hands and released him. When we got to xxxx monastery I asked my husband, "Where's your bag that I gave you?" When I looked in the bag none of the things were there - the sugar, money, torchlight, betelnut and betel leaves, they'd taken everything in the bag. I didn't want to say anything but I started crying. I told the Ko Per Baw, "You say that you do

only good things, but really all you do is steal." My husband told me not to speak like that and to stop crying, but I was still crying. They are doing bad things, if they were doing good things I wouldn't be crying. I told them so. But the Ko Per Baw didn't say anything, he didn't dare look at my face. He returned to the Burmese.

Then I tried to take my husband home but they wouldn't allow him to go, they said he must stay with them in Noh Baw Heh village. They didn't look after him - don't hope for that! They came and gave him yellow medicine only two times. We ourselves had to buy the medicine to heal him. I bought the medicine and asked the village elder to give him an injection and heal him with traditional medicine like special oil and special water. We had to stay there a long time. It was like he wasn't dead but he wasn't alive. I asked permission to take him home, I said "If we must drink vow water we will, but if not I'll take him home. Here we haven't got any treatment." I wanted to take him to Kawkareik [hospital], but Ko Per Baw told me, "If you take him there the Burmese will kill him with a poison medicine injection". I said, "Better we go there and die from an injection than die here from no treatment. As for you, we carry your rice for you and still you call us 'informers'. We will just kill two toads, one for him and one for me, and after we eat them we will die." We asked permission, but they wouldn't allow us to go. Finally people came to take him to drink vow water, or he would never have been released.

After he ran from them he stayed in the forest. It was really cold because the rain was heavy, and he was wet and sick. I was really upset and I had no strength for that. I didn't dare stay at home, we all ran away with children and grandchildren and none of us stayed in the village. The Ko Per Baw said if they see us they'll take off our skins and eat them, so we dare not go near them. They took all our things, our buffalos and bullock cart. They took our paddy and 11 buffalos - I'd sold the others to return the money [70,000 kyats] I'd borrowed. I don't know what happened to our house and other things. We all left together with my husband.

Interview 50: HRV: Refugee, Arrest, Torture

Name:	Ko Thein
Sex:	Male
Age:	35
Nationality:	Burmese, refugee
Religion:	Muslim
Address:	xxxx refugee camp, Tak Province, Thailand

Interview: April 8, 1996
Source: KHRG

[This account was given by a refugee in Thailand who was arrested by SLORC when he crossed the Moei River into Burma. As the refugees are not allowed to gather building materials, etc. or do anything to supplement their meagre rations in the refugee camps, many cross the river regularly just to collect things to support themselves.

SLORC Division #88 who come to stay at the side of the Thu Mweh River [Moei River, which is the Thai border] at Tee Kaw Taw are from Ye Kyaw Camp, also called Camp 606, and Thay Ka Yah Camp, also called Camp 1153. When they first arrived they did not abuse villagers whom they saw at all. Now we have heard that the villagers must relocate to another place, and we have seen that if they see people they demand money and they force people to go and buy cheroots, oil, fish, chicken and other foods for them. Furthermore, people who went to find leaves for house roofing had to give ten baht each. So starting from then, people going to the other side of the river from Thailand all must give ten baht [Thai baht; US$1=25 baht]. The soldiers stay in Camp 606 and come early in the morning to the riverside to demand money everyday. From 606 to the river is one and a half hours' walk.

On the morning of 3 April 1996, I went to the river with a few companions. We had to give ten baht each, and I had to speak to the SLORC officer, Sein Hla Maung. He is a Rakhine, his arm badges show 88/83 [#83 Battalion of #88 Division] and his superior officer is Ba Kyi, who stays at Ye Kyaw Camp. On 3 April, in the morning, I said, "Officer, we here, we don't have money. These married women came only to find leaves and have no money, please excuse us from having to give money." He answered me, "Don't you become an agent trying to reduce the cost for these women! Don't become a lawyer!" The next morning I went to cut bamboo again, and he arrested me and took me back to Camp 606.

Before we arrived at the camp they covered my eyes with a longyi [sarong] and took me to a cattle corral. They tied me to a post and beat me on the thighs, first one, then the other, for a while. Then they said to me, "You, before you were a Kawthoolei soldier". I said this was not so. The officer accused me of having a walkie-talkie and a gun and he beat me until I was very sore. He asked me, "Where did you put your weapon?" I said that I don't have one, that I didn't do anything. After abusing me like this for about an hour, then I was put into a bunker, and I was told, "You must be beaten three times per day".

I had to stay there with my hands, feet and neck tied until the morning of 7 April. He [Sein Hla Maung] cut a length of bamboo about as thick as a toe and beat my thighs and my back, and then stabbed my head, my back, my thighs, my shins, and my hands with a bayonet, piercing just a little bit, so that blood fell. Then he went and cut bamboo again, a short thick piece, and rolled it up and down my shins, kicked me, beat me, and punched me, and did like this three times each day. There was a lot of blood. They stabbed me all over my body 3 times per day. He accused me of being a revolutionary, then he said, "If you don't want to die then give 23,620 Thai Baht for your release." As a result of having no money, I had to suffer there until the morning of 7 April.

After they had arrested me, my mother followed after me and brought 15,000 baht she had raised in order to get me out. But because he [Sein Hla Maung] had set 23,620 baht as the value of my life this money was insufficient and thus I was not released. I heard one soldier say to me, "You, if the commander does not get the money as demanded he will kill you". This was said to me every day.

Then the officer whose name is 'Pistol' Win Maung and five of his subordinates who are SLORC soldiers staying at Camp 1153 came and asked me, "What did you do wrong?" I said to him, "Really, just staying like this". Then, he instructed one of his subordinates to come and untie the ropes from around me and they released me, demanding I go back. When I was leaving the camp I saw Officer 'Pistol' Win Maung brandishing his pistol, speaking with Officer Sein Hla Maung, standing at the main gate to the camp. I heard Sein Hla Maung say, "This matter does not concern you - don't come and interfere!" Then I heard 'Pistol' Win Maung answer him, "This activity is no good! You are demanding people's money unjustly. I will do this [i.e. release "Ko Thein"] and what do you want to do about it?" I listened and thought this conflict might involve me, and so I fled back to my home. The next day, I heard that Sein Hla Maung said he does not want to see Indians [Muslims] any more. If he sees any he will allow none to live.

Interview 51: HRV: Forced labor, Taxation, Religious Persecution

Name:	Naw G'Mwee Paw
Sex:	Female
Age:	46
Nationality:	Karen, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married, 4 children

Address: xxxx village, Lu Bweh tract, Pa'an Township
Interviewed: April 14, 1996
Source: KHRG

There are about 200 houses in our village. The car road is more than one kilometre away to the east, by Ko Loh Kloh [Salween River]. It is now finished except for bridge construction. Starting from Pa'an, it goes to Myaing Gyi Ngu [DKBA headquarters, about 50 km. north along the Salween River]. It goes via Tee Po Kler, Noh K'mler village, Ko Wah Ker, Naw Tha Oh, Kruh Ma Ko, Byu, Shway Kaun Aung Taw, Shway Kaun, Kar Nee village, T'goo Say village, La Ka village, Say Pa Leh village, Lah T'noh village, Taw Yweh village, T'ko Po village and then Myaing Gyi Ngu.

Ko Per Baw ordered this road. Ko Per Baw said that the Myaing Gyi Ngu Abbot demanded that the road be constructed, for villagers to be able to come and go easily. As for the Burmese, they have not said anything. For one day, one person from each of five or six houses has to go, rotating houses on duty two days per turn. Also, people have to go to cook rice for the people working on the road. Ko Per Baw feed the people, but it is vegetarian food and the people cannot take meat. The people have to sleep in huts along the roadside.

Two big yellow trucks for flattening the earth [steamrollers] came, and people must follow behind them with sand and small stones for the road surface. The soldiers always watch, and with guns. People have to bring the sand from the river. Women and children as young as 12 or 13 had to carry the sand. The road has an elevation of more than one foot. If it rains, you can't use it. Although you construct it of a higher quality, if there is flooding it'll be destroyed. These roads are often destroyed. We always have to construct roads destroyed by floods on an annual basis. If you don't do like this, these car roads could not be used. For the bridges they are using timber, and also some bricks are being laid. Now they are preparing the timber at Kyaun Wine, not far from our village. They made a bridge in 1988/9 and another in 1990/1 but every year in the rainy season the bridges and the road were destroyed. Now they have started construction again, at Kyaw M'raw River which the Burmese call Than Bu Ra River. In the dry season there is no water in the river. The Ko Per Baw are constructing the bridge themselves. Each villager from Noh Kwaw must go to the construction, one person per house, for two days and one night, on rotation. I went one time. For this construction, the Ko Per Baw say that it is for religion, that people can come and go [from the labor] easily. But when we work there the Ko Per Baw carry guns and wear uniforms that are no different from the Burmese.

The Ko Per Baw come from where they stay. They constructed a camp by Bay T'ya. Burmese soldiers also stay there. The Ko Per Baw unit is maybe 555, or 999. Now they don't do much, but before they were frightening, saying that they would kill all Christians. In our village there are 3 Christian households, and a Church. Although we are Christians we had to stay and listen to this. We did not do anything, and at the very start we didn't know anything. One time, around 7 p.m., a villager who followed Ko Per Baw for a while previously, he came and called out to me, "Now we have beaten the Christians. We have beaten the Christians, and so you cannot stay here any more. The Abbot does not like it any longer." Then I suffered at the core of my heart, and my emotions rose, and I prayed that I would not give an erroneous answer. I held my tongue, and so did not answer anything. But my daughter said, "If we must bow down as Buddhists, then let us all die. We will pray to God." He immediately went away. I did not speak until daylight.

At that time the Ko Per Baw were very strong, and they trusted [worked with] the village leaders. Me, I knew this, but we stayed amongst just a few people and didn't dare to speak about anything. One time Ko Per Baw came to my house when I was not there. My daughter was there, and they said to her, "You must make a [Buddhist] shrine in your house." My daughter said, "We won't make a shrine, we won't give respect, we won't put rice [as an offering]. If the monks from the monastery demand that we leave, then we will leave." As for me, this place is our place, the ground is our ground, so we didn't go to stay in another place, but if the Abbot and others made us leave, we would leave. But now I do not hear anything.

After they made their demands that we leave, something terrible happened. People said, "Christians are coming and spraying poison in the wells." They looked me directly in the eyes and said, "If Buddhists and Christians are staying amongst one another, the Christian soldiers are going to kill all of us." The [local] Karen leader T— said, "Although people might say things to you, don't say anything to them, we should not think anything of them." I wondered if we wouldn't be able to stay there any more, if we would have to leave, or if we wouldn't be able to leave. Previously, my daughter's father [i.e. her husband] had been a [KNU] soldier, but in the midst of the problems now we just stay uselessly, we stay and listen. We heard it said again that people had come to poison, and so we had to go to make protection for the wells. My son-in-law said, "Me, I won't go with them [to make fences around the wells]. Someday something will happen and then people will blame the Christians anyway. If the wells are protected, I'll drink, and if they aren't protected I'll drink." My son-in-law said to me, "Do you dare to drink [the water]?" I said to him, "I'll drink it all. If we cannot do good things, let us not do bad things."

Nobody died, there was nothing. At night times the villagers went and guarded the wells against people who would come to put poison. I asked them if they had caught anybody yet, and they said that they had caught one person from T'kaw Po. I asked them if he was a Buddhist, and they said he was Buddhist, but the Christians made him do it. I told them, "You watch your words. One day people who have not done anything will hear and you will create problems for yourselves."

We, we did not think anything about them [Ko Per Baw]. They, if they thought things, then they had some erroneous thoughts regarding people. The village leaders came and said, "At this time, the Ko Per Baw soldiers must collect 500 kyats from each house, as they must make a road from Sah Tha Byay, and so people must give 500 kyats and 2 big tins of husked eating rice, and it must be given, it is not possible to not give it. At that time people were going to make the Karen New Year celebrations, and so I said to the leaders, "For the New Year I will donate to you 100 [kyats] and for the people who must go to labor on the car road I will give you 100 and you should accept it, as you are leaders, and so you must look and think about us." On the 22 of December they collected the money, 100 per house. People had to take their own food to work on the road. I don't know how many people went - more than 60. They went for 10 days. People who couldn't go had to give money for somebody else to go, 50 kyats per day, so for ten days, 500 kyats. Also rice for ten days amounting to one big tin for one person.

At this stage one government-appointed teacher came to stay in my house. I said, "You people, you are teaching in the government [SLORC] school and so I must accept you, but nobody looks closely at me. Because of food I can accept only one person. If you are happy with this, accept it, if you are not happy, I won't give it you." And the village elder did not say anything much but said to me, "Auntie, that's enough." And I told him, "If enough, then enough, if not enough, then enough. As for the rice, I won't give it to you, I won't do that." [Referring to the tin of rice demanded by DKBA.] Later an elder said to me, "Don't worry about it, there's no need to give it." But before that we had to give 100 kyats per week, four times per month, totalling 400 kyats per month. I said to him, "Now we cannot do that anymore, there is no more money. If people demand money such as this then we cannot give it." Previously the Ko Per Baw had arrested traders and cattle sellers at T'ree Po Kwee on the sixteenth of March [1996], and these traders had included my son-in-law and our cattle They sent him and the cattle to Myaing Gyi Ngu, and so we lost 10,000 kyats and I told my son-in-law not to do this [sell cattle] any more. They gave no reason for the arrests, they only wanted to take the cattle to sell them to other people, and find people to work for them in Myaing Gyi

Ngu. They arrested 30 traders. Of the thirty arrested, now only one is remaining in Myaing Gyi Ngu. The other 29 escaped. They escaped while they were working. They had to make roads in between Myaing Gyi Ngu and surrounding villages.

The Ko Per Baw don't stay in the village - only the two children who joined with Ko Per Baw do. They are about 12 or 13 years old. These two children are not siblings, neither of them has a father any more, and their mothers cannot tell them anything, they don't listen to their mothers. One of the mothers told her son, "Don't you call me your mother. You don't have a mother any more. I won't call you my child any more." One of the mothers has come to Thailand and the other one is still in the village.

The Burmese camp is at Shway Kone. Now they increased their strength. The soldiers' unit number is 22/204 [Battalion 204 under #22 Division], previously it was #339. Their camp is about 3-4 kilometers from our village. We cannot do anything to get food., having to go and work on road construction. The Ko Per Baw have sufficient food. The few villagers who understand this say, "If we don't have enough food any more we'll go and become Ko Per Baw". People don't dare to trade any more. Some people go to Thailand, in the rainy season some work for daily wages planting rice for 50, 60, or 70 kyats at most per day. As for now, finding roofing leaves, 100 sheets can be sold for 250 kyats. After finding leaves, the rains will be coming and people return to working the rice paddy. The Burmese don't interfere in this.

Food is very expensive to buy. One egg is 10 kyats. One big tin of chillies is 350 kyats. People cannot afford to buy food. Husked eating rice is 70 kyats per th'lot [bowl, also known as 1 pyi, or about 2 kg.]. For my field I had to give 10 baskets of paddy to SLORC, and they pay 100 kyats per basket but the usual value is 150-200 kyats, and if somebody has to give paddy to SLORC but does not have enough they must buy it for 150-200 from somebody else and give it to SLORC for 100. Usually they have to borrow money from other villagers, bit by bit, to do this. They annually demand four baskets per acre, so if ten acres, forty baskets. It's the responsibility of the village leaders to collect this. People who work sugar cane must give 1,000 blocks of jaggary [boiled sugarcane juice crystallized into blocks] annually to the SLORC. Since 1988 we have had to give like this every year. For the future, I think that it will not be comfortable. It looks to me that people's morale will not be strong in the way it was before. In the future it will not be at all easy to earn a living.

Interview 52: HRV: Forced Labor, Relocation

Name:	Nai Dow Ye
Sex:	Male
Age:	46 year
Nationality:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Refugees
Native Place:	Ah Ruu Taung Village, Ye Township, Mon State
Current Residence:	Halockhani refugee camp
Interview Date:	April 28, 1996.
Source:	HRFOM

Since the BSPP government intensified four cut campaign in duration 1980s to the local ethnic community which has contacts with rebel group, several local ethnic villagers abandoned their native places and took refuge in rebel control areas, after they were extremely suppressed by the Burmese Army (Tatmadaw).

When did you leave from your village and why? Before you arrived to the refugee camp, how was your family live?
I left from my village near Ye in 1984 after the Burmese Army arrested and detained me three times. They accused me as rebel-supporter. My youngest son joined the Mon army of Nai Shwe Kyin fraction in 1983 and was active around our village and the Burmese army told me to tell him to resign from Mon army and send to Ye. At that time, my wife opened a small shop and sold groceries mainly agricultural products in Ye. Before they arrested me they already arrested my wife as hostage and then I had to meet them.

Every time in detention, they accused me my son joined army because of my encouragement. I, my self have ever joined Mon army when I was young and that was why they accused me like that. Then I met them and they detained me for one week in Ye police detention and after I promised I would tell to y son to resign they released me. I contacted my son but he refused to return back and after one month the Burmese Army informed me to meet them in Ye and I was arrested and detained again. And I told my wife to close her shop in Ye and to stay in village. She returned back to village and to avoid the arrests of the Burmese Army, we stayed in farm-huts nearly for one year. I didn't return back to village and my wife brought me necessities, which I needed. While I was in farm, several letters from Ye town's council (Township level BSPP administration body) reached to me and I kept quiet and refused to meet them.

Unlucky, I was arrested in my farm. In harvest time, I was sick in hut and when the Burmese Army came close to hut I hid in a paddy warehouse nearby but my wife was in hut. As soon as they reached to hut they stole eggs and chicken that I raised. They also took some vegetables and dark toddy. My wife was afraid and did not tell them anything. Among the soldiers, a warrant officer knew my wife very well and he ever brought products in her shop in Ye. When I was arrested in Ye, he ever interrogated and beat me. He could recognize my wife and asked her where I was. My wife lied him that I left for Kanni village for trading but he threatened my wife he will kill if he met me in farm. Then he ordered to his soldiers to search me around farm-hut and a soldier met me in rice warehouse. He also ordered his men to tie me up and beat me with his jungle boots and rifle butts He said the town officials sent several letters and asked why I didn't meet them. I lied them I didn't receive letters but they didn't believe and will ask and check to village leaders. He also interrogated me that I had contacts with my son or not. He also ordered to search in the whole farm-hut to find gun. I told them I never contacted and he already moved to military headquarters. However, they didn't believe me and brought me to Ye's IB No.61 battalion headquarters. My wife also cried and asked them that as I was sick to pardon me and I will meet after recovered. But they refused.

When I reached to their battalion, they put me in a small cell with other two criminals. My fever getting serious but they never gave me any medicine. After I slept there one night, an officer brought me to a room. Ten, I think the battalion commander and two warrant officers including the one who arrested me arrived in front of me and told me if I told them true, they will release me. I agreed.

They interrogated me one by one. Firstly, the commander told me he knew I was a former Mon soldier and had contact with Mon soldiers. I told them the true, if the Mon soldiers arrived to my house or my farmland, I had to feed them, as I was afraid. He smiled and told that I knew every commander of the Mon soldiers why I has to be afraid of them. I said I knew just their names and I was not familiar with them. And a warrant officer asked the names of Mon commanders whose I knew including their ages, native places. I told them as much as I knew because I feared they beat me. After he noted he said I knew many of commanders and that made them sure I was a rebel-supporter. Moreover, he questioned why I encourage my youngest who failed Ninth Standards (Ninth Grade) examination to join the Mon insurgency. I told them that I was very unhappy for my son as he still had chance learn in school and to pass exam. They said I lied them and accused that I, by myself, sent my son to attend medical school opened in insurgent headquarters. I refused but I agreed he and me went to farm together and one night he followed with Mon troops

and then didn't return. I also found and met him in a village southern part of Ye and but he refused to return. Anyhow, they didn't believe me. The commander just bet with his fist for one time on that day.

On the next day, my fever getting worst but they didn't care. Brought me to the room again and tied me up tightly with a pole. The tow warrant officer came and asked why I didn't meet them when the township authorities sent me letters. I told I was afraid and they beat me. They didn't listen to my complaints and continued their beatings. They beat with rifle butts, jungle boots and sticks. I think they bet for one hour without rest. As I was weak and lost consciousness at the end.

On the next day, they brought me to a room and the commanders said I have only one choice to abandon my village, if not he will imprison me he said as I was unable to bring back my son, so I had guilty. As soon as he released me he said me to leave from village, if not he will arrest me and imprison me according to existed laws. I didn't know what kinds of law. As soon as I arrived at village I arranged to leave. I collected some materials and I abandoned the village on the next day with my elder son, his wife and two children. He worried for me and he also accompanied with us. We traveled up to Wengka village of Sangkhlaburi District of Thailand.

When you were in Sangkhlaburi, what was your occupation and did you take refuge in NMSP control territory?

I stayed in Sangkhlaburi for three years. I worked as a hard laborer in a Thai plantation where I had to grow banana and mango trees and took care of that plantation. After three years, when the tree grew up, the owner didn't need me and then I went to Three Pagoda Pass I stayed there and worked in a furniture factory and then, I cleared a plantation around the area and planted some vegetables and sugar cane. It could provide enough income for my family and our life was very comfortable.

How many years had you stayed in there and when the Burmese troops occupied Three Pagodas Pass how did you flee and what happened on your family?

Before the Burmese troops came into Three Pagoda Pass area, my son and I helped Mon troops in bringing some belongings to hide in Thai territory. All the people in the area helped the party (MNSP) as possible as we can. We have responsibility to prevent the Burmese troops' advance and sometime, we had to send ammunition and food to the frontline. When we knew the Burmese troops advanced to Three Pagoda Pass area, I moved our family to Thai side of

the border. I lost my wooden house and plantation in there. Firstly, I moved them to Songkhlia village in Thai territory and after the Burmese troops occupied NMSP headquarters, the Songkhlia village was very close to their outpost and then I moved them to Wengka village again. In Wengka, I had no house and very uncomfortable to stay with other family. Then when the refugee camp was opened in Krung Kungt village, I moved into refugee camp.

According to Thai successive government policy, they never recognized the peoples of Burma who fled from systematic persecution by the military as " refugees " and since they have been displaced persons in Thailand, Thai authorities perpetually relocated them.How is your life in refugee camp?

We received rice, fish-paste and salt normally every month. We have to find vegetables and bamboo shoots in rainy season. We can get meat from hunter or cattle traders. In every camp, we established hospital and school .We have no problem for treatments when we were suffering from malaria. My grandchildren also can attend to primary school and they got book and other stationary with fare charge. The book price in Burma is very expensive.

Did you often to move from the refugee camp from one place to another? What arrangements of the Mon and Thai authorities?

When we were in Krung Kung, the camp committee informed us our camp and Panang Htaw have to move to Hla Brad (in 1992). The Hla Brad is about one hour walk from our camp and about one and half-hours walk from Panang Htaw. We would like to stay more in Krung Kung but anyhow we would have to follow according to camp leaders' instruction. Before we moved, the Thai officials including soldiers came to the camp very often with Mon authorities (MNRC officials) and arranged meeting with camp leaders. The arranged to move nearly for one month. The all our village moved to Hla Brad. (Later, Hla Brad camp was renamed as Loh Loe)

If you refused to move from there, what will happen for you?

The Thai police will arrest us. When we moved to Hla Brad, some villagers from Panang Htaw refused to move. The Thai militias came to Panang Htaw and threatened them to move to Hla Brad. Because of the villagers still refused, the militias arrested them and detained in Sangkhlaburi detention cell. They were put in detention cell about three days and forced them to agree to move after the release, the villagers moved to Hla brad.

How long could you stay in on Loh Loe or Hla Brad and then how you have to

move to another area?

We stayed in Loh Loe for nearly two years. And then, at the beginning of 1994, we also had to move Payaw or Halockhani. I decided to move to Halockhani and the camp committee also explained us wee can choose the place where wee would like to move. At that time, we were very complicated because the camp committee said the Mon leaders (NMSP and MRC) attempted not to move from Lon Loe and not to hurry to move. But in February, the Thai military came into camp and stayed in the houses in the camp and told the refugees to move to Halockhani or Payaw. Actually, the refugees would not like to move but they were afraid of Thai soldiers Even they did not treated badly ordinary villagers were already afraid of them. Then, they hurried to move. My family also moved to Halockhani.

When the Burmese troops attacked one section of Halockhani, what happened to your family?

We have to flee into Thai territory over the border again. Just three months after the refugees were resettled in Halockhani. Firstly, we didn't know what happened in Baleh Donephai (the section which was initially attacked by Burmese soldiers) and when the fighting occurred between Mon troops and them on the way to Halockhani, but when they returned back, they burnt down Baleh Donephai and some men were arrested and tortured.

We had to stay in muddy area near Thai border police station more than one month. The camp and main committee (MNRC) told us they requested The Thai government to allow us to resettle in Thai territory again. We agreed with leaders, because it was very dangerous for us to stay longer in Halockhani. The Burmese troops could come any time. May be they had to walk one hour from their nearest outpost to reach the camp. At that time, the party (NMSP) had no cease-fire agreement. We were waiting kind consideration of Thai authorities. We expected that they would allow us to stay. Waited and waited, at the end they didn't allow us. The Thai army came to rice warehouse of the refugees and closed it and force us to move, if we refused to return to their former campsite Halockhani, they will cut off supplies. All of us were just depend on that rice. As a result, all of us slowly moved back to dangerous place again after we have no choice. After we returned back even no more attack, we have been reluctant to move to another area.

After the party (NMSP) had cease-fire agreement with SLORC, the party planned to settle you in some area. You already knew that. If you went the resettlement area you could get wider surrounding for you. Why you don't

move there?

I don't trust the Burmese soldiers. If I moved to Baleh Donephai, the Burmese troops will pass through the village very often and will make trouble to me. Also the IB 61 always passed through the village. May be some of them will know me. I am still afraid of them and don't trust them up to now. Even I would like to visit to my native village but I don't trust them. That was why I don't want to move to Baleh Donephai. I don't want also to move to Palaing Japan village, which was newly resettled. The site is very close to Burmese military battalion of Three Pagoda Pass. And, if we stayed in Halockhani, we have been possible to attend hospital easily or they (the medic) will transfer the serious patient to treat in Christian hospital in Huai Malai (in Sankhaburi District of Thailand).

Last dry season and on the eve of rainy season, did you grow rice in the mountain? How much you re and can you estimate the amount of the products?

Yes, I grew rice. But I could not clear large area and grew only two tins of rice seed. The amount of rice production is depended on the weather. If the rain fell too much before the end of rainy season, it will destroy the crops. At the beginning of rainy season, the rain fell very little and the plants grew up very slow and weak. Estimately, we can get about 20 tins of plain rice from each one tin rice seed. Our family could have enough rice for three months. We still need the help of relief committee.

Do you have a plan to return back your native village and to work in your farm?

I already sold my farm. At the moment I don't want to return back to native village. If no Burmese army around the area I will return back. I can find out new farm and create new life.

Interview 53: HRV: Relocation, Forced Labor, Refugee, Killing, Torture

Name:	Nai Lane
Sex:	Male
Age:	52 Years
Nationality:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Native Place:	Paukpingwin Village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim

Division
Place: Payaw refugee camp
Interviewed: May 4, 1996.
Source: HRFOM

The conscription of forced labor in Ye-Tavoy railway construction other kinds of human rights abuses have created the massive influx of displaced persons and refugees. Those refuges reached to Payaw since at the end of 1993.

Why did you leave from your village and when?

I left form the village in March 1993 while the Loh Loe refugee camp was being relocating to Payaw. I also settled and built my house in Payaw. At that time, there was busy time while many refuges from Loh Loe and new arrivals reached to same camp. And the small side of camp became bigger.

We have to abandon the village because the Burmese soldiers treated us very severe. Since October 1993, we have to work in clearing foliages and cut down the trees along the planned railway route. And at the same time, the villagers also have to find facilities for the construction of military outposts. We had to cut tree and bamboo in the forest and brought it to the military outpost and then the villagers including the women and children have to build the fences, barracks and other buildings in their outposts.

At that time, the NMSP did not reach a cease-fire agreement with SLORC. Several fighting happened around our area and the military also issued the order not to move to farm or forest areas. But when they asked for tree and bamboo they said we could go to the forest but they did not provide us any insurance letter. Once when other two villagers and me went into forest to cut trees for their outposts, we were arrested by the Burmese soldiers from LIB No. 410 and they beat us very severely. We also explained them that we cut trees for LIB No. 407 but they didn't accept our complaint and at the end we were forced to be porters to carry their materials for nearly one-week. When we arrived we didn't get any materials and the soldiers from No. 407 punished us again. They never listen to us.

I ever been as porters for several times before I decided to flee. Besides the railway construction, portering, we also have to provide them several kinds of tax and later, we have been shortage of income and foods. Sometime, even our area has been farming; we have to eat rice-soup and became shortage. Every year, before the harvest time, we faced food-shortage problem.
When you escaped from village, how many families accompanied with you?

Three families. We were the poorest families in the village and we had to flee first. We could not provide them any payment or labor. If we worked for them, we left nothing to eat. We decided to escape from the village. After we escaped the army conscripted more laborers from our villagers, nearly 30 families continuously arrived to Payaw after one month we arrived. All of them are likely poor family. Among the villagers who escaped from the village, many of them left to several villages in Ye, Thanbyuzayat and Mudon townships and avoided from conscription forced labor. Some also left to Thailand by boat while some hid in the forest. Some families still left in the village and they have to permanently provide payment to the army.

Please compare me what are difference in your life when you stayed in your village and now (in refugee camp)?

When we were young, it was very nice to stay in our native village. We have our own farm and no Burmese soldiers around the village. We have to give some small tax to Mon troops and we were safe. About 10 years ago, the Burmese soldiers came into our village very often and built a small outpost and tried to control the village. And the army, themselves, selected the village leaders and adopted the administration. all villagers disliked them and informed Mon troops to drive them out. But the Mon troops sympathized on villagers never shot outside the village. The Burmese troops kept more control on villagers and treated very bad after they knew the villagers have cooperation with rebel.

Every the Burmese soldiers were attacked by Mon troops we were terribly treated by them. They checked every man and asked who keeping contact with Mon troops and firstly village leaders whose were selected by them were severely beaten. And they arrested everyone and detained him or her. Or they were forced to be porters. Some villagers also killed and one villager Nai Htawe was killed y them. It might be about 7 years ago, I could not recognize the date. he was killed in Ye IB No.61 headquarters. We didn't know what the exact accusation was put on him by army. Might be they accused him as rebel-supporter. He was arrested in his betel-nut plantation. According to one participant of Burmese soldiers, he said he gave shelters and foods to Mon troops in his plantation. It has been normal that the Mon troops always taking a rest and cooking food in plantations near village. But which the Mon troops were in his plantation the Mon troops already left and when the Burmese soldiers arrived they met such evidences and accused him as rebel-supporter without checking for the accurate information . After they severely beat him for one hour, they shot him and he died on the spot. The villagers heard the gunfire and nobody dared to go to incident place. On the next day, the villagers searched around his plantation and met the dead body. Then they brought back to the

village. After that case, when the Mon troops had activities around the area, the villager never went and worked in their plantation. We always feared the maltreatment of Burmese soldiers when we were in the village.

Anyhow , when we were staying in the native village, we could have living stacks and we have relatives to help each other. When we were young we had a better life than now in our native. After the Burmese Army deployed more troops in the area, all villagers have been unhappy and they have to provide the military for several things, which they asked. The life here is better than in our village. But if the Burmese troops retreated from the area, the life in there is better than here. Even the refugees were hoping for the international monitoring before the repatriation they were not provided.

When did you move here? Who mainly arranged to move you here?

At the beginning of cold season (in October) we were explained by the camp committee that we have to move down to Tavoy district area because the party (NMSP) already reached a cease-fire agreement. They also explained if we were moved in dry season (February -March), the English (the Mon called all Westerner or foreigner as English and in case , the camp would like to mention the international organization will provide monitoring in the repatriation) will stay along with us and arranged for the trips, sharing lands and houses for us. They will help us to build hospitals and schools in the new place. Sincerely, we would not like to return back Paukpingwin (native village), but I accepted to move down to Tavoy district area. According to the camp committee and party leaders (MRC), they explained we will have to created the plantation the in area and before our native village was safe enough to return back we will have to stay there.

Since then, the English came often and asked some questions to some villagers (refugees). But when we moved to the Tavoy Districts areas, only Mon authorities arranged for us for smooth settlement. Every family hurried up move as they were afraid of Thai soldiers. If they delayed to move, might be, Thai soldiers will came to village and threaten to move like situation when Loh Loe refugees moved to Halockhani. I was also afraid of the bad treatment of Thai soldiers and hurried up to move there. And we arrived there before others, we also more chance and time to clear house surrounding and to build house. If we have more time we can created plantation.

Did you created any space for plantation ? If you did , what you grew?

I hurried to arrive here (in the new site). I arrived here at the beginning of

March and I arranged to build house. I have to cut trees for pole and bamboo for a week. I cut in the forest nearby and brought it to village. After I collected the needed facilities, I had to build my house for another one week. Therefore, I have been delayed to clear land space to grow rice, you have to cut every things in the hill and put all foliages and things to be drought n there for nearly one month, and you have to burnt all into ashes. And you have to pock and throw every things left from the burning. It is a serious and busy job to create a rice plantation in hilly area. As I have no time, I just created a small vegetable plantation and I grew some vegetables such as green bean and plant. I sold it in the village for income.

What do you think on cease-fire? If the cease-fire is broke out , where you will flee?

We never trust the Burmese troops. According to Burmese troops in Aleskan village, they did the cease-fire agreement is a short term of them and after they finished building the railway, I think they will resume fighting to Mon troops. If the Mon and Burmese troops fought each other in this area, maybe, I will flee to former place (Payaw) again.

As you said you have no rice plantation and next year, if you could not grow what you will plan?

Surely, I could make any products this year. Some other families also have the same situation like me. They also have nothings. If the English camp committee could not provide us rice, we will face more difficulties and we don't know how to plan. We will flee to the place where we can get foods.

Q: Do you go back to your village?

No. I'm afraid of Burmese soldiers.

Interview 54: HRV: Livelihood, Taxation, Extortion

Name:	withheld upon request
Sex:	Male
Age:	19 years
Ethnic:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Address:	Hsar Chet Village Tract, Lat Putta Township
Name:	withheld upon request

Sex: Male
Age: 22 years old
Ethnic: Karen
Religion: Christian
Address: Hsar Chet Village Tract, Lat Putta Township
Interviewed: May 19 1996
Source: FTUB

Our village population is about 80% Kaken, 70% Christian and 30% Buddhist. Hsar Chet Village Tract has 13 small villages within it, totalling about 2,000 families (approximately 160 families/village) and every villages has at least 10 SLORC soldiers stationed within. After the Bogalay Crisis our village tract was classified as a 'black' area until now.

Villagers have to build fences, clear areas of land and make bamboo spikes protruding from the ground at fence perimeters, repair roads to the army spots and keep watch as sentries for the soldiers. There are no porter fees, but we have to pay organising and administration fees to USDA (more directly translated as 'collecting' and 'managing' fees- the precise meaning is unclear) and road construction volunteer fees, also school and police station construction fees, lastly, recruitment fees. Altogether these cost one family about 2,500 kyats (for one month). Moreover, each village has to give the soldiers stationed in their village foodstuffs, chicken, pork, duck, dried shrimp, totalling 5-7 viss (8- 11.2 kg) per week, and when shrimp fishermen come back from their day's work, they must give one viss (1.6 kg) of fresh shrimp and one tin of condensed milk.

At the end of 1995, in Pyin Sa Lu village, a new police station was constructed, for which every family in the village tract was required to give 500 kyats, and had to assist in the construction. Likewise, at the beginning of 1996, a new high school building was constructed at Theik Pan Gaun Kyi village, for ninth and tenth standard and for the construction of this building, miscellaneous ('odd job') laborers had to give 500 kyats each, and the Commander of the Southwest Command, Brigadier General Nyunt Tin opened the building himself. Thus, villagers had to work at cleaning the compound starting ten days prior to the arrival of the Commander.

Actually, that school was previously a complete high school, prior to 1991 and the Bogalay Crisis. Subsequent to those events, Lat Putta Township was punished, and the school lowered to a middle school standard. Many government servants (including teachers) were forced to resign or were transferred for failing to report KNU movements. All Karen government servants were forced

to resign without and questions asked, and because of that the headmistress and the Karen teachers were all sacked.

Even though there is a high school, most of the children cannot attend, and after completion of third or fourth grades (primary school) the parents withdraw them in order to help their families.

Rice price is currently 65-70 kyats per pyi(8 condensed milk tins) and even the farmers themselves are concerned about the rice price, because they themselves are suffering rice shortages due to the many kinds of quotas imposed upon the rice they produce. The average production per acre is about 50 baskets of unhusked paddy rice. SLORC imposes quota of 12 baskets per acre, which they purchase at 70 kyats per basket, whist the prevailing market price is about 450 kyats per basket. There are other quotas- '*Tatmadaw*' rice at basket, and sometimes provide no recompense; '*Saytanar rice*,' (in Pali, meaning 'good will') at 1 basket per acre, for which no recompense is given, and we do not know to whom or where it goes; '*Mawata*' rice, basket per acre.

There are many kinds of funds collected by Yawata (LORC), and if you fail to pay you are required to sign some kind of document, and although people do not know what will happen if you sign, every body is too afraid of this, so they always pay.

Nowadays, if a family has 5 members, they all have to work, at rice cultivation, or fishing, and road construction and other such 'volunteer' work.

This year, our villagers have to work on the Pan Tanaw - Rangoon road constructions, about 14-15 days per time, or alternately pay 1,500 kyats to Yawata. The road can accommodate two cars side by side, is about 10 feet high, and there are thousand of people on the construction. Each village is allocated a specific portion of the road for completion. The work requires digging of the ground and piling it for the road. There is no clinic or medical service, no wage is received, and we must take all of our own supplies and stay alongside the road in miserable conditions . Some people are injured whilst working, but we don't know exactly about that.

After the Bogalay Crisis, many old former Karen revolutionaries were arrested, including Pu Thar Mya, who was about 70 years old, and U Tun Shei, who was partly paralyzed, were arrested and taken away upon stretchers, and they both died in prison. Also, Chit San Maung's brother, U Tun Nay Thar, who never joined the Karen revolution, was jailed for 3 years. During the Bogalay Crisis, villagers were forced to walk ahead of the (SLORC) soldiers, shouting "Do not

shoot!" but the SLORC soldiers fired at KNLA.

In our village, there are no problems between Karen and Burmese (civilians). All are afraid of the SLORC. The Burmese villagers who also gave meals to the Karen soldiers during the Bogalay Crisis were punished also. But the SLORC is truing to divide Karen and Burmese, Christian and Buddhist. On the road constructions, the (predominantly) Karen villagers are required to work at more distant sites than the Burmese. The Burmese villagers said "You Karen always go to work at places further away. That's strange" A SLORC major went to every village (in the area) and instructed the villagers to donate money to build a pagoda in each village, and he said "Christian must disappear". Also there's a village called Padauk Kone, which is completely Christian, and there a pagoda was built just in front of the church, only about ten years from the church building. At the ceremony to mount the pagoda with the umbrella the Christian had to dance 'doan'. There is not a single Buddhist in that village. If a Christian church seek to make repairs it must ask permission from Mawata (LORC), and construction of new church buildings is not permitted. Regarding the (regional) Christian convention, previously anybody could go, but now only 5 people per village are permitted.

In Rangoon, people dare to quietly abuse even an officer of the (SLORC) army walking alone on the street, but in rural areas even privates lord over the civilians. Sometimes a person doing absolutely nothing can be slapped. The soldiers demand the villagers buy them boats and television and there are always at least three or four prostitutes staying with the soldiers stationed at the village. There are two kinds of SLORC soldiers. One is rude, and always wanting to dominate the villagers. The other polite, using family words and soft words with the villagers, but he will 'purchase' rice for an unfair price, and when he returns to his unit (headquarters- on rotation) will sell it for profit. So both types are bad. Soldiers are usually rotated every 2 moths. When they are rotated, the village tract must collect 100,000 kyats for reach officer (perhaps two or three per tract).

Regarding recruitment (as SLORC soldiers), our villagers have headaches about this. The soldiers come at least one time per year and demand 10 people for this purpose. Alternately, if they prefer, the villagers could give 200 kyats per houses in order to opt out of the recruitment process. Now, however, the SLORC soldiers have come to realize that they can get money this way, and so if they want to they come and demand new recruits in order to get money.

We heard that there are many problems and difficulties in coming to Thailand, but we hoped that would be better than life in our village, and so we came.

Interview 55: HRV: Livelihood, Arrest, Forced Recruitment

Name: with held upon request
Age: 30 years old
Sex: Male
Ethnic: Karen
Religion: Christian
Address: Nyaung Done Township
Interviewed: May, 1996
Source: FTUB

In May 1996, many framers from the whole of Irrawaddy Division were arrested because they could not provide 'Saytanar' rice to the SLORC (for difference of significance from that referred to in the previous interview please see below.) This year, the whole of Irrawaddy division was ordered to grow dry season rice. If a farmer is unable to grow it, the rice fields must be confiscated. [Note: According to laws established under BSPP and still apparently being selectively employed by SLORC, the State owns the land, water and air, therefore the State is legally entitled to confiscate the rice fields of those farmers not meeting their rice production quotas, and 'sell' it to others.] Thus whereas previously a farmer could possess about 30 acres of rice fields, nowadays the average is 12- 15 acres.

The name of the dry season production is "Theetatye" and the method was developed in China, and it has a production target of 100 baskets (of unhusked paddy) per acre. Farmer who had already panted and begun raising soya bean crops (after the rainy season rice crop) was forced to destroy these without compensation and grow the dry season rice crop. The time frame for this crop production is about three and a half months and the water must be pumped from the rivers (by machine). However the average production of Theetatye rice for this year was 45 baskets per acre. The reasons for the poor production figures are:

- insects (that would be more prevalent during the dry season) destroyed the paddy.
- lack of fertilizers.
- lack of fuel for pumps and farm machineries.
- lack of water pumps.

Mawata had agreed to distribute diesel fuel, fertilizer, water pumps and hoses, but only a few were received. According to the arrangement, 5 acres of fields were to be allocated 8 gallons of diesel, to be purchased (the official price of

) 28 kyats per gallon, per month and 75 kg of fertilizer per month. But in actual fact, the farmers received once only, at the beginning of the cultivation period, 7 gallons of diesel at 80 kyats per gallon. As for urea and/or phosphorous fertilizers, the farmers received nothing. On the black market, the price of urea is about 1,750 kyats per 50 kg bag, and phosphorous costs 1,200 kyats per 40 kg bag. Across the period of the dry season rice, for a five acre area approximately 5 bags of fertilizer (50% of each) is required. Water pumps are available only on the black market, and are expensive. The SLORC placed a quota of 5 baskets (of unhusked rice) per acre on Saytanar rice. For other costs, to hire a glowing machine cost the user ten baskets per acre; to hire a pair of oxen and a cart costs 200-300 kyats per day; also the farmer must put aside on basket of paddy per acre in order to grow the next seasons crop; finally, there are water pump fees, insecticide costs (to plant and reap the paddy) so there is not much left for the farmers themselves. Moreover, each farmer (as distinct from the urban residents) in Irrawaddy Division must give fees totalling about 3,000 kyats per family per month. So, some unfortunate farmers whose crops are very poor are unable to meet the Saytanar rice quota, let alone even enough for their own needs.

Saytanar rice is collected by the Agricultural Department. The farmers must transport their procurred rice to the storage depots, which are guarded by soldiers, the farmers have come to understand that the Saytanar rice is to be exported to China in exchange for weapons.

The farmers unable to meet the quota requirements number around 15- 50 per village (numbering perhaps 100-400 houses per village in total). (Rice quota stocks must be received in April) and in May action is started against farmers who failed to meet the requirements of the quota system. The farmers were instructed to bring their own food supplies and were placed under detention in the police jail cells, or (in cases where these were full) school buildings, whereupon the requirements of the quota were again demanded of them, Those failing to give it continued to be held in detention. In May, at Wah Kema town, the school was filled with detained farmers, and so I saw 33 farmers, some handcuffed, the others tied with rope, and guarded by police, walking on the road, to be relocated . This was a demonstration that for anybody who failed to give rice, they would be treated thus. The same thing happened in Myaung Mya, Ein Meh and Pantanaw. I know a Karen farmer of about 50 years from Pantanaw who never been arrested or been to jail in his life, and after he was detained he felt ashamed that his hand could not grow enough rice, and putting the blame on them he slashed at his wrists, and had to be sent to hospital. Now, all of the farmer are very unhappy about Saytanar rice, and are discussing that if the same things happen again next year then everybody will refuse to give rice and

will instead go to jail.

With regards to new road constructions, some paddy fields were destroyed. I saw woman crying at Nuaung Done -She Kaw boat jetty, and then a monk asked her why she was crying, and she replied that her dry season rice was going to mature soon, but in accordance with the Nawata plan for the Nyaung Done -Pantanaw road construction progress, she had just received an order to destroy her paddy within a day, therefore she was at a loss a to what to do.

Also regarding road constructions, people from Irrawaddy Division must work on these, and people from my village must work on the Myaung Mya- Lat Putta road. Some went with their whole families, and worked for about two months. Alternately, substitutes can be hired for 100 kyats per day. The road is about 20 feet wide and 15 feet high. There is no clinic or medical assistance, and some accidents, but no deaths I know of. Last year, on the Shwe Laung - Wah Kema road construction some died as a result of cholera. There was a SLORC army officer there who rode a horse and abused the villagers. Then one day his horse slipped and the front legs went into a hole. The officer was thrown from the horse and died from a broken neck. I don't know his name, but the villagers were very glad and named him "Officer Broken Neck".

Rice plantation farmers who want to change t fish farming are not permitted to do so. If they are to dig a pond then the authorities tell them that they require From 39 (relating to land usage) which is seldom issued to farmers.

Nowadays, the SLORC army is taking in a lot of new soldiers, and people from towns always refuse to join (by paying money instead) so the soldiers are demanding people from the rural areas join the army. For my village, soldiers from IB's 92 and 93 set up recruitment signboards and made promotions. They ordered one person from every family to attend a meeting, in my case my brother went, and then a drunken sergeant gave a speech and everybody had to listen. He said, "Join the army to protect the nation" but nobody pardoned of any criminal or civil offense, whether murder, rape, robbery or debt. For any debtor who joins, the amount of your debt must be collected and paid to the creditor by the other members of your village. All the ethnic groups have surrendered to us, so do you know why we recruit to fight? We are going to fight the Americans." But the villagers were also creative, and they replied that growing rice is also for feeding the country. Recruitment comes subsequent to the harvests. If farmers grow twice a year then they will come twice a year.
So now some villagers eat their dinner by the light of the moon because they are too poor to buy fuel for lighting. Also, some farmers have disputes with one another when after the rainy season the river levels decline and more land

is exposed (these areas being of quite substantial size) and each seeks to take control of the land, in some cases leading as far as murder. So four or five members of my village were imprisoned because of such disputes.

This last dry season, a fire brunt downs many large shops along the esplanade of Kyone Ma Ngay. That place was assigned for demolition and reconstruction by the Mawata (SLORC), but the shopkeepers gave money to prevent that from happening. Subsequently, the fire started at around one a.m. close to black market fuel shop, and so people were saying that it was not an accident because now, in order to reconstruct, the shopkeepers must again give money to the Mawata.

Interview 56: HRV: Relocation, Forced labor, Livelihood

Name:	Loong Seng Mong
Sex:	Male
Age:	46
Nationality:	Shan, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, 5 children aged 2-17
Address:	Loi Yoi village, Loi Lat tract, Nam Sang township
Interviewed:	June 1, 1996
Source:	KHRG

I'm a farmer. Tis is my first time in Thailand. I got here about 20 days ago [he arrived on May 19]. My village is east of Nam Sang, one day's walk. I left because the Burmese soldiers forced us to move. They called all the headmen to Loi Lat and gave them the order to move within 5 days. Then the Burmese soldiers came to the village with the order on April 9th. #55 Battalion, from Mong Pan. Loi Yoi has about 70 households. About 300 soldiers came. I was there. At first they didn't do anything, they just came and said nicely that we had to move within 5 days, and they said "after 5 days, if you come back you'll be shot". They said they would shoot us and accuse us of giving food to the rebels. Then they shot our cattle, pigs and chickens for food.

It's true, we had given food to rebels. They [the rebels] didn't do anything to us. After the order to move, we all had to carry our things on our backs. The way is too steep for carts, and there is no road. We went to Wan Nong. And Kun Mong. It is 3 hours' walk to the west. Wan Nong is a big village. Before it was about 70 houses. Many villages had to move there Kong Tat, Loi Lai, Loi Lat, Loi Yoi, Moi Tang, Loi Un, Kung Lao, Loi Ai, Ho Derg, On Kaen,

Kong Sah, Mong Yau, and Nong Pay. That is two village tracts, Loi Lat and On Kaen. Both village tracts had to move to Wan Nong or Kun Mong. No place was prepared, it was up to us and our relatives. Those who had relatives went to stay with their relatives. Those without relatives there just spread out in different places. It's like if you let cattle loose, and they just scatter everywhere. People went to get bamboo to build huts and to collect food in the forest. They tried to get work doing day labor, but there were so many of them that it was difficult. Some people made long rows of shelters with separate rooms, all joined together. They helped each other, like they were making a hotel. There are about 7,000 people in Wan Nong village now. To survive, if we have money we buy food. We need to work for food and share with each other. We hired ourselves out to the local villagers to do farming.

Some people tried to stay in their villages, but not in our area. I heard that in another village someone refused to move and the Burmese burned her house. The Burmese soldiers burned her together with her house. That was at Wan Ko Lam village. She was an old woman. All her relatives moved but she did not want to move.

We didn't have to give our rice to the Burmese, but they took everything that was left behind in the village. They allowed us to go back and farm our fields, but you cannot take any rice with you. You must go early in the morning and come back home in the evening. You're not allowed to sleep at the farm. And it's 3 hours' walk each way. Some are going. I didn't, but some people did. You have to get permission each time to go for farming. When I was there they didn't give a paper [pass], but they said that later they will do that. The people who go have to be afraid of getting shot, but the new place is so crowded so they have no choice but to go back and work their fields [it's the only way to get food].

I stayed at the new place for about 20 days. We couldn't earn our living there, and if we stayed there we would have to work for the Burmese. As soon as they need labor they will give the order. Their base is at Nam Sang. At the new place at Wan Nong they have a temporary camp. They haven't started building their permanent camp yet, but they have a plan to. The same Battalion, #55. When I left there were about 10 [soldiers] there all the time, but the others are all out patrolling so I don't know how many exactly. We came by truck, from Nam Sang to Lang Ker, then to Mong Pan and to Thailand. Ordinary trucks can't come, it has to be 4 wheel drive. It's not surfaced. They didn't stop us. The Burmese said only when there is peace we can go back to our village. It will be a long time before we can go back. I will work as labor here. 9 of us came together. When we left we had 60,000 kyats. Now I only

have about 1,000 kyats left, and I don't have work yet.

Interview 57: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Killing, Women

Name: Sai Seng Wan
Sex: Male
Age: 34
Nationality: Shan, farmer
Religion: Buddhist

Name: Nang Zing
Sex: Female
Age: 32
Nationality: Shan, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, no children but "Nang Zing" is over 8 months pregnant
Address: Wan Bah San vlg., Nong Hi tract, Chiang Tong twp.
Interviewed: May 31, 1996

[Sai Seng Wan and Nang Zing are husband and wife.]

Sai Seng Wan: I was not in my house when the Burmese burned it [on Feb. 1], but my wife was. I was near the village. Then I knew that the soldiers were in the village burning houses, so I ran further away. A few hours later I went back to the village. I had to look closely for Burmese soldiers, and when I saw no Burmese soldiers there I went to my house and saw that my house had already been burned. It was a beautiful house. When I saw that my house had been burned, I still had to keep hiding from the Burmese soldiers. I was thinking about whether I should build a new house or do some farming, but I found I couldn't because then they ordered us to move to the town. I myself was not willing to stay in the town. The Burmese didn't allow us to work or do anything there, and they wouldn't let us go back to our old village to get our own food or anything. My house had been completely burned so I didn't have anything to go back to there anyway, so I came to Thailand.

Nang Zing: I was in the house with my mother, but they burned it anyway. We were just staying in the house, not doing anything special. Two soldiers came to burn the house. They started it with straw. They knew we were inside, but when they burned it they said nothing. They didn't ask anything. When they came we didn't even know. We saw the fire and ran down immediately from

the house. There was only one way out. They started to set the fire at the top of the ladder to the door, and I had to pass through the flame to run down out of the house. Not only me but my mother also. She is over 50. [Nang Zing herself was about 5 months pregnant at the time.] We went into a panic, and had to run out through the fire. While we were running we were crying and screaming.

We had nothing with us, and there was no one to stop the fire. We ran to the field, and stayed there until dawn the next day. When I went back to our house, I saw only ashes. We met my husband there. Nothing was left. We had to ask for clothes from other people. We were in the village for 3 months after that, and then we were ordered to move and we came to Thailand.

Sai Seng Wan: We left on May 6. They gave the order, saying "Within 3 days all of you must move". By such-and-such date. They said Chiang Tong area should have only 3 villages. That's why some went to Kun Mong, some to Waeng, some to Nong Hi. They said within 3 days people must completely move. They gave a warning, they said, "If you don't move within 3 days, we will shoot whomever we meet". By 6 o'clock of the third day. After that they didn't do anything to us, but they did to other villages. They even shot dead 5 people. That was in Mong Nai [area], 5 people were killed and 2 women were wounded. The 5 who were killed were from Kung Sar village. I don't know their names. All of them were from Kung Sar. They had already moved to Kun Mong, but it is not far, so they came back to their village to get their rice, and by that time it was too late. So they met the Burmese, and they got shot. They weren't even going to stay in the village, they were just going back to get their rice. They had 5 bullock carts so they could carry more. They were moving things from their houses to the carts when they were shot. The two women who got wounded were also from the same village. Their wounds were not serious, they've recovered already. They were shot by #99 Battalion, the same ones who ordered us to move.

After the order came, within 5 days I decided to come to Thailand. We left for Thailand on the 5th or 6th of May. We had to sell our cows and ask for money from some of our relatives [for the cost of the journey], and come to Thailand as labor. Those who don't come to Thailand stay in Ton Hoong village. There were more than 400 families in our village, and only about 30 families haven't come to Thailand. For those who are willing to come to Thailand, the soldiers just say "Go ahead!" They don't stop them. For the rest of the people who have no idea how to get to Thailand because they have no relatives or friends here, the soldiers take them to work in the military farm, taking care of the cattle and buffalos, etc. to provide farm products for the Army. The people

from our village can go back to the old village and get their rice and come back, but there is no work for them. On top of that, they also have to work for the Burmese. They have to take their own rice and work for the Burmese. The Burmese decided that each person can eat only 3 small tins of rice per day. For example, if I have more than 3 tins of rice with me they will take all my rice. [The villagers must hand over their rice to the soldiers, then receive 3 tins of it per person per day.] We won't go back unless the country gets better. Not unless they get democracy.

Interview 58: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Refugee

Name: Sai Kham Leng
Sex: Male
Age: 35
Nationaltiy: Shan, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, 1 child aged 5
Address: Nam Wan village, Wan Lao tract, Kun Hing twp.
Interviewed: May 31, 1996

Our village is south of Kun Hing, just on the way from Chiang Tong through Sai Khao to Kun Hing. Our village is about 3 kilometres from Sai Khao, which is close to the Chiang Tong - Kun Hing road. That road is quite big, but not paved. We are about 15 miles from Kun Hing. In the village where we live there are more than 100 houses. Our village already moved. The order came on the 15th [of May], and we left there on the 21st. It took us 3 days to come here [Thailand]. It is now 11 days since we left the village.

On the 15th the Burmese came and called the head of the village and they held a meeting. The meeting was in Sai Khao, and the soldiers came up from #518 Battalion in Chiang Tong. They called the headmen of 12 villages [all in Wan Lao village tract]: Nam Wan, Beng Kan, Nah Way, Kung Sar, Nam Tsang [not the town], Nong Kham, Wan Tsan, Kun Hsing, Khon Nah, Gong Lang, Ho Yan. On average each village has about 150 families. After the meeting with the Burmese, the village head called the villagers for a meeting. I was there. He said, "The Burmese called us to a meeting and we already had a meeting. They said we have to move. You can move to Chiang Tong or to Kun Hing or to Thailand, wherever you like. If we don't, they said they'll set fire to our houses. You can move to villages along the big road from Chiang Tong to Sai Khao and Kun Hing." Some people requested the headman if they could not be moved from the village, but he said we had to obey the order. On

the day we started to move, all the villagers started taking their belongings and some started moving to Kun Hing and Chiang Tong, but the majority of them came to Thailand. They went to Kun Hing, Chiang Tong, Sai Khao, wherever your relatives are - anywhere except Nam Wan.

We had to move to Wan Lao. Before there were 160 houses there already, now there are more. When we moved to Wan Lao, they just made us all find our own places, even in the fields. People had to clear the bushes to make a place. They said we weren't allowed to bring along our building materials, but we did. After all the villagers moved, the Burmese troops started guarding the villages, and they also used the villagers to build things for them, digging and building a camp and shelters for the guards at Wan Lao village. It is #518 Battalion. They asked for a list of names so they could recruit people for People's Militia. The reason they came and put their troops in the village is first so the Shan soldiers can't pass through, and also so the villagers can't go back to their villages.

Nobody tried to stay in the village, they didn't dare after getting the order. Only the monks in the monastery were left. Apart from the monks, just 3 or 4 families to take care of the monks and the monastery. The people who moved to Wan Lao and Sai Khao are allowed to go back and farm. For only 5 days they are allowed to be at their farm, and they can take only 3 tins per day of rice for their meals. They have to get a pass for 5 days from the Burmese along with the 3 tins of rice per day. If the pass expires, they have to get a new one. If you go to the field to farm, you must just stay in the field for 5 days and not come back. They're not allowed to go back to the village. If you're in the field you can just stay in the field, you can't go to the village. They allow just one to go from each family. They just allow the person who is really going to work, not the wife and the children. The family must stay behind.

We decided to come to Thailand, because after the order came every time they see a group of men they catch them and take them for People's Militia. We have to be their slaves. They take people by force to build fences. They ask for a name list and they collect people for People's Militia. In Chiang Tong, there is one Battalion already but they will add two more. On top of that, the Burmese planned to gather all the villagers' rice together, and then distribute only 3 milktins to the villagers each day.

They announced the order on the 15th, and we left Wan Lao for Thailand on the 21st. Just one third of the villagers are left there with the Burmese, the other two thirds have left [the area]. People won't stay in the relocation place for a long time. They are still hoping for the day when they can go back to their

home place, because they have animals and ricefields still there. If not, they will come here. I don't think I'll be going back home, unless the situation totally changes. The Burmese didn't tell us anything about when we can go home. They are letting people come to Thailand. Their aim is just to stop people from staying in the villages, to drive them out, that's all. If the villagers stay in those villages, the Shan armies will still come to stay among them. That's why they drive all the villagers out. They don't care about what the future will be, they just want to empty those villages. To those who go and farm they say "Just stay in the fields, don't go into the village". This is how they prevent the Shan soldiers from entering the villages.

Interview 59: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood

Name:	Sai Gong Mon
Sex:	Male
Age:	38
Nationality:	Shan, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, 3 children aged 7 months, 3, and 9
Address:	Nong Tong Long vlg, Wan Jit tract, Lang Ker twp
Interviewed:	June 1, 1996
Source:	KHRG

["Sai Gong Mon" was working in Thailand when he heard that villages were being moved and went back to help his wife and children still in Shan State.]

I got back there about the 3rd or 4th of April - the trip took two and a half days. That is when I arrived in Lang Ker. I got back and everything was confused, I didn't know anything. When I got to Lang Ker they [his wife and children] were already there. They said Burmese soldiers came and made them move immediately, they gave them 5 days. After 5 days, they would not be allowed to come back to the village. When I got there the 5 days was already past. I didn't get to our village.

Our village had 22 houses. It's two hours from Lang Ker, to the north. The Burmese soldiers wanted them to move to the town. It was #55 Battalion from Mong Pan. They want everybody who lives outside the town to move to Lang Ker. The Burmese said "You're living outside the town. If you stay here the insurgent groups will ask rice from you, so you've got to move to the town." The whole village and the whole village tract moved. Two village tracts - Wan

Jit and Hai Koi. In Wan Jit tract, Wan Jit, Wan Nong, Nong Oi, Nam Naw, Bung Ton, Bung Sar, Wan Mai, Wan Tung, and Nah Kah villages - 10 villages altogether [including his village and Wan Jit]. In Hai Koi tract, Hai Koi, Loi Pow, Son Oi, Nah Mai, Wan Jong, and Oo Hah - 6 villages altogether.

I heard that afterwards they burned all the houses in our village, but I didn't see it, I wasn't there. My relatives told me about it. My wife and children were staying in Wan Kaen, close to Lang Ker, with their nephew and niece. All the villagers are staying with their relatives or friends, in other people's houses. Lang Ker is crowded now. People had to bring their rice with them, the Burmese give nothing. They just give 5 days to move, and you have to take everything in that time. My wife had no idea what it was about. They just gave them 5 days to move, so as soon as the Burmese soldiers ordered them to move they were all busy moving their things. We [my family] had rice hidden in the fields. They carried what they could [to Lang Ker]. People are working as laborers to get money to eat. They work in the local sugarcane fields. If you go back and farm your own fields you'd be shot.

The Burmese didn't prepare a place, they just told everyone "Go to Lang Ker". The soldiers didn't follow people leaving the village, but they came to the village to check that they'd left. The people from the two village tracts that moved don't have to work for the soldiers now, but before moving they were forced to work at the Army camp at Nong Long. The soldiers also took their cattle, pigs, chickens and everything. If they want something, they just take it. I was there for about one month. I arrived back here about 10 days ago, with my family. I don't know what will happen to people. We don't know what to do. We can't go home.

Interview 60: HRV: Relocation, Porterage, Refugee, Child

Name: Sai Hom
Sex: Male
Age: 26
Nationality: Shan, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Address: Nam Sang township
Interviewed: June 11, 1996
Source: KHRG

["Sai Hom" works in Thailand, but went back to Shan State to see his family in May/June 1996.]

I just got back [to Thailand] 6 days ago. I went back on May 5th, and I got back here on June 3rd. I went to Mong Ton, then crossed the Salween River and went to Lang Ker, Nam Sang, Laikha, Mong Kung, and then back down to Kun Hing. While I was there I saw people moving, carrying their children, carrying their things. I saw them walking along the roads, and living along the roadsides. It makes you cry - they've lost everything, and their houses have been burned. People couldn't take much with them. You see many people carrying children, and a load on their back too. I saw it around Kun Hing ... it's everywhere! They're all over the place, I can't list all the places. They were moving close to the towns. They're just living in bamboo huts, I saw the places they're staying in. They're staying all packed together. They don't have any money to build proper houses, so they have to do that. I saw soldiers guarding some of these places. They looked like camps, many huts. I saw lots of these places. In some places the people beg along the sides of the road. They hold monk's bowls and just stand there by the roadside, all day long. They hope passersby will put some rice or money in their bowls. The children hold out their caps. I saw groups of 30 people or more standing together along the roadsides doing this. I saw it coming out of Nam Sang on the road to Kun Hing. Also near Ko Lam [halfway between Nam Sang and Kun Hing], and near Kun Hing.

In Kun Mong the Army came to collect porters and all the men ran away. So there was a family with only their daughters, and it looked like the soldiers were going to rape them. So the headman went to complain, and while he was away complaining the soldiers raped his daughter. This happened about 3 months ago. It is a famous case, everyone is talking about it and angry about it. I heard it from my friends there. Kun Mong is about 10 km. from Nam Sang.

I also saw people breaking stones for the railway. At Lai Kha, just north of Lai Kha, for the railway from Lai Kha to Mong Kung. It's obvious that it's a railway, because they're making the ground so level. It's got to be very smooth, different than a road. I've seen both road and railway construction, and I can tell this is a railway. My friends said it is a railway. Many of my friends are working on it. There's been an announcement that people have to make this railway. I'm not sure how long it's been going on now, about 3 months. Everyone in this area is being ordered to work on it. Each house has to send one person each day. Every house. There's no time limit - every day until it's finished. My friends are from Lai Kha town. People who have been ordered to move are also being forced to work on it. When I was there I saw several hundred people together, breaking rocks. Soldiers were watching them. My friends told me that there are beatings.

Q: How long until it will be finished?

A: I don't know! It's taking a long time, because it takes a long time to make it flat. It's going to go from Loi Lem to Pang Long, Lai Kha, and Mong Kung. They didn't say what it's for. In Lai Kha, in the morning and the evening, the loudspeakers announce it every day. I was in Lai Kha for 4 days. I heard it when I was there - every morning and every evening, the loudspeakers say "Make your rice ready, tomorrow morning you're going to work on the railway." They say it in Shan. I didn't have to go because I was visiting my relatives, but I had to register myself [as a house guest] and I had to pay 50 kyats to the section leader.

My uncle was chairman of xxxx village, and he had to move to Kun Hing. I visited him. He hasn't got anything now. He couldn't bring anything with him, and he had to leave all his livestock behind. His house is no good now, not like before, and he's got 4 children, 3 of them daughters. My uncle told me he wants to come to Thailand. From nearly every house there are people coming to Thailand now. He is over 40. He asked me to find him work here, but I said I couldn't promise anything. He hasn't come. When I came back it was so crowded, especially from Nam Sang to Mong Ton. There were 45 people in one truck, and there were 5 trucks coming together. Each person had to pay 4,500 kyats from Nam Sang to the border. There are at least 20 checkpoints along the way, so most of that money just goes to the soldiers.

Q: Aren't they stopping people?

A: No, they want Shan people to leave. They want Burmese people to come and occupy Shan State, because it is so rich and fertile. I just wish people in the world had a satellite camera, so they could look down and see for themselves how bad it is now around Nam Sang and Kun Hing.

Interview 61: HRV: Relocation, Torture, Rape, Women

Name:	Sai Yi
Sex:	Male
Age:	31
Nationality:	Shan, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, 4 children aged 4-13
Address:	Nam Wo village, Nam Sang township
Interviewed:	May 30, 1996

We left our village on March 16. Before Water Festival. All my children and my wife came along also. The soldiers ordered us to move between 16 March and 18 March. The order came on the 16th. We felt so sad, so we came to this other country. We didn't dare get our things out of our house. As soon as the soldiers ordered us to move we moved immediately. All the villagers in the 9 villages of Nong Hi village tract ran away.

The soldiers beat the headman, because the headman asked them not to force us to move from our village. There were 20 soldiers. It was #247 Battalion. They stay in Nam Sang and Mong Nai area. One of the soldiers hit the headman. They kicked him. They kicked 3 times, but one time they missed. They kicked him in the belly. They also hit him with a rifle butt. Then they beat a PNA [Pa'o National Army] member who lives in the village and said, "We will attack all the Armies, including Aung Thein!" He asked the Burmese soldiers not to force the villagers to move. He is a soldier the same as them, so they didn't listen. They beat him a lot but he wasn't hurt as badly as the headman. The PNA member said, "Before I lived in the town, now I live in the village and I understand what happens in the village [how the soldiers treat the villagers]". The headman was hurt, but he didn't die. He can still walk slowly, but he cannot run. He is 40. His name is Loong Heng Sait.

Our village had nearly 160 houses. Everyone ran into the forest that night. The next morning we went to Nam Sang and hired a car to carry our things. The same happened in Loi Kap village too, and Kun Sai. I don't know what's happened in other villages. Many people from all the villages were moving that same night at the same time. They gave the villagers only 3 days to 5 days. If the villagers couldn't move in that time, they burned all the houses in the village. Many villagers died. If they go back to get their things, the soldiers shoot them. We could not tell whose animals were whose among those left behind in the village, whose cows, whose pigs. Each family had at least 50 cattle or buffalos, and they had to leave them. If a family owned 100 cattle, at least 50 were left behind. The Burmese soldiers kill those animals for meat. We didn't see them looting, because when the soldiers were in the village we left. [Another man from the village added: "The Burmese soldiers took everything that was left in the houses."] We lost most of it. We could only take a few things. We had nothing. We moved to Nam Sang town and we couldn't work there, there was no way to make a living there so we came here.

They ordered us to move to Kai Long village in Nam Sang township, near the road. The Burmese didn't help the villagers to move. The villagers have to arrange their own way to survive. There are no fields there, just forest. It is

about 3 hours [walking] from our village, so about 8 kilometres. Some went to Kai Long, some went to Nam Sang - people went everywhere. Some went to Wan Haeng - Pa Lur [Wan Haeng, Pa Lur, and Hai Neng refer to parts of the same village]. They get no help from the Burmese soldiers. They make small huts just 1 or 2 armspans [3 yards] wide. If the Burmese soldiers want porters they come and take them. Some don't have enough food.

Even before this the Burmese soldiers made many problems. They rape the girls and they take porters. All the time. They rape all the time, everywhere. It happened to Nang Parng's sister. If they meet a girl, they rape her. The Shan armies didn't come in the village. The Pa'O soldiers [PNA, which has a ceasefire with SLORC] ask money, but just a small amount - 60 kyats per year per family, to make sure no bad people come to the village.

Q: Why is SLORC ordering the villages to move?

A: So that the Shan armies will disappear, so all the Shan armies will surrender to the Burmese. We are in the border area between PNA and the Shan armies. The Shan soldiers are nearby. They say the villagers support the Shan armies.

Q: Did the Burmese say when people could go home to the village?

A: In 3 years. I don't know why - some will take 3 years, some will take 6 months. Burmese Army said that. I have no plan to go back. If we go back it will not be easy to live. The Burmese are bad. The Burmese want to make it so the Shans cannot live there. The Burmese soldiers didn't help us. If they had given us some rice or something, we would not have come here. But we had nothing to eat, so we came here. This child is 7 years old, this one is 4 years old. Our whole family came here. Our family has 4 children. Now I work for money in other people's fields, day by day. For one day, 70 Baht. Between me and my wife, for one day we can make 140 or 150 Baht [US$6]. In Shan State we had a field and a good house and a rice mill, altogether worth 300,000 kyats. It is still there, we could not take it with us.

Interview 62: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Torture

Name: Nang Parng
Sex: Female
Age: 24
Nationality: Shan, farmer

Religion: Buddhist
Family: Single, father alive, mother dead, four brothers and sisters
Address: Nam Wo village, Nam Sang township
Interviewed: May 30, 1996
Source: KHRG

I was born in Nong Kok village, Lai Kha Township. Now my father is in Lai Kha. They ordered my village [Nam Wo] to move on the 16th of March, on the English calendar. When I left it was Wednesday, three days afterwards. On the 20th. At night, at 9 o'clock. They came and shot their guns. Four Burmese soldiers came to the village. They stay in Kun Sai. They were angry, and they said, "We ordered you to move, why haven't you moved yet?" The soldiers also beat the headman without even asking him any questions.

All the villagers ran away. Some used their bullock carts and some carried their things. They took everything they could. At night we ran into the forest. We all ran. The next day we went back in the village and moved our belongings for the next 3 days. I was very sad, because I have a home but now I could not live at my home.

We started getting out of our village and carried our belongings by car, day and night. Still, the things we couldn't bring were left behind. We did not sleep for 3 days and nights. We had to search for a car to carry our things. Cars were difficult to find. In our village we had a lot of rice in our rice barn, but we could not carry it like that. We had to buy sacks to carry it. We asked the car to buy the sacks for us, but the driver was not kind to us, he charged 10,000 kyats for one trip. For three days we could not sleep because we were carrying our things. If we slept, someone else would steal our things. We went from Nam Wo to Nam Sang. My sister has a house in Nam Sang. I stayed with my sister and my brother-in-law. We could not work there because it is a new place for us. We don't know how to get work there. Some people are poor, so they came and stayed with us and we shared food with them. I stayed there and looked after the children.

I left on May 2nd. I didn't know what to do there. My older sister's friend lives here [in Thailand] sewing clothes. She is Chinese. We are five brothers and sisters. Some are in Lai Kha, some are in Nam Sang. They cannot work now. They sell their belongings to make money to live. If I had a lot of money I would go to Taunggyi and build a house and open a shop. Now I am in [northern] Thailand, I cannot work here. I will go to Bangkok to search for work. [She didn't know how to get to Bangkok, or how to get past the police.] If I had money I would go back [to Shan State], but with no money I cannot go

back. There is no way to go back to my village. My village is not like before.

Interview 63: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood

Name: Phra Wi Yaw Na
Sex: Male
Age: 47
Nationality: Shan, monk
Religion: Buddhist
Address: Nam Ho Hai village, Lai Kha township
Interviewed: May 31, 1996
Source: KHRG

Nam Ho Hai village is east of Lai Kha town, not near any road. Our temple had one monk and 20 novices. We left the village on March 4th. The Burmese soldiers came to the monastery. They said to the monks: "The village must move. If we come back again and the village hasn't moved we will burn the village and the monastery." They said this to the monks, then they went into Wan Ho Hai [i.e. into the village; the monastery is outside the village]. They said that to everyone. They [SLORC soldiers] said there are 90 MTA soldiers near the village, and if those MTA soldiers surrender then the village doesn't have to move. If the 90 MTA do not surrender, the village has to move. These MTA soldiers were near the village, out in the jungle. The Burmese gave us 8 days. If we didn't move within 8 days, the Burmese soldiers would burn the village.

Q: Did the soldiers come into the temple?

A: They did not bring their weapons inside [the temple building], but they were in the compound. Wherever the Burmese soldiers go they carry their weapons. They had them hanging from their shoulders. They had the straps over their shoulders and were holding them pointed like this. [Hanging by the strap but held pointed in firing position.] In their country they are obedient to Buddhism, but when they arrive in our villages they think we are just jungle people with no knowledge, that we are just MTA villages. So when they arrive they are afraid of Shan or MTA, and they are always on the alert.

If they see villagers running away they shoot their guns. When they came to Nam Lin village they saw villagers running and they shot their guns but they didn't hit anyone. Six villages were ordered to move, and Nam Lin was one of them. The others are Pah Mai, Bang Hsa, Nam Ho Hai, Bang Ka, Gong Mong,

all six villages in the area were ordered to move to Bang Paen village. Another one [ordered to move there] is Wan Tsee Tsoh.

First we moved to Gong Mong, the villagers were there for 15 days and made their huts, they hadn't finished their huts, and then the Burmese soldiers ordered them to move to M'Lang. They were in M'Lang just a few days, then they were ordered to move to Bang Paen. To Gong Mong is 2 kilometres. Gong Mong is not far from the car road. From Gong Mong to M'Lang is about 1 kilometre. Bang Paen is very near there, about 20 miles from Lai Kha and 10 miles west of Mong Nong. Bang Paen is not near the car road, but it is a big village. The fifty households of Gong Mong and about 50 households of M'Lang also moved to Bang Paen. They all moved together. Six other villages were moved to Bang Paen. Each village moved had about 50 households.

The Burmese soldiers are not in Bang Paen, they are in Wan Tsing. Wan Tsing, Mong Yang, and Bang Paen are all near each other. The Burmese soldiers from Wan Tsing ordered us to move. These soldiers are from Kun Hing. #524 [Battalion].

At Bang Paen the Burmese gave no place to stay, the people had to make it themselves. The Burmese soldiers don't allow them to farm. They must go to live in Bang Paen and there is no work for them. They cannot go back to their village. They eat what they brought from the village, and those who have nothing borrow food from others. When they have nothing more, I don't know what they will do. The Burmese give them nothing. For now the Burmese soldiers don't call them for work, but the soldiers are planning to rebuild the bridge at Nam Wan. The bridge is on the road from Mong Nong to Lai Kha, 2 miles from Mong Nong. It is an old bridge, but they plan to rebuild it. If they rebuild the bridge they will call the villagers for labor to do it.

No one stayed in their villages. Everyone moved. They moved to Bang Paen, Mong Yang, and Wan Tsim - the 3 villages. The 3 villages are near each other. Some didn't obey and are hiding in the forest, but not in the village. The Burmese soldiers didn't allow the villagers to take their houses apart [to re-use the building materials]. Their houses are still in the village. The Burmese soldiers said, "Just tie your 'kien ho' [Shan leaddress] on your house to mark it". Now the people just have to build huts to stay in Bang Paen or in the forest. The soldiers said, "Do not build your huts well". I don't know what is in the Burmese soldiers' hearts. They said if all the MTA surrender to them then the villagers can go back home.

We could not stay in our monastery. They ordered the monks, "Move to Bang

Paen". We share food but it is not enough. We sold everything and stayed together with the villagers in Bang Paen. I don't know how the future will be. On April 21st, at night, I came from Bang Paen to Thailand. On the way I saw people moving to stay in Hai Neng near Ko Lam, and in Ko Lam many people were moving. Ko Lam is between Nam Sang and Kun Hing, near Kun Hing.

The Burmese soldiers are just trying to make the Shan people poor. The ninety Shan soldiers [near Wan Ho Hai village] will not surrender. They are Ker Lao's group [Ker Lao is with Yord Serk].

Interview 64: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood

Name:	Sai Wan Na
Sex:	Male
Age:	37
Nationality:	Shan, farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
family:	Married, 2 children aged 8 and 15
Address:	Bah San village, Chiang Tong township
Interviewed:	May 31, 1996
Source:	KHRG

[Sai Wan Na had been working in Thailand for one year, then tried to take his family home to their village in Shan State in April 1996.]

Just two days after the water festival we left and went back [on April 17]. By the time we got to the village where I was born, we found that all the villagers were moving to different places. I had my wife and children with me, they followed with me everywhere. We came to Thailand together, we went back to our village together and we came back here again together. By the time we got to our village everyone had moved already. No one was left. I was shocked. Nobody had told me. I just arrived and it was empty. There used to be about 120 families.

When I saw that no one was left, I went right away to the temple and the monk told me "Your relatives moved already", so I followed them. They had moved to Ton Hoong village, about 2 kilometres away, on foot about 30 minutes. Most of the people had gone there. They were ordered to go there. They had 5 days to move. At the end of 5 days the soldiers came to check. If there were chickens or pigs or cattle, they took them. Including the outskirts, Ton Hoong has more than 500 houses. It is where 2 roads meet - Nam Sang to Ton Hoong

and Kun Hing to Ton Hoong, and Mong Nai to Ton Hoong - 3 roads. Ton Hoong is one of the quarters of Chiang Tong. In fact, there is no single place called 'Chiang Tong'.

All the villages had to move except for the only 3 villages that remain in Chiang Tong area: Ton Hoong, Kun Mong and Weng Kau. All the others had to move. Around Bah San, Nong Tau, Nong Un, Wan Nong Nung, Nam Un, Nam Tong, Nah Sah, Wan Tau, Wan Ka, Loi Lai, Ho Kun, and Nah Pok villages were all supposed to move to Nong Hi village tract. There are three quarters in Chiang Tong - Nong Hi, Kun Mong, and Ton Hoong. There are two Nong Hi's.

All the villagers have to find places on their own. It's up to you. Some of them stay at the monastery, or wherever they can. By the time I arrived at Ton Hoong there were many villagers there. The quarter of Ton Hoong is full of villagers, staying in every corner, everywhere. In paddy field shelters, and where the farmers pile their straw, even in the cattle corrals, people are staying everywhere. By the time I got there it was raining very heavily [throughout the region the monsoon rains began early this year, in April]. Some of the villagers tried to bring their house construction materials, but they have very few. When they get sick there is a hospital but there is no doctor there, so they have to rely on herbal medicine. Some have died. First they had coughing, like lung problems.

The Burmese take all their rice, then ration it back to them. They rotate, each time they distribute rice to 50 families for 5 days. People can go back to farm their fields, just for 5 days, one person at a time. After 5 days you need an extension. At night the villagers have to guard the town perimeter, always 2 villagers together with each Burmese soldier. The families have to rotate. There is only one Battalion in Ton Hoong - #551. Soon the villagers will also have to build guardhouses for them.

We stayed for 8 days with my older sister and her family in Ton Hoong. Five families of my relatives from Bah San were also staying in my sister's house. It is a 2 storey house. Each family has 3, 4, or 5 people. [Joking:] And in our country we have no medicine to prevent pregnancy either! There's not enough shelter or food or anything, but somehow people survive. The food in the market is brought from Nam Sang and Kun Hing by bullock cart. When they carry rice from Kun Hing to Nam Sang, each person is not allowed to carry more than 5 litres of rice. One pyi [about 2 kg.] is equal to 3 litres. One litre is 25 kyats. It's expensive. It used to be 12. In the end, no one will be left in Chiang Tong area if it goes on like this.

I intended to live there again, not just visit. But due to the situation there I decided to come back to Thailand again. I was upset that I couldn't go back and live in our old village and I had to come back here again. The rest of my relatives also want to come here, but they can't afford the expense of the journey. It costs 8,000 kyats to come from Chiang Tong to Thailand; truck fares, ferry fare to cross the Salween, and money to pass the checkpoints. We also have to pay the soldiers. Some try to come, they even carry the older people on their backs, but along the way their money runs out or they can't carry anymore, and they have to turn around and go back. Some of the rich people from the villages also can't go anywhere, because they have too many valuable properties there. They try to sell it but no one will buy it, so they cannot leave there.

Interview 65: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Women, Killing

Name: Phra Wi Lay Ka
Sex: Male
Age: 36
Nationality: Shan, monk
Religion: Buddhist

Name: Phra Kay Ma Sa Ra
Sex: Male
Age: 19
Nationality: Shan, monk
Religion: Buddhist
Address: Mong Nong town, Kay See Township
Interviewed: May 31, 1996
Source: KHRG

"Phra Wi Lay Ka": Eighteen village tracts around Mong Nong were forced to move. Five village tracts south of Mong Nong - Mong Song, Keng Hau, Bung Tsan, Mong Lim, and Nong Tau village tracts - had to move to Mong Hong. Two village tracts, Wan Tung and Nong Ya, had to move to Mong Nong. West of Mong Nong, King Hae and Mong Yai village tracts moved to Mong Nong. Mong Nang, Mong Bon, Wan It, and Nong Wo tracts moved to Mong Nang village. North of Mong Nong, Wan Hai and Hong Tsan village tracts moved to Wan Luoi Nam Hong. Duh Ya, Mun Kam, and Nah So tracts moved to Mwee Taw. The others I can't remember. Each village tract has many villages. Some have 5 villages, some have 2, some have 10 villages. All of them have to move.

We live in the town of Mong Nong. Two village tracts had to move there, Wan Tung and Nong Ya, on 16 March 1996. From the 16th to the 18th of March they ordered all the villages to finish moving. The villagers were all ordered to finish moving by no-moon day of the 4th Shan month [18 March]. The Burmese gave them a place to stay but they didn't give any food to eat. They gave them a place to stay in the forest outside the town. It's just an empty space. The villagers cannot go back home. If they go back the soldiers will shoot and kill them. There is no work for them.

Each village tract was moved to a different place. One near Mong Nong is 15 rai [4-5 acres], and there was also one of 5 rai [1-2 acres]. Nam Wong, Mwee Toh, Wing Kau, and Mong Nang [relocation sites] are near Mong Nong. Another is Nong Aye. The soldiers stay in Nam Wong, near Mong Nong. Sometimes they go to Wan Kai. They also stay in Muong Mae and Bang Pon. They are from Kun Hing. #524 Battalion. The soldiers who gave the orders to move stay north of Mong Nong, in Wan Ho Na. They are from Pang Long, #249 Battalion. The soldiers don't stay a long time, they are always changing. The soldiers order people to make fences for their Army camp, to clear the roadsides, to make roads for the Army and to stand sentry along the roads. The road is from Lai Kha to Mong Hsu. All of the people are used for this work, the relocated people and the people who live there have to rotate.

Q: Do the people who had to move have food to eat?

"Phra Wi Lay Ka": No, not enough. They weren't given any food, they just eat what they brought from their villages. Some have to beg for food. There is no work. Some monks came to our temple. Everyone had to leave the villages, including the monks. They are all going and staying in other temples. The Burmese soldiers said in 3 months they will let the people go back home. They say that within 3 months they will destroy all the Shan soldiers. We ran away. We didn't want to see the people being oppressed like that.

[At this point he began referring to notes he had made in his diary.] On 18 March 1996 they ordered people to guard the Mong Nong-Lai Kha road from Mong Nong to Hai Seng, about 11 kilometres going west. They ordered every household to go. If they didn't go they were punished. They ordered them to guard day and night for 5 days and nights. That was during the relocation time. They said it was to see if MTA soldiers crossed the road. They divided the people into groups of 4 or 5 to guard the road. They had to stand guard at places about one kilometre distance apart, as far as you can see - on corners, closer together. If a person guarding saw an MTA soldier cross the road they

had to report it up the line to the Burmese soldiers. There were men and women guarding the road together. Also children 10 years old guarding the road, and old men 60, 70 and 80 years old. On 18 March 1996 at night, between 7 or 8 o'clock and 6 o'clock in the morning, about 30 Burmese soldiers from Pang Long, #249 Battalion, came and shot the people who were guarding the road. Three people were wounded. The wounded people were Sai Tu, age 16, Sai Kya, age 25, and Sai Mun, age 15. One was wounded in the hand, the other two also not seriously. Later they said it was Shan soldiers who did this shooting. We know the Burmese shot, but the Burmese soldiers want to make the Shan villagers see the MTA as being very cruel. They said "Even though Khun Sa surrendered there are still Khun Sa's soldiers around, and that is why you have to guard this road." Three people were shot and wounded, but not dead. After that, the Burmese came to them and said, "See? These were shot by MTA". They went to the villagers and said, "Those who shot you were MTA. If you say you were shot by us, you'll be killed". The Burmese Army said "If the Khun Sa members don't surrender, you will always have to guard the road." They are making it so Shan people cannot live anymore and will disappear. They want to conquer Shan State.

If the MTA come and the people don't report it they'll be punished. If the dogs bark in a village, the Burmese say that the MTA soldiers have come in the village and they come in the village and kill the dogs, and then they go to the headman and say "There are MTA soldiers in your village, why didn't you report it to us?", and punish him. They make many problems for people. One man went to the forest to cut trees, and they took him and killed him. I don't remember the date.

They also order girls to go and sew their uniforms. They cannot do it in their home, they must go do it at the army camp - each day, 2 girls. That is #249 Battalion. The girls have to go from 6 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock in the evening, then they can come back. They sew the Burmese soldiers' uniforms. For one year already, the girls have to rotate and every day 2 girls have to go. They took a villager's sewing machine to keep in their Army camp. They also take people's video machines to watch videos. Each day one man has to take a video and TV to their camp to show videos, day and night. If they run out of [generator] fuel, they collect money from the people to buy more fuel. Also, between 8 o'clock and 12 o'clock at night the village has to supply electric power to the Army camp [from their generators, apart from the power for the TV/video]. From 8 o'clock to 12 o'clock at night, if the villagers go out they must carry an oil lamp or else they will be punished. After 10 o'clock you cannot go outside. It has been like this for one year now.

On the [Lai Kha-Mong Hsu] road, if there are no Burmese soldiers on a car the checkpoints take 250 or 270 kyats per person from the driver, and 90 kyats for motorcycles. The trucks run between Taunggyi and Mong Hsu. Mong Hsu is a place where people dig for rubies. The place where people dig for rubies is east of Mong Hsu, and there are relocations happening west of Mong Hsu. There are SSA [Shan State Army] soldiers there. I don't know why they are moving villages there. Even though SSA has a deal with the Burmese, still they are under the pressure of the Burmese. [SSA has had a ceasefire with SLORC for several years, but even so relocations are being conducted in their area to cut more of their civilian support base.] The SSA are not close to the ruby mines, they are far from where people dig. They're not close to Mong Hsu town.

They're relocating villagers in the south, but we heard they're doing relocations around Mu Seh and Nam Kham also [on Shan State's northern border with China]. They're doing relocations everywhere in Shan State, not in the towns but in the countryside. Also at Lang Ker, Mong Nong, Nong Long, west of Kun Hing, and around Nam Sang. Especially all the areas where MTA operated, they are clearing them out.

Q: Do SLORC soldiers come to your temple in Mong Nong?

Phra Wi Lay Ka: They just come and visit it. They don't come to make offerings. They go to their own temples, in Burma. They don't come to ours, except when the villagers have a celebration. If there's no specific reason, they won't come to make merit. They come in, they ask nothing and say nothing, they just look around to see if there are MTA soldiers. When the soldiers come into the countryside, they have no religion. If anything happens in the temple they don't take their boots off, they just come in and enter the temple. They take care about that only when they're in their own towns. When they go in the temple they take their weapons, without taking their boots off, and they search in the rooms. They are so rude.

Q: Do they build their own pagodas in the area?

Phra Wi Lay Ka: Yes they did, near Mong Nong and Mong Hsu. In Loi Hseng [the ruby mining area near Mong Hsu], each time a new Major comes he hangs up a sign and receives offerings [for the pagoda], whenever people are making merit he sits and accepts offerings, and then when he has enough money he goes home and uses it for himself. For 3 years this pagoda has been under construction, and it's not finished yet. It's not a big chedi either, only 10 metres high! Not even half of it has been built yet. By doing it this way they push

down the fortunes of the Shan people [by leaving it half-finished], so that the Shan people will not be prosperous and will sink down.

Interview 66: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Women, Children, Arrest, Torture

Name: Sai Heng
Sex: Male
Age: 35
Nationality: Shan, farmer
Religion: Buddhist

Name: Nang Kham
Sex: Female
Age: 33
Nationality: Shan, farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Married, 2 children aged 15 months and 13 years
Address: Wan Bah San vlg, Nong Hi tract, Chiang Tong twp.
Interviewed: May 31, 1996
Source: KHRG

[Sai Heng and Nang Kham are husband and wife.]

Sai Heng: Our village used to be in Mong Nai [township], but now they've made a new township of Chiang Tong. The village is south of Chiang Tong, about 2 miles. We left on the 6th of this month [May]. The Burmese burned down our house. We couldn't stay there anymore, that's why we left. There was nothing to eat. Even clothes, we had to ask other people for clothes.

They burned our house at 6 o'clock in the evening, on February 1st. Our rice mill was a bit apart [in a separate shed], but it all got burned down too. The village has more than 400 houses, and they burned 12. The soldiers came up from Mong Pan area, and when they got to Bah San village they asked "Did the Shan [soldiers] pass by this village?" We said no, we didn't see them, and then they set fire to the houses. They came up from Mong Pan, Mong Nai, and Lang Ker - 3 towns. Battalions #99 and #520. [99 is in Lang Ker, 520 in Mong Pan.]

When the houses were burned I was not there - we had to run away all the time because they always arrest the men to use us as porters to carry their things. So

we cannot be at home all the time. But when the house was burned, my wife was still in the house. They started to set fire to the house, and she ran out and ran away. The children also were with my wife. There were 3 [people] in the house. Our daughter is 13 years old. They ran down from the house. The soldiers chose the nicest houses to burn. Only the big and beautiful houses, they know that "this house is very rich", so they burned those houses. Ours was a wooden house, all teak. The floor and walls were made of teak, but the roof was just ordinary, made of bamboo and grass. They tied a bunch of straw, lit it and then put it on our roof.

"Nang Kham": I was holding my baby and doing nothing, because it was 6 o'clock so all my work had been done already. They used dry straw and held it up to the roof. They said nothing, no warning. Even though they knew that we were still in the house they set it on fire. I was just holding my baby. As soon as I knew the house was on fire I just held my baby and ran out of the house. I couldn't take anything - we just tried to escape from the fire. I got nothing out of the house with me. We ran into the field, to a field shelter. After that I didn't go back to see, but people told me our house had burned down completely. So we just kept going, on to Wan Ton Hoong.

Sai Heng: The soldiers arrived in our village about 3 p.m. At 6 o'clock they set fire to the houses, then half an hour later they left the village. When they came only the children and women were left in the village. When they started burning the houses the soldiers were watching the stairways to the houses and the paths. The houses started to burn, and some people from the other houses not being burned also ran out from their houses, and they were stopped by the soldiers. The soldiers stopped them and took all of the belongings they had with them. Not only that, but they took everything from all the villagers' shops in the village. They arrested the headman and they beat him up. He almost died. He was the Ya Wa Ta [Village LORC] headman, elected by the villagers. Later they released him at Ko Lam village, near Nam Sang. He was the only one arrested. They just hit him all over, in the head, in the back, ... The more you deny [seeing the opposition], the more you are beaten. I was told by the other people who were beaten by the soldiers. There were 5 people who were seriously beaten and they were badly hurt. They asked them all the same questions [about the Shan soldiers].
Sai Seng Wan: ["Sai Seng Wan" is from the same village - see his interview in this report.] They beat whomever they caught, including two of the village secretaries.

Sai Heng: I was hiding from the soldiers. I was in the fields. I met my wife there, and we went on together to Ton Hoong. We went to the town but we

could not find a place to stay, that's why we came to Thailand. When we arrived at the town we didn't know how to go on living. We left on April 26th, before they gave the order to move [their village was ordered to move on May 1]. When we thought about our future, we could not live there peacefully. The Burmese oppress us Shans very much. They don't let our people have any opportunity. Wherever they see Shan people they despise and look down on us very much. They consider us as country bumpkins and treat us very badly, like beating and other kinds of abuse. When we meet them on the road, we are caught and used as porters. As we spend our time farming we don't have time to resist them. That's why we had to flee to Thailand. After the village was burned we tried to find hope for the future but we couldn't see any hope. We won't even be able to do farming like before, or trading. We felt that there's no hope at all to live in 'Union of Myanmar'. For these reasons, whatever may come, we made our decision and left for Thailand. We do as others do. Three quarters of the villagers have come, only a quarter of the people are left behind. Some are older or not able-bodied, and some people still have many domestic animals, and some don't have enough money for the expense of the journey - if not for these 3 reasons, everyone would come.

Interview 67: HRV: Relocation, Forced labor, Refugee, Migrant worker

Name: Loong Kyong
Sex: Male
Age: 45
Nationality: Shan, planter/farmer
Religion: Buddhist
Address: From Chiang Tong area, now 12 years in Thailand
Interviewed: May 31, 1996
SOurce: KHRG

[Loong Kyong lives and works with many people who pass through the area when they flee Shan State. His comments are included here to help give an overview of the situation.]

I have lived in Thailand now for 12 years. I do farming growing garlic and onions. February, March, April, May, through these 4 months, each day between 50 and 200 people have come in through the Fang area [only one of at least 4 main routes]. Now it is decreasing, now only about 25 people each day coming into Fang area. Those who are able to spend money for the journey come in through Fang, but those who can't pay and those who can't walk the

distance stay in Mong Ton area or places along the way [the roads are being made impassable by the rains now]. They are still giving the [relocation] orders this month. Even right now, in Lang Ker, Mong Nai and Nam Sang areas. Lai Kha also. All of the areas in Loi Lem province. Mainly west of the Salween River - Chiang Tong area, Kun Hing, Mong Nong, Mong Kung, Lai Kha, Nam Sang, Mong Nai, and Lang Ker areas. They gather the people from all these areas for forced relocation and forced labor. The reason is because of the MTA, their soldiers pass all these villages, they rest there, etc. If the villages are small with only 15 or 20 houses, it's the kind of place where they like to stop and rest. The Shan armies also ask these villagers for rice, because they are the same race. For this reason, the Burmese troops want to cut off shelter and food from the Shan soldiers. That's why they force all the villagers to move.

All the small villages had to move. So right now, Chiang Tong is the size of 3 villages [i.e. 3 times as many people as before]. Before, there were 5 village tracts in Chiang Tong [township]: Nong Hi, Hin Long, Ton Hoong, Kun Mong, and Tambon Waeng. Now all these have been moved into just 3 villages: Kun Mong, Waeng, and Nong Hi. The main relocation place is Wan Ton Hoong. Those who cannot stay like that have moved to Mong Nai, Nam Sang, or Taunggyi. Most of them have come to Thailand.

At the relocation places they're used for forced labor on road construction between Chiang Tong and Kun Hing, and Kun Hing and Nam Sang. They're also building a new road on the east bank of the Salween River, another from Mong Hsat to Loi Lang, and another from Mong Tung to Loi Lang. They're using 500 people to build each road, still now. And they're using forced labor to extend the airfield at Mong Tung, and also for their camp because they're going to add another 2 Battalions at Mong Tung. So people are being used to clear sites for the Army camps. The people for this are being taken not only from Chiang Tong, but also from Chiang Kham and Sai Khao. They take them by truck. I know this from people who have fled from there.

In Chiang Tong area, most of the villagers have already come to Thailand. There are 2 or 3 big companies in Fang area [a Thai border district] that own orange, lychee, and longan plantations, and each of their farms has about 500 or 600 people working there. Most of the people who come to Fang area already have a relative in one of the villages around here. Those who have been in Thailand and have blue travel ID cards [Thai 'hilltribe' ID cards] earn better money. Those who don't have that card are the second class. The third class are the newcomers. Each class gets a different job and a different income. [A woman present added: The police are always trying to take advantage of the newcomers. Also the motorcycle-taxi drivers, if they see a watch, a

chain or a bracelet, they just take it from them. Life is very hard.]

Some go to Chiang Mai and work as construction labor, and some go down to Bangkok too. But it's very hard, sometimes they have to face the police and they are arrested. Some go to Bangkok and they have to be scared all the time, always hiding from the police. That man there, he used to stay in Bangkok and he's used to being arrested and sent to prison. He's not afraid of them anymore, because he knows he'll be in jail for not longer than 3 months, then released. In jail at least he can eat rice. Not like in Burma. Here is much better than life in Shan State. Before they came here, even though they had the chance to work for themselves, they had rice and crops, but in the end it was all taken by the Burmese. Over there we could barely survive. So what have we to fear from the police? We have been oppressed by the Burmese, forced to be porters. There you never know when they'll free you - 10 days, 20 days, or until they find someone else to take your place. Some just die along the way. Sometimes they suspected us of supporting the opposition groups with food, and then they beat us, sometimes even to death. In fact we just go to farm, and then they say "Where are you going? Where are you coming from?" We say "We're just coming from the farm", but they say "We don't believe you, you're taking food to the rebel groups, right?" When we say no, they start beating us. Life here is much better - even though they arrest us, later they release us so never mind, we can always find another job. At least we won't die.

There's a man named Sai xxxx from Chiang Kham, he just arrived and he said some Shan youth are being forced to work on a farm, a wheat farm. After growing the wheat, they will make the people plough the land and grow opium poppy there. Then when harvest time comes, the Burmese will buy it. Those who don't have wet paddy fields but only hillside rice fields now have to grow opium, and when the harvest comes they must sell it to the Burmese. The Burmese said "No need to grow much rice". The reason the Burmese say not to grow rice is that if you grow rice you have to give some to the rebel groups, and to others, etc., and you have to get your rice milled. So they say just grow opium and you can easily get money and buy your rice. The military will buy the opium. That area is north of Chiang Tong and south of Kun Hing. Each day they use about 150 people to work on that farm, so you can imagine the size. 150 people had to go to clear that farm for 10 days. Forced labor, they are paid nothing. This man here has been here only 3 days and he experienced it, and so did that man over there. The area of the field is about 9 or 10 rai [2-3 acres]. In Chiang Kham, about 500 rai [100-200 acres] altogether, not only in one place - different Burmese group, different area. This area 150 rai, the next area another 150 rai.

There's also a lot of forced labor in the north [of Shan State], especially on the road from Lashio to Mu Seh and Kyu Kote [trading towns on the China border]. Now they are going to pave that road, so all the way from Lashio to Kyu Kote will be paved, and the road is being widened to about 8 metres wide. The purpose of paving this road is to increase trade with China. They use forced labor of people from Lashio area. They've divided the forced labor into 2 groups, road construction and building construction. One group has to build a big warehouse and a hotel in Lashio, and another group has to do the same in Kyu Kote. The warehouse will be 2 storeys, with a zinc roof. The walls are made of wood. I heard this from a man from Mu Seh named Sai xxxx and his family, they came here from Lashio just recently but they are originally from Mu Seh. They arrived here in Thailand on May 27. Now they are staying in xxxx. He said this [Lashio-Mu Seh] road has been dirt road for years, and now it is to be paved and made wider than ever. All the way to Kyu Kote, no dirt road anymore. The wages for this labor they just collect from the people. They force people to move there too but not around the towns, just some places far from the towns. Mostly villages that only have 10 or 15 households.

Interview 68: HRV: Taxation, Livelihood, Assembly

[The following is an account of Hsipaw Town in northern Shan State, along the main road from Mandalay through Lashio to the Chinese border, given by a Shan woman from Hsipaw.] *Source: KHRG*

Hsipaw is a small town. It is divided in 13 wards with about 300 families in each. There are three SLORC army camps for battalions 23, 503, and 504 on the outskirts of the town. Outside of Hsipaw, SSA [Shan State Army] is doing the security. The SSA headquarters are 40 miles from Hsipaw. They signed a cease-fire agreement with the government. The [SLORC] Army and also SSA are using villagers for loke ar pay ['volunteer,' actually forced labour; this fact was confirmed by several people in Hsipaw]. The Army and SSA are also recruiting young boys as soldiers. Khun Sa also used to recruit all over Shan State. In Hsipaw itself, it is the [SLORC] Army who recruits soldiers but people can pay money to avoid entering the army.

In Bawgyoke village [5 miles east of Hsipaw town], there is a pagoda famous throughout Shan State, the Bawgyoke Pagoda. The government restored it and there was an opening ceremony on February 29 1996. In order to pay for the restoration of the pagoda, the government had to raise 8,000,000 kyats. They took out the Buddha image and took it around the townships of our State [to raise donations]. But these were forced donations. Each township was or-

dered to contribute a certain amount of money as a donation. With this money, the government made a contract with a Burmese company in Mandalay, so our Shan people didn't even benefit from getting the contract. The contractors offered a car to the commanding officer as a present. Although he got the contract, the contractor used the people from the town and the villages to do all the [forced] labour for the restoration of the pagoda. The work had to be completed for an important Buddhist festival in March 1996. For this festival, the government servants and the people had to contribute money. The government servants always have their wages cut for celebrations like that. For example, for Independence Day. But to celebrate Shan National Day, they ask just a little money. For the opening ceremony of the pagoda, a whole group of foreign Ambassadors came from Rangoon together with government officials. Just before that ceremony on February 29 996, the people from Hsipaw had to do labour to repair the road for their visits. Also, 3 days before the ceremony, on 27, 28, and 29 February, the authorities closed all the access roads to Hsipaw. The people from the villages around couldn't reach the market to sell their products. And all the passenger cars were requisitioned for the transportation of officials and their things to Hsipaw.

The government asked for a corn tax in 1995. What really happened is that the Generals in Rangoon wanted the local battalions to plant corn to sell for export. But the battalions didn't plant, they forced the villagers to do it. The army gave them corn seeds, one milk tin of corn seeds for each family. But it was already too late for planting corn. So the villagers didn't plant the corn but they were still forced to give 16 pyi [1 basket] each of corn to the army [they had to buy it on the market] or give about 800 kyats in money. The army battalions sent the corn to Rangoon to give a good impression to the Generals.

Before there was only one army battalion just outside Hsipaw, IB 23, but in the last few years, two more battalions came, 503 and 504. They told the Gurkha villagers to leave. These Gurkha villagers usually have cattle and they stay a little outside the town. They were ordered to move further into the jungle without any compensation. They even had to move their temple which is very sacred for them. The army camps took a lot of land for their plantations and the villagers have to go and grow the corn in the camp plantations. The army rented a tractor in Kyaukme and used the tractor to harvest the corn but the villagers had to pay for the fuel. Otherwise, they would have had to come themselves with their bullock carts. The villagers have to plant the seeds and harvest the crop. Every battalion has their own field and they all do corn plantations. On the road between here and Maymyo, you see many coffee plantations. There also, the government and the army have taken the land from the people. [These plantations are all signpost as "Agricultural Project"; SLORC

shows them in the state-controlled media and seeks money for them from international agencies such as the United Nations Development Program.]

Q: Did they hold a USDA rally in Hsipaw recently?

A: The government didn't organize a USDA rally in Hsipaw but they did in Kyaukme. The people were only informed the night before that they had to go and all the schoolteachers, all the students, all the government employees and one person for every family had to go to Kyaukme for the rally. The families who couldn't go had to hire another person to go for them for 100 or 200 Kyats for the day. They also took all the cars and vehicles to carry all the people from Hsipaw to Kyaukme [Kyaukme is 1 1/2 hours by road, west towards Mandalay]. The best cars were used to carry all the officials. We heard the case of a family of three in Maymyo who had to go to the rally. The parents were both government servants so they each had to go to represent their department. Their daughter was a student, so she had to go with her school. And still this family was ordered to send someone as the 'one person per family' -- so they had to hire someone for that! All the USDA members also had to attend a ceremony to unveil a "People's Desire" billboard. This was after the MP's were arrested. [This refers to the arrest of over 200 elected National League for Democracy MPs in late May -- since then SLORC has been organizing forced-attendance rallies to "denounce destructionists" and unveiling billboards expressing the "People's Desire" to "crush all internal and external destructive elements," among other things.] Before, we only had to go to a USDA rally once a year for the USDA anniversary. Now the government organizes rallies every day somewhere throughout the country.

Q: Do they ask for porters in Hsipaw?

A: Some time ago, quite a large number of people were ordered to go as porters from Hsipaw to Nam Sang because of fighting in that area. In the villages the people said that the army was fighting against Wa women with bows, but that sounds more like a rumor to me.

Q: What was the effect of the cease-fire between SSA and the SLORC?

[This cease-fire has held for several years already]

A: Since the cease-fire the quantity of forced labour has been the same, sometimes even more than before. The SSA army also demands forced labour from the villagers. The SSA soldiers are now the same as the SLORC. They also take rice, salt, and money from the villagers. The only difference is that they

give their orders to the headmen while the SLORC soldiers just come into the villages and take whatever they like. [Note: every Saturday in Hsipaw groups of local people can be seen doing forced labour such as cutting grass with their own tools, under supervision of the town quarter chairmen.]

Q: What is the situation of teak logging in this area?

A: They have been cutting so many trees that the climate is now changing here and it has become drier, so every year the rice harvest is worse. Usually the traders hire villagers to cut the trees. They pay them 250 Kyats for a ton but then they sell the logs for 12,000 Kyats a ton. The traders get permits to cut the trees by bribing the military and also the SSA. The army makes even more money than that, because they also get the bribes at the checkpoints. [Every logging truck has to pay to pass each checkpoint, and a steady stream of trucks carrying teak logs can be seen along the road to Lashio, all going towards the Chinese border. Since SLORC took power the forests of Shan State have been irretrievably decimated and are not expected to last much longer.]

Interview 69: HRV: Livelihood, Forced Labor, Prison Labor

Name:	Saw Klo Htoo
Sex:	Male
Age:	29
Nationality:	Karen, teacher
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Single
Address:	Refugee in Thailand
Interview:	June 17, 1996
Source:	KHRG

During the summer vacation [March to start of June], I went back to my village to visit my family. [Some of the travel details must be omitted here.] There were many checkpoints on the way [along the way on the roads]. Before we left xxxx, all the vehicles and the cars were thoroughly checked by the SLORC. The battalion commander himself was there and checked around. I have no idea what he was after. On the way to xxxx, there were many checkpoints and soldiers guarding the road. The car drivers constantly have to get down and give money to the soldiers. All of them were SLORC soldiers, not DKBA [Democratic Kayin Buddhist Army]. In one place, not so far from Thaton, I saw criminals [prisoners] who were busy digging the ground. It was near Bilin.

I was in Taungoo quite often. Once a week I went to Taungoo. My village is xxxx, it is located xx miles east of Taungoo. It is in the plain area. It is a pretty big village with around 800 houses. The villagers are constantly asked by SLORC soldiers to help them in the dam construction. There is a village called Ngwe Taung Lay and the villagers there are also asked to help them, of course without any payment. They have to carry their own food ration. One person in each family has to go. If someone cannot go, he has to hire another person.

Q: How long do they have to work?

A: It depends. When I was there in the village, the people were ordered to go to a place called Say Bu Taung for one week, for the dam project. The villagers near that [dam] area were relocated. The people had to dig the ground and to make something like a wall. The work depends on the work site. Each family is ordered to finish one part. Unless the work is completed, they cannot go home. People have to go by rotation. For example, this village has to go and then next time they order another village to go. Then the first village has to go again, and so on until the work is finished. People told me that they have to go at least once every month. Not only the dam project but also for the military, they have to bring bamboo and things, to give money and go and work themselves at their camp. The soldiers are there for the security of the dam. I don't know which Battalion.

Q: How big is the dam?

A: Quite big. I saw it; it is quite big. It is on the Pa Thee river, which is smaller than the Moei river. I assume that they are going to build a power plant or something like that, for electricity. But I don't know electricity to where. [Note: there are reports that the Army plans to set up a large military training centre in this area.] They started building the dam two years ago and it is still going on now. It is supposed to be finished sometime in 1996. The river is blocked and there is a canal built below the dam. The area [above the dam] is now flooded and the village previously there was relocated. It was Ywa Gyi, a small Karen village. Now that place is full of water. The villagers lost their rice fields and some of them had rubber plantations. They couldn't do anything about it. They had to move. They receive nothing [no compensation] and they were ordered to move to a place called Pya Sakan village. They went there and rebuilt their houses. The Goverment didn't provide any land for them. They had to manage on their own. They were ordered to move last year, and even a village further away called Ta Thay Gone was also relocated. Two villages in that area. God knows how many villagers. Ta Thay Gone is very far from the dam site - the water will not even reach there. It is about 8 miles

south of the dam and the village is far from the river. But I think that place has become a military area, so the village had to be relocated. It is related to the dam, for security purposes. They are sending reinforcements for security. Nearby, SLORC only has temporary camps but I heard rumours that they are going to build an army camp, like a military base there. But Ywa Gyi village was exactly where the dam is and now it is flooded.

People who can't go work on the dam need 500 or 600 Kyats to hire a person. They hire someone directly themselves. 600 Kyats is for one week, 100 Kyats for one day. There are some people who go there to hire themselves out. Sometimes my relatives went and sometimes they hired another person. Officials come regularly to have a look at the dam. When they come, they ask the villagers to feed them, to serve them and they ask money from the villagers. That happens three or four times a month.

At the dam people are not beaten, but an assignment is given to each person. Unless the assignment is completed, he cannot go home. He has to complete it. No soldiers are guarding them but the village leaders have been given responsibility [the village elders and the village itself are punished if the work is not satisfactory]. Oh yes, I heard of one person who died as a result of snake bite. Nothing was done for him. Same as in the palace [see below]. It is quite a big area there, so people have to work in different places, and some parts are in the jungle.

The dam is 9 miles east of Taungoo. It is near my village, but some other worksites are quite far so the villagers have no time to come back at night. They aren't building roads in that area, but people have to go for dam construction. And in Taungoo itself, the old historical palace is being repaired, so the villagers from around Taungoo have to go there to clean the area [of grass, scrub etc.]. When I was there I heard that two people died of snake bites while clearing the palace compound. The repair work is still going on. They say our village will also have to go there but not now, later. For now, our villagers have other work to do constructing the dam. I didn't go inside the palace but I had a look from outside. I didn't see the villagers working because they are supposed to work inside. For that work they don't use people who live in Taungoo, they only use people from the villages in Taungoo township. They order the villagers to go there. The people from the city don't have to do forced labour.

I didn't talk to people in the village so much because I was scared, you know. Mostly I stayed at home. I didn't go out much. Maybe if they [SLORC] see a stranger in the village, they might ask questions around. I didn't want to cause

problems to my parents. So many people complain about the situation but they can't do anything. Everybody talks about the dam project. They complain that they don't want to go there to work. It is hard work.

They are going to widen the existing small road from Taungoo to the dam. After the dam construction is over, they will take the measurements and maybe some houses will be moved. We also have to pay porter fees but they don't come and take people by force to carry loads for them. We have to pay 20, sometimes 40 Kyats per month for every family.

Q: Did you see many DKBA there?

A: Not in Taungoo. They are in Myawaddy, Pa-an, places like that [further south].

Interview 70: HRV: Relocation, Women, Child, Killing, Refugee

Name: Khu Bu Leh
Age: 32
Sex: Male
Nationality: Kayah
Address: Daw Mu Shay village
Interviewed: June 17, 1996

Name: Khu Law Deh
Age: 35
Sex: Male
Nationality: Kayah
Address: Daw Mu Shay village
Interview: June 17, 1996
Source: GN 32

[Both men are from Daw Mu Shay village and also arrived at the same time we did in a different section of camp, with all members of the village -- familial households, previously living in 22 houses.]
We all relocated to Shadaw then came after our temporary passes were issued. We had to pay 5 kyats for each pass. It took 4 days to walk from Shadaw. We were first ordered to move on the June 3 or 4. When we arrived at Shadaw, we were sent to live with other people in their houses. In the four days we stayed there, we received no food or other assistance like blankets or medicine. If anyone gets sick there, they are told to go to the hospital. Of course, at the

Loikaw hospital, a member of your family has to go to the market and buy any medicine you require, then bring it back to the hospital. It's very difficult to get water now at Loikaw. Two children about 8 or 9 years old went to the well to get water and fell in and drowned. Another two children just disappeared. No one knows what happened to them.

When the relocation order was issued, the LORC official told us we had to go immediately. We asked that we at least be allowed to harvest our paddy still in the fields, but they refused us and told us to move at once, so we couldn't collect anything. We left our buffaloes, cows, rice, everything in our houses. I left enough tins of rice behind to feed my family for 2 or 3 years. My family brought only one pot for curry and one for rice, one plate and one spoon. We are almost all farmers in my village. Everyone is in the same position. We hull our rice (pounding it in traditional rice mills, with a large, levered, foot-driven sledges) as we need it, and we only had two days to finish hulling what harvested paddy we had, so most of us didn't finish.

We heard that the authorities are trying to block the roads and routes to the border, but we didn't hear of any troops on the paths on our way here. There is heavy security now around Shadaw and especially around the new army camps at Sulah, where 10 battalions arrived in early May. People are very afraid. Although we didn't run into soldiers on the way, we had to cross the Salween river in very small wooden boats that hold about 3 or 4 people. It's raining and the river is rising now, so it's very dangerous. Many people drown there every year. I know a lot of people still want to come, but many aren't sure if they can cross the river, or get through to the border.

Our village had only one school, a primary school, and we didn't have enough teachers, so our children could only study about one week a month. Of course, now they can't study at all. Our teacher also fled with us here.

We heard at Shadaw that SLORC soldiers captured 3 or 4 Sulah villagers and jailed them, but we don't know why. Now they are arresting anyone wearing a green army-style shirt, fatigues, or an army hat as a suspected rebel.

Last year, we heard that a mother and child were shot by SLORC soldiers at Daw Miku village. LIB 72 started setting traps, supposedly for animals, outside our village two years ago . Most of the traps were just large holes. Most the animals that got caught in these traps were our domestic livestock. One man lost his leg and died. After that the villagers didn't want to go to the forest to look for vegetables. But we never saw any real reason why they set these traps.

Interview 71: HRV: Relocation, Arrest, Child, Women

Name:	Aik Saik
Age:	36
Sex:	Male
Martial Status:	Married, with 3 children
Nationality:	Shan
Religion:	Buddhist
Address:	Pa Bu Da
Interviewed:	June 9, 1996
Interview Place:	Camp 2, Karenni

We received a written order from SLORC that all of our villages should go to Ywa Thit and they would provide everything for us, food, and whatever we needed. Actually when we got there, we didn't get anything at all. We received the order 16 April. The SLORC soldiers told us to move within three days or our village would be burned down.

Some people took their buffalo with them, some took food, and some took money. But everyone left almost everything behind: everything in our houses, our personal possessions, our cooking pots and other kitchenware, and our livestock. Our village left its entire harvested paddy, over 2000 oil-tins of rice per family. There were 13 families in our village. Now we have nothing.

Everyone moved to the relocation site together, and my wife, my children, my parents and I stayed one month. Ywa Thit is only a half-day's walk from our village, which is east of the Pon River, very close to the west bank of the Salween. Only one family had decided not to move and stayed behind. The soldiers told us, "If you stay in your village, you can't grow or keep anything there. If you do, we will consider that you are encouraging the KNPP, and we will treat you as rebels and shoot you." Even though our village is all Shan people, it used to be Kayah along time ago. We all support the KNPP because the SLORC come often to the village and loot and beat people, and also take us as porters. The KNPP have never done this to us. One woman in our village married a KNPP soldier.

The SLORC often came to us and took our livestock for food, without asking us. They took porters regularly and when we served as porters we were always beaten. I had to go as a porter many times. Each rotation was 2-3 months, and we had to carry heavy loads, sometimes to the frontlines. Usually it was rice, but sometimes we carried weapons or shells. I was kicked many times when I was portering, also I saw so many others beaten badly and even killed. Al-

though they never took women, many times children and old men in their 60s and 70s were also forced to go. Two old men died at Ywa Thit last year when they were porters. Last year our village also had to pay 500 kyats per month in porter fees, so we divided this fee into 50 kyats among ten families. So we hate the SLORC for what they've done to us.

When we arrived at Ywa Thit, there were about 100 soldiers there at the site, all from 99 Division. We were not given anything in all the time we were there. We had only what we brought with us. We also weren't allowed out to get food from other places, so we depended on what we were given by the people there. Later the soldiers told us we should help the Ywa Thit villagers with their farming.

Everyone stayed in different places, at the monastery, the schools, in others' homes. We stayed at the primary school. Finally we were told that we would be allowed to build small houses, but two families would have to share a house about this size (about 1.5x 2 meters). We had water from the stream and the wells, but it wasn't clean, so a lot of people were sick with malaria and dysentery. Most couldn't get any medicine. The hospital had no medicine, there was just a small private pharmacy next to it where you could buy medicine if you had money. This medicine was brought from Loikaw.

There were a total of about 270 families in Ywa Thit when we left. Things were getting worse and worse, so finally we met very early one morning, all the people from my village, and we decided to escape. Our group of 13 families had 57 people, and 30 of them were children, so travel was very difficult, especially crossing the Salween in small boats. Each boat could take only 3 or 4 people. Most of the time we couldn't sleep, and our children were very frightened. Most of them became sick. It took us six days to get from Ywa Thit to the border, and throughout that time it was raining heavily. We finally arrived here on July 2.

On our trip we were guarded and assisted by KNPP soldiers, so we didn't meet any SLORC troops. Four men from our group are still sick now. We really don't know about our future, but I don't have much hope right now. We can't work here. How will we survive? I really want to go back, we would all like to go back, but we are afraid SLORC soldiers will shoot us.

We were just paddy farmers, although some people also tried to grow groundnuts for cooking oil. We left 100 buffalo in our village, about 15 pigs, and more than 100 chickens. We lived pretty well there: we had coconut trees and our houses were built of wood. We had 2 rice mills and 2 oil mills, both run by

hydropower from the local stream.

We know that more people from Ywa Thit would like to come here to come here to the border, but the journey is very difficult, so it's hard to say how many will make it. We heard after we left our village that the family that stayed was arrested by SLORC, a couple and their two children. They were tied up then taken and used as human minesweepers.

Interview 72: HRV: Refugee, Border Incursion, Killing

Name: Ko Aung Myint
Age: 28
Nationality: Burmese
Marital status: Married
Children: None, but wife is 6 months pregnant
Interviewed: January, 1997
Source: GN 32

It was the middle of the night, just after 2:00 am, and we were all sleeping. Suddenly we woke up to the sounds of shelling and shooting. My wife and I lay still on the floor, not moving. Bullets pierced the walls of our house and fell around it. The shooting lasted about 12 minutes. We heard some voices of the soldiers and screams of those who were hit by the shells. Finally when the shooting stopped, we got up and ran from the house. We met some others and we ran to another area where we thought we would all be safe. We tried to help the injured people -- the medics came and gave them what treatment they could.

Only after we stopped did we notice my wife had two bullet-holes through her longyi. The next morning she said to me, "Hey, what happened to your hair?" We realized one of the bullets must have nearly grazed my head because my hair had been cut off just above my ear. Seven of my chickens were also lying dead outside our house. The walls of our house are damaged and we will have to repair about half of it. The woman who died, Ei Pyin was one of my students. It makes me so sad to think how she died. She was young and very afraid, so when the shelling started instead of lying low, I heard she ran outside of her house screaming for me and her other teacher. I think that when the soldiers heard her calling out our (Burmese) names and speaking in Burmese, they thought she was a student and they shot her. I believe the soldiers were trying to attack the students' camp. Some people heard them talking on their walkie-talkies, and they knew where the monastery was, they were getting orders where to go in the student camp. They always try to attack us on New

Year's and other holidays. They think it will bring them luck for the New Year.

Interview 73: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Women

Name:	Maw Say Mya
Sex:	Female
Age:	about 40
Nationality:	Kayah, farmer
Religion:	Christian (RC)
Family:	Married, 3 children Aged 1 week to 6 years
Address:	Daw Klaw Leh village, Shadaw Township
Interviewed:	July 4, 1996
Source:	KHRG

[Maw Say Mya gave birth during her flight to the refugee camp.]

I think it was 4 or 5 days ago that we were supposed to arrive in Shadaw by their order [SLORC's]. When we heard that all the other villages were being moved to Shadaw we sent a man to check the situation in the other villages. When he came back he said we had to move too. I heard that they sent a letter to order us to move but I don't know for sure. We were very afraid to go to Shadaw, so that night we killed a pig and made pork curry and ate, and then we left the village. We left our village at midnight and arrived at Daw Kaya in the morning.

Every village in our area was ordered to move, Daw Kraw Aw, Daw Ay Ya, Nga M'Lo Soe, all the villagers had to move. They ordered us to move one time before but that time we didn't have to go in the end. But this year they ordered us to move and we really have to move. This time the Burmese are doing it for real. They told us, "Do you want the knife or the gun?" and they said they would come and cut our throats. I think they would do this for sure if we didn't go, so we were very, very afraid and we set out to come here. We could only carry some pots, plates and rice. I inherited only one buffalo from my family but now it is left behind in the village. I don't know what's happened to our belongings left there, maybe the rats have destroyed them. Some villagers have gone back again to try to get some of their animals, but they haven't returned yet.

When we were on the way here we didn't know if we would die or not. I was with my whole family. We were very afraid and full of worry. My baby was

born in Daw Bu Loh village along the way, in the afternoon. That evening I took a bath with hot water. In the morning I had another bath, and then we resumed the journey. We arrived in the next village and I took another bath, and then that day we had to walk in the water the whole day [along a streambed]. We had to walk in the water the whole day and I got sick. Even though I had high fever I had to walk and hurry to arrive here. That night we had to sleep beside the path, and it was raining. The next day we arrived at xxxx village and ate, then we continued. We arrived here at night, about midnight. When I arrived here I had fever, and my whole body was in pain. Now I feel very cold and I have headaches. My baby has a runny nose and can't breathe, he has to breathe through his mouth. When he coughs we can hear "Krek! Krek!" When I arrived here I don't know what happened in my heart, I don't know what has happened to me.

Q: Do you know why the Burmese are doing this?

A: I don't know anything about it. We always have to suffer from what they say and what they do. When other villagers saw the Burmese they ran too, along the way we saw these others so we followed them.

Interview 74: HRV: Relocation, Torture, Forced Labor, Child, Livelihood, Refugee

Name:	Koo Maw Reh
Sex:	Male
Age:	42
Nationality:	Kayah, farmer
Religion:	Christian (RC)
Family:	Married, 8 children Aged 18 months to 25
Address:	Daw Tee Leh village, Preh Tho Leh Township
Interview:	July 3, 1996
Source:	KHRG

["Koo Maw Reh" is a village elder.]

There are 25 families in our village. We arrived here on Sunday. It took 6 days to come here. The Burmese ordered us to go to live in Shadaw, but they didn't give any food or water when we got there and we didn't have any place to sleep there. We felt much suffering. Even if we asked they wouldn't give us any kind of food. One man asked one time and they didn't give, then he asked a second time and they still didn't give. They beat him for asking. He got

swelling on his shoulders from the beating. If you want to eat, you have to buy food.

They ordered us to move on the 1st of June. The soldiers sent a letter, from Battalion 337. I can't read, so I gave it to the teacher to read. It said in the letter that the 7th of June was the last day for us to move. It said, "All of you have to move." If we stayed in the village they would accuse us of being robbers or rebels, and if they see us they'll shoot to kill. We couldn't stay in the village, and I also felt that we couldn't go and stay in the new place. The teachers said they would follow us wherever we decided to go, even to Loikaw. I met with the villagers and we discussed what to do -- should we move down or move up? We just waited there and asked permission to stay from the Burmese. But then on the 15th [of June] we moved to Shadaw village.

They ordered us to live near the Burmese camp. They're making 2 big longhouses for everyone to stay in, like barracks, with walls of woven bamboo. Once they were finished we were going to have to stay there. The Burmese said that for 4 years we would have to obey this order. They said that for the next 4 years if they see anyone around our village they'll shoot and kill them. We couldn't take all our things with us. Some villagers have a lot of things and they had to leave a lot behind. We hid some of our things in a cave, and some things just remained in the village. We all had to move to Shadaw. If we didn't move the Army would come and kill us. They told us to take all our cattle with us. Some villagers took their cattle but some had to leave them. Other villages had to move too: Dee Leh, Daw Tu, Daw Duh, Daw Ka Soh, Daw Kaloh Ko, Daw Mi Ku, Loi Lat, Daw Tha Mer, Si Ko Leh, Teh Ti, Daw Chu Duh. For now, everyone was going to the forest around Shadaw to cut bamboo to make huts, and to make roofing. We had to hurry to build huts for ourselves, so some people got injured working. The villagers all felt very unhappy, so some of them fled back home.

In three of the areas people haven't finished huts yet, but in the other parts people have now built huts. The soldiers stay there and guard the villagers -- before it was Battalion 54, but now I'm not sure. They don't allow anyone to go out at night, and they don't allow anyone to go back to our home villages. We carried our rice from the village ourselves. The soldiers don't give any food. Sometimes they stole people's chickens. There is just a little water. When we go to fetch water we have to wait turns one by one, because it only comes out slowly. There are only 2 or 3 places to fetch water, and at one place a child fell in and died when he was getting water -- a 6 year old boy, not from my village.

People there are sick, some with malaria, some with stomach aches, and some have injuries. I heard 4 or 5 people died while I was there. There's a clinic but the nurses don't look after people very well. To go to the clinic we have to pay money to buy a ticket, 5 kyats, and then we have to take the ticket and money to buy medicine along to the clinic.

I saw a family whose children were very hungry, so their father went to the Army and asked for food, but they refused. He went home, but then he saw his children all so hungry and crying, so he went back and asked the Army again. They beat him, then they pushed him away and shouted "Go away!" That man said later, "I have to get away from here, if I stay here a long time I will die by starvation or by SLORC. After that he called his family and tried to go out and get free of the place, and his village headman saw his saliva running out because he was so hungry.

Q: Is there forced labor at Shadaw?

A: The Army said, "Now you're refugees, we don't need you to work for us for the present." But in future I'm sure they'll order us to do labour. They allowed us to go out until June 25th, but they said after that they won't allow anyone to go out -- on the 25th, everyone had to be back at the camp. If we wanted to go and get things from our village they'd write us a pass and we could go, but we were only allowed to go straight to the village to get our things, nowhere else. At first they easily gave permission, but then they would only allow one person per family to go because they were afraid people would flee here [to the refugee camp].

Before the 25th they allowed us to go to our village to pound rice. We never stopped, we just came here. We walked 6 days to arrive here. All we had was a mat and a blanket for each of us. Along the way we slept in deserted villages, and lots of mosquitos bit us. Because of the mosquitos my children got swelling on their stomachs. I felt very angry and upset, so even when we found and killed a chicken or a pig I didn't want to eat. I couldn't sleep either. We were very afraid. We saw no soldiers, no one at all.

Q: Do you think more people want to come?

A: Sure, but the Army guards them. There were 2 or 3 families who asked their permission to come here, but the township officer refused and they went away crying. The Army didn't say when we can go home. I think it will be a long time before I can go back to my own village. I don't know why they are doing this. I think it is because in the future they want to use all of us as

porters, so we escaped and came here. All the people from my village have come here now.

Interview 75: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Refugee

Name: Koo Nga Reh
Sex: Male
Age: 45
Nationality: Kayah, farmer
Religion: Animist
Family: Married, 5 children aged 2-13
Address: Daw Kraw Aw village, Shadaw Township
Interviewed: July 4, 1996
Source: KHRG

Our village has 105 houses. I've been here 12 days already. I left at 6 a.m. on the 13th of June. The Burmese sent a letter and threatened us that if we didn't go to Shadaw they would come and burn down our houses and torture the villagers, so we were afraid and we told them we'd come soon. The 17th was the last day when we had to go to Shadaw. Then they said if we didn't go by the 17th, the 27th would be the last day. It was ordered by Batallion 37. We were very unhappy when we got the letter. If we were to hide in the forest they could find us easily, so we had no choice but to go there. Now no families are left in the village or in the forest. We went but we couldn't carry our things because we had to carry our children. When we got there they didn't give us any food or houses, and we had to sleep on the ground. Everyone has to find their own place to stay. Some people stay in the monastery, some have to stay underneath other people's houses. After we cooked the Burmese ordered us to put out our fires. Even while we were cooking they sometimes came and put the fire out.

All the other villages received the same order - Daw Tha Dah, Daw Saw Cha, Daw Kraw Aw, Daw Mu Seh, Daw Kraw Lo, Daw Klaw Leh, Nga M'Lo Soh, Bu Law Ku, Daw Ta Ma, Daw Kloh Ku, Daw Kuh Sa, and Daw Kuh Li, all in Preh Tho Leh township. I can't count how many families were in Shadaw, there were so many. The Burmese told us we're not allowed to leave Shadaw village. They said our place would be beside the cemetery, for 100 or 200 houses. They ordered the villagers who live in Shadaw to clear the place, and the Shadaw villagers said, "We can't do that, it's too big," so they said when the other villagers flee Shadaw they will follow.

I stayed there only one day. Then the Burmese [SLORC] said, "You have to

go and get your belongings and rice from your village." They said, "As long as you're here we won't give you food. If you don't bring your food from your village you can starve and die, we don't care." That's why we left. At Shadaw a lot of people were sick, but when we asked for medicine there was no medicine for us. There is a hospital in Shadaw but they asked for money, and we had no money so we received no medicine. Many people had fever. I could see that if we stayed there for long the situation would get much worse. For now they don't make people do labour for them, but once people have finished building their houses they probably will.

They gave us a permission pass for 15 days to go and collect all our belongings. We had to pay 5 Kyat for the pass. Our whole family went, and then during those 15 days we left for Thailand. We slept in our village for 2 or 3 nights and then we left. I think that was about the 16th [of June]. Now I heard that they won't let anyone out of Shadaw any more -- now if you ask for permission, they will only give you their fist. So people don't dare ask permission anymore.

We had to walk 3 days to get here. It was a really hard journey and we had to rush. We had to carry our things and our children, so we got pain in our shoulders and some people got sick. About 70 families came. If we had stayed in our village the Burmese would kill us. We're afraid of them, so we all came to the refugee camp. Each family could only carry about 10 milktins [3 kg.] of rice, and when it was not enough we asked for some from some Karenni soldiers. All of our knives, pots, cups and other possessions we hid in a cave. There is no one to look after our animals. I think altogether about one million Kyat worth of things were left behind [for the whole village]. I don't know what will happen to them. If the Burmese destroy it we will just have to accept that.

When we got east of the Salween River we arrived at xxxx and xxxx villages but we didn't see any people there. Then in xxxx village there were only a few people. When we saw people in xxxx village we felt a bit happier, but they told us, "We are very sad to see you like this. Soon we will follow you." We were always worried that the Burmese would block us on the way, but our decision was to come all the way no matter what. We were lucky. If they keep forcing people to move I think most people will come here to be refugees. I don't know when they'll let people go back to their villages, 3 months or 3 years, but it will be a long time. I've never seen a situation this bad. Before we just had to run to neighboring villages to avoid them. But now it's everywhere, and they said they'll burn our villages and kill our animals. I've never faced problems this bad in my life. I cannot tell all the things that SLORC does to us.

It's not like before. Now we even have to receive our food from other people, it's not like our own food. I can't talk about it anymore.

Interview 76: Forced Labor, Child, Women

Name:	Ma San San
Age:	42-year- old
Martial Status:	married with two children, 12-years-old twin
Address:	Kan Bauk, Kan Bauk township
Interviewed:	July 5, 1996
Place of interview:	Thom Pha Pum, Kanchanaburi province, Thailand
Source:	ABSDF

I was a vendor when I was in Burma. While I was selling at the market, the Ward LORC ordered me to go and work without pay on the Ye-Tavoy project. That was in November 1995.

The military informed the village headman the exact number of people wanted for forced labor. Then the village headman decided how to conscript the people from the every household in the village. A wealthy family could afford to give 3,000- 3,500 kyats to get a substitute.

My husband had died in 1992 and I had to support my 10-year-old twins, my elderly mother, and my brother who was mentally ill. I was the only breadwinner for my whole family. For those of us who had hardly enough hardly for our daily life, it was impossible to pay money for a substitute. The only thing we could do was just go and work. When we went, we needed to take some money too. That was why my mentally ill brother also had to go and work as a substitute. The only thing we could do was just go and work. When we went, we needed to take some money too. He was paid 3,000 kyats and that money was used for the remaining family in the village and also used for our own expense in the forced labor camp. First I said I could not go and explained that I had to look for the rest of my family. About 200 villagers, 12 people from my Maggin ward, including elderly and children took a bus to Nwe Lain camp. Some children went as substitutes hired by others. Some were only 12-13-years-old.

The work was terribly hard and the weather was extremely hot. Despite the heat, we were not allowed to take a rest even if we were exhausted. The only rest permitted was during the break time at midday. We worked two weeks there. We had to get up at 3:00 am and prepare to go to work site at 4:00 am. It took an hour to walk to the worksite from the place we were staying. Work was

from 11:00 to 1:00 p.m. Then the work restarted at 1:00 to 5:00 PM. Just before work was over, the authorities came and checked the work we had done. They demanded it be exactly what they had ordered. If they were not satisfied, they ordered us to do it again and would not allow us to go back to the living place. When it was getting dark, we used oil lamps until the work done. After ten days, the two of us money left, so we asked the authorities to allow us to go back and bring food supplies for the remaining days. They didn't allow that. We had to borrow from others, who also faced a shortage of rations. Even worse, my brother became sick. He went to see the medic, but they just gave him aspirin, which was not effective at all. The authorities (civilians monitoring the work-site) told all the laborers to say that all were paid when the military officers came. I was very angry with that. I did not come and work voluntarily. They forced me to work without pay and threatened me. I had to leave my family back to spend my own money while I was working here. The rest of family was starving while I was working without pay. I said I would tell truth when I was asked if we were paid or not.

Nobody was allowed to go anywhere expect the place we were staying and the work site. Police and soldiers were blocking everywhere. When I did not have any food left, I decided to go back secretly to the village. So all the villagers, altogether 192 people, went back to the village at night. The next morning, the soldiers followed after us and took us back to the worksite by buses. They threaten to arrest us if we did that again. The scolded us and threatened us all the way back to work- site.

If there were some children in your group, you had to work harder because they could not work very hard. All groups were assigned the same jobs so if we could not finish within the designated time, we had to work until the work done. The work was to cut the ground from the hill, dig trenches, carry soil from place to place, and build the embankment of the railway. When the rains started, the embankment just washed away. We had to carry the dirt to make embankment again. When the embankment got high, we had to climb up it carrying heavy loads of dirt in basket and dump the dirt onto the top of embankment. I fell down sometimes while carrying dirt like that. I have never done such hard work before in my life.

When you got sick, you could go to the clinic but the medicine given by the medic was the same for all sickness and diseases. Whether you had sore eyes or malaria, the same medicine was given. The nurse working at the clinic also said there was no other medicine in the clinic and she did not want to work there either. She was just working against her will because she was assigned there, she said. Some patients were referred to Kan Bauk hospital but the LORC

in the worksite did not allow them to leave. I heard that two children, aged 12-13 years-old, died while they were working in Nwe Lein camp in November 1995. Some people were beaten up by the guards who accused them of pretending to be ill during working time.

If we were not able either to go or to pay fine to the village LORC , we were subject to arrest by the police .I was also arrested once . The village LORC ordered me again to go and work for my second time while I was preparing to sell my stuffs at the market . I said no to them. In fact, I could not go without preparing for my family. Also I was in debt. If I had to go for forced labor, it was impossible for me to pay it back. So I said "No." Later the police came to arrest me. They attempted to handcuff me but I did not let them. I said I was not a criminal. Then the police took me to the office of village LORC. When I saw the chairman of LORC, I explained my situation. The chairman said he totally understood my situation and asked me to send my younger brother instead. I kept asking to send him and said they would take care of him. So I asked my brother to go. After ten days of work, he ran away and came back home. The policemen and village LORC came to my house and ordered me to go instead.

I have worked three times on the forced labor project. Each time took one month. The first two were in Nwe Lein and the third was in Yebon. Ye Byu township. Last April 1996, we were taken to Yebon and after seven days we were taken back to Nwe Lein again to continue to work. There were thousands of people from seven villages near our village. The military presence is much greater than before. They check everybody wherever you go. You could not leave from your home without your ID card .There were many check points every where. You would be checked just as soon as you stepped out of your home.

Unpaid labor is constantly practiced. The military orders the people to clear the land and cut bamboo for their barracks. Many more forced contributions and taxes are being levied than before. But the economy is getting worse. Sometimes, the authorities ordered us to give 500 kyats from each household for unknown reasons. They did not care whether we have money or not. We have to sell our belongings to pay for it.

Finally I decided to flee Thailand to escape from these hardships.

Interview 77: HRV: Livelihood, Relocation, Torture, Detention, Migrant worker

Name: Win Ko
Age: 35
Sex: Male
Nationality: Burmese
Profession: government servant
Village: XXX, east of Mong Nai township, Shan State
Interviewed: July 20, 1996 at Chiang Mai
Source: SHRF

Win Ko used to work for the Burmese government, earning 450 kyats a month. Three months ago, 6 villages in his area (Ho Pai, Ton Jai, loi Wa, Loi Ton, Ma Lang, Wan Taunggi) were forcibly relocated by the SLORC, but since his village was near a road, it was not relocated. However, even though they were not relocated, people from his village were ordered not to go out and do any farming in their fields. Win Ko stressed that without being able to farm his fields, he could not survive on his salary.

On May 12, 1996, Win Ko found three unspent bullets at the entrance to the village and decided to hand them in to the local SLORC army camp: LIB 332 at Sai Pe. He went with four of his friends. To his shock, instead of thanking him for doing this, the SLORC soldiers seized him and his friends and accused them of not telling the truth about where he had found the bullets.

Win Ko and his friends were made to sit down and their hands were tied behind their backs. They were then tortured. Several soldiers placed plastic sheeting over Win Ko's head for several seconds so that he couldn't breathe. Then they rolled an iron rod up and down his shins, and kicked down on the rod with their boots. (The scars on Win Ko's shins are still visible.) Finally, Win Ko and his friends were released.

Ten days after this, in fear of further SLORC abuses, Win Ko decided to leave his village to come to Thailand. He travelled with a group of 20 people from his area across the border. On the day they crossed, he said there were 300 other people crossing over. They then travelled down to Chiang Mai.

In Chiang Mai, 13 of his group found work on a building site north of the town. They worked on this site for 2 months, but were not paid. (They had been promised 110 baht a day for men, and 100 baht for women.) After protesting to their employer, they were raided early one morning by the police. They were

then taken to a local police station. After two nights there, they were sent to the prison at the central police station in Chiang Mai.

Win Ko said that there were about 200 illegal immigrants from Burma at the prison, including old people, children and babies. It was so overcrowded that there was no room to lie down properly. He heard many stories of misfortune from the prison. One Shan woman had hung herself shortly before his arrival in prison. Another Shan woman who had arrived a week before him appeared to be suffering a nervous breakdown. She had journeyed from Shan State with her 3 daughters and they were travelling in a truck from the border to Chiang Mai when they were arrested by the police at Mae Rim. Her daughters, aged 12, 13, 14, were taken from her, and she now had no idea where they were, but feared they had been sold.

Luckily Win Ko was able to pay the fine of 3,500 baht and was released on July 18, but 7 of his group are still in prison and will have to stay 2 months there. He hopes he will be able to find work soon.

Interview 78: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Migrant Worker

Name: Sai Tu
Sex: Male
Age: 16
Village: Taung Gyi, Mong Nai township
Interviewed: August 1996 in Mae Hong Song, Thailand
SOurce: SHRF

I arrived in Thailand in the last week of April 1996. The SLORC military government had forced my village to move so I had no place to stay. That's why 1 came here. They ordered us to move within three days. There were 50 families, about 350 people. They ordered us to stay in Na Kha village of Mong Nai.

In our village circle there were 6 villages: Taung Gyi, Gong Sar, loi Ton, Wan Pwe, Wan Milin, Gong Kyaing. There were between 150-200 people in each village. When we moved we could only bring what we could carry. Everything we left behind was taken by the SLORC. But we did not dare report this to the soldiers' senior officers. If we had gone and reported it, they would not have taken action. We would just have been punished.

We are facing a lot of difficulties here in Thailand. We earn just enough to

survive each day. We gather sand. A pile of sand sells for 50 baht. It's very hard to make 2 piles a day. When we are sick, we just treat ourselves. We go and buy medicine ourselves.

Interview 79: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood, Killing

Name: Sai Nong
Sex: Male
Age: 18
Village: Wan Kha Hla, Mong Nai township
Interviewed: August 18, 1996
Source: SHRF

I arrived in Thailand in May 1996. I had been a soldier in the MTA in the Loi Lang area. After Khun Sa surrendered to SLORC, I went to stay with my parents in Wan Kha Hla village, Mong Nai township. After 2 months, the SLORC soldiers came to the village, and ordered the village to move. They said: "We will give you 3 days to move. After that you mustn't come back or we will kill you."

I heard that in one village one man went back to his village after three days to get his cattle and pigs, and he was shot. All the villagers had to move to Nar Kha village, about 40 kms from our village. The SLORC didn't give us anywhere to stay. There was not enough time to carry everything when we moved. We also didn't have a car or truck for transport. It wasn't enough time to carry everything on foot.

The villages from our circle that were forced to move were: Wan Kha Hla, Ho Mai, Doi Kyen, Loi Pai, Nong Kham, Khun Sar, Ho Dai, Nong Lang. They were all moved to the same place, Nar Kha village. There were about 60-70 houses or 150200 people in each village.

My parents and sister are now in the Nar Kha village, they are staying at a friend's home.

Interview 80: HRV: Arrest, Slavery, Torture

Name: Htun Win
Sex: Male
Age: 28

Nationality: Burmese, shopkeeper
Religion: Muslim
Family: Married, 1 daughter aged 14 months
Address: Myawaddy town, Karen State
Interview: August 22, 1996
Source: KHRG

[Htun Win was carried into a refugee clinic in Thailand at the end of July, but was too weak and delirious to be interviewed until one month later.]

I moved from Thaton to Myawaddy. I have already been working there for 3 years. I was arrested in Myawaddy. It was on a Saturday. I had a fever so I cannot remember exactly. [It was early July.]

Q: Why were you arrested?

A: Because I couldn't pay the porter fees for two weeks ['porter fees' are just routine extortion money demanded from all civilians by the Army]. Just at that time they needed porters, so someone brought me a message from the chairman of the local Ya Wa Ta [Village LORC]: "'Htun Win', come to the office for a while." At the time, I had fever and I had an intravenous drip in my arm. They came by car and I got into the car. The car stopped in front of the office. I didn't take anything with me because they said it would only be a moment. I had only the set of clothing I was wearing.

Instead they sent me to Maw Kee and Ka Neh Lay [frontline areas 80 km. (50 miles) southeast of Myawaddy, which SLORC seized from the KNU in 1995]. We travelled by truck for half a day to Kway Ta Maw mountain. The truck stopped there, at the foot of Kway Ta Maw, and I had to carry for 14 days. On the way, we faced fighting three times. I had to carry three 120 mm [mortar] shells, and 75 mm [recoilless] shells, and four 60 mm [mortar] shells. Altogether up to 7 shells at one time. It weighed about 25 viss [40 kg. / 88 lb.]. There were more than 700 porters. We were all walking together, but after we faced the first fighting the soldiers divided us into two groups. SLORC was fighting KNU and ABSDF. The SLORC Battalions were 356, 88, and 275. I was carrying for IB 356. I think they were headed further than Ka Neh Lay.

Q: Do you know any of their commanders' names?

A: I can't remember. The commander was very brutal. He was from #3 Company. He kicked me in the face with his boots. Now I can't see clearly anymore. When I fell down, he stepped on me with the heel of his boot and he

broke my rib. When I cough, I feel terrible pain in my whole body.

Q: Tell us step by step.

A: I was ill at that time, so I couldn't carry this heavy load. I was carrying it for 14 days and I fell down unconscious. On the way, while walking, I suddenly fell down. I don't know how long I was unconscious. The commander threw water on my face and told the soldiers: "If he can't carry anymore, we cannot leave him like this. Otherwise the enemy will find out our movements." Then the commander ordered me to stand up. He said, "Stand up! Why don't you stand up? You are just pretending!" He stepped on me and broke my ribs. He hit my back with a G3 rifle butt, then he pulled me up and kicked me and hit my arm. Then a soldier beat me on my arm with his rifle butt. They carried on kicking me and they hit my legs. I couldn't count it -- kick and hit... hit and kick... They hit me, but they didn't shoot me because we were too close to the enemy. But as for me, I wished I was shot dead, so I wouldn't have to suffer anymore. They beat me trying to break both my thighs, because after that I couldn't stand anymore. My face was covered with blood. And the commander thought I would die soon. Then the soldiers said: "We cannot leave him like this. If we do, we give information to the enemy." Two soldiers were pulling me up, and when I was halfway up the commander cursed me and kicked me again. I suddenly saw a big flash in my eyes [he had been kicked in the eye] and I got up slowly. Then the commander kicked me down the slope beside the path. I went unconscious.

That path was very old and the ditch was about 3 meters deep. The path was on the hill, called Kyaut Taung hill. My body was stopped from falling further down by the bushes. When the commander kicked me down the slope, other porters from Myawaddy saw me. Later when they were moving with the troops they ran away, and the same day at about 4 p.m. they came back to save me.

Two hours earlier, they had shot one of the porters and he died. He was from Myawaddy. They shot him in front of me. He was my friend. He was sick, the same as me. He fell down two hours before I did. He couldn't stand up and a soldier hit him with his gun. Then he shot him dead. He fell down face down and he was shot with a G3 in the back of his neck and the bullet came out through his mouth. He was my friend. His name was Htun Htun Oo. He was from Myawaddy. [At this point "Htun Win" began weeping and could not speak for a while.] His age was about the same as mine. He was living with his old mother, not married. He was a trishaw driver. Half way along he got fever. So many got sick. Not only us. So many. But some of them could still keep carrying. I asked for medicine, but they said, "We don't have enough

medicine for porters." We got only one handful of plain rice twice a day but sometimes we didn't, and sometimes our rice had turned bad [old and smelly]. Even salt we didn't get. After the meal we didn't even get water. We had to clean our hands with our clothes. For drinking water, it was water from the river. Along the way we didn't get water either. The soldiers swore at us [if we asked]. Sometimes we asked each other. Some of the porters had a water container and they got water on the way.

Q: Did they allow people to bathe?

A: Nobody was allowed. We had to lie down on the ground. We had no shelter at night. We had no blanket. We could only cover ourselves with our longyi [sarong]. When it was raining, we had to stay in the rain like that. We were all put together as soon as we stopped .

Q: What did you do when there was fighting?

A: Me, I had to carry ammunition for big weapons [mortars / artillery]. I had to stay a bit far from the fighting. But I could hear it very well. There was shooting continuously for 15 or 20 minutes, then they stopped and then started again. But they were shelling steadily. This happened 3 times. I would have tried to escape then, but I couldn't manage to escape because soldiers were around in the back. We [porters] just sat down.

Q: Did some people get wounded?

A: I saw two porters and two soldiers killed by landmines; three people were killed by bullets. They took them to the medic. The two porters died but the two soldiers survived. Both porters were wounded in their left leg. Then they were amputated, just beside me. I saw the medics carrying the porters, and they didn't look in such bad condition. But I don't know if they died due to their injuries or if they were killed on the way. When they stepped on the landmine, it was about 8 or 9 a.m. One died shortly after and the other in the evening. The medic gave better treatment to the soldiers -- he amputated them too and put on a dressing. Then they were carried away but I don't know where. The dead porters were buried.

Q: How were you rescued [after being beaten and left for dead]?

A: I was carried by 6 people. They are Burmans from Myawaddy. We got to know each other along the way [as porters -- after Htun Win was left for dead, these 6 men escaped later the same day and came back to save him]. I don't

remember what time of day the soldiers beat me, but I felt that it was very hot. Then my friends came at 4 p.m. We had to walk one day. People there were cutting wood. They knew them. I was carried to Thailand in a hammock of 3 longyis [sarongs] tied together. Then they put me in a car. A Thai driver took me for free, and I spent one night in Thailand. Then we crossed by boat [back to Burma]. In Myawaddy I told them I was a porter. Then they brought me in a trishaw to the Ya Wa Ta [Village LORC] office, but the chairman said "This is not a hospital!" and told me to go home. Then they took me to my house.

I was conscious, but I couldn't speak clearly and I couldn't open my eyes very well. My face was swollen. My mother-in-law tried to cure me with many kinds of medicine and my face felt better. We cured my fever with herbal medicine. I couldn't speak very well but I could drink well. Then I was sent to the clinic. The doctor said that an operation was needed. I agreed. I had pain in my whole body and I still had fever. I was coughing blood because they had kicked me here [in the chest]. I couldn't even drink for 2 days after they kicked me. My mother told me, "Do what you like. We are with you." If I had the operations, I would have to spend a lot of money. To operate on only one part of my body [his thigh] it cost me more than 4,000 Kyats. I called my mother to help and now all her savings are gone. And still I didn't feel better. So I had to come here [to a refugee clinic in Thailand] and I came. People brought me here about 8 days later.

Now [a month later] I can't stretch out my leg. I cannot walk. My whole body is in pain. [A medic added: It will take him a long time to recover. Dr. xxxx had to do surgery three times. He got three blood transfusions because he had become so anemic and lost so much blood. Not only his body but also his eye is damaged. He will need an eye operation. He will be able to walk again, but not as well as before. His thighs were injured by the beating and the muscles became infected. Pus was coming out and he had already had an operation in Myawaddy. Some muscles of his thigh are gone now." His thighs healed with muscle tissue missing and fibrosis, making it so he can only walk with his legs in a "cramped up" position; medics expect him to only recover 60-70% mobility. One of his left ribs was also broken, he had severe pains in his whole chest even a month after the beating, and his right arm was severely swollen from the beating - during the first surgery, the doctor drained 1.5 litres of pus from his arm. His left eye will have a permanent corneal scar which will affect his vision.

Q: What are you planning to do when you recover?

A: Until my left leg is cured, I don't know what to do. I don't know. Because

now I have no more capital. I have nothing left. My house was by the river-side, and now since I have been here it has been destroyed by the floods. I don't know what to do. I am just left with a few clothes and one pot. That's all. The goods in my shop were carried away at the same time [the shop was in his house]. My wife couldn't save anything. She had the child to take care of. When the river rose, she fled and came here.

I want to go back to Thaton. My mother stays in Thaton. Down there [in Thaton], they don't have to pay as much as here. In Myawaddy we have to pay 500 kyats per week as porter fees. Here [in Myawaddy], we can make money more easily. If you work hard, you can earn from 500 up to 1,000 Kyats per day. So each household has to pay 500 Kyats per week [much higher than in most other places]. I don't know how everyone can get that money. But as for me, I failed to pay twice and here am I now! This was my first time as a porter. The whole journey [as a porter] was 14 days.

Q: Did you see any DKBA soldiers when you were a porter?

A: I only saw DKBA soldiers at the checkpoints and doing security along the road, the Myawaddy - Kawkareik road. [The DKBA sets up checkpoints merely to collect money from everyone who passes.]

Interview 81: HRV: Forced Labor, Child, Torture

Name:	Ah Naing
Sex:	Male
Age:	13 years old
Nationality:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	None
Native Place:	Min Thar village, Yebyu Township
Interviewed:	August 12,1996.
Source:	HRFOM

I helped my parents in rice-field. The work is not so hard, I just help them as I can. In rainy season, my father and I have to catch fishes with a small boat or angles fishes in our farm for extra income. I just helped my parents. The work for me is not so hard.

Q: Did you ever attend the school before you worked in your father's farm? Why did you left from the school?

A: I attended the school when I was about 7 years old. I left school three years ago. I passed only second standard. Once, while my father was arrested by the Burmese soldiers (to be porter according to his father) my mother was alone in our farm and she also looked after young sister, and I quitted school to help my mother. At that time, my uncle Ah Win (who helped his parents) also went into Thailand (illegally to seek jobs). I had to reap grass to feed cows in the farm. My mother could not work such heavy job. My father was away for three weeks and when he returned back he was in sickness for another two weeks. When he recovered from the sickness, I also tried to attend the school again. But did not understand the lessons and I was disappointed. Then I left the school.

Q: When were you arrested to be a porter and what kind of work did you do for the military? Please describe me how you were arrested?

A: At the beginning of this year (in February, according to his father), when I returned from our farm I was arrested by the Burmese soldiers (of LIB No. 409, according to his father) in a place on the way before I reached to entrance of the village. And, they asked me where did I come from and I told them that I just returned back from my farm. And they forced me to follow with them. I was afraid of being killed by soldiers as they had gun and I followed with them. An officer, the battalion commander, ordered me to carry his bag. Then they went to the north for the security of the railway (Ye-Tavoy under -construction railway). We walked along the way and in the evening we reached to Kalein Aung. In the military barrack of Kalein Aung, we have to sleep for one night there.

Q: What the treatment did you receive from Burmese troops? Were they very bad to you?

A: The commander was not so bad. Luckily he liked me and he fed me whatever he ate. When the other villager porters never got any meat in their meals, he fed me chicken or pork curry everyday. When the Burmese soldiers arrived in our village every time, the commander always ordered the village headmen to provided such sorts of meat. After the troops left from the villages, the village headmen had to collect from the villagers and paid to owners of pigs and chicken.

However, the rest of the soldiers were very bad Along the way, they always beat the villagers who were walking slowly. They always shouted to villager porters not to be lazy and they put everything of their belongings to the porters. One soldier also added his jungle boots to my heavy loads after his foot was hurt. Thus, my loads became heavier and heavier, but the commander did not

tell his men to stop.

Q: How many viss did you have to carry along the way up to Kaleing Aung and did they reduce the loads on your back when you slowed down?

A: I have to carry about 25 visses (40 kilograms) of the commander's belongings. I did not have to carry the ammunition or supplies for the troops. All materials that I had to carry were owned by commander. Mainly his clothes in a small box, beers, beef canes, dried fishes and etc., when he took breakfast or lunch, they have to prepare for him with special dishes that foods were made with pork or chicken confiscated or stolen from the villages. Along the way, there were three porters beaten by the soldiers severely, I know. The kicking to porters who were walking slowly was normal for the soldiers. One soldier also kicked me and he said to hurry up to follow his commander, because I had to pee in a bush and I was late to reach the commander. Then I hurried up.

One porter from Eindayaza village was very weak. I think he was getting sick. He was arrested by the Burmese soldiers before us. His walking rate slowed down on the way and three soldiers beside him shouted to hurry, but he could not. He asked the soldiers to reduce his loads and said he could walk more quickly. The soldiers were dissatisfied with his complaint and beat him severely with their with riflebutts.

Q: Did the commander know of such inhumane torturing of the porters? What was his response to his men?

A: Yes, he saw. He said nothing to his men. But he ordered not to beat the head of the porter with rifle butts and told them to beat his body and legs. He didn't stop them.

Q: How many days did you have to walk with them and where did they release you?

For three days, we had to walk with troops. On second day, we arrived Kyaukadin village and we slept there for one day. On that day, because of the loads, I became weak and could not sleep for the whole night. My whole body was hot with fever and I talked the to commander to release me. But he refused to release me and reduced some materials from me and gave to the closest porter. He said, we had to walk to Alesakan village, when we reached that village he will release me if he gets substitute. I did not dare to tell him for several times for my weakness and fever. I was also afraid he would beat me. It was very hard for me to reach to Alesakan.

Q: Then what happened on you when you arrived to Aleskan and did their medic treat you?

A: When I reached to Aleskan village, my fever was getting very terrible and I could not stand up anymore. So I lied down the village headman's house and his wife treated me well. The medic never gave me any medicine. The housewife gave me some traditional medicine and hot water. I could not sleep for the whole night and she treated me for the whole night. On the next day, the troops left from the village. As I was in a terrible situation, the commander did not bring me and left me. I think if they brought me again, I will die on the way surely. I was treated in Alesakan for three days, on those days I could not stand up or walk more.

Q: Did your parents hear about that case and how can you return back to your village?

A: When I was in his home, the village headman asked me my name, my native village, and my parents' name and he promised to contact my parents. After I stayed in his home for two days, my mother came to Alesakan and she cried when she met me.

Q: Did she know that you were arrested when you returned back from the rice farm?

A: No. She did not know that I had been arrested by Burmese soldiers. When I was arrested, nobody saw the incident and my mother thought I traveled to Kywetho-nyi-ma village for a visit to my uncle there. When she met me in the bed, she was very surprised and she asked what happened on me. The village headmen explained to her that the Burmese troops brought me as porter with heavy loads. My mother wept for the whole day.

Q: Did your mother bring you back on the day she arrived?

A: No. I have to stay there for more three days and she waited me to be recovered. The village headman and his wife were very kind to us. They helped us what we needed. Then we returned to our village and whenever we have chance we visited to Alesakan and my mother always sent them sticky rice or dried fishes.

Interview 82: HRV: Slavery, Torture

Name:	Maung Myint Win
Sex:	Male
Age:	27 years
Nationalities :	Mon
Religion:	Mon Buddhist
Occupation:	Laborer
Native Place:	Morkanin village, Ye Township
Interview Date:	September 9,1996
Source:	HRFOM

[This interviewee was a victim of forced portering and he was severely beaten by the Tatmadaw [SLORC] soldiers. When he arrived to the refugee camp clinic of Baleh Donephai, his back was terribly damaged and infected. His two legs were also badly damaged, and the medics in the camp had to treat him for nearly three week.]

[This interviewee explained his arrest by the Burmese soldiers].

Q: When and where were you arrested by the Burmese soldiers?

A: When I traveled to Ye for a visit to my uncle on July 17, 1996, I was arrested by the Burmese soldiers. Before I reached my uncle's house while I was passing in front of the IB No. 61 battalion headquarters, I was arrested. When I reached in front of their compound, two soldiers who were standing at the entrance gate called me to meet them. I did not know what reasons they would like to meet me and I was so afraid that they would arrest me. I thought they needed some help from me to buy something.

But, when I reached to them, they told me I have to meet their officer. And I complained why did I have to meet him and they did not tell me any reason and brought inside the battalion compound. When I arrived inside a room, they arrested me and threatened me not to flee and put me in that room and locked its door outside. I have to stay in that room nearly three hours and in the evening about 5 o'clock, three soldiers came and brought me to a detention cell. There were about 50 men inside the small cell and as I was not so clear why I was arrested and I asked a man. The man told me we were arrested for portering. But he also did not know where the Burmese trips would bring us.

Q: You said you met with other men, are they town residents or villagers who came to Ye?

A: Both. I think half of them were town residents. The rest were villagers mostly who came to town with purposes to buy materials for their farms or houses. And the few others were also from other townships. They came to Ye for trading or visit. On the first day, there were about 50 villagers in detention and on the next day about 6 men of Ye town left from the detention after they paid 3,000 kyat up 5,000 kyat each other commander. One Sergeant also told me if I paid them 5,000 kyat they will release me soon but thee payment must reach to them evening (of July 18) and they would release me as soon as they received cash. Or, the troops will leave on the next day early morning to the Three Pagoda Pass and brought all porters. Then I was very afraid of being a porter with Burmese troops to Three Pagoda Pass and I approached that Sergeant to ask my uncle payment. The Sergeant would not like to find out my uncle but he had no time and had to prepare for the trip. I was detained for two nights and on the next early morning, they troops brought us by trucks to a village and by boats to Kyaung Kywa.

Q: Did you ask other detainees how they were arrested by the Burmese troops?

A: They were arrested like me. One man was arrested in a shop that sells groceries for farming and fishing, and the two soldiers came with civilian clothes and arrested him and asked him to follow with them. He did not know they were soldiers and refused to follow with them. And, he was beaten by them and the man was too angry and he also responded beating to those soldiers. Then, the soldiers arrested him with the help of town policemen and brought him into the battalion. When he reached to the battalion they continuously beat him severely. So, he has a lot of injuries in his back. They never treated him with any medicine and then they also brought him to the frontline. As he was strong farmer, he could tolerate the pain.

The others porters were arrested by the soldiers, mostly in town. According to town residents, it is normal for the Burmese troops to forcibly arrest the porters before they left to the frontline or changed their bases. The most porters were beaten or kicked by soldiers as soon as they were arrested. But commonly they did not arrest the town residents who they were familiar with them and they chose to arrest local villagers. For example, they did not arrest the shopkeeper of coffee shop and barbers but they will arrest local villagers who were taking coffee and cutting hair there. Even though, if you paid 5,000 kyats, it is OK, they will release you.

Q: Can you explain me the whole story of when you were on the way with Burmese troops to Three Pagoda Pass?

A: Yes. When I was arrested I was very weak as I had fever just one week earlier. The reason I went to visit my uncle was to buy some medicine. After I was detained for two nights in the battalion under the poor conditions of the room, I became weaker than before and after we left form Kyaung Ywa, I got malaria. And my leg became painful and I could not walk well and my walking rate was slowing down gradually. We left from Ye early morning of July 17. So I asked to a Sergeant to give me permission to take a rest. He told me "this is military operation, you have no chance to stop on the way" his two assistants beat me with their rifle butts and jungle boots in my back several times. I was in alot of pain with severe wounds. It was very painful. I tried to walk along with them, as much as possible. Totally, I have to carry six rocket shells that weighed about 25 viss (40 kilograms and) and it became heavier and heavier along the way. When we left from the Ye, there were about 50 porters along with 200 troops and more than 10 porters escaped on the way. The soldiers were so angry about those escapees and threatened that if we fled they will shoot. When the porters fled they did not take ammunitions or supplies that they had carried and the soldiers put those left heavy loads to the rest of us porters. As I was sick enough, they did not put on me.

Q: Did you have to sleep on the way and what kind of treatment did the military provide you?

A: We have to sleep one night in Baleh Donephai village (as section of Halockhani Mon refugee camp, which was burnt down by Burmese troops in July 1994, before the NMSP reached for cease-fire agreement with SLORC) my malaria became terrible and I asked the villagers for some medicines and the villagers told me if I needed to get medicine I had to go to a clinic. When I asked the Sergeant I would like to go to a clinic he did not allow me. But he did not provide any medicine or treatment. An elder woman in the house gave me some kind of herbal medicine (which is traditionally produced from inside Burma) and some cups of plain tea. She treated me kindly. But the Burmese soldiers did not provide me any medical care.

Q: When you reached to Three Pagoda Pass did they (the Burmese soldiers) treat you in the Township Public Hospital?

A: No. We reached to Three Pagoda Pass on July 22 and they never allowed me to attend the hospital for treatment. They did not release all porters who came along with them and put them in Three Pagoda Pass battalion headquarters for three days. They did not allow us to go outside.

Q: Along the ways and in their battalions' detention, did they give you enough

food to eat?

A: No. They fed us with a very small amount of rice and curry. Everyday, they fed with bad quality rice and bean curry. Sometimes, when the soldiers pass into Karen and Mon villages, they also took chicken and they cooked for meals. But they did not feed us. They also take some vegetables grown by villagers without asking permission from them.

Q: Did they release you in Three Pagoda Pass? And was your health condition better?

A: No. They did not release us. They transferred us with the troops that returned to Ye. The battalion was LIB No. 343 and when the troops returned back to Ye, all porters from IB No. 61 were transferred. The Burmese soldiers took all about 40 porters together with another 150 porters who were arrested around the Three Pagoda Pass area.

My health condition became more terrible than before and I was very weak and I asked the soldiers many times for treatment and they never allowed me. The wounds in my back also became more painful and I thought I would die at that time. When the troops returned back, they also brought us and I have to carry ammunition again. We left from Three Pagodas Pass on July 26. My body became more painful. And I told them I could not carry any more because of my wounds and sickness. They beat me again. On July 26, we have to sleep one night before we arrived to Baleh Donephai. I escaped at night when too heavy rain fell.

Q: After you escaped, where did you go and what happened on you?

A: I was too tired and anyhow, I had to escape. If they knew I escaped, they would kill me for sure. I was in the rain for the whole night and I could not sleep. But, I could not leave in early morning. If I left early morning, I could meet with them and I had to delay my time in the forest. About 10:00 a.m., I left to Baleh Donephai. When I was close to Baleh Donephai, I did not dare to enter in the village and when a villager walked down from the village, I asked the villagers where is the clinic, they brought me to the clinic. I have to treat my wounds and sickness here [in the clinic of Baleh Donepahi where we conducted interviews]. The medics are very kind to me.

Q: When you will return back and do you dare to return back?

A: I will return back to my village soon after my health condition is better.

Interview 83: HRV: Torture, Detention, Killing, Livelihood

Name: Pu Piang Te
Sex: Male
Age: 35
Nationality: Chin
Address: Nga Lang village, Than Tlang township
Interviewed: Ocotober, 1996
Source: CHRO

[This interview also includes comments by a Nga Lang village elder where noted.]

Pu Piang Te: On October 9, 1996, a platoon of Light Infantry Battalion 266 troops based in Haka led by Second Lieutenant Win Than entered our village. When I arrived back from my farm, all the villagers had been gathered together by the Army at the open ground just at the upper side of the village. All the men were ordered to lie down on the ground and the women and children were ordered to sit facing the sunlight. All the men were asked questions about the leaders of CNF and those who didn't know about CNF were beaten. Then the soldiers told them: "Ask for the help of your God and you will see!" One of them named Pa Maung was beaten on his right hip with their guns. He could not even get up and was hospitalized. He is now in serious condition at the hospital.

We went to the commander along with the teachers and members of village LORC to ask him not to treat us like that, but as soon as we arrived I was arrested and handcuffed immediately. Each time they asked questions I replied as much as I knew, but I was beaten with a stick and with their belts. My right hand was bleeding from the beatings with their belts and my whole body was covered in blood. When I was bleeding too much they stopped beating me. Then my head was covered with plastic and I could not even breathe. I was taken like that in front of all the villagers and they said to them: "If you do not answer what we are asking for, we will kill your headman in front of you." I could hear the people crying and soon after that I became unconscious and fell down on the ground because I could not breathe and felt dizzy. When they could not wake me up, they poured water on me and they took the plastic off of my head. When I became conscious again, it was about 5 p.m. Then they took off the handcuffs and let me sit down. The villagers were still sitting on the ground, and after some time we heard firing near the village [this was the soldiers shooting Bawi Kung] and the soldiers started taking cover. Some of the people managed to escape while they were taking position, but most people

were still sitting on the ground. The firing stopped and we were ordered to go back home. Curfew was declared and nobody was allowed to go out. They warned: "If you go out of the house, you will be shot."

After some time they carried the one whom they had shot and rolled into a blanket [Bawi Kung] to my house. One of our teachers and I asked him some questions and he said, "My name is Bawi Kung from Haka and I am a cattle trader. We came back from Mizoram after we sold all the cattle that we took there. When we were approaching the village, we found 6 army men who were on duty at the resting place near the village. When we reached them they fired at us. My friend was arrested because he was in front of me, and I tried to escape. They shot at me many times but they missed me. They told me to stop. So I stopped, and when I was standing in front of them one of them shot me in my abdomen and I fell down. They came to me, searched my bag and took all the money I had, which was 194,480 kyats."

Village elder: They also accused him of being a CNF member. But he replied that he was not and he showed them his identity card and his licence to sell cattle in Mizoram. They told him, "We shot at you because you tried to flee. If you didn't try to run away, we would not shoot." Then the troops reported to their commander in the village [by walkie talkie]. They rolled him into a blanket and brought him to the headman's house, and he talked to the village elders."Pu Piang Te": When the soldiers realized that he was talking in Burmese about the money they had taken [he was speaking in Chin to the elders but mentioned the amount in Burmese], the soldiers ordered us not to speak with him at all and he was left alone lying down in my house. Nobody was allowed to take care of his wounds. Even my family members were not allowed to speak to him. I requested the soldiers to give him food and my request was also turned down.

Village elder: Even Dawt Hlei Thang was not allowed to speak at all and was kept separately.

Pu Piang Te: At 10:10 p.m., I was informed that Bawi Kung had died. They also called Dawt Hlei Thang, the one who was arrested when Bawi Kung was shot, and told him that the money would be given to him when they reached Haka, so they didn't give it back to him.

Village elder: They said to Dawt Hlei Thang: "If you keep this money it will be dangerous for you on the way. So we will keep it for you and we will give it to you later!"

Pu Piang Te: I was ordered to bury the body of Bawi Kung immediately. They wouldn't allow us to carry his body to Haka, which is his native place [according to Chin tradition, a dead person should be buried at his native place -- Bawi Kung was from Haka]. They added: "When you finish burying him, you must put a fence around his grave [if there is a fence around a grave, nobody can touch or go inside the fence]. Nobody is allowed to enter the tomb. If you don't follow my order, your village will be burned down."

That night, they took 15 chickens and 200 eggs and whatever else they liked, including rice, from the villagers. About 20 children, 5 to 10 years of age, were missing because they had run to hide. We requested the commander's permission to search for them because their parents were so worried about their missing children, but they did not allow us to go outside. The parents of the children were crying the whole night long.

Village elder: Early the next morning, the villagers went to bury his body. They secretly checked the body and found not only gunshots but also marks of knife stabbings and they saw pieces of intestine hanging out of his belly. Win Than forced them to bury him immediately. After that the troops left for Khua Bung.

Pu Piang Te: In the morning on October 10 1996, they took 16 porters and 4 horses and left for Khua Bung at 10 a.m. After they left, the children who were hiding came back. Some families had nothing left to eat because their rice had been stolen. My whole body is still in pain because of their beatings. Now I am worried about staying in my village.

Interview 84: HRV: Slavery, Killing, Torture

Name: Van Ceu
Sex: Male
Age: 37
Nationality: Chin
Address: Nga Lang village, Than Tlang township
Interviewed: October, 1996
Source: CHRO

[Van Ceu was taken as a porter when the troops left Nga Lang village.]

Troops of Light Infantry Battalion 266 led by Second Lieutenant Win Than entered Nga Lang village on October 9, 1996 and tortured all the villagers in

our village. They took whatever they liked. A cattle trader was shot dead in our village. They took 16 porters and four horses from our village to carry their rations, weapons and things in order to go on to Khua Bung village, which is 14 miles away from our village. The oldest porter was 62 and the youngest was 16. Most of us were about 30 to 40 years of age. We started at 10 a.m. and reached Khua Bung at 7 p.m. We had to carry rice, eggs, and meat which they had taken from the villagers, and we were ordered to walk in line alternating with the soldiers to protect them from bullets. We carried about 30 kilograms each, and they fed us nothing on the way.

The soldiers told us that portering is compulsory for the villagers twice a month throughout the whole region. "Phun Uk" and I were beaten when we could not walk like the others because our loads were too heavy. They beat others as well, but not as much as us.

Interview 85: HRV: Forced Labor

Name: Ki To
Sex: Male
Age: 48, farmer
Religion: Chin Christian
Address: Hlung Mang village, Matupi township
Source: CHRO

The people from Hlung Mang village were ordered to construct the police station in Lailenpi, which is 35 miles away from Hlung Mang village, from April 5 to 10, 1996. Our duty was to complete a quarter of the police station which is 40 x 20 [feet] within five days. We had to work from the early morning until night. We had to build it until they were satisfied with the building.

They provided nothing. We had to provide our own food and received no wages at all. The order was sent by U Pe Ku, who is in charge of the Lailenpi police station.

[Other villagers reported that the villagers from Lung Cawi village, Matupi township, received a written order (Reference number 212-Ka Pa Ya/2/Police - 2(111)) dated April 24, 1996 to build one quarter of the Lailenpi police station. They were ordered to reach Lailenpi on May 30, 1996. At that time the villagers had to work on their fields and could not go, so every household was fined 200 kyats.]

Interview 86: HRV: Religious Persecution

Name: Salai Lai Bi
Sex: Male
Age: 25
Nationality: Chin, student
Religion: Christian
Source: CHRO

I am a final year student in mathematics at Magwe College [in Magwe town, Magwe Division, southwest of Chin State] and I am involved in the activities of the Chin Literature and Culture Committee of Magwe College and the University Christian Fellowship.

Each year when the Universities open an amount of 100 kyats is asked from every student for the construction of a Buddhist Monastery -- including the Christian students. If a student fails to pay the requested fee, they are not allowed admission to the college.

Up to now, I have given 400 kyats during my life at university as they have required. Our Jesus said, "Do not worship other Gods except me," and we have to follow Jesus' commandments. But we cannot, since we have to study for our livelihoods. In 1994, the monastery was built in the campus with the permission of the SLORC authorities. But when in November 1995 the University Christian Fellowship requested permission to build a Church for worshipping, the authorities turned down our request.

Interview 87: HRV: Child Soldier, Livelihood, Religious Persecution

Name: Myo Aung
Sex: Male
Age: 18
Nationality: Burmese
Religion: Buddhist
Family: Single, 2 younger brothers and sisters
Education: 6th Standard (Grade 6)
Rank: Private, 269 Battalion
Address: xxxx village, Mandalay Division
Interviewed: January 1996

Source: CHRO

In 1992, I was studying in 6th Standard at the State High School in my village and our family was facing extreme financial difficulties. I couldn't continue my education. I wanted to let my younger brother and sister go to school. At that time, the rumour circulating in our area was: "Anyone who joins the Army will be given rations and be paid 600 kyats per month." I thought that I would be able to send the 600 kyats to my family, so that they could send my brother and sister to school. So I decided to enroll in the Army.

On August 23, 1993, I went to the recruiting center in Mandalay [note: he was only 15 years old]. I started my military training on September 12, 1993 and completed it after 4 months. I was posted to LIB 364. Then I was transferred to 269 Battalion at Tiddim [northern Chin State, just east of the border with India's Mizoram State] on October 9, 1994. This was a newly established Battalion for the 'Chin People Operation' under the commander of Northwestern Command, Colonel Maung Thein [Northwestern Command covers all of northwestern Burma]. They selected only unmarried soldiers for this Battalion and encouraged them to marry Chin girls and convert them to Buddhism. If the soldier cannot convert the Chin girl whom he marries to Buddhism or if he becomes a Christian himself, he is punished and put in jail. If he can, he gets rank and privileges.

Our company commander was Captain Win Tan. The company was divided into two platoons. Our platoon commander was Sergeant Thein Aung. Our section commander was Lance Corporal Aung Kyaw Win and I was the section second-in-command. [A SLORC company is about 100 soldiers, a platoon is about 30 and a section is about 10. SLORC battalions usually have 4 or 5 companies.] Our company was posted at Rih camp near the border of Mizoram, India. Our main duty was to patrol the border area, which is part of Tiddim and Falam townships in Chin State. We had to convince the civilians to condemn CNF rebels, and persuade them to support the Burmese Army. But whenever the civilians requested any assistance from the SLORC, they got nothing. Whenever the commanders disliked someone, they ordered us to beat him up and to harass him. Once, when our platoon was in Hai Mual village, one of the volunteer labourers [i.e. forced labourers] was not well. My platoon commander ordered me to beat him up. I hit him four times in his chest with my gun. After that he couldn't even stand up by himself. I felt so sorry about that, but an order was an order.

Instead of teaching us good things, the officers frequently ordered us to steal whatever they wanted. When we entered a village, they ordered us to steal

chickens and wine. During my 3 years of service, we stole more than 500 chickens from the villagers. The commanders are always very happy to eat the chickens. Sometimes we stole the locally made Zupi, which is the most appreciated traditional wine. Once in Thing Lei village the section commander, Aung Kyaw Win, ordered me to steal a jacket worth 1,000 kyats from a person who lived in the house where Aung Kyaw Win was staying.

The salary of a private is 600 kyats per month [it is supposed to be 750]. But every month the officers cut it: 1 kyat for donation [alu ngui], 5 kyats for Buddhist religious funds, 10 kyats for social welfare, 100 kyats for savings in the bank, 40 kyats for a Battalion Certificate. Only those with this Certificate were allowed to meet the Battalion Commander, and it was valid for one month. The remainder of our salary was not sufficient for a uniform. We had to save money for 3 or 4 months to purchase a full uniform. By the time we could afford to buy one part of it, another part was already torn, so we didn't look much different from the volunteer soldiers [the militia units which are forcibly conscripted in the villages].

I escaped because I was not satisfied with my salary or with the relationship with our higher officers and the civilians. I came to realize that the Burmese Army is not supported by the people and is not working for our country. Most of the Privates and some NCO's [Non-Commissioned Officers, i.e. Corporals, Sergeants etc.] from Battalion 269 would like to escape but they have no chance. I discussed running away with Lance Corporal T—, Z— and 6 other soldiers. Three friends and I planned to flee on December 3, 1995 at 11 p.m. with the help of a villager, but our plan fell through because our officers were drinking and gambling up to midnight. On December 4 at 3 a.m., I replaced B— on duty and we took off. At 4 a.m. we reached xxxx village and hid in the forest. The SLORC was chasing us. They reached xxxx village at 8 a.m. and there was fighting with the CNF. As soon as the SLORC left, we went to a farm and asked for food and drink. The villagers helped us to meet with the CNF on December 6, 1995.

Interview 88: HRV: Child Soldier, Livelihood, Killing, Slavery

Name:	Za Kap
Sex:	Male
Age:	20
Nationality	Chin, farmer
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Single, 2 brothers and sisters

Education: 4th Standard (Grade 4)
Rank: Private, 550 LIB
Address: xxxx village, Paletwah township, Chin State
Interviewed: 1/96
Source: CHRO

I joined the Army in September 1993 [at age 17]. After 15 days in the recruitment centre of Sittwe [capital of Arakan (Rakhine) State], I was moved to the No. 9 Training Centre of Arakan State. After completing the training, in January 1994 I was posted with LIB 550. The Battalion Commander is Maung Myint Aung, the commander of Company 2 is Captain Tin Aye, the platoon commander is Lieutenant Eigh Khain, the section commander is Saw Hla Maung and the section second-in-command is Aung Naing.

The main duty of my battalion was to provide security for Than Tlang camp by patrolling the areas of Swe Let Wah and Salain Wah. The area is very rural and the people there have never seen a car or a motorcycle. There is no middle school, only one private primary school. They are poor and isolated from the Burmese. When I got there, no chickens were available because the previous soldiers had already stolen them all. The porters were very weak. Their heavy loads made them fall down again and again. They were scolded, punched and beaten continuously. We never carried our own rations. Wherever we went we demanded food, money or animals from the villagers. Often the villagers were suspected of having contact with the rebels. The saddest thing I heard in my life was when a Captain from Infantry Battalion 376 killed more than 10 villagers because they were members of CNF. Then he took people as porters to the SLORC camp, and he was given a promotion. I do not remember his name.

Interview 89: HRV: Relocation, Forced Labor, Slavery

Name: Naw Lah Lah Htoo
Sex: Female
Age: 30
Nationality: Karen, hillside-cultivator
Religion: Animist
Family: Married, 5 children aged 8 months to 11 years
Address: Nan Ka Prao village
Interviewed: February 18, 1997
Source: KHRG

Q: How many houses are there in Nan Ka Prao village?
A: There are about 40 or 50 houses in Nan Ka Prao village.

Q: I heard that the Burmese ordered the village to move.
A: Yes. We got here over 2 months ago because the Burmese [SLORC] expelled us. They came up to Nan Ka Prao village, ordered the villagers to move and made problems. They burned all the houses. Some of the villagers came up here and some of them went down to the Burmese area. We just came here quietly, so the Burmese didn't know it. The people who went down where they ordered are staying in Kyaw Mote. As for me, I would not move there. I fled when all the other villagers were running into the jungle. We were in the bush for about 3 weeks. Then I went and stayed at Boke Pyin for about a week, then I went back to my village again and it had already been burned by the Burmese. Then I couldn't do anything, so I came to stay here in Kaw Thay Lu. I couldn't bring along any sleeping-mats, I just brought along some rice and one blanket. Then we couldn't stay in Kaw Thay Lu because the [Karen] leaders were worried that there would be troubles for us when the Burmese came. That's why we came here [1 km. into Thai territory]. I came here with all my children. My husband is still staying on the mountaintop [the Thai authorities would not let him cross the border, even though he is just a villager and has never been a soldier].

Q: How many Karen villages are in Nan Ka Prao area?
A: There are many Karen villages, like Nan Ka Prao, Waw Pa Doh, Ler Pa Doh, Kyet Der, ... Waw Pa Doh has 12 houses, Ler Pa Doh has 30 houses. All these villages had to move. Now there are still some villagers living there, but they've run and are staying in the forest [around their villages]. They were ordered to move to Le Nya and Ma Kaw, which are among the Burmese and the Mon. The Burmese said they will kill all the villagers who are living in the jungle, they said that these are bad people. They say all the people who stay in the jungle or come to Thailand are bad people, that we all help Kaw Thoo Lei [KNU/KNLA], and that only the people who go to their [relocation] place are good.

Q: Are there Thai and Burman villages there too?
A: There are also Thai and Burmese villages there. The Burmese make difficulties for them too. All the villagers [Karen and others] who stay around Le Nya or go down to the places among the Burmese have to build the road and carry heavy things [as porters]. They're building a road to Boke Pyin, and one to Le Nya Kee and Nan Ka Prao. The Burmese said they'll build a camp in Nan Ka Prao.

Q: Are Burman and Thai villagers also fleeing?
A: Yes. Only a few of the Thai villagers are still staying there now. Some of them are moving to Thailand.

Q: Why hasn't your husband come here?
A: He hasn't come because the Thais won't allow the men to come, so all the men have to stay in Kaw Thay Lu. The Thais only allowed 4 men to come and stay here among us. I don't know why the Thais said that. My husband is not a soldier, he is just a villager. I don't know how long I'll have to stay here, but I've been here a week now.

Q: If the Burmese attack Kaw Thay Lu do you dare stay here?
A: No, I wouldn't dare stay here.

Q: What is your situation here?
A: We just got rice and salt while we were fleeing [from the KNU]. Yesterday we were given some sardines and noodles too. My children are healthy but I am not well, I feel bad and have pain in my back.

Interview 90: HRV: Relocation, Livelihood

Name:	Naw Lah Ghay
Sex:	Female
Age:	28
Nationality:	Karen, hillside-cultivator
Religion:	Christian
Family:	Married, 1 child aged 19 months
Address:	Meh Naw Roh village
Interviewed:	February 18, 1997

I married a [Karen] soldier, and I stayed in Meh Naw Roh. Meh Naw Roh is a Karen village. It is a big village with about 100 houses. I stayed in the village, but my husband was living among the soldiers. Then we couldn't stay in the village because the Burmese ordered us out, so I came to my husband [in Kaw Thay Lu]. Meh Naw Ro is about a week from here on foot, one day's walk from Nan Ka Prao. Now there are no more villagers in the village because the Burmese wouldn't let them stay. The Burmese said they would kill any villagers they saw. It was about a month ago. Some of the villagers went down to the place we were ordered to move at Le Nya, some fled upstream into the jungle, and some came to the Karen revolution area.

The Burmese came to the village, but there were also Karen soldiers staying at the village. There was fighting. All the villagers ran away, and the soldiers stayed in the village. Then after that the Burmese burned 7 of the biggest houses in the village.

My husband is a soldier so I was afraid [that SLORC would arrest him], and I fled the village and came up here. I came along with our child. We only brought a few things.

Interview 91: HRV: Relocation, Refugee, Livelihood

Name:	Tee Reh
Sex:	Male
Age:	34 years
Nationality:	Kayah
Religion:	Roman Catholic
Family:	Married with 2 children
Interview Date:	September 26, 1996
Interview Place:	Camp 2, Karenni
Source:	KNPP

On May 12, 1996 a SLORC's letter arrived to our village, Daw Klaw Du from Shadaw. The letter said that we should move to Shadaw within in one week. If we would not do so, they would come and kill us. We were very upset because we did not want to move to Shadaw. Our village is located 20 miles from Shadaw. So we could not carry very much. When we left village, we could carry only a few things of some rice, two pots, two chickens and some money. When we left the village, an old woman left in village because she could not walk and we were also unable to help her.

When we got to Shadaw there was nowhere to stay for us. So we had to stay in local people's house, some were under the temples and some were under the trees. My family and others -- 4 families altogether had to stay under the same local people's house for 2 weeks.

After I finished a small hut in location site our family moved there. We did not get enough food. We get a tin of rice for one person a day. So we had have rice soup as our daily food. They only gave us rice for three week. After that they could not give any more. So we had to go back our village and fetch our rice. When we want to go back our village, we had to ask for permission letter. If we did not take this permission letter when we returned we were punished. I went

back my village two times.

When I reached my village second time. I got very bad smell from in a house. I wanted to know what it was. When I got into this house and I saw a woman dead body. It had seemed dead about one week ago and she was killed by a SLORC's soldier's knife.
Our family had to take breakfast, but not lunch and dinner every day. Because I concerned about our limited rice. There was no toilet in the camp, so we use anywhere as a toilet. As you know this condition was easy to cause many diseases. If we need medicine we had to buy it ourselves. About 200 people died. Some of them were from our village.

SLORC made us cut bamboo and wood. Each household had to give them 50 bamboo poles and 15 wooden posst. We had to made fence around the relocation site. Because they worried that the people would escape from the camp.

One day in the early in the morning, our family fled from the camp. We had to hide in the jungle adjacent to our village for one month. After that we were not in a secure situation, so we decided to come here to this camp.

Interview 92: HRV: Refugee, Border Incursion

Name: Naw Tha Muh
Sex: Female
Age: 19
Nationality: Karen
Religion: No
Family: Single
Address: Huay Kaloke refugee camp, Thailand
Interviewed: February 1, 1997
Source: KHRG

[Naw Tha Muh was in Huay Kaloke refugee camp when it was attacked by a combined SLORC/DKBA force on January 28, 1997. Note that as a shopkeeper in the market, she is much better off than most refugees.]

On January 28, 1997, the DKBA came into the camp. I don't know the exact time because I had no watch. It must have been past 10 p.m. After I had watched television, I went to bed. My house was in the market [her house is also a shop selling mainly clothing]. I was sleeping when my mother woke me up, and the first thing I heard was jungle boots running ti...ti...ti... and chasing

the people who were running here and there. They came across the football field. I didn't know what was happening. Just then, DKBA soldiers kicked the door strongly with their boots and said: "Open the door!" I didn't open it and went to the back of the house, but the DKBA soldiers were also at the back of the house. When I came face to face with them, they asked me:

"Where are you going?" I didn't answer and went back to the front of the house. My mother was so worried for me. She said "Don't run anywhere!" Then the DKBA soldiers turned their guns on us and said: "All of you! Go back to the front of the house." At that time there were some guests staying with us. We were 7 in the house, all females, and we didn't say anything, so the DKBA didn't do anything to us.

Seven soldiers came to my house. My mother had hidden one bag that they didn't find, and they didn't find the money we had hidden either. They only saw the box with a little money in it. They took all the money from the small box. They also opened my handbag and took the money there as well. Altogether, they took some coins, 2,000 baht, and mostly clothes, also shoes, small knives, and a flask. They put the clothes from the shop into bags. The plastic bags were from my shop too and they carried them out themselves [they didn't use porters].
My mother told a DKBA soldier who looked about 20 years old: "Child, take everything you want but please do not burn our house down!" But the soldier pointed his gun at her and said: "Do you want to die, old woman?" A girl who was in my house begged the soldier: "Please don't do anything to Grandmother! She is old!" They also took the tehku [sarong] and clothes off an old man in my house and searched for something they expected to find on him, like gold or money, but they didn't find anything. They took everything they wanted and then they moved to another house, my friend's house.

The DKBA came into the camp, group by group, house to house, simultaneously. I heard that the same was going on at the other houses too. 40 baht was taken from my auntie's house. Her husband was kicked with boots too. They ordered everyone to get out of their houses without taking anything out and then they started burning the houses.

The DKBA went to the biggest shop and pointed their gun barrels at Uncle [an older man]. They questioned him about the key and the money. They took a lot of money from him, about 500,000 kyats, plus the golden rings, chains, and bracelets which belonged to others that they had given as guarantees for borrowing money from Uncle. They also used his telephone.

They took everything they wanted such as clocks, watches, cassettes, radios, clothes, and they even searched for things in the brassieres of the girls and the women. They expected to find things such as gold and money. They took off earrings, bracelets and chains from two girls. One was Karen and the other Chinese. Then the soldiers questioned a 50-year-old man who is insane, and hit his head with a rifle butt. He got a wound and the blood streamed down his head. The question was only: "Are you a soldier?" And the mad man only answered: "What?" Only for this!

I also heard that Nya Nya Say's father got kicked on his chest with their boots when DKBA demanded gold and money from him. Nya Nya Say is a student. I saw that they took two motorcycles from others but people said that 7 motorcycles were taken altogether. They left some motorcycles in the paddy fields because there is no road through the fields and they were unable to push them further. For some others, they didn't have the key to start the engine, so they just broke apart the dashboards and lights and destroyed the motorcycles on their way back to their camp. They also took the telephone.

After the soldiers went out, they started to set the houses on fire. I said to my mother: "Mother, the DKBA are burning the houses!" She thought they wouldn't burn them but then she saw the other shops burning.
I went down to my motorcycle to move it away from the fire and because I was afraid that DKBA would take it. They took the motorcycle from an Indian house, but I had kept the keys for ours inside and they hadn't seen it because it was kept at the back of the house. My mother helped me to pull it. Then they saw me pushing the motorcycle. Two DKBA soldiers came towards me to ask or do something to me. They said: "Where are you going?" I thought they would take the motorcycle, but another DKBA soldier helped me and called them. They turned back. They didn't have a chance to do anything to me. I don't know why. Maybe because we have been selling goods for a long time and they knew us. They didn't do anything to my mother either. When some soldiers pointed their guns at her, the others disagreed. Then they left her. I noticed they didn't speak rudely to her. They only asked: "Do you have money?" and didn't harm her. As for other people, they beat them when they demanded money.

I rode down to the Thai checkpoint. But I didn't see any Thai soldiers at the checkpoint. No one was there. Then I went to the other Thai gate and tried to wake them up. Only one policeman awoke. I told him that the DKBA were burning the houses and looting things from the refugees. But he didn't seem to understand, and he asked me: "What is the DKBA?" "The DKBA means the Buddhist soldiers," I said. Then he understood but he didn't do anything or

say anything. So I got angry and immediately rode to another police gate at Mae Pa [a larger Thai village very near the camp]. The police told me: "We already know and we have contacted the other posts." On my way to Mae Sot, we saw one or two cars with people in them between Mae Pa and Huay Kaloke. Maybe they were coming around to look at the fire. I didn't see any soldiers, just ordinary cars. I went to call my teacher in Mae Sot. When we arrived back at the camp, we saw that the people were all here and there in disorder and that the houses were burning with really huge flames.

My mother had taken as many things as she could and put them down into the well when the DKBA started burning the houses. My house was also burned down by DKBA. My mother told me that they came inside the houses, searched for things to light the fire with, then set the fires from inside the houses. I didn't see that because I ran to the Thai checkpoint.

Altogether I saw about 20 DKBA soldiers but other people said that there were over 100. They wore a full suit uniform of camouflage color. They had soldiers' boots and long guns like the G3 and G4 which the SLORC uses. Others had black uniforms which the Burmese wear. They were shooting up and down, in the air, not at the people. Nobody died. Some of them spoke Karen but most spoke Burmese.

At the time when the camp was already on fire, a 20 year old man came to help us carry things out of our house and helped to save a patient in another house. Before he reached the house, he met a SLORC soldier who asked him: "Where are you going?" The man answered in Karen: "I am going to help a patient there," and the SLORC soldier replied: "I am not Karen. Don't talk to me in Karen. Just take off your watch from your wrist and give it to me now!" So the man gave it to him. I am sure he was a Burmese soldier. People said that the Karen DKBA soldiers had put soot on their faces but that the Burmese didn't. I couldn't recognize them because their faces were all the same. They all looked black in the dark night.

At last the DKBA returned to their own camp, because they saw the fire engines coming to the camp to extinguish the flames and they thought that these trucks were from the Thai army.

When I came back to Huay Kaloke camp, I just saw the houses in flames, the people all disorganized and the Thai fire engines not doing anything to the burning houses. They just stayed still at a distance, and the Thai policemen were also staying still at a distance just looking around. Actually I am not sure, police or soldiers. They didn't have any guns. They wore brown uniforms like

the Thai police. Maybe they were firemen. I also saw some people from Mae Pa standing on the road. The firemen extinguished the fire when everything was already burnt down. The houses were burning continuously for about 3 hours.

I don't feel angry with DKBA. I don't want to kill them. We can understand each other because we are Karen. I just hate the Burmese, SLORC. Only a few DKBA came and they did nothing to me. The Burmese soldiers tried to shoot my mother but the DKBA soldiers stopped them from killing her. They also stopped them from catching me when I was trying to push my motorcycle. The DKBA soldiers helped my escape by calling away the Burmese soldier . [Note: At this stage of the events she was not actually sure which soldiers were which.]

My mother has practically nothing left, just a few things. She has no gold. They already knew that we didn't have any gold. We only had some money. I remember that we invested about 50,000 baht in this shop. Later on we increased it up to 70,000 baht, maybe more, but less than 100,000 baht. That included the shop and the clothing. All burned down.

I don't miss anything in particular, because many times my house has been burned down. This is the fourth time that my house has been burned down during my lifetime. I only want a better life. There is only one thing that I regret most: my family album of photographs.

Even when my mother was expecting me, our house was burned down in Old Wankha. But in my lifetime, the first time was when I was 5 or 6 years old and we were living in the new Wankha camp. At that time, my father was a trader. We also had a shop then and everything burned down. I can remember my house being destroyed. It was set on fire during the fighting between the KNU and the Burmese. The second time was when we were living at Wankha on the Thai side and I was about 12 years old. We had a shop there too and it was burned down by the Burmese soldiers, not even because of fighting. But that time we didn't lose the clothing because we took it all out ahead of time. The third time was at the new market in Huay Kaloke last year. It was an accident: an Indian family's carelessness with their stove in their kitchen [most of Huay Kaloke market burned down in March 1996 because of this accident].

Now we are staying in Mae Sot for a short time. We are renting a house. My mother will start a new shop when the situation is better in Huay Kaloke.

Interview 93: HRV: Refugee, Border Incursion, DKBA

Name: Naw G'Mwee Paw
Sex: Female
Age: 49
Nationality: Karen, medic
Religion: Christian
Family: Married, 6 children but 3 already died
Address: Huay Bone (Don Pa Kiang) refugee camp, Thailand
Interviewed: February 6, 1997
Source: KHRG

[Naw G'Mwee Paw, a medic at Huay Bone camp clinic, was there when it was attacked and burned on January 28, 1997.]

On January 28, 1997, they burned our camp. At the time I was sleeping in a house, very close to my own house. I was not in my own house.

It was 9:45 p.m. Karen time [10:15 Thai time]. At first, we heard one gunshot, just one gunshot, and the people who were staying together with me in that house all ran away. But I came back to my own house to get my daughter, because my husband was staying there with my son and my daughter and he couldn't carry them both [her son is disabled and her daughter is 21/2 years old]. Within a few seconds, we heard a very strong voice near our house which said "Catch them! Shoot them! Don't let them get out of the camp!" We saw a lot of men with guns running out of the bushes to Section 2, toward our house and directly toward the clinic. They entered the clinic looking for whatever they need. At first they didn't come for me. But when they didn't find the things they needed, they came to my house, surrounded my house and then ordered the others to guard my house while some of them came into the house and pointed their guns at me.

Ten of them came into my house. They all had guns. They didn't shoot at me but they touched me with their guns and said, "Don't run or we will shoot you!" They pointed their guns at me and asked me for the key of the clinic. I gave it to them. One of their leaders ordered them: "Look through this house and open all the things in it. After that he said, "Don't do anything. Don't touch this Auntie! Don't hurt her!" So the soldiers who were standing beside me stepped away from me. I took the key and my little daughter. I carried her with me to the hospital, and the soldiers were following me, and I looked for the microscope in the clinic [the DKBA are usually on orders to get micro-

scopes when they raid refugee camps]. When I opened the cupboard, I didn't find the microscope. But these men who came to get the microscope, they didn't even know what a microscope is. He looked everywhere but couldn't find it. I gave him medicine to take back [to Burma] and use. At first they put the medicine in their bags, but afterwards he told me: "Auntie, I don't need these. In our place, we have a lot of medicine." He gave it back and I closed the cupboard and came back to my house. When they came out of the clinic, they talked to one of the leaders on the walkie-talkie -- they said, "We haven't found the microscope. What do we do now?" One of the leaders told them on the walkie-talkie, "How is it that you can't find it? Today they were using it to do malaria tests." They were speaking very loudly so I could hear very clearly. They were speaking in Karen language over the walkie-talkie, not Burmese. The leader said to them over the walkie-talkie, "Threaten that woman and you will find it." The second time, they climbed into the clinic by themselves and didn't call me. They found it in the breastfeeding room. They took the microscope. We were staying under our house and we could listen to their voices. They were speaking very loudly. When they brought the microscope out of the clinic, the man with the walkie-talkie ordered: "Burn it down. Burn it down!"

I was under my house, I looked at the clinic and I saw the fire start to burn. Then my house and the camp office [next door] started to burn. They were about 30 soldiers there, and at other places maybe a lot more, but I just saw the ones who were near my house and the clinic. They were dressed in uniforms and all of them had guns, but I don't know which kind. One of the guns was very short and a lot of them had long ones. I could not see very well at nighttime. We could not shine our torchlights, and they were shining their torchlights on us. Only some of them were DKBA. SLORC soldiers were also amongst them. As far as I know, the soldiers who came and talked to me were DKBA, but outside the clinic many of the soldiers were standing silently and they didn't speak. One woman told me that when they were outside the camp she heard them speaking Burmese to each other, but inside the camp they didn't speak at all.

Q: What about their faces?

A: I saw the face of the one who asked me for the keys but I didn't know him. But their eyes were very strange. Their eyes were red and they looked at us sternly, like they were crazy. I am sure they had taken some medicine. When they addressed me at first they were very aggressive, but afterward they became softer.

First, they surrounded the camp, then after the gunshot, some of them ran to

the clinic and my house but another group went to the market. They shot one Thai [a merchant who sold things in the camp]. I didn't see that. Early the next morning I came back to the market and I saw a lot of blood on the ground, and the people told me, "Oh! Min Yen's husband was shot last night!" When he heard that the DKBA were close to us, he jumped into his car and tried to drive out of the camp. Then he saw one DKBA soldier in front of him who ordered him to stop the car, but he tried to drive through and they shot him dead. He was hit in his leg and his bladder, inside the car. I don't know his name. He was Thai. His wife is also Thai. They do business here. They have a shop in the market. He was staying alone in the camp that night [without his wife].

At the time they ordered us not to run away: "If you run away, we will shoot you!" So my husband told them, "You are burning our house and yet you don't let us run away." But we tried to escape and we ran to the field outside of the camp. We didn't run too far and we could see the whole camp burning. They stayed around for about 4 hours. When the fire was nearly finished, we could hear them shouting: "All burned. Now we must go back." We could see them with their guns, we could even count them! We stayed very quietly just outside the camp. We couldn't go far because we had no shoes. So we tried to hide in the bushes, and we spent the whole night there in the fields outside of the camp. We couldn't save any of our belongings. We only had the clothes we were wearing. That night, I didn't wear a sweater, only a shirt and my sarong, so it was so cold. I had left my jacket in my house. I had 764 baht in it to give to someone in the camp. That day I couldn't find the person, so I had kept the money in my jacket to give to them the next day. I was keeping the money very carefully, but at that time I didn't remember about my jacket and it was burned. I lost an electric keyboard [a portable battery-operated piano keyboard, which are used by many Karen churches] and my cupboard with all our clothes inside. Also my medical dictionary, I lost it all.

At that time, we didn't know that they were also burning down Huay Kaloke camp. We could see the light of the fire in the sky but we didn't know where it was from [Huay Kaloke is just 10 km. further south]. It was nearly at the same time that they set our camp on fire.

They was no Thai security in our camp and nobody was staying at the check-point. Usually they stayed in the day time, sometimes at night too. But if they hear that the news is not so good [i.e. that there may be an attack], they go away. It happened at night time, so they was no security for us. But the next morning, a lot of Thai soldiers came, checked the situation and asked many questions.

Afterwards we came back to the camp, but we had no more house and nothing to cook. A lot of people were without any pots, without anything. So the monk who was staying here announced to the people: "If you have nothing, you can come to the monastery. Especially for the babies, we will give rice for you." The adults had to wait. A lot of people came and ate there. Some rice was left in the monastery. Some families who had rice came and gave it to the monks, and the monks gave food to the villagers.

I didn't hear of them looting anything in the market. Personally, I believe that their leaders only ordered them to do two things, to get the microscope and to burn down the camp. At the time I felt angry but also very sad. The people here felt so sad. A lot of them were crying because they had nothing left, not even clothes. Since then and even until now we have been sleeping outside of the camp. Only a few families have some blankets. The small children under 5 years old especially have been catching colds. We've also had a few cases of malaria and diarrhea.

For the future, we can do nothing. I don't know. We are waiting to know what we should do, where we should go. A lot of people are waiting to hear what the leaders will say and they will follow. If they have to go back to Burma side, they refuse to go. But if we build our houses here again, they will surely come and burn them again.

[The following is from a previous interview with "Naw G'Mwee Paw" conducted on 10 September 1996, after an attack on the camp in August 1996.]

I was in the camp when DKBA attacked us. It was on 23/8/1996. As I was afraid, I was not in my house but in another one in the camp [there were already rumours in the camp of a possible attack because DKBA soldiers had been seen gathering just across the border]. They didn't send any messages beforehand.

First they entered Ka Na Su [an outlying section of the refugee camp]. The camp leader told me that it happened at about midnight. I didn't hear the shooting because it is about 3 kilometres away. They killed Major Tun Kyi there. The villagers said that about 10 of them [DKBA] crossed the river and came directly to Major Tun Kyi's house. His house is a bit distant from the other houses. They surrounded his house. His wife ran out of the house. Major Tun Kyi also tried to run out of the house but he only got down the steps when somebody shouted to him and shot him. They didn't ask anything. Major Tun Kyi asked, "Who is coming?" He got no answer and he was shot. He was hit by many bullets in his chest. He was in the KNU before. He was 70 years old

and had retired. He had 4 children. That night, only Major Tun Kyi and his wife were staying in the house. Their children were not staying together with them because they attend school, one of his daughters is a school teacher in this camp [the main section - there is no school in Ka Na Su] and the eldest one is married. His wife thinks that if she hadn't manage to run out of the house, she would have been shot too. We think that maybe the SLORC told DKBA to go and find someone like a leader, a KNU leader or a camp leader, arrest him and kill him. We all know that they are controlled by the SLORC.

After they killed him they entered his house and took all the clothes and all his money too, 70,000 Baht. Nothing was left in his house. I think that they came to catch him, but after they caught him they also wanted to get his money. In Ka Na Su they also went to Pu Kyi's house. They stayed there for a few minutes and pointed their guns at his family. They didn't ask or steal anything. They only frightened them.

The same group came here. They entered the camp [main section] at nearly 2 a.m. They didn't take the path - they crossed the cornfield and came to the well in Section 7. One of the men saw them with their guns but he thought it was our own camp security. Only later he realized they were DKBA. They all had guns. My son also saw them, but it was nighttime and he doesn't know whether they were wearing uniforms or not. My son was not staying in our house. He was near the top of the road and he saw them passing by. Maybe they came in separate groups, because dogs were barking at various places - but then they must have joined together in the camp.

That night I was sleeping and I didn't notice anything. Only in the morning, my husband told me. When I went back to our house in the morning, my husband was complaining: "Last night I didn't sleep. I want to sleep now." So, I asked him, "What happened to you? Why didn't you sleep?" And he told me "DKBA came around our house, but they didn't ask or take anything in our house." He saw them. He knew it was DKBA because they had guns. In our camp nobody carries a gun, and we can recognize the Thai soldiers by their uniforms. Those that my husband saw didn't wear uniforms. He saw one man standing at the steps of the camp secretary's house [next door], two here and one or two there. The dogs were barking at them. They lighted their torches, and the dogs were barking a lot. We have 5 dogs, so if someone comes, there is so much noise. Afterwards they went to the hospital. Only one of the nurses and one patient were staying in the IPD [in-patient's department]. They went in and shone their torches but didn't ask anything and didn't take anything.

They went and surrounded Aung Gyi's house [Aung Gyi had recently married

an American teacher who had just left the camp the previous day]. They were standing there with an RPG [rocket-propelled grenade launcher], the neighbors saw them. Three men entered his house and looked inside the bedrooms, but they didn't find anyone. Only the headmistress was staying in the house. They said, "Where is the foreigner? We want to see the foreign woman and Padoh Captain [Aung Gyi's father, who is with the KNU]". But she didn't answer and pretended she was asleep. She felt so afraid. Three times the same night they surrounded his house, but only the last time they came and searched inside. But they didn't find them so they left. The only house they entered in this camp was Aung Gyi's house. They knew very well. They want a foreigner because they think that foreigners have a lot of money. And Saw Captain belongs to the Timber Department of the KNU and they want leaders like him.

They went to some shops and ordered, "Open the door. If you don't open it, we will do it ourselves." They took some bread and tins of sardines, and other things that they can eat. One shop was left nearly empty. They carried everything away themselves. They also arrested two people and asked them for money, 1,200 Baht. They couldn't give it, but the DKBA didn't do anything and left them. No one was taken away. They stayed in the camp for about 2 hours, then they left at 4 a.m.

We think they came here for some people, leaders that they wanted, but they didn't do anything because they didn't find them. Even the section leaders were in hiding [the refugee camp section leaders]. They didn't ask the refugees anything.

Everyone was afraid but they couldn't do anything. Most people here didn't even know what happened. Sections 1, 3, 4 and 5 knew but the other side of the camp didn't notice anything. They didn't shoot here. Only the next morning the other people heard the news and got frightened too.

On the 24th nothing happened, but on the night of the 25th they fired heavy weapons nearby again, across from the fields, on the Karen side [just across the border]. One or two fell on the Thai side near the river but didn't explode. I heard 5 shells. People woke up and ran away from the camp, some along the road and some to the corn fields. They didn't come back to the camp that night and stayed outside the camp under the trees. It was raining. Some people had a plastic sheet but some didn't. Some went to stay in the Thai [farmers'] field huts. My husband also went to stay in a Thai hut. That night I stayed here but the next day I went to stay in Mae Sot with my children.

Now we are afraid. When they came we knew some of them [DKBA soldiers] and nothing happened. Maybe that was good for us. But yesterday we heard that some villagers outside the camp saw them again, and this time they didn't recognize any of them - so maybe the SLORC changed them because when they came they didn't do anything in the main camp. SLORC wants them to kill someone or burn the camp. Before they sometimes used to visit some villagers who know them, but without guns. This is the first time that they came with guns. Each of them had a gun. The villagers are so afraid. The camp leader will have a meeting with KRC [the Karen Refugee Committee] and the NGO's [the foreign Non-Governmental Organisations who supply the refugee camps] to see if we should move. It will not be easy to move so many families.

[After the attack on the camp on August 24 and the shelling of the area on August 26 the refugees were living in extreme fear and no one was sleeping in the camp at night. They had moved their valuables out into the farm fields and went out there to sleep every night. By September 10 most of them had returned to stay in the camp.]

Interview 94: HRV: Refugee, Border Incursion

Eyewitness story of attack on Beh Klaw (Mae La) Camp
Source: KHRG

Beh Klaw refugee camp has a population of 25,596 (as of Feb. 1997) and is located 62 km. north of the Thai town of Mae Sot, sprawling over several kilometres of undulating land surrounded by forested hills, with the north-south Mae Sariang-Mae Sot highway passing along its eastern side. Many of the refugees here came after other camps such as Baw Noh were attacked and destroyed in 1995. At about 6:30 a.m. on January 29, a force of at least 30-40 soldiers attacked the camp from the northwestern corner near the camp's Bible School. They were backed up by a larger force which remained outside the camp, between the camp and the border. The force came on foot from the other side of the border a few kilometres away and was supported by SLORC shelling from the Burma side of the border. At least 35 shells were fired into the camp, and the attackers themselves used assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenades and M79 grenade launchers. A rocket-propelled grenade killed one elderly woman trying to flee the attack.

As the attackers moved into the camp, firing into houses and then setting them on fire, they encountered camp security forces who fought back and were later joined by Thai troops. The attackers, most of whom were reportedly DKBA, were pinned down and then driven back, eventually being forced to retreat to the border leaving behind 2 or 3 dead and taking along with them an unknown number of wounded. They managed to burn down 15 houses in the course of the attack. Over the next several days, some of them remained in Thailand between the camp and the border until the security forces gradually harassed them back into Burma.

The refugees fled the camp, and for a long time no one dared sleep in the camp at night and many people lived in hiding in the surrounding hills and forests. The people of Beh Klaw considered themselves fortunate to have escaped the total destruction which Huay Kaloke and Huay Bone suffered, and after they got news of the destruction of these other camps they even took up collections of clothing and other supplies among themselves and sent them down to their fellow refugees who had lost everything. However, no one in Beh Klaw feels secure and most people feel it is essential to be moved to a safer location.

Interview 95: HRV: Refugee, Border incursion, DKBA, Killing

Name:	Naw Lah Paw
Sex:	Female
Age:	30
Nationality:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Family:	Married, 2 children aged 2 and 5
Address:	Sho Kloh refugee camp, Thailand
Interviewed:	March 5, 1997
Source:	KHRG

[“Naw Lah Paw” is the wife of the leader of Section 3 of Sho Kloh camp, who was hit in the shelling and died.]

I have been living in Sho Kloh for about 11 years. On January 4, 1997, I was selling lottery tickets in the market. Then when I heard an explosion I was staying in my house. I started running towards the bunker [after Sho Kloh was shelled in June 1996, most families dug a small bunker near their house] and I looked for my children. It was about 4 p.m. Burmese time [4:30 Thai time]. I

heard 3 or 4 shells and the last one landed right here [about 5 meters in front of her house]. I stayed in the bunker while the shells landed. I thought "What is happening?" because there was a lot of dust in the air, and I looked at my husband. I saw him falling down there [pointing at the footpath outside her house]. When the mortar landed, he was in front of the house shouting at the children to stay still and hide in the bunker. I called to him loudly that the children and I were already in the bunker. Just as I spoke the mortar landed there, as he was coming towards us. It was too late for him to get into the bunker. His name was Saw Pay. He was 33 years old, Sgaw Karen and Buddhist like me. He was the section 3 leader.

I saw him lying down just like that. I thought that he was dead because he was so quiet and stayed still. I didn't see his injuries, but people saw him wounded and took him to the hospital about 30 minutes after the shelling. The other people didn't want me to go, so I went back to the bunker again. My parents heard that he was wounded, so my father came up to me about 15 or 20 minutes later and I came out of the bunker again. But the others forced me back into the bunker because they were worried for me. At that time I also had my youngest child in my arms because I couldn't leave him lying in the bunker alone and there was no one to look after him. When it was already dark, I followed my mother walking and running to the hospital because I wanted to see my husband. People didn't let me see him because they were worried that I would be upset. When I saw him, his wounds were covered. He was injured by 4 pieces of shrapnel - in his neck, in his side, in his stomach and in his right leg. The people sent him to Mae Sot by car along with his brother. I couldn't go to Mae Sot with the child and went to stay in my mother's house in Section 2. The next day, I tried to go down to Mae Sot but I could only get to Beh Klaw [half way]. I went to see him about a week later. At that time he looked better. He had an oxygen pipe going into his throat and he couldn't speak. Two weeks later, he had become thin and couldn't eat well but he could speak a little. On the 12th of February he died. My brother-in-law told me. They burned his body in the hospital. I didn't even know when he was buried.

One uncle [older man] also got injured while he was staying in the bunker. I was in his bunker and he was trying to get into my bunker. I was too afraid to stay in my bunker, so I had gone to his. He got injured on his thigh and it broke his bone. His house is just here and his children are staying with his son. His wife is already dead. The people carried him in a hammock to the [camp] hospital. I saw him there with bamboo slats on both sides of his leg, tied up with a bandage from the hip to the ankle. They sent him to Mae Sot together with my husband. He is still in Mae Sot hospital now.

Altogether the shelling lasted for about 5 or 10 minutes. I think it is DKBA who fired the shells. They were coming from Baw Pa Hta area. I think they have bad feelings toward us, but we have done nothing to make them feel this way. I don't know why. The Thai soldiers in Sho Kloh did nothing. I didn't hear them firing back. They just stayed like that. About 5 or 10 minutes later, Thai soldiers from Mae Plu fired 3 or 4 shells back.

I dare not think about the future. I feel scared and sad. We have to stay alert. I don't want to go back to Burma. Only if there is peace would I like to go back. If the situation goes on like this, I don't want to go back. If everybody moves to Beh Klaw I will go too, because it is not safe to stay separate from the other people. I will follow the others, though I believe that Beh Klaw is not safer than Sho Kloh. For now, I am staying in Section 2 with my parents.

Interview 96: HRV: Refugee, Border Incursion, DKBA

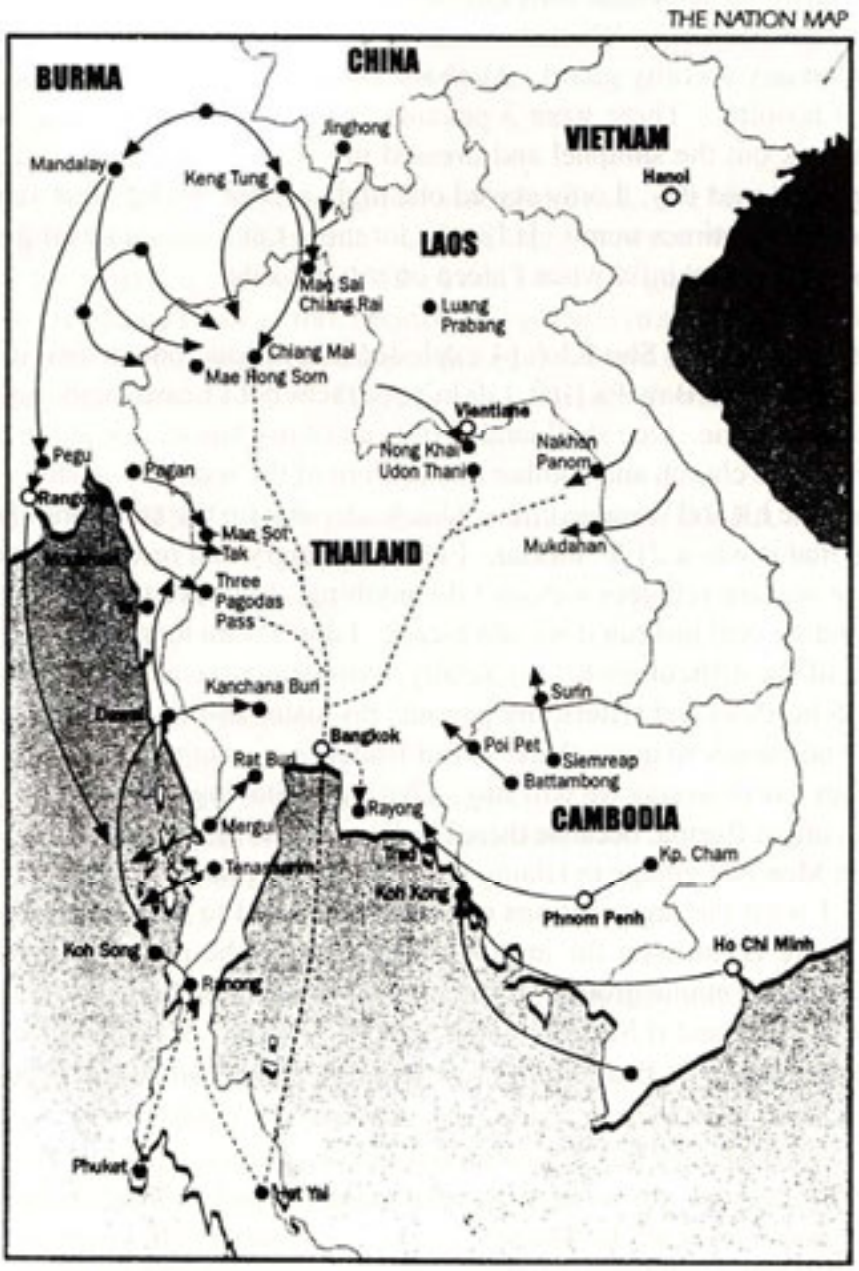
Name: Saw Win Hlaing
Sex: Male
Age: 25
Nationality: Karen, shopkeeper
Religion: Muslim
Family: Single, 6 brothers and sisters
Address: Sho Kloh refugee camp, Thailand
Interviewed: March 6, 1997
Source: KHRG

["Saw Win Hlaing" was one of the 3 people wounded by the shelling.]

I have been living in Sho Kloh for the last 10 years. I live in the market of Section 4. It was about 5 p.m. when the DKBA shelled into Sho Kloh. As soon as we heard the shelling, we closed the shop. As I was closing the door a shell exploded about 7 or 8 yards away, in front of my shop and the video house. Actually the mortar came through the roof of the video house and exploded in the middle [no one was in there]. It damaged the walls of the video house, my house and my things in the shop. A piece of shrapnel hit me. I was the only one hurt by that mortar shell. I was wounded in the back of my shoulder [the top corner of his left shoulder]. My family was already in the bunker and I went to the back of the house to my family. I waited for about half an hour until the shelling was over. My whole shirt got soaked with blood. Then my younger brother carried me to the hospital. He is bigger and stronger than me. I arrived there first, before the other two wounded people. There were one

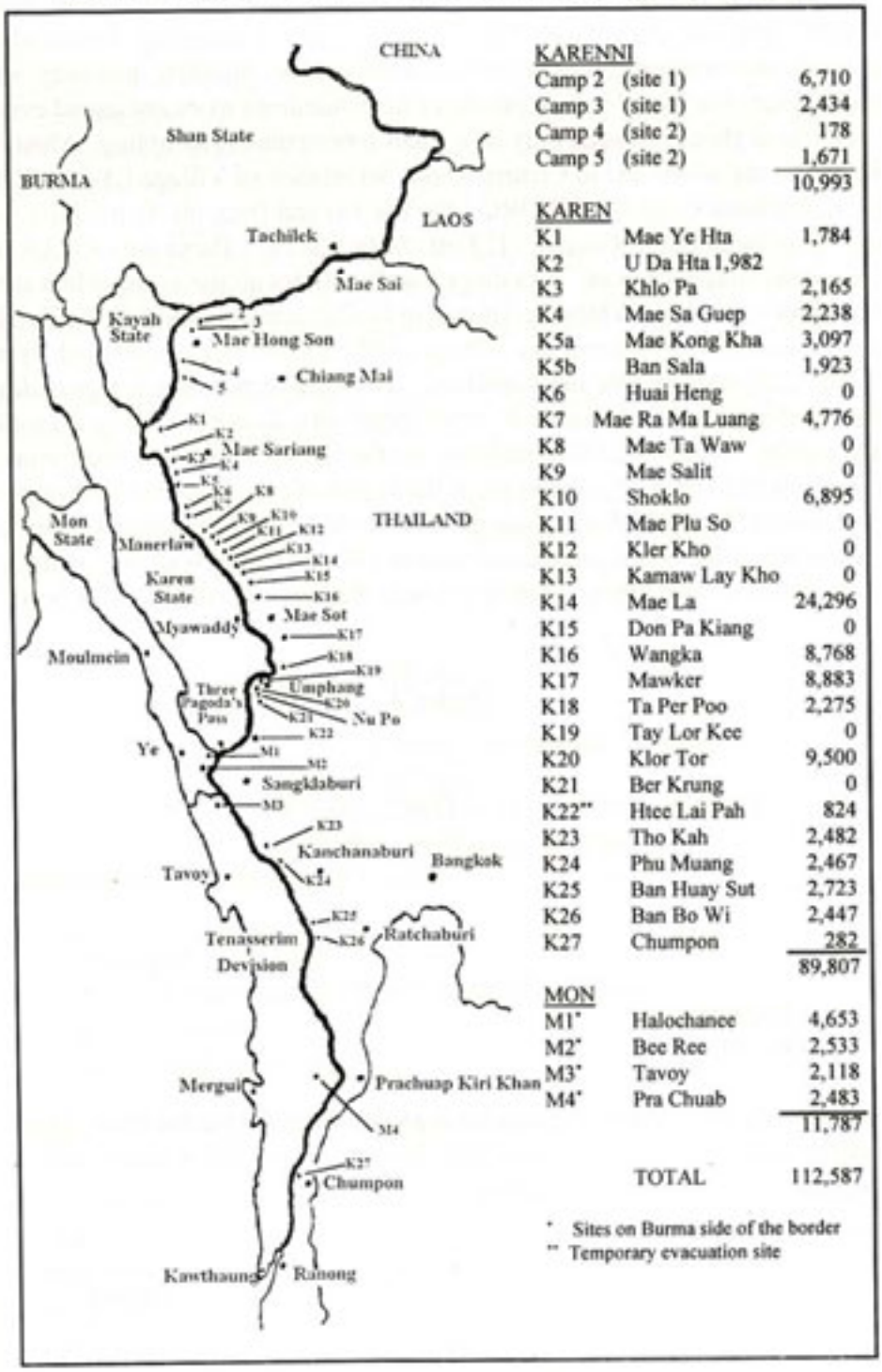
or two medics but no patients, all of them had fled to the bunkers near the hospital. The medic washed the wound and applied first aid to it. Two other people were also wounded: Saw Pay, the section 3 leader, and one old man but I don't know his name. We had to wait for a couple of hours. We didn't dare go without any security guard. At about 7 p.m., a Thai Army car took us to Mae Sot hospital. There were 3 patients and two medics. In Mae Sot, the doctors took out the shrapnel and dressed my wounds that night and I came back here the next day. I only stayed one night at Mae Sot hospital. Now my shoulder is sometimes numb. If I work for more than 10 minutes it gives me cramps. It is still painful when I sleep on my left side.

Five shells landed in Sho Kloh [4 exploded and at least one or two did not]. They shelled from Baw Pa Hta. I didn't see them but I heard them, especially the one that hit me. One shell landed in front of my house, one at the monastery, one at the church and another one in front of the section 3 leader's house. That last one hit and wounded him. One leader dug up the tail of the shell and told me that it was a 21/2" mortar. I feel very angry and resentful about this, but since we are refugees we can't do anything. I believe this could happen again, and we will just run if we can escape. I don't want to move to Beh Klaw because of the difficulties for my family. Altogether we are 10 people in my family, 6 brothers and sisters, my parents, my sister-in-law and myself. Now we have no money to move there. If our leaders ask us to move we will move, and if they ask us to stay we will stay. That's all. Staying in Sho Kloh is better than staying in Burma, because there is a lot of fighting in Burma now. I used to live in Moe Nai village in Hlaing Bwe township. Sho Kloh is safer than my village. I want the organisations of the whole world to help the Karen refugees. There is no hope for improvement through the peace talks between SLORC and the ethnic groups. It can only be possible with the interference of the whole world and if SLORC transfers state power to Aung San Suu Kyi. I think the situation in Burma might be better if Aung San Suu Kyi comes to power.



Passages of workers from neighbouring countries into Thailand.

BURMESE BORDER CAMP LOCATIONS WITH POPULATION FIGURES, MARCH 1997



KARENNI		
Camp 2	(site 1)	6,710
Camp 3	(site 1)	2,434
Camp 4	(site 2)	178
Camp 5	(site 2)	1,671
		10,993
KAREN		
K1	Mae Ye Hta	1,784
K2	U Da Hta 1,982	
K3	Khlo Pa	2,165
K4	Mae Sa Guep	2,238
K5a	Mae Kong Kha	3,097
K5b	Ban Sala	1,923
K6	Huai Heng	0
K7	Mae Ra Ma Luang	4,776
K8	Mae Ta Waw	0
K9	Mae Salit	0
K10	Shoklo	6,895
K11	Mae Plu So	0
K12	Kler Kho	0
K13	Kamaw Lay Kho	0
K14	Mae La	24,296
K15	Don Pa Kiang	0
K16	Wangka	8,768
K17	Mawker	8,883
K18	Ta Per Poo	2,275
K19	Tay Lor Kee	0
K20	Klor Tor	9,500
K21	Ber Krung	0
K22**	Htee Lai Pah	824
K23	Tho Kah	2,482
K24	Phu Muang	2,467
K25	Ban Huay Sut	2,723
K26	Ban Bo Wi	2,447
K27	Chumpon	282
		89,807
MON		
M1*	Halochanee	4,653
M2*	Bee Ree	2,533
M3*	Tavoy	2,118
M4*	Pra Chuab	2,483
		11,787
	TOTAL	112,587

* Sites on Burma side of the border
** Temporary evacuation site

SELECTED SLORC ORDERS

The following are the direct translations of some written orders sent from SLORC army units to villages. These orders include demands for forced labor on roads and at army camps, extortion money, food, building materials, and intelligence. For every order reproduced here, hundreds more are issued every week; these should be seen only as a small representative sampling. Most of the orders are addressed to Chairmen and Secretaries of Village Law and Order Restoration Councils (VLORC / Ya Wa Ta) and from the Township Law and Order Restoration Council (TLORC / Ma Wa Ta). These are local levels of SLORC administration. A "village tract" includes all the villages in a sub-area of the township. While the Township LORC consists of SLORC officials under direct military control, the Village LORC members are appointed, often against their will, by the local military. They are responsible for providing forced laborers, money, materials, intelligence, etc. as demanded by the military and the Township LORC, and they are the first to be arrested and tortured if they fail to do so. These orders show the systematic, widespread, and consistent nature of SLORC abuses throughout all rural areas of the country. Most of these orders were typed, copied and sent to villages throughout the township. Where necessary for safety, details have been blanked out with 'xxxx'or 'yyyy'.

Order 1

Stamp:

Date: 19-3-96
No: 62 IB
Note: Come without fail at the fixed time.

To:
Chairman
xxxx village

23-3-96 - At 10 a.m. you must arrive at xxxx village for the meeting. Do not come up with any excuse that you failed to come. If you fail to come, we warn you that serious action will be taken.

[Sd.]
Intelligence - Corporal

Order 2

Date: 21-3-96
TO DISCUSS IMPORTANT MATTERS

To:

U xxxx
Chairman
xxxx village
Chin State

23-3-96 - At 10 a.m. you must arrive at xxxx village for the meeting. Do not come up with any excuse that you failed to come. If you fail to come, gentleman, we warn you that serious action will be taken.

Note: Come without fail at the fixed time. Attendees must not be women. No representatives or delegations.

[Sd.]
Intelligence - Sergeant
No. 62 IB

Order 3

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Than Tlang
Ref. # 1/4-5/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah)
Date: 12 December 1996

To:

Chairman / In-Charge
Ward/Village Law & Order Restoration Council
xxxx village
Than Tlang township

Subject: Invitation for a meeting

1) For the Student Sports Festival fund and in accordance with the decision taken by the Chin State Law & Order Restoration Council, Than Tlang township must come to dig the road from Haka to Gangaw. They must come to dig 22,500 *kyin* for the car road in the first week of January.
[1 *kyin* = 10 x 10 x 1 feet of dirt or stone]

2) If you have difficulties in coming to work, others must be hired and the price is 200 kyats for one kyin of ordinary soil. After deducting the wage for one day, you must come along with 135 kyats unit price for each *kyin*.

3) The meeting will be held in the community hall of the Township Law & Order Restoration Council group on 18/12/96 at 1:00 p.m. The village tract LORC Chairmen, Secretaries, members and responsible people are invited to attend the meeting without fail.

[Sd.]
(for) Chairman
(Kyin Za Pone, Secretary)

Copy to: - Sent
- Office copy

Order 4

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Than Tlang
Ref. # 01/1-17/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah)
Date: 24 April 1996

To:

In-Charge
Ward/Village Law & Order Restoration Council
xxxx ward/village
Than Tlang township

Subject: Regarding widening the motor road by 20 feet

Reference:
1) Letter # 93/3-17/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah) from this office dated 18/1/96
2) Letter # 01/3-18/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah) from this office dated 26/2/96
3) Letter # 01/3-18/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah) from this office dated 29/2/96
4) Letter # 01/3-17/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah) from this office dated 4/4/96

1) In accordance with the resolution of the meeting which was attended by members of the Township Law & Order Restoration Council, department heads and all village-in-charges, the work assignments to widen the road by 20 feet between Than Tlang and Haka shall be completed within April 1996. You

have already been informed that we will take serious action against any village which cannot finish its assignment. This has been frequently acknowledged by letter and by spoken communication.

2) However, until today, 24/4/96, we have found that you have not started yet. This assignment is a national duty and is also regional development. We have already given you enough time to do it. Furthermore, the Township Law & Order Restoration Council assisted as much as we could towards all of your needs. If you give any reason, such as that you came late and could not fulfill your assignment building the motor road, we will not accept any such reason.

3) We hereby inform you to complete the building of the road in April using all villagers necessary from your village. Anyone who refuses to come to build the road shall be punished according to the law, and you should inform this office. We hereby inform you again to report to the Township Law & Order Restoration Council when you go to build the road. We hereby inform any villages which cannot come to do it by 26/4/96 that all members of the Village Law & Order Restoration Council must come and meet with the Chairman of the Township Law & Order Restoration Council on 30/4/96 at 10:00 a.m. without fail.

[Sd.]
(Tin Aung)
Chairman

Copy to:
- Township engineer, public works department, Than Tlang; assign a place when they come to report to Than Tlang
- Township health department, Than Tlang; take responsibility for health care
- Receipt/Office

[*Widening the Haka - Than Tlang road will make it more effective for military use.*]

Order 5

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Than Tlang
Ref. # 01/3-18/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah)
Date: 26 February 1996

To:

Chairman
Ward/Village Law & Order Restoration Council
xxxx town/village (Than Tlang township)

Subject: Loh ah pay [forced labor] to widen the motor road
Reference: Resolution 4/96 by supervisory group dated 21/2/96

1) Regarding the above subject, on 24/2/96 the supervisory group checked the road construction which has already been done.

2) Apart from the seven villages listed below which have fulfilled their duty, all wards and villages have not completed their assignments yet. Therefore in accordance with the above reference, 15/3/96 is the deadline to redo and finish your assignments.

3) The supervisory group will reassign the rest of the work which remains to be done.

4) You are hereby informed that first the supervisory group will only collect rice rations.

5) You can go home after sending the information and measurements to the engineer and the engineer accepts them [i.e. after the engineer verifies that you have built the road to all specifications]. (Instead of hard rock areas, build instead in softer soil areas.)

6) Up until now, Bel Har village has still not started building the road so the Village Tract Law & Order Restoration Council must solve this as quickly as possible.

7) The Chairmen and secretaries of the village tracts themselves must supervise this repeated loh ah pay assignment from beginning to end, as per the arrangement.

8) People must go to the worksite by their own arrangement. The responsible person must inform the road supervisory group.

9) The villages which have already fulfilled their loh ah pay are:
1) Tibual village, Tlang Te tract
2) Mualkai village, Tlang Te tract
3) Kuhchah village, Chaung Ti Ya tract
4) Ywakwa village, Saikah tract
5) Thinghual village, Tikhuangtuam tract
6) Tha Tlang village, Tikhuangtuam tract
7) Leitak (A) village, Hmawngtlang tract

10) You must not fail because it is your national duty.

[Sd.]
(for) Chairman
(Kyin Za Pone, Secretary)

Copy to: All members of road supervisory group; U xxxxx
Receipt/Office

Order 6

Stamp: [illegible]

Date: 28/12/96

To:
Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: To send rice

1) Regarding the above subject, you are hereby informed to bring 2 sacks of rice to Myeit Wah army camp on 29/12/96, as decided at the meeting with 12 villages under the authority of Myeit Wah army camp.

2) To set up Miza self-reliance middle school, Myeit Wah tract must contribute 8,000 kyats. Therefore your village must contribute 1,000 kyats.

3) If you send rice to the camp, it could make money for the Miza school fund.

[Sd. / Ba Than]
Chairman
Tract LORC, Myeit Wah tract

[*"Self-reliance" projects mean the villagers have to give all required money, materials and forced labor to complete the projects, then SLORC makes propaganda claiming credit for them.*]

Order 7

To: Date: 22/11/96
Chairman / Secretary
xxxx village

Subject: To send servants [i.e. porters]

Regarding the above subject, the Chairman is informed to come along with 5 servants and 4 days of rations [for the servants], on 24/11/96 at 12 o'clock midday to Myeit Wah army camp. The Chairman himself must come to send them without fail. If the Chairman fails, the responsibility will be on the Chairman and Secretary. We inform you that we will take strict action.

[Sd. / 22/11/96]

Order 8

To: Date: 4/11/96
Chairman / Secretary
xxxx village
Chin State

Subject: To provide 2 special messengers from your village
If the enemy enters the area of the villages, each village must inform the mobile column which is nearest to their village. We inform you to assign 2 special messengers in order to send this information as quickly as possible.

[Sd. / 4/11/96]
(for) Column Commander
Frontline #55 Infantry Battalion

Order 9

Stamp: [illegible]

To: Date: 25/11/96

Chairman / Secretary
xxxx village
Chin State

Subject: Invitation for a meeting

Regarding the above subject, a very important meeting will be held on 30/11/96 at Myeit Wah army camp, so you are hereby informed to report to this camp by 8 a.m. at the latest on 30/11/96.

[Sd.]
(for) Battalion 2nd in Command
#344 Infantry Battalion

[*On the back of this order was written, "Bring 2 chickens along with you."*]

Order 10

Than Tlang Army camp
Than Tlang town
Letter no. 100/01/U 1
Date: 1996 January 18

To:

Chairman/Village in-charge
Village Law and Order Restoration Council
xxxx village (Than Tlang township)

Subject: To inform you to supply wooden boards/bamboo/thatch

1. According to the above-mentioned subject, we need wooden posts, bamboo and thatch in order to build the Army camp in Than Tlang. Therefore, each village is requested to collect (450) wooden posts, (450) bamboos and (450) bundles of thatch.

2. The wooden posts must be 9 feet long, have a diameter of 11/2 feet at the top and may also be used for fencing. The bamboo must be freshly cut. As

soon as you receive this letter, you must cut and collect these and send them to Than Tlang Army camp.

3. Therefore, Sir, your duty is to provide these (450) wooden posts, (450) bamboo and (450) bundles of thatch, and when these are sent to the Than Tlang Army camp, the village in-charge or a member of the Village LORC must be present and inform the camp office.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
Than Tlang Town

Copy to:
- Chairman, Than Tlang Township Law and Order Restoration Council
- Army Camp office copy only

Order 11

Office of Township Education Department
Than Tlang
Letter #: Section 1/(mgmnt)/9006/Sports (Funds)
Date: 1995 December 12

To:

Headmasters
State High School/State Middle School
xxxx town/village [State Middle School]

Subject: Collection and donation of funds for the 8th Students' Festival

Reference: Telegram order #658/Section (1-A) dated 5-12-1995 from State Education Officer
- Haka

1. According to the above-mentioned subject, every student from high school and middle school must contribute 50 Pyas [1/2 kyat] per month starting from 1 December 1995 in order to support the 8th Students' Festival. A list and the money collected should be sent to the State Education Office before the 7th of each month, as per the referenced message mentioned above.

2. Therefore, as per the above directions, I hereby inform you to collect 50 Pyas per student and send it to reach this office before the 5th of each month together with a detailed list.

[Sd. / 12-12-95]
(Thla Cung)
Township Education Officer
Than Tlang

Copy to:
- State Education Officer, Chin State, Haka
- To all the headmasters
- Office copy

[*Note: This order was apparently sent to every Township Education Officer in Chin State by telegram. It relates to the 8th All-Burma Students' Festival which is to be held in Haka, Chin State in December 1997. In 1996 and 1997, students have to pay an additional 100 Kyats toward the Students' Festival fund with their admission fees. People in Chin State must also give money, forced labor, materials, etc. to prepare for the festival*.]

Order 12

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Than Tlang
Ref. # 01/3-1/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah)
To: Date: 30 September 1995
Chairman / In-Charge
Village Law & Order Restoration Council
xxxx town/village

Subject: To pay money for the sports festival
Reference: Meeting minutes for 8/95

1) For the 1995-96 women's under-15 and under-17 football competition and sports festival, and the sports competition for adults from the concerned townships (at Haka), the fund of 30 kyats per household (excepting government servants and religious leaders) must be received by the deadline date of 31/10/95.
2) The village tract secretaries themselves must bring all of it [the money] along with them by the above date.

[Sd.]
(for) Chairman
(Kyin Za Pone, Secretary)

Copy to: Receipt/Office

Order 13

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Than Tlang
Ref. # 03/1-18/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah)
Date: 2 September 1995

To:

Chairman / Secretary / In-Charge
Village Law & Order Restoration Council
xxxx town/village

Subject: To set up People's Militia and send their names quickly

1) It has been learned that some villages of Than Tlang township have not formed People's Militia. For those villages which have not yet set up People's Militia, they must set up 5 fulltime members and 10 reserve members from villages which have under 50 households. From villages which have over 50 households, the strength will be 10 fulltime members and 25 reserve members. Set it up quickly and fill out the list as shown below completely. We inform you to do this and send it to our group without fail.

2) If you fail to send this we will take punitary action.

People's Militia
Serial # Name Age ID Card # Village Name Fulltime Reserve Remarks

[Sd.]
(for) Chairman
(Kyin Za Pone, Secretary)

Copy to: Receipt/Office

Order 14

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Than Tlang
Ref. # 01/2-17/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah)
Date: 5 April 1996

To:

Chairman / In-Charge
Ward/Village Law & Order Restoration Council
xxxx town/village

Subject: People's Militia recruit training

Reference: IB #266 Letter dated 29 March 1996, Ref. No. 266/15/A-1

1) As per the above reference, the fulltime members of People's Militia from your village will be given combat training in the battle course from 22/4/96 through 27/4/96. Therefore, 5 full-time people from villages of under 50 households and 10 full-time people from villages of over 50 households must be brought to the Township LORC office by the village tract secretaries by the deadline of 20/4/96 without fail (without fail).

2) The chairmen of the village tracts and the leaders of the People's Militia groups must come to this office for preliminary discussions on 12/4/96 at 10:00 a.m. without fail.

3) We inform all concerned leaders from wards and villages when they come to this office for the meeting on 12/4/96 to bring along the People's Militia list including names, dates of birth, ages, National Identification Card numbers, father's names, and village names.

[Sd.]
(Tin Aung)
Chairman

Copy to: Receipt/Office

Order 15

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Than Tlang
Ref. # 01/2-17/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah)
Date: 25 April 1996

To:
Chairman / In-Charge
Ward/Village Law & Order Restoration Council
xxxx village

Subject: Attending People's Militia training
Reference: TLORC letter No. 01/2-17/TLORC (Tha Ta Lah) dated 17/4/96

1) As per the above reference, people from the towns, wards and villages

must pay fees of 1,200 Kyats for food and 700 Kyats for rice, total 1,900 Kyats, for each member of People's Militia attending the training. The secretary of the village tract must come himself to send it, we hereby inform you.

2) We have received the amount shown below from the people attending the training, and we inform the secretary of the village tract to send the remainder himself by the deadline of 30/4/96.

A) For 2 people, received 1,000 Kyats, remaining to pay 2,800 Kyats.

[Sd.]
(Tin Aung)
Chairman

Copy to: Receipt/Office

Order 16

Stamp:
Light Infantry Battalion #339 Date: 9-96 [19/9/96]
Column #2
Chin State

To:

Chairperson (xxxx village)

Chairman! Send 15 viss [24 kg./53 lb.] of pork on the 21st. What about the xxxx village Chairman? His given date is overdue. Press him.

[Sd. / 19-9-96]
Intelligence Office

Order 17

Stamp:
Light Infantry Battalion #339 Date: 9-96 [10/9/96]
Column #2
Chin State

To:

Chairperson

As soon as you receive this letter, ask Maung xxxx to come and report immediately together with 3 viss [4.8 kg./10.5 lb.] of chicken. Without our releasing him, he ran away. Absolutely unacceptable. Do it so that he comes immediately.

[Sd. / 10-9-96]
Intelligence Office

Order 18

Stamp:
Light Infantry Battalion #339 Date: 26-8-96
Column #2
Chin State

To:
Chairperson (xxxx village)

Take action to replace the five voluntary laborers already released, now and without fail. From now on I will note it down [if you are late sending replacement labor].

[Sd. / 26-8-96]

Order 19

Stamp:
Light Infantry Battalion #339 Date: 23-8-96
Column #2
Chin State

To:
xxxx village (Chairperson)

I inform you that if you receive this letter now, come yourself immediately and meet the column commander.

[Sd. / 23-8-96]

Note: Come Immediately [written in red ink]

Order 20

To: Date:16-8-96

U xxxx
Chairperson
xxxx village
Chin State

U xxxx! As the Army Column needs more servants again, I inform you to send 8 additional servants in addition to the 5 servants you already have to send from xxxx village, along with 3 days' provisions, to the Army Column at 6 a.m. on 17-8-96 without fail.

[Sd. / 16-8-96]
Column Commander
#331 Light Infantry Battalion

[*Note: 'Servants' as used here means porters. The village normally has to send 5 porters at all times on a rotating basis, but this time they must send 13 - with less than 24 hours' notice.*]

Order 21

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #32

To:

Chairperson
Battalion Office
xxxx village

Subject: Calling the chairperson to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, we need to discuss with you so if you receive this letter now, come to Infantry Battalion #32. If you fail, I inform you that it will be your responsibility.

Place: Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Date: 20-9-96

[Sd.]
Intelligence
Infantry Battalion #32

Order 22

To: Father xxxx Date: 30-6-96

I write to [you] now. Now we have important guests. I am asking for your help. Send 3 viss [4.8 kg./10.5 lb.] of chicken along with the messenger who brought this letter.

With respect,
[Sd.]
Medic
Corporal Kyaw Moe Lwin

Order 23

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #32

To: Date: 1-9-96
Chairperson
Column
xxxx village

Subject: To send bamboo and wooden posts for a fence

Regarding the above subject, we inform you to send (300) bamboo and xxx wooden posts for the use of Infantry Battalion #32 on 4-9-96 without fail.

[Sd. / 1-9-96]
Intelligence
Infantry Battalion #32

Order 24

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #32
Quartermaster Dept.

To: Date: 14-6-96
Chairperson
xxxx village

Subject: To sell timber for the Army's community hall

For construction of the community hall at IB #32 [Army camp], I inform you to send planks of ironwood measuring 5' x 2" [sic: should probably read 5"x2", i.e. 5 inches by 2 inches] and length over 12 feet, weighing 2 tons in total, before the moon has waxed next month (7/96). [i.e. before full moon day, which fell on 30/7/96.]

[Sd.]
Quartermaster's office
Infantry Battalion 32

[*Note: Despite the word "sell", the villagers will likely be paid nothing or only a token sum.*]

Order 25

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #32

To: Date: 10-1-96

Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx village

Subject: Regarding the measure of firewood ordered by the Battalion

We have learned that the firewood we asked from your village has not as yet been sent. Therefore, we inform you to send the wood according to the amount we asked from you to the Battalion headquarters before the deadline of 12-1-96 without fail. Should you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[sd.]
(for) Column Commander

Order 26

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #32

To: Date: 10-1-96

Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx village

Subject: Regarding the measure of firewood ordered by the Battalion

We have learned that the firewood we asked from your village has not as yet been sent. Therefore, we inform you to send the wood according to the amount we asked from you to the Battalion headquarters before the deadline of 12-1-96 without fail. Should you fail, it will be your responsibility. If you receive this letter now, I inform you that you yourself must come immediately to the Army column.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

Order 27

To: Date: 16-6-96

Chairperson
xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

I inform you that we from #31 Infantry Battalion need to discuss organisational, management and development matters with you, Chairperson. So you yourselves, Chairperson and Secretary, must come to xxxx village at 12 noon on 19-6-96.

[Sd.]
Major Soe Htat

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer
Infantry Battalion #31

Order 28

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #32
Column

Date: 17-6-96

To: Chairperson
xxxx village

1) If you receive this letter now, Chairperson, you yourself come immediately along with the messenger to xxxx village to meet with the Column Commander.

2) Without fail (without fail) come and meet [him]. Should you fail, I inform you that we will take action effectively and severely.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander
Column 2

Infantry Battalion #62

Order 29

Date: 17-6-96

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

If you receive this letter now, you yourself come immediately and see us at the Army column without fail, along with up to date information about your area. If you fail it is your responsibility, Chairperson.

[Sd.]
Than Zaw Aung
Column 2
Column Office

Order 30

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #31

To: Date: 18-6-96

Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx village

Subject: Come and see us

Regarding the above subject, as we want to have a discussion with you gentlemen, we inform you to come and meet at the Column [camp] at 1400 hours on 18-6-96 without fail.

[Sd.]
Column Commander
Infantry Battalion #31
Column 2

Order 31

Date: 96 June 19, 18:30

Mrs. xxxx!

Why didn't you come when called by the Army column? Were you not able to come because of a toothache?

Why didn't you report that there are still enemy groups in xxxx [village]?

We never hear xxxx village reporting enemy news. You only answer when the Army column asks.

You never talk if we do not ask.

Tomorrow, Mrs. xxxx, come yourself to An Kong village without fail. You must not send a group of go pa ka [temple lay helpers] as your representatives.

Come without fail tomorrow, on 20-6-96.

[Sd. / 19-6-96]
Column Commander
#310 Light Infantry Battalion

Order 32

To: Date: 23-6-96

Village Headmen / Go pa ka [temple lay helpers] groups

We have information that there have been enemy groups around xxxx / yyyy [villages], so report immediately by messenger whether this news is right or wrong.

[Sd. / 23/6/96]
Column Commander
#310 Light Infantry Battalion

[*Written on back in red ink:*] Important / Send Immediately

Order 33

To:

U xxxx
Chairperson
xxxx village

U xxxx! If you receive this letter now, come and see the Army Column at 3 p.m. today.

[Sd. / 30/6[/96]]
Column #2

Order 34

Stamp:
Company 5

To:
xxxx village

If you receive this letter now, come and see us at Ku Done Army Camp immediately.

Without fail.

If you fail, I inform you that severe action will be taken against you.

[Sd. Aung San Myint]
Lt. Aung San Myint

[*Written on the back afterwards by the village head: "On 7-7-96 had to give 2 viss [3.2 kg. / 7 lb.] of chicken."*]

Order 35

Stamp:
Light Infantry Battalion

To:
Village Head
xxxx village

I want to know why you have not sent the prawns I asked for. I am asking you for curry for the Battalion Commander. Next time when you change the servants, headwoman, you yourself must come.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer

Order 36

Stamp:
#310 Light Infantry Battalion
Column 2

To
Village Chairperson / Secretary

Now, headmen, come yourselves and report news of the enemy around xxxx / yyyy / zzzz villages, and whether it [enemy activity] is usual / not usual.

Come and sell today the edible meat you must sell to the Army column.

Column 2

[*The village head later wrote on the back: "13/7/96 had to give one viss [1.6 kg. / 3.5 lb.] of chicken to Column Commander Than Htun in An Kong Army camp." - this is in addition to the large amount of meat his village has to regularly "sell" for nothing to the Army camp.*]

Order 37

To Date: 13-7-96
Chairperson
xxxx village

Subject: Come and meet with the Column Commander

Regarding the above subject, we inform you to come and meet at LIB Column 2 immediately without fail, and if you fail it is the village head's responsibility.

Note: Come and see us on the 13th.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

Order 38

Stamp:
#32 Infantry Battalion

To: Date: 5-1-96

Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx village

The construction of Chaung Wah - Kya In Seik Gyi road will be resumed on Tuesday the 9th [9/1/96]. After working for 3 days (Tuesday / Wednesday / Thursday) take a rest for 4 days. In the following weeks you will have to do it on Monday / Tuesday / Wednesday each week, every week.

In order to start the finishing work on the road, you yourself must come on Tuesday 9-1-96, and since you will have to cast lots for each section of the road, I inform you to come without fail.

If you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd. / 5-1-96]
(for) Column Commander

Order 38

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #62

To: Date: 11-3-96

Chairperson
[illegible]
xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter, come and meet at Chaung Wah village. If you fail I warn and inform you that severe action will be taken against you.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Sergeant
Infantry Battalion #62

Order 39

Stamp: Date: 19-3-96
#62 Infantry Battalion

To
Chairperson
xxxx village

On 23-3-96 at 10 o'clock a.m. do come and meet with the column commander at Chaung Wah village. If you should fail to come by making many different excuses, I warn and inform you that we will take severe action.

Remark: Must come on the fixed date without fail.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Sergeant
#62 Infantry Battalion

Order 40

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #31

To: Date: 23-6-96
Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, we need to discuss with you gentlemen the construction of the Chaung Wah village bridge and security matters for the area. We therefore inform you to attend the meeting (without fail) at Chaung Wah village at 12 o'clock noon on Wednesday 26-6-96.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander
Infantry Battalion #31
Column 2

Order 41

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #31

To: Date: 23-6-96
Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx [village]

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, we need to discuss with you gentlemen the construction of the Chaung Wah village bridge and security matters for the area. We therefore inform you to attend the meeting (without fail) at Chaung Wah village at 12 o'clock noon on 26-6-96.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander
Infantry Battalion #31
Column 2

Order 42

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #31

To:
Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, we will hold a meeting to continue to implement construction of the Chaung Wah bridge. Therefore attend the meeting at Chaung Wah village at 12 o'clock noon on 27-7-96 without fail, and bring along with you the money to be collected for bridge construction.

Date: 25-7-96
Place: Chaung Wah

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander
Infantry Battalion #31
Column 2

Order 43

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #31

To: Date: 25-9-96

Chairperson
Column 2
xxx village

Subject: Opening ceremony of self-reliance bridge in Chaung Wah village

Regarding the above subject, we have finished construction of the self-reliance bridge in Chaung Wah village and we will hold the opening ceremony on 29-9-96 at 8:00 a.m. Therefore we invite you that football and volleyball teams from your village must come and compete without fail on 27-9-96 at 10:00 a.m., and five representatives including the headman must attend without fail the final meeting regarding the Chaung Wah bridge on 27-9-96 at 12:00 noon.

Notes:

1) We will feed and entertain members of the football and volleyball teams and the headmen from 27-9-96 to 29-9-96, five times altogether [i.e. they will feed them twice on the 27th, twice on the 28th and once on the 29th].

2) We will hold a boxing competition for those under 20 years old.

3) After the opening ceremony on 29-9-96 at 8:00 a.m., all the villages which gave contributions [for the bridge] must cast lots at 9:00 a.m., and we will award one black and white television including antenna and battery and one cassette player to the one who wins.

4) We will hold a closing ceremony after the football match between the young ladies and the old men.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander
Infantry Battalion #31
Column 2

Order 44

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #32

To: Date: 1-1-96

Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx village

Gentleman, we will hold a boxing competition to raise money for Independence Day [January 4]. In your village, you will have to sell ten adult tickets, and you have to sell them for 40 Kyats each.

The people who buy the tickets from your village have to watch the competition on the 2nd at 11 o'clock and on the 3rd at 11 o'clock. Altogether two times you will have to watch.

I inform you that you have to sell all ten tickets and send the money to Za Mi hall without fail.

[Sd. / 1-1-96]
(for) Column Commander

Order 45

Stamp:
#32 Infantry Battalion

To: Date: 1996 January 22

Chairperson
Supreme Headquarters (Intelligence)
xxxx village

Subject: We want to hold a meeting with the village head

Regarding the above subject, as we need to speak with the headman we inform you to come to Infantry Battalion #32 on 26/1/96 without fail.
Note: Bring along with you the 400 Kyats proceeds from sale of the boxing tickets.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer

Order 46

Stamp:
#32 Infantry Battalion

To: Date: 1995 December 14
Chairperson
Supreme Headquarters (Intelligence)
xxxx village

Subject: Calling the village head for a meeting

As we want to discuss the purchasing of paddy, we inform you to come and arrive at #32 Infantry Battalion on 16 December.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer

Order 47

Stamp:
#62 Infantry Battalion

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

If you receive this letter now, come and see us at Ta Taw Oo village. Should you fail and offer many different excuses, I warn and inform you that severe action will be taken against you.

[Sd. / 14/3/96]
Intelligence Sergeant
#62 Infantry Battalion

Order 48

Stamp:
#32 Infantry Battalion

To: Date: 16-1-96

Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx village

Chairwoman Mrs. xxxx, the Major wants to tell you about important matters so we inform you to come and see him immediately at Wah Bo Gone village, where the Army column is stationed.

[Sd. / 16-1-96]
(for) Column Commander

Order 49

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #32

To: Date: 14-1-96

Chairperson (Mrs. xxxx)
Column
xxxx village

From your village send the servants' fees for 12/95 and 1/96, come and give them. They must arrive here today.

Should you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd. / 14-1-96]
(for) Column Commander

[*Note: "Servants' fees," more commonly called "porter fees," are extortion money demanded by the Army and divided between the Column and Battalion officers, with a portion remitted to higher levels within SLORC. Every village has to pay thousands of kyats every month (anywhere from 50 to 2,000 kyats per household), sometimes several times a month.*]

Order 50

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion #32

To: Date: 11-1-96

Chairperson / Secretary
Column
xxxx village

Gentlemen, as we have to discuss important matters with you, we inform you to come to the Army column in xxxx village at 11 o'clock on Sunday 13-1-96 without fail. Should you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd. / 11-1-96]
(for) Column Commander

Order 51

Stamp:
#32 Infantry Battalion

To: Date: 7-1-96

Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx village

On Monday 8-1-96 there will be a meeting at Infantry Battalion #32 in Kya In Seik Gyi town. I again inform you to come to the meeting without fail on 8-1-96 at 9 o'clock a.m.

If you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd. / 7-1-96]
(for) Column Commander

Order 52

Stamp:
#32 Infantry Battalion

To: Date: 7-1-96

Chairperson
Column 2
xxxx village

If you receive this letter now, I inform you yourself to come immediately to the Army column and meet with the Column Commander without fail.

Should you fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

Order 53

Stamp: EXACTLY, CORRECTLY, QUICKLY

Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Ref. No. 111 / 1-1 / TLORC (KISG)
Date: 1995 December 14

To:

Chairperson and Village Head
xxxx village
Kya In Seik Gyi Township

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

We need to discuss the construction of the Ka Done Seik - Htee Po Klaw motor road, so we invite you to come to the Township Law & Order Restoration Council office at 1:00 p.m. on Tuesday 19-12-95.

[Sd.]
(for) Chairman

Copies: File Copy / apply
[*Note: This is a meeting to dictate the forced labor and financial contributions to be demanded from each village.*]

Order 54

xxxx village head
Village chairperson

Gentlemen, we inform you that we need to discuss with you to help on the Htee Po Klaw road construction. Therefore you yourself must come, we request you earnestly.

1) The date for the laborers to come is 8-12-95 at 6 o'clock a.m., and they must gather in Seik Gyi Ka Done Seik.

2) They must bring mattocks, hoes and machetes.

3) They must bring provisions.

Headman, you yourself come and discuss this before the date given by the Township LORC's letter.

[Sd.]
Seik Gyi [town]

Order 55

Stamp:
Township Law & Order Restoration Council
Shadaw Town
Ref. No. 101 / 1-1 / Ya Ta - 1 (Tha Wa)

Date: 1996 May 31

To:
Village Head
xxxx village
xxxx village tract

Subject: Gathering all the villages in Shadaw Township at Shadaw Town
Reference: Frontline No. 337 LIB's letter dated 30-5-96,
reference no. 337 / 01 / U-1

1) According to the above order, to establish peacefulness and restore law and order within Shadaw Township, all the area between the Pon River and Salween

River, all villages south of Shadaw and north of Shadaw, must gather at Shadaw. 7 JUNE 1996 IS THE LAST DAY for all the villages to gather, we send this letter to inform you all. If you do not gather by the deadline the troops will enter the village and if we see anyone we will consider them as enemy.

2) Therefore your village must move to Shadaw, and 7 JUNE 1996 IS THE LAST DAY, we hereby inform you.

3) For the villages to come here, the Township Law & Order Restoration Council will arrange a place [for them all to stay].

[Sd.]
Chairman

Copies to:
- Chairman, State Law & Order Restoration Council, Kayah State, Loikaw Town
- Chairman, District Law & Order Restoration Council, Kayah State, Loikaw Town
- Frontline camp, #337 Light Infantry Battalion, Shadaw Town
- Chairmen, Market quarter / Southern quarter / Central quarter / Aung Chan Tha quarter, Quarter LORCs, Shadaw Town

Notice: When the villagers move here, [I] inform you to help them.
(Note: Being considered an enemy by the SLORC is a notice of certain dath).

Order 56

Stamp: Infantry battalion 231

Chairman
xxxxx village

Subject: asking laborers

The renovation of the road between Chaung Taung and Tit Mile Gone will be started at 6:00 A.M on June 1, 1996. So One person from each household in all the villages must come and work for this. Bring your own instruments.

Note: If you fail it is the village head's responsibility.

Place: IB 231 [sd]
Date: April 28, 96 On behalf of commander

Order 57

Stamp:
Light Infantry Battalion (310)
Division (2)

To: March 15, 1996
Village headman
xxxx village

Subject: Asking laborers for the camp
(1) Send 15 laborers from your village tomorrow.
(2) Not later than 8:00 A.M. bring own knives and shovels.
(3) Do not fail. All the villages are asked to do this.

[sd]
Commander of Division

Note: 15 laborers from xxxx village and 15 from xxxx village. Total 30 persons.

Order 58

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion (231)
Hlaing Wa, Kawkeyeik

To: Date; April 26, 96
Village headman
xxxxx village

Subject: Asking laborers

Regarding above matter, send 30 laborers with their own knives and food for three days for the renovation of Ta Mile Gone camp. You must bring them at 6:00 A.M. on tomorrow (April 27, 96) to the Ta Mile Gone camp.

Note: Village headmen are required to attend the meeting at noon.

[sd]
on behalf of the Commander
IB# 231

Order 59

To: Date: March 19, 96

Village headwoman
xxxx village

We have asked 30 laborers before and they have not come yet. Now it is three days overdue. Commander is scolding us. So come tomorrow without fail. You must to our camp. Other villages will be also coming. Come without fail.

Urgent

[sd]
In-charge
xxxxx camp

Note: bring one duck.

Order 60

To,
Village headman
xxxx village

Date: April 30, 1996

Subject: sending bamboo and wood

Regarding above matter, send 1000 bamboo and 50 wood for the repairment of our camp not later than May 15.

[sd]
Division Commander
Commando
xxxxx camp

Order 61

Stamp:
Light Infantry Battalion (310)
Division (4)

To:
Village Headmen

As soon as you receive this letter, bring two bullock-carts and come to our camp immediately.

[sd]
Division Commander
Division (4)
LIB (310)

Order 62

To:
Mother

Please come today because the laborers did not show up yesterday.

[sd]
Division Commander
xxxx camp

Order 63

To:
Village Headwoman
xxx village

Mother, came and see me immediately as soon as you receive this.

[sd]
Division Commander
Division (4)
LIB 310

Order 64

Stamp:
Infantry Battalion (231)
Column (1)

To:
Village Headwoman
xxx village

Subject: inviting to the meeting

We have invited you several times to the general meeting. This would be the last invitation. If you fail it is your responsibility. If you do not come, we will this time take action. This time, we will shell your village with launchers. Come not later than November 13. One person from each household must come and attend. Bring 1 sack of rice and two viss of chicken from the xxx village.

[sd]
lance-corporal Htun Win
Frontline IB. 231
Daw Pa Lan camp

Order 65

Stamp:
LIB 408, Operation (1) Date: June 6, 1996

xxxxxx
Village Committee

Subject: To provide voluntary laborers

Now, the rainy season has already started and it is the time to resume farming activities. As you knew, the villagers are afraid of being arrested by our military operation and fled away from villages, and the rice cultivation activities have been destructed in the area. Thus, we request to provide us two voluntary laborers from your xxxx village and xxxx village with rotation basis. If you provide such villagers, we will halt to arrest your villagers in the future. If you refuse to follow our instruction, we will take firm action against the villagers when our troops reach your villages.

Our Tatmadaw military operation would like to see peace and happiness among the local villagers and please help us to complete your duty according to the instruction.

[sd]
Commander of the Operation
LIB 408, Operation (1)

Order 66

Stamp:
No. (12) Headquarters for Command operation
Commando Division

Village Headwoman
xxxxxx

Subject: asking bamboo

Regarding the above matter, bring 200 bamboo to Ta Mile Gond camp and Nant Kaw Do camp not later than March 30.

[sd]
Division Commander
Commander Division
No. (12) Headquarters for Command Operation

Order 66

Stamp: Ward Law and Order Restoration Council
Aung Chan Tha Ward
Shadaw Date: June 4, 96

Village Headman
xxxxxx village

All the villagers from xxxxx village must come to Shadaw not later than June 10. I will help you. Come without fail.

[sd]
Chairman
Ward LORC, Aung Chan Tha ward, Shadaw.

Order 67

Stamp:
Village Law and order restoration Council
Thein Zayet

To: Date: February 17, 96

xxxx
Village bank Committee
xxxx village

Township LORC called me and ordered me to bring the farmers who failed to sell their quota rice to meeting at Kyeikhto on February 18, (tomorrow). Please gather the farmers in the list at the Ward LORC office at 8:00 A.M.

Five farmers including one woman in the list.

[sd]
On behalf of chairman
Village LORC
Thei Zayet, Kyeikhto township

Order 68

Stamp:
Infantry battalion 341
Division (2)

To: Date: April 2, 96
xxx village headman

Please bring one chicken, chilies, vegetables, sticky rice and pumpkins to Swanmara camp, along with one accompany on April 3. If you don't come, our soldiers will come and get it.

[sd]
Camp Commander
Swanmara camp

Order 69

Township Law and Order Restoration Council
Leshi Township, Sagaing Division
Letter 738/3-3(3)/ Mawata/Lawa-1
Date: 1996 June 20

To:

Chairman
All village LORC
xxxx village group
Leshi township

Subject: recruiting new soldiers for the army

Leshi townip is required to provide 150 new recruits for the army who is taking duty for defense. The new recruits will be assigned only in Khanti and Hommalin military area.

Thus, recruit the able-bodied youth as the given list below and report to the operation commander of LIB. (222).

Hang Kwut village	1 person
Nga Kyin village	3
Ye Kyaw village	1
total	5 person

[sd]
Chairman

Copies
Commander, LIB. 222. Leshi.
Office copy.

Order 70

Confidential
Township Law and Order Restoration Council
Ke See
Ref. no. 5691016/ 2-5 TLORC
Date: 1996 July 17

Chairman
Village Tract Law and Order Restoration Council
Murng Nang

Subject: Relocation to Mumg Nawng relocation site
Ref: 1) (no. of radio message)
2) (no. of radio message)

1. In accordance with the radio messages received, the movement of the following villages of Murng Narng village tract to Murng Noridg must be completed by July 22, 1996.

No.	Village	houses	population
1.	Wan It	63	408
2.	Wan Nar	39	301
3.	Murng Pom	26	204
4.	Nomg Wo	47	330
5.	Nomg Tao	33	193
6.	Wan Norng	64	350
7.	Nam Maw Sai	10	157
8.	Nam Lin	36	38
9.	Nam Pan	41	292
10.	Wan Long (Khok Nam)	104	706
11.	Mark Na	15	104
12.	Pa Lemg	38	274
13.	Look Khar	20	112

2. The conditions of the movement of the above villages must be reported to the Township Law and Order Restoration Council by July 22, 1996.

(signed)
Chairman (on behalf)

Copies to:
- Commander, Light Infantry Battalion 514, Ke See Camp
- Commander, Light Infantry Battalion 514, Murng Nawng Camp
- Head of Immigration and People's Labour Dept., Ke See
- Chairman, Village tract Law and Order Restoration Council, Murng Nawng (to resettle and take care of villagers that have been relocated)
- office copy

SLORC recommendation letter for travel to Karenni

Stamp:
ward Law and Order Restoration Council
Middle Ward
Shadaw

Recommendation letter for travel

Name:	xxxx
Age:	43
Father's name:	xxxx
ID number:	xxxx
Place:	Daw Ka Ook village
Reason:	carrying paddy
Place to go:	Daw ka Ook village
Date:	June 14 - 17, 1996

[sd]
Chairman
Ward LORC
Middle ward, Shadaw.

Offical SLORC's Form for taxation

Township Committee for War Victory

Stamp:
District Law and Order Restoration Council
kawkayeik
Date: September 22, 1996

Serial (xx)
kawkayeik

According to the permission of the Karen State Law and Order Restoration Council, the following amount of money is received for the development of Kawkayeik region from xxxx, driver of the registration plate number xxxxxxxx.

(a) Transportation organization fee	2,000 kyat
(b) Fee for repairment of road and bridge	1,000
(c) Donation of Sport	500
(d) Donation computer education	500
(e) Town beautification (motorway check point)	1,000
(f) Religion and social fund	500
(g) Fee for using road	360
(h) Fee for town entrance	10
Total	5,870 kyat

Offical SLORC's Form for taxation

Hilux/ Cargo/ Diato motor care
Myawaddy

Serial: xxxxx

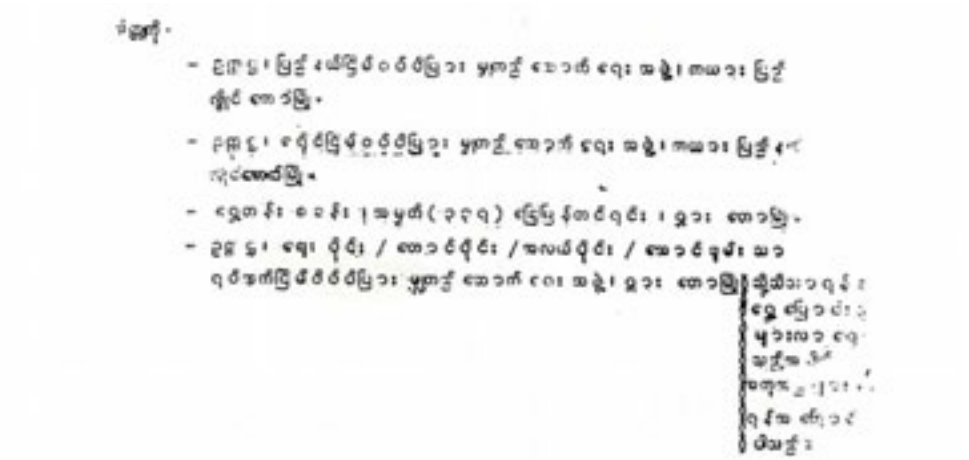
Date: September 17, 96

According to the permission of the Karen State Law and Order Restoration Council, the following amount of money is received for the development of Myawaddy region from xxxx, driver of the registration plate number xxxxxxxx.

(a) Fee for road and bridge	1,500
(b) Fee for supplies	500
(c) Social fee	200
(d) Fee for War victory	500
(e) Fee for Sport	100
Total	2,800 kyat

Order 55



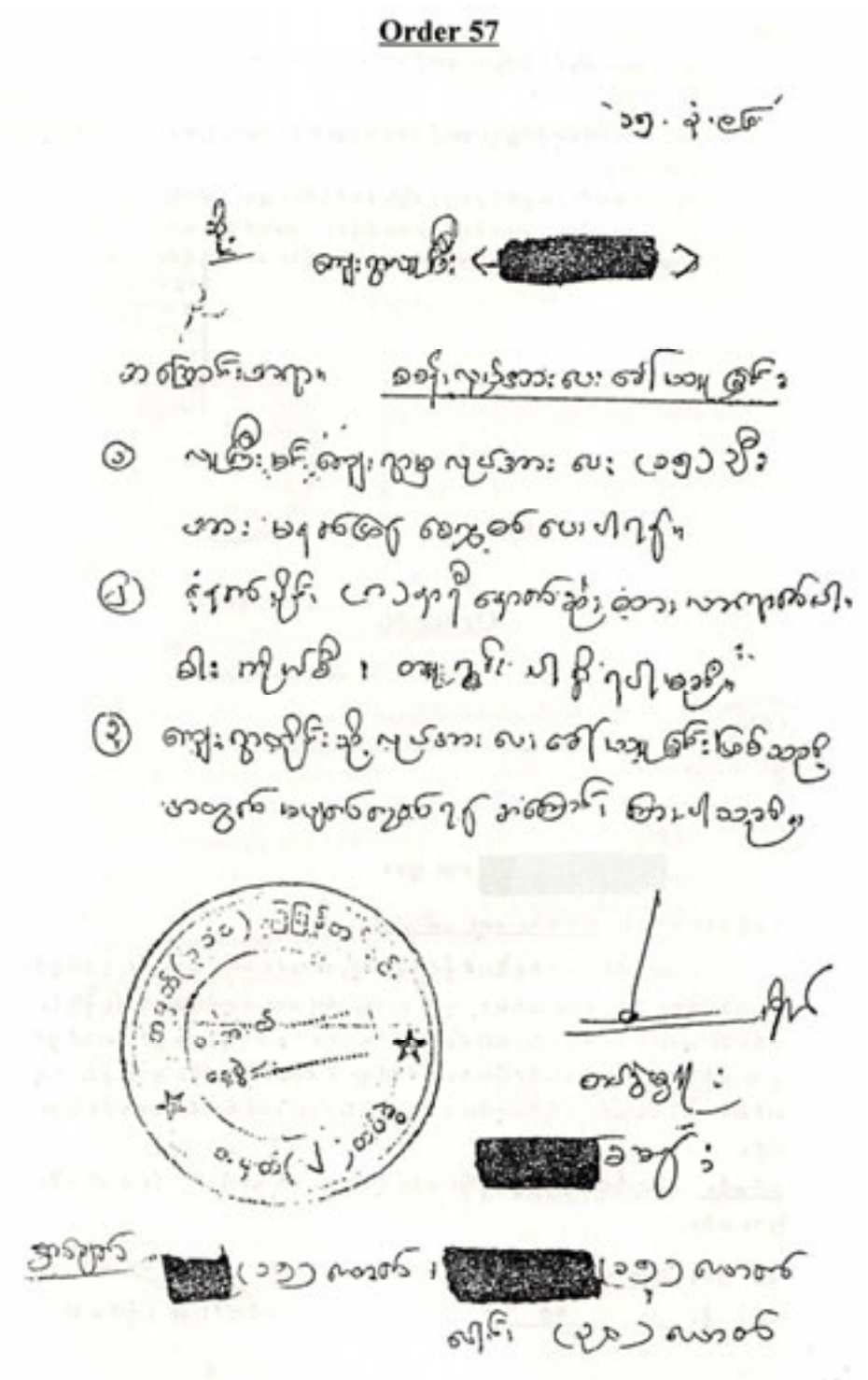


Order 56

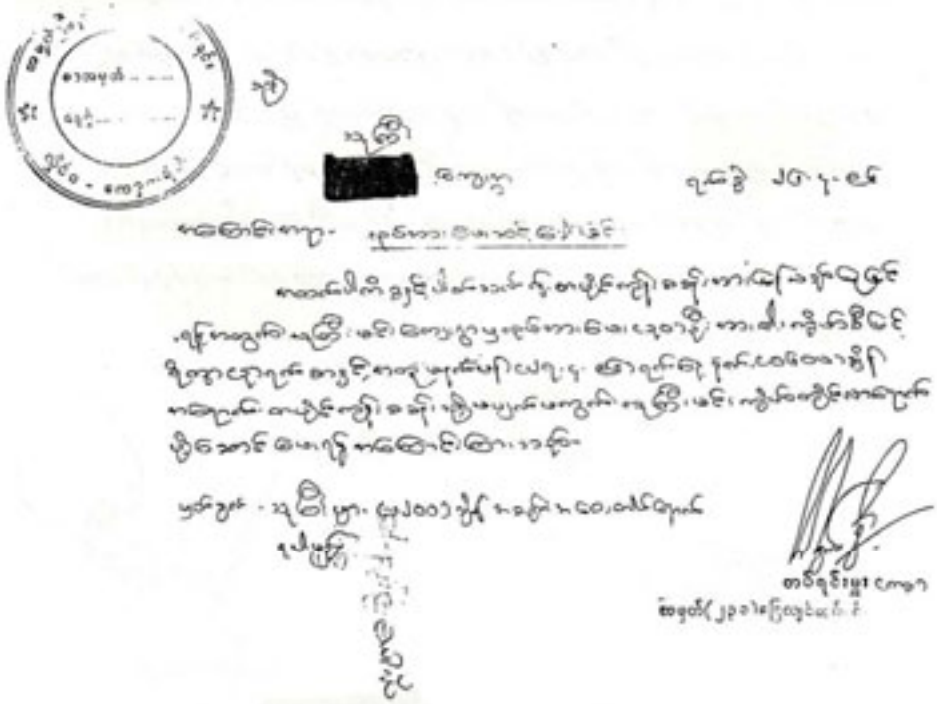


[redacted]

Order 57



Order 58



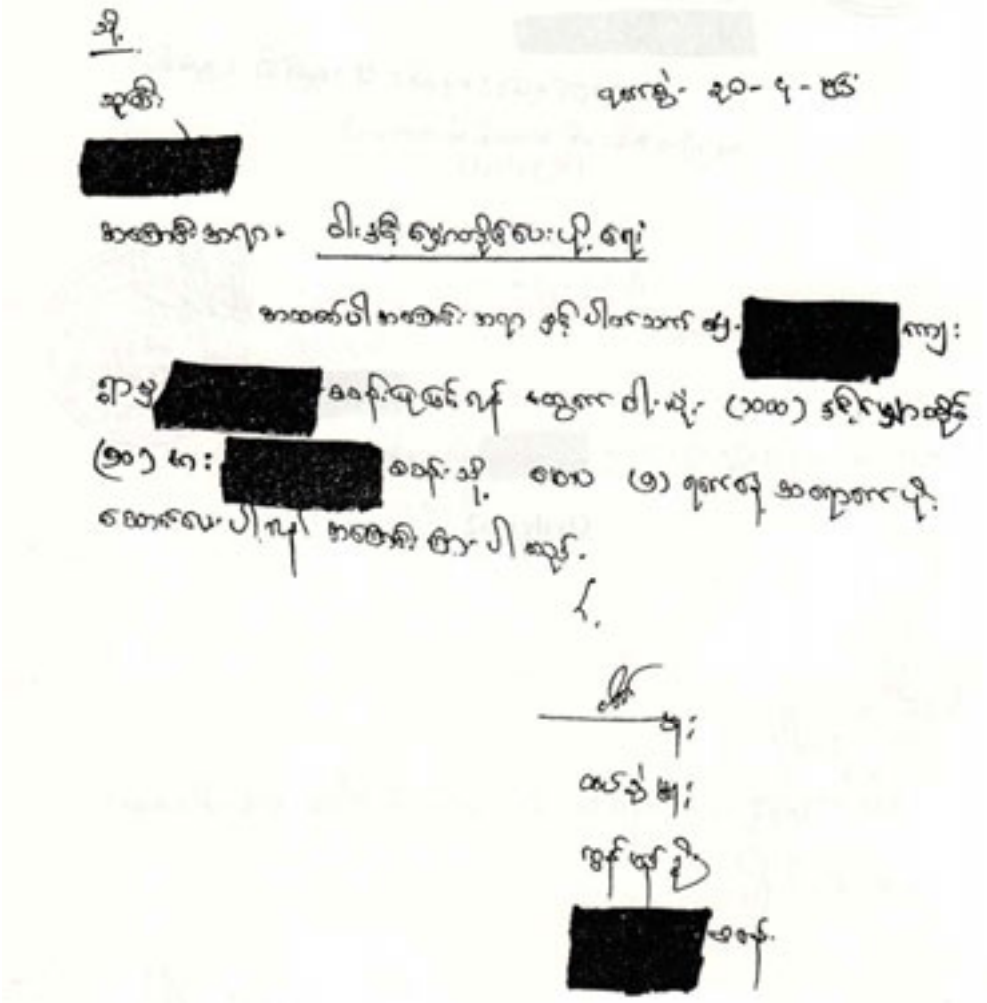
Order 59

29/4/96.

[redacted]

(ဝါဒီမြို့ ဒေသခံ ရဲစခန်းမှူး)

Order 60



Order 61



[redacted]



Order 62



Order 63



မွန်ကျွန်း

[redacted] မှ

[redacted] အကြီး အေ [redacted] အရပ်ရပ်ဖြစ်စေ၊ စခန်းလိုက်

ခရီးသွားနိုင်ပါ

[redacted]

[redacted]

Order 64



Order 65

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [redacted] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Order 66



ရုံးချုပ်၊ ၁၅၊ ဒဂုံတွင်

ညွှန်ကြား စေလွှာ ၊ အမှတ်စဉ်: ဆင့်ဆို ခြင်း

အထက်ပါ စေလွှာ အရာရှိအဖွဲ့ ပါဝင် သက်ဆိုင် သူကြီး ဖွဲ့ထုတ်မှု အမှတ်စဉ်: (၂၀၀) ဖုံး ဆေးကျောင်း ရွှေ့ပြောင်း ရေးအတွက် ဒီတစ်ကြိမ် ကုတင်ပြင်ရန်၊ ဒီနှစ်ကျောင်း ခန်းမများ ဆို့ ဧည့်သည်တော် ဆို့ဆောင်ရွက် ပြီးဆေးကျောင်း အမှတ်စဉ်၊ တစ်ရပ်၊ ကျွန်တော် (ဒု) ဗိုလ်မှူး ကြီး ဖြစ်ပါသည်။



Order 67



[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

ရက်စွဲ- ၁၃.၄.၉၆

ကိစ္စမှာ

ဘဲလ်ကား -

အကြောင်းခံတရားမှုဖွင့်ခဲ့ထားသည့်အတွက် အတည်ပြုသောအမိန့်ကို အကောင်အထည် မဖော်ဆောင်နိုင်ခဲ့ကြောင်း အကြောင်းကြားစာ ရက်စွဲ ၂-၄-၉၆ ဖြင့် ရုံးတော်သို့ ပေးပို့ခဲ့ကြောင်း သိရှိပါသည်။ ယောက်ျားကြီး ငါးယခုသိသာ ဆွေးနွေးခဲ့ရာတွင် အခြားသူများ ဖြစ်ကြသော [redacted] တို့ကို ရုံးတော်သို့ ခေါ်ဆောင်လာခဲ့ကြောင်း သိရှိရပါသည်။

① [redacted]
② [redacted]
③ [redacted]
④ [redacted]
⑤ [redacted]

[redacted]

(ဆေးသင်္ကေတ - ဝမ္မဒတ်ဆေး)

Order 68

Order 69

ကို

ကျေးငှာဘိုင်ဝင်ငိုင်ဝင်ပါသား ဘာကြောင့်မလာခဲ့ရသနည်း။

လေ့ကျင့်ရေးအတွက် ကျေးငှာ ဘိုင်ဝ

၄။ ကြိုင်ဝင်ဘောင်ဘယ်ရောက်ရောက် ဘယ်ကိစ္စတွင်မဆို ဘယ်သူမဆို ခွင့်ပြုချက်ရယူခြင်းမရှိဘဲ ထွက်ခွာသွားလာခြင်း မပြုရ။

၅။ ကြိုင်ဝင်ဘောင်ဘယ်ရောက်ရောက် ဘယ်ကိစ္စတွင်မဆို ဘယ်သူမဆို ခွင့်ပြုချက်ရယူခြင်းမရှိဘဲ ထွက်ခွာသွားလာခြင်း ပြုသောအခါ ၁၅၀ ကျပ် ဒဏ်ငွေ ပေးဆောင်ရမည်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ တစ်ဖန်သူသည် ဘယ်သူ့ကို ခေါ်ဆောင်သွားလာခြင်း၊ ပို့ဆောင်ပေးခြင်းမပြုရ။ ဆောင်ရွက်ပေးခြင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။

၆။ ဆိုခဲ့သည်များ မလေးစားခြင်းဖြစ်ပါက ဘာမဆို ကျေးငှာဘောင်ခွင်မှ ထုတ်ပယ်ခြင်းခံရမည်ဖြစ်ကြောင်း သိရှိစေအပ်ပါသည်။ ဤအမိန့်ကို ၁၉၉၆ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ (၂၂) ရက်နေ့တွင် ထုတ်ပြန်ကြေညာလိုက်ပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှူးကြီး	----------
ဒုတိယဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှူးကြီး	----------
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ဖြန့်ဝေရန်-

- ဘိုင်ဝင်း ပျား ၊ ကေး ၁၉၉၆ လေ့ကျင့်ရေး ကျေး
- ဌာန ဗဟိုဌာန
- ရုံးလက်ခံ

Order 70



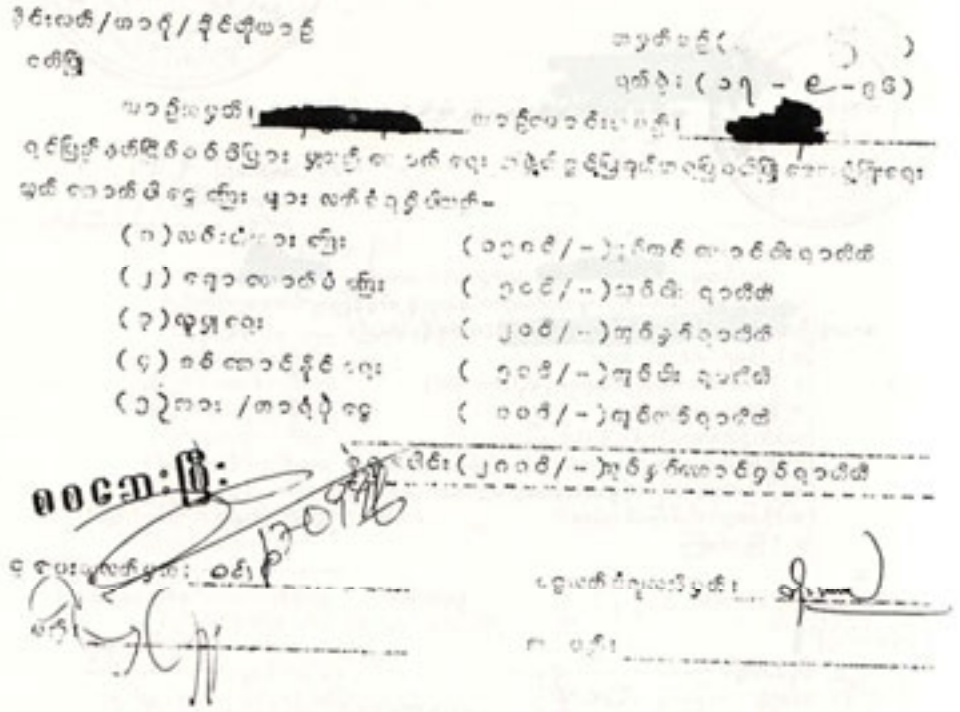
SLORC recommendation letter for travel to Karenni



Offical SLORC's Form for taxation (1)



Offical SLORC's Form for taxation (2)



APPENDIX 1

The following is a list of villages relocated in each township in Shan State
(The number of households is approximate)

LARNG KHER TOWNSHIP

No. of villages relocated: 21
No. of households relocated: 822
No. of village circles relocated: 2
(Total no. of village circles in Lang Kher: 11)

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Wan Jid	12	Nong Tong Long	22	Nong Long
		Wan Jid,	80	
		Wan Noitg	60	
		Nong Oi	30	
		Nam Nor	60	
		Pong Ton	40	
		Koong Sar	50	
		Wan Mai	30	
		Nam Tai	40	
		Na Kar	40	
		Nam Teng	30	
		Wan Mee	30	
Hai Kwe	9	Hai Kwe	40	Nong Long
		Loi Por	20	
		Son Oi	40	
		Na Mai	20	
		Wan Jong	40	
		Ho Ha	40	
		Wan Mai	30	
		Loi Twe	20	
		Wan Maai	60	
Total	**21**		**822**	

MURNG NAI TOWNSHIP

No. of villages relocated: 56
No. of households relocated: 2,965
No. of village circles relocated: 6
(Total no. of village circles in Murng Nai township: 15)

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Na Kan	14	HO Pai Ton Keng	150	Na Kan
		Ma Lang	150	
		Wan Kala	60	
		Ho Tur Kun Keng	150	
		Gung Sar	150	
		Tongi	150	
		Loi Ai	40	
		Loi Wat	30	
		Loi Tun	150	
		Wan Pwe	150	
		Nong Ya Sai	60	
		Nong Kham	60	
		Nong Long	60	
		Loi Khong	60	
Na Loi	4	Wan Ma	40	Na Loi
		Loi Por	30	
		Pang Sa	20	
		Tin Tat	15	
Ton Hoong Keng Tong	13	Nong Ook	35	Ton Hoong
		Bang Khor	30	
		Tar Koon	40	
		Nam Hoo	60	
		Ho Yen	60	
Kun Long	6	Nong Tao	80	Ton Hoong
		Koong Khor	40	
		Wan Kart	75	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Na Warn Khong	35	
		Temg Phak Hee	20	
		Wan Khok Nam	10	
Kun Mong	6	Koong Yong	30	Kun Mong
		Koong Lom	40	
		Nam Hoo	20	
		Wan Term	25	
		Koon Nar	35	
		Nar Hae	40	
Nong Hee	13	Pa Sar	130	Ton Hoong
		Nong Nerm	40	Ho Ta
		Nong Pha	60	
		Na Yok	30	
		Nam Turn Ner	50	
		Wan Karng	40	
		Ter Hoong	120	
		Nam Tong	60	
		Nam Oon	30	
		Ba Har	20	
		Nam Kok	40	
		Bang Pha	80 (Palaung)	
		Na Sarn	25	
Total	**56**		**2,965**	

NAM ZARNG TOWNSHIP

No. of villages relocated: 68
No. of households relocated: 2,704
No. of village circles relocated: 5
(Total no. of village circles in Nam Zarng township: 20)

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Nong Hee	18	Nam Wo	82	Nam Zarng, Hai Neng
		Nam Warn	35	
		Nong Leng	80	
		Nam Khai	42	
		Nong Woe	50	
		Loi Seng	30	
		Wan Hui	37	
		Koon Sai	35	
		Koong Tee	30	
		Wan Parng	70	
		Si Khong	39	
		Sarm Khar	54	
		Koong Mong	38	
		Nam Hoo	50	
		Koong Niu	20	
		Wan Parng	25	
		Koong Pang Tai	35	
		Pak Nam	9	
Nar Poi	24	Nong Khio	23	4 places: Ton Hoong Mok Zi Li, Wan Zing, Lai Khaand Ton Hoong Long
		Loi Wieng	75	
		Ter Zarng	32	
		Nam Warn	25	
		Par Mai	45	
		Wan Look	35	
		Par Moi	27	
		Wan Hai	45	
		Khur Nim	34	
		Nam Hoo Phrathum	40	
		Kung Sim	30	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Harng Lin	45	
		Kun Keng	30	
		Kung Sar	30	
		Zi Zaw Ya Khe	50	
		Kung Zun	25	
		Ho Mong	25	
		Nam Ma	25	
		Nam Hoo Karng	30	
		Nong Kwai	30	
		Nam Kut	35	
		Ho Hoong	30	
		Wan Yod	5	
		Wan Koong	10	
		Hai Lai	25	
		Tor Ler	10	
		Kam Kwai	5	
		Nong Mot	15	
		Wan Loi	30	
		Koong Ket	40	
		Wan Pieng	35	
		Huay Long	20	
		Phak Ha	21	
		Mai Hai	40	
		Korng Hak	20	
		Ho Zoi	21	
		Tang Kharn	20	
		Taw Zoi	17	
Ton Hoong	12	Mork Zali	15	2 places: Ton Hoong Hai Lai and Kho Lam
		Koong Yom	20	
		Sarm Kyong	17	
		Nam Zer	20	
		Kong Hom	70	
		WO Som	15	
		Wan Mong	10	
		Karb Sarng	30	
		Loi Tong	32	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Nong Worn	25	
		Wan Heng	18	
		Wan Khai	20	
Loi La	11	Loi La	120	Wan Nong
		Bong Lao	40	Koong Mong
		Bang Sar	40	
		Kam Zen	25	
		Nong Tao	30	
		Pha Son	so	
		Loi Oon	60	
		Koong Lang	30	
		Loi Yoi	40	
		Loi Khang	25	
		Koong Pharn	30	
Ho Norng	1	Nam Lin	56	Kho 1Am
Total	**68**		**2,704**	

LAI KHA TOWNSHIP

No. of villages relocated: 80
No. of households relocated: 3,043
No. of village circles relocated: 8
(Total no. of village circles in Lai Kha: 19)

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Wan Heng	5	Nong Yar Sai	20	Parng Phone
		Wan Heng	50	
		Na Yong	20	
		Wan Jong	20	
		Wan Ho Nong	30	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Wan Ler	21	Koong Khan	30	Tard Mork
		Koong Kok	20	
		Nong Keng	10	
		Ho Lome	30	
		Nam Hoo Lek	15	
		Par Yane	25	
		Kun Hoong	20	
		Nam Tong	10	
		Na Yong	40	
		Nar Sam	20	
		Nong Lome	40	
		Koong Pao	30	
		Nong Mae Jan	20	
		Koong Mae Seng	40	
		Bang Nyong	50	
		Lin Leng	30	
		Nong Seng	20	
		Nam Khoke	30	
		Nong Mai	25	
		Koong Samemg	80	
		Wan Ler	100	
Wan Sarng	2	Wan Worn	35	Wan Sarng
		Ho Khai	40	
Nong Kaw	8	Kung Kard	35	Wan Sarng
		Wan Mai	18	
		Wan Pook	20	
		Nong Khe	25	
		Mark Lamg	15	
		Koong Phak Tao	45	
		Kung Ling Kung Keng	35	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Karng Oon	60	
Hai Seng	10	Wan Long Hai Seng	100	Wan Samg
		Wan Look 40		
		Hai Seng Wan Mai	25	
		Longzaw Longtong	50	
		Kun Nar	20	
		Nong Zem	60	
		Kang Oon	100	
		Ma Kawk	200	
		Nong Tao	30	
		Nong Wan	30	
Parng Sarng	20	Wan Ban	50	Parng Peng, Parng
		Ho Nam	50	Phone
		Nar Loi	30	
		Nam Nor	30	
		Zang Kham	20	
		Wan Na	20	
		Phak Koom	20	
		Loi Sai	30	
		Pa Kang	50	
		Kong Hak	50	
		Nam Hoo Hai	50	
		Koon Kok	20	
		Wan Hui	300	(Palaung)
		Kong Ai	10	
		Khai Toi	10	
		Yala	10	(Palaung)
		Wan Koi	20	
		Harng Nam	5	(Palaung)
		Kong Wet	10	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Nar Oong	10	
Wan Thi	10	Nong Kern	60	Pamg Phone
		Nam Mane	15	
		Nam Maw Long	20	
		Nong Hur	25	
		Ho Nam Long Taw	35	
		Khoke Nam Ho Kho	20	
		Phar Worng	35	
		Za Lai Loi	40	
		Kung Parng	20	
		Nong Woe	30	
Tard Mok	4	Nam Ler	100	Tard Mork
		Kho Saw	10	
		Khai Tone	40	
		Khai Toi	10	
Total	**80**		**3,043**	

MURNG KERNG TOWNSHIP

No. of villages relocated: 24
No. of households relocated: 1,230
No. of village circles relocated: 5
(Total no. of village circles in Murng Kerng: 24)

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Murng Khun	3	Nar Kharng	30	north of
		Wan Mai	25	Murng Kerng
		Koong Pek	50	
Wan Hui	8	Loi Lam	40	north of
		Wan Moong	70	Murng Kerng,
		Wan Hui	100	Tard Mork
		Wan Leng	70	
		Koon Kok	20	
		Kang Noo Phai	30	
		Parng Leng	30	
		Nong Lio	80	
Ho Na	7	Wan Jok	125	north of
		Wan Kon	30	Mumg Kemg
		Nam Kerm	40	
		Kun Pan	70	
		Koong Parn	50	
		Khi Khor	20	
		Loi Keng	90	
Ham Ngai	1	Wan Murng	100	Ham Ngai
Wan Phui	5	Nam Lin	50	Wan Phui
		Na Boong	60	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Nong Kham Mark Korn Wo Murng Lang	20 30 100	
Total	**24**		**1,230**	

KUN HING TOWNSHIP

No. of villages relocated: 95
No. of households relocated: 3,407
No. of village circles relocated: 12
(Total no. of village circles in Kun Hing township: 19)

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Keng Lome	37	Nar Ke Pang Sak Kun Kui Nar Wom Nong Leng Sai Leng Nar Mark Khor Na Pemg Kong Ke Pang Wad Wan Khai Hui Aw Pa Pha Nar Keng Nam Un Nar Phai	40 30 30 30 35 15 35 6 15 17 5 8 50 45 25 15	Keng Lome

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Nar Long	30	
		Parng Hok	20	
		Paeng Kong	10	
		Nam Maw Hawtum	15	
		Parng Ern	40	
		Nam Lin Ot	25	
		Parng Harng	15	
		Mai Han Lao	35	
		Nar Ler	25	
		Nam Par Man	45	
		Wan Pae	30	
		Ho Parng	60	
		Pa Sar	30	
		Parng Wat	25	
		Huay Aw	11	
		Parng Sak	54	
		Mai Si Lee	30	
		Lai Ha	15	
		Nur Ha	25	
		Sar Lar	30	
		Wan Mai	15	
Wieng Phui	7	Wieng Phui	40	Keng Lome
		Pang Hoke	5	
		Pang Ern	45	
		Nar Phai	15	
		Nar Long	40	
		Nam Oon	18	
		Nam Maw Thum	15	
Wan Tong	7	Nar Khark	50	Wan Tong
		Nam Mane	20	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Nar Mark Mong	13	
		Phak Lurn	17	
		Nar Tee	35	
		Sa Harng	37	
		Kaw Sarng	35	
Sai Murng	6	Sai Murng	100	Wan Tong
		Pieng Khar	15	
		Hui Phoi	20	
		Nar Maw	14	
		Nar Zork	15	
		Huay Mark Pha	25	
Wan Phai	2	Nam Kham	10	Keng Kham
		Hui Hoke	8	
Keng Kham	4	Kun Nar	30	Keng Kham
		Nar Khar	20	
		Nam Kham	20	
		Nar Poi	40	
Kun Pu	3	Nam Parng Ta Khai	100	Keng Kham
		Ho Ha	100	
		Nam Kung	100	
Loi Keng	8	Nar Korng	15	Keng Kham
		Nar Saai	35	
		Nar Paw	20	
		Zim Kaeng	25	
		Nar Kiu	25	
		Kun Khan	6	
		Kun Kyawng	60	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Nar Lurm	6	
Ngar Teng	1	Nar Khar Long	35	Son Sarng Wo Long
Wan Lao	13	Nam Mon	100	Wan Lao
		Beng Khan	50	
		Na Wai	60	
		Kung Sar	100	
		Nam Jar	100	
		Kung Sim	50	
		Ho Na	100	
		Kung Lang	50	
		Ho Yarn	200	
		Bang Wat	100	
		Parng Hok	15	
		Nam Khe	20	
		Long Maw	30	
Saai Khao	2	Saai Moon	17	Saai Khao
		Nar Yarng	20	
Loi Khiod (all Lahu villages)	5	Wan Mork Zork	80	Keng Lome
		Nar Nomg	30	
		Luk 1,ong	30	
		Loi Khio Orn	20	
		Norng Naeng	20	
Total	**95**		**3,407**	

KE SEE TOWNSHIP

No. of villages relocated: 232
No. of households relocated: 7,112
No. of village circles relocated: 20
(Total no. of village circles in Ke See: 32)

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Wan Khem	34	Wan Jong	30	Pang Bo
		Na Torn	40	
		Wan Mai	10	
		Wan Koon	5	
		Na Sang	30	
		Pak Nam	40	
		Mak Mer	30	
		Huay Hio	30	
		Pang Kat	15	
		Pak Hee	40	
		Oong Zaw	15	
		Kung Kor	30	
		Na Mai Niu	30	
		Kung Pak Nam	10	
		Pang Lor	15	
		Keng Kham	15	
		Kung Sar	40	
		Kung Mong	30	
		Mai Wo	30	
		Na Mai Hio	5	
		Wan Kat	5	
		Na Lin	10	
		Kung Bek	15	
		Na Nong	15	
		Nong Ngern	30	(Palaung)
		Wan Kong	30	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Wan Noi	40	
		Nam Khem	10	
		Huay Wai	5	
		Pai Wo	10	
		Kung Mai Nio	15	
		Wan Long	40	
		Loi Tang	20	
		Khok Noi	30	
Bang Jay	13	Bang Jay	40	Kang Pang
		Nam Tek	40	
		Nam Kop	40	
		Ba Tep	30	
		Nong Kor	50	
		Hang Ter	40	
		Wan Zorn	60	
		Mak Man	50	
		Nam Zalong	30	
		Nam Zelet	40	
		Pa Lon	40	
		Kung Mert	15	
		Jong Pang	50	
Wan Phui	2	Nar Loi	30	Ke See
		Nar Harm	40	
Murng Kao	19	Mak Hoo	60	Murng Kao
		Nong Wet	40	
		Pang Yon	30	
		Nam Som	5	
		Mai Hoong Lerng	40	
		Bang Hai	40	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Wan Koong	30	
		Nong Hee	30	
		Koon Lom	30	
		Hin Yorm	30	
		Son Mon	40	
		Mai Hoong Khio	30	
		Kong Charm	30	
		Nar Khio Lerng	40	
		Na Tun	10	
		Wan Mor	30	
		Look Koot	30	(Palaung)
		Huay Hok	30	
		Koong Pek	15	
Nong Som	23	Loi Tomg Tai	40	Nong Som
		Nam Khai	15	
		Look Long	20	
		Wan Lak	50	
		Kho Hor	60	
		Kung Ler	30	
		Khok Noi	20	
		Son Palaung	40	
		Nong See	20	
		Ho Na	20	
		Huay Hok	10	
		Loi Sai	30	
		Pang Khan	10	
		Phai Mok	40	
		Nam Hoo	30	
		Nam Tao Kep	30	
		Loi Phui	40	
		Loi Tong Loi	40	(Palaung)

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Ho Kho	20	
		Kiu Kem	20	
		Loi Mot	20	
		Wan Koong	30	
		Phak Ler	40	
Mumg Nang	14	Wan It	63	Mumg Nawng
		Wan Nar	39	
		Mumg Porn	26	
		Nomg Wo	47	
		Nomg Tao	33	
		Wan Nomg	64	
		Nam Maw Sai	10	
		Nam Lin	36	
		Nam Pan	41	
		Wan Long	104	
		Mark Na	15	
		Pa Lerng	38	
		Look Khar	20	
		Wan Ban	45	
Murng Yai	34	Mumg Yai	50	Parng Phone
		Nani Lin	50	
		Koong Nang Long	15	
		Wan Phai	40	
		Huay Long	15	
		Koong Nang Orn	15	
		Boong Long	20	
		Mak Tee	30	
		Wan Boong	20	
		Bang Hai	10	
		Huay Hok	20	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Zarm Erk	10	
		Huay Tong Kao	10	
		Hin He	40	
		Wan Jong	20	
		Koong Lang	30	
		Kor Erk	5	(Palaung)
		Nong Wo	40	
		Oo Man	10	(Palaung)
		Hai Seng	50	
		Hang Na	40	
		Bang Bok	40	
		Huay Keng	40	
		Wan Khai	30	
		Ho Hee	10	(Palaung)
		Moo Nawng	5	(Palaung)
		Norng Leng	10	
		Koong Ler	40	
		Nang Hoong	10	
		Lin Phek	20	
		Huay Tong Merk	20	
		Nam Tong	30	
		Wan Nam Jok	50	
		Pa Jee	40	
Parng Lor	9	Pamg Lor	40	Lam Kwae
		Na Kham	20	
		Loi Zor	20	
		Wan Khai	10	
		Loi Mon	20	
		Na Long	20	
		Pang Khem Na Lur	30	
		Na Salay	20	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Wan Mai	15	
Ha Wan	14	Wan Nim	40	Larn Kwae
		Ho Hong	10	
		Kun Hung	40	
		Nong Hok	20	
		Na Par	40	
		Koong Kor	40	
		Na Pang	30	
		Nam Book	40	
		Kat Peng	20	
		Kong Tab	10	
		Bang Mong	20	
		Wan Kham	10	
		Nim Zom	10	
		Ha Wan	50	
Keng Lem	14	Keng Lem	50	Lam Kwae
		Nam Ho	40	
		Wan Mert	30	
		Khi Kak	50	
		Mork Zarm	20	
		Koong Kok	40	
		Koong Sar	10	
		Tak Let	20	
		Ba Ling	10	
		Wan Mor	20	
		Bang Kharm	20	
		Nam Hoo	10	
		Nam Hoo Nam Mor	40	
		Huay Kok	40	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Wan Hai	2	Wan Hai	30	Larn Kwae
		Parng Kham	30	
Wan Tong	5	Wan Kyong	60	south of
		Phai Mong	20	Mumg Nong
		Nam Hoo Ngem	30	
		Wan Son Goi	15	
		Huay Or	25	
Murng Yang	3	Kok Nam	40	Wan Zing
		Nong Pang	100	
		Na Tet	20	
Nong Tao	7	Nong Tao	200	Nam Mong
		Kho Tee	40	
		Koong Yong	50	
		Mak Moong Yao	30	
		Bang Kao	25	
		Ho Hoo	25	
		Zai Wai	50	(Palaung)
Murng Sorng	10	Long Ling	30	Mumg Nong
		Koon Saw	60	(Nong Aye)
		Wan Loi	80	
		Keng Hao	40	
		Nong Sang	40	
		Ba Lao	50	
		Na Wam	50	
		Kong Hai	30	
		Long Zan	40	
		Nong Yang	20	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Murng Lerm	8	Mumg Lerm	150	Nam Mong
		L,oi Len	50	(Palaung)
		Ho Ho	15	
		Ho Na	10	
		Mak 0	18	
		Ba Kang	30	
		Nong Mon	14	
		Wan Jong	30	
		Wan Long Du Ya	50	Wiang Kao
		Berk Lerng	20	
		Mak Na	10	
		Wan Nong	20	
		Bang Lor	8	
		Na Sor	30	
Long Yan	6	Wan Jong	20	Nam Mong
		Nam Bon	20	
		Ter Tart	40	
		Loi Noi	10	
		Kong Wet	30 (Palaung)	
		Ba Karng	30	
Nong Aye	1	Ho Tart	50(Lahu)	Nong Aye
Wan Zing	8	Phui Hur	10	Wan Zing
		Koong Khet	50	
		Wan Loi	100	
		Wan Nai	20	
		Wan Parng	150	
		Nam Hoo	150	
		Hoong Harng	10	
		Wan Loi Tham	10	
Total	**232**		**7,112**	

MARNG SU TOWNSHIP

No. of villages relocated: 28
No. of households relocated: 697
No. of village circles relocated: 9
(Total no. of village circles in Murng Su: 17)

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
Murng Zarng	2	Wan Mong	20	Mumg Zarng
		Wan Li	15	
Hai Par	8	Murng Kharng	35	Hai Par
		Nar Pae	10	
		Nomg Khaet	15	
		Horng Lerk	10	
		Ta Sarm Poo	30	
		Koong Nim	15	(Palaung)
		Nam Par Moong	20	
		Paeng Thorn	15	
Wan Saw	3	Look Niu	22	Wan Saw
		Wan Sarn	30	
		Nar Hew	20	
Phar Ya	4	Som Khorn	20	Phar Ya
		Wan Hok	18	
		Wan Parng	20	
		Nam Arng	19	
Wan Loi	1	Huay Hae	30	Wan Loi
Norng Ep & Kun Kyorng	6	Wan Parng Kongmu	30	Nar Mon
		Parng Kharm Sai	38	
		Wan Kyomg	30	

Village Circle or Ward	No of villages	Name of villages	no. of households	Place of relocation
		Nam Yom	28	
		Loi Waeng	30	
		Nomg Taw	20	
Murng Ord	1	Torng Hew	25	Murng Ord
Loi Nai	3	Peng Oo	48	Loi Nai
		Nam Poon	49	
		Korng Hak	35	
Total	**28**		**697**	

APPENDIX 2

Background on USDA, SLORC's "Brown-Shirts"

The Union of Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) was first established by the SLORC as a social and business organization. The USDA now maintains a monopoly over State properties in its business projects and investments, amounting to control of billions of kyats. It has since also become SLORC's political support group and functions much like the Indonesian Golkar, terrorizing SLORC targets.

The USDA began its business and investment dealings in early 1995. With SLORC's assistance, the USDA established the Myan Gon Myint company with a 68 billion kyats investment. Traditionally, SLORC establishes markets and sells shops to individuals who may buy a shop and run the business themselves. The USDA has the unique privilege of obtaining shops free of charge from the SLORC; it can operate the shops or resell them for a profit.

According to the USDA's annual report submitted at the USDA annual meeting in September 1995, the USDA earned 362 billion kyats in profits by using State properties in their business transactions. On January 24, 1995, in Pinlon Yadan market in northern Dagon, 382 shops, owned by the Rangoon City Municipality Committee, were handed over by SLORC to the USDA Central Committee; it earned 55 billion kyats by reselling the shops to individuals and it garners one billion kyats in rent monthly from the shops. The newly-renovated Myaynigone market, also previously owned by Rangoon City Municipality Committee, was transferred to the USDA Central Committee by the SLORC, earning the USDA a profit of 200 billion kyats. Similarly, eleven shops in the State-owned Theingyi market in downtown Rangoon were given to the USDA as "gifts." The organization got 39 billion kyats for selling a portion of the shops and receives another 65,000 kyats monthly in rent. In addition to these major businesses, the USDA is running highway bus stations, passenger bus companies, restaurants, and recreation centers. With SLORC's assistance, the USDA is buying shares in other companies, and collecting taxes on its transportation businesses and many other small businesses.

USDA's Political Arm

On various occasions the SLORC has blatantly used the USDA to serve the interests of the military regime. During 1996, the USDA was primarily used to attack violently senior members of the NLD, including Aung San Suu Kyi, and to damage

and disrupt the activities of the NLD. It is widely accepted that the regime is hoping to create an unbearable situation for the entire NLD, in order to provoke the organization and its members into a violent confrontation with SLORC, allowing the military an excuse for another repressive crack-down on the NLD and its supporters.

The SLORC is trying to create the illusion that there is a groundswell of support for the USDA. Since December 1995, the SLORC-controlled media has begun to report that mass rallies attended by tens of thousands of people throughout the country are being held in support of the USDA. According to inside sources, USDA membership is not voluntary; people join out of fear of the army. Attendance at USDA rallies is mandatory; in many cases people are fined if they do not attend required events. Often, mobs are paid by SLORC to perform violent acts against NLD members.

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Front Cover Photo

Karenni refugee woman and her children at the Karenni refugee camp near Mae Hong Son province, Thailand. Approximately, 75,000 Karenni people were forcibly relocated by the SLORC. Thousands of them fled and took refuge in Thailand.

Back Cover

The supporters of the National League for Democracy were arrested at the University Avenue, close to the residence of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. They were solely arrested for their peaceful gathering to see Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in November 1996.



No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.
[*Article 9, Universal Declaration of Human Rights*]

