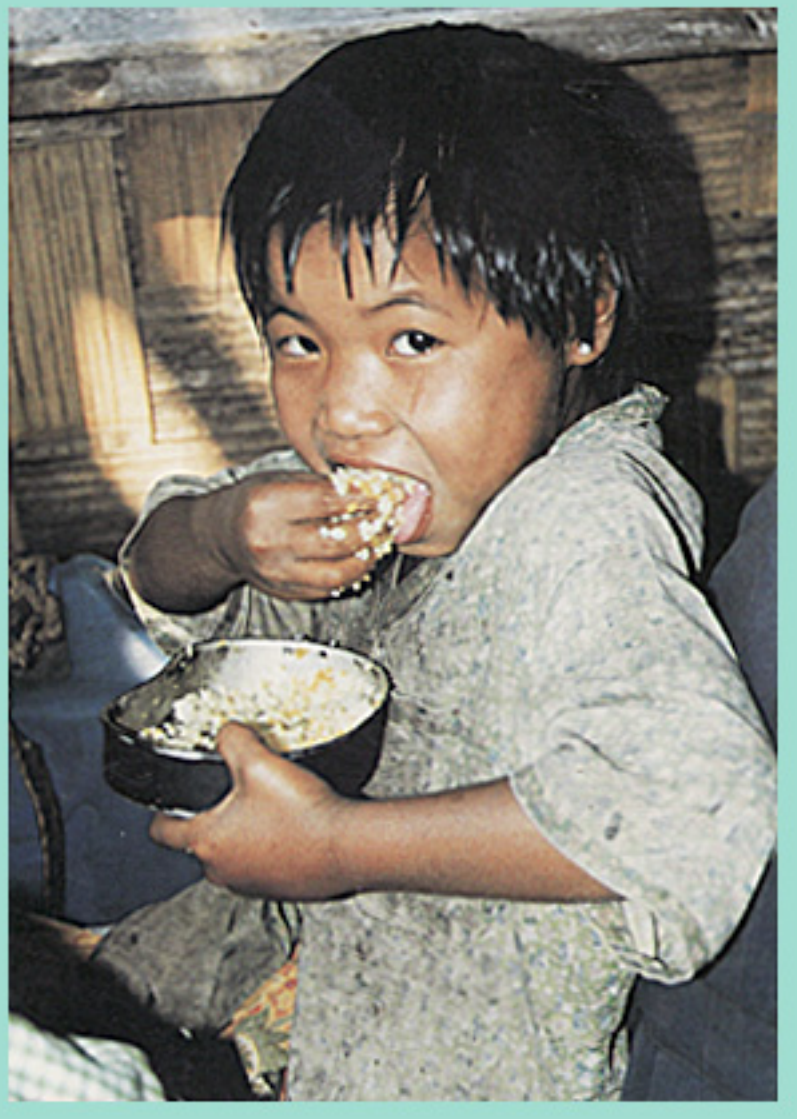
HUMAN RIGHTS YEARBOOK

1999-2000



BURMA

HUMAN RIGHTS YEARBOOK

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

First Edition: 2000 copies, August 2000
Published by Human Rights Documentation Unit (NCGUB)

With generous support from:
The Norwegian Burma Council
The Euro-Burma Office and The Burma Fund

Printed at
Government Printing Office
National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma

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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
National Coalition Government of
the Union of Burma

It is a given fact that due to the failings of humankind, no country will ever succeed in completely freeing itself of human rights violations. Deterrents against this practice backed by legal mechanisms are put in place by nations for that very reason.

History has taught us that the way a country handles human rights violations also determines, from a certain perspective, the nature of the government and the system of governance of that country.

Democratic countries provide citizens the means to seek legal justice and to make violators accountable for their deeds. In "less than democratic" and authoritarian countries, the means are usually there, but for the lack of transparency and accountability, and the proper separation of the judiciary from the administrative branch, there are no guarantees that justice will be done in such cases.

The distinctive feature of the Burmese situation is that there is no formal legal system for citizens to seek justice for human rights violations because it is either the state or the organizations sanctioned by the state that are perpetrating the crimes.

In fact, the junta has been so blatant in perpetrating them that even the international community decided to intervene: The ILO warned the military junta to end forced and compulsory labor practices or face international sanctions.

The junta is actually committing far worse crimes than forced and compulsory labor, and it was for that reason that the NCGUB decided to form the Human Rights Documentation Unit.

This is the sixth Yearbook and all the previous books have been praised for their content. We would have been gratified had the Yearbooks been about anything but stories of human suffering, records of torture, rape, and murder, and the systematic persecution and imprisonment of political activists and politicians by authorities.

The incidents documented in these books are important because human life and human rights are sacred to us as a nation. We resolve to remember the victims and we look forward to the day when such tragedies are no longer part of life, a day when the Human Rights Documentation Unit will no longer be necessary.

Acknowledgements

The emergence of a people's parliament is not only of paramount importance for Burma, it is the only hope to resolve the political, social, economic and human rights violation problems that are currently plaguing the country.

For the emergence of a people's parliament, the people of Burma, through the 1990 general elections, had overwhelmingly voted for the members of parliament of the National League for Democracy (NLD) by giving them over 80 percent of the seats.

A full decade has passed, but the people's representatives whom the people have chosen to represent them have not been permitted to convene the parliament. To prevent the parliament from convening, the military authorities have, on a daily basis, employed various detestable means — intimidation, pressure, forced resignation, illegal arrest and imprisonment — against the people's representatives. The military regime, sad to say, has also been attempting to forcibly dissolve the election-winning NLD party. The State Law and Restoration Council which re-christened itself State Peace and Development Council, has been embarking on these with an aim to denying the citizens of Burma the right to run their own political lives through the representatives they have freely chosen, thus, blatantly contravening the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The military authorities, in addition, have not only denied Nobel Peace Laureate Daw Aung Sann Suu Kyi and other political leaders and elected people's representatives freedom of assembly, freedom of organization and movement, they have used pressure and threat to coerce people into attending lawlessly orchestrated "public rallies" where, in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Articles 19 and 20, the people are made to shout and call for the dissolution of the election-winning NLD party, to make petitions and declarations of withdrawal of support for the people's representatives.

Furthermore, human rights abuses of all kinds including forced labour, forced relocation of people from their ancestral lands, persecution and torture etc, are taking place at an alarming rate in the SPDC-ruled Burma, a country where rule of law is completely missing. The SPDC has shamelessly violated the universally recognized Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The human rights abuses records found in this book are a presage of the worsening human rights violations that are looming and will soon and surely take place in Burma. Burma needs sympathy and assistance from the human rights-respecting and democ

racy-cherishing people of the international community, and also from the international organizations both governmental and non-governmental, to timely stop these evil things from occurring. This, in fact, is the reason why human rights abuses in Burma are documented, and this human rights yearbook compiled.

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the members of the Norwegian Burma Council for their unwavering support in making this Report possible. In addition, I would like to thank all the ethnic organizations and the many individuals who supported this project. Sincere thanks also to all those people who helped prepare this book for publication, and many individuals whose names cannot be mentioned but whose contribution cannot go unnoticed. The very existence of the Human Rights Documentation Unit (HRDU) would not have been possible without the assistance of these friends of Burma. The emergence of the HRDU has given me a greatly satisfying opportunity to work closely with organizations that are noble and just and have a profound sympathy for the people of Burma.

I wish to put on record my profound gratitude to the KHRG, KIC, HRFOM, SHRF, SHAN, CHRO, KNAHR, ABSDF, BWU, Burma Issue, Images Asia, ALTSEAN Burma and the YOMA-3 for their enthusiastic assistance and cooperation for the publication of this book. I also would like to express my gratitude to the Euro-Burma Office and the Burma Fund which generously assisted the publication of this book.

Thein Oo
Minister for Justice (NCGUB) and

Coordinator
Human Rights Documentation Unit

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CRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS, TERMS, AND MEASUREMENTS

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AASYC	All Arakanese Students and Youth Congress
AAPP	Association for Assistance of Political Prisoners
ABSDF:	All Burma Students' Democratic Front
ABSDF/WB:	All Burma Students' Democratic Front - Western Burma
ABFSU:	All Burma Federation of Students Union
ABFSU/FA:	All Burma Federation of Students Union (Foreign Affairs)
ABSL:	All Burma Students' League
ABYMU:	All Burma Young Monks Union
ALTSEAN:	Alternative Asean Network on Burma
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
BPP:	Border Patrol Police (Thailand)
BRC:	Burmese Relief Center
BSPP:	Burma Socialist Program Party
Capt:	Captain
CEC:	Central Executive Committee
CHRO:	Chin Human Rights Organization
CNF:	Chin National Front
Comdr:	Commander
Col:	Colonel
Cpl:	Corporal
CPPSM:	Campaign for the Publicity of the People's Struggle in Monland
CRPP:	The Committee Representing the People's Parliament
DDSI:	Directorate of Defense Services Intelligence
DKBA:	Democratic Kayin (Karen) Buddhist Army
DKBO:	Democratic Kayin Buddhist Organization
DPA:	Democratic Patriotic Army
DPNS:	Democratic Party for New Society
DVB:	Democratic Voice of Burma
FEC:	Foreign Exchange Certificate (See "Measurements")

ft:	feet
FTUB:	Federation of Trade Unions, Burma
Gen:	General
HRDU:	Human Rights Documentation Unit
HRV:	Human Rights Violations
HURFOM:	Human Rights Foundation of Monland
IA:	Images Asia
IB:	Infantry Battalion
IDC:	Immigration Detention Center (Thailand)
IDP:	Internally Displaced Persons
ILO:	International Labor Organization
Ind:	Independent
Lt:	Lieutenant
kg:	Kilogram
km:	Kilometer
KHRG:	Karen Human Rights Group
KIA:	Kachin Independence Army
KIC:	Karen Information Center
KIO:	Kachin Independence Organization
KNAHR:	Karenni News Agency for Human Rights
KNDA:	Karenni National Democratic Army
KNLA:	Karen National Liberation Army
KNPLF:	Karenni Nationality Peoples' Liberation Front
KNPP:	Karenni National Progressive Party
KNU:	Karen National Union
LIB:	Light Infantry Battalion
LID:	Light Infantry Division
MAMD:	Mon Army, Mergui District
Maj:	Major
Ma Wa Ta:	Township-level SLORC authorities
MI:	Military Inteligance
MIS:	Military Intelligence Services (aka DDSI)
MIS:	Mon Information Service
m:	meter
mm:	millimeter
MNRC:	Mon National Relief Committee
MOGE:	Myanmar Oil & Gas Enterprise
MOI:	Ministry of Interior (Thailand)
MPs:	Members of Parliament
MSC:	Military Strategic Command
MTA:	Mong Tai Army
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* (SPDC-controlled newspaper)
NMSP:	New Mon State Party
PDC:	Peace and Development Council
PSB:	Press Scrutiny Broad
RFA:	Radio Free Asia
SAIN:	Southeast Asia Information Network
Sd.:	Signed with signature
Sgt:	Sergeant
SHRF:	Shan Human Rights Foundation
S.H.A.N.:	Shan Herald Agency for News
SLORC:	State Law and Order Restoration Council
SPDC:	State Peace and Development Council
sq:	square
SSA:	Shan State Army
SSIA:	Shan State Independence Army
SUA:	Shan United Army
SURA:	Shan United Revolutionary Army
TOC:	Tactical Operations Command
THRF:	Tavoyan Human Rights Foundation
UN:	United Nations
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
USDA:	Union Solidarity and Development Association

TERMS

baht:	monetary unit of Thailand (see "Measurements").
Bo:	military commander.
Daw:	an honorific used to address an adult female
furlong:	(see "Measurements")
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
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
pyi:	eight-condensed-milk tin
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
Shwedagon:	The Great Pagoda in Rangoon
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")

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
	38 baht = US$ 1 (April, 2000)
FEC:	1 FEC = US$1 = kyat 6.5 (official)
	1 FEC = Kyats 340 - 350 (unofficial)
furlong:	1 furlong = 220 yards (1/8) mile = 201 meters
lakh:	1 lakh = 100,000
tin:	1 tin = 16 pyi
	1 pyi (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 terminology (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 to 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:	48.9 million
Population groth rate:	1.61%
Refugees:	approximately 300,000 in Thailand; 12,000 in China and India; 2,000 in Bangladesh
Internally displaced:	approximately two million people
Birth rate:	28.48 births/1,000 population
Death rate:	12.39 deaths/1,000 population

Life expectancy:	60 years
1,000 People per TV:	7
People per doctor:	12,500
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$ 1,200
GDP growth:	5%
Per capital GNP (nom):	US$ 765
Reserves excl. gold:	US$ 0.3 billion
Cur acct. balance:	US$ -0.4 billion
Exports 12 months:	US$ 1.2 billion
Inflation CPI:	11.5%
Foreign debt:	US$ 5.1 billion
GDP spending:	3. 1 % on military (non-SPDC figures: over 50%), 2.2% education, 0.8% health.
LDC status:	since 1987
Natural resources:	tin, plutonium, zinc, copper, cobalt, gold, rubies, jade, teak (80% of world's reserves), fish (704 metric ton/year), gas, oil, rice, sesame, groundnuts
Agriculture:	68% of workforce employed in agriculture; 15% of arable land; less than 50% of potentially productive land under cultivation
Rice exports:	3.5 million tons (1,930); 2 million tons (1962); 20,000 tons (1988)
Opium production:	1,300 tons (1988), 2,800 tons (1997), 18,00 tons (1998) (70% of US market)
Administrative areas:	Seven States (Arakan, Chin, Mon, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Shan); Seven Divisions (Irrawaddy, Magwe, Mandalay, Pegu, Rangoon, Sagaing, Tenasserim)
Last election:	May 27, 1990; NLD won more than 82% of legislative seats

Map of Burma showing State and Division borders

Historical Background

Constitutional period (1947-62)

On January 4, 1947, Burma gained its independence from the British who, in the nineteenth century, had fought three wars against the Burman Empire and finally conquered 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 youths 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 rule 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 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 of Burma to collapse. Prime Minister U Nu managed to keep his 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 head of the army, replace him and conduct new elections.

General Ne Win's caretaker government, comprising senior military officers, was short-lived; it lasted only 16 months. When the promised elections were held, an U Nu-led faction won. After he resumed leadership, U Nu called a meeting for February 1962; he planned to convene 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 previous 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 policy of rapid nationalization 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 with additional 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 selected as 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 197 5. Students also protested throughout this period; the most serious protest, in 1974, resulted from 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 the one-party government. In 1981, Ne Win abdicated the presidency, but continued to head the 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 currency bank-notes and offered no reimbursement. Nearly 70 percent 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). 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 thousands.

On August 12, 1988, U Sein Lwin resigned and was replaced by a civilian lawyer, Dr. Maung Maung. During this period, the jails were opened and criminals released, causing fear as crime rose. Rumors were also spread by government agents that the water supply was poisoned and that other heinous 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 cities and their homes and fled to border areas. The SLORC suspended the 1974 constitution.

SLORC's military rule (1988-1997)

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 the 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 for 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 (parliament) 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 under 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 collapsed from exhaustion or injury.

In 1989, the army achieved an unplanned victory of sorts in the north, along the Burma-China border. A minority group 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 in 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 any conclusion.

On July 10, 1995, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was released from 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 its undemocratic processes. 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 its 1990 election victory. The SLORC reacted by arresting hundreds of NLD MPs and other supporters in an effort to prevent the meeting. In addition, on June 7, 1996, SLORC issued Law No. 5/96, the sweeping provisions of which allow for up to 20 years imprisonment for anyone who expresses 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 ceasefire 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 ceasefire 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.

SPDC's military rule (1997-Present)

In November 15, 1997, the SLORC was renamed the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). Although the three most senior members of the regime retained their posts in the SPDC, 14 former members – all senior military officers – were moved to a

four - member advisory group. In late November three members of this advisory group were placed under house arrest. The three were former tourism minister, Lieutenant-General Kyaw Ba; the ex-commence minister, Lieutenant-General Tun Kyi; and the former agriculture minister, Lieutenant-General Myint Aung. A number of their aides and staff at other ministries were also placed under investigation. Following the detention, the advisory group was dissolved on December 10, 1997, less than one month after its formation. Officials said the members of the advisory group no longer held their military posts. The changes did not stop there. On December 20, there was an unexpected reshuffle of the second tier of the military regime, the cabinet. Another eight posts in the cabinet were reshuffled and one new member was added to the cabinet.

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

On December 12, 1997, five members of the NLD Central Executive Committee met the SLORC Minister for Home Affairs, Colonel Tin Hlaing, at the invitation of the regime. Colonel Tin Hlaing asked the NLD to stop issuing statements and to discontinue party organizational activities, such as efforts by Aung San Suu Kyi to attend party meetings in order to reorganize the youth wing of the party. Later, the official press of the regime reported that, unless these demands were met, moves towards a dialogue would slow even further. In a statement issued after the meeting, the NLD said that, as a legal political party, it was entitled to continue with such activities.

Message of
Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Nobel Laureate
General Secretary, National League for Democracy, Burma
to the 56th Session of
the United Nations Commission on Human Rights
Geneva, March 2000

It is now almost a decade since the United Nations Commission on Human Rights has been looking into the state of human rights in Burma. We are duly grateful for all that has been done over the years but of course much remains to be done. One of the main problems is that the present military regime tries to separate civil and political rights from economic, social and cultural rights. We would like to point out that this cannot be done.

Economic, social and cultural rights are inextricably linked to political and civil rights. If we look at the state of the Burmese economy today, it is clear that the main troubles are due to mismanagement - mismanagement by the administration. We have said again and again that the state of the Burmese economy is due largely to bad governance. Until there is good governance, our economy cannot be improved. The observations of trained economists and international financial institutions have pointed out that the main troubles of the Burmese economy are due to the lack of proper macroeconomic policies on the part of the military regime. It is due to such factors as an unreasonable and unrealistic rate of exchange. In a democratic country, such things would not be allowed to pass because there would be a democratic assembly representing the peoples' interest which would call the ruling government to order. So economic improvements cannot be brought about until there is a certain extent of political rights on the part of the people. **[1]**

As for cultural, social and economic matters, how can we separate them from politics? Our country is made up of many ethnic nationalities. Their rights have to be guarded by the government. The rights of ethnic nationalities include the right to develop their own culture, to develop their own kind of social system. In Burma today, although the military regime claims that it has achieved unity with the ethnic nationalities, the truth is that our ethnic nationalities are suffering greatly from repression of all kinds. For example in the Mon state, in recent years since this military regime came to power, the teaching of Mon language in schools has been prohibited. Now if this is not an infringement of the cultural rights of an ethnic people, what is. Language is very important. Language is one of the most important parts of any cultural package. If a people are not allowed to teach their own language how are they expected to pass on their cultural heritage. This is just an example of the kind of social and cultural injustice that exists in Burma today. **[2]**

In order to remove these injustices, the ethnic nationality peoples, like the rest of the people

of Burma must be given a voice. They must be given a right to express their opinions, to be able to work for their aspirations, to be able to enjoy the full rights of citizens of a free democratic nation. The Burmese people who constitute the majority in Burma also suffer from a grave lack of human rights. If we cannot remedy this situation soon, our country will get poorer and poorer. Our country will get poorer not just in material terms. We are not talking about foreign exchange reserves. We are not talking about gold reserves. What we are talking about is our people. We are going to get poorer in terms of human resources. This is mainly because this regime pays so very little attention to the education of our people.

For the military regime, the most important thing is to keep their hold on power, not to lose their grip on power. In order to keep their grip on power they are prepared to sacrifice the future of our young people. Universities in Burma have been shut over the last few years. Some universities, some faculties were opened, reopened for a short period. Some are opened at the moment. But in general the universities of Burma remain shut. There is also the dangerous development that members of the armed forces are educated separately. Medical colleges and engineering colleges are kept opened for members of the armed forces while the civilian population is deprived of higher education. This does not augur well for the future of our country. We will become a house divided. We will become a nation made up of two classes, the military elite and the rest. This does not augur well either for the military or for the civilians. **[3]**

A nation can progress and prosper only when there is unity, and only when there is a general acceptance among the people that there is justice. In no country can justice be guaranteed a hundred percent. Even in established democracies a continuous effort has to be made to uphold justice, equality, and human rights. In a country like ours which is totally crushed by a military regime, justice is a dream. But it is a dream that we are determined to realize. This is why we are working for democracy in Burma. And this is why we ask the world to support our cause.

There are those who say that nothing works. There are those who claim that the help of the international community is not going to make democratization come any earlier to Burma. This is not so. The help of the international community does make a difference. This military regime understands, like all governments in all countries understand today, that no country can remain separate from the rest of the world. There are so many links - economic, cultural. Mainly economic and of course scientific [and] technological [links] between the nations of the world that whether we like it or not, we would not be able to undo those things, they will remain, and because of that the international community can help greatly to bring about the fast democratization of our country.

Our people are the most precious resource that we have. There are many people who talk about the natural resources of Burma. They keep on saying, particularly the military regime, keeps on harping on the rich natural resources of our country. For us the richest resource is the human one. It is our people who are precious to us. If a people are uncared for and uneducated, they will not be able to do anything about using the natural resources for the good of the nation. So our first care is our people. We want to make sure that our people

enjoy security, enjoy freedom and they enjoy the right to advance themselves. That is to say they enjoy the right to education.

Health and education for us are the two most important things. And we want to provide our people with good health care, good education. And to do that we need an accountable, transparent government. A government that is not there to oppress the people but to do the best that it can for the people. We want a system whereby the people are allowed to judge whether or not the government in power is actually working for the good of the nation or simply for the good of that government itself. **[4]**

For this right many people in Burma have made many sacrifices. In spite of the scrutiny of international community, violations of human rights in Burma continue. It continues at a disgraceful rate. Quite recently, a man in his 70s was sentenced to two years imprisonment because he had listened to the Voice of America on the radio. While he was under trial his wife, also elderly and unwell, died because she was so troubled by the pressure exerted on them by the authorities. In which country of the world are people so oppressed that listening to a radio service serves them with two years of imprisonment? **[5]**

So please understand that the situation of human rights in Burma is not getting better. It seems to be getting worse. The greater the people desire democracy, the more frantic the military regime becomes to oppress them, to try to dissuade them from working for democracy; which is why the greater our peoples' desire for democracy, the greater the need for help from the international community. Please do not forget that instability in one part of the world could spread very rapidly these days. I hope that the world would be able to take an example of what happened recently in East Timor and learn to help when help is needed and not only when help is overdue.

I would like to thank you very much on behalf of the peoples of Burma and on behalf of the democratic forces who are struggling that not just our country but the world may be a safer, freer place for all peoples of the world.

NOTES

[1] Examination of budget allocations makes clear the SPDC's priority for military spending and the lack of concern for the well being of the general population. According to the World Bank, use of public hospitals and dispensaries has fallen by 80% in the last 10 years due to an extraordinarily low budgetary outlay of 0.2%. Current government spending for education as a share of national income "is among the lowest in the world." For schoolchildren between the ages of 5-9, the government spent 1,200 kyat (about 3.5 US dollars) per child in 1990/91. This has fallen to 100 kyat (0.30 US dollars) in 1999/2000. Rather than improve this situation, the military regime has announced a supplementary budget to cover this year's deficit, and it includes more spending for construction and defense. Additional expenditure is as follows:

a) Construction:12.69 billion kyat ($39.05 million)
b) Defense: 6.27 billion kyat ($19.29 million)
c) Education 1.357 billion kyat ($4.17 million)

d) Health 1.085 billion kyat ($4.38 million)

Diplomats have commented that much defense spending is not included in official figures, indicating that actual spending for the military is much higher. If looking at official figures alone, defense spending equals 16 times the amount spent on health.

INFORMATION FROM:
- Myanmar: An Economic and Social Assessment, Talking points for Burma Roundtabe at Human Rights Watch. Bradley Babson, Senior Advisor, World Bank. 16 December 1999.
- "Extra Burmese budget big on army spending," The Nation. 21 March 2000. P A7.

[2] In order to maintain and develop Mon culture, the New Mon State Party (NMSP) established approximately 250 schools before signing a cease-fire agreement with the SLORC in 1995. After signing the agreement, Mon communities assumed that they would be able to continue building more schools, and the NMSP officially requested the SLORC to allow the teaching of Mon language in government schools. The SLORC denied this request, but said Mon schools could be built. As the Mon education improved, many students from government schools moved to attend Mon schools, prompting the regime to begin closing the Mon schools. For example, in October 1999, an order was sent to close a Mon school operating out of a monastery in Kwan-tar village, Mudon Township, Mon State. The order came from Military Intelligence, and the Chairman of the local Peace and Development Council was responsible for carrying out the order. The day after the order was issued, the village headman called a meeting with all students' parents and explained that the school had to close because it was an illegal institution and teaching of Mon language was also illegal.

INFORMATION FROM:
- The Mon Forum, issue no 11/99, November 30, 1999.

[3] Between 1988 and 1996, universities were open for a total of only 30 months. After December of 1996, they were completely closed until recently. In December 1999, some campuses were opened, but were moved to locations outside the cities. Such conditions made it difficult, if not impossible, for many students to attend. Much depends on their financial capacity to pay for transportation from their homes or for accommodations near the university. At some universities, students were made to sign papers promising not to engage in any political activity. They were warned that if there were any demonstrations, campuses would be closed again.

Indeed, some campuses have already closed. Some universities were restructured to become "Government Technical Colleges" (GTC) which reduced the university degrees from university to college level. Students in Thanlyin and Hmaw Bi (Rangoon Division) staged protests, calling for cancellation of the new system and improved teaching environments. As a result, those GTCs were closed.

INFORMATION FROM:
- ABSDF Media Release, "The ABSDF calls for the reopening of all universities and for

better education" 6 February 2000.
- NCUB: Letter to UNESCO-Reopen the Universities, National Council of the Union of Burma Foreign Affairs Committee. 17 January 2000.

[4] As mentioned in Note [1], there is a clear lack of commitment by the military regime in Burma to taking care of the health and educational needs of the general population, and the repercussions are severe. Approximately 35% of the population has no access to public primary health care services of any kind. There is an HIV/AIDS crisis in Burma. While the regime claims that only 25,000 people have tested positive for HIV in Burma, the UN AIDS program has cited 440,000 as a more realistic figure. Official SPDC statistics say the maternal mortality rate is 1.00 urban and 1.7 rural per 1000 live births. Other sources, however, have indicated much higher, at 517 per 100,000 live births. The under-5 mortality rate in 1997 was 114, and Burma has the 3rd highest mortality rate in Asia, behind Cambodia and Laos.

INFORMATION FROM:
- Alternative Perspectives, Other Voices: Assessing Gender Equality in Burma. Submission to the 23rd session of the Committee of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Images Asia. December 1999.
- Report on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, The Union of Myanmar. March 1999.
- State of the World's Children 1999 UNICEF.

[5] On 18 December 1999, U Than Chaun, the 70-year old proprietor of a coffee shop in Shwe-goo township, Kachin State, was arrested and his radio which was tuned to the Voice of America (Burmese broadcast) was seized. On 19 January 2000, he was charged and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment under Section 505 (b) of the Penal Code. U Than Chaun's wife was suffering from heart ailment and high blood pressure, and she passed away while he was in prison. He himself suffers medical problems which have now become life threatening.

INFORMATION FROM:
- NLD Statement 21 (2/00) (translation).

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1. Extra-judicial Killing, Summery or Arbitrary Execution

1.1 Background

There are frequent and well-documented reports of arbitrary and summary killings of civilians and ethnic people by members of SPDC troops under a variety of circumstances in 1999. SPDC's arbitrary executions take place anywhere and at any time, by military officials as well as rank and file soldiers. The 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. 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 longer work due to over-exhaustion or illnesses, 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 survivors of these double crimes will report or publicize the sexual assaults.

Ethnic minorities, living primarily in areas surrounding the central Burma plains, have been systematically and summarily tortured, executed, and relocated with little or no evidence or explanation. This points to the SPDC's complete disregard for the human rights and humanitarian law treaties it has signed.

The main reason proffered by the SPDC for the killing of a villager is usually affiliation with the ethnic armed opposition forces; however, this claim is rarely substantiated with factual evidence, and most of the time the villagers killed have been randomly targeted and unjustly accused. The villagers fear travelling outside the village for any reason, especially to tend their hill fields in the jungle, because they risk discovery by SPDC troops on patrol and the inevitable accusation of being rebels or rebel supporters. At present, anyone found outside their villages, even if they are clearly tending their fields, is immediately accused of being a 'rebel' or 'rebel supporter', which guarantees detention and torture with no possibility of supplication. Indeed, accusing a villager of being a soldier, a relative of a soldier, or helping soldiers in any way is a blanket accusation punishable by death; the implicit SPDC threat to other villagers is to renounce suspected rebels before innocent villagers pay the price for their subversion.

The families of suspected soldiers of the ethnic armed forces are often held hostage while one family member is sent out to 'bring in the soldier' under threat of death if he or she fails. As most accusations of 'being a soldier' are unfounded, this system can be used to execute almost anyone; for example, every woman found in a village without her husband is accused of being 'married to a soldier'. Villagers can also be executed for simply having carried rice for ethnic armed forces troops or helping them in similar ways, even if they were forced to do so.

Killing of Civilians are also taking place under the forced relocation order by the SPDC. This aims to break civilian ties with or support for armed ethnic groups in the area.

The SPDC sends threatening letters to village leaders that sometimes contain a bullet, chili, and charcoal. These enclosures are interpreted as being symbolic of the future that awaits residents who do not cooperate with the terms of relocation (a bullet represent death, the chili means life will be unpleasant, and the charcoal signifies the burning down of villages). In fact, civilians that have failed to heed the SPDC orders to relocate have been subjected to extrajudicial killings.

After the forced relocation order, while moving through the hills, if SPDC columns see people in the villages, fields or forests they usually shoot at them with no questions asked. Occasionally they will call to the villager first, but when this happens people usually try to run away in fear and are then shot. However, there have also been cases where they have seen villagers working their fields, concealed themselves along the path and then shot the villagers when they try to head home. The worst massacres have occurred in Kun Hing Township, Shan State. On June 16, 1997, two groups of villagers headed back to gather things from their home villages with passes from SPDC officers in Kun Hing relocation site. Along their way, both groups were intercepted by SPDC troops, lined up and mown down with automatic fire. 29 villagers died at Sai Khao, and 27 died at Tard Pa Ho. The massacres were later confirmed by the few who had managed to escape and by video footage of some of the remains. Similar massacres have occurred since and have been documented by the Shan Human Rights Foundation. The most recent cases occurred in late January and early February 2000 in Kun Hing Township. On January 30, a group of villagers were returning to their village in Keng Kham village tract with permission and passes from IB 246 in Kun Hing relocation site when they were stopped by an SPDC patrol from IB 66. 19 of them were executed, including three women. On February 12, a group of 20 male villagers from Kun Pu village tract who had been living in hiding in the forest were spotted by a patrol from IB 246, and all 20 of them were executed; the same patrol later killed five women and children who were hiding in a nearby hut.

1.2 Death Squad in Karen State

Since October 1998 a new type of SPDC battalion has been formed in Nyaunglebin district, Karen State apparently with the specific purpose of carrying out extrajudicial executions: the *'Dam Byan Byaut Kya'* death squads. The name *'Dam Byan Byaut Kya'* means 'Guerrilla Retaliation' unit, and is the name they have told villagers in several places. They are also known as *'Sa Sa Sa Dam Byan Byaut Kya'*; the prefix *'Sa Sa Sa'* (or *'Sa Thon Lon'*, for 'Three S's') is the abbreviation for DDSI (Directorate of Defence Services Intelligence), which is Burma's pervasive Military Intelligence headed by SPDC Secretary-1 Lt. Gen. Khin Nyunt.

According to the information available, the unit was formed by selecting the 'bravest', in other words the most brutal, five to twelve soldiers from each of the many Infantry and Light Infantry Battalions operating in the region, most or all of them being Corporals and Sergeants. Most available estimates place the total size of the *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation force at about 200 soldiers. It is organized along the lines of a regular Army Battalion though using smaller numbers, and is apparently divided into four or five main Companies: *'Mone Thon'* ('Monsoon'), *'Mone Daing'* ('Storm'), *'Galone'* ('Garuda'), and *'D'Pyet Hleh'* ('Sweeper'); the fifth is *'Moe Kyo'* ('Lightning') They usually operate

in small patrols of five or six men, scattered in several villages but focussed on the plains east of the Sittaung River and the westernmost reaches of the hills.

The main function of these units to date has been to execute any civilian even remotely suspected of present or past connections with the KNU (Karen National Union) or KNLA (Karen National Liberation Army). This connection can be as minor as a distant relative in the KNU, or having given some rice to a KNLA unit several years ago, or an unsubstantiated accusation by anyone. The main intention is probably to strike fear into all villagers of having anything whatsoever to do with the KNU/KNLA. Estimates on the number of people executed since October vary widely, from 30 to 80 or 100. Victims have included Burmans as well as Karens, because many Burmans are intermixed with the Karen population in the plains and many Burmans in the area sympathize with the KNU/KNLA.

The operational unit of the *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation force is the section. Each section has 5 to 10 soldiers and moves independently from village to village. Between them they cover the villages of the plains east of the Sittaung River as well as the westernmost reaches of the hills. They do not establish their own camps, but stay in the houses of villagers along their way. Usually they stay in a village through the day, then move to other villages by night. They seldom spend two consecutive nights in the same village. They demand their food and money from the villagers, but when in the villages they order the villagers to look at the ground and not to look in their faces. They do not wear standard issue SPDC Army fatigues. Instead, many villagers say that they often wear civilian clothing, such as T-shirts and sarongs, around the villages, and guerrilla camouflage uniforms by night, or various combinations of civilian clothing and guerrilla camouflage. They very frequently wear camouflage short pants, and this brought about the Karen name *Baw Bi Doh* ('Short Pants') which many villagers call them. Villagers also say that their weapons are not the standard Army-issue G3 and G4 assault rifle but the AK47 and AR assault rifles, which are far better in the jungle. They have also on occasion used M79 grenade launchers, and they do much of their killing with knives.

The killings carried out by the *Sa Thon Lon* units to date can be divided into two main categories: systematic executions of people they have targetted, and *ad hoc* killings of people they find in farmfield huts or meet along the pathways. When they target a specific person for execution, a *Sa Thon Lon* section usually enters the village sometime in the night, surrounds the person's house and orders them to come out, then takes the person away and executes them outside the village. Many of those beaten and killed are not specific targets, but simply villagers found outside their villages or relocation sites by the *Sa Thon Lon* troops. *Sa Thon Lon* units have issued orders that no villagers are to be outside their villages between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m., and that even when they are allowed outside they must have a pass and are not allowed to have any food. People caught outside their village at night or caught with food are generally executed, while those caught without a pass or with an expired pass during the daylight hours are severely beaten. In some cases they enter villages and surround the houses of people they plan to kill and try to catch them that way. Other tactics they use are to pretend to stop for a rest in a villager's house and then kill him, or to conscript a villager as a guide and then kill him once they are out of the village.

The *Sa Thon Lon* troops sometimes shoot their victims, but more often kill them with knives by cutting their throats or stabbing them in the chest. In most cases it appears that they do not interrogate or torture their victims beforehand, they simply kill them. Some

Sa Thon Lon soldiers have even told villagers that *Sa Thon Lon* stands for 'No Interrogation'. However, after killing them they often mutilate the bodies, presumably to deliver a stronger message to the other villagers.

According to villagers in the area, when the *Sa Thon Lon* units suspect someone they kill them without any interrogation, often at night. Some have been shot, some stabbed to death. Afterwards local villagers have been ordered not to touch, cremate or bury the bodies. The troops have thrown some of the bodies in the river, and have also on several occasions cut off the heads of their victims after killing them. The villagers were then ordered to guard the heads to make sure no one removed them, under threat that if the heads were removed those assigned to guard them would be severely punished. Sa Thon Lon troops have also been reported to burn houses, shell villages and kill villagers simply on encountering them on pathways or away from villages. On Christmas Day 1998, a Sa Thon Lon unit entered Bpaw Pee Der village, Nyaunglebin district, and opened fire on a group of young people playing volleyball (volleyball tournaments are popular entertainment on Christmas), killing Saw San Myint. The troops then cut off Saw San Myint's head, stuck a cheroot in his mouth and hung it along the path toward Mone town.

It is difficult to establish the exact number of villagers already executed by *Sa Thon Lon* units in Nyaunglebin District, but villagers and local sources estimate somewhere between 50 and over 100. Most victims have been Karen, but there have also been many Burmans killed because there are many Burmans in the Sittaung River plains who sympathize with the Karen resistance. Many of the killings go completely unreported and in some cases people simply disappear so even the local villagers cannot be sure.

1.3 Death in Custody

The Human Rights Documentation Unit compiled comprehensive lists documenting the numbers of people who had been taken into custody and subsequently died, due to torture or to denial of adequate medical care and harsh conditions. Some are in failing health, as is the case with many political prisoners. The prisons and detention centers in Burma are notorious for their abominable conditions and insufficient medical assistance. The condition of prisons remains extremely harsh. Prisoners lack exercise, mosquito nets, reading material, proper nutrition, medical care, and are frequently subjected to solidarity confinement.

The SPDC announced that U Hla Khin, aged 43 and a member of the National League for Democracy committed suicide in his cell in Insein prison on May 21, 1999. The SPDC statement claimed that he hung himself with his sarong in his cell, and described him as a long-term alcoholic. However, this explanation of his death was not verified, and was rejected by the NLD and his family. He had been detained in August 1998 for traveling on a public road to witness the detention of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who was prevented by security forced from traveling to a town in the western part of the country.

There are other cases in which political prisoners have died just days or months after being released from prison. In one such case, elected NLD representative and retired Colonel Tin Ko Ko, who was released from prison in 1999 after a long period of detention, died within a few months of his release.

On July 1, 1999, U Kyaw Min, another elected NLD representative from Bassein

West-2 died of hepatitis contracted during his incarceration in Insein prison from May 1996 to May 1998. He had been detained along with hundreds of other NLD members for attempting to convene the Peoples parliament.

1.4 Tortured to death in detention

Kyi Khaing, aged 25, from Depeyin in Sagain Division was tortured to death on May 23, 1999 while he was being detained in police custody. He died after only ten hours of detention. He was arrested for verbally abusing his aunt. Although police initially informed his family that he hanged himself, his body had a broken pelvis and many bruises. In the course of a subsequent investigation, police sergeant Sein Win reportedly confessed to beating Kyi Khaing to death. However, no action was taken against police sergeant Sein Win who had disappeared prior to the investigation.

Other cases where torture has lead to the victim's death are recorded in the chapter on torture.

1.5 List of Incidents

♦ In January 1999, a patrol of 15 SPDC troops from IB225 led by Maj Khyit Hla beat to death 6 villagers near a farm between Loi Oon and Naa Mark Tee villages, Murng-Ton Township, Shan State. The troops entered Loi Oon village and interrogated the 6 about Shan rebels. They accused them of being informers and took them away for further interrogation. Relatives went to search for them and found their bodies in graves so shallow that some of their hands and legs were sticking out of the ground. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On January 2, 1999, 21 villagers from Kye Nga village, Demawsoe Township, Karenni State were rounded up by troops from LIB 428, based in Prusoe. They all were interrogated and tortured for allegedly having connection with a Karenni armed group. Among the 21, Saw Hla Kyaw aged 30, Ku Rei aged 42 and Soe Rei aged 35 were killed by the troops. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 4, 1999, 2nd Lieutenant Soe Myint Aung and 4 other soldiers from LIB 264 based at Pay Sa Loh camp raped and stabbed to death 20-year-old Naw Mu Mu from Htee Pu Lu village, in Kyauk Kyi Township, Karen State. They then placed a landmine in front of her field hut, which killed her brother, Saw Na Dway, when he came to look for her the next day. Following the explosion, they appeared in her village again, accused the village elders of laying landmines, beat them and demanded 200,000 *Kyat* as a fine from the villagers. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On January 7, 1999, troops from SPDC LIB 118 entered Pah-kloo village, Pa-an district, Karen State and shot at villagers. Saw Tin Hla, 32 was killed and Saw Koe Lone, 34 was wounded. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 9, 1999, troops from LIB 531 arrested some villagers from Punchaung village, Karenni State for failing to report information about KNPP forces. The troops killed three of them, and their bodies were found outside of their village. **(*Source: Karenni*)**

♦ On January 12, 1999, Loikaw-based SPDC IB 54 torched down Naung Long village, Loikaw Township, Karenni State. U Byar Rei aged 60 who was paralyzed was burnt together

with his house. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 13, 1999, about 200 troops of IB 97, led by Battalion Commander Lt. Col Tin Aye and 2nd Commander Lt. Thein Tun Aung, stopped all civilian busses and trucks at the bus station in Anan-Gwin, Karen State and prohibited them from travelling further on the Thanbyuzayat-Three Pagoda Pass Road. The SPDC was aware that the KNLA was prepared to attack them on this road, and the KNLA had warned civilians not to use the road at night. The next day, the troops stopped more civilian vehicles from proceeding. Then, in the evening, they forced 2 bus-trucks full of civilians to leave the bus stop and travel ahead of the soldiers. The truck drivers refused, but the troops abused and threatened the drivers until they left. As a result, when the KNLA troops attacked in the dark about 25 km. from Anan-Gwin, and opened fire on the first 2 trucks. They stopped firing when they heard the sounds of crying women and children, but 4 civilians were killed on the spot, and 16 were seriously injured. The families of the dead, and the injured patients received no compensation from the government. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On January 15, 1999, two army deserters, Corporal Than Myint and Minn Minn, were recaptured by their Captain Than Htut Win at Murng Go near the Burma-China boder. One was killed and the other seriously injured. **(*Source: SHAN*)**

♦ On January 16, 1999, Saw Po Po and Saw Maw Htoo, villagers from Yaw Htar village, Kyaukkyi Township, Karen State were killed by SPDC counter-insurgency troops. **(*Source: Refugee News*)**

♦ On January 16, 1999 troops from LIB 535 led by Battalion Commander Lt. Col. Soe Nyunt, came to Htee Hsah Bper village, Than Daung Township, Karen State and killed 2 villagers. They shot at Saw Htaw Say, age 16 who was heading back to the village from his garden together with his aunt. The first bullet hit the side of his face and tore off his left cheek. The second bullet hit the right side of his chest and exited through his back, and the third bullet hit his right thigh. Saw Htaw Say's aunt ran and escaped unhurt. When the villagers returned to the scene, he was dead, and his right arm was missing, possibly cut off and taken away by the troops, and the flesh of his right thigh had been cut off right down to the bone. The family's field hut nearby had been ransacked, and the troops had stolen almost 80,000 *Kyat* worth of property. Saw Dtaw Law, male, age over 60, was stabbed to death in his hut. The villagers who later found the body say that he was lying on his side with one hand under his head and the other arm bent, twisted and broken behind his back. All of the flesh on both sides of his face had been carved off with a knife, as well as his ears and his nose. His eyes were also gone. His mouth was intact, but his neck had been slashed and his tongue cut out. The top of his forehead had been smashed open, probably with the butt of a rifle. His hut had also been ransacked, the contents of his cloth bag had been stolen, as well as an estimated 50,000 *Kyat* in cash and a cassette player. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On January 17, 1999, 30 SPDC soldiers from IB 48 quietly approached a group of 8 villagers who were sitting talking in one of their farmfield huts near Wah Paw Pu village, Tantabin Township, Karen State. The men were surprised by the troops, and tried to run away when the troops opened fire. Saw Bee Dteh, aged 45 and Saw Gko Dtoh Gkeh, aged 42, were killed. They had been injured, then the troops shot them both in the head. After they stopped shooting, the troops took the villagers' money from the hut and moved on. They had been ordered to secure the area by Battalion Commander Than Myint based at Yay Lone Gyi, and Battalion 2nd-in-command Khin Maung Shwe based at Klaw Mi Der.

(*Source: KHRG*)

♦ On January 17, 1999, troops from SPDC IB 48, Column (2) entered Saw-thay-doe village, Sa-wa-daw-kho, Theh-chuang area in Than-ta-bin Township, Toungoo district, Karen State and shot at villagers. Saw Sha Mu Aye La, 40 was wounded, and Saw Tay Nay, 35, Saw Kotoe Teh, 40, and Saw Benny, 50 were killed. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 21, 1999, Saw Thay Kyi, aged 12, Saw Tar Hay Htoo, aged 11, and Saw Tar Ku Htoo, aged 9, from Hintha Wei village, Kyaukkyi village, Karen State were killed by SPDC counter-insurgency troops. **(*Source: Refugee News*)**

♦ On January 23, 1999, troops from SPDC army IB 34 killed a Burmese porter in Toungoo district without any reason. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 23, 1999, Saw Ta Eh Mu 27, from Ku-day village, Pa-pun district, Karen State stepped on a land mine that killed him instantly. SPDC troops had planted land mines in Ku-day village without warning the villagers. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 25, 1999, SPDC troops from LIB 264 arrested five villagers from Soe Ko village, Mong Township, Karen State. They were Pha Bu Tha aged 40, Kyaw Takwe aged 45, Naw Pala aged 45, Pha Aung Ngwe aged 35 and Phar Gaw aged 43. The troops later killed all of them. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 25, 1999, Phar Butha, Kyaw Takwe, Naw Palar, Phar Aung Ngwe and Phar Gaw from Seo Ko village, Mong Township, Karen State were killed by SPDC troops from LIB 264. **(*Source: Refugee News*)**

♦ On January 27, 1999, SPDC troops from IB 39, led by Commander Htay Win, killed Saw Tay Lay of Saw Tay Dae village, Mong Township, Karen State. The troops also looted his belonging and burned down his house after his death. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ By February 1999, over 400 people had died since June of 1998 due to the carcasses of poisoned rats, which had been thrown by SPDC troops in a river near Shan relocation camps. The people exposed to the poisoned river water developed fevers, vomitted, and they became weak and died. After death, their lips and hands turned black, a symptom of poisoning. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On February 2, 1999, Sae Ne Kyaw, aged 20, Ku Rei aged 42 and Soe Rei aged 35, all from Kwe Nga village, Demawsoe Township, Karenni State were arrested and killed by the troops from LIB 428 based in Phrusoe. They were accused of having connection with KNPP forces. **(*Souce: Karenni*)**

♦ On February 2, 1999, SPDC counter-insurgency troops killed Tin Htun Aung ,aged 14 and Saw Aung Ni Htun, aged 11 from Lae Pae village and Wae Gyi village , Mong Township, Karen State. The same troops also killed Saw Kalar aged 20 from Pin Saw Kamoe village on February 9, 1999. **(*Source: Refugee News*)**

♦ On February 15, 1999, Saw Paw Oo, aged 27 from Mae Ve Doe village, Mong Township Karen State was killed by troops from LIB 440. On the same day, Captain Min Lu and Captain Soe Min from LIB 366 killed Saw Shwe Mya Htoop, Naw Mya Kyi and Naw Nya Phaw from Naw Thay Khee village in the same region. **(*Source: Refugee News*)**

♦ On February 19, 1999, a SPDC military column led by Major Win Htay from IB 102 arrived in Htee Kalu Daw village in Parusoe Township, Karenni State. The troops tortured and killed Jowa who was accused of having connection with the Karenni armed groups.

(*Source: HRDU*)

♦ On February 20, 1999 a land mine, set by SPDC LIB 355 at In-pet-taw near Un-phat-gyi village of Kaw-ka-reik Township, Karen State killed villager, Naw Mu Ker, 55. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On February 23, 1999, Company 1 Commander Maung Maung Ta and group from SPDC IB 231 seized villagers Maung Shin and Saw Nya Wah, from Da-blu-ko-kee village of Kaw-ka-reik Township, Karen State, and executed them after torture without reason. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On February 23, 1999, SPDC troops from IB 54 killed four villagers from Hlar Du village, Prusoe Township, Karen State including village headman Khu Pae Rei. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In March 1999, Naung Lon village, Loikaw Township, Karenni State, was burnt down a second time by troops from Loikaw-based IB 54, led by Captain Aung Kyi. The troops also forcibly took fifteen villagers away. Among them, village headman Khu Soe Rei and Khu Sae Rei were killed by the troops later. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On March 7, 1999, about 30 troops entered a village of Thaton Township, Karen State. The people there were gathered at the cremation ceremony of an elderly village woman at her daughter's house when the troops opened fire on the house. The shooting continued, and when it stopped 6 villagers were dead and 9 were wounded, some seriously. The six dead were Ma San Kaing (female, age 24), Naw P'Saw (female, age 17), Naw Du Paw (female, age 15), Ma Aye Aye (female, age 18), "Naw Ler Paw"'s daughter Ma Aye (female, age 5), and "Naw Ler Paw"'s brother Pa Kaw Naw (male, age 25). The nine wounded included six women aged 17 to 55, two boys aged 12 and 18, and a man aged 27. The wounded spent 14 days at the hospital, where they had to provide their own food and pay 1,000-4,000 *Kyat* per day for hospital fees. During their time in hospital, the SPDC commander in charge of the troops who had shot them repeatedly came and yelled at them, threatening them and accusing them of being KNU supporters and their village of being a 'Ringworm' (KNU/KNLA) village **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On March 9, 1999 soldiers from Special Operation Command (5), opened fire on a group of Karen villagers hiding in a forest near the Mae Phya area in Tenasserim division. Seven villagers, a man and a women both aged 70, three men, a young women and a child, were killed. Another 8 villagers were seriously wounded. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ In the third week of March 1999, troops from LIB 432 led by Lt. Col. Htein Win, shot ten villagers they saw in the area of Pawa village, Bokepin Township, Karen State. All of them died immediately. The village had been accused of being a KNU base, and had been ordered to relocate**. (*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ In April 1999, *Sa Thon Lon* troops went to Dtaw Gone village and ordered all the villagers to go in the church. They were then ordered to come out two by two, and were beaten when they did, after interrogating and beating all of the Dtaw Gone villagers and 16 villagers from nearby Zee Byu Gone who happened to be there. They selected three men whom they knew had had past contact with the KNU: Hsah Tu Ghaw, age 35, married with 3 children; Pa Bee Ko, age over 30, married with 5 children; and Ka Ni Ni, aged 22 and single. They took them into the trees nearby and executed them. From the church the villagers heard the screams of Ka Ni Ni, whose throat had been partly cut and who died slowly. They stabbed Hsah Tu Ghaw twice, then cut his throat and kicked him to the ground,

and also stabbed Pa Bee Ko to death, all in front of witnesses from the village. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On April 9, 1999, at about 10:46 AM, Saw Nyunt Maung stepped on a land mine set near Set-ka-wet village, Dooplaya district, Karen State by SPDC IB 231. Both his legs were cut off by the blast. He died at 1:00 p.m. the same day. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On April 9, 1999, 15 villagers who had been forcibly relocated to Kun-Hing town 2-3 years ago were arrested, accused of being supporters of Shan rebels, tortured and killed by SPDC troops from LIB524 in Kun-Hing Township, led by Commander Aung Than. The men had been fishing and were about to return to the relocation site when they were caught and killed. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 10, 1999, troops from Company #1 of LIB 422 led by Major Khin Maung Lay met 2 Shan women. They accused Naang Thuay, aged 37, and her daughter Naang Awng, aged 19, of supplying rice for Shan soldiers, then raped and killed them. The women were from Kun Mong village, Kun-Hing Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 11, 1999, troops from IB 246 led by Major Nyi Tin killed the following villagers in Kun-Hing Twonship, Shan State:

Name	Age	Village	Village Tract
Phaw-Ka	37	Wan Hai	Ton Hoong Long
Kan-Ta-Maa	30	"	"
Ai Taan	16	"	"
Loong Myaat	70	Nam Hoo Oon	"
Loong Lu	40	Wan Paa Moi	Naa Poi
Kaw-Ta	35	Paa Moi	"
Saw-Ka	36	Wan Hai	Ton Hoong Long

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On April 13, 1999, 15 SPDC troops killed 2 Shan villegers from Wan Mark O, Loi Taw Kham tract, Tachilek Township, accusing them of being SSA-East Intelligence. The 2 men were: A-Nyu, aged 40 and A-Ku, aged 38. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 13-14, 1999, 11 of the 300 Shan refugees, who had been rounded up by SPDC troops on their way to Thailand and detained at the SPDC IB 225 at Na Kong Moo, were beaten to death. The refugees who were killed were accused of supporting the resistance forces of the Shan States Army (South) back in their home villages. They were taken from the military camp and beaten to death in the jungle about 5 kms west of Na Kong Moo by a group of SPDC troops and local Lahu militia. The victims were taken in groups to be killed. The refugees who were killed were accused of supporting the resistance forces of the Shan

States Army (South) back in their home villages. They were taken from the military camp and beaten to death in the jungle about 5 kms west of Na Kong Moo by a group of SPDC troops and local Lahu militia. The victims were taken in groups to be killed.

The five refugees killed on April 13 were

1. Sai Nu, aged 27, from Wan Pang village, Nong Hee tract, Nam Zarng Township
2. Sai Sor, aged 30, Wan Koon Sarng village, Koon Mong tract, Namzarng Township
3. Sai Arya, aged 26, from Wan Koon Na village, Hai Seng tract, Laikha Township
4. Sai Tor Ya, aged 25, from Na Oon village, Ban Sang tract, Laikha Township
5. Sai Nor, aged 21, from Hai Gooi village, Hai Gooi tract, Lang Kher Township.

The six refugees killed on April ib on April 14 were

1. Sai Loon, aged 21, from Wan Long Tong village, Na Loi tract, Murng Nai Township
2. Sai Toon, aged 20, from Wan Na Keng village, Keng Lom tract, Kun Hing Township
3. Sai Yord, aged 22, from Wan Khai village, Keng Lom tract, Kun Hing Township
4. Sai Lon, aged 24, from Nong Wo village, Murng Nang tract, Ke See Township
5. Sai Kham Sang, aged 29, and Nang Teng, aged 25, both from Murng Kerng Township.

The remaining 300 refugees, including about 50 children, were still being detained at the military base at Na Kong Moo as of May, 1999. **(*Source: SHAN*)**

♦ On April 14, 1999, a military column of combined forces from SPCD IB 231 led by Major Aung Khaing, shot to death Saw Law Be, 35, a villager of Ywa-dan-shay, because he was no longer able to carry his load as a porter. The column was operating in the environs of Set-ka-wet, Meh-pa-ler-poe-kee, Thay-por-ur-kee and Mee-pa-laing villages of Kaw-ka-reik Township, Dooplaya District, Karen State, and regularily seized villagers to serve as porters. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On April 15, 1999, Maung Myint, a civilian from Laung Lon Township, Tenasserim Division, who was forcibly conscripted as porter, was beaten to death with a rifle butt by a Corporal from IB 25. He was accused of stealing foods from the troops. **(*Source: Yoma-3*)**

♦ On April 20, 1999, SPDC troops from IB 66 came to Winye Township, Karen State and arrested Ah Htwe and Palaung Ma. Both were severely tortured and then killed near a pier of Kyogone village. (**Source: Yoma-3**)

♦ On April 21, 1999, SPDC troops of IB 54 led by Captain Aung Kyi arrested villagers from Htee Sae Kha village tract, Loikaw Township, Karenni State. Three villagers including Htee Sae Kha village headman U Kyaw Lwin were killed by the troops. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On April 27, 1999, SPDC troops of LIB333 shot at civilian porters who attempted to run away from their forced service in the military. Ai Kan-Na, male, 28, from Thalaang village, Murng-Sart Township, Shan State was killed and 2 others were wounded. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 29, 1999, 60 troops from LIB 334 led by Maj Hla Htwe seized 6 young men who were fishing near Murng He village, Murng-Yawng Twonship, Shan State. They interrogated and tortured them, accusing them of being SSA-East members, and then left them hanging in trees. They were rescued by the villagers, but after 6 days Ai Phom-Ma, aged 25 and Ai Lao, aged 20 died as a result of the injuries. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 4, 1999, a number of villagers from Pun Chaung village were taken away by the SPDC troops from the frontline column of LIB 517, after fighting between the SPDC and Karenni armed group took place near the village. Among the detained people, Khu Htaw Rei, aged 40, and Khu Maw were killed by the troops. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On May 5, 1999, Pa Za Kung, from Vomkua village, Chin State who was working on the Vaungtu-Thantlang road, was beaten and killed on the spot by the army because he was exhausted and had taken a rest without permission. Another man, a schoolteacher from Salen village, was also beaten and sent to the hospital for treatment in serious condition. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ On May 5, 1999, 30 Burmese army soldiers entered the Thai Akha village of Sampli in Thailand, near Taichilek in Burma and rounded up 200 villagers. One villager was shot and killed when he attempted to run away. **(*Source: Reuters*)**

♦ On May 5, 1999, a column from LB 330 commanded by Major Thet Way surrounded the Thai Akha/Lahu villages of Nakae, Palarng Long, Palarng Noi, Phakhao Nua, and Phakhao Tai west of Tachilek. A village headman, Ah Ka, his interpreter, Ah Tae, and 6 other villagers who were suspected of aiding Shan rebels were tortured and beaten to death. **(*Source: SHAN*)**

♦ On May 6, 1999, at around 11:00 at night, about 30 SPDC troops from LIB330 entered Pa Laang Noi, an Akha village in Ta-Khi-Laek Township, and ordered all the villagers to gather in the centre of the village. The troops then beat the village headman, Aa Te to death with pieces of firewood in front of the gathered villagers. After this, some villagers were so frightened they ran away and the troops shot after them, killing 3 and wounding 1. The SPDC soldiers then threatened the Akha villagers that whoever worked as agents for the Shan soldiers would have to die like their headman. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 15, 1999, troops from LIB 332 beat to death Long Sai, aged 48 the headman of Tin Tap village, Murng-Pan Township, Shan State. They also severely injured 3 others, Sai San Tin, 46, Sai Zit-Ta, 41, and Sai Nyaa-Na who had been arrested, tortured and interrogated along with the headman. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 15, 1999, 56 soldiers from LIB 513 led by Capt Lin Aung surrounded a group of villagers from Naa Mang tract, Lai-Kha Township, Shan State. They accused them of being SSA agents, tied them up, interrogated them, and beat them to death. They were:

Name	Sex	Age	Village
Sai Wi-Ling	M	36	Wan Paang
Sai Kaw-Wi	M	32	Wan Mai
Sai Pan-Ti	M	28	Wan Paang
Sai Khae-Min-Da	M	27	Wan Paang
Sai Lao Wan	M	19	Wan Paang
Sai Lu	M	33	Wan Paang
Naang Ae Nawng	F	30	Wan Paang
Naang Leng	F	17	Wan Paang

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On May 22, 1999, troops from LIB 355 entered Naw K'Toh village, Bilin Township, Karen State and captured village head Saw Bah Yay, age 40, who has 4 children aged 8-15. The SPDC troops beat him to death with a 3-foot long piece of wood as thick as his forearm. They were angry because he had not informed the SPDC that the KNU had come and given money to the villagers. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On May 25, 1999, about 35 troops from IB 247 led by Capt Aung Htwe seized 6 villagers near Nam-Zarng, Shan State, interrogated them and beat them up. Su-Za-Ta, aged 38 and Ma-La , aged 35, both from Haai OI village, Wan Nawng Kung Mong tract were beaten so severely that they died. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 25, 1999, troops from LIB 355 led by Commander Soe Aung detained, interrogated and tortured villager Saw Nu Nu from Naw K'Toh village, Bilin Township. They accused him of having information about the KNU and tortured him so severely that he died. He was 20 years old, a Karen Buddhist, and recently married. His wife is an orphan and is now left entirely on her own. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On May 27, 1999, troops from LB 227 seized 7 villagers from Kho Lam village relocation site and beat them to death. The villagers had received permission to cultivate their farms in their former villages, and so had been late one day for their forced labour duty at the Kho Lam- Wan Zing road construction site. The men killed included Zalae Yaao, aged 45, Loong Si, aged 50, and Saang Kaw Lam, aged 38. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ From May 22-30, 1999, 8 male civilian porters were beaten to death by a column of SPDC LIB 514, Company 3, led by Captain Aung Htun Myint. The villagers were from the relocation site near Murng-Kerng, Murng-Kerng Township, Shan State. Due to insufficient food and water and the heavy loads they had become too weak to carry.
On May 22 1999, Loong Ma-La, 49 and Loong Paan, 51.
On May 25,1999, Loong Kham Leng, 44 and Loong Aw-Zae-Ya, 48.
On May 27 1999, Loong Kun-Da-La, 53, Loong Kham, 55, and
Loong Kyawng Nya-Na, 51.
On May 30, 1999, Sai Kaw-Na aged 17
(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On June 4, 1999, SPDC troops stationed at Kho Lam in Nam Zarng Township, Shan State shot Mu-Ling from Nawng Kai village, Ho Nawng tract, at his farm in the Kho Lam area. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 8, 1999, a patrol of about 45 troops from LIB 322 led by Battalion Commander Aung Thet Htun seized Sai Wa-Ling, aged 32 while he was working on his farm. They accused him of meeting with the Shan resistance. After they got nothing from the interrogation, the troops shot him in the mouth and chest, dumped him in a ditch, and covered his body with tree branches. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 22, 1999 two Muslim truck drivers, Zaw Lin and Zaw Min, from Hsipaw, were stopped at Hsawngkae, Hsipaw Township, Shan State, and beaten up by a Sergeant and 2 privates. Zaw Lin shortly after complained of dizziness and died. **(Source: Rangoon Post)**

♦ On June 23, 1999, a military front line column from LIB 517 under the control of Division 55 killed U San Hla, headman and Khu Htay Rei, deputy headman of Htay Wi Lae village, Shadaw Township, Karenni State. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On June 23, 1999, troops from LIB 522 manning a checkpoint at the Sawng Ke village military camp, Si-paw Township, Shan State beat a truck-driver and his brother to death. The brothers had passed through the checkpoint the day before without stopping to register because there was no guard present at the time. When they returned, the troops interrogated them, and beat them so severely that they both died shortly after. There was no action taken by the military when the family complained. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In July 1999, village Chairman Sein Moo, 45 years old and Secretary Ko Reh, 36 years old of Htee Poklo village relocation site, Karenni State were tortured and then killed. **(*Source: KNAHR*)**

♦ On July 1, 1999, troops from IB 96 led by Captain Pe Myo Aung came to Mae Nae The Khee village, Thaton district, Karen State and killed Saw Tin Thein, aged 50 from the village without specific reason. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On July 5, 1999, troops from IB 245 shot after 3 girls who ran away when they saw the soldiers approaching. Lt Lin Yong from IB 245 shot and killed Naang Aam, aged 16 of Ho Te village, Kaad Thaai tract, Kaeng-Tung Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On July 8, 1999, SPDC troops, stationed at Wan Lam, Namzarng Township, shot Sai Mu Ling, 30 while he was working in his field near Kharm Tong Kwai, Ho Nong tract, Namzarng Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On July 17, 1999, LIB 285 entered Panwe Pho Kalo village, Karen State and shot and killed villager Pha Ta Phalet. They also stole everything out of 3 houses and burnt them down before leaving. Villager Saw Khe was also taken away, and the village elders had to pay 110,000 *kyat* to have him released. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ On July 19, 1999, LIB 285 entered Htee Khaw Taw village, Karen State. They beat up villager Phita, and put a plastic bag over his head. They asked him if he had any arms. Later, at 1:00 a.m., he was shot and killed. Everything from his house was stolen, including 60,000 *kyat* cash. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ On July 23, 199, LIB 285 entered Nya Pho Kye village, Karen State and shot and killed villager Phati Kye Maung. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ On July 30, 1999, troops from LIB 311 led by Maj Sein Htwa seized, interrogated and tortured 3 men of Murng Tin village, Murng_Yawng Township, Shan State. Ai Khaat, aged 19, died at the time of the torture, and Zaai Pao, aged 18, died later in the hospital. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In August 1999, village headmen from 15 villages including Law Khuku, Daw Tama and Htee Bya NYi villages were detained by the troops from IB 102 and LIB 427, based in Demaesoe, Karnni State. Among the detained village headmen, Khu Nyar Rei and Khu Moe Rei of Law Lhar Ku village and Khu Saw Rei were beaten to death by the troops. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In August 1999, DKBA soldiers killed Saw Eh Kweh, aged 20 from Taw Oak village, T'Nay Hsah Township, Karen State and threw his body in the river. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ In early August 1999, troops from the 55th Division led by Commander Thein Win arrested, and tortured to death Loong Zarae Awn, aged 73, of Nawng Phaa village, Nawng Hee tract, Murng-Nai Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On August 12, 1999, SPDC soldiers from IB 246 shot Loong Sigta, 56 a native of Kali village, Wan Parng tract, Kunhing Township. His wife was Nai Man. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On August 22, 1999, SPDC IB 296 led by Major Kyaw Zeya led 34 men from the 296th IB shot at some villagers from Kunhing Township without warning. Sawtika, 39, son of Loong Singna and Pa Ong of *Wan* Wuo Long village, Keng Kham tract, Kunhing Township, and Nang Ngern Lu, 16 daughter of Loong Oo Nanta and Pa Poy of Wan Mai Khi Lee village, Keng Lom tract, Kunhing were killed. Kaw Ling, 16 son of Loong Li and Pa Yung of Wan Mai Khi Lee village, Keng Lom tract, Kunhing and Sai Long, 17 son of Loong Sing

and Pa Ing of Wan Mai Khi Lee village, Keng Lom tract, Kunhing were wounded. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On September 1, 1999, six soldiers of LIB 269, Company 2 shot at two villagers from Cauleng village, Chin State. The two men had been ordered by a sergeant to deliver a letter and were ambushed by the soldiers on the way. Thang Lian Thawng managed to escape, but Cin Khua Sei, 40, and sole provider for his family, died on the spot. The soldiers ignored the demands of the people for compensation. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ On September 10, 1999, SPDC troops shot at 3 villagers from Kan Kan village in the border district of Wiang Haeng, Chaing Mai province, Thailand. The villagers had been gathering bamboo shoots just across the border. 2 died instantly. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 16, 1999, about 70 SPDC troops from IB246 led by Capt Kyaw Aye patrolling the area of forced relocation in Kaeng Kham tract, Kun-Hing Township, arrested Kaw-Ling, aged 45 and his wife, Naang Mon, aged 30, who were originally from Kaeng Lom village in Kaeng Kham tract. They were arrested while checking the irrigation water of their rice field. The couple was seperated, and interrogated about the activity of Shan rebels. Kaw-Ling was beaten to death, and Captain Kyaw Aye took Naang Mon with the patrol for 4 days during which he continually raped her. On the last day when the troops were about to return to their base, Kyaw Aye called up all his officers one by one and ordered them to rape her one after another. Eventually, she was given to a Private who, after raping her, stabbed her to death with his bayonet. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 20, 1999, troops led by commander Aung Myo Min from IB 98 killed Htee Law Thee village, Phapun district, Karen State for allegedly having connection with the KNU. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On Septmeber 20, 1999, 14 Lahu militiamen were shot dead by SPDC troops from IB65 near Huay Aw village in Murng-Ton Township, Shan State. They had been ordered by SPDC Commander Shwe Myint from IB65 to patrol the areas around Huay Aw village. The Lahu militiamen were smoking some cows they had seen and killed when they were surrounded by the SPDC and killed. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 20, 1999 a patrol of about 60 SPDC troops from IB 221 came to Murng Loong village, Murng Kok tract, Murng-Phyak, Shan State and arrested 3 villagers. They brought the villagers to the village temple and interrogated them about the activities of the Shan soldiers in the area. In order to extract confessions and desired answers, the troops beat the villagers so hard that all of them died on the spot. The 3 victims were:

1. Ai Pe-Ta, male, aged 31
2. Ai Zaen Seng, male, aged 22
3. Ai Hong, male, aged 20

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On September 21, 1999, 3 Privates, Maung Bo and 2 other soldiers, from the Company 2 of LIB316 based near Kaeng Laap village, saw Naang (En), 21 digging bamboo shoots on the bank of Nam Kai stream. Her husband, Zaai Wan, 26 was near, out of sight of the troops. The troops seized her, and when she called out to her husband to help, he was shot and killed instantly by Maung Bo as he was running towards her. The troops then all raped her. The couple was from Nam Kai village, Kaeng Laap tract, Ta-Khi-Laek Township. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 22, 1999, Captain Soe Aung from LIB 8 came to Karen lay Seik

village, Thaton district, Karen State and killed Tee Kyaw Thein, aged 75 at Kalaw Khee temple without any reason. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 27, 1999, eleven civilians who were hiding after the forced relocation order in Tanyet Pho Khee region, Mergui Township, Tenessarim Division were killed by the SPDC military cloumn from IB 101 led by Captain Aung Kyaw Than. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 27, and October 2, 1999, respectively, U Hla Han and U Than Win who were employees of Kyemon Newspaper, died during police interrogation. The two were among the at least 20 staff from the Kyemon Newspaper who were arrested after the September 25 issue of the newspaper inadvertently labeled Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt a crook. Seven are believed to still be under detention as of the end of 1999. The two were cremated immediately after their deaths, but relatives who were permitted a brief glimpse of the corpses said that their faces were covered with bruises. SPDC officials reportedly gave the families 10,000 *kyat* and warned them not to disclose any details. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 28, 1999, troops from IB 246 led by Capt Thaung Nyunt beat to death 2 villagers at a place between Kun-Hing town and Ka Li village, about 2 miles from Ka Li relocation site in Ka Li tract, Kun-Hing Township, Shan State. The troops robbed Saw-Zin-Na, 30 and Zaai Yung, 29, before they killed them. They were originally from Naa Khaa village in Naa Poi tract that had been relocated to Kaa Li relocation site 2-3 years ago. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 29, 1999, SPDC soldiers led by commander Than Shwe from LIB 375 arrested and killed Tee Khin Lay, aged 45, from Tamaw Taw village. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On September 29, 1999, about 57 SPDC troops from IB246 led by Capt Than Maung patrolling the area of relocation near Kun-Hing, Shan State met 2 women selling confectionery to farmers near Wan Pae village. The women were among the villagers who had been forcefully relocated to Kun-hing in 1997. The troops arrested and interrogated them, accusing them of being wives of SSA (Shan State Army) soldiers. They took the women with them for 5 days, and continually raped them. Then the troops shot them and took their confectionery, worth 2,876 *kyat*, as well as the 252 *kyat* that the women had. The 2 victims were:

1. Nawng Pe, aged 18, daughter of Loong Nan-Ta who was killed in the Taad Pha Ho massacre
2. Naang Khin Lu, aged 21, daughter of Loong Ti-Ma who was killed in the Taad Pha Ho massacre. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On October 2, 1999, troops from LIB 328 who were guarding the Ta Purm bridge in Murng-Khark Township, Shan State shot at a motercycle crossing the bridge. The driver, Zaai Kaang, aged 28 was killed, and the passenger Zaai Nim, aged 36 was seriously injured. The two were not familiar with the area or the rule that they had to stop at the bridge and the passenger had to walk across instead of ride. After they shot them, the troops gave no compensation, and confiscated the motorbike. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On October 3, 1999, SPDC troops entered Kyone-sein, KyaEinSeikKyi Township, Karen State and arrested about 12 villagers including two women, accusing them of supporting rebel troops. They stayed in the village 7 days, and brutally tortured the villagers. Of the villagers arrested by soldiers, three villagers died as a result of the torture. They were: (1) Saw Lay Doe- 17 years, (2) Saw Kaw Kaw-40 years and (3) Saw Phar Kalu -23 years. In the torture, the soldiers cut open the bodies of Saw Lay Doe and Saw Kaw Kaw in many

places and put salt in the wounds. They tortured the 2 villagers like this for five days. At the end, the soldiers clamped the 2 men with bamboo slats and burnt in the fire until they died. Similarly they tortured Saw Phar Kalu for many days and then killed him by strangling him with strong rubber loops. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On October 13, 1999, SPDC troops led by column commander Khin Maung Aye from IB 30 killed Saw Htun Aye aged 40 who was a village headman from Dee Daw Kho village, Thantaung district, Karen State. The troops also burned down two farms and two huts, which had been owned by the victim. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On October 15, 1999, SPDC troops killed Saw Thein Mya and Saw Kyi Oo from Kwee Kye village, Papun district, Karen State. The soldiers also took one cow and one pig away from the village. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On October 17, 1999, 80 soldiers led by Aung Kyaw Hla from LIB 101 came to Thako Khwee Hta village, Mergui-Tavoy district, Karen State and killed Saw Khwee aged 49, without reason. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On October 19, SPDC troops led by column commander Khin Maung Aye from IB 30 killed Saw Kha Yae, aged 43 who was the village headman from Yaw Khee village, Thantaung Township, Karen State. Another woman villager named Naw Kyu and her three-year old child were arrested and taken away by the troops. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On October 19, 1999, SPDC soldiers came into Wee Lo Toe village, Papun district, Karen State and killed villager Saw April Htoo. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On October 19, 1999, troops from LIB 369 indiscriminately shot into the farm of some villagers from Saw Mu Palaw village. As a reslt of shooting, Me Kyar Htoo aged 12 and Saw Lar Kaw Mu aged 10 died on the spot. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On October 20, SPDC troops from IB 59, led by column commander Khin Maung Aye from IB 30, killed San Tin who was the village headman from Kho Lu village, Than Taung Township, Karen State. The troops detained and tortured many other villagers. Some of the belongings of the villagers were taken away by the troops. Altogether 500 baskets of paddy and four farms were destroyed. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On October 21, 1999, Corporal Tin Tun from LIB 324 shot a man from Wan Parng village, Murng Yaen tract at a forced labour site in Nam-Tu Township, Shan State. Loong Suay, aged 46 had fallen so sick at the work site that he was unable to stand and had laid down in a nearby hut. The Corporal accused him of feigning sickness and shot him. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On October 25, 1999 LIB 120, led by Lt.Col.Maung Maung Oo entered xxxx, Karen State and arrested five villagers with suspicion of being rebel-supporters. After they were cruelly beaten and tortured, the soldiers killed three of them (1) Saw Pel Khaw, (2) Saw Thaw Hae and (3) Saw Chit Chit by cutting their throats. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On October 25, 1999, troops from LIB334 shot dead 3 innocent villagers of Murng He village, Murng He tract, Murng-Yawng Township. The troops met the villagers on a road near the village and shot at them without asking any questions, instantly killing 2 villagers and seriously wounding 1, who later died in the hospital in Murng Yawng.

The 3 villagers killed were:

1. Zaai Awng, male, aged 18
2. Zaai Pao, male, aged 20
3. Zaai Saw, male, aged 20

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On October 26, 1999, 75 civilians were taken as porters by the troops from IB 343. They were forced to carry the belongings of the soldiers of IB 343 on the return back to their base in Ye town. On the way, Saw Pho Thu aged 57 from Thetke village, Ye Township was killed by Intelligence Corporal Nyi Hmu and Captain Lin Oo, commander of No. (3) division. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On October 27, 1999, soldiers from LIB 101 led by Aung Kyaw Hka came to Tanyar Kee village, Mergui-Tavoy district, Karen State and killed 11 villagers. They were Saw See (M), aged 52 from Htee Plo Khee, Naw Mwee (F) aged 50 from Nga Yant Ein village, Saw maung Than (M) aged 30 from Nga Yant Ein village, Saw See Yell aged 28 from Nga Yant Ein village,, Saw Tu Lu (M) aged 17 from Tapohkee village, Saw Lay Lay (M) aged 15 from Tapohkee village, Saw Kolar (M) aged 28 from Tapohkee village, Ye Macho (M) aged 28 from Tapohkee village,, Naw Mu Koo (F) aged 2 from Tapohkee village, Saw Elsoe (F) aged 1 from Tapohkee village, and Naw Me Doe Moe from Tapohkee village. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On October 30, 1999, DKBA soldiers led by Saw Tu Lu from Kasaw Wah division killed Saw Thaw May aged 65 and her sons Saw Dah Yee aged 35, Saw Naw Po aged 30 and Naw Du Du aged 20 from Baw Kyo Le village, Papun district, Karen State. No reason was given for killing. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ In November 1999, a column of 300 troops from Division 88 entered Palaw Htoo Kee village, Kyar-Ein-Seik-Kyi Township, Karen Statw and arrested five villagers. They were tortured and killed later. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In November 1999, troops from LIB 527 arrested 4 young farmers working in their fields and accused them of being SSA-East soldiers in disguise. They tortured and beat them unconscious in front of their parents. Zaai Hong, aged 17, never regained consciousness, and died in the field. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On November 3, 1999 Bran Aung (a) Htay Lwin Oo, 28, a member of ABSDF from northern Burma, was shot and killed by a section of SPDC IB 105 lead by Captain Aung Naing Htun. He was killed in the Phakant area after SPDC IB 105 arrested, interrogated and tortured him. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On November 17, 1999, Bran Aung (a) Htay Lwin Oo, former ABSDF member (northern region) was shot to death by the SDPC troops led by Captain Aung Naing Htun in Phakant region, Kachin State. He was arrested on November 11 and killed after six days of severe interrogation. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ At a meeting on November 25, 1999, SPDC officers told all the village heads in Kya In Township, Karen State that they will kill anyone who has been a KNLA soldier within the past 15 years. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On November 26, 1999, over 100 troops from LIB 246 made a raid on the kharms (farm huts) at Kharm Mai Hog, Sai Khao tract, Kun Hing Township, Shan State. In this raid several farmers were killed. They were:

a. Loong Kaw Singna, aged 50, son of Loong Sai of Wan Nong Ha, Nam Sarng Township.
b. Nang Phaa, aged 19, daughter of Loong Mart and Pa Swe Ing, from Wan Nong Hai, Nam Sarng Township.
c. Nang Pae, aged 25, daughter of Loong Kaw Sing Na and Pa Hton from the same village.

Sai Su Nanda, aged 16, the son of Loong Kaw Sing Na and Pa Hton was wounded

during the shooting and was captured by the troops, but his fate was unknown. After they killed the villagers, the troops took their valuables worth about 80,000 *Kyat*. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On November 30, 1999, troops under the control of Lt-Col Kyaw Zaw Aung of Strategic Command 881, LIB 415, arrested villagers Si Si, Kyaw Than Han, and Peh Ko, father of 2 with a pregnant wife of Plaw Toh Kee village, Meh Gu village tract, Kya In Township, Karen State. They kept all 3 men tied up in the jungle exposed to the hot sun, not allowing them food, water or sleep for a week and cruelly tortured them for their alleged involvement in the KNLA. The men eventually died as a result of the torture, in which their bodies were frequently stabbed and sliced, and their intestines allegedly pulled out and then pushed back in. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ In December 1999, SPDC troops arrested about 60 villagers from Kyar-Ein-Seik-Kyi Township, Karen State to serve as porters for 6 days. Nya Lu, aged over 30, from Htee Khee village was ordered to march in front of the troops as human mine sweeper. When he fell down out of exhaustion, he was stabbed in the back with a knife and died later. Another unidentified villager of same age died of exhaustion. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 1, 1999, Chay Chay, Saw Phe Kho, Pu Law, Saw Hae Pe and Lah Kapawpa from Pala Hto Khee village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi Township, Karen State were arrested by troops from LIB 416. They were detained and tortured the whole night. The next day, Saw Hae Pe and Lah Kapawpa were released. The rest were tied at the neck with rope, and hung up-side-down on a tree for two days, and their bodies were slashed with knives. Then they were killed. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In the first week of December 1999, SPDC soldiers arrested villagers from Kyar-Ein-Seik-Kyi Township, Karen State, including 10 women (2 were pregnant) and 3 infants. They forced them all, including the pregnant women and women with the babies to porter for the troops on their way to Kalu Ma Tee village. On the way, 2 of the infants cried, so the soldiers screwed the throats of the two crying infants until they were dead. Then they dumped the dead bodies on the roadside. The babies were only 2 months and five months old. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 3, 1999, around 50 soldiers from LIB 547 led by column commander Kan Chun and division commander Shwe Kyaw came to Mae Ku Khee village, Papun district, Karen State and killed Saw Lolo aged 22, son of Saw Kan Min and Saw Khu, aged 27 and son of Saw Sae Bae without any reason. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 5, 1999, Coffee and Saw Lay Doe of Kyar Sein village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi Township were arrested and tortured to death by Major Soe Naing from Strategic Military Command 88 based in Kyar-ein-seik-kyi. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 6, 1999, troops from LIB 246 and IB 99 captured and tortured 2 innocent villagers from Nong Hai, Mong-Nai Township, Shan State to extract information about SSA troops. Sai Kham was killed during the interrogation, and Nang Pee, aged 23, the daughter of Kaw Singna and Pa Hton of Wan Nong Hai, Ho Nong Tract, Nam Sarng Township was still in the hands of these soldiers and her fate was unknown. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 7, 1999, villagers Saw No Hae and Naw Htee Wah from Khukhan village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi Township, Karen State were killed by troops from LIB 416 led by Captain Sit Naing. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 19, 1999, a military column led by Commander Thaung Htwe from IB 549 entered Phaw Gay Khee village, Belin townshiop, Karen State. The troops arrested

and killed Maung Hla Htwe, aged 28, from the village without any reason. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 4, 2000, troops from IB 248 based in Moe Nae and led by Major Myo Tin Aung, burnt down the IDPs' site in Maechee Township, Karenni State. All seven houses in the site were burnt down and Saw Phar Bu Htee, aged 30 and Naw Po-Yu from Pho Bu Kho village were killed by the troops. 28 other people from the site were able to escape. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 9, 2000, 60 troops from battalion 299, led by Lt. Col. Aye Tun entered Wa-Paw village, Ye Township, Karen State. The villagers were holding their Karen New Year ceremony including sport matches and Karen traditional dances. The soldiers arrested Ko Ohn Myaing from Wa-Paw village and shot him in front of the villager's, explaining that he had contact with KNU. In addition, he told the villagers that he would kill them all if they contacted or supported the KNU. **(*Source: YOMA3*)**

♦ On January 12, 2000, two villagers from Daw Kaw village, Demawsoe Township, Karenni State were shot to death by troops from IB 72 who were security guards at Lawpita Power plant. Their village was also burnt down as it was accused of failing to report the activities of Karenni armed groups to the SPDC troops. The troops indiscriminately shot into the village and two villagers died. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 30, 2000, 19 Shan civilians were masscared in Kyan Han village, Kun Hei Township, Shan State by the military column led by Captain Zaw Thein from Nam San based IB 66. These villagers were from the Kun Hei relocation site where they had been ordered to relocate from Kyun Han village. They were told by the Commander Lt-Col. Kyaw Aye from Division (6) on January 18, 2000 that they would be allowed to return back to their village with the documents issued by him. The 19 villagers led by Yaw Su, aged 57 returned back to their village with the documents. On the next day, a military column led by Captain Zaw Thein from IB 66 came to their site. The soldiers asked them why they came back to the old site. Though the villagers showed them the documents issued by Lt-Col Kyaw Win, Captain Zaw Thein tore them and ordered his troops to kill all of them. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 30, 2000, 19 Shan villagers were lined up and shot by a patrol from IB 66 based in Namzeng led by Captain Zaw Thein. The villagers had been relocated to Kunhing, Shan State but were given safe passes to return to Kengkham, their former village by Lt.-Col. Kyaw Aye of IB 246. The villagers had been clearing bushes at Kengkham when they were stopped, interrogated and killed. Captain Zaw Thein paid no attention to the passes, and the authorities took no action about the massacre.

The names of the 19 victims were:

1. Jawngsu 57 male
2. Kaling 51 male
3. Awzayya 47 male
4. Panla 47 male
5. Mala 45 male
6. Jawla 44 male
7. Zai Woon 41 male
8. Zarmkhurh 36 male
9. Htoon-awng 33 male
10. Zai Mint 30 male
11. Zai Min 27 male
12. Awngsa 24 male
13. Zai Nu 20 male
14. Zai Man 17 male
15. Zai Lao 16 male
16. Zai Mu 15 male
17. Nang Ing 34 female
18. Nang Nyunt 26 female
19. Nang Htoon 22 female

(*Source: SHAN*)

People killed in Nyaunglebin Disctrict, Karen State (Pegu Division) by the Sathonlone (SSS) troops in 1999

DATE	NAME	SEX	AGE	TOWN	TWSP	REMARK
4/99	Hsah Tu Ghaw	M	30	Dtaw Gone	T	Interrogated and beaten with other villagers, then pulled into forest and knifed to death by SSS
4/99	Pa Bee Ko	M	30	Dtaw Gone	T	Interrogated and beaten with other villagers, then pulled into forest and knifed to death by SSS. He was very ill when they killed him
4/99	Ka Ni Ni	M	22	Dtaw Gone	T	Interrogated and beaten with other villagers, then pulled into forest and throat cut by SSS
4/99	Saw Htoo Kee	M	20	Myeh Yeh	M	While doing forced labor as sentry, taken away as a porter and never seen since
3/99	Unknown	?	?	Nyaung Bin Seik	M	Kill at festival when Bo Shan Bpu of SSS fired M79 grenades into the crowd
1/99	Mya Htun	M	48	Meik tha Lin	P	Village headman, killed by SSS and body dumped in Sittaung River
1999	Two villagers	M	?	Byin Gah	T	Executed by SSS
1999	Pa Thu Po Pah a.k.a. Bo Gkay	M	50	Taw Ma Aye	T	Village headman, executed by SSS
1999	Two villagers	M	?	Shan Gyi Bo Daing	T	Executed by SSS

2. Arbitrary Detention and Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

2.1 Background

During 1999, the SPDC intensified its systematic use of coercion and intimidation to deny citizens the right to change their government. In August 1998, the NLD leadership organized a 10-member Committee Representing the People's Parliament (CRPP) to act on behalf of the parliament. The SPDC has responded by intensifying its campaign to destroy NLD without formally banning it, by intimidating several elected representatives into resigning from the parliament, by detaining 55 other elected representatives, and by pressuring constituents to sign statement of no confidence in others.

Throughout the year, SPDC continues its campaign of detention and intimidation to prevent the NLD from convening the parliament elected in 19990. Between July and September, SPDC arrested or detained hundreds of local NLD leader and former students leaders throughout the country; reportedly detaining as many as 100 persons in Pegu and Mandalay alone.

At year's end, the SPDC continued to detain, with charges, 55 persons elected to parliament in 1990; most of whom were NLD members detained since September 1998, just before the NLD organized the formation of the CRPP. During the year, the junta released about 150 members-elect of parliament who had been detained without charges in 1998. However, there were numerous reports that the regime released these members-elect of Parliament only after they had agreed to resign from the elected Parliament, to draw their proxies to CRPP members, or otherwise to restrict their political activities.

In May 1999 the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) announced that it had begun to visit prisons in Myanmar. In March 2000 the ICRC also began visiting labour camps, where convicted criminals have been held in extremely poor conditions. In addition the ICRC has reported that they have been able to visit prisoners held in government guesthouses, where NLD members have been detained without charge or trial since the party's announcement in September 1998 that they would convene parliament unilaterally.

2.2 Human Rights and SPDC laws

The SPDC's use of its laws to quash the principles of basic human rights in Burma is long-standing and well-established. The SPDC has enforced laws curtailing civil and political freedom and utilized laws that allow it to crush any political opposition. The SPDC's laws and regulations hamper and even criminalize freedom of thought, the dissemination of information and the right of 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 Associations 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 Function of the National Convention against Disturbance and Opposition). These laws and orders have restricted the civil and political rights of Burmese citizens for years; now, with technological advances available across the globe, new laws have been enacted in order to provide the SPDC authorities additional legal bases to curtail freedom of expression and the exchange of information.

In 1998, in order to restrict the activities of the NLD MPs, the SPDC has used the 1961 Habitual Offenders Restrictions Act, that precludes members of political parties from leaving their localities or their houses without prior permission from the authorities; otherwise they risk arrest and interrogation by the police or military intelligence agents. A number of NLD elected representatives have been arrested or charged under this Habitual Offenders Restrictions Act. This 1961 Act was intended to be applied only to restrict the habitual offenders of the law; instead, it is being used only to harass the activities of the NLD MPs.

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." The law also makes it an offense, punishable by life imprisonment, to "intend to or to cause sabotage or hinder the successful functioning of the State military organizations and criminal investigative organizations." This law is commonly used by the regime to carry out indiscriminate and arbitrary arrest and detention of political opponents.

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

The 1957 Unlawful Associations Act permits up to five years imprisonment for any person who has been a member of, contributes to, or receives or solicits any contribution towards any association which "encourages or aids persons to commit an act of violence or intimidation or in which the members habitually commit such acts; or which has been declared unlawful by the President of the Union." Moreover, anyone managing or assisting in promoting a meeting of such an association can be subjected to similar punishment. A number of organizations, including political parties, student unions, profession groups, religious associations, as well as armed opposition groups, have been declared unlawful under this Act. This Act

falls far short of international human rights standards; its incompatibility with international standards is underlined by the arbitrary, indiscriminate, and heavy-handed manner in which it is applied, usually to suppress peaceful dissent.

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

Under the 1980 Video Law, all video cassettes must be submitted to the Video Censorship Board, controlled by the SPDC, for scrutiny. Any person involved in the production, duplication, or distribution of videos is threatened with a prison term 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 perMISsion to show imported videos at "public exhibitions" and gives Government video censorship boards the right to ban, censor, or restrict their showing; b) private video operators have to obtain licenses from the Video Business Supervisory Committees formed in all States and Divisions in the Union of Myanmar; and c) all videos, both imported and locally-produced, have to 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 *kyat*. The new law also forbids private transmitters that are not authorized by the government, prescribing up to five-year prison terms for offenders.

Another law entitled "The Computer Science Development Law," issued on September 27, 1996, makes the unauthorized import, possession, and use of certain types of computer equipment illegal. For example, the unauthorized use of computers with networking capability is punishable with a sentence of between seven and 15 years in prison and/or a fine. A "Myanmar Computer Science Council" is to 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 five and 10 years in prison is prescribed for anyone who imports or exports computer software or information banned by the Myanmar Computer Science Council.

Since July 1998, the SPDC has used the 1961 Habitual Criminal Offenders Act against NLD MPs in order to restrict the activities of the NLD. This puts repeat offenders on permanent bail, forcing them to sign up with local authorities on daily basis. Many NLD MPs refused to sign, and as a result by mid-July 1998, some 79 MPs had been detained. This 1961 Act was intended to be applied only to restrict habitual offenders of the law. Since

section 5/1(g) applies to those habitual lawbreakers and offenders only, the assumptions and accusations of the SPDC concerning the NLD MPs is not applicable. The restraining order issued under this Act that all MPs to remain within certain areas and not to be allowed to travel outside specific areas is a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2.3 Denial of a fair and public trial

Although remnants of the British-era legal system are formally in plaice in Burma, the court system and its operation remain seriously flawed, particularly in the handling of political cases. Throughout 1999, the SPDC continued to rule by decree and was not bound by any constitutional provision providing for fair trials or any other rights. Not only have the people charged under the various law and military decrees been consistently denied fair trials and the due process of law, but also the judicial system itself has been emasculated over the years.

SPDC appoints the Judges of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court selects judges for the lower courts, but requires the approval of SPDC authorities. The Supreme Court is further in charge of supervising the lower courts. The Judiciary Law does not contain any provisions on the security of tenure of judges and their protection from arbitrary removal, thus leaving such issues entirely in the hands of the SPDC and, what is worse, without any guarantees provided by law by which the SPDC is bound.

In addition to the SPDC's unrestricted power in the appointment of judges, the courts are powerless to protect the rights of victims of oppression. This is so because a great number of decrees have been promulgated by the SPDC for the purpose of repressing political activity and the freedoms of thought, expression, association and movement, among others. Moreover, emergency laws are still resorted to. The courts have no jurisdiction to challenge or to discard this repressive legal arsenal.

Unprofessional behavior by some court officials, the MISuse of overly broad laws — including the Emergency provisions Act of 1950, the Unlawful Associations Act, the Habitual Offenders Act, and the Law on Safeguarding the State from the danger of Destructionists — and the manipulation of the courts for political ends continue to deprive citizens of the right to a fair trial and the rule of law.

Some basic due process rights, including the right to a public trial and to be represented by a defense attorney are generally respected, except in political cases that the authorities deem especially sensitive. Without the perMISsion of the intelligence organs, judges cannot even let the family and counsel of the accused know what sentence has been passed. In many cases, the accused is kept in ignorance of the section of law under which he is charged. There have been reported instances where Military Intelligence has passed sentences orally at the time of arrest, before any trial had taken place. More often than not trials are held on camera. Defendants with political charges are given little chance to speak during the trial, let alone present a proper defense. Even where they manage to make a statement, the judges pay no heed to it. Prior to being charged, detainees rarely have access to legal counsel or their families and political detainees have no opportunity to obtain release on bail. In most political cases, trials are held in courtrooms on prison compounds and are not open to the public. In these instances, defense counsel appears to serve no purpose other than to provide moral support, since reliable reports indicate that verdicts are dictated by higher

authorities. Political detainees are held incommunicado for long periods. Even after being charged, detainees rarely have benefit of counsel.

In October 1999, the Supreme Court disMISsed suits brought by members of the NLD's central executive committee against SPDC Secretary 1, Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt, the Chief of the MIS. (Military Intelligence) The lawsuit alleged that the military intelligence apparatus intentionally damaged private individuals in connection with the detention of NLD members and elected MP. They also filed a lawsuit against other senior SPDC officials for libelous fraud, and intimidation in connection with the organization of "no confidence" petitions against NLD members-elect of parliament. Although the hearing was closed to the public, the Supreme Court reportedly ruled that the Lt-Gen. could not be sued for official actions without the perMISsion of his superior, Senior General Than Shwe, and that the "no confidence" petitions were valid.

2.4 Activists Arrested Prior to the planned 9-9-99 uprising, including former activists (Massive arrests to prevent 9999)

Between July and September 1999, SPDC arrested and detained hundreds of local NLD leaders and former student leaders throughout the country. SPDC reportedly detained as many as 100 persons in Pegu and Mandalay between July and September, many of these arrests were intended to prevent public demonstrations in connection with the anniversary of the August 1988 pro-democracy uprising or on the numerologically significant date of September 9, (9.9.99) on which some pro-democracy groups in exile had called for a nationwide general strike to commemorate the 1988 uprising. Several of those arrested were women, including three sisters who were reportedly arrested for wearing yellow t-shirts with pictures of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on the front.

Case of Kyaw Wunna and his family (World's youngest Prisoner of Conscience)

Three-year-old Thaint Wunna Khin and 18 others were arrested between July 19 and 24 in Pegu, central Burma. They were detained on suspicion of planning a July 19 march to commemorate the 52nd anniversary of General Aung San's assassination. Between 16 and 18 July, pamphlets announcing the march were distributed and messages were spray-painted on walls calling for support for the NLD, for prices to be lowered, and for civil servants' salaries to be raised. The local Military Intelligence (MI) arrested Thaint Wunna Khin, aged 3, and her mother, Ma Khin Khin Leh, when they could not find her father, Kyaw Wunna. They arrested six other members of his family on July 23. A further 11 people who distributed pamphlets were arrested between July 19 and 24. Thaint Wanna Khin was named by Amnesty International as the "world's youngest prisoner of conscience".

2.5 Students Given Sentences up to 54 years

In August and September 1998, demonstrations by the students resulted in another crackdown by the Military Junta. Many students involved in the activities went into hiding and were later caught and arrested and on January 18, 1999 were sentenced to long prison terms ranging from 10 to 52 years. While awaiting their sentencing, the students were detained in Military Intelligence Service (MIS) interrogation camps where many were tortured and sustained severe injuries. Some of the students and their sentences are as follows:

Ko Thet Win Aung

He was an underground (UG) participant in the 1998 student demonstrations. In September 1998, Ko Thet Win Aung was arrested by MIS and sentenced to (52) years imprisonment under the Insein Prison Code. He was given an additional one-year term and is serving his sentence in Myitkyina Prison.

Ko Myo Min Zaw

A second-year English Major, Hlang Campus, Ko Myo Min Zaw was arrested by MIS for participating in the student demonstrations. He went into hiding where he tried to organize another student demonstration when MIS caught him. He was accused of agitating unrest and originally given a sentence of 38 years, which has since been increased to 52 years. Now he is being detained at Bassein Prison.

Ko Myo Min Htike

In September 1998, Myo Min Htai, a 23 year old student of the Yangon Institute of Technology was arrested by MIS at his house and sentenced to 52 years imprisonment under 5(j) and the Insein Prison Code. Currently, he is serving his sentence at Pathein Prison.

Ko Aye Aung

A second-year Physics major, Distance Education University (Dagon University) and one of the main leaders of the demonstrations, he was arrested in hiding in Rangoon together with Ko Myo Min Zaw by MIS and sentenced to an imprisonment of 14 years. After a second interrogation, MIS added another 10 years. He is serving his sentence at Kalay Prison.

Ko Yan Aung Soe

He was arrested by MIS and originally sentenced to 14 years but was given an additional 10 years and is being detained at Myingyan Prison.

Ko Kyaw Swar Swe

On September 24 1998, during a demonstration, Kyaw Swar Swe, aged 23, who was a 2nd year student of electrical power at the Association of Government Technical Institute, was arrested by MI on 30th street in downtown Rangoon. He was sentenced to 14 years [under 5(j) act] imprisonment and the Insein Prison Code. He is serving his sentence

at Pathein Prison.

Ko Chan Nyein Win

On September 23 1998, in the evening, Chan Nyein Win, aged 24, who had been a 2nd year student at the Association of Government Technical Institute was arrested by MIS at his house and sentenced to 14 years.

Ko Bo Bo

A member of the National League for Democracy-Youth (NLD-Y), MIS caught and sentenced him to a 7-year term for joining the student movement. Recently, we have learned from sources inside Burma that Ko Bo Bo was tortured and had his fingers smashed and broken during a second interrogation by the MIS.

Ko Kyi Thar Nyein

In September 1998 Kyi Thar Nyne, a 22 year old student in 2nd year at the Yangon Institute of Technology, was arrested by MI at Shwe Bo. After his arrest, he was interrogated in Yangon, and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment under 5(j) and the Insein Prison Code. When ICRC came to Burma to investigate prison conditions in June 1999, he was secretly transferred from Insein Prison to Kalay Prison, and 7 more years were added onto his sentence.

Ko Thuya Aung

On August 24 1998, Thuya Aung, a 21 year old student in the first year cheMIStry program at Hlaing College, was arrested by MIS at his house in Kamaryut Township, and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment under 5(j) and the Insein Prison Code. He is currently serving his sentence at Myitkyina Prison (Northern Burma).

Ko Htein Lin Aung

On August 24 1998, Htein Lin Aung, a 22-year-old student of physics at Hlaing College, was arrested along with his wife by MIS at his house in Kamaryut Township. Three months later, his wife was released and he was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment under 5(j) and the Insein Prison Code. He is now being detained at Insein Prison.

Again, after the 9-9-99 action, students were arrested and given long prison terms. The following students were given the following sentences and sentence extensions.

Ko Nyi Htwe, or San Zaw Htwe

Nyi Htwe, aged 22, was involved in the 1996 student movements, during which he established many connections in the freedom of education movement. In 1998, he was again actively involved in the August 24 student demonstrations. Some of his friends were arrested after this movement, and he was forced into hiding. During his time in hiding, he became an extension member of the NLD-Youth and worked at the NLD Headquarters. In September 1999 he attempted to organize the '9999' action so MI came to arrest him at his house on the evening of 9-9-99. However, he was able to evade their arrest. On September 20 the MI again attempted to arrest him, and searched his house and took some documents

and other materials of his. In November 1999 the MI succeeded in arresting him. On December 3,1999 he was sentenced in Insein Prison Court to 37 years with hard labour under the 5(j), 17/1, Illegal Publication law. On January 22, 2000 he was transferred to Thayet prison.

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Ko Zaw Ye Win

Ko Zaw Ye Win, now aged 27, was involved in the 1988 uprisings in Burma as a RIT (Rangoon Institute of Technology) student and a member of the RIT student union. In 1989 he became a member of the Democratic Student Front, Yangon division. Together with this group he was involved in the memorial ceremony of Phone Maw on the 1990 anniversary of his death. Due to this activity, he was arrested by the MI and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment with hard labour. After he was released from prison, he continued his involvement in the political field. In September 1999, he worked to organize the support of people for the "9999' action. He was arrested again by the MI at the end of September, 1999. On December 3 he was sentenced in Insein Court to 17 years in prison under the 5(j), 17/1 Illegal Publication law. On January 22, 2000 he was transferred to TharYarWaddy prison.

Ko Thet Htwe

In 1988, Thet Htwe, now aged 29, was heavily involved in the '88 movement as a member of Rangoon University Students Union. In 1989 he joined the Student Democratic Front, Yangon Division. In 1990 he was on the leading committee of All Burma Federation of Student Unions (lower Burma). At the end of 1990, after the election results of Aung San Suu Kyi's NLD party were denied, he fled to the border area. In 1997 he secretly returned to the central area of Burma to work underground with Rangoon University Students Union. In 1999 he supported the work for the '9999' action, and was subsequently arrested by the MI in November. On December 3, 1999 he was sentenced in the Insein Prison court to 21 years imprisonment with hard labour under the 5(j), 17/1 Illegal Publication law. On January 22, 2000 he was transferred to Taungue Prison.
(*Source: ABFSU-FAC*)

2.6 Arrest of Foreign Activists

Two foreign pro-democracy activists were arrested and sentenced to long prison terms during 1999.

Case of James Mawdsley

On August 31, 1999, James Mawdley, a British and Australian citizen who had previously been arrested in Burma in 1997 and 1998, serving 90 days of a five-year prison sentence for illegal entry, was arrested again in Tacheleik Township, Shan State. He was arrested while he was distributing anti-SPDC leaflets at the local market. He was convicted and sentenced to a total of 17

years in prison. He was charged with Section (13/1) of 1947 Immigration Law and punished to five years imprisonment and also charged with Section (17) of 1962 Printers' and Publishers' Registration Law and sentenced to (7) years imprisonment. In addition, he has to serve his unfinished previous 5 -year prison term of his last arrest in 1998. The trial was held in secret at Tachileik Court. According to sources, he was transferred to Kengtung Prison on September 1st, 1999. He refused to appeal his sentence, insisting that the SPDC and its legal system are illegitimate. He is currently still serving his sentence in Kengtung prison.

Case of Rachel Goldwyn

On September 7, 1999, at 5:30 in the evening, 28-year-old London woman, Rachel Goldwyn, was arrested by the military police after singing an outlawed revolution song and demanding civil rights in a busy Rangoon market place — at the corner of Ahnaw-ra-hta Road and Barr Street. In front of a crowd of 300 students MISs Goldwyn sang the revolution song, "We Will Never Forget," chanted "free Burma," and demanded the release of all political prisoners, freedom for James Mawsdley, and the stopping of ethnic cleansing. She put up a poster which read, "Free Burma" and publicized the 9.9.99 uprising planned by underground student activists. Shackled at the ankles she sang the (Burmese) revolution song and shouted pro-democracy slogans for 15 minutes before the military police dragged her into a van and drove off through the shouting crowds. She was convicted of sedition and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, but released on appeal and left the country in November.

Partial list of the Arrest of Military personnel in 1999

On August 27, 1999, seven military officers as well as two rank-and-file soldiers were arrested in Papun Township of Karen State because they had been circulating pro-democracy pamphlets, posters and stickers in Karen State. They had also been trying to organize fellow military personnel to involve in the pro-democracy movement led by NLD and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi They were detained and interrogated by the military intelligence service (MIS). The men were:

1. Lt. Kyaw Thura
2. Lt. Maung Aung
3. Lt. Aung Htay Lwin
4. Lt. Okkar Myint
5. Lt. Myint Zaw
6. Lt. Kyaw Zaya
7. Lt. Than Win
8. Lance-Corporal Sein Thaung
9. Lance-Corporal Myint Kyu

(*Source: NCUB*)

On December 18, 1999,six people including Col. Khin Maung Lwin, the computer officer at the War Office in Rangoon and five instructors from Eagle Computer School and Winner Computer School were arrested for violating the Official Secrets Act. They had reportedly been accessing 'Burmanet', a web infosite containing news from the opposition.

The schools were closed and they were instructed to tell students that they were closing due to "Y2K problems." **(*Source: HRDU*)**

2.7 Life of Political Prisoners

Some human rights organization estimate that there are 1,300 political prisoners in Burma, but some activists from Burma say that there are presently over 2,500 in prisons across Burma. They are suffering as a consequence of their involvement in the struggle for democracy and human rights.

Prison condition 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 forms of Detention or Imprisonment). However, international monitoring of prisons began in May 1999 after the SPDC agreed to allow the ICRC unrestricted access to all prisoners in all prisons, detention centers, and labor camps. During 1999, the ICRC was able to visit more than 30,000 prisoners in at least 18 prisons including more than 1,300 political prisoners. SPDC allowed the ICRC to perform its traditional services such as delivering letters to and from prisoners.

However, there are many reports of the maltreatment of prisoners in Burma documented in 1999. It includes torture, prolonged shackling, lack of proper medical care, and insufficient food. Torture techniques including beating, 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 SPDC security forces to punish and intimidate prisoners.

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 (MIS) 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 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 stocks or leg-irons made of chains with an iron rod between the feet.

Prisoners are also subjected to severe overcrowding, conditions that by themselves constitute cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment in other parts of the world. It is standard in prisons throughout Burma for 3 or 4 prisoners to be 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. In Thayet prison, Magwe Division, where there are a total of 74 political prisoners, 3 persons are placed in each of the cells measuring 12' x 8' where they sleep, eat, and defecate. These conditions are most inhuman and a danger to health of the prisoners which has resulted in the sickness and death of some.

Medical treatment is rarely provided and then only when a prison'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),

AIDS and skin diseases. Conditions in prison allow for the easy transMISsion of these diseases due to poor sanitation, unclean and semi-cooked food, dirty kitchens, polluted surroundings, and lack of personal hygiene (particularly because of poor water supplies).

Under the current military regime, the political prisoners in Burma have even been denied the rights of prisoners outlined in the "Jail Manual", a document drawn up by the British in 1891, and supposedly still recognized by the regime. The political prisoners are often subjected to extra prohibitions and severe punishments in repressive degrees that are not mentioned in the manual. Moreover, the political prisoners who peacefully complain about the abuses and ill treatments of the prison officials and ask for redressing are given both severe punishments and additional prison terms. Political prisoners are not allowed to communicate with one another. In addition, they are only allowed to meet with their families after they have been sentenced.

Apart from the political prisoners who are put in the solitary confinement, an unknown number are forced to perform hard labor in their respective prisons on a daily basis. However, the political prisoners are not provided sufficient water (for bathing and drinking), food, medical treatments and even space for sleep. Therefore the political prisoners absolutely depend on the support of their families for the preservation of their lives. Some political prisoners have died from the lack of essential assistance such as medicine and nutritious food.

The SPDC intentionally tries to break the spirit of political prisoners down by sending them to the remote prisons far away from their families where they suffer psychological and often physical MISery from the lack of support from their family. All 15 NLD members imprisoned in the jail that is built in deep jungle area near Kalay Town in Sagaing Division where family members can not reach are suffering from Malaria.

Meanwhile the MI and local authorities of the SPDC regularly intimidate and persecute the family members of political prisoners. The MI frequently confiscates the belongings of the families of political prisoners. They also harass the economic, social and educational lives of the family members of political prisoners. In most cases the family members lose their jobs, so that in the end they find it very hard to provide regular support for their imprisoned family member. They even can not afford the transportation costs to visit their imprisoned relatives. In many cases, as the political prisoners used to be the breadwinners of their families, many families that are left outside can not afford to assist them for a long time.

Moreover, the political prisoners meet even further bitter situations when they are released from prison. The SPDC intimidates and harasses the former political prisoners using all available means, although they have finished their prison terms, to ensure that they can not resume their political activities. When extraordinarily sensitive occasions take place in Burma such as anniversary dates, the former political prisoners are usually detained and interrogated for unlimited periods without reason. The SPDC also utilizes many different ways to isolate them from society. The main weapons of the SPDC to marginalize the former political prisoners are to outcast them from economic and educational opportunities.

2.8 Transfer of Political Prisoners

Throughout 1999, the SPDC has frequently transferred political prisoners to different

prisons throughout Burma. It is believed that this is done to prevent links from forming between political prisoners, as well as between prisoners and prison staff. All prisoners usually are permitted to receive medicine and essential supplemental food brought by their families during 15-minute visits permitted every two weeks. However, these visits become difficult when the political prisoners are transferred to remote prisons far from where their families are living. Most such prisoners suffer additional hardship in the form of reduced access to family support, food, medicine, and clothing. SPDC transferred many political prisoners from Rangoon's Insein prison to other prisons remote from the city before the ICRC 's first visit to Insein in May 1999. Groups of political prisoners from Insein prison were transported in large motor vehicles and railway cargo cars to jails all over the country. The prisoners were treated harshly during the transfer, which was supervised by the MI. Their heads were shaved, and they were put heavy metal chains that were old and rusted and caused sores to develop on the prisoners ankles. The transfers were hurriedly completed the night before the first ICRC inspection.

Between April and May of 1999, the military junta secretly transferred an estimated three hundred to five hundred political prisoners from Insein Prison to ten other remote prisons all over the country. The junta neglected to inform the families or issue an official news release regarding this matter. The various penitentiaries to which the prisoners have been transferred are Myitkyinar, Kathar, Shwe Bo, Myingyan, Mandalay, Thayet, Monywa, Kalay, Besein, Myaung Mya, Moulmein and Myeik (Mergui). Most of the transferred political prisoners comprise students who participated in the August and September student movements in 1998 and were subsequently sentenced to 14 to 52 year long-term imprisonment. Prison authorities regularly move only criminals. However, in previous instances, the junta had transferred political prisoners during mass arrests of pro-democracy activists given a certain the political situation, protests by political prisoners against jail authorities for injustice treatment, and pressure from the international communities (such as the UN, the ICRC and etc.) to improve prison conditions. Due to the mass prison transfers, it has become extremely difficult and time- consuming for the families - especially the poor - to meet with the prisoners. Travelling costs are considerably high, and only the family members are allowed to meet the prisoners with authorized perMISsion from the junta officials. Political prisoners have been systematically transferred between prisons partly in order to hamper communication between prisoners and their families. The recent transfers coincided with the attempt by the ICRC to investigate prison conditions inside Burma. The authorities completed the transfers within a month prior to the ICRC inspection. Thus it could be concluded that, despite granting token perMISsion to the ICRC to inspect Burmese prisons, the junta intended to forestall any meeting between ICRC officials and the political prisoners. Several political prisoners were repeatedly transferred among prisons. **(*Source: ABFSU-FAC*)**

Partial List of Prisoners transferred prior to the ICRC visits

No.	Name	Age	Imprisonment term	Original Jail	Transferred Jail
1	Ko Thet Win Aung	28	52 years	Insein	Myit Kyi Nar
2	Ko Myo Min Zaw	23	38 years	Insein	Basein
3	Oo Kyaw Min	52	28 years	Insein	Mandalay
4	Ko Htun Myint Aung	32	21 years	Insein	Myinghan
5	Ye Kyaw Swar	27	19 years	Insein	Basein
6	Ye Maw Htoo	27	19 years	Insein	Thyet
7	Kyaw Zaw	28	14 years	Insein	Myit Kyi Nar
8	Thar Lin Tin	26	14 years	Insein	Basein
9	Ye Min Kyaw	28	14 years	Insein	Basein
10	Phone Thet Pyne	26	14 years	Insein	Basein
11	Aye Myint Than	30	14 years	Insein	Basein
12	Aye Naing	32	14 years	Insein	Basein
13	Yan Aung Soe	28	14 years	Insein	MyinGyan
14	Kyi Thar Htun	21	14 years	Insein	Kalay
15	Kyaw Htwe (Markie)	35	14 years	Insein	Myit Gyi Nar
16	Khun Syne	46	7 years	Insein	Shwe Bo
17	Ma Lay Lay Mon	23	10 years	Insein	Basein
18	Zin Mar Aung	24	10 years	Insein	Mandalay
19	Laith Laith	28	10 years	Insein	Shwe Bo
20	Ma Khin Cho Myint	28	10 years	Moulmein	Moulmein
21	Mya Sabai Moe	24	7 years	Insein	Mandalay
22	Kyi Kyi Win	36	7 years	Insein	Mandalay
23	Ko Than Naing	-	-	Insein	Myeik

(*Source: ABFSU- FAC*)

2.9 Death in Prison

U Hla Khin

U Hla Khin, a 43-year-old NLD member died in his cell in Insein prison on May 31, 1999. He had been sentenced for allegedly violating the 1975 Law that deals with subversion. (The 'Safeguard the State against the Danger of those desiring to cause Subversive Acts' law). According to the SPDC press statement, he committed suicide in his cell by hanging himself with his sarong. The statement further said that he had been undergoing treatment for long-term alcoholism, which had brought on neurological disorders. The Deputy Chairman of the NLD, U Tin Oo, stated that his party held the government responsible for the death.

There were other cases in which prisoners had died just days after being released from prison. An elected NLD representative and retired Colonel Tin Ko Ko, who was released from prison early 1999 had also died in May. The SPDC pass statement said he had been jailed for violation of a 1975 law that dealt with subversion, without giving details of his crime or jail term.

U Kyaw Min

U Kyaw Min, a former member of the Central Executive Committee of the NLD and the MP-elect from the Bassein West of the Irrawaddy Division, was infected with Hepatitis B virus while he was in Insein Prison under long imprisonment. He was a well-known lecturer at the Rangoon Institute of Technology (RIT) and by profession an architect.

He was released for treatment only after the discase was found to be out of control. He succumbed to the disease on July 1, 1999. He was 66 years old.

2.10 Health Concern for Political Prisoners

Zaw Maung Maung Win, aged 22, is one of the student leaders of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions. He was detained in 1996 after widespread student protest demonstration, and was sentenced in 1997 to Seven years imprisonment including hard labour under the 5(j) code. Prior to his detention he had suffered from a heart attack and had been operated on twice. Two or three months after his sentence, he was transferred into Mandalay prison far away from his family to make it impossible for them to provide for him well. He is extremely weak and suffering from his heart problem. Witnesses who were released recently reported that he could only walk very short distances before feeling exhausted or fainting. His health is reportedly deteriorating further. He is currently held in Mandaley Prison, but does not receive adequate medical care.

Ko Htay Aung, aged 37, was arrested and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment by the special court on April 26, 1997. He was accused of involvement in the student-led demonstration of December 1996. He was later transferred to Bassein prison. In 1999, ICRC was allowed to inspect Bassein prison and had a chance to meet some political prisoners including Ko Htay Aung. After the visit, the prison authorities ordered Ko Htay Aung to tell them everything that had been said during the visit. Ko Htay Aung answered with' "if you want to know, you should have asked ICRC. There is no need for me to tell you" Since then, Ko Htay Aung has been subsequently denied his visiting rights and put in solitary confinement as punishment. He is suffering tuberculosis and pain due to the torture he received in his previous arrest. He was one of the student leaders of "Makatha", a student organization in 1988 and was arrested for the first time in March 1990 together with 15 colleagues. All were sentenced to three years' imprisonment. He was severely tortured and beaten for his involvement in a September 1990 hunger strike in Insein prison. He was transferred to Thayet prison and released in October 1992. In February 1995, he was detained for 15 days and again in December 1996.

Nay Tinn Myint, aged 33, was actively involved in the 1988 pro-democracy protests. In 1989 he was detained and sentenced to three years imprisonment including hard labour. While in prison he was tortured, both physically and mentally, and held in solitary confinement in shackles. He was released in 1992, but re-imprisoned in 1993 together with U Tin Htun and Dr Ma Thida who was released on 11 February 1999. He was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment including hard labour. Nay Tinn Myint is currently being held in Myingyan prison. He is reported to be vomiting blood, to have a swollen right leg and to experience loss of equilibrium.

U Ohn Kyaw, aged approximately 70, is a retired Township education administrator. U Ohn Kyaw is not a political activist, but was reportedly arrested because of his sons involvement in the Democratic Party for a New Society (DPNS), a student-led political party. In 1998 he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment. He is currently being held in a solitary confinement cell in Myingyan prison although he is suffering from heart disease / hypertension. Myingyan prison is considered to be among the worst in Myanmar for the provision of medical services and the treatment of prisoners. There is a clinic in the prison, but there is no medication available. Family of ill prisoners must purchase medicines outside the prison and deliver it to the clinic. U Ohn Kyaw's family has been unable to provide regular medical supplies because of their financial situation and because Myingyan prison is located far from their home.

Lwin Moe Myint, was arrested on July 19, 1999 in Pegu along with other activists for allegedly organizing an anti-SPDC protest. The authorities accused him of being a member of the ABSDF and sentenced him to life imprisonment in a special court on December 3, 1999. Two or three months later, he was transferred to Tharawaddy prison. His family could not make frequent visit to see him. He is now suffering from a gastric ulcer.

U Tun Aung Kyaw (a) Thakhin Mipwar, aged 50, was arrested and sentenced in 1990 for the first time to five years imprisonment including hard labour. While in prison he contracted tuberculosis. He was released in 1994, and his health worsened due to financial inability to treat his disease. Despite this problem, he continued to be secretly active in political movements. He therefore was re-arrested in 1997 while in hospital and sentenced to seven years imprisonment including hard labour. U Tun Kyaw is still suffering from tuberculosis.

U Khin Kyaw Han, NLD MP elect for Constitutency 2, Yenangyaung Township, Magwe Division has been held in custody at the holding center under the control of No. 15 Military Intelligence unit for one year and six months. Only once in five or six months a medical check is conducted which is inadequate. On December 15, 1999, U Khin Kyaw Han lost two of his upper teeth and was taken to a dental surgeon by military intelligence personnel. He was advised to receive dentures. When he informed the Captain in charge he was told that half of medical expenses that exceed *Kyat* 1000/- would have to be paid by the patient himself. However, the matter hasn't gone further than that.

U Thar Aung, NLD MP elect for Constituency 1, Myo-thit Township, Magwe Division has also been held in custody at the holding center under the control of No. 15 Military Intelligence unit for one year and six months. He suffered from giddy spells on December 27, 1999 and reported this to the Military Intelligence personnel in charge. He was taken to the doctor who found that the patient was suffering high blood pressure and some medicine was supplied but the patient felt no improvement. He asked to be taken to the doctor again but was told that the guard was not free. From the December 29, 1999 to the January 11, 2000 he saw the doctor only three times.

Ko Sai Si Thu Aung, a 22 year old student in 2nd year at the Institute of Economics,

Sai Sai Thu was arrested on 25 August 1998, at 10:30 in the morning by the MI, as he was returning from an examination at Basic High School No (1), Kamaryut Township. In January 1999, he was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment under 5(j) act and the Insein Prison Code. Presently, he is still in detention at Insein Prison, where his health is in very bad condition due to having to drink contaminated water.

2.11 Prolonged detention

Although the law in Burma provides for the commutation of sentences for good behavior, political prisoners often are not granted this benefit. Moreover, some political prisoners remain in custody despite having completed their sentences. Though their sentences are over, they are still being kept in prisons without proper reason. The Order allows for prisoners serving a death sentence to have their sentence reduced to 'transportation' (imprisonment for a term of 20 years); prisoners undergoing sentences ranging from a term of 20 years or more to a term of 15 years; prisoners undergoing sentences of transportation or life to imprisonment for a term of 10 years and prisoners undergoing sentences ranging from 10 to 20 years according to each offence to imprisonment for a term of ten years.

Among the unknown number of political prisoners who were due to be released under this sentence commutation, the following political prisoners are examples:

In October 1999, Ma Aye Aye Myint, wife of U Thi Ha (a) U Tint Swe received a letter from the Myaungmya prison authorities that that at the next visitation date her husband would be set free. U Thi Ha was sentenced in 1989 to 10 years imprisonment (1.11.89 to 31.10.99) and denied the period of reMISsion that all prisoners are entitled to. She joyously prepared food, clothing and medicines and went to meet him. On arrival at the jail she was notified that in accordance with orders from the Home Ministry given under Section 10 (d) of the Law to Prevent Disturbance to the State, he was to be kept in custody for another 60 days. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Ktay Thein and **Khin Maung** in Thayet prison were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment with hard labor on November 13, 1989 for their political activities. They received the sentence commutation and reMISsion on December 1997 and their sentences were commuted to ten years. Their prison terms were over on November 13, 1999, but they are still being kept behind bars.

U Tin Aye Kyu and **U Tin Myint** in Mandalay Jail have served their full term, yet they also were not released. Their prison term was extended on the orders of the Minister for Home Affairs under "Section 10 (a) of the Law to protect the state from disturbing elements" which was handed to them at the departure point in the jail. These two were not granted any reduction in the jail term for good behaviour which are mandatory rights provided in the Prison Law and Prison Manual. Eleven other political prisoners in Mandalay jail have completed their terms but have not been released because of the same action under Section 10 (b) of the law. They are:

1. Dr. Zaw Min
2. Dr. Nay Win
3. U Tin Aye Kyu
7. U Zarni Aung
8. U Thein Than Oo
9. U Kyaw Sein Aung

4. U Tin Myint
5. Ko Tin Aye
6. Ko Khin Maung Thant
10. U Naing Myint
11. U Htay Nyunt

(*Source: NLD*)

2.12 Release of political prisoners

Three high-profile prisoners were released during 1999 in response to international pressure.

81-year-old **U Ohn Myint** was released in January following the visit of United State Congressman Tony Hall.

Dr. Ma Thida, a medial doctor, writer and close colleague of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was released from prison on February 11, 1999 on "humanitarian grounds" during a period of diplomatic differences between the European Union and the ASEAN. Ma Thida had received a sentence of 23 years imprisonment in October 1993 for distributing anti-SPDC materials.

Daw Kyi Kyi, the 80-year-old widow of the late chairman of the Burmese Communist Party was also released from prison on July 11, 1999. Daw Kyi Kyi, the widow of Thakin Zin, was sentenced in November 1989 to 20 years' imprisonment under internal security provisions. The SPDC announced that Daw Kyi Kyi was pardoned and released "out of consideration of her age."

2.13 Profiles of some political prisoners

Ma Khin Khin Leh

Ma Khin Khin Leh, in her early 30s, was arrested in July 1999 along with 18 others, in Pegu, central Burma. She is a teacher who graduated from university with a history degree. Her husband, Kyaw Wanna, is a political activist and member of *Ba Ka Tha*, the All Burma Federation of Student Unions, an organization which has taken a leading role in peaceful political opposition activities for the past twelve years. Kyaw Wunna and other pro-democracy activists in Pegu were planning a peaceful march on July 19, Martyrs' Day, the 52nd anniversary of the assassination of independence hero General Aung San.

Between 16 and 18 July, pamphlets were distributed announcing the march and messages were spray-painted on walls in Pegu calling for support for the NLD, prices to be lowered, and civil servants' salaries to be raised. When the local Military Intelligence (MI) could not locate Kyaw Wanna, they arrested his three-year-old daughter Thaint Wanna Khin and wife Ma Khin Khin Leh on July 19. His daughter was released after five days, but Ma Khin Khin Leh and others arrested in subsequent days were taken to MI 3 headquarters in Bago. They were then transferred to Wakteka, which is a new detention center near Phaungyi, on the road from Yangon to Pegu.

Subsequently Ma Khin Khin Leh was transferred to Insein Prison in Rangoon, joining hundreds of other political prisoners. On December 3, she was sentenced to life imprisonment in Insein Special Court under the vaguely-worded provisions of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act and the 1908 Unlawful Associations Act. These two laws are

frequently used to imprison people for their peaceful political activities in Burma. Moreover trials of political prisoners, including prisoners of conscience, contravene international fair trial standards, such as the right to adequate consultation with a lawyer of ones choice. Although military tribunals were abolished in 1992, the civilian judiciary is not independent from the military authorities. The judge usually reads out the sentence and the defendants or their lawyers have little or no opportunity to speak in court.

In January 2000 Ma Khin Khin Leh was transferred from Insein Prison to an unknown location. She suffers from an unspecified lung problem and it is not known if she is receiving medical care.

Daw San San

Daw San San, age 70, was arrested on October 28, 1997, and is currently serving a sentence of 25 years' imprisonment in Insein Prison, Yangon, for her peaceful political activities. She is a prominent member of the NLD, a leader in the party's women's group, an elected Member of Parliament for the NLD, and a former civil servant. Daw San San suffers from hypertension, and is held in solitary confinement.

This is the second time since 1991 that Daw San San has been imprisoned, and at least the third time that she has been deprived of her liberty on account of her peaceful political activities. Daw San San was sentenced by a military tribunal to 25 years' imprisonment on April 30, 1991, reportedly for her participation in discussions about the formation of a parallel government in Mandalay. These discussions took place following the military authorities' refusal to acknowledge the results of elections in which the NLD won the majority of votes, and to hand over power. There is no information about the conditions of her trial, but it is more than probable that the conditions failed to meet internationally agreed standards of fair trial. At the time of her trial military tribunals were still in place to try and sentence political prisoners. Martial law decrees providing for military tribunals in 1989 denied the right to judicial appeal, and the right to recall witnesses.

Daw San San was released under the provisions of a 1992 decree, which provided for the release of political prisoners not affecting "national security." As a condition of her release it is believed that she was required to sign a commitment not to undertake any political activities. In July 1996 she was again arrested with hundreds of other NLD members in an attempt by authorities to stop a planned party congress from taking place, and released after a short period in custody.

Daw San San was re-arrested on October 28, 1997 with six other prominent NLD members, following an attempt by Daw San San and other NLD officials to hold a meeting with local members and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The meeting in Mayangone Township, a suburb of Rangoon, was scheduled to take place to discuss the restructuring of the local branch of the party's youth wing. Security forces stopped the meeting from proceeding by setting up barricades preventing supporters from entering the building, and detaining a number of supporters, including Daw San San. After her arrest Daw San San is thought to have been held incommunicado for at least three months, without access to family, doctors or lawyers. Such conditions of imprisonment contravene international standards regarding people who are deprived of their liberty.

In April 1998 it was made public that Daw San San was serving the rest of the 25-year sentence which had been imposed in 1991. Officials stated that she was arrested in

October 1997 for her involvement in anti-government activities, such as "*providing false information to foreign media and taking a lead role in anti-government mass rallies.*" Some sources have commented that Daw San San was imprisoned because she had conducted an interview, critical of the authorities, with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in June 1997. Officials have denied that this was the motivation for her arrest.

Daw San San was born on January 10, 1930 and graduated from Yangon University in 1954 with a bachelor's degree in biology. Between 1959 to 1988 Daw San San was a civil servant, and worked as assistant Director of the Labour Directorate. When peaceful protests against military rule broke out in 1988, Daw San San played a key role and headed the Labour Directorate's Workers' Union. Because of her leading role in the peaceful demonstrations, she lost her job. Daw San San became one of the founder members of the National League for Democracy, a member of the party's Central Committee, and contested and won the seat of Seikkan, the port area of Rangoon.

Moe Kalayar Oo

At the time of her arrest on 20 February 1995, Moe Kalayar Oo was 30 years old and a science student at Rangoon University. She was one of more than fifty young people arrested by police and Military Intelligence (MI) officers at the funeral of U Nu in Rangoon. U Nu was the first democratically-elected Prime Minister of Burma, who died at the age of 87 on February 14, 1995; he was a popular politician who had been held under house arrest between 1989 and 1992 for his opposition to the military government.

During the course of the funeral, some of the young people present delivered a eulogy about U Nu. This reportedly prompted the security forces to make the arrests; two people were believed to have been severely beaten during the arrests. Although some of those arrested on February 20, 1995 were released after a short time in detention, further arrests were made at a later date in connection with the events at the funeral.

On April 28, Moe Kalayar Oo, two other women and six men were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment under section 5(J) of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act. This section provides for the imprisonment of anyone "*who causes or intends to disrupt the morality or the behaviour of a group of people or the general public, or to disrupt the security or the reconstruction of stability of the Union*".

Moe Kalayar Oo was initially detained in Insein Prison, Rangoon. During the course of her imprisonment there she was reported to have been held in solitary confinement because she complained that she was being denied medication. She is reportedly currently in Thayawaddy Prison, Pegu Division. Moe Kalayar Oo is believed to be suffering from suspected osteoporosis and tuberculosis, is in pain and has difficulty walking. Her family lives in Rangoon and is unable to visit her.

Soe Htun

In 1996, Ko Soe Htun was a final year electrical engineering (Electrical Power) student at the Rangoon Institute of Technology (RIT) as well as an executive member of a Buddhist organization. He was well respected by other students.

Ko Soe Htun joined the demonstration for students' rights when the 1996 October student unrest broke out. After the October movement, he led many student meetings and participated in preparing for the next student's movement. He became a prominent student

leader during the 1996 December students' demonstration, and was known as a hard-line leader in a 10-member committee of mostly RIT students that was set up to defend students rights.

On December 2, 1996, he led one of the student marches as well as gave public speeches, and in the early morning of 3 December, he was beaten and arrested by the riot police (Lon Htein) along with 81 students from RIT and 400 students from other universities and colleges.

He was released immediately following a demonstration staged by other students to demand his liberation. Upon his release, he resumed his leadership of the students' demonstrations. These demonstrations took place not only in Rangoon and Mandalay, but also spread to other universities.

On 1 May 1997, Ko Soe Htun participated in founding the New Vision Literacy Club, located on Zayerthiyi Street in Hledan, Kamayut Township, Rangoon. He and seven other students were arrested by a group of MI led by Major Hla That Maung. He was detained and interrogated on July 6, 1997 at the headquarters of MI 7 which is situated in Manaw- hayee Road, Rangoon Township.

Although this was a time when the military intelligence was trying to sow confusion among the students, Ko Soe Tun stood firmly for the students, and continued to lead the students' movement after he was released three days later.

Ko Soe Htun was again arrested on August 27, 1997 with seven other students. He had been demanding that authorities reveal the truth about a car accident that killed a young girl from the engineering diploma class, Ma Aung Mi Khing, in July 1997. Instead of prosecuting the driver, U Aike Koung from Wa special region (2), the military tried to replace him with another culprit.

Ko Soe Htun led a student group demanding justice in this case. Ko Soe Htun was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment, with hard labour, on 10 October 1997. He is currently detained in Tharyarwaddy prison in Pago under Article 5(J) of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act. **(*Source: ABFSU-FAC*)**

Ye Kyaw Swa

Ko Ye Kyaw Swa became involved in student politics when he was a basic education high school student and served as an underground activist for the ABFSU and DPNS after these organizations were banned in the middle of 1990. Ye Kyaw Swa was born in 1973 and he was only 15 when the 8888 democratic movements began.

His father was Bo Ye Hla, the leader of Phyithu Ye Baw during the time of the Independence movement. Ye Kyaw Swa became a member of COC (Cental Organization Committee) of Bakatha (Lower Burma) when it was reformed in 1990. He also took part in organizing and campaigning for DPNS as a party member. During the organizing period for the Bakatha central conference, he assisted with the heavy workload and attended the conference held in Mandalay in 1990 as a representative and became a leader of Bakatha. He was actively involved in all the movements of Bakatha and on 2 September 1990 was arrested by the MI and on 28 October 1990 was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

In 1991, he was moved to Thayet Prison from Insein and in 1992 was released from Thayet Prison. After his release from jail, he successfully did the matriculation examination and was able to attend RIT. During his time of study he secretly performed activities for

Bakatha, as a member of the central organization committee, and participated in some underground movements of DPNS, which was abolished as an illegal party.

After Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was released from house arrest in July 1995, Ko Ye Kyaw Swa became involved in organizing the students to support the NLD. The MI followed him, searching for a pretext to arrest him, and then issued a warrant for his arrest in 1996. He was detained for one month. In 1996 he was attending RIT (Rangoon Institute of Technology) as a 2nd year student and participated in the October and December student demonstrations as a leader of ABFSU. Most of the students deeply respected him, and he was elected to the 10-member committee that was formed during December 1996 to protect student rights.

Ye Kyaw Swa also participated in a human rights comMISsion. This comMISsion was formed by the workers' union, youth unions and other political parties in order to inform the international community about human rights violations by the military regime and the oppression of the authorities against the people of Burma. Ko Ye Kyaw Swa was among the leaders of the December 2, 1996 student demonstration and was arrested together with other students. He was released with Ko Soe Htun the evening students organized a demonstration demanding their release.

Ko Ye Kyaw Swa persisted in leading the student movement after his release and tried to maintain secret contact between different student groups. He was re-arrested by the MI in the middle of December 1996 while he was in the process of setting up systematic underground networks, and sentenced to 19 years imprisonment. Recently, Ye Kyaw Swa was moved from Insein Prison to Bassein Prison. **(*Source: ABFSU-FAC*)**

Aung Htun

Ko Aung Htun was born in 1965. He was a 5th year electrical Engineering (Electrical power) student at RIT during the 1988 upheaval. He became involved in the student demonstrations during the 13 March 1988 affair, and continued to take part in demonstrations throughout 1989 and 1990.

Ko Aung Htun became involved in reforming the ABFSU when the activities of the vice-chairperson, Ko Ko Gyi, started diverting from the principles of the ABFSU, and was elected secretary of the central executive committee when ABFSU (Lower Burma) was formed in April 1990. He also attended the ABFSU conference that was held in Mandalay in 1990, and was elected secretary of the central executive committee of the joint ABFSU (both Upper and Lower Burma).

He was among the group who encouraged the NLD to call for the convening of parliament within 30 days after the election results. In July 1990, he attended the joint meeting of the central executive committee of the ABFSU and the central executive committee of the NLD. The ABFSU proMISed to ensure public support for the parliament, and staged a demonstration with the Committee for Labour Solidarity, FTUB (Federation of Trade Unions of Burma), and the All Burma Federation of Youth Unions (ABFYU). Most of the students, workers, and youth leaders were arrested in that demonstration. Shortly after, the NLD presented its plans concerning the call for the convening of parliament during the meeting of NLD MPs that was held at the Gandhi Hall in Kyauktada Township, Rangoon, from July 28-29, 1990.

On September 1, 1990, several student leaders from ABFSU were detained, including

Ko Aung Htun. On October 28, 1990, he was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. At the end of 1991, he was transferred from Insein prison to Thayawaddy prison. He was released in 1994. Ko Aung Htun then joined RIT and received a Bachelor's degree in electrical engineering in 1996. He maintained low-profile participation in the 1996 student demonstrations, and in 1997 he contacted student leaders in exile and started working with the secret networks of the ABFSU.

In January 1998, Ko Aung Htun was arrested and sentenced to 14 years imprisonment for writing the history of the student unions and student movements in Burma. This is his second sentence, and he is currently being detained in Insein prison. The history he was in the process of writing is a six volume long history (each volume 500 pages) of the student unions in Burma. It begins with the student movement of 1920, and continues until 1990 and after. Ko Aung Htun interviewed and received suggestions from prominent leaders in Burmese politics and the volumes include his outlook on Burmese politics, as well as his experience in prison. **(*Source: ABFSU-FAC*)**

Htun Myint Aung

Ko Htun Myint Aung was born in 1968. Ko Htun Myint Aung became a student activist in the 13 March 1988 affair. He served as leader of the Rangoon University Student Union (RUSU) as well as a committee member of the central executive committee of ABFSU (Lower Burma) and of the joint ABFSU that emerged from the conference in Mandalay in 1990.

Ko Htun Myint Aung was active in politics throughout 1988 and 1989, and was arrested for the first time in July 1990 during a student demonstration organized by the ABFSU. He was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment and in 1991, he was transferred to Thayet prison. Upon his release in October 1993, he continued to be involved in the struggle by participating in the set up of underground student networks.

Following the December 1996 student demonstrations, he had to go into hiding as the MI was looking for him. At that time, he was suffering from tuberculosis as a result of his previous incarceration, but still managed to secretly get in touch with student leaders from the ABFSU while he was receiving treatment. In 1998, the NLD and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi decided to call for the parliament to be convened before 21 August 1998. The ABFSU decided to support the endeavor of the NLD.

Ko Htun Myint Aung became involved in the process of activating the ABFSU for this purpose. He discussed with the monks' union, with workers' unions and with members of the NLD in order to organize for a people's uprising. He also urged other student leaders to set up a foreign affairs committee of the ABFSU members in exile who would be able to share information and discuss future plans for the ABFSU with them.

Ko Htun Myint Aung was one of the leaders of the student demonstrations in August and September 1998. He was arrested at 8:00 p.m. on September 19, 1998, and sentenced to 21 years imprisonment. This is the second time he has been sentenced. He is presently detained in Insein prison and suffering from tuberculosis. **(*Source: ABFSU-FAC*)**

Khin Cho Myint @ Zu Lu

Ma Khin Cho Myint was about to take her matriculation exam when the 8888

uprising occurred in August 1988. She immediately became involved in the student movement against the military dictatorship as an active member of the financial committee of her high school student union, and maintained her involvement throughout 1988 and 1989.

She also participated in the Tricolor Students Group, which was very close to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. She played an important role in reorganizing the students during 1989-1990, and became a central leader in the formation of the Rangoon Division of the Basic Education Students Union (BESU). She was working for the ABFSU when BESU became part of ABFSU (Lower Burma) on 14 April 1990, together with the Rangoon Institute of Technology students' union, the Medical students' union, the Rangoon University students' union, the Tricolor Students Group and other unions during a meeting in Rangoon.

In 1990, Ma Khin Cho Myint attended the conference of the ABFSU in Mandalay as a representative of the BESU. When most leaders of the BESU were arrested at the end of 1990, she attempted to reform the BESU to enable the union to continue functioning in spite of the oppression by the military regime. She participated in the 10 December 1991 demonstration led by Rangoon University students that demanded the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate. She then had to go into hiding to avoid being arrested by the MI. In spite of this, she continued her activities for the ABFSU, and played a significant part in enabling a new generation of students to become involved in the union in the period 1992-1995.

In 1991, she passed her matriculation exam and became a Rangoon University student majoring in physics. In 1996, Ma Khin Cho Myint participated in the December student demonstrations while preparing for her masters' degree. Moreover, she actively participated in the student demonstration on 24 August 1998 despite being closely watched by the MI.

Ma Khin Cho Myint with more than 400 other students and 1,500 members of the NLD, including members of parliament, were arrested in connection with the NLD's call for the convening of parliament in August 1998. Ma Khin Cho Myint was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment together with 200 other students. **(*Source: ABFSU-FAC*)**

2.14 Partial List of arrested politicians, including NLD MP-elects and members arrested in 1999

♦ In January 1999, NLD members Khin Soe, Zaw Win, and Win Kywe were arrested by MI for the possession of anti-government pamphlets and other documents. **(*Source: AP*)**

♦ On January 4, 1999, NLD parliamentarians-elect U Bo Zan and U Ngwe Tun of Kyaukpadaung Township in Mandalay Division were arrested and pressured to resign but both adamantly refused. They were then released at night. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 18, 1999, over 200 students were each sentenced to 14 years in prison for supporting the attempts of Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD to convene the National Assembly. Some of the student leaders received sentences up to 52 years. A further 70 members of the NLD, including two elected MP's, were each sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. **(*Source: ABFSU*)**

♦ On January 18, 1999, the local SPDC raided a home of U Soe Myint, Moulmein Township NLD CEC member and arrested him for illegally practicing herbal medicine.

(*Source: HRDU*)

♦ On January 22 1999, U Kyaw San, NLD organising committee member for Prome Township, was arrested by the power holding authorities for distributing an NLD Statement. (Statement # 4 1/99) As of March 5,1999 he had not been allowed a bath. In addition, the authorities shut down his family's fortune telling business on February 8, terminating their source of livelihood. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In February 1999, eight NLD organizing committee members who were arrested in Prome Township, Pegu Division in May 1998 were sentenced to 5 years imprisonment each. The eight, including women, were arrested for holding a monthly meeting and were not given a fair and legal trial. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On February 1, 1999, SPDC sentenced U Yaw Hsi, aged 51, a Kachin Member of Parliament (MP) from the National League for Democracy (NLD) to 5 1/2 years imprisonment with hard labor for possessing a tiny amount of opium oil for medical use. He is an MP from Putao Township in the Northernmost part of Burma and was arrested in October last year during a raid at his home in Putao in Kachin State, in which the police found among papers a rag soaked with opium oil. The cloth weighed about 3.4 milligrams. U Yaw Hsi however was arrested and charged with possession of the illicit drug. According to locals, it is common in upper Kachin State to keep small pieces of rags or cloth soaked in opium oil for use as a traditional cure for dysentery and other minor illnesses. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On February 4, 1999, NLD parliamentarians-elect U Bo Zan and U Ngwe Tun of Kyaukpadaung Township in Mandalay Division were arrested and pressured to resign but both adamantly refused. They were then released late that night. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On February 8, 1999, three MPs were arrested as they were preparing to attend a meeting of the Committee Representing the People's Parliament scheduled to be held at the NLD headquarters in Rangoon. The three MPs are Naing Thaung Nyunt from Paung Constituency 2, Daw Khin Htay Kywe from Chaungsone Constituency. 2 and retired Lt. Colonel Hla Maung from Kyar Inn Seikkyi constituency 1 who belongs to the Patriotic Veterans Group. This group which is mainly composed of former army officers makes up the core of the NLD in addition to intellectuals. The military has charged the three under section 5 (j) of **the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act**, citing them as threats to national security. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On February 12 1999, Daw Kyu Kyu San, Secretary (temporary) of the Organizing Committee of NLD, Sanchaung Township, Rangoon Division, and member of the Women Support Group of the Divisional NLD (Rangoon Division) was forcefully arrested and taken away by the MI and about 30 members of the ward administration. No reason was given for her arrest. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ At the beginning of August, 1999, an ethnic leader, Doo-Wah U Zaw Aung, and MP-elect for Waingmaw Township, Kachin State disappeared. His fate or whereabouts remains undetermined. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In August 1999, two MP-elect from Laputta Township, Irrawaddy Division, U KyiWin, a Supreme Court lawyer, and U Aye Kyu, along with two other Township NLD officers were sentenced to two years imprisonment in Myaungmya. They had been arrested for their efforts to secure the release of four other Township branch members, who had been sentenced to five year's imprisonment. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On August 1, 1999, the No. 19 military intelligence unit, together with members of

the [Union Solidarity and Development Association] and the Fire Brigade, searched the homes of NLD members in Shwe Pyithar Ward, Kawthaung Township, Tenasserim Division, for NLD membership cards, pins, pictures of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and NLD documents. They took away Ko Zaw Latt, an NLD member, and two young children. The parents are searching for their children who were taken away. They had no information on where they were being detained. It was also learned that Ko Soe Min Aung, son of U Tin Aye of Kanbaungyoe Ward, Mergui, is also being detained by the No. 19 military intelligence unit. Ko Soe Min Aung was arrested last year in connection with the 10th anniversary of the 8-8-88 movement in Mergui and was released later after posting a bond. The military intelligence agents are believed to have detained him again to prevent him from organizing the 9-9-99 movement. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On August 23, 1999, U Kyi Win, NLD MP from the No. (1) constituency, Latputta Township and Dr. Aye Kyu, NLD MP from the No. (2) constituency from the same Township were arrested by the SPDC and charged under 5 (j). The were charged with possession of 35 T-shirts with 9999 words, anti-SPDC literature and other NLD papers and a video tape of a speech by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 1, 1999, 13 NLD members and 5 students were arrested in Mandalay. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On September 4, 1999, police raided the house of U Tin Win, vice-chairman of the Shwebo Township NLD and searched for anti-SPDC literature. Although they did not find any political literature, they arrested him for having one strip of lomotil**,** a common drug, and charged him with drug possession. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on April 5, 2000 under the Drug Act. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 9, 1999, NLD youth member Teyza from Myinmu Township in Sagaing Division was arrested for posting a sign that his shop would be closed on September 9. He was tried and sentenced later to two years in prisons on charge of instigating public panic. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On November 3 1999, Nai Htun Thein the 82 year old chairman of the Mon National Democratic Front and Kyin Shain Htan, chairman of the Zomi National Congress were arrested by the SPDC. According to sources inside Burma, both were arrested for their meeting with Mr. De Soto, special UN representative, during his visit to Burma. . This was the second time they were arrested for their political activities. They had been arrested along with U Saw Mra Aung aged 82, the leader of Arakan National League for Democracy, in September 1998 for their support of the Committee Representing the People's Parliament (CRPP). **(*Source: Inside*)**

2.15 Partial List of Activists Arrested in 1999

♦ On January 18, 1999, over 200 students were each sentenced to 14 years in prison for supporting the attempts of Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD to convene the National Assembly. Some of the student leaders received sentences up to 52 years. A further 70 members of the NLD, including two elected MP's, were each sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. **(*Source: ABFSU*)**

♦ On June 10, 1999, ABSDF leaders Moe Kyaw and Than Zaw were arrested by MI

in Rulli, southern China where they were meeting supporters of the democracy movement. They were taken to MI Unit 23 HQ in Kutkai, Shan State. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On July 19 1999, 19 people were arrested in Pegu. 11 of those arrested had been involved in the planning for a commemorative march, including two former student leaders from 1988, Ko Lwin Moe Myint, 27, and Ko Myint Oo, 30. The other eight arrested were the family members of activist Kyaw Wunna who the authorities were unable to find, including his wife and his 3 year old daughter. **The names of the arrested family members were:**

1. U Aye Swe, aged 55, Chairman of the Shin Saw Pu ward Peace & Development Council, Pegu (uncle of Kyaw Wunna),
2. Daw Tin Tin, aged 50, Executive member of Myanmar Mother & Child Welfare Association, Pegu (wife of U Aye Swe),
3. Kyaw Kyaw Oo, aged 33 (son of U Aye Swe and Daw Tin Tin),
4. U Zaw Myint, aged 49 (uncle of Kyaw Wunna),
5. Daw Tint Tint, aged 47 (wife of U Zaw Myint),
6. Ko Zaw Zaw Latt, aged 20, Army Boxing Trainer at Infantry Battalion 101 in Pegu (son of U Zaw Myint and Daw Tin Tin), and
7. Kyaw Wunna's wife, Ma Khin Khin Leh, aged 33, teacher at middle school No. 8, New Oakthar Township in Pegu, and their three-year-old daughter.

The names of the 11 arrested activists were:

1. U Ba Chit, aged approximately 48,
2. U Ye Tint, aged approximately 45, English tutor,
3. U Win Myint, aged approximately 45, Mya Kan Thar Caf=E9 shopkeeper
4. Dr. Shwe Bo, aged approximately 45, a female medical doctor, Pegu General Hospital,
5. Ma Thida Htway, aged 27, Taungoo Township Primary School teacher and 3rd year female university student,
6. Ko Lwin Moe Myint, aged 27, 2nd year university student and former 1988 student leader,
7. Ko Myint Oo, aged 30, roadside vendor and former 1988 student leader in Pegu,
8. Ko Ah Thay Lay, aged 21, finished 10th standard and awaiting university entrance,
9. Ko Hla Win, aged 23, finished 10th standard and awaiting university entrance
10.-11. Two female doctors, names unknown, aged approximately 30-35 years, employed at Pegu General Hospital. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ In August 1999, three sisters; Daw Tin Win Yee, Daw Khin Kyi Kyi, and Daw Tin Aye, were arrested in Zegyo Market in Mandalay. The three were reportedly arrested for wearing yellow t-shirts with pictures of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on the front. They were later sentenced to five years' imprisonment at the Special Court in Mandalay Prison under Section 5e of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act, for "spreading false information". According to reports they were not allowed legal counsel or permitted to defend themselves during the trial. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On August 1, 1999, Ko Soe Min Aung, son of U Tin Aye of Kanbaungyoe Ward, Mergui, Tenasserim Division, was arrested and detained by the No. 19 military intelligence unit. Ko Soe Min Aung was arrested in 1998 in connection with the 10th anniversary of the 8-8-88 movement in Mergui and was released later after posting a bond. The military intelligence agents are believed to have detained him again to prevent him from organizing the 9-9-99 movement**. (*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On August 2, 1999, Kyaw Aung, 23 years old trader, Kyaw Min Htun (a) Wa Gyi, 20 years old student, Pyo Wai, 19 year old student and Maung Saw, 18 years old student were arrested by military intelligence (MI) at their homes in Pegu, north of the capital Rangoon. **(*Source: Inside Burma*)**

♦ On August 2, 1999, three students; Kyaw Min Htun (a) Wa Gyi, aged 20, Pyo Wai, aged 19, Maung Saw, aged 18 and a trader Kyaw Aung, aged 23 were arrested by MI in Pegu. **(*Source: NCGUB*)**

♦ On August 12, 1999, a total of 29 people, including 23 high school students were arrested for holding a peaceful demonstration in Mergui in which they marched from SHS (1) to SHS (4) and demanded a better education system. Some of the arrested students were:

1. Maung Win Phyo Hla, aged 14, from SHS (1)
2. Maung Than Zaw, aged 16, from SHS (2)
3. Maung Aung Min, aged 17, from SHS (2)
4. Maung Khaing Lin, aged 16 from SHS (2)
5. Maung Than Win, aged 17 from SHS (2)
6. Maung Thein Than Win, aged 18 from SHS (2)
7. Hlaing Win, aged 19, 9th standards from SHS (4)
8. Myo Win Htun, aged 18, 9th standard from SHS (4)
9. Phyo Wai Win, aged 18, 9th standard from SHS (4)
10. Zani Win Kyaw, aged 18, 10th standard from SHS (3)
11. Ye Yint Aung, aged 17, 9th standard from SHS (1)
12. Ni Min Htun (a) Pho Lone, aged 17, 10th standard from SHS (1)
13. Nyi Nyin Htwe, aged17, 10th standard from SHS (4)
14. Ko Ko Naing (a) Nyi Nyi, aged 17, 9th standard from SHS (3)
15. Ananwa, aged 17, 8th standard from SHS (4)
16. Kyaw Wai, aged 18, 10th standard from SHS (3)

They were arrested for allegedly instigating civil disobedience and charged under Emergency Act 5 (J) and face up to 7 years imprisonment. Six other youths were also arrested at the same time under the same charge for their support of the high school demonstration, including Maung Soe Myat, aged 21, Kyaw Thu, aged 21, Moe Myat (a) Joseph, aged 23, Ma Thida Soe aged 20 from Payagone ward, and Ma Khin Win aged 21 from Kankaung ward in Mergui. , Mergui, Tenasserim Division **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In the week of August 12, 1999, 40 more people were arrested by MI in Pegu**.** **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On August 24, 1999, policemen searched the home of writer Myat Khine Oo, aged 31, in Heinzada, Irrawaddy Division. They found two political poems written by him. He was arrested and interrogated. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On August 26, 1999, Khin Thida aged 20, Soe Yu Maw aged 19, Zaw Lin Aung aged 20, Thiha Soe aged 19, Maw Lwin Oo aged 21 and Aye Aye Mar aged 20 from Mergui, Tenasserim Division were arrested for having NLD statements and 9999 literatures. On the same day, U Kyaw Kyaw Maung aged 41 and Daw Than Sein aged 35 were arrested for having anti-SPDC literature. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On the night of August 27 199, six high school students from Daw Bon and Thar Kay Ta Townships in Rangoon were arrested. for their involvement in a students meeting

and for distributing pamphlets on the street. They were: Myat Thu, Htun Htun, Kyaw Htay, Myat Thu Nyi, all in 10th standard, BEHS (1)Daw Bon Township, and 2 unknown students from BEHS (1) Thar Kay Ta Township. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On August 29, 1999, 15 high school students from Dala Township near Rangoon were arrested when they staged a demonstration. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ In the first week of September 1999, the MI cracked down and arrested many pro-democracy activists. Former student leaders, including Min Ze Ya and Ko Maw Lynn, were among those arrested. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On September 1, 1999, 13 NLD members and 5 students were arrested in Mandalay. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On September 8, 1999, U Ba Soe, aged 54, a shop owner of Zegyo market, Mandalay was arrested for wearing yellow t-shirts with pictures of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on the front. Photos of Daw Aung San Kyi and bags with fighting peacock drawings were found in his shop. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 10, 1999, Aung San (a) Moe San and Tin Htun from Kyaukkar village, Kawlin Township were arrested while they are shouting democracy slogans. They were charged under the Emergency Act 5 (j). **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On October 1, 1999, eighteen people including ten relatives of Ye Thiha, believed to be one of five dissidents who seized the Burmese embassy in Bangkok, were arrested. They were arrested at 10am on Oct 1 before the junta knew the identity of the students who undertook the MIS. Those arrested included the mother, the aunt, three sisters, three brothers-in-law and their father and a niece of Ye Thiha. They were released the next day. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On December 25, 1999, Military Intelligence [MI] Unit 19 arrested seven students including Ninth Standard Student Maung Naing Oo, age 19 years of Kansaung Ward, Mergui, Tenasserim Division. When Maung Naing Oo's parents asked why their son was arrested, the MI personnel replied that he was detained for allegedly planning to stage a students protest on New Year's Eve. Maung Naing Oo was also arrested on 12th August for staging a protest in Mergui to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the 8-8-88 mass democracy demonstrations. He was detained for more than a month at an interrogation centre and was released after his teacher in-charge of the class and parents signed a bond on his behalf. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On December 25, 1999, Maung Myint Swe, a second year student from Pakokku Degree College in Magwe Division, and four other students were also arrested by MI personnel. They were arrested for allegedly planning to hold a year 2000 new year's eve prayer service. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On December 25, 1999, Maung Toe Win, a student from Yangon Institute of Technology [YIT] residing at Myoma Kwetthit in Mandalay, and three other students were arrested by MI Unit 16. They were arrested for possessing instigative papers entitled "What will the students do in Year 2000" and "The role of Burmese students in the 21st century". The authorities also seized writings and poems in honor of Ko Aung Tun, a former YIT student who was serving a long prison term in Insein Jail for writing a paper on the history of the students' struggle in Burma, from Maung Toe Win. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On December 25, 1999, 22 year old Ko Zaw Min Htike(a) Min Min, a member of Yaung Chi Oo, who had been working at Champion Factory in Mae Sot, Thailand was

arrested by Thai police and forcefully deported back to Myawaddy. Immediately upon arrival, Myawaddy based MI 25 arrested him and took him to the MI headquarters cell. The MI accused him of being a member of Yaung Chi Oo in connection with the political groups and involved in the protest during the 9999 action in Mae Sot. They sentenced him to five years imprisonment in Myawaddy Court on 24 January, 2000 under the 5(J) Emergency Provisions Act. On 7 Feburary, 2000 they transported him to Mawlamyine Prision. **(*Source: ABFSU-FAC*)**

2.16 Civilians Arrested in 1999

♦ In January 1999, a column of LIB 355 entered Haw Ket village, Kyar-ein-Seik-Kyi Township, Karen State, arrested over 10 villagers, and threatened to kill them. They were accused of not informing the troops of the KNU activities, and were all tortured. They were all released after the village paid 20,000 *Kyat*. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 5, 1999, about 60 SPDC troops of a Company from IB 221 led by Captain Sein Hla Win arrested six villagers at Murng Pak village, Murng Phyak Township, Shan State. They were accused of collecting funds for the Shan armed group in the region. The six arrested were Sai Pan Nya, aged 28, Sai Kanna, aged 19, Loong In, aged 43, Sai Saw Na, aged 30, Sai Suya aged 30, and Sai Peng aged 18. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On January 22, 1999, Naw Htoo Phaw, a mother of an infant, Naw Kumar and Naw Wah lay Htoo, all from Mahn Lone ward, Loikaw Township, Karenni State were arrested at night by SPDC IB 54. They were accused of having communication with the KNPP troops. They were badly MIStreated during the interrogation. No visitor has been allowed to meet them. None of them have been released as of the writing of this report. **(*Source: KNWO*)**

♦ On January 23, 1999, soldiers Lein Htan, Thet Cho Oo, Than Aye, and Htun Htun of IB 11 arrived in Maungdine village, Zee-byu-gone village-tract, Kan-ba-lu Township, Sagaing Division and arrested the first two villagers they saw, Maung Htun and Mya Thein. They demanded 20,000 *Kyat* from the 2 men, and beat them when they did not give the money immediately. The villagers who witnessed this found it intolerable that they came out and beat up the soldiers. Lein Htan was beaten to death, Thet Cho Oo received injuries and the other two escaped. These soldiers had a history of continuously making demands for money from the villagers. Fourteen villagers were arrested in connection with the death of this soldier. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On January 28 1999, the police chief of KawKareik Township, Karen State went to Kawkyaik village and arrested 6 Mon farmers for their failure to sell the required quota of rice to the government paddy-buying center. The men were brought to KawKareik Town and detained for 5 days in the police station. The six farmers were: 1) Nai Ha Nee, 2) Nai Khare, 3) Nai Paroe, 4) Nai Win, 5) Nai Yin, and 6) Nai Kyaw. When they were in detention, the authorities forced their families to sell the remaining amount of paddy in their quota. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On February 6, 1999, SPDC troops from IB 242 ordered 30 villagers from Kun Long village to come and plant rice in the military-own-paddy-plantation. Only 17 were able to come. The troops arrested the headman as a punishment and later the troops arrested 13

more –nine men and four women, who had failed to come as demanded. The 13 people were released only after the paid 1,000 *kyat* each to the authorities. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On February 10, 1999, a troops from Loikaw-based IB 54 led by captain Aung Kyi arrested village tract chairman U Kyaw Lwin aged 49, Naung Lon Ain village headman U Soe Rei aged 38 and U Sae Rei aged 40. All of them were severely tortured at the interrogation center at the military headquarters. Due to the torture, U Kyaw Lwin died in March. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ During February and March, 1999, Township authorities and troops from IB 29 went into Kamawet village, Mudon Township, Mon State every week and arrested at least 5-6 farmers (who had failed to give their full rice quota) each time. They brought them to Mudon Town and detained them in Township police station, interrogated them and tortured or pressured them until they agreed to sell the full quota amount. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ In March 1999, 7 villagers from Wan Zarng village, Murng Lay tract, Murng-Yarng Twonship, Shan State were arrested by troops from LIB 327 and taken to their base in Murng Khark. They were arrested for their failure to pay 9,000 *Kyat* for the repair of the Town market. As punishment, they were forced to work at the military base for 7 days. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On March 3, 1999, troops from Loikaw-based IB 54, led by Captain Aung Kyi, arrested 16 villagers from villages in Htee Sae Khar village tract, Loikaw Township, Karenni State after an attack by Karenni armed group which took place in February. They all were tortured and accused of being supporters of the armed group. Later all of them were sentenced to three year's imprisonment under 17 (a). **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On March, 13 1999, the Chaungzon Township PDC authorities including Secretary U Khin Maung Myint, the police and some local militia troops entered Bonet village, Chaungzon Township, Mon State, and arrested about 30 villagers who had failed to give the full paddy tax to the concerned paddy buying center. They were brought with a truck to a paddy buying center 30 miles away, and put in detention. All of them, of whom half were women, were put under the sun for 8 hours and questioned. They were forced repeatedly to agree to sell their paddy to the center, and had to sign or give finger-prints for their proMISe before they were released. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On April 10, 1999, 23 able bodied young men from the Kun-Hing relocation site gathered at the military base of LIB 524. The troops had proMISed to issue permits on this day to those who wanted to fish in the Nam Paang river for their income. However, instead the men were all detained in the military base most likely to be used as porters and relocation area patrol guides. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 20, 1999, a group of villagers from Naung Katot village, Belin Township, Karen State was stopped by troops from LIB 355 led by Captain Aung Soe. The troops then tied up Saw Nyar Yit aged 40 and Maung Nu Nu aged 20 with rope and took them away. Both of them were killed on May 25. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In May 1999, Daw San Kyi of Ywa-thit-kyi village refused to labor for free on the nga-Wun embankment project in Nga-thain-chaung Township, Irawaddy division. She cited that the government had announced that forced labor did not exist in Burma. She was subsequently handcuffed, arrested, taken to Ye-kyi Police station, and imprisoned for 15 days. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In May 1999, 12 troops of IB 279 led by Capt Sein Myint arrested a father and son

of Mawng Ke village, Murng-Yarbg Township, Shan State. They were arrested on the charge of stealing a buffalo, which they had just bought and with them upon their arrest. The troops demanded 10,000 *Kyat* for their release, but the 2 were only able to give 4,000, which was all they had. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 1, 1999, Ko Tet Tun and Ko Aye Myint of Thazin-gnu village, Bogaly Township, Irawaddy division were summoned to Bo-ga-lay police station because they had failed to provide their free labour for the Pae-chaung to Ka-done-ka-ne road. They explained that they had to harvest paddy and were not free, and also that they had no money for the fine. As a result, Kyaw Soe Moe, Deputy Superintendent of Police charged them under the 1908 Village Act 12 and imprisonment them for 15 days. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On June 15, 1999, a combined force of 15 SPDC troops from IB 99 and LIB 525, led by Lt. Saw Ne Htun and Sgt Kyaw Win respectively, arrested Loong Kan-Tha from Son Oi village, Haai Kuay tract, Larng Khur Township, Shan State. They interrogated him, accusing him of secretly keeping a handgun. He was not tied and managed to run away, but the troops then arrested his wife, Pa Wo, his son Sai Mart, and two of his daughters Naang Mae and Naang Kyi. They were detained at the Wan Zit village military camp and were told they would not be released until Loong Kan-Tha was captured or turned himself in. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 27, 1999, a company of 34 soldiers led by 2nd Lieutenant Myo Kyaw from LIB 266 stationed at Lungler Camp on their way to Lung Ding village, Chin State discovered near Thangpi village that a soldier was MISsing from their ranks. The major held the Tlangpi villagers responsible for his sudden disappearance. He arrested villagers and took them to Lunger Camp to serve as forced laborers. Pu Tial Awr, the Village PDC chairman, Pu Ral Lian Kap, Pu Hnok Kio, Pu Lian Kham, Pu Kap Lian, Salai Peng Thang and two other villagers were also arrested and taken to Hakha prison. Their feet were beaten so severely with batons that they are now unable to walk. During the torture, the Chairman's calf was pierced with a-4-inch heated nail at least 20 times until his legs were completely maimed. He had to be carried by other people with his hands tied behind his back whenever he was summoned to the Army camp. The chairmen of Farrawn and other neighboring villages were also arrested, taken to Hakha, and severely tortured.

♦ The chairman of Tlangpi village was given a 12 year prison sentence including hard labor and the others were given 2-3 year prison sentences, also with hard labor. All the chairmen of the villages in Zahnak Tlang area, Thantlang Township, have been arrested and tortured. These villages are: Lungler,Bungkhua, Dawn, Ralpel, Saikah, Fungkah, Thangzang, Sihhmuh, Ruabuk, and Ruakhua.

♦ On September 7, 1999, Rev. Biak Kam, aged over 60, the senior pastor of the Thantlang Baptist Church and Rev. Thawng Kam, the General Secretary of the Thantlang Association of Baptist Churches, were also arrested because they had called a meeting without army knowledge or permission. They were taken away hastily and secretly that night on foot to the Military Outpost in Lungler village, 30 miles away. They were detained there, and nothing has been heard about them, as no one is allowed to see them. These two Baptist pastors were almost arrested once in connection with the erection of a cross on a hill west of Thantlang in January 1999. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ On September 7, 1999, a military column led by commander Than Shwe from LIB 357 entered Ta Ywe Wah village, Thaton district, Karen State and arrested four villagers.

The soldiers later demanded one goat for their release. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On September 19, 1999, village headman Saw Phaw See from Maung Phar De village, Taoungoo district, Karen State was arrested by Captain Soe Naing, commander of IB 39. Captain Soe Naing demanded 300,000 *Kyat* in porter fees as ransom. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On September 25, 1999, soldiers from IB 9 entered Upper Kadoke village, Thaton district, Karen State and arrested villager Saw Pho Thu. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On September 28, 1999, soldiers from LIB 375 arrested village headman Tee Chit Khin and two other villagers from Naung Kadot village, Thaton district, Karen State. They were taken to the LIB base for detention. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On September 29, 1999, troops from IB 433 and 280 entered Se Khee village in Mergui-Tavoy district, Karen State and arrested Phu Kaw aged 53, Naw Shell aged 30, Naw Htoo Phaw aged 10, Saw The Htaw aged 12, Naw Khwee Doe aged 8, Saw Sar Pway aged 4, Saw Sa Kuklu aged 2, Naw Nan Nu aged 1, and Saw Mar Bu aged 4. (***Source: KIC***)

♦ On October 6, 1999, militias from Pall village in Mergui-Tavoy district, Karen State, arrested village headman Saw Phar Yu aged 45 and villager Saw Hell Lay aged 40 from Lell Htar Say village. No further information has been received at the time of this report. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On October 19, 1999, military column commander Myint Zaw and troops from LIB 59 arrested two villagers from Ye Hlwan village and Saw Tasese, aged 30, Naw Le Phaw and Naw Pree Kadee from Kholu village in Karen State. All of them were taken to Klaw Mee De village and the soldiers demanded 150,000 *Kyat* as ransom. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On November 9, 1999, 209 villagers including children and elderly from Takolar village Suang Phaung district, Ratchburi province, Thailand were rounded up by the Thai authorities. These villagers were arrested for allegedly having communication with the five Burmese students who seized Burmese Embassy in Thailand in October. Most of the arrested people were women and children. They were detained at Kanchanaburi after they were interrogated for their alleged connection with the students. They had lived in Takola village for ten years and had no connection with the students. They were told that they would be released if they could provide the whereabouts of the five students. On November 18, all the detained villagers were deported back to Halockani camp near Sankhlaburi, Thailand. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In December 1999 a column from LID #88 came to Khay R'Moh village, Doo-pla-ya District, Karen State and gathered all the women and children together, detained them for an entire day without food or water, then forced them to search for their husbands and bring them back to the village. The soldiers accused the villagers of helping the resistance and demanded that all men be accounted for; later they targeted several villagers—both men and women—as suspicious persons, then arrested and tortured them at their Army camp. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On December 3, 1999, a military column led by Okkar from IB 76 entered Tamalay village, Karen State and arrested Saw Phar Ti, his wife Naw Htwe Htwe, and Pharti Sar Khwar. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 3 1999, troops from IB 269 led by Major Moe Hein arrested 5 men and 3 women from Weing Phwee tract, Kun Hing Township, Shan State. The men were; Muling (age 35), Mar King Ta (age 45), Kar Wi (age 45). Nai Mee La (age 40), and Nai

Morn (age 40). The women, Nang Mart (age 25), Nang Leik (age 35) and E Ar (age 20) were raped by the troops and later sent to the jail in Kun Hing Township. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 4 1999, 5 village headmen from Hai Kui, Wan Sit tract, Lang Kho Township, Shan State were summoned to the camp of LIB 525 and IB 99, commanded by Sgt, Kyaw Win. They were questioned about the activity of the SSA troops in the area, then Sgt. Kyaw Win kept them as shields for the night and released them the next day. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 8 1999, eight policemen led by Police Captain Kyaw Myint Naing arrested Sai Kung Na, aged 29, Sai Wanna, aged 27, and San Muling aged 18 from Wan Tung Karng, Nong Long tract, Lankho Township, Shan State. They were arrested by order of the authorities from IB 99. No reason was given for the arrests but villagers were demanded to pay 20,000 *kyat* for their release. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On December 10 1999, troops from Battalion 246 arrested innocent villagers from Wan Tong, Keng Lom tract, Kun Hing Township, Shan State. Loong tae-wing (age 55), Kawliya (age 27), Yasing (age 22), Taewing (age 20), Sai Sing (age 16), Pa Oo (age 38), Mya Oong (age 37) and Nang Keing (age 20) were accused of being from the SSA; they were beaten and sent to the Burmese garrison in Kun Hing. These people also lost a bull and other household belongings worth about 62,000 *kyat*. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 19, 1999, soldiers from IB 99 led by second Lt. Kyaw Naing arrested four men and two women from Wan Suon Oi village, Hai Kwi tract, Lankho Township, Shna State. They were Ing Ta, San Ta, Kum Na, Sai Lu Nouk, Pa Mart and Nang Saw. They were accused of allegedly helping the Shan armed group in the region. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On December 24, 1999, SPDC troops from Hon Tang, Shan State arrested and tortured three villagers from Wan Sai Leng village, Kun Hing Township, Shan State. They were Sai Phaw Ka, Sai Saw and Sai Pinya. The soldiers demanded 3 ticals of gold and 80,000 *kyat* in cash as ransom for their release. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

2.17 IPU List of Detained MP's

Parliamentarians arrested between 1990 and 1993 and still detained:

1. CASE N° MYN/01	- OHN KYAING
2. CASE N° MYN/36	- MYINT NAING
3. CASE N° MYN/04	- KHIN MAUNG SWE
4. CASE N° MYN/41	- ZAW MYINT
5. CASE N°/MYN/09	- SEIN HLA OO
6. CASE N° MYN/42	- MYA WIN
7. CASE N° MYN/10	- WIN HLAING
8. CASE N° MYN/60	- ZAW MYINT MAUNG
9. CASE N° MYN/13	- NAING NAING
10. CASE N° MYN/68	- AUNG KHIN SINT
11. CASE N° MYN/26	- HLA TUN
12. CASE N° MYN/71	- KYI MYINT
13. CASE N° MYN/28	- TIN AUNG AUNG

14. CASE N° MYN/73 - FAZAL AHMED

Parliamentarians arrested between 1996 and May 1998:

1. CASE N° MYN/64 DAVID HLA MYINT
2. CASE N° MYN/112 HLA WIN
3. CASE N° MYN/83 KYAW MIN
4. CASE N° MYN/113 AYE THAN
5. CASE N° MYN/84 SOE THEIN
6. CASE N° MYN/114 OHN NAING
7. CASE N° MYN/85 KHUN MYINT HTUN
8. CASE N° MYN/115 THEIN ZAN
9. CASE N° MYN/86 AYE SAN
10. CASE N° MYN/116 NYUNT HLAING
11. CASE N° MYN/87 DO HTAUNG
12. CASE N° MYN/117 KYAW MYINT
13. CASE N° MYN/88 CHIT HTWE
14. CASE N° MYN/118 THAN NYEIN
15. CASE N° MYN/89 MYO NYUNT
16. CASE N° MYN/119 MAY WIN MYINT
17. CASE N° MYN/100 HLA MYINT
18. CASE N° MYN/120 SAN SAN
19. CASE N° MYN/101 SAW OO REH
20. CASE N° MYN/121 TIN OO
21. CASE N° MYN/102 HLA MIN
22. CASE N° MYN/122 MIN SOE LIN
23. CASE N° MYN/103 TIN AUNG
24. CASE N° MYN/123 NAN KHIN HTWE MYINT
25. CASE N° MYN/104 KYAW KHIN
26. CASE N° MYN/124 OHN MAUNG
27. CASE N° MYN/105 KYIN THEIN
28. CASE N° MYN/125 MAHN KYAW NI
29. CASE N° MYN/106 KYAW TIN
30. CASE N° MYN/126 TUN WIN
31. CASE N° MYN/107 SAN MYINT
32. CASE N° MYN/127 BO HTWAY
33. CASE N° MYN/108 MIN SWE
34. CASE N° MYN/128 THA AUNG
35. CASE N° MYN/109 THAN AUNG
36. CASE N° MYN/129 KYI LWIN
37. CASE N° MYN/110 TIN MIN HTUT
38. CASE N° MYN/130 TIN WIN
39. CASE N° MYN/111 SAW LWIN

Since September 1998, 150 MPs elect have been arrested and are in detention as of April 1999.

Parliamentarians deceased:

1. CASE N° MYN/53	U HLA THAN
2. CASE N° MYN/67	HLA PE
3. CASE N° MYN/55	TIN MAUNG WIN
4. CASE N° MYN/72	SAW WIN
5. CASE N° MYN/66	WIN KO

3. Rights of the Child

3.1 Background

Burma became a part to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on August 15, 1991 after acceding to the Convention on July 16, 1991. The SPDC 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 recognized that every child has the right to survival, development, protection and care, and to achieve active participation with the community." SPDC's Child Law was seen as a positive sign internationally and it temporarily improved SPDC '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 children in Burma everyday, largely due to SPDC's policies, SPDC's efforts to win international respect ring hollow and insincere.

Unfavorable economic conditions in Burma in the last several years have adversely affected the situation of the most vulnerable groups in society, particularly children. According to a report by the UNICEF, the plight of children in Burma 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 worse, contributing to a rise in child abandonment, labor, homelessness, abuses and neglect."

Children in Burma 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 estimated that as many as four million out of total 11.8 million children between the age of 6 and 15 may be working today in Burma.

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 minesweepers. Frequently, children used as porters die from beatings, lack of medical care, and exhaustion.

SPDC is increasing military control over 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 homes performing some form of forced labor half to two-third 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 family 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 per cent of children died before age 5, and about 20 per cent of women died before age 40, leaving orphaned children.

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 SPDC soldiers also force farmers to hand over about one-third of their entire crop with no compensation or for one-fifth of market price, and families are left barely able to survive. The SPDC 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 Social, health and educational situation of children in Burma

Although Burma's economy continues to register moderate income growth (GNP growth was 5 percent in 1998/99), the benefits of this growth are poorly distributed since most poverty and human development indicators are unsatisfactory. At $300 per capita, Burma is one of the poorest countries in the World. The population is estimated to be 45 million, with approximately three quarters living in the seven more advanced divisions of the country, and the remaining one quarter living in the seven less developed ethnic minority states, according to the 1997 UNICEF report. Life expectancy at birth is 60 compared with an average in East Asia of 68; infant mortality is 79 per thousand births, compared with the Eat Asia average of 34; child malnutrition rates are very high, according to the Work Bank report in 1999. The inevitable correlation is high rates of malnutrition in children: three out of 10 suffer "moderate wasting", while 10 per cent are "severely malnourished". Wasting affects 30% of children under age 10, reflecting long term deprivation. Education is also a major concern. Official statistics indicate that a quarter of school age children never even enroll in primary school, and that drop out rates are very high. Of those who begin the primary education program, only a third complete the full 5 years.

According to a government-determined poverty line, about one quarter of the population of Burma lives below minimal subsistence levels. Poverty rates are approximately the same in urban and rural areas, but most of the poor (71 percent) live in rural areas. There is considerable regional variation in poverty rates. The highest rates of poverty are in the Chin State, Magwe Division, and Karenni State, and the lowest rates are in the Tenasserim Division and Shan State.

Burma's health and education budgets, as a share of national income, are among the world's lowest. Even where the official figures show gains in terms of absolute poverty and life expectancy after the mid-1970s, Burma's performance has lagged behind near neighbors such as Indonesia and Vietnam.

In the health sector, declining public confidence in publicly provided services is of concern. A serious concern is that over the last ten years, usage of public hospitals and dispensaries has fallen by 80 percent. This stems principally from low budgetary outlays (at about 0.2 percent public expenditure in Burma, is far below regional and developing country averages). This adversely affects availability of health care staff and medicines and the quality of equipment. The very poor state of national health, on the relative decline of spending on social services over the past decade in favor of continued support for a bloated military establishment and on loss -making state enterprises.

Data collected by both the Ministry of Health and UNICEF show high levels of moderate and severe malnutrition among preschool-age children. There is substantial scope for expanding supplementary feeding programs and maternal education programs.

Low enrolment in primary education is a serious concern. It is impossible to provide good quality education services with the substantial erosion in education spending over the past decade, Current government spending in education as a share of national income is among the lowest in the world. Official data shows that real public spending per child has fallen from about 1200 *Kyat* per child (5-9 years) in 1990/91 to a dismal 100 *Kyat* in 1999/ 2000. Education financing is further confounded by the lack of affordability at the household level. The cost barrier is compounded by the poor quality of infrastructure and little adaptability of schooling (including schedules and curricula) to local conditions. Although primary education is compulsory, only 37 per cent of children finished fourth grade in urban areas and only 22 per cent did so in rural areas.

Poor families who cannot afford to pay fees to schools or for school uniforms are often doubly penalized when they cannot maintain even a minimal household income without sending their children out to work. Many children from Burma enjoy no childhood at all; they are simply put straight to work. The skyrocketing costs of living often render working people in Burma incapable of providing their children with an education, and thus a future. One working family member is no longer able to secure enough food for the whole family, forcing other family members, including school-aged children, into the work place.

3.3 Children in Armed Conflicts

The UN Children's Fund and UNHCR have estimated that there were over 200,000 child soldiers in armed conflicts in 25 countries and it has been reported by the Office of the UN Special Representative for Children in Armed Conflict that in the past decade alone, about two million children have been killed in armed conflict. In addition, some 44 countries recruit children under the age of 18 to serve in national armies. Many of these countries have ongoing internal conflicts. According to the Amnesty International, the total number of youngsters under 18 engaged in active combat is at least 300,000.

Children have witnessed the killing of parents or neighbors. Children have had parents killed or abducted either by security forces or by armed groups. Children have witnessed bomb explosions, military operations by the army and security forces, and attacked by armed groups.

The civil war in Burma affects civilians more than combatants. The majority of civilians killed or wounded in time of war are children. Children are the first victims of any war. Children are most vulnerable to injury and death. Sometimes they are specially targeted as a way of terrorizing their community. They are used as soldiers, sexually abused, tortured and exploited. Their opportunity to grow up in an environment that nurtures and promotes their development is taken away from them. They miss out on education, their health and nutrition suffer. The list goes on.

Children need special protection because they are vulnerable- both because of the direct harm they sustain and the opportunities lost- and because children have a crucial role in peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction. Children also need to be recognized as potential actors in their own right.

3.4 Child Forced Labour

The use of children as forced labourers is widespread in Burma, and has been well documented. In April 1999, SHRF reported that SPDC troops based in Kunhing Township, Shan State, who had been forcing relocated villagers to pave the Kun-Hing to Nam Zarng and Kung-Hing to Kaeng Tung roads, were also forcing children to work. The troops were reported to have said that the children of the relocated people were useless and had nothing to do, and as they could not go to school they must be made to work. Almost 200 children, including 7-8 years old, were forced to split stones.

3.5 Child Soldiers

The participation of children in armed conflicts has become routine in Burma, as the country has been at war for a long time. The use of children as soldiers in Burma results in serious human rights abuses. Children are killed, forcibly conscripted, unwillingly separated from their families, kidnapped, tortured during their service, forced to kill and torture, and due to the rampant corruption in the military, are underpaid, or are not paid at all. The widespread use of child soldiers has ensured that many thousands of children in Burma have suffered exceptional cruelty during the war: many children soldiers have been killed or wounded, or have witnessed terrible atrocities. Many children have taken part in these human rights abuses themselves.

Children have played various other roles in the conflict: they have performed frontline combat duties, done cooking and other menial labor, stood sentry duty, acted as body-guards, served as porters carrying ammunition and supplies, and been used as cannon fodder to draw the fire of their adversaries, and sometimes in human-wave attack tactics in which hundreds have been killed.

There are no statistical or other data about the recruitment of children. However, since 1988, the size of the armed forces has double from 180,000 to around 400,000, and anecdotal evidence suggests that in part this increase has been facilitated by the recruitment of boys aged thirteen to fifteen years old. Burmese military regulations prohibit the recruitment of boys under the age of sixteen, however the military has been recruiting boys fourteen year-old and younger. Most Townships are assigned a quota, usually amounting to one or two recruits from each village and two-quarter per month. If Township of village authorities cannot provide the quota, they face imprisonment, heavy fines, or conscription into the army. At this point, the army has become desperate recruits - it will take anyone, regardless of age. SPDC uses many methods of coercion and forced conscription to build up their military force.

Since 1988 and the beginning of the military's repaid growth, the PDC has begun recruiting boys at fourteen and below. UNICEF officials even found out that boys could be "officially conscripted" into the military at fourteen. These boys are placed in training centers where they receive military style education. Designated the "Ye Nyunt Youth" the boys are also said to receive political training, and are taught to be loyal to the government and the army. They are eventually assigned to serve in the army, in intelligence units, or as security for high-ranking officers. Most of these recruits tend to be orphans, street children, children captured from enemy positions or those abandoned in front-villages. In July 1999, Maj-Gen

(Thura) Tin Aung Myint Oo, Commander of the Northeastern Command, with headquarters in Lashio, northern Shan State, issued a directive concerning a boy's military school, which contained the following interesting points:

To teach the Ye Nyunt Youth members only primary school education, to train them for reserve force, to give boys between 12 and 18 full military training in order to be prepared for mobilization at any time, those who continue their schools must join the army when they are 18,otherwise, they shall need to enter the Nationalities Development Institute in Sagaing (Northern Burma), after necessary bonds have been signed, those who refuse to join either the army or the Institute shall be promptly expelled, only those who profess Buddhism shall be inducted and they shall be ordained as novices during summer holidays, those who profess other religions shall be induced to join the Buddhist fold, those that refuse to shall be expelled, all members of the Ye Nyunt Youth shall be Buddhists, units stationed near theYe Nyunt camp shall be manned by religious commissioned and non-commissioned officers, all Ye Nyunt Youth centers shall submit regular monthly progress reports, all local military commands must maintain constant supervision for the Ye Nyunt Youth.

However, not all the SPC recruits are conscripts. Young men and boys volunteer for a wide variety of reasons: for the glamour and prestige they associate with the uniform; because they are lured by the regular income, and the chance to earn enough to support their families; to protect their families and villages from harassment by SPDC troops. Some could be more accurately termed "induced" than voluntary recruits. Fearing the repercussions of avoiding recruitment, even when they are not literally threatened to join. Others are orphans for whom no support system or safety net exists under the current socio-economic system.

Concerning the forced recruitment, or kidnapping of child soldiers, from Madaya Township in Mandalay Division there have been reports that teenagers have been disappearing from the streets. It is now known that the SPDC has been arresting these teenagers in public places as a means to acquire new soldiers. While fishing in local ponds, visiting wholesale markets to sell or buy produce, or simply walking in the streets, local teenagers are arrested by soldiers and taken without their consent into the army. . Some parents, not knowing where their children were, had contacted the police. Military Trainer Tin Mar, of Training Course No. 2/20 Division, had a list with the names of all the "lost" children inscribed. But even after the parents had located their "lost" children, they were not permitted to see them until the two months of training were completed. Several parents have since written to Gen. Than Shwe about the problem, asking for help, but they have received no response. In one instance, 30 children were found at the Mandalay army recruiting office, some crying and begging people to inform their parents about what had happened. One eyewitness said that child as young as 14 years old had been taken.

The abuses experienced by young SPDC soldiers run the gamut of service conditions, Young soldiers are being frequently beaten by commanding officers, sometimes as punishment, but as often simply as random but regular occurrences. Salaries owed are consistently underpaid. Child soldiers and rank and file recruits receive far less food than commanders and officers, and what they do receive is of highly inferior quality. Medicine and medical care are also said to be grossly inadequate, and soldiers are frequently left to die without treatment. It is thought their care might slow down a column. Leave is rarely granted and most recruits are allowed little or no contact with their families after entering the service.

Many child soldiers suffer severe physical abuses at the hands of their commanding officers. Young soldiers reported being beaten when they could not keep up, often due to their size and inexperience, injury, illness, or weakness, which often resulted from inadequate food during heavy labor. Often beatings are meted out in lieu of reprimands, or as punishment for failure to perform duties. As a result, many reported suffering despair and severe depression, which sometimes led other comrades to commit suicide.

3.6 Refugee children

To flee from one's home is to experience a deep sense of loss, and the decision to flee is not taken lightly. Those who make this decision do so because they are in danger of being killed, tortured, forcibly recruited, raped, abducted or staved, among other reasons. They leave behind them assets and property, relatives, friends, familiar surroundings and established social networks. Although the decision to leave is normally taken by adults, even the youngest children recognize what is happening and can sense their parents' uncertainty and fear.

During flight from the dangers of conflict, families and children continue to be exposed to multiple physical dangers. They are threatened by sudden attacks, shelling, snipers and landmines, and must often walk from days with only limited quantities of water and food. Under such circumstances, children become acutely undernourished and prone to illness, and they are the first to die. Girls in flight are even more vulnerable to sexual abuses. Children forced to flee on their own to ensure their survival are also at heightened risk. Children are often separated from parents in the chaos of conflict, escape and displacement. Parents or other care-givers are the major source of a child's emotional and physical security and for this reason family separation can have a devastating social and psychological impact. Unaccompanied children are especially vulnerable and at risk of neglect, violence, military recruitment, sexual assaults and other abuses.

More than half of the refugee population are children, and they are especially vulnerable. Not all of those children will be accompanied, indeed the majority of them will be with their mothers. But this does not make the refugee child less vulnerable. Women refugees are also vulnerable; in addition to the basic needs of all refugees to be protected against attack or forced return to the country of origin, to have access to food, clothing, shelter, medical care and to have access to protection, women refugees also need protection against sexual and physical abuses and exploitation, and sexual discrimination in the delivery of services.

Refugee children are particulary vulnerable; they are vulnerable not only as refugees, but also as children who, in the majority of cases, are dependent upon their mothers who, as women refugees, are themselves vulnerable. This vulnerability leaves children open to violence, to disruption of social structures and to shortage of basic resources which affects physical and psycho-social development. Unaccompanied refugee children are in an especially difficult position, without even a nominal caregiver to ensure survival.

3.7 Child Trafficking

Children from Burma are trafficked into neighboring countries for three purposes:

(1) to be prostitutes, (2) for begging and soliciting, and (3) for other extreme forms of children labor. The highest number of trafficked children into Thailand comes from Burma. Several push factors are at play; ethnic conflicts, relocation policies, poverty and misery. Economic necessity is often seen as the prime motivation for child trafficking from Burma to other countries, along with the impact of the civil war and the vulnerable society. The main reasons behind trafficking in children for various types of work are the perceived income-earning opportunities in Thailand and the poverty at home.

In Thailand, the numbers of young girls from the North in sex establishments is decreasing with a corresponding increase in the number of foreign girls. This goes hand in hand with the influx of illegal migrant workers into Thailand over the last decade. Most foreign sex workers in Thailand are from Burma, and an estimated 10,000 Burmese women and girls enter sex industry in Thailand yearly. Most girls trafficked for sex workers work in brothels in Thailand, but many move from one type of prostitution to another. Earning depend on the type of establishment they work in, the arrangements made with employers, and related to this, their level of indebtedness. Often, girls who work in other establishments are also forced to engage in sex industry because they need to pay back debts incurred with agents and have to support their families.

Thailand is also a receiving country for children trafficked to beg and solicit. Since late 1997, children beggars from Burma were found begging in Bangkok and at local markets in rural areas. These children are usually between 6 and 10 years old and either traveled to Thailand on their own or with relatives, or were brought to Thailand by beggar gangs or agents. They are placed in areas where many people pass, such as tourist spots, bus terminals, and shopping centers and are forced to beg. The begging is arranged by gangs and extreme abuses are involved. Gang members keep an eye on them and collect the money. Many suffer abuses if they do not achieve the goal of collecting 400-600 Baht per day. Some are forced to take amphetamines so they could beg day and night, especially for events or at night entertainment places such as Patpong, Pattaya, and Phuket. The number of foreign beggars in Thailand has more than doubled in the past few years. Child beggars from Burma become easily involved in drug trade, other illegal activities or in prostitution.

Trafficking for other types of work include: domestic work, construction work, work in small factories or businesses such as garment factories, condenser factories, steel factories, salted fish factories, load-carrying business, ceramic factories, and work in restaurants. Small enterprises in Thailand hire child migrant children from Burma and other neighboring countries. The ages of children trafficked for these types of work vary between 12 and 14. Many of them initially migrated on their own or with their families. Being undocumented they easily become victims of agents and traffickers. Many work under extremely exploitative conditions.

Most of the child trafficked victims often did not have a full understanding of the costs and subsequent debt that their journeys entailed until after they arrived at their destinations. Their parents often received an advance payment, which the children were supposed to pay back. Because of the high debts, many are pushed into sex industry where the chances of being able to repay debts are highest. Many children were deceived about the jobs they would be doing at their destinations, and were often confined and prevented from escaping.

There are various recruitment processes for trafficking in children into prostitution

and other extreme forms of child labor in Thailand. Procurement ranges from outright kidnapping to obtaining the children's full consent and understanding of what types of work they will be engaged in. All trafficked victims are bond laborers through debts without exception. Debts accumulated by trafficked children put them in a cycle of bonded labor that is difficult to break. Some are sold from one employer to another. Deceptions about earnings are also very common. Authorities and police officials often claim fees under the threat of physical or sexual abuses or of returning them to where they came from. Working conditions are intolerable; children are made to take drugs so that they can endure it; when they encounter work accidents; they receive no assistance or insurance; many child prostitutes are HIV infected or catch other diseases for which they are not treated; sexual harassment and violence from authorities, agents, employers and customers are very common.

In the network of supplying women to the sex trade, young virgins are targeted because they are most profitable. Gangsters who work as organized beggars and solicitors also target children under 13, as well as the handicapped and the elderly. In other business, children are being used together with the adult labor force rather than separately. Because of the inherent vulnerability of undocumented migrants, trafficked children- and especially very young children - are at an even higher risk of being subjected to intolerable and inhumane conditions.

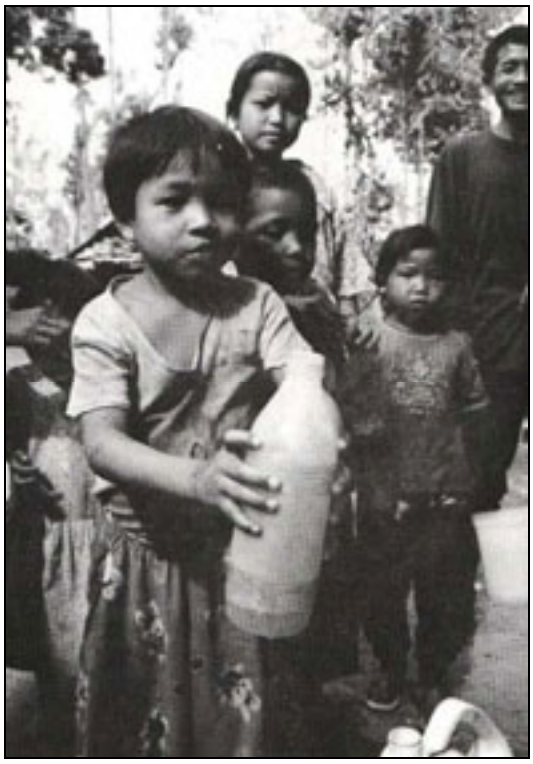
(1) Refugee mother and child collecting wood in a displaced site on the Thai-Burma border. Most of the surrounding area is land-mined and they are in greater danger. (Photo: Aung Myo-Min – HRDU)

(2) A child having a meal in a hide-out inside Burma. The children are hiding in the jungle with their family in order to avoid the SPDC attacks. These children are suffering severe one word.

(3) A refugee child in a temporary site for displaced persons inside Burma. Some refugees do not cross into Thailand but decide to remain inside Burma. These people are known as internally displaced persons. (Photo: Aung Myo Min -HRDU)

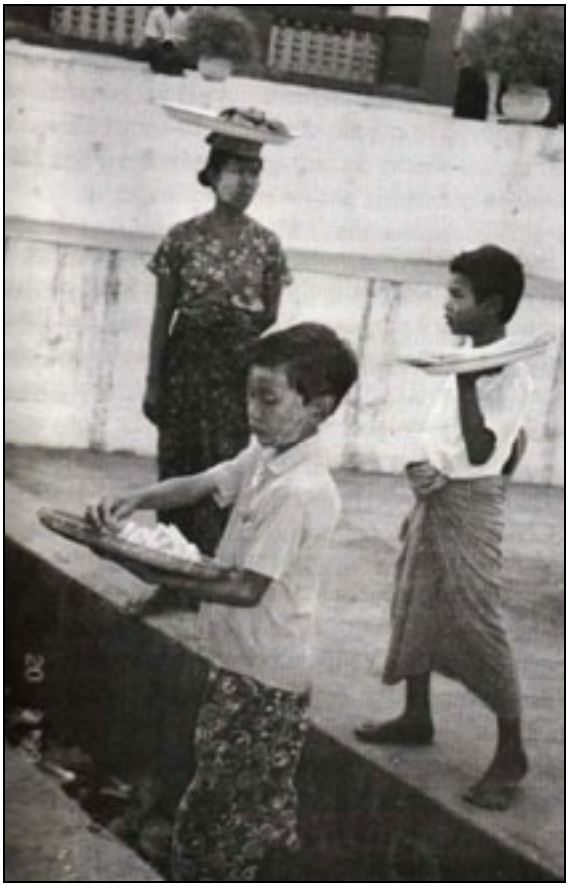
(4) A child is sleeping while his father takes a rest upon their arrival to the Thai-Burma border. They arrived in Karenni Camp (2) after ten days of running fom the SPDC troops in the Karenni region. (Photo: Aung Myo Min)

(5) Refugees in Hway Kaloke camp near Mae Sod waiting their turn to be new relocated in the Umphang district. (Photo: Aung Myo Min)



(6) Karenni refugee children receiving rehydration water from a health worker after they arrived at a Karenni refugee camp in Thailand. Some women, elders and children died during their flight from Burma due to starvation, and malnutrition. (Photo: Aung Myo Min)

(7) Children in rural areas. Most children in rural areas have no access to education and basic health care. (Photo: HURFOM)



(8) A child selling food on the street in Pegu, Pegu Division to help overcome poverty of his family. Many children in Burma are out of school due to the economic hardship faced by their parents. (Photo: HURFOM) (Left)

(9) Refugee children at a Karenni refugee camp along the Thai-Burma border. (Photo: Aung Myo Min) (Below)

4. Forced Portering and Labour

4.1 Background

Forced labor remains in all part of Burma, including those areas where a cease-fire has been agreed upon. Throughout the country, the SPDC routinely continues to force civilians to work on infrastructure construction and military purposes. Forced portering and forced labor as practiced in Burma are in contradiction with international standards on forced labor. The 1930 Convention concerning forced Labor (ILO Convention No. 29) requires the suppression of the use of forced labor or compulsory labor in all its forms. The Convention defines forced or compulsory labor as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily."

Since 1964, ILO Committee of Experts for the Application of Conventions and Recommendations has addressed the practice of forced labor in Burma. Following the lodging of a representation by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in January 1993, the ILO Governing Body had urged the SPDC in November 1994, to ensure that the relevant legislation, in particular the Village Act and the Towns Act, would be brought into line with the Forced Labor Convention, as had already been requested by the Committee of Experts, to ensure the formal repeal of power to impose compulsory labor be followed up in practice and to ensure that those resorting to coercion in the recruitment of labor be punished. AT the International Labor Conference in June 1996, the Committee on the Application of Standards noted the persistent failure of Burma to implement the Convention and 15 worker-delegates lodged a complaint against Burma under article 26 of the ILO Constitution. On March 27, 1997, the ILO established a Commission of Inquiry chaired by Sir William Douglas (Barbados), to investigate a complaint brought by workers' delegates to the 1996 ILO Conference. The Complaint addressed SPDC's continued and active use of forced labor in Burma and its apparently unwillingness to repeal legislation allowing the use of forced labor. The commission's mandate is to consider whether, and to what extent, the alleged violations exists or existed and to make any recommendations it deems appropriate. The Commission held its first meeting in June 1997 to establish its rules of procedure. In September 1996, following an investigation of the forced labor practices in Burma, the European Union Commission revoked benefits under the Generalized System Preferences.

In the course of its inquiry, the Commission received over 6,000 pages of documents and heard testimony given by representatives of a number of non-governmental organizations and by some 250 eyewitnesses with recent experience of forced labor practices during the hearing in Geneva and in the course of the Commission's visit to the region. A comprehensive report on "Forced Labor in Myanmar (Burma)" by the commission was released on July 2, 1998. Summaries of the testimony given by these witnesses, including women and children who had fled from forced labor, are appended to the Commission's report. SPDC abstained from attending the hearings and did not authorize a visit by the Commission of Inquiry to Burma arguing that "such as visit would not contribute much towards resolving the case"

and "would interfere in the internal affairs of the country."

As was noted by the Commission of Inquiry, its report "reveals a saga of untold misery and suffering, oppression and exploitation of large sections of the population inhabiting Myanmar by the Government, military and other public officers. It is a story of gross denial of human rights to which the people of Myanmar have been subjected particularly since 1988 and from which they find no escape except fleeing from the country."

In its conclusion on the substance of the case, the Commission stated "there is abundant evidence before the Commission showing the pervasive use of forced labor imposed on the civilian population throughout Myanmar by the authorities and the military for portering, the construction, maintenance and servicing of military camps, other works in support of the military, working on agriculture, logging and other production projects undertaken by the authorities or the military, sometimes for the profit of private individuals, the construction and maintenance of roads, railways and bridges, other infrastructure work and a range of other tasks."

On June 17, 1999, the ILO Conference suspended Burma from receiving ILO technical assistance or attending ILO meetings due to the SPDC's "flagrant and persistent failure to comply" with Convention 29 on forced labor.

Laws which permitted the use of forced labor in Burma were promulgated by the colonial rulers. Following independence in 1948, successive Burmese governments have continued the practice of forced labor, citing legal authority the "Village Act of 1908" and the "Town 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. On June 17, 1999, SPDC Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a press release stating that the SPDC would "cease participation in activities connected with Convention 29."

Whether the status or use of these laws, overwhelming evidence shows that the SPDC enforces a strict regime of forced labor throughout the country. However, the SPDC denies allegations of all forms of forced labor. It has responded a number of times that there is a tradition in Burma going back centuries, according to which people voluntarily contribute labor in the belief that it is a noble deed. On some occasions, the SPDC has described this as a Buddhist cultural tradition. The SPDC reported in 1993 that for the previous years, local people had been voluntarily contributing their labor for the construction of roads and bridges, and that there is no coercion involved. These voluntary contributions, according to the SPDC, should nor be considered as forced labor. The SPDC-controlled newspaper has reported that "the people of Myanmar are always aware of these development projects and welcome them wholeheartedly, and they are willing to take part in them whether they benefit from it directly on not."

After 1996, when the SPDC announced that military personnel would provide labor for infrastructure projects, the use of unpaid civilian labor on physical infrastructure projects, especially for irrigation projects and railroad building, diminished. Nonetheless, the use of forced labor on such projects has remained widespread. During 1999, over 1,000 civilians were herded into a "Voluntary labor camp" and forced to work to build a railroad; at least 17 people reportedly died of malaria.

In truth, tens of thousands of men, women, and children all ages are forced each year to work without compensation at construction sites, military of camps, or as porters for the military. The SPDC recruits forced labor by means of intimidation, coercion, and naked

kidnapping. Laborers are taken away from their harvests and other forms of wage-earning only to spend weeks on uncompensated hard labor. They are not even provided with basic necessities like food or tools. If a person refuses to work on SPDC's labor projects, he must pay exorbitant fine, pay a substitute workers, or worse he is beaten or killed. Indeed, beating, rape, and even murder are common even if a villager agrees to cooperate with the military's round-ups.

Civilians in rural and ethnic areas in Burma are called for '*wontan*' ('servants'), which usually means porters or military camp labor, or '*loh ah pay*' (translated here as 'voluntary labor'); these are SPDC's terms for forced labor. The villagers who have to go are used as porters, messengers, road laborers, and doing military camp labor such as sentry duty, cleaning, and building and maintaining barracks, fences and booby-traps. Since 1996 the SPDC has been building a large network of roads throughout the ethnic controlled-areas in order to consolidate military control over the region. All of these roads have been built with forced labor, and villagers continue to be ordered to maintain these roads, most of which are destroyed every rainy season, to clear wide 'killing grounds' along both sides of the roads to minimize the chance of landmines or ambushes, and to stand sentry along the roads. When the porters or military camp forced laborers who have run away or gone home without permission; the village is charged a fine in food or cash, and the village head is ordered to immediately bring replacements or turn in the villager(s) who fled.

Villagers who own bullock carts are also forced to take a cart and team to haul supplies for SPDC troops, and elephant owners are ordered to work their elephants to haul logs for the SPDC with no compensation. Demands for rice, food and building supplies continue to come from both the SPDC and the DKBA, while extortion of money by both the SPDC and the DKBA is increasing so much that it is a major factor causing people to flee their villages. Sometimes an order of forced labor or other demand comes along with a chili pepper, bullet or piece of charcoal. It is a direct threat that the troops will punish the village for failure to obey, possibly by killing all the livestock.

The labor the SPDC 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 military 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 the SPDC sends children ahead to sweep for mines to deter neighboring villagers from supporting oppositions of the SPDC. 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.

Forced labor on roads, railways, and other infrastructure projects is becoming even more prevalent as the SPDC pushes forward with its "development" agenda. For these projects, the SPDC usually sends written orders to villagers 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 requirement such as porters and work at military camps). The villagers must perform forced labor and 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 SPDC's labor requirements. If adults in the

household are sick or if the household consists only of a grandmother caring for her orphaned grandchildren, the SPDC 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 past year. Sometimes, people can bribe a soldier by paying heavy fines or "porter taxes", but usually the only option is to send a labor or flee the area and risk being captured and beaten. On some projects, the military assigns each village or family a specific work task; in these situation, parents often take their children with them so they can finish their work assignment as quickly as possible and return home.

Some of the 'fees' which villagers have to pay are called 'porter fees' but really have nothing to do with porters; it is simple extortion, and all the money is taken by the local military officers. Other 'fees' are those used directly by the villagers, or paid to the village or village tract authorities, and used to hire people to go in place of the villagers to fill the military's regular quota of 'permanent porters' and frontline porters. The 'permanent porters' are demanded monthly by each military camp and kept at all times on a rotating basis, while frontline porters are taken by mobile columns for as long as two or three months at a time. The going price for a replacement for a shift of 'permanent' portering is normally 4,000 *kyat*, plus 250 *kyat* or more to pay for the porter's transportation to the military camp. If villagers cannot pay the required 'fees' to avoid this labor then they must go themselves. However, even if they manage to pay all the fees they are still forced to go as porters whenever the SPDC says it has 'emergency' or 'urgent' need, such as every time the supply convoys come in and supplies must be carried to outlying camps. The military summons porters directly for this *ad hoc* forced labor by grabbing them in the villages or the fields, or by sending written orders in which they say they 'urgently' need porters for 'emergency purposes'. Usually it can occur once a month or so, though it can happen at any time. Villagers are especially afraid of being grabbed by the mobile columns on long patrols, and for this reason are always afraid when working in their fields and will flee if they can from any troops they see.

In some areas, villages must send forced laborers and must also pay "servants' fees", money which is supposedly to pay for the hire of laborers. However, this money only goes to the military officers and officials. The only time laborers are hired is when villagers pay others to go for forced labor in their place. Most villagers cannot afford to pay any of these fees anymore. In these cases, the military officers summon village heads to meetings to 'discuss' the paddy from their villages. These meetings are to assign paddy quotas which villages must hand over to the military for free or for 10 per cent of market price, even in bad crop years like this one.

It is abundantly clear that these laborers are not working voluntarily; coercion and forced are used to make people work on these labor activities. The "system" for recruiting labor is well-established. Typically, a local SPDC commander contacts a village headman, or in urban area, a council chairman, by written order. The order describes the number of laborers needed by a certain date for a particular infrastructure project. The consequences for not fulfilling such an order are not explicitly stated, rather they are intimated through the enclosure of a bullet, chili, or a piece of charcoal that often accompanies an order. The enclosures are meant to be symbolic of the consequences that await those who will be follow SPDC's orders; bullets mean that they will be shot and killed; a chili means they will be in "hot water" or that their animals will be cooked; and charcoal means that their village

will be burnt down. The village headman or council chairman then has to select 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 on failure to cooperate with the military, the headmen would probably be accuse d of aiding ethnic armed groups.

4.2 Portering

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

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

People in the villages and relocation sites have to regularly do many kinds of forced labor as ordered by the military units throughout the area. One of the most common and feared forms of forced labor is portering, which involves both carrying rations and supplies to outlying military camps and carrying munitions, equipment and rations with SPDC patrols heading into the hills to "mop up" the villagers living in hiding there. Portering assignments to carry supplies between military camps usually last a few days to a week; villagers have to take their own food, and are not usually treated too brutally as long as they are not kept beyond the originally specified period. However, it takes them away from their farmwork and there is always the risk of being beaten or killed, so people try to pay instead of going if they can. Portering with SPDC patrols heading into the hills can last for months, and people avoid going at all costs because many never return from this brutal form of forced labor. These porters are forced to carry 20 to 40 kilogram loads of shells and rations through the

hills, barely fed and left behind or beaten to death if they can no longer carry.

Doing work for the military not only prevents people from being able to do what little work they can to support their own families, but it also puts people in harm's way. The villagers doing forced labor are routinely beaten if they haven't finished their work, have been taking a short rest or simply don't do a "good enough" job. If villagers are found hiding in the jungle and are lucky enough not to be killed on the spot, they are often forced to work and porter for the military as well, and people caught in this manner are treated particularly brutally. Porters, drawn both from the relocation sites and the jungle, are expendable to the military. If they are suffering from one or more of the many ailments that plague the area or are not able to carry their load they are subjected to abuse and are either killed outright or beaten and left to die in the jungle. With no medicine to speak of and no help, it doesn't take long to die when left alone in the jungle.

Once at the frontline, operation porters are assigned to units and given a load to carry over the mountains. The soldiers generally carry nothing except their personal weapon and a small personal kitbag, while each porter is forced to carry 30 to 50 kilogram load s in woven bamboo baskets which rip the flesh off their shoulders and backs. They generally have only the clothing in which they were captured. They are given little or no food, often just one or two handfuls of rice per day, and are often forbidden to drink water en route because they soldiers say it will slow them down. They are not paid in any way. They are often sent in front of the column as human minesweepers and used as human shields; in some cases they are even forced to switch clothing with the soldiers in order to draw enemy fire. In battle, they are forced to stay with the soldiers, and many are wounded or killed. Those who are wounded or fall sick are generally not treated but simply left behind. Medicines are reserved for the soldiers. While carrying loads, if porters are slow they are usually kicked, prodded with bayonets or beaten to keep them moving, and if they collapse and cannot continue they are left behind, often after being beaten unconscious. In especially sensitive areas, they will be executed by cutting their throats, kicking them down a mountainside or tying them and throwing them in river in order to prevent them from giving information if found by resistance groups. Soldiers open fire on any porters trying to escape, and if captured after escaping they are tortured or executed in front of the others as an example. They are usually kept as porters for the duration of the operation, which can be three months or longer. Many escaped operation porters testify that by the time they escaped, half of the original porters had died. Even if the operation ends, they are just told they are free to go and given no assistance to get home, even if it is halfway across the country. They generally have no money for the trip, and even if they go they face re-arrest along the way for having no travel papers, so many end up as internally displaced people far from homes or as refugees.

Arrests of Hundreds of Porters in Mon State and Karen State

After the Burmese Embassy in Bangkok was seized on 1st October and the five students returned to their bases, the Burmese Army prepared to launch a new offensive. In mid-October, the Burmese Army sent about 2,000 troops from LID No. 33 and LID No. 88 and started offensives against armed oppositions who were taking base in the border area. During this offensive many hundreds of Mon and Karen villagers were used as civilian

porters in the dangerous front-lines to carry ammunitions and food supplies.

On October 15 1999, about 2,000 troops of LID No.33 and LID No. 88 arrived Moulmein. Before these large numbers of troops arrived, each village had been ordered to provide about 2-5 porters for the army.

In demanding porters, the troops from LID No. 33 and LID No.88 themselves have not asked for porters in the White Areas (the area under government's firm control) and let the local battalions in every Township take this responsibility. However when those troops entered into Black Area (the so-called free fire zone), the troops arrested all men to be front-line civilian porters.

According to experience of a village headman of Koedokwae village, when a column of LID 33 troops entered into his village, he had agreed to provide 20 porters for the army for three days. Although the army promised they would take the villagers for three days and then release them, the villagers were taken for more than 10 days. During the time these 20 villagers were serving as porters for LID 33, another column of troops went into the same village and requested another 30 porters. When the headman could not manage this request, they arrested women and used them as porters. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

4.3 Forced Labour for military bases

In areas where there is full SPDC control and no resistance threat, the local people are placed completely at the disposal of the SPDC military. Villagers are regularly summoned to do one or more days of forced labor at the military camps. Whenever the new battalion moves into an area, the nearby villages are forced to collect and provide most of the building materials for the camps. At least one person per household is required to perform forced labor building the barracks and bunkers, digging trenches and erecting fences. They also have to act as messengers, build and maintain the camp buildings and surrounding fences and defenses, clear the ground around the camps and do other servant work for the troops. People are forced to go on a rotating basis for *'gkin' ['patrol']*, which means forced labor standing sentry and delivering order documents to villages and messages or packages between military camps. Demands for these kinds of labor as well as portering and the payment of fees are often dictated at regular meetings which are called by the Battalion officers and must be attended by village heads and sometimes by the leader of each household in the village.

Village heads are sometimes ordered to provide absurdly comprehensive and detailed registration lists of everyone and everything in their villages. These lists are then used to assess paddy quotas, quotas for forced labor, fees and extortion money, demands for carts, vehicles, and other equipment, and to closely monitor the movement of villagers and the arrival of anyone new in the village. People found to be unregistered are usually arrested, accused of being 'insurgents', and detained under torture. The registration lists are also a major tool for intimidation, making the villagers believe that the SPDC knows everything about them and making them afraid to do anything out of the ordinary. The intention is to make every civilian feel intimidated and afraid at every moment.

Each village also has to send several people on rotating shifts of three to five days to each military camp in their area for miscellaneous forced labor, which is sometimes referred to as 'patrol'. This labor routinely includes clearing scrub and grass in and around

the camp, maintaining barracks, digging and maintaining trenches and bunkers, building fences and man-traps, cutting firewood, carrying water, cooking, cleaning, and delivering messages to other military camps and order letters to local villages.

In areas where there is any possible of conflict, villagers must undertaken sentry duty at military camps; often most or all the soldiers sleep, leaving only unarmed villagers as sentries with orders to wake them up if anything happens. Villagers must also clear roadsides of scrubs and trees for anywhere from five to 100 meters on each side of military supply roads in order to decrease the chance of ambushes. They also have to do unarmed sentry duty, both outside military camps and along vehicle roads which are used by the military. If anyone is seen on the road, they are supposed to send a signal up the line by beating on bamboo sticks. Villagers in northern Mone Township, Karen State report that they now have to do nightly sentry duty along the roads from Kyauk Kyi to Mone and northward to Toungoo. Three villagers have to man each sentry post, which are closely spaced along the road, for rotating 24-hour shifts, and are supposed to report any strangers on the road to the local military. It costs 150 *kyat* to avoid one 24-hour shift, and villagers are also punished if they are not seen at their post during the shift. Under normal SPDC practice, villages assigned to do sentry duty along a length of road are held fully responsible for any resistance activity (such as landmines or ambushes) which occurs there.In the morning and near the conflict areas, village women and children are often forced to sweep roads with branches to detect landmines. In addition, in March 1999 the *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation group reportedly began ordering several villages in Kyauk Kyi and Tantabin Townships to build fences around their own village, with only two gates allowed for access.

4.4 Forced Labour for the Army's 'Income Generation Projects'

In some rural areas, thousands acres of land are confiscated and the villagers must perform forced labor on a variety of projects undertaken by the SPDC military. These projects include cultivation of rice and other food crops, cash crops such as rubber, shrimp farms, kilns for producing bricks and logging activities. These projects are often promoted in the media as "local income generating projects", but all proceeds go the military. Officers also steal the wages and rations of rank-and-file soldiers and then order their soldiers to survive by looting the villages. All farmers who still have land must hand over 20-25 per cent of their crops as a quota to the military and are paid only 10-20 per cent of the market price. The quotas increase every year, even when there are bad crops and natural disasters, and farmers often have to sell their belongings to buy rice at the market price so that they will have enough to pay the quota and avoid arrest. Many of the crops grown by forced labor, as well as crops handed over in government quotas are used to support the military. However, local officers take and sell a great deal of it, and it is likely that much of it is also sold to foreign companies for "counter-trade" exports," a practice whereby foreign companies convert profits earned in *kyat*, the local currency which cannot be exported, into exportable goods by buying agricultural products from SPDC agencies.

In forest areas, villagers are also regularly ordered to cut and haul prime quality hardwood logs to local military camps or sawmills, where other villagers or sawmill owners are then forced to cut the logs into timber without compensation. The timber then disappeared into market with all profit going to local military officers, while orders are issued forbidding

the villagers to cut any trees for the own use. Also many military officers nationwide have also established brick-baking kilns at battalion camps. The villagers are forced to cut and deliver all the wood required to bake the bricks, while the rank-and-file soldiers are forced to bake bricks for eight to ten hours a day in addition to their normal military duties. The officers then sell the bricks on the market for their own benefit and pay no compensation to anyone.

Staring in late 1998 and during 1999, the SPDC has began to use large amounts of forced labor on a project to double the amount of cultivated land in Burma by developing 22 million cares of wetlands and virgin lands. This involves the establishment of "labor villages" to help private entrepreneurs, including foreign investors, to develop wetlands. In December 1998, SPDC instructed each village tract from eight Township in Sagaing Division to provide two villagers to work on 500 acres of land per Township for a project to reclaim about 4,000 acres of virgin land. In addition, each household was required to give 200 *kyat* each to the authorities to buy food for workers on the projects. During the first half of the year, officials of the SPDC's Northwest Command forced villagers in Sagaing Division's Yinmabin Township to provide uncompensated labor or else pay more 1,000 *kyat* per person to reclaim 2,000 acres of fallow land.

In addition to the conscription of villagers to work on the army projects, HURFOM reported that in 1999 in Moulmein city and Kyaikmayaw town, Mon State, the authorities were arresting ordinary laborers and ordering them to work in army rice-farms as a punishment. In both towns, the police and municipal officers were arresting trishaw drivers, truck drivers, and horse-cart drivers for breaking minor municipal laws and regulations related to traffic. In addition, ferry drivers were arrested if the look and structure of their ferries was not up to the authorities' standards. Normally, the drivers are quite poor, and can not properly fix their passenger ferries, and therefore they were at risk of being arrested. If they were arrested, they were forced to work in the authorities' farms at least for one day, usually for up to three days.

4.5 Infrastructure development and maintenance

Civilians are used in the infrastructure and "development" projects such as construction and maintenance of the roads, railways, bridges, airports, hydroelectric schemes and tourist-oriented places. Although in 1996, the SPDC announced that civilians would not be used any more in the railway construction and irrigation, there are credible reports that the use of forced labor remained widespread throughout the country. The SPDC has claimed that the infrastructure projects in the remote regions are part of its Border Areas Development Program and that will improve access to markets, schools, and health care. However, there has been little indication that road construction has facilitated social development, and the existing schools and hospitals in the region remain woefully understaffed and under-equipped. The SPDC frequently claims these projects are being undertaken for the villagers' benefit, admonishing villagers to uphold their responsibilities to their district and the nation by participating in them. In fact, as these infrastructure projects are implemented almost entirely with forced labor, rather than improving their living conditions, they cause greater hardship for local people.

Authorities in Nga Thain Chaung Township, Irrwaddy Division forced villagers to

build an embankment or pay 500 *kyat* per person, and detained a woman for 17 days who protested, citing SPDC's statements that there was no forced labor in the country. Similarly in April, SPDC local authorities in Htan-ta-bin Township, Rangoon Division ordered villagers to work on a road between Hle-Seik and Kyu Ngu villages. After some villages failed to work, the authorities sent a letter to village ward leaders threatening to fine if they failed to come on the next day. In May, authorities ordered civilians to work on a road from Insein to Nyaung Don or pay a fine 300 *kyat* per household. The Police threatened the residents with beatings or detention if they refused and arrested those who did not comply.

People might have to travel considerable distances to work sites, particularly for more extensive projects requiring large numbers of laborers. In May 1999, SPDC local authorities in Hser Lin Gyi Township, Sagaing Division forced civilians from 42 village tracts to work on the Taung Tama dam near Mwe-Tone village, or pay a fine of 700 *kyat* per house. Similarly in June 1999, SPDC forced all villagers including children to build s 20-miles road between the towns of Myo Tha and Tada-U. About 1,000 civilians worked on the road everyday. Civilians had to work several hours to reach a work site. When a village, household or individual is required to complete a given amount of work, people are not able to leave until that work is completed. Often a time period is specified within which the work has to be completed. If the work is not completed to the satisfaction of the soldiers supervising the work, that village, household or individual would not be allowed to return home, and those involved might be beaten or otherwise punished. People always have to bring their own food and necessary tools. If they become sick, they are not treated, and usually have to pay a fine or arrange a replacement to enable them to return to their village to seek medicine attention.

4.6 Prison Labour

There are about 200 prisoners detained in prisoner detention centers in Kyaikparan village tract, Kyaikmayaw Township, Mon State. With the beginning of the rainy season in May/June, 1999, those prisoners were used as unpaid labourers in the farms owned by the army, government departments, intelligent units and police departments, which are based in the Kyaikmayaw and Moulmein Townships areas. In November, those prisoners were forced to reap the paddy produced from the authorities' farms. Those prisoners were mainly brought from Moulmein jail and a prisoner camp called No. (6) New Life camp. The prisoners from this camp were sent to two places in one village tract, and forced to work in the farms of different departments. According to a source from the authorities, they only prisoners for farming who have been determined to be released after six months.

According to villagers who work close to the labour camp or near the authorities, the prisoners were forced into farms inhumanely and were treated like animals. During the period the prisoners are working in the farms, they are heavily locked and tied with chains and forced to work about 10-11 hours a day. At night they are put in detention cells. In addition, the authorities, apparently lacking enough equipment and animals such as oxen and buffaloes, also used the human prisoners to draw the land ploughing equipment. Whenever the prisoners could not work well, or to the satisfaction of the authorities, they were severely beaten. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

The number of prisoners in Burma increased considerably after the military coup

de'tat in 1988. Since then, prisoners, including political prisoners and students activists have been used not only in labor camps but also as laborers at military bases. Prisoners are also regularly sent from prisons and labor camps across the country to be used by the military in major offensives. They continue to wear prison uniforms and are usually kept separate from the other porters.

Prisoners serving relatively short sentences are preferred to prisoners serving longer sentences because it is thought they are less likely to attempt escape. Thus, those doing forced labor are often those who are in jail for "non-crimes" such as curfew violations, selling goods without a SPDC license, or cursing SPDC soldiers. However, political prisoners are sometimes sent to the hard labor camps where the access to their friends or families is more difficult.

In many cases when used as operations porters, convicts are held and continued to be used as porters well after the expiration of their prison sentences. Convicts doing forced labor are generally treated much more brutally than ordinary civilians and are routinely used in very dangerous work, such as blowing up rock faces or digging at cliff-sides, in which many of them are killed. They are beaten and otherwise abused on the slightest provocation. Food is inadequate and medical treatment is virtually nonexistent for them should they fall ill.

As a result of the increase in the prison population since the military coup, and in order to cope with the shortage of prison facilities, the SPDC has established at least six new Win Saung battalions (porter battalions). These 'Win Saung' battalions are mainly used to create a ready supply of porters to the frontier; prisoners are kept ready for porter duties while working at the military 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 bribe (from 50,000- 70,000 *kyat*) can avoid being recruited into these porter battalions.

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

4.7 Partial List of 1999 Forced Labour Projects

Rangoon Division

Hle Seik - Kyn Ngu motor-road, Htantabin Township, Rangoon Division
Insein - Nyaungdon motor-road, Rangoon Division
Kin-mon-chone creek embankment, Kayan Township, Rangoon Division
Sae-ma creek embankment, Kayan Township, Rangoon Division
Kayan creek embankment, Kayan Township, Rangoon Division
Danoke pagoda renovation, Twantay Township, Rangoon Division

Sagaing Division

Repair of Katha Road, Sagaing Division
Chin-su Labour Camp, Sagaing Division
Hanthawaddy land development project, Kalay Township, Sagaing Division

Tama dam, Hsar Lin Gyi Township, Sagaing Division
Land developing project, Yinmabin Township, Sagaing Division
Canal construction, Monywa Township, Sagaing Division

Shan State

Keng Tung to Tacheleik motor road, Shan State
Kung hing to Nam Zarng motor road, Shan State
Kung hing to Kaeng Tung motor road, Shan State
Nam San to Pilon motor road, Shan State

Karenni State

Loikaw to Shadaw motor road, Karenni State
Sesai- Loikaw motor-road renovation, Shan-Karenni State
Bae Ngaw Concentration Camp, Loikaw Township, Karenni State

Tenasserim Division

Tenasserim to Manorgone motor road, Tenasserim Division
Tenasserim to Moetaung motor road, Tenasserim Division
Repair of the Ye-Tavoy Railway, Tenasserim Division
Widening of the Nabule-Kanbauk Motor Road, Tennasserim Division
Widening of the Ye-Tavoy Motor Road
Singu, Hmaw-Gi, Kwe-tho-nyima, and Mintha Dikes and Agriculture Project
Bongti-Tavoy Motor Road

Karen State

Kya In Seik Gyi to Khoh Ther Pler (Three Pagodas Pass) Motor Road, Karen State
Saw Hta to Lay Po Hta Motor Road, Karen State
Kyaikdon to Kawkareik Motor Road, Karen State
Na Than Gwin to Mone Motor Road, Karen State
Development of Grazing Grounds, Nyaung-lay-bin District, Karen State
Kam-Ma-Maung to Ka-daing-ti Motor Road, Karen State
Canal Project, Mayaw Township, Karen State
Kyaikdon - Kyo G'Lee Road, Karen State
Chaunghtitkwe-Kya Inn Seikyi Motor Road

Arakan State

Canal consrtuction projects, Myan-aung Township, Arakan State
Mrauk U town renovation, Arakan State

Magwe Division

Canal Project, Myit-chay Township, Magwe Division
Canal Construction Project, Myaung Township, Magwe Division
Ye Nan Chaung and Nat Maut to Myo Thit Motor Road, Magwe Division

Chin State
Hriphi to Vaungtu Motor Road, Chin State
Vaungtu-Thantlang Road, Chin State
Sabawngtte - Lailenpi Road, Maputi Township, Chin State
Repair of the Fakam to Rihkhawdar Motor Road, Chin State

Irawaddy Division
Paechaung to Kadone ka-ne Road, Irawaddy Division
Thayet Gone to Set Thar Canal, Irawaddy Division

Mandalay Division
Yeway to Mahlaing road, Mandalay Division
Mandalay International Airport project, Mandalay Division
Myotha - Tada-U motor-raod, Mandalay Division
Tada-U temporary International Airport project, Tada-U Township, Mandalay Division

Mon State
Paung to Ngarlepoh-taung Motor Road, Mon State

4.8 Incidents of Forced Labor by Region

Chin State

Hriphi-Vaungtu Road

From February 1 to the first week of June 1999, over one thousand villagers were forced to construct a 13-mile road from Hriphi army camp to Vuangtu army camp in Chin State. The labourers had to bring their own food and tools and worked from dawn until night. Major Khin Maung Ye, from Company 2 of Hriphi Camp and 2nd Battalion Commander of LIB 268 stationed in Falam, was directed to supervise the construction.

Among those forced to work were 3 elderly men over 65 years, 3 widows and 5 school children from ZaBung village; 4 elderly men (around age 50) from Zephai village; 1 elderly man and 4 middle school students from Nga Lang village; children and Christian religious teachers from Hriphi village. Two youths, Ni Awi, 23, and Ram Cung, 17 who were seriously injured on the worksite received no medical treatment.

The newly constructed road crossed and destroyed private farms owned by Hram Thang, Sui Mang, Lian Te and Hre Cem of Hriphi (B) village but the farmers received no compensation

Although 500,000 *kyat* and an additional 140,000 *kyat* for bulldozer diesel were allocated, none of it was used in the construction, only the forced labour of the villages was spent. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

Vaungtu-Thantlang Road

In early 1999, SPDC forced people from villages in Thantlang area, Chin State to build a 50-mile road between Vuangtu village and Thantlang. The villagers, including men

and women, old and young, pastors, teachers and students, were forced to work from dawn to 11:oo PM without rest, and nothing was provided for them. Students who did not attend class were also ordered to do forced labor as punishment by the authorities. They were ordered to complete the road before June. Pa Za Kung, from Vomkua village, who took a rest at the work-site was beaten to death by the army on May 5, 1999, Another man, a school teacher of Salen village, was beaten by the army and sent to the hospital for treatment due the serious wound he received. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

Sabawngtte - Lailenpi Road, Maputi Township, Chin State

In January 1999 Major Maung Maung and Lt. Myo Swe, of the Sabawngte village Army camp issued an order to Capaw village, Maputi Township, Chin State to construct a road between Sabawngte and Lailenpi villages. The work lasted through the entirety of 1999, and the villagers were required to carry their own rations, medicines and all the tools necessary. They were forced to work through dangerous, mountainous terrain in horrible conditions from dawn to 9 or 10 PM. The sick were not cared for, and the villagers were not allowed to leave even to go to church. SPDC troops guarded the site. Many fell sick, and some died. Major Maung Maung and Lieutenant Thin Lin Aung of Sabawngte army camp issued an order on December 9,1999 for the following five villages to reconstruct the road: Capaw, Sabawngte, Sabawngpi, Darling and Hlungmang

1. They demanded 60 workers from Capaw village but only 15 people could show up.
2. They demanded 80 workers from Sabawngte village but only 40people could show up.
3. They demanded 80 workers from Sabawngpi village but only 38 peoplecould show up.
4. They demanded 80 workers from Darling village but only 40 peoplecould show up.
5. They demanded 60 workers from Hlungmang village but only 12 people could show up.

The army demanded 340 people to reconstruct the road from five villages but only more than a hundred people could work. While working, the soldiers punched, kicked and beat the villagers, who were not even allowed to go to their villages to celebrate Christmas. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

River Embankment, Kayan and Thanlyin Townships, Chin State

Kayan Creek Embankment - The embankment of Kayan creek situated below the villages of A-ley-ywa and Pa-gan-taung in Kayan and Thanlyin Townships, respectively every household in the village tracts of (1) Ta-man-gyi, (2) Kyone-two, (3) Yo-gyi, (4) Ma-gyi-gan, (5) Pein-kan, (6) Hla-be-lu, (7) A-ley-ywa, (8) Aye-ywa, (9) Swe-ka-taw was forced to dig one and a half pits (total 6,000 approximately) between the 10th and 15th December, 1998, and although the project has been completed, the damand for labour from the villagers continues. In default, payment to the authorities of between *kyat* seven hundred and fifty to one thousand five hundred had to be made. Embankments were also built in December for Kin-mon-chone Creek, near Kin-mon-chone village (Kayan Township), and Sae-ma creek situated close to Pauk-pin village (Kayan Township) with the labour from the nearby villagers and the money received from taxing them. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Irawaddy Division

Paechaung to Kadone ka-ne Road
Bogalay Township, Irawaddy Division

In early 1999 every individual of every household in Bogalay Township was ordered to give forced labour for the construction of a 32-mile long road linking Paechaung and Kadone Ka-ne villages. The road will cross six large river tributaries, five rivers, 10 small streams, jungles, forests, and mangrove swamps. Substitute labour will cost a household between five to ten thousand *kyat.* Sayadaw U Kawlatha, assisted by the army and the Township authorities initiated the road so pilgrims could travel to the Sayadaw's new pagoda, located in an area already easily linked by waterways. (*Source: NLD*)

Magwe Division

Canal Construction Project, Myaung Township

From August 1998 to date, the authorities have required the forced labor of one person per household for a canal construction project in Myaung Township, Magwe Division from the villages Ma-gyi-boke, Twin-gyi, Shwe-pan, Kya-o, Pa-rein-ma, Shwe-pan-gyun, Thi-ri-zay-ya, Oke-hne-boke, Mya-san, King, Boo-gaing, Ko-pin, Kyauk-yit, Na-set, Ta-ma-say-gan, Za-yat-kone.

In addition to this arduous, and lengthy service with no remuneration the authorities have collected by force a total of approximately five million *kyat* at the rate of 50 *kyat* per acre. This is a total acreage of fifty thousand comprising 85 villages in 52 village tracts. Again, those workers who do not own any land have to pay an average of one hundred *kyat* per household, those who are in service have to pay one hundred *kyat* per head and those traders or brokers have to pay two hundred *kyat*. The Township authorities have issued orders threatening action against those who fail to make payment within the prescribed period. (***Source: HRDU*****)**

Kachin State

Industrialization Project - Indwgyi region, Kachin State

The SPDC has required householders in every village to participate and give forced labour for this project to industrialize agricultural land in the Indawgyi region, Mohnyin Township, Kachin State. In addition to the residents of 20 villages situated on the eastern and western banks of Indawgyi, elephants, buffaloes, and cows are used to clear the vegetation. In the process, two elephants and 14 cows and buffaloes have died. Claims for compensation of the losses have been made but nothing has resulted to date. The forced laborers are denied medical attention. Maung Soe and Maung Naing, from Mogoung Township, have died as a result. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Mandalay Division

Yeway to Mahlaing road

In 1999 the Thaphanchaung-Yeway Development Road in Mandalay division which

was built by forced labour from 1996-98 is being extended to Mahlaing. Residents from villages that lie to the north of the Meiktila-Kyaukpadaung road are required to find and dig one and a half units (one unit = a hundred cubit ft. of rock) per household and place the rocks at designated spots on the road construction site. This operation takes about 15 to 20 days which prevents the cultivators from attending to the cultivation of their crops. Using their own tools, the men dig and the women carry these rocks in baskets on their heads, trudging through rough and steep grounds to their own fields where they are stacked. Then motor vehicles are hired at their own cost so the rock can be transported to the designated spots on the road site. Elderly men and women are not exempted from this task. The minimum fine to those who are totally incapable of giving labour is 3000 *kyat*. **(*Source: NLD*)**

International airport Road, Ta-da-Oo Township, Mandalay Division

For the first half of 1999, villagers living in the Township were required to transport crushed granite from the vehicles transporting the rocks to designated road sites. Whenever the rock-carrying vehicle arrived, villagers were forced to leave whatever work they were doing to perform this task. These villagers are day to day wage earners and this forced labour is causing untold hardship. In Ze-gyo village, in addition to the forced labour required of them, villagers were evicted from their homes and forced to dig up the soil in their compounds because the road cut through their village. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Rangoon Division

Kayan Creek Embankment, Kayan and Thalyin Townships

In December 1998, very household from Ta-man-gyi, Kyone-two, Yo-gyi, Ma-gyi-gan, Pein-kan, Hla-be-lu, A-ley-ywa, Aye-ywa, and Swe-ka-taw village tracts in Kayan and Thalyin Townships, Rangoon Division was forced to dig one and a half pits (for a total of approximately 6,000 pits) for the embankment of Kayan creek. Those who were not able to supply labor were fined 750- 1,500 *kyat* by the authorities. The project was completed in 1999, but the demand continues. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Mon State

Paung to Ngarlepoh-taung Motor Road

From October 1998 until May 1999, the Paung Township PDC authorities in Mon State conscripted forced labour from local town civilians to build a motor road, 30 kilometers long, from Paung town to Ngarlepoh-taung. The authorities required at least 20 civilians from each of about 13 town wards, and used them everyday in the construction site. In building this new road, Paung Township authorities not only conscripted forced labour from local town civilian but also collected tax from over 10,000 households in the Township. Each family had to pay 200 *kyat* to the authorities in January, 1999 for a fund to be spent on the road building. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Saigaing Division

Repair of Katha Road, Sagaing Division

The inhabitants of the wards and villages in Katha Township, Sagaing Division, are forced to collect big and small rocks from a point about 2 miles from Katha, then transport the rock to the main road to deposit it. Households that cannot provide labour are forced to pay *kyat* 250 to 400 to the Ward PDC. Motor vehicles owners have to pay *kyat* 5000 per vehicle in tax for the road repair. Trucks from the town are forced to transport rocks excavated from the two pits without payment. Any resulting damage to the trucks is not compensated. Horse-drawn vehicles are also used by force for this purpose. It takes 3 horse drawn vehicles to transport 1 pit-full of rocks. Each ward/village tract must dig and transport 42 rock pits. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Chin-su Labour Camp, Sagaing Division

Over three thousand acres of land originally cleared and cultivated by ethnic Chins was confiscated in Kalaymyo Township, Sagaing division. Service personal from Kalaymyo and places in Chin State were brought to the camp, but had no experience in cultivation. The original cultivators were then forced to sign bonds undertaking production at the rate of thirty baskets paddy per acre. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Hanthawaddy land development project, Kalay Township, Sagaing Division

In February 1999, about 1000 civilians from Monywa, Cahugn Oo, Ayadaw, Depeyin, Butalin, Yinmapin, Salingyi and Pale Townships in Sagaing Division were summoned to provide unpaid labor for the Hanthawaddy land development project in Sagaing Division. They were paid no wages and no medicine. Due to the harsh weather condition and hard work, 17 people got malaria and one committed suicide. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

Hantharwaddy Labour Camp (Land Development Program), Sagaing Division

In 1998, the authorities confiscated over three thousand acres of land in Kalaymyo Township, Sagaing division where Chin villagers and their ancestors had traditionally cultivated beans and pulses for many years. Since then, about 1,000 cultivators from 8 Townships (Monywa, Chaung-oo, Ayadaw, Depaeyin, Butalin, Yinmarbin, Salingyi, and Palei) have been conscripted, brought to the camp, and forced to labour without payment of wages, with inadequate food and medicines from 7 AM to 5 PM.

Due to the hard labour and climate, 17 have died of malaria. A man Maung Tin, aged 32, from Than-bin-kan village, Chaung-oo Township, committed suicide because although he was suffering intensely from malaria, he was not replaced, never allowed to rest, and denied access to medical treatment.

In early 1999 people were being conscripted to build an irrigation embankment at the camp. Villagers in Monywa District refused to go, so the authorities ordered all the village administrators from that district to work themselves. Failing to comply would result in heavy penalties. The village tract administrators in Butalin Township, Thee-bin-kha-yine district also went to work in place of the villagers. Therefore, 15 villagers from Butalin travelled the 300 miles to the Hantharwaddy site at their own expense to relieve their village elders. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Canal, Myaung Township, Sagaing Division

Villagers from Ma-gyi-boke, Twin-gyi, Shwe-pan, Kya-o, Pa-rein-ma, Shwe-pan-gyun, Thi-ri-zay-ya, Oke-hne-boke, Mya-san, King, Boo-gaing, Ko-pin, Kyauk-yit, Na-set, Ta-ma-say-gan, and Za-yat-kone villages, Myaung Township, Sagaing division, are being forced to construct a canal. One person from each household must labour for free to the neglect of his/her own work. In addition, villagers from 85 villages of 52 village tracts in the Township, owning a total of 50,000 acres, have had to pay a tax of 50 *kyat* per acres. Villagers who don't own land have been forced to pay an average of 100 *kyat* per household. The construction began in August 1998 and is still continuing. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Shan State

Kun-hing to Nam Zarng and Kung Hing to Kaeng Tung Roads

Since April 1999, Kun Hing-based IB246 and LIB524 have been forcing people to break rocks and stones to be used in paving the Kung hing-Nam Zarng and Kung Hing-Kaeng Tung main roads. People are required to work in groups of 150-160 persons, for 10 day shifts. The SPDC troops said that the children of the relocated people were useless and had nothing to do, and as they could not go to school they must be made to work. Almost 200 children, including 7-8 years old, are being forced to split stones. The stones were earmarked to be used in paving roads in the area, yet they are often trucked away to be sold elsewhere. They usually truck them away when there are enough broken stones to fill 5-6 six-wheeled trucks. The people being used for the labor were forcibly moved to the outskirts of Kun-hing town from the areas such as Sai Khao, Kaeng Kham and Kaeng Lom over the last 2-3 years. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

Ta Kaw - Tachilek Road

In early 1996, Khin Nyunt ordered local commanders in eastern Shan State to pave the road from Ta Kaw via Kengtung to Tachileik within two years so that it would be usable throughout the year. Today, the road is still under construction and the locals are being forced to work on it without any payment, and have little chance to work in their own fields. The people also must contribute 100 cubic feet of broken stones to the authorities or pay 1,600 *kyat*. The price of 100-cubic-feet of broken stones has risen gradually from *kyat* 1,600 to *kyat* 2,000, then *kyat* 3,000 and now it is more than *kyat* 3,500 because of corrupt officers, who steal broken stone and resell it to the villagers at 3X the price. Many young soldiers also forced to work on road's construction have defected because of the hardship and the brutality of their officers. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

Tenasserim Division

Repair of Ye-Tavoy Railway

Because of heavy rain and flood in Yebyu Township of Tenasserim Division from the last week of July to second week of August, some parts of railway and bridges in near Malawe-taung area were destroyed. Initially, villagers from Paukpingwin were conscripted as forced labourers to work in rebuilding the railway embankments and repairing the bridges. From Paukpingwin village alone, there are about 60 households and the military from LIB 9,

404 and IB 9, 406 ordered the headmen to send one person from each house to the construction site. Later when the road was in worst conditions, about 500-700 villagers from 30 villagers from Natkyisin, Kwethonyima, Mintha, Eindayaza and Kalein-aung village tracts were forced to work in re-building the railway's embankment. The soldiers shared work-duties, and the villagers were required to bring their own foods and tools. The headmen of the villages were responsible for sending the villagers to the work-sites on a rotation basis of 7-15 days per round. Some villagers had to work 2 to 3 rounds.

The villagers worked until the end of August, digging earth, carrying it to the embankments and filling in the holes. They also had to find and collect the iron rails that had been washed away, carry the iron rails to the embankment and the railway engineers will fit them again. In the initial construction of the railroad, which was built with forced labour, the government railway authorities and soldiers had not used machines to compress the embankment. Instead, they used human means to compress the dirt, and as a result, it is not strong enough to protect the railroad embankment from floods. Paukpingwin villagers have suffered more than other villagers, because their village is close to railway and whenever something happens in the railway, the villagers from this village are the first conscripted to contribute unpaid labour. As a result of constant conscription of forced labour from this village, about 80% of the total villagers have fled from the village. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Bongti-Tavoy Highway

The Bonti-Tavoy highway or Kanchanaburi-Tavoy highway project is being built and is upkept in cooperation between Thai businessmen (Kanchanaburi Tending and Development, KTD) a private Burmese company (Kyaw Lain Naing, KLN co.ltd.) and Burma's Army. The highway will connect Tavoy, Burma and Kanchanaburi, Thailand. The two countries plan to develop tourist business and agricultural industries. The road project passes through the indigenous Karen area. Burmese army offensives and relocation operations have destroyed all of the Karen villages in the area for this road project. The road is not paved yet, and is quite rough.

After the Bongti-Tavoy Road was damaged by floods in August 1999, the military authorities forced villagers from 4 Townships in eastern Tavoy to reconstruct the highway. At least 800 to 1000 forced laborers from the Townships worked on the Bongti-Tavoy highway construction. Each village had to provide 30 to 50 laborers to work in 10 day rotation shifts. The villagers had to clear bushes beside and on the road, rebuild the embankment, fill the eroded sides of the road, and other projects. The villages were required to take along their own food and tools. Those who failed to go had to pay 5000 *kyat* to hire a substitute. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

Widening of the Nabule-Kanbauk Motor Road, Tennasserim Division

In March 1999, the Coastal Region Military Command ordered LIB 402 and 273 to widen the Nabule-Kanbauk Road, located in the southern part of the Kanbauk/Ohnpingwin area. The road is very close to the TOTAL oil company's project site, and to the Yadana pipeline, and is of importance for transport and communications between the project site and the outside. About 100 villagers from 10 villages, including Zadi, Paya, Dike-Ta-Kaw, Kyain-Chaung, Kyaing-Pyan, Bwe-Tutwa, and Nabule, were required to provide free labour for 5-7 days at a time. LIB 402, led by Major Soe Lwin was the main force in conscripting the

labor. The villagers were required to clear 100 meter of bushes, trees, grass and rock from both sides of the road, find stone in the surrounding area, break the stone into gravel, and then lay the stone over the cleared area. In addition to the labor, the villagers of Nubule village tract were forced to pay a 500 *kyat* tax per house to LIB 402 and 273 for food and transportation costs. The column of troops stationed along the road also required food and travel expense from the villagers, and the villagers had to pay for the hiring of a 6-wheeled trailer to carry stones and other materials to the construction site. *Note: Villagers from Kanbauk, Ohnpingwin, and other villages where TOTAL company field personal are residing were not conscripted for labor.* **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Forced labour on army camps in Ye Township

In June, 1998, after each battalion received the order that each battalion must support themselves or to find their own farmlands, Ye Township based military battalions, IB 61, 106, and LIB 343 confiscated about 150 acres of farmland without compensation. These confiscated lands are situated in the northern part of Ye Township between two Mon villages, Tamortkanin and Taungbon. In both the 1998 and 1999 years rainy seasons, the soldiers have conscripted the local farmers to do the farming. About 30 farmers from the nearest villages must work daily, on a rotation basis. The farmers also must bring their own oxen to plow the lands and tools to do other work. In September, 1998, IB No. 61 and LIB No. 343, also confiscated about 40 acres of salt producing farms in the west of Ye town. They put up the battalion signboard declaring these lands were owned by the battalions, without first informing the landowners. The soldiers then ordered the landowners to keep working in the salt farms, but that all salt produced from the farms was owned by battalions. The land owners did not receive any compensation or labor costs from the army. In 1999, the battalions hired additional villagers to work in these farms. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Forest cleared for Army Plantation Land in Yebyu Township

From June to September, 1999, villages under the control of Operation Control Division 8 were forced to clear about 4,000 acres of forest from the "Layin-Gwin" area near Yapu village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division. Villagers from over 20 villages in Yapu, Mintha and Kalein-Aung village tracts were ordered to clear the trees, bushes, bamboo groves, bush and grass from the area. The work was divided between the villages, with an average of 50 people clearing 10 acres of land in one week. The work was quite difficult, and coincided with the time of harvest for most villagers. The local battalions intended to use the land for rubber, betel-nut, cashew-nut, lime and other fruit tree plantations. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Forced tree planting and repair of the Ye-Tavoy Motor Road

From July until the end of September 1999, local villagers were forced to grow trees along the Ye-Tavoy motor road as instructed by the Military Operational Control Command No. 8, and ten military battalions from LIB No. 401 to No. 410 under this command. The battalions based along the motor road brought many thousands of hardwood trees and forced the villagers from about 15 villages from Yapu and Kalein-aung village tracts to plant them along the road. Each family was provided with 50 trees, and was ordered to plant them 50 feet from the road, a part 12 feet. After the trees were planted, the family then had to make

a 3 feet square and 3 feet height fence round all the trees. The villagers were also instructed to clear all the small wild trees and grass from the road to the newly grown trees, so that the trees could be seen easily. Each family had to send at least one member, and this project usually took 20 days to complete.

From the beginning of December 1999 to the end of January 2000, SPDC battalions under the control of No.8 Operation Control Command forced the local villagers from Ye and Yebyu Township areas, to contribute free labour in Ye-Tavoy Motor Road. The villagers were from villages along the road and near the road including Kyaukadin, Kywethalin, Yapu, Mayan, Mintha, Legyi, Hamaw-gyi, Sin-swe, Sat-taw, Yengan-gyi, Sein-pone, Natkyisi and Paukpingwin villages

The army battalions forced the local villagers to rebuild some parts of the road, which were ruined because of floodwater. The villagers had to dig out 2 feet of dirt from the water canals. Each family was instructed to dig a half-kilometer long portion of canal. In addition, members of that family were forced to clear 50 ft. from both sides of the road, removing grass, bush and small trees. The battalions required for the clearance of the road, because they worried for the ambush of rebel soldiers. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Reservoir and Land Clearing Projects in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division

From December 1998 to June 1999, troops of LIB 273, 406, 409, and 410 forced villagers from 20 villages, mostly from Mintha, Eindayaza, Kywethonyima and Natkyisin village tracts in Yebyu Township to build 4 dikes flow for the army's planned agricultural projects. The four water dikes are (1) Singu, (2) Hmaw-gyi, (3) Kywethonyima and (4) Mintha. In construction of the dikes, the villagers were first forced to clear the grass, bushes and small trees along the route where the battalion planned to construct the dikes. Then they built the dikes, which were designed to retain water for irrigation on one side, and leave the land dry on the other side to prepare for cultivation. The 7000-ft-long Kywethonyima dike was constructed between Kywethonyima and Sattaw villages and people from Kywethonyima, Sattaw, Mae Thantaung, Chapon, Byu and Byeik villages were ordered by LIB 273 to work on the construction. About 200 villagers were conscripted for each round of work. The battalion was provided with 6 millions *kyat* fund from the Border Area Development program, and they collected another 3.5 millions *kyat* from the villagers. Similarly, the 3 other dikes were built in Mintha and Eindayza village tracts. The dikes were completed in June 1999 but the villagers were required to repair them after the rain had destroyed some parts of it during the rainy season.

Then, from June to September 1999, about 30 villages from Mintha, Einddayza, and Kwethonyima village tracts were ordered by the local battalions to clear the land on the lower side of the dike in order to create farmland for the army. The work was divided between the villages, requiring that each family had to send about 2 people every month to work for 15 to 20 days. The villagers had to cut all the small trees, clear the bush and grass, burn all the rubbish to ash, and level the land. In Kwethonyima village tract, LIB 273 expected to get 400 acres for farmland. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

Karen State

Na Than Gwin to Mone Road

In January 1999, construction of a road between Mone and Na Than Gwin, Kyauk Kyi Township, Pegu Division, Karen State began under the supervision of the special intelligence unit SaThonelone, led by Shan Bpu. Villages located along the entire length of this road have been given the responsibility for its construction. Villages further away have been ordered to build bridges or give money for the purchasing of supplies. In addition, the road has crossed and destroyed the farmlands of many villagers. The villagers, from about 20 villages, were each given a 54-ft. section of road and had to bring their own food and tools to the worksite. They were also forced to work at night, using their own lanterns. The families had to stay at the work site until the completion, sleeping on the road. They had to dig earth with which to build a road embankment 4½ feet high and up to 24 feet wide, clear the ground along both sides of the road, then they had to haul sand, and pack it on top of the embankment to smooth the roadbed. Some villagers were forced to make drainage ditches. A villager from southern Mone Township reported that he and other villagers had tried to gather money to hire a bulldozer to help them, but permission was denied by the *Sa Thon Lon* officer in charge. Most of the road construction was finished by April 1999, and the villagers were then responsible for building approximately 10 bridges. For the bridges, the villages were ordered to cut logs for the timber, as well as pay 500 or 600 *kyat* per family to "buy materials for construction. " A villager who fled to Thailand at the end of April 1999 reported that SPDC troops had confiscated all the wood people had cut for their own houses, took it away and then forced the villagers to buy it back from them and use it to build the bridges. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

Thaton Township: Army Plantation

Many villages in Thaton Township must send one person from each family every day to work in the local SPDC Army plantation from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., and any family which cannot send someone must pay a forced labour fee instead. The plantation, run by LIB 8, covers about 100 acres, and all villages in the area must send people every day to work on it. This includes the villages of Ma Aye Cha, Ka Law Kher, Lah Aw Kher, Ma Ya Gone, Mo Kyaw Eh, Wah Lu, Noh Pa Leh, Kaw Kya Ther, and Kaw Ler. The SPDC troops confiscated this land from local farmers and told them that "This land belongs to the government, not to you". Villagers in the area must also pay "obligation" paddy to the local military at the rate of 15 to 20 baskets of paddy for each acre of land they own. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

Convict Labour on the Kyaikdon - Kyo G'Lee Road, Karen State

A group of convicts escaped from Po Yay camp near Kyaikdon when the local SPDC unit was attacked by the KNLA. They told KHRG that they had been transferred from Moulmein prison in Mon State and Insein prison just outside Rangoon to the Kyaikdon area in January 1999 specifically to build the section of road between Kyaikdon and Kyo G'Lee. These men described treacherous working conditions, and said that by the time they escaped only 100 out of the original 450 convicts remained, the others having escaped or died from the forced labour, physical abuse, malnutrition, and disease at the forced labour site. Even so, the SPDC continued to use convicts on this road at least until the rainy season

of mid-1999. Since that time we have not been able to obtain further information regarding whether the convict camps still exist in the area. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

Chaunghtitkwe-Kya Inn Seikyi Motor Road

Since May 26,1999, to widen abut 100 kilometers of the Chaunghtitkwa-Kya Inn Seikyi motor road, many hundreds of local inhabitants from over 8 village tracts in Kya Inn Sei Kyi Township have been conscripted by local troops from IB 32, led by Maj. Win Bo. Many Mon and Karen villagers in Kya Inn Seikyi Township area were ordered by the commander to contribute their labour in this road construction for at least three days on a rotation basis. In every round, at least 50 villagers were working in the construction and they have work-duties such as clearing the bushes outside the road and widening the roads. They have to clear 3 feet in each side of the road and fill the stones in the new tract. Sometimes, the villagers also have to repair the bridges.

On June 1, 1999, when the villages from Hteepauklo village tract were conscripted, about (123) villagers went and contribute labour in the construction for three days. When they went to construction site, they had to bring their own food and tools. At night, these villagers had to go to the nearest villages and slept there. Soldiers also guarded the villagers and the villagers were ordered to work for the whole day except to take lunch. The commander also came very often for the surprise check. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Forced labour on army farms in Pa-an Township

Local villagers from Than-hlae and Krone-sot villages, Pa-an Township have to work in the local army farms, under the supervision of LIB 22. They are forced to grow two paddy crops in the year. Work-duties are shared on a rotation basis, about three days each round. The farms consist of 200 acres of land that were confiscated from 20 local farmers in June of 1998 by LIB 22 under the authority of Karen State PDC. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Forced labour for army paddy fields in KyaEinSeik Township

The soldiers of LIB 284 force villagers from Wabogone, Kyotan, Thaketchaung, Natchaung and Kasat villages to contribute unpaid labour every day in the 100 acres of battalion farms. These farms were previously confiscated from local villagers without compensation. About 5-10 villagers from each village must go every day for three days on a rotation basis. The army requires over 20 villagers to always be in the battalion farms. In addition to growing paddy, the soldiers also force the villagers to clear forests and grow rubber. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Forced Labor for army camps in KyaEinSeikKyi Township

In July 1999, with purpose to build a military camp for IB 32 in KyaEinnSeikyi town, the villagers from the villages close to the town were instructed to send a requested number of labourers to the construction site. The villages that were affected from the conscription of forced labour were Kyat-tu-yaw-taung, Kyaukpon, Bada-ye, and Dayae-gwin.

Three battalions, IB 32, LIB 283 and LIB 284 have taken base in Taung-bauk village, KyaEinSeikKyi Township on a rotation basis in every three months. The villagers from Taung-bauk, Hlaing-kani, Winkapa, Nan-parae, Myin-war-gone, Palaw-gone and Naung-pauk villages have been forced to work in the outpost. Every battalion demands at least 20

labourers from all villages to contribute unpaid labour in building their new barracks, making fences, digging trenches and bunkers and other work. The villagers are required to work in the outpost for at least for three days.

Also, a surrendred Karen group, the so-called Karen Peace Organization (KPO) under the leadership of Saw Thamu Hae, also took base in Than-paya village and demanded forced labour from the rural villages in Than-paya village tract. From July until September, when KPO built a military outpost in Than-paya village, about 50-60 villagers from villages including Nanpahpaw, Hteepauklo, Shwe-la-inn, Dayae-gwin, Thayet-gone and Kha-thwin-suu were forced to build the KPO army camp. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Forced Labor on fields confiscated by the army and police in Kawkereik Township

In 1999, villagers living near Nabu village, Kawkereik Township were forced to do the farming on 500 acres of army land. The land had been confiscated from about 40 farmers near Nabu in June, 1998 by the local battalions mainly based in Kawkareik Township, LIB No.547, 548 and LIB No. 549. The former landowners were not compensated, but were hired to farm their land for the soldiers. However, when the crops were harvested in January 1999, the farmers received only 100 baskets of paddy in payment, even though they had been responsible to pay for all the costs of the cultivation themselves. They were exempted from the yearly paddy tax, but as a result of this forced conscription to work their own farms for the army at their deep loss, some farmers abandoned their lands and fled to other areas to escape. In their absence, the soldiers have forced the nearest villagers to do farming in these lands.

These three battalions also confiscated about 200 acres of villagers' farmlands and another 250 acres of wild land near the Kawkareik-Myawaddy motor road in the area of the Kyonedoe to Thingan-nyinaung village tracts. The battalions are growing paddy on the 200 acres of confiscated farmland, and decided to develop a rubber plantation on the 250 acres of hilly land. In both the paddy cultivation and rubber plantation, local villagers from Kyonedoe, Kanni, and Thingan-nyinaung village tracts have been forced to work without payment.

In addition, villagers have been conscripted to serve as forced labourers in land confiscated by police officials. In July, 1998, 2nd. Class Warrant Officer Than Hteik Shein confiscated 5 acres of lands from Kawbein village, Pol. Segeant Ba Thein confiscated 5 acres of lands from Kawgo village and another 2nd. Class Warrant Officer Min Thu confiscated 5 acres of lands from Kharitkyauktan village. The villagers have been forced in 1998 and 1999 to plant the paddy and reap the crops for those officers. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Forced labor for army projects in Kyauk Kyi Township

In January 1999, troops from IB 60 and LIB 351 began their demands of the villagers in Kyauk Kyi Township, Karen State. They ordered 5 to 8 people from each village around the army camp to come and repair their barracks and fences. Villagers had to cut down trees and bamboo for construction, then build and reconstruct the whole camp. In addition, two villagers per day are required to work in the camp, doing things such as cleaning the compound, carrying water, cooking and so on. Also, if the soldiers patrol around the area, they demand 2 villagers from each of the nearby villages to carry food, supplies and ammunition. This is demanded about once a month and it lasts around 10 days. Sometimes soldiers demand that villagers carry them to Shwegyin on bicycles for their shopping. Villagers have almost no time to work for themselves and they are getting poorer. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

Forced Labor for army projects in Kyauk T'Ga Township

In January 1999, several Battalions began forcing villagers to clear land for Battalion agricultural projects; they were told that each Battalion would clear 1,000 acres. One villager who had to grow these beans explained that they then had to sell the beans and pay the Army 20,000 *kyat* per acre for the proceeds; when the villagers asked if they could just pay the money rather than grow the beans they were refused because the local Army needs to show beanfields to their superiors as evidence that they are producing their own food. West of the Sittaung River in Kyauk T'Ga Township, villagers are also being forced to travel all the way to Pegu to dig fishponds for another Army food production project. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

Arakan State

Canal consrtuction- Arakan State

In mid 1999, villagers of Myan-aung Township, Arakan State were forced to supply labourers for the construction of two irrigation canal embankments; one near Khone village and another in Za-la-pyin village. In addition, a total of 10,800,000 *kyat* was collected from 36 village groups. The workers were not released till completion of the project. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Karenni (Kayah) State

Sesai- Loikaw motor-road renovation, Shan-Karenni State

Since December 1998, people from twenty village including Loilin, Yebyu, Naungmae, Naung El, Naung Yinton, Naung Kalauk, Kan Daw Lay and Mai Thaunt villages were ordered to work unpaid laborer at the renovation project of motor-road between Sesai and Loikaw. Every household had to provide one person each and had to work fifteen days per month. People required to bring their own food and materials. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

Bae Ngaw Concentration Camp, Loikaw Township, Karenni State

The villagers living in the relocation site at Bae Ngaw are continuosly used as sources of forced labour and porters. The site is required to send people daily to the military outpost of IB 54 in Daw Ta Hae village, where people work mostly for a 1-day shift at a time. Work includes digging trenches, repairing barracks, cutting trees, and collecting firewood. The work is hard, with only one hour allowed for a break at midday and constant verbal or physical abuse by the soldiers. The villagers are required to bring their own food. Some children as young as 10 years old are forced to work. In mid 1999 the army outpost was moved to Htee Sakhan village, which was a longer distance (about 3 hours) from Bae Ngaw village. When the army post moved, villagers from Daw Pa Pa village of Loikaw Township, also a 3 hour journey from the base, were also forced to continually give free labour. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

Loikaw-Shadaw motor road, Karrenni State

The construction of 30-mile-long motor-road between Loikaw and Shadaw in Karenni State began in mid-1999 with the use of forced labor and prisoner labor. First, local people were used for the construction, though there was a fund of over 40 million *kyat* allocated for

the construction. The fund was misused by deputy commander Major Win Myint from LIB 531. The work resumed just before the end of 1999 so that it could be used for emergency military purpose and the transportation of military supplies. Since that time, about 400 prisoners from Loikaw, Myingyan and Meikhtila prisons have been ordered to serve as hard laborers. In addition, local villagers from the villages along the route are being ordered to give free labour for the construction. Due to the extremely hard labor and insufficient food supply and medicine, many prisoners have died while working on the construction. (*Source: HRDU*)

4.9 List of Individual Incidents in 1999

♦ In January 1999 Major Hla Ko Oo, Shinletwa Army Camp Commander, ordered the 9 village tracts in Paletwa Township, Chin State to bring 1,500 cane sticks from each village tract to the army camp by February. The 9 village tracts are: Para tract, Shewlake, Ponemoo, Gonepyine, Shiao, Patheinplan, Maobin, Sineowa and Shinletwa. The canes had to be carried a long distance and then sold in Akyap 50 *kyat* per cane for the army's profit. The forest where the cane plants are available is very far away from the village, and therefore many villagers were forced to pay money instead. In the end part of March 1999, Major Hla Ko Oo was transfered and Capt. Than Naing Oo from LIB 233 Bothitaung Battalion replaced him as company commander. He ordered the villagers to give *kyat* 4,000 instead of the canes. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ In January, 1999, Commander Aung Kyaw Nyein from LIB 324, based in Nam Tu Township, northern Shan State ordered villagers from Man San, Nam Tong Kong, Pang Lin, Mar Ma, Ner Seang, Maine Yu and Maine Yin villages to reconstruct the motor-road between Nam Tu-Lashio. Each village had to send thirty people for three weeks. Villagers were ordered to bring their own food and materials. Anyone who refused was fined 8000 *kyat* per week. The Lashio SPDC authorities had received 20000 *kyat* from the government to reconstruct the road, but the villagers received nothing. **(*Source: Palaung Youth Newsletter*)**

♦ In January 1999, SPDC IB 57 confiscated 20 acres and LIB 349 confiscated 100 acres of land in Kyoung-chaung and Nyaung-tha-ya, Shwe-Kyin Township, Nyaung-lay-bin District, Karen State in order to develop grazing grounds. The troops have since then been forcing the villagers nearby to abandon their own work and give free labor for the projects. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ In January 1999 villagers from Mindon Township, Magwe Division were instructed to complete sowing the summer paddy crop by the month of April because the Chairman of the SPDC was scheduled to inspect the works sometime during the year. A labour force of approximately 2000 people from 100 villages with 100 pairs of cows were forced to reinforce the embankments of irrigation canals, pump water with water pumps, plough the fields and transplant seedlings which had to be fetched from Aunglan and Pwintbhyu Townships. In addition, houses by the roads which was on the scheduled route of the Chairman of the SPDC had to be either white-washed or coated with earth oil and weeds and wild plants had to be cleared. Fines were imposed on villages where such instructions were not followed out as per schedule. It cost the cultivators *kyat* 3500/- per acre for the water pumped into their fields in preparation for the visit of the Chairman of the SPDC but his visit was cancelled and since that time water supply was cut. The farmers had to arrange for their own water and reap their own crops for which the authorities took no responsibility. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In January 1999, troops from IB 60 and LIB 351 began their demands of the villagers in Kyauk Kyi Township, Karen State. They ordered 5 to 8 people from each village around the army camp to come and repair their barracks and fences. Villagers had to cut down trees and bamboo for construction, then build and reconstruct the whole camp. In addition, two villagers per day are required to work in the camp, doing things such as cleaning the compound, carrying water, cooking and so on. Also, if the soldiers patrol around the area, they demand 2 villagers from each of the nearby villages to carry food, supplies and ammunition. This is demanded about once a month and it lasts around 10 days. Sometimes soldiers demand that villagers carry them to Shwegyin on bicycles for their shopping. Villagers have almost no time to work for themselves and they are getting poorer. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ In January 1999, after an attack on LIB 282 along the Yadana pipeline area, SPDC formed a new special security force with troops from LIB 408, 409, 410, 267, 273, and Armored Battalion 324. Throughout January and February, the new combined Battalion performed a series of military operations to clear the area around the pipeline. During these operations, hundreds of local civilians from Yebyu, Tavoy, and Thayet-Chaung Townships of Mon State and Tennesserim Division were conscripted, arrested or seized to be frontline porters. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On January 1 1999, villagers living in the area between Pa-kko-ku Township and Myit-chay Township, Magwe Division were ordered to clear all their crops (without compensation) and give voluntary labour in digging canals for the implementation of a new army project. The villages involved are those in western side of Pakkoku Township such as Koke-ko-hla, Ywar-thit-kone, Sei, Sin-lan, Tha-phan-pin, Kyun-nyo, Kan-hla and others extending up to Myit-chay Township. Their losses:

(a) Cost of land ..... *kyat*	150,000
(b) Cost of tobacco seedlings	4,000
(c) Cost of ploughing	3,600
(d) Fertilizers (2 bags)	5,000
(e) Cost of pumping water	4,800
(f) Cost of labour	300
Total *kyat*	167,700

There are approximately 40 to 50 households in one village tract. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On January 2 1999, SPDC troops summoned villagers and forced them to construct a road from Kam-Ma-Maung to Ka-daing-ti, Karen State so that food supplies could be transported for the army. A total of 49 villagers were sent - 16 from Lay-kaw-hti, 11 from Kyo-day, 16 from Tha-gaw-play and 8 from Mae-kyi-hta. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ As of January 4 1999, SPDC LIB 18 had arrested all male villagers between the ages of 12 and 60 from 19 villages in Karen State to be used as porters. The villages included Maepu, Maechon, Lagonpyo, Ngalay, Wakharhta, Bolowkhee, Pa-new- law, Htee Paw Law, Maewine, and *Kyat*taung, in Bee Lin Township, Karen State. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On January 4 1999, SPDC LIB (324) column (3), led by Captain Aung Myint Tun, based in Nam Tu Township, Shan State forced villagers in Man Kang, Nam Lang, and Na Lin villages to bring their own food and materials and re-construct the road between Man Kang and Na Lin. They were ordered to complete the road within one week. **(*Source: Palaung Youth Newsletter*)**

♦ On January 7 1999, 100 SPDC troops from LIB515 led by Commander Soe Hpyu

took 37 trucks in Lai-Kha and 40 men labourers from Ta Phui and Ta Mark Larng villages to the deserted village of Ter Leng Hai Seng, Ter Leng tract, Lai-Kha Township, Shan State. They forced the villagers to dismantle the unused school and hospital buildings and truck the corrugated roof iron and lumber still in good condition back to Lai-Kha. The materials were then used to build houses for the wives and children of the soldiers at the military base in Lai-Kha. In addition, the villagers were forced to provide materials and labour to build a fence by the end of January. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On January 9 1999, SPDC Colonel Ye Win issued an order to each village tract in Ta Kreh Township, Pa-an District, Karen State. He demanded 6 porters and one Tin (16 kgs,) of rice for 3 days or 6000 *kyat* in porter fees and 600 *kyat* for the cost of one tin of rice. He then sent soldiers to arrest porters, instead of asking the village head to supply them. **(Source: KNLA)**

♦ On January 10, 1999, the SPDC authorities from IB 22 based in Man Pa village, Mahn Tong Township, Shan State ordered every house in Man Pa village and Man Kang village to cut firewood for their army. The army then sold the firewood collected by the villagers to the black-market. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 10 1999, SPDC LB (22) column (3), led by Aung Too, based in Man Pa village, Man Tong Township, Northern Shan State, ordered every house in Man Pa village and Man Kang village to cut firewood (two "lan" each). The army then sold the wood to a coffee company in Nam Tu Township at 3,000 *Kyat* per "lan". **(*Source: Palaung Youth Newsletter*)**

♦ On January 16 1999, Commander Sein Hla of LIB334 issued an order to the villagers of Murng Yu, Murng-Yawng Township, Shan State demanding 4 Pyi* of bean seeds from each house. Then the villagers were forced to use the bean seeds they had provided to grow beans for the military. Furthermore, the villagers were required to take care of all the work needed to be done at the bean plantation, from beginning to end, until the harvested beans reached the military base. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On the nights of January 25 and 26, 1999, SPDC troops rounded up over 400 people in Kawthaung. The troops arrested who failed to report the guest registration and who were on the street after 10 p.m. Many of them were arrested on their way back from video show at Shwe Zinraw, Shwe Pyitha and Eiteik Nyein wards. All those arrested were taken to Lon Phaw village and ordered to do forced labor by SPDC IB 265. People were forced to clear the land and collect materials for the building of new barracks for new battalions. Since January 20, an ordered was issued that one household has to provide one person for forced labor in the building of the new battalions. Those who fail to go are subject to give 200-500 *kyat* as compensation. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ From January to March 1999, LIB 401, led by Lt. Col. Ta Kha Mun forced villagers from 10 villages of Kalein-Aung and Natkyisin village tracts, Tennesserim Division to provide daily laborers for the Battalion camp, which is located near the Yadana pipeline route near Zimba village. About 30 villagers were required to work at the camp per day, on 5-7 day shifts. They were forced to build fences, grow vegetables, cook food for the soldiers, make charcoal, and also sell charcoal and vegetables for Battalion profit from time to time. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ Beginning in February 1999, the villagers Paletwa Township, Chin State were forced to build a police station and an army camp. Villagers from Shinletwa built the police station

in Shinletwa, while villagers from Para, Shewlike, Yayitaung, Gonepin, Pondmao, Kyupyahtin, Pyiwa and Khone villages were assigned to build the army camp. Under a watchful eyes of the guards the villagers were forced to work from morning 6:00 until 5:00 p.m. without rest. No medicine was provided and the villagers had to sleep at a place specified by the authorities. The villagers were warned that anyone who escaped from the work field would be severely punished. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ In February 1999, village and ward administrators from 26 village tracts (Kyun-ngu to Hlei-hseik) in Htantabin Township, Pegu Division demanded 1500 to 4000 *kyat* from every household to re-enforce canal embankments with laterite. The families were threatened that if they didn't pay by February 27 1999, severe action would be taken. A very poor family in the Tha-baw-chaung village tract had to sell their children's clothing to meet this demand. In addition, if a person is unable to carry the laterite due to illness or being out of the locality, penalties are imposed. This penalty in Thabawchaung was 300 *kyat*, in A-lein-lei, 150 *kyat* and in Yay-dwin-gone it was 400 *kyat*. On 26 February, 1999, each person had to give the authorities an impost of 40 *kyat* in addition to this forced labour with their own provisions. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On February 2 1999, the Chairman of the Nam-Kham PDC called a meeting of 20 village headmen and 15 town-quarter headmen ordered that embankments be built on the banks of the Nam Mao (Shweli) river, requiring the villagers in Nam-Kham Township, Shan State to provide labour and building supplies such as stone, wood and bamboo. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ On February 22 1999, LIB 310 ordered a village in Waw Raw Township, Karen State to supply wood and bamboo to provide a fence for the army. They were threatened that if they failed the village sawmill / rice mills / other commercial activities of the village would be stopped, and the army would force the village to relocate. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On February 10, 1999, about 120 civilians were arrested in Kawthaung, Tenasserim Division and later sent to the frontline to be used as porters. They were randomly arrested on the street at night and detained one night at the Nayarat Sport Stadium. All of them were at Kamaukkyi village, Kawthaung Township. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ Since early March 1999, SPDC troops based in Kaeng Tawng, have been forcing the civilian population in Murng-Nai Township, Shan State to work for the military. The villagers have been forced to transport teak lumber by oxcart to faraway Kun-hing Township, as well as dig trenches and build fences around the military camps in the area. The people are also required to continually supply 5 porters for 5-day shifts. It is very difficult for the people to find time to work for themselves. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In March 1999, villagers in Kyauk Kyi twonship, Karen State who were being forced to build the Na Than Gwin to Mone road were forced to cut down trees for bridge construction. The special intellegence unit led by Shan Bpu also confiscated wood from houses in the villages and ordered the villagers to give 500 *Kyat* per house to buy materials. Each family had to send one person to work for three days on the bridges. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ In the beginning of March 1999, the Coastal Region Military Command launched an attack against KNU Brigade 4, and ordered the local Battalions in Tavoy and Mergui Districts, Tennesserim Division to gather civilian porters for the campaign before the 3rd week of March. Therefore, in the first two weeks of March, over 700 civilian porters were arrested from Mergui District, and over 800 from the Tavoy district area. About 20-30 boats were

arrested at sea, and nearly 80 fishermen and traders were sent to the frontline. Arrests also took place in town public places, such as movie theatres, markets and coffee shops. In addittion, about 350 prisoners from Mergui and Tavoy prisons were also sent to be used as frontline porters. These porters were used to carry ammunitions and supplies, were given 1/2 of the food they needed for the day, and were abused. They were also forced to walk in front of the troops as human minesweepers. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On March 3, 1999, SPDC troops from IB 432, 556, 437 and 557 rounded up the civilians from Ban Pyi, Yebu and Kawmapyin villages in Tenasserim Division. Around 200 civilians were arrested and then used as porters. **(*Source: THRF*)**

♦ From March 15-25 1999, LIB 330 forced villagers in Murng Phyak village tract to cultivate 10 acres of peanuts for the military. The villagers had to provide food for themselves, and for the 4 SPDC guards who were overseeing the project. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ Since April 1999, villagers from Man Aung village and nearby villages in Ye Township, Mon State, were ordered to provide unpaid labor for LIB 299. 25 laborers from each village were summoned to work for cleaning the site for the construction of the new army base. After the cleaning, each household was ordered to collect bamboo, thatches and other necessary things for the construction. People were also ordered to work free at the cultivation land of the military in the area. **(*Source: Yoma-3*)**

♦ On April 4 1999, troops from SPDC IB 59 seized 25 villagers of Gor-theh-doe village, Toungoo District, Karen State and forced them to carry supplies to Bu-hsa-kee military camp. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ From April 6, 1999, villagers from Thamin Gone village, Thapaung Township, Irrawaddy Division were forced to work for the construction of a 5-mile-long-channel between Thayet Gone and Sat Thwar villages. The authorities ordered them to bring their own food and tools for the work. Those who failed to work as ordered were fined 3,000 *kyat* per hosehold. **(*Source: Inside*)**

♦ On April 9 1999, the Chairperson of the Moulmein District PDC informed the villagers of Kyaik Mayaw Township, Karen State of a canal project. They were ordered to collect 500 *kyat* from each family, and 350 *kyat* per acre from all the Township except Let Pan, Kayan, Kyone Sein, and Babu Gone villages, which were required to collect 500 *kyat* from each family and 1,050 *kyat* per acre. They were told this money was for the hiring of tractors and ordered to have the money collected by April 12. The villagers were also ordered to commence work on the digging of 14 canals on April 18. These canals would then irrigate 50,000 acres of paddy fields the villagers would be required to cultivate. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On April 9 1999, 12 SPDC troops from LIB330 entered Wan Hai Nur village, Murng-Phyak Township, Shan State, seized 15 villagers and took them to the army base. For 5 days, the troops forced the villagers to clear land near Wan Hai Tai village in order to grow beans for the military. The villagers were not paid, and were not given enough rice or anything to eat with it. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ From April 9-15 1999, villagers from Murng-Nung, Nam Wok, And Nawng Hoi villages, Murng-Khark Township, Shan State were forced by IB 227 to dig fishponds and ditches. One person from each house was required to work daily, and bring their own food. After the project was completed, the authorities forcibly collected money from the villagers in order to buy fish and fish food for the newly built fish farms. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ From April 18-25, 1999, Shan villagers from Murng Phyak, Shan State were forced to clear a farm for the military that was 12 miles from town. They were ordered to work by the Tactical Commander in Murng-Phyak as a punishment for performing a dance 'poorly' at the Water Festival the week before. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 30 1999, about 60 SPDC troops from LIB331 led by Maj San Tin went to the following villages and seized 12-13 villagers from each of Nam Kat, Phak Hi, Paang Kaw and Maak O villages in Loi Taw Kham tract, Ta-Khi-Laek Township. With the 40-50 porters they had gathered, the troops continued to the area of Phak Tu Murng village where the boundaries of 3 Townships, Murng-Sart, Murng-Phyak and Ta-Khi-Laek, meet. Each porter was given only 3 milk-tins of rice per day and nothing else. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 30 1999, villagers from Saing-te, Moutala, Oh-pho, Ka-twin-chan, Shwebo-su, Taungthu-su and Pjun-pauk villages, Pegu district, Pegu Division were forced to bring tools and food and gather at the sound of an iron bell at certain sites. Every household in these villaages was ordered to dig 10 pits for the excavation of a silted up dry creek, or pay 200 *kyat* per pit they didn't complete. It was during the rainy season, and the villagers were busy preparing to cultivate their own crops, but feared the further action of the village PDC. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In May 1999, people from Pan-khoo, Mu-le and Hair-tha villages, Pin-le-bu Township, Sagaing Division, were ordered to chop down bamboo trees. Those who could not do the job themselves had to provide substitute labourers or purchase and deliver the bamboo at the military depot in Wuntho. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In May 1999, farmers from 11 villages including Kyaik-pe, Htee-pale, Thoung-dan, Tha-lun-sa, Bamaw, and Sa-noun-paik were forced to cultivate the land that was confiscated for the military unit 534 in Moulamyain-kyun or pay *kyat* five hundered per head. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In May 1999, every household from Magyibin village tract, Nankhan sub-Township, Wuntho Township was forced to pay 300 *kyat* or give five days of labour for the erection of a pagoda (162' high) in. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On May 11 1999, villagers forced to work on the Vaungtu- Thantlang road in Chin State were ordered to dynamite through a rocky hill, then pick up the fallen stone, even as rock was still falling. When the villagers complained of the danger, the army guards beat them and forced them to continue to work. Subsequently, 3 men (one from Vomkua, one from Ze Phai, and one from Hriphi) were hit by rolling boulders. The army forcefully prevented their friends from helping them, and the men were sent to hospital in serious condition. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ On May 13, 1999, IB No. 81, which is based in Pa-an, Karen State, began the construction of a new military barrack. Many villagers from Mon villages, such as Zathapyin, Thanhlae, Khyaya-ahtwin, Khayar-apyin, Kawlamu and Kronebar, were forced to work for free on the construction. One village was required to send about 50 villagers in one round of duty to stay at the construction site for at least for three days. If the villager failed to work, they had to pay about 1,000 *kyat* When the villagers went they had to bring their own tools and food. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ In June 1999, the Chairman of a village branch USDA in Nawng Paan village, Yaang Kaeng tract, Keang-Tung Township, Shan State, ordered the villagers to cut bamboo and build a fence around his garden. The USDA Chairman, Pu Long, threatened the villagers

that if they did not comply, they would be reported to the higher authorities as being enemies of the USDA and arrested. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In early June 1999, the Nam-Kham Township PDC ordered the people in Nam-Kham Township, Shan State to build embankments on the banks of Nam Mao (Shweli) river. A shift of 30 laborers were required to provide free labour every day from Haad Hin, Khae Khun, Kun Hai, Nawng Khing, Nawng Khaang, Kawng Waeng, Maan Kaawng, Kung Sa, Zae Hai,Maan Kham, Maan Nawng, Kawng Tap, Paang Tho Lin and Ho Naa villages. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 4 1999, troops from IB 227 ordered all the villagers of all 7 villages in Murng Noong tract, Murng-Khark Township, Shan State to reap rice for the military. The villagers had to work all day without pay and had to provide their own food. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 6 1999, troops from LIB 330 ordered several villagers from Murng-Pak, Murng Kham tract, Kaeng-Tung Township, Shan State to carry their things from Murng Pak to the army base in Murng-Phyak. 15 villagers were forced to go, and had to provide their own food and other expenses for the 2 day journey there and the 2 day journey back. Some hired others to go for 3,000 *kyat*. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 7 1999, LIB 526 ordered the thousands of people from Wan Mong, Sri Ngawk, Sri Naw, San Saai, Murng Hi, Paang Hat, Wan Pang, Ho Yaang, and Kawng Kat villages in Murng Ko Tract, Taichilek Township, Shan State to harvest rice for the military. The villagers were given one day to harvest the 360 acres that they had already been forced to cultivate. In addition, they were required to buy the paddy seeds for the next year's cultivation. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 9 1999, SPDC LIB 507 issued an order requiring the villagers from all 8 village tracts in Murng-Yai Township, Shan State, a cease-fire area, to take full responsibility for what needed to be done to cultivate rice for the army. One person from each house was ordered to work in 16-17 day shifts.

Pa Karng tract had to cultivate 70 acres
Ho Ter tract had to cultivate 90 acres
Wan Zarng tract had to cultivate 90 acres
Kerng Zong tract had to cultivate 30 acres
Nam Sawm tract had to cultivate 30 acres
Wan Kyawng and Parng Sim had to cultivate 30 acres
(*Source: SHRF*)

Since July 1999, soldiers from LIB 508 and IB 292 of Mong Pieng have forced the people to work for them every day in the army corn fields: ploughing, reaping and storing. Anyone who fails to work is fined 500 *kyat* per day. Also, one villager from each village must be sent to the SPDC garrison to serve as a porter for a three-day period, or else pay 500 *kyat*. The people are complaining that everything, including themselves, are not their own. **(*Source: SSArmy News*)**

In July 1999, LIB 311 ordered the villagers of Hawng Zaang and Hawng Koey villages, Murng Yawng Township, Shan State to cut a large amount of firewood for them. Because firewood had become so scarce in the area, the villagers were not able to find enough and so were forced to pay 30,000 *kyat* from each village. (***Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In July 1999, some parts of the Aungdawmu pagoda in Rihkhuadar, Falam Township,

Chin State crumbled and fell. The people of the village, who were all Christian, had been forced by a Buddhist monk and the army to build the pagoda in 1997 at a place where they had worship God for many years. The military regimes sanctioned 1,000,000 *kyat* for the repair. However, the Buddhist monk, Baddandah Ta Wa Yah and the authorities forced the villagers to labour for free again and reconstruct the pagoda. None of the allocated money was used in the construction. The army officials and the monk shared the money. As the villagers were forced to spend months of their time and their labor for the repair of the pagodas, they don't have time to work on their farms. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ On July 4 1999, 25 SPDC troops from LIB 330 led by Lt. Kyaw Htin came to Hai Tai village, Murng Hai tract, Murng Phyak Township, Shan State and forced the villagers to catch 20 viss of fish and cook it for them. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On July 21 1999, the Than Daung Township PDC ordered the villagers in the Township to clear the overgrown road from Than Daung to Than Daung Kyi as well as the Baw Ga Li - Maw Chi - Ko Chaung road. (Over 100 miles of road) They were required to cut the scrub and clear the forest along the roads by the deadline of July 31. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On July 27 1999, SPDC Maj. Than Maung, of LIB #285, demanded that every household from Pa Kyaw Ain village either provide a porter or pay a fine of 100,000 *kyat* in cash. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ From July 29 - August 29 1999, 60 women from Murng-Khark Township were required to provide free labour at the army soya bean and peanut farms. This was during the season of rice cultivation, but because the military had threatened that they would personally come to take someone from their home if they didn't show up, the women were forced to abandon their own work or else hire a substitute for 1,500 *kyat*. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In August 1999, Commanding officer Kyaw Lwin of #4 Armored Car Regiment in Magwe Division took possession of 40 acres of villagers' land in Ma Gyi Kan village for army use. He then demanded seeds for sesame and beans for the "regimental fund". Finally, the villagers were forced to clear and plow the land, and plant, harvest, and store the produce in their barns. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ In mid 1999, SPDC confiscated land for road construction from Ye Nan Chaung and Nat Maut to Myo Thit, and then demanded forced labor from the local villagers to build the road. Myanmar Television announced that the road had cost three million *kyat* to build, but the workers had recieved nothing. Many came with their families and all suffered from lack of food, as only small amounts of poor quality rice were available. Families who lost their land are now in dire conditions, because they can no longer even sell their labor, which is continuously demanded by the army. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ In mid 1999, SPDC Industry and Farming Department in Meiktila Township, Mandalay Division, called for 270 workers for their earth-moving project at the Green Gold Company. They promised salaries, training for tractor driving, and other assistance. Conditions, however, were not what had been promised. Food was poor at the work camp, often just boiled rice, and sometimes they had no dinner. As a result, many became ill, but no health services were provided. Over 70 workers contracted malaria, one died in the forest, one on the train, another in Meiktila hospital and a fourth died upon returning home. Due to the hardships, only 1200 acres of the 3000-acre project were completed. The workers could not finish their training nor get their certificates. In addition, Green Gold Company failed to pay any wages to the workers, so the job became forced labor through government-

conspired deception. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ Since August 1999, villagers from Pauk Pin Kwin village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division have been ordered to provide one person from each house to work on repairing the Ye-Tavoy railway. During the rainy season, the section of railway in the Malaway south area was flooded and ruined. In order to repair this damaged part of the railway, the SPDC ordered the villagers from Pauk Pin Kwin village to work without pay. Each time they must work between 5-15 days. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On August 1, 1999, Captain Min Zaw, new Camp Commander in Shinletwa, Paletwa Township, Chin State summoned a meeting on a Sunday, despite the fact that the Chins in the area are Christian. He ordered the villagers to build a house for the army in the center of each of the 9 villages around Shinletwa, to be completed within one month. He also ordered that 18 people, two each from the 9 villages, must be reserved to serve the soldiers, and that 6 villages have to serve, in 7-day rotations, in the army camp for emergency needs and to serve as porters. The villagers were ordered to bring their own food, and threatened that if they did not serve as ordered, they would be fined 1500 *kyat*. Also, the villagers were ordered to reconstruct the roads and clean even dried leaves and branches on the roads between villages. In addition, all the VPDC's Presidents were ordered to attend a monthly meeting at a place 5-days' walk (to and fro) from their own village, during which time they would pay for all incurred expenses. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ On August 24, 1999, SPDC troops from IB 65 stationed at Murng Harng camp issued an order requiring 4 people at a time to guard a military rice farm around the clock for 1 day and 1 night. Moreover, the villagers were warned that if any cattle happened to get into the farm, the villagers on guard would be fined 2000 *kyat* each. The villagers had been forced, beginning in early May, to clear and cultivate the land for the rice farm and Major Shwe Myint had refused to build a fence around the farm, instead insisting there should be guards. (*Source: SHRF*)

♦ In September 1999, LIB 8, 357 and IB 231 ordered the villagers from Mayagone, Shwe Yaung Pya, Michaung Ain, Kalaw Bel, Awegyi and Sangone villages in Thaton district, Karen State to provide one person from each household to work for the military-owned suger-cane plantation project. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ Since September 1999, when SPDC troops confiscated land from the villagers around Aryu Taung village, Ye Township, Mon State, the local people have been forced to provide 100 person per day to work on the preparation and construction of the new army base for IB 229. The base is being built on the confiscated land. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 1, 1999, Myo Kyaw, Commander of Battalion 268, Company 2,based in Falam, Chin State ordered the villagers in the area to build his army a camp. Later he ordered that one person from each family must see him or pay a fine. Most villagers were too busy to see him timely, as it was the crucial period for their farm work. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ From September 7 -12, 1999, SPDC troops from LIB359, stationed in Tachilek for extra-security during the 9999 period, ordered the village headmen to collect 600 Bath (Bath is Thai money) from every house in all 6 quarters of Tachilek to buy food for the troops. They were also forced to provide laborers to cook and prepare 3 meals a day for the troops. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 25 1999, Company 3 Commander of Battalion 268 based in Falam Township, Chin State ordered 20 villages along Falam-Rihkhawdar road to repair the road.

The number of laborers required from each village ranged from 15 to 30 depending on the size and the population of the village. The villagers were ordered to bring their own tools and food for three days, and were not paid for their labor. The soldiers warned them that any village that failed to contribute "unpaid laborers" would be considered supporters of CNF, and severe action would be taken against them. No village dared to defy the order. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ In the first week of October, 1999, villages along the Than Taung motor-road in Taungoo district, Karen State were ordered to provide forced laborers for a construction of new military bases for LIB 124 at Than Taung town. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On October 9, 1999, a military column led by Commander Than Shwe from LIB 357 entered Ta Ywe Khee, Ta Ywe Wah, Ta Maw Taw and Naung Ka Toke villages in Thaton district, Karen State and conscripted one villager from each village for their military column. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On October 11 1999, soldiers from LIB No. 120 entered Kyone-sein village, Karen State and took about 20 women from the village. Most of them had babies at their homes and some of them had pregnancy. They took those women for nearly two weeks and forced them to carry ammunitions and food supplies. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On October 14 1999, 4 runaway porters were found in central Shan State. They were:

(1) Aung Ko, age 17, son of U Maung and Daw Mya of Pale Township, Sagaing Division.
(2) Khin Maung Tint, 24, from May Myo.
(3) Maung Tu, 27,from Mogok.
(4) U Mya Kyi,52, from Mya Yait Nanda, Myothit, Mandalay.

They were weak, tired and covered with bruises and wounds when they were found, due to continuous beatings of the SPDC soldiers and lack of food during their porter service. They reported that prisoners and civilians captured on their way were used by the troops as porters and human minesweepers. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On October 15 1999, troops from LIB 120 entered Palaw-toki village and arrested five women and used them as civilian porters. They soldiers took these women for nearly 7 days and nights and fed them with insufficient food. Among the women porters, one woman was about about three months pregnant. However the soldiers forced the women to carry 20-25 (about 30-40 kilograms) of supplies or ammunitions in the battlefields. When the troops went into Htee-pat-kat village, they arrested an additional six women from that villages and used them as porter. The women were used to carry ammunition and food supplies.

Name of victims	**Age**	**Children**
1. Naw Noe La Soe	32 years	unknown
2. Naw Dar Pu	21 years	unknown
3. Naw Ae Ar Htoo	20 years	4 months pregnant
4. Naw Tu	25 years	Two children, (a 1 year old and a 5 month old baby)
5. Naw Da Baleh	19 years	One child, aged 2 months
6. Naw Mu See Soe Mu	30 years	Two children, (a 2 year old and a baby 5 months old.)

(*Source: HURFOM*)

♦ On October 20, 1999, SPDC troops from IB227, manning the checkpoint in Murng-Khark, stopped 2 civilian buses from Murng-Yarng that were heading for Kaeng-Tung. One bus was heavily loaded and was able to pay 20,000 *kyat* to continue on. The other bus, however, was forced to unload and its passengers were taken to the military compound where they were forced to work for the military all day until 6 PM. They all had to spend the night in Murng-Khark because it was not safe to travel at night. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On October 26, 1999, 75 civilians were taken as porters by the troops from IB 343. They were forced to carry the belongings of the soldiers of IB 343 on their return back to their base in Te town. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In November 1999, the Fire Brigade in Murng-Sart Township, Shan State issued an order requiring every village in the area to provide 5 people to be enlisted as members to serve as fire fighters. The villagers of Wan Tap asked for the number to be reduced to 2 people in their village, since their village had only 20 families. The angry authorities then reported to IB 227 that the villagers were NLD sympathizers who were against the SPDC. IB 227 then ordered the villagers, as punishment, to provide 15 stacks of firewood for them. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ From November to December 1999, villages around Mokekala village, Pegu Division were ordered by the authorities to send laborers for the construction of water channel at Mokekala. Every household from the villages was assigned to dig between 5-10 ditches for the construction without pay. Those who could not provide labor had to pay for substitute labor, which cost 200 *kyat* per ditch. Households from other villages in the region also had to pay 900 *kyat* each for the construction but the money did not get into the hands of forced laborers. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On November 10 1999, an anti-insugency people's militia group in Murng Yawng, organized by SPDC and formed mainly with ethnic Chinese members of MTA, led by Commander Kyeo Saang, together with troops from LIB 334, ordered the villagers of Murng He, Murng Khan, Murng Kaai, and Murng Ngawm to dig trenches and build fences for the camp of the people's militia. The villagers were required to work for 15 days with great difficulty because the time coincided with the rice harvest. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On November 11, 1999, Commander Swe Myint of Murng-Ton-based IB65 and Commander Pan Hle of Murng-Sart-based IB226 ordered the 108 villages in Murng-Ton Township to provide the following materials and labour:

1. Every village would have to provide 30 pieces of hardwood to be used as fence-posts. Each piece must be 4 elbow-lengths (about 2 yards) long and 2 finger-spans (about 2 feet) in girth and must be finished by November 15.
2. People in the areas of Naa Kawng Mu and Murng Harng tract would have to make 3,000 raw bricks for IB65 and people in Me Ken tract were required to make 7,000 raw bricks, also for IB65, which must be finished by Dec.5
3. Apart from the 2 village tracts mentioned above, all the rest were required to dig holes along the sides of the main roads starting from BP-1 (Border Point No.1 on the Thai-Burma border) up to the Salween river crossing point of Ta Saang, and up to Murng-Sart in the other direction. The holes, which must be completed by Nov. 30, must be 2 elbow-lengths deep and equally wide and only 4 arm-spans apart from each other. (*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On November 15, 1999, ten persons from each quarter of Three Pagodas Pass in Mon State were ordered to work as porters for IB 28. These people were used to carry the food and belongings of the IB 28 soldiers who were transferred back to their base from

Three Pagodas Pass. The quarters provided the required numbers, but the soldiers seized still more civilians to be used as porters. They randomly rounded up the people they found on the street after 8 P.M. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On November 19 1999, an anti-insurgency people's militia group organized by SPDC LIB 331, ordered the villagers of Murng Hai Tai and Murng Hai Nur villages, Murng-Phyak Township, Shan State to cut bamboo and build a fence around their camp. When the people begged them to postpone the demand until the rice harvest was complete, the militia group told the villagers if they did not do it immediately, they would tell the Burmese soldiers to seize their rice fields. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On November 30 1999, a combined patrol of IB 99, IB 295, and IB 332 captured 9 porters from Wan Nong Mai village, Shan State. Ing Tar, aged 38, was beaten during his porter service until he lost consciousness and then was thrown in a valley and left. He was found later and rescued. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ In early December 1999 SPDC troops informed village heads from Plaw Toh Kee village tract that they would soon be called for forced labour to construct a road from Kya In Seik Gyi to Khoh Ther Pler (Three Pagodas Pass). Maintenance of other forced labour roads continues, such as in the Saw Hta (Azin) area, where a new road connecting Saw Hta to Lay Po Hta was begun in late 1998, and construction of the car road from Kyaikdon to Kawkareik is also still in progress. In the southwestern part of the district, villagers in Ye Township have been forced to fence the car road from Thanbyuzayat to Moulmein, the main north-south coastal road. They must then place bamboo spikes and traps along the road to prevent the KNLA from planting landmines and ambushing SPDC supply caravans. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On December 3, 1999, the joint military column of SPDC IB 59 arrived in Kaw Thay De village, Taungoo district, Karen State and rounded up 30 villagers. These villagers were arrested for use as porters and taken to Naw Htoo. As of the end of year, none of them have been released. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 28 1999 forced labour was required from about 6000 inhabitants (one per household) from 23 village tracts to build a motor road near the Okkan creek to the west of Kawlin town., Saigaing division. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On December 28, 1999, a boy named Khai Tlua drowned while delivering a letter for the military in Matupi Township, Chin State. The army did not comensate the family. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

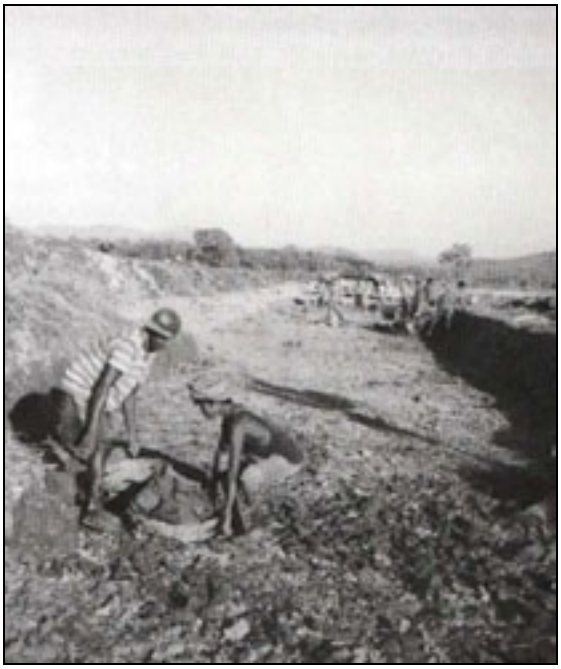
♦ In January 2000, Katha, Htechain, Pin-le-bu, Wuntho, Indaw, Banmauk and Kawlin Townships, Saigaing division were ordered to sell the army 500,000 bricks each at 2 *kyat* per brick. The bricks are for a 408-ft. pagoda to be built under the supervision of the District PDC on the hill near Taw-Shaw village, Wuntho Township. The market price is 6 *kyat* per brick. The loss for the whole district (7 Townships) was 14,000,000 *kyat*. Motor vehicle owners were required to transport free of charge the sand and wood to the kilns in Kawlin Township, then to the pagoda site in Wuntho Township. Penalty for default or inability is 100,000 *kyat* per vehicle. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On January 29 2000, troops from IB 195, led by Sgt. Than Myint Aung forced local villagers to stand and guard the highway at Sop Huay, Sao Waa, Mong-pan Township, Shan State. They were told this duty would last 150 days, and that if they failed to work, there would be a 300 *kyat* fine. Also, they were ordered to cut 360 logs for construction use. In

addition, the villagers were ordered to supply 70 cartloads of water, 1 quarter basket of rice, and one bottle of cooking oil every day to the army camp. **(*Source: SSA*)**

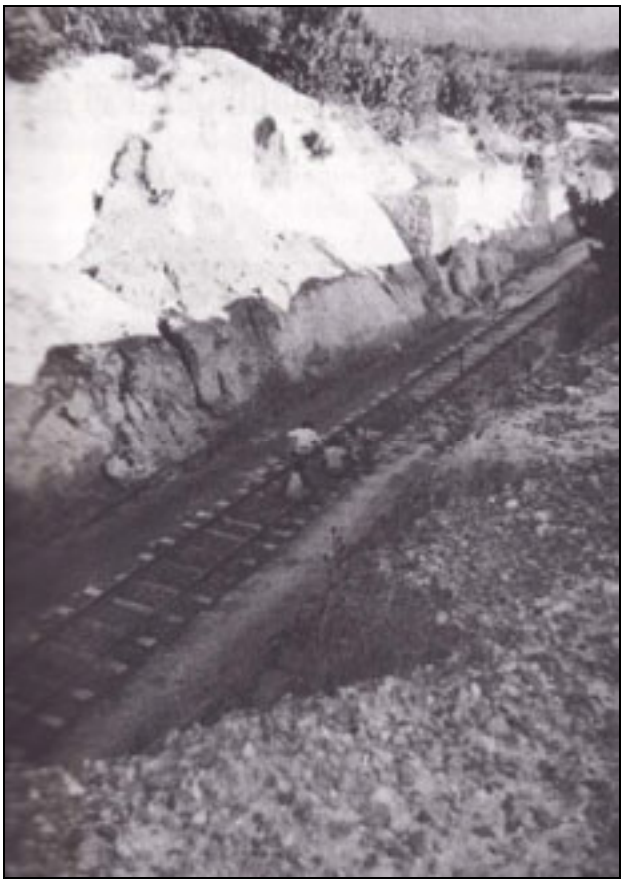
(10) Villagers are forced to provide forced labour at SPDC LIB (3) military base. (Photo: NLD-LA)

(11) A Porter showing his wounds caused during his porterage with the SPDC LIB (230). (Source: NLD-LA)



(12) Forced labour in water canal construction in Mudon township, Mon State (Photo: HURFOM) (Left)

(13) Forced labourers are used in the construction of Ye-Tavoy railway road maintenance. (Photo: HURFOM) (Below)



(14) Forced labourers in Ye-Tavoy motor road construction in March 1999. (Photo: HURFOM)
(Left)

(15) Forced labourers in Ye-Mergui motor road construction in January 1999 (Photo: HURFOM)
(Below)

5. Forced Relocation and Internally Displaced Persons

5.1 Background

Faced with ethnic-based armed uprisings against its repressive rule from all over the country, in the early 1970's the SPDC's predecessors implemented the 'Four Cuts' policy which is still in effect today. The 'Four Cuts' aim to cut the supplies of food, funds, recruits and information to resistance groups by systematically terrorizing, controlling, and impoverishing the civilian population in resistance areas so that they have neither the opportunity nor the means to provide any form of support to the opposition. The main pillars of the Four Cuts policy are; detention, torture and execution of villagers and village elders perceived as having any contact whatsoever with the resistance; systematic extortion and pillage of the villagers' crops, food supplies, livestock, cash and valuables; forced labor to get the civilians working for the Army and deprive them of time to do anything else; and, increasingly, forced relocation to sites and villages directly under the control of the SPDC military troops. The SPDC's plan for relocation over areas where there is resistance appears to consist of the following steps; (a) mounting a military offensive against the areas; (b) forcibly relocating villages to sites under direct army control and destroying the original villages; (c) using the relocated villagers and others as forced laborers for portering and building military access roads into their home areas; (d) moving in more army units and using the villagers for forced labor to build bases along the access roads; (e) allowing the villagers back to their villages, where they are under complete military consolidating control through "development" projects like forced labor farming for the army, etc. If resistance attacks still persist at this last stage, retaliation is carried out against villages by executing village elders, burning houses and other means.

These relocations have often been accompanied with other forms of human rights abuses. After relocation orders have been issued and people have been expelled from their homes, SPDC has declared expansive areas as "free-fire zones"— anyone who tried 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; SPDC calls this policy, "draining the ocean so no fish can swim."

SPDC issues written orders addressed to village headmen; the orders specify the date by which the entire village must be relocated to 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, SPDC troops pillage the villages' homes and burn them to the ground.

Forced labor is commonplace in and around the relocation camps. The SPDC troops force the villagers in the relocation sites to work on a daily or weekly basis; generally one person from each family must go. This forced labor includes clearing bushes and trees from the roadsides both inside and outside the relocation sites, cleaning military buildings, cultivating

land for the military bases, hauling water for the troops, building fences around the military camps, digging bunkers, road construction, portering for the military and other general servant work. The villagers are also being used to work in the infrastructure projects in the area.

The villagers at the relocation sites have no land there and paid day labor is difficult to find, so most of them try to return to their home fields to farm. This requires a pass, which must be bought for varying amounts from the local SPDC military. When available, these passes are only valid for three days to a week, and they do not allow the villagers to spend the night; people are only allowed to leave the relocation site after 6 a.m. and must return by 6 p.m.,

5.2 Relocation in Shan State

In March 1996, they delineated a huge area of central Shan State and ordered the forced relocation and destruction of every village in the region, whether or not these villages had had any contact with SURA. Over 700 villages were relocated and destroyed, with well over 100,000 people displaced. Throughout 1997 and 1998 the SPDC, expanded the target area and also forced people who had already been moved to relocate again into larger sites under more direct military control. By mid-1998, over 1,400 villages in eight Townships had been forcibly relocated and destroyed, displacing a population of at least 300,000 people. Tens of thousands of people were struggling to survive in relocation sites throughout the region, foraging for food and begging from cars passing on the roads. The SPDC provided them nothing. Those who tried to hide in the forests around their villages were shot on sight by SPDC patrols, and in some cases there were systematic massacres of as many as 40 people at a time. At least 100,000 people fled across the border into Thailand; the SPDC troops allowed them to go, happy to see the Shan people leaving Burma.

While the SPDC's tactic of destroying civilian villages to root out the SSA(Shan State Army)- South has been a complete failure, the junta's response to this failure has simply been to continue the relocation of villages within the specified relocation zones, and to intimidate or terrorize villagers into not returning to their homes. The village forced relocation region spans roughly 7,000 square miles (18,000 square kilometers) in the heart of Shan State. Since 1998 the region has not expanded significantly in size, but more and more villages within the relocation zone have been cleared, and relocation sites have been consolidated from smaller sites containing one or two villages to larger sites in main towns or near military bases. SPDC patrols roam the region, burning whatever is left in villages and shooting villagers they find on sight. Most of the villagers in this area have been homeless since the operation began, and the displacement is taking a fatal toll.

Life in Relocation sites in Shan State

The number of internally displaced grows exponentially, as villagers are finding it increasingly difficult to survive in relocation sites. Lack of food is the all-consuming concern for uprooted villagers. Those in relocation sites must compete for work on land owned by other villagers, or farm fields at great distances from the relocation sites. They are issued one day travel passes which are only good from dawn to dusk, leaving them no time to work a distant field which may take hours to reach on foot. As a result their harvest never yields

enough to sustain their families. Some farmers have been allowed to return to their villages on a temporary basis, usually during key phases in the rice growing cycle. Most often permission has been granted to villagers who own fields close to the relocation sites in town or along main roads.

Even when the SPDC gives them passes, the villagers are afraid to go far from the relocation sites because of the massacres which have occurred. On several occasions the SPDC military in relocation sites have given passes to villagers and told them they can go back to salvage some building materials and food from their home villages, but when the villagers assembled a convoy of bullock carts and went, they were intercepted along the way, lined up and executed by another SPDC unit. The worst massacres have occurred in Kun Hing Township. On June 16th 1997, two groups of villagers headed back to gather things from their home villages with passes from SPDC officers in Kun Hing relocation site. Along their way, both groups were intercepted by SPDC troops, lined up and mown down with automatic fire. 29 villagers died at Sai Khao, and 27 died at Tard Pa Ho. The massacres were later confirmed by the few who had managed to escape and by video footage of some of the remains. The most recent cases occurred in late January and early February 2000 in Kun Hing Township. On January 30, a group of villagers were returning to their village in Keng Kham village tract with permission and passes from SPDC B246 in Kun Hing relocation site when they were stopped by an SPDC patrol from IB 66. 19 of them were executed, including three women. On February 12, a group of 20 male villagers from Kun Pu village tract who had been living in hiding in the forest were spotted by a patrol from IB 246, and all 20 of them were executed; the same patrol later killed five women and children who were hiding in a nearby hut.

Those in relocation sites must fear the violence of SPDC troops at all times. Villagers are terrified of leaving the site for fear of being beaten, raped, or killed. Across Shan State the testimonies of people living inside relocation sites echoes a palpable fear of soldiers, who have taken people off the streets of relocation sites and beaten them in surrounding forests. Many families, particularly the men, hide when they hear that soldiers are coming through the camps for fear that they will be captured for use as military porters. Forced labor is a constant burden for all villagers in the relocation sites; the SPDC has forced civilians to build military camps, roads, and railways across Shan State since the mass relocation operation began in 1996. The time required to work for the military is also a major factor preventing people from farming their own fields or earning money to feed their families.

Nam Wan relocation site is on the border of Nam Zang Township, about a four-hour walk from Nam Khai. Villagers from Nam Khai faced the same problem there that plagues villagers across Shan State who are forced into relocation sites far from their native villages: all surrounding land is already owned, so it is impossible to work a field and earn a living. After being relocated twice, the Nam Khai villagers no longer retained any hope of returning to their original village to stay, especially after the village was finally destroyed. Fighting for survival at relocation sites is even more precarious, especially when the sites consolidate or more people are forced into them. Securing jobs as field hands becomes competitive, as does foraging for the little food available, and there is no possibility of farming their own fields. The SPDC military and civilian authorities provide nothing at all to the relocated villagers; instead they demand forced labor, food and money from them. Many relocated villagers decide to head for Thailand, where at least jobs as day field laborers will bring in a

meager income to feed their families.

The other factor preventing people from earning a living at relocation sites is the forced labor they are required to do for the Army, whose officers see the relocated villagers as a convenient pool of forced laborers. Villagers living at Hwe Mark Pun site are constantly called to work, mainly to build military camps in the Township. Standard practice is to force civilians to go to villages that have already been relocated, dismantle people's homes and fences, and then use those materials to build the camps. People complain of having to work for the SPDC troop twice as much as they are able to work for themselves, and no one is spared from duty. While typically the men go as military porters, women and children have to fulfill the military's demands for other forms of forced labor, which usually include building and maintaining military camps, doing unarmed sentry duty on motor roads, clearing scrub from the roadsides (to make it difficult for resistance forces to ambush SPDC columns), and maintaining roads. In the past, villagers in relocation sites have also been used to build railways, such as the track from Shwe Nyaung to Nam Zang, from Nam Zang southward to Murng Nai and from Shwe Nyaung up the hills to Taunggyi. Portering, however, is generally the most feared form of forced labor, because porters are often severely abused and a shift involves a prolonged absence from wage earning; for these reasons, men and sometimes even women and children hide in the forests surrounding relocation sites when they hear that SPDC troops are collecting porters. Villagers living in smaller relocation sites like Hwe Mark Pun are called on for forced labor and portering more often than in larger sites, where the work load can be rotated among a larger population. It is extremely difficult for these villagers to earn enough to survive under such constraints.

In addition to fearing capture to be used as porters, villagers must also avoid SPDC soldiers who beat and kill civilians without explanation. Extrajudicial killings are commonplace in relocation sites throughout Shan State, and Murng Pan Township is no exception; villagers reported six cases within the past year. While all the victims were killed outside the relocation site, some were not far from the sites. In several cases recently, people have actually been dragged off the main street of the relocation site to the surrounding bush and beaten terribly, in at least one case, almost to death. Villagers have always known that they are vulnerable to the whims of drunken or aggressive SPDC soldiers if caught outside the sites working in fields, selling vegetables in town, or searching for food in forests, but they must even be on guard within the 'safe' confines of the relocation site. Ironically, the SPDC claims that it sequesters villagers in relocation sites so that its troops can 'protect' the civilians against attacks by 'insurgent' groups. It is the SPDC soldiers, however, whom villagers fear the most.

Situation of Water Poisoning near a relocation site in Shan State

From May 1998- February 1999, over 400 villagers in a relocation site north of the town of Parng Long in Central Shan State have died with symptoms of poisoning. The deaths began occurring after the dumping by the SPDC troops of thousands of poisoned rats into the Pawn River, the only source of water for the over 10,000 villagers relocated to Wan Nong Wan Koong, which lies about three miles north of Parng Long.

In the last week of April, 1998, the SPDC military authorities gave an order to the quarter headmen of Parng Long that each household in the town would have to kill five rats

and deliver them by 8 a.m. the following morning at the SPDC office next to the main town market. They were ordered to bring the rats dead or alive. Any household that did not bring the rats would be charged 100 *kyat* per rat. According to refugees from the area, there had never been such an order before, despite the fact that rats had always been plentiful in Parng Long.

Most of the townspeople bought Chinese rat poison from the market in order to kill the rats. There were several kinds of poison available: small vials of white powder, for 50 *kyat* each; small vials of liquid for 5 *kyat* each, and packets of rice-like pellets for 5 or 10 *kyat* each. Most people preferred to use the powder or the pellets, as these were stronger than the liquid, so the rats would die more quickly, and would be easier to find around the house. People mixed the poison with food and then left it either on plastic bags or on bowls at the foot of walls inside their houses in the evening. Early the following morning they collected the rats' bodies and most people put them in plastic bags to take to the market. The baskets were then put on an army truck and driven to the LIB 513. The following morning, at about 5 a.m., three relocated villagers from Wan Tok and Khong Lang villages happened to be driving a "tohlagyi" (small tractor) from the relocation site to the market in Parng Long. They crossed over the "Kho Phuk" (White Bridge) and they passed a parked army truck, from which soldiers were emptying baskets of rats into the river.

The relocation site of Wan Nong Wan Koong is directly downstream along the Pawn River from Parng Long and the bridge where the rats were dumped. As mentioned above, the river was the only water source for the over 10,000 villagers staying there. Within days after the rats were dumped, people began falling sick in the relocation site. The first to begin suffering were children from the houses nearest the river, because they would often spend each day swimming in the water.

The symptoms displayed by the sick villagers before death included headaches, fever, vomiting, inability to eat or drink, dehydration and failing vision. After death, black bruising appeared all over the body. All of these have been verified by medical experts as symptoms of poisoning.

Whether or not the patients recovered depended mainly on whether they were able to be treated in time. In the first few weeks after the poisonings began occurring, people in the relocation site were as yet unaware of the seriousness of the illness, and did not seek any special treatment. Thus most people who fell sick died. However, when it became apparent that the condition was fatal, those with enough money were taken to be treated in the hospitals or clinics in Parng Long or Loi Lem. At these places, the patients were usually given intravenous saline drips, which, if the patients had not been sick for too long, usually enabled them to recover. If the patients had already been sick for about five days, then the treatment was not effective.

However, many of the relocated villagers did not have enough money to treat themselves in the town. One refugee from the area who had become sick with poisoning symptoms, but recovered after treatment, said she had slept at a clinic in Loi Lem and been given 20 intravenous drips over a period of three days. It cost her 30,000 *kyat* (approximately US$85). This high cost was prohibitive for most of the relocated villagers. By June, several people were dying each day.

When the villagers died, they were usually simply wrapped in a mat, and then carried to the local cemetery to the north of the site and buried. Traditionally, Shans hold funeral

ceremonies lasting for several days, with hosting of community members, but because the relocated villagers were so poor, and had so little food, they could no longer afford to do this.

It is noteworthy that none of the villagers from the original village of Wan Nong Wan Koong fell sick with the same symptoms. These villagers did not use the water from the river, but would fetch their water by ox-cart from a source about one and a half hours away. The soldiers at the nearby military unit also did not use the water from the river, and none of them fell sick.

Refugees from the area say that the cemetery near the relocation site is so full that the graves have spilled over into the nearby fields. In spite of what was clearly a health emergency, there was no attempt by the local authorities during May and June to deal with the problem. Not only that, but at the end of June, they again gave the order for the townspeople of Parng Long to collect five dead rats each per household.

The procedure for killing and collecting rats was exactly the same as in April. Again, the rats were dumped in the river. This time no villagers saw the dumping, but an inside source from the military camp confirmed that the rats had been dumped in the same place.

Following this second dumping of rats, there were increased incidences of poisoning among the relocated villagers, who say that the months of July and August were the worst, with 3-4 people dying every day. The cemetery to the north of the site became so full that people were forced to dig new graves in the fields nearby.

For several months no one in the relocation site dared to approach the authorities directly about the poisonings, but in early July, one of the villagers went to request medical assistance from the government office in Loi Lem. Following the visit, the hospital authorities in Parng Long arranged for three health workers to visit the relocation site together with troops from LIB 513 in a military truck. The health workers visited some of the people who were sick, and simply administered five white pills per person. They did not give any special instructions about how to take the pills. According to the local people, the condition of those that took the pills did not improve. Only this one health visit was made, and the villagers did not request any further medical assistance from the authorities.

As the numbers of deaths continued to rise in July and August, the relocated villagers began moving out of the site. Many went to settle in villages to the west of Namzarng (which had not been relocated); many went to stay in the Pa-O villages north of the town that had not been relocated. Many simply went back to hide in the hills near their old villages, choosing to risk being shot on sight rather than die of the mysterious disease in the relocation site.

By September 1998, only about 100 households of the original over 2,000 households were left in the relocation site.

However, cases of poisoning were still occurring as recently as December 1998 and January 1999. One woman originally from the village of Wan Tok, who had gone to live in the town of Parng Long after being relocated, went back to visit the relocation site in later December 1998. She did not eat anything there, but accepted a cup of tea, made with water from the Pawn River. After returning to Parng Long, she because ill with symptoms of poisoning, and only recovered after long and expensive treatment at a clinic in the town.

On January 8, 1999, a woman called Ba Yoi, originally from the village of Wan Erk Lin Leng, who was still living in the relocation site, died with symptoms of poisoning at Parng

Long Hospital. She had been ill for five days, and had been brought to the hospital by her daughter, who only had enough money to pay for one intravenous drip, which was not enough to save her mother's life.

Refugees estimate that a total of over 400 villagers relocated to Parng Long have died since May 1998. The fact that villagers from the relocation site have still been dying in January 1998 indicates that there is still poison present in the waters of the Pawn River. List of villagers relocated to Wan Nong Wan Koong, who are known to have died with symptoms of poisoning. See Appendix # 4 for a partial list of those who have died from the rat poison.

5.3 Relocation in Karen State

Nyaunglebin district

The eastern two-thirds of Nyaunglebin district is covered by forested hills dotted with small Karen villages, and the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) operates extensively in this region. The western part of the district is in the plains of the Sittaung river basin; here there are larger villages of mixed Karen and Burman population, and this area is under strong SPDC control. There was a spate of forced relocations in 1997, then somewhat of a lull through early 1998. Many villages in the parts of these eastern hills bordering Papun district have been destroyed since 1997 as part of the SPDC campaign to wipe out Karen villages in northern Papun and eastern Nyaunglebin districts. However, in late 1998 and early 1999, there have been more relocations as well as repeat relocations of villages which had previously made their way back home. This is probably connected with the aim of the *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation units in 1998 and early 1999 to bring all villagers under complete control, execute any with past or present KNLA connections as a warning to the others, and make the area into a 'white area', which is SPDC terminology for regions where the population has been completely subjugated.

In early 1997 the SPDC began a campaign to wipe out all Karen civilian villages in the hills. Where villagers could be found they were ordered to relocate westward into the plains; where they could not be caught, their villages were shelled without warning, looted and then burned to the ground, while villagers found afterwards were shot on sight. Most villagers fled into the hills to live in hiding in small groups of families while trying to grow small patches of rice, and many others moved westward as ordered into the plains, either to stay with relatives or to garrison villages along the main roads as the SPDC troops had demanded. Many of the people who moved into the plains have now fled back into the hills, They say that they returned to the hills because they could not survive in the plains; they had no land to plant, there was no paid labor to survive on, and they could not face all the demands for forced labor and money from the SPDC troops. Some had died because they were not used to the water and the illnesses in the plains. In the end they fled back into the hills. Now they join the thousands of Karen villagers who have lived internally displaced in these hills since 1997.

In the hills the villagers are hiding in small groups of a few families in high valleys and other remote places. They try to grow small patches of rice but have little or nothing to eat. As in many other areas, much of the already small rice crop was destroyed by the lack of rains early in the season and the plague of insects brought on by the drought. SPDC

patrols come through the hills as often as two or three times per month, burn any rice storage barns they find, shoot at villagers they see in the fields or the forests, and burn any shelters they find.

The displaced villagers are always fleeing from one place to another to avoid the patrols. They have no change of clothing and few or no blankets, and have to sleep around fires in temperatures which can drop to 10 degrees Celsius or lower at this time of year. They have no medicines and speak of treating gunshot wounds by applying sesame oil after saying incantations. These villagers don't dare go down into the plains for fear of arrest as 'insurgents', and it is difficult or impossible for most of them to get to Thailand because they would have to pass through all of northern Papun district, where SPDC troops have destroyed even more villages and are patrolling to shoot villagers on sight.

Life in the relocation camps, Nyaunglebin district, Karen State

Many of the Karen villages in the plains east of the Sittaung River currently lie abandoned because their inhabitants have been forced to relocation sites or have fled. Many people spend part of their time in the relocation site and part of their time hiding around their old village or in their farm-field huts with or without a valid pass, leading a tenuous and risky existence. Some Karen villagers have gone to stay in the Burman villages which were not forced to move.

The villagers at the relocation sites have no land there and paid day labor is difficult to find, so most of them try to return to their home fields to farm. This requires a pass which must be bought for varying amounts from the local SPDC military. When available, these passes are only valid for three days to a week, and they do not allow the villagers to spend the night; people are only allowed to leave the relocation site after 6 a.m. and must return by 6 p.m., and those in Kaw Tha Say relocation site, Nyaunglebin district, are not even allowed to take a packet of cooked rice with them for lunch. Many people's home fields are three hours or more on foot from the relocation site, so these restrictions make it extremely difficult for them to farm properly, especially as they use labor-intensive farming methods which usually require them to sleep in their field huts through much of the planting and growing season.

However, villagers have little option but to obey the restrictions, because many who have been caught with invalid passes have been seriously beaten or taken as porters, and several villagers have been killed simply for being found in farm-field huts after 6 p.m., particularly since the arrival of the *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation units in the area. SPDC patrols also search for any evidence of food supplies in field huts or abandoned villages, and take or destroy whatever they find. Any villagers caught together with a hidden supply of rice run a strong risk of being accused of 'feeding the rebels' and summarily executed.

Mone Township

Relocation sites have been established more recently at Mone, Weh Gyi and Thit Cha Seik in Mone Township, and Yan Gyi Aung and Kaw Tha Say in Kyauk Kyi Township, and Than Seik/Min Lan in Shwegyin Township, Karen State; there are certainly other sites

as well. 39 villages are known to have been forcibly relocated and are still not allowed to return home. Some of these villages have been forced to move two or three times in the past several years, to a relocation site, then back to their villages, then to another relocation site, and so on. This list is far from complete. All of those listed in the above table are currently not allowed to stay in their home villages.

Many villages, such as Myeh Yeh in Mone Township, have a Karen section and a Burman section; the SPDC accused the village of being "full of rebels" and forced the Karen section to move but not the Burman section. Villages which are primarily Burman, such as Thit Cha Seik, were not forced to move. Ma Bpee Po and Ma Bpee Doh villages (frequently referred to together as Ma Bpee) were previously forced to Yan Gyi Aung site, but have since returned to their village and are currently paying a large amount of money each month to local SPDC troops as a bribe to avert forced relocation. Similarly, Yay Leh village in Mone Township and Baw Ka Hta village in Kyauk Kyi Township are paying in order not to be relocated; such bribes can be in the tens of thousands of *Kyat* per month, and as soon as the village can no longer pay or the troops rotate they may be forced to relocate.

Relocation sites are chosen by the SPDC for the ease of control by the military troops. Yan Gyi Aung and Than Seik/Min Lan sites are alongside the Shwegyin-Kyauk Kyi vehicle road. The site at Thit Cha Seik is in a field west of the Kyauk Kyi - Mone road, and the site at Weh Gyi is beside a new road from Na Than Gwin to Mone being built with forced labor. Kaw Tha Say and Baw Ka Hta sites are right beside SPDC camps. The newest relocation site, created in April 1999, is on the outskirts of Mone town.

There was a spate of forced relocations in 1997, then somewhat of a lull through early 1998. However, in late 1998 and early 1999, there have been more relocations as well as repeat relocations of villages which had previously made their way back home. After *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation officer Bo Shan Bpu burned all the houses in Lu Ah village in January 1999, the village was forced to move to a field near Weh Gyi, along the new road which is being built by forced labor under *Sa Thon Lon* supervision. Also in January 1999, Kya Plaw and Leh Wain Gyi villages were ordered to move to Yan Myo Aung and Pa Hee Ko, and immediately afterward the villages were burned by regular SPDC troops. The forced relocation in April 1999 of Baw Bpee Der, Myau Oo and Aung Chan Tha villages, none of which had been relocated before, to a new relocation site on the outskirts of Mone town seems to indicate that the immediate future will probably bring even more forced relocations. Those who are still in their home villages go on living in the hope that they can remain there and in some cases paying heavy bribes for the privilege, while those who have already relocated try to survive by making the dangerous trip back home to farm their old fields whenever they can get a pass to do so from the SPDC.

Since late 1998, regular SPDC and *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation units have begun taking some additional steps to ensure that people cannot go back to stay in their home villages and that resistance forces cannot take cover there. In some villages they have burned whatever remains of the houses. For example, in December 1998 they burned all the remaining houses in Twa Ni Gone village of Mone Township, which has been forced to Yan Myo Aung relocation site and is abandoned. However, some Twa Ni Gone villagers were nearby with passes to farm their fields and saw it happen. When Kya Plaw and Leh Wain Gyi villages in Kyauk Kyi Township were forced to relocate in January 1999, the villagers stripped their houses of building materials so that they could build huts in the relocation site,

and then as soon as they were gone SPDC troops burned what remained of their houses. In addition to burning the remains of villages, they began ordering villagers in the relocation sites to return to their villages to cut down all of the trees in and around the village. *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation troops forced villagers in Thit Cha Seik and Weh Gyi relocation sites to return and cut down all except the coconut trees in Ter Bpaw, Lu Ah and other villages. People from several villages have also reported being forced to clear scrub along both sides of the paths around their old villages, presumably to protect SPDC patrols from ambush. Villagers who have fled the western plains of Kyauk Kyi and Tantabin Townships state that in March 1999 in their home areas the *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation troops began forcing people to build fences around their own villages with a maximum of two gates, also to allow tighter control and monitoring of the movement of villagers.

Situation in the relocation sites of Mone Township

Conditions at the relocation sites are generally bad; they are often on low-lying land prone to flooding and there is usually no good water available. Nothing is provided for the villagers; they must bring along building materials they have stripped from their houses in their home villages, or find materials around the new site. They must also bring along whatever rice and other food they can, as none is ever supplied by the authorities.

A pass is required for going out from the relocation site. This can be bought for varying amounts from the local SPDC military. When available, these passes are only valid for three days to a week, and they do not allow the villagers to spend the night. Even people with passes to return to their villages are finding it more and more dangerous to do so, particularly with the *Sa Thon Lon* forces in the area. These special troops regularly stop villagers on the path and beat them for no apparent reason except to harass and to frighten them. A villager from Yan Myo Aung relocation site have recently been told that they will no longer be allowed to return to their fields, and that the fine for anyone caught doing so will be 100,000 *kyat*. This may also be an initiative of the *Sa Thon Lon* units. If this is enforced, it will make survival virtually impossible for the people in the relocation sites, and they will have no choice but to attempt to flee.

Dooplaya district

Until the mid 1999, the SPDC had limited forced relocations in Dooplaya to a few villages here and there, but since November 1999, the SPDC has begun a campaign of much more systematic forced relocations. The commander of SPDC Strategic Command 881 and his subordinate Battalion Commanders called all 70-80 village heads in Kya-in Township to a landmark meeting just outside Kya-in-seik-kyi on November 25, 1999, at which the village heads were told that all villages not already under the direct control of the military must move to as soon as the rice harvest was completed in December. They were warned that anyone remaining in these villages would be shot on sight, that the entire rice harvest must be handed over to the SPDC troops by December 20 for storage, and that villagers would have to approach the military each day to receive their daily ration from this stockpile. The commanders went on to tell the villagers that they would be regularly interrogated about KNLA activities and later executed if they were found out to be withholding

information, and that all villagers who had been KNLA soldiers at any time within the past fifteen years would be sought out and executed.

SPDC officials also informed them which villages in the Township would soon be either consolidated to the village centre or relocated. Small villages in the Meh Gu / Plaw Toh Kee village tract like Meh Gu Kee, Htee Tha Blu, and Toh Doh Doh initially had to move to larger villages along the main car road to Ghaw Gheh such as Meh Gu or Plaw Toh Kee. All villages, even larger ones, would be relocated by December 25 to towns with a military presence. Meh Gu, Htee Po Way, and Kyaw Kheh Ko were forced to relocate to Kya-in-seik-kyi, while Plaw Toh Kee was moved to Kyi Soe; both relocation sites are at SPDC military camps. After forcing the villagers to consolidate in the center of Ghaw Gheh and Kwih K'Neh Ghaw villages, Ghaw Gheh was ordered to Ter Noh and Kwih K'Neh Ghaw to Kyaikdon, two places where the SPDC has built storage barns for confiscated rice. Other relocated villages include: Htee Noh Bo, Noh K'Rer, P'Yaw Pu Hta, Wah Lu, Khay R'Moh (burned by the SPDC before relocation), Myint Wah Kyo Baw, Pyu Gyi, Meh Baw Tee Kaw, Dta Dah Lee, Seik Doh, Kyaw Meh, and Ta Gay (relocation deadline: January 12, 2000). Villagers identified different relocation sites where they were ordered to go, most of which are clustered on the main car road to Ghaw Gheh in order to provide easier access by the SPDC military and to prevent contact with KNLA troops in remote locations. All were warned that if any villagers were caught in their village after the relocation deadline had passed, they would be shot on sight. The large majority of villagers in the area left their paddy in their fields and fled before the deadline arrived. Some village heads surmised that the SPDC was waiting to relocate the tract until the villagers had harvested this year's paddy and deposited it in the SPDC military storage barns, but that the troops were hesitant to confiscate the abandoned paddy from the fields themselves because they feared KNLA ambushes.

The villagers reeled from the effect of these proclamations, and people immediately began fleeing their villages into hiding. Some abandoned their crop in the fields, while others handed their rice to the SPDC military as ordered but then did not dare to move to relocation villages or confront soldiers every day to ask for their ration. The troops proceeded with its plan to clear out the villages; some have been forced into the center of their villages, while others have been moved outright. Many people are now in hiding. Since late 1999 the SPDC forces throughout Dooplaya district have begun a much more systematic campaign to bring the villagers under direct military control in order to undermine the KNLA resistance. The incidences of arbitrary detention, torture and killings have suddenly risen, and the SPDC has been ordering village farmers to move into the center of their villages and never to leave without permission. The result has been widespread starvation, with villagers throughout much of central Dooplaya district living on foraged taro roots and jungle vegetables. Many have had no choice but to abandon their rice in the fields or in the hands of the SPDC and flee forced relocation to hide in the forest, where the SPDC officers have promised to shoot them if they are found. Some have made it across the border into Thailand, where a very uncertain reception awaits them.

Kyar-in-seik-kyi Township

Residents of 31 villages from Kyar-in-seik-kyi were issued orders by SPDC regional

commanders to abandon their villages and move to "concentrated villages" no later than April 20, 1999. Village headmen, monks, priests and prominent members of the 31 villages were summoned April 1, 1999 by officials of LIB 284 and issued orders to depopulate the area and move to four designated sites near SPDC military posts. The consequences for failure to obey the relocation order were spelled out in no uncertain terms. Villagers were warned that they would be treated as hostile forces if they were found in or near their village areas after April 20, 1999. For a list of the villages forced to move, and their designated relocation site, see Appendix # 1 and 2.

The SPDC relocation orders mirror those issued to other villages in the area during the dry season one year ago and signal the SPDC intent to turn the entire area into a free-fire or so called "black" zone. Indeed, Karen and other ethnic villagers in this large area of Southern Karen State have long been subjected to human rights violations including forced portering, seizure of property and arbitrary torture and detention.

The renewal of the notorious four-cuts strategy in and around Kyar-in-seik-kyi Township is likely related to recent limited successes achieved by armed members of the KNU and other opposition groups against the SPDC military targets. The continuing terrorization of unarmed and peaceful ethnic minorities in rural areas such as Kyar-in-seik-kyi occurs simultaneously with an offer by the SPDC to negotiate cease-fire terms with the KNU. The current preparations for a military offensive in Southern Karen State suggest that such offers have a basis in neither truth nor sincerity.

A large number of village residents are reportedly ready to desert their treasured homes and land to flee for possible shelter over the border in Thailand rather than face privation and victimization in the "concentration" villages.

Villages between Taw Oak and Kyaw Ko

In late 1998 KHRG reported that the SPDC Army had issued an order that villages between Taw Oak and Kyaw Ko would be forcibly relocated to Ker Ghaw, Kwih Lay, or Kyaw Ko at the end of the rice harvest. While some villagers scattered or moved, most managed to hold off from being relocated. However, SPDC columns have been acting directly to enforce the forced relocations since August 1999. One of the final relocation sites is indeed Ker Ghaw, the site of a DKBA Army camp, where the villages Kwih Lay, Pah Klu, and Taw Oak are now being forced to move. The villages Thay K'Dtee, Toh Thu Kee, and Kyaw Ko are being relocated to another site at Tee Wah Blaw, where SPDC columns temporarily camp while patrolling the area, and where they may be planning to establish a permanent camp once they have relocated all villagers. SPDC troops also destroyed all of the villagers' farmfield huts in the area of B'Naw Kleh Kee village right in the middle of the rice-growing season when villagers need to live in their farmfield huts. SPDC Light Infantry Battalions #310 and #120 have occupied the area of Pah Klu and Taw Oak villages, and Light Infantry Battalions #9 and #2 have occupied the area of Ker Ghaw and Kyaw Ko villages. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

Kya In Township

At a meeting on November 25 1999 the village heads were informed that all villages,

even larger ones, would be relocated by December 25 1999 to towns with a military presence. Meh Gu, Htee Po Way, and Kyaw Kheh Ko were forced to relocate to Kya In Seik Gyi, while Plaw Toh Kee was moved to Kyi Soe; both relocation sites are at SPDC Army camps. After forcing the villagers to consolidate in the centre of Ghaw Gheh and Kwih K'Neh Ghaw villages, Ghaw Gheh was ordered to Ter Noh and Kwih K'Neh Ghaw to Kyaikdon, 2 places where the SPDC has built storage barns for confiscated rice. Other relocated villages include: Htee Noh Bo, Noh K'Rer, P'Yaw Pu Hta, Wah Lu, Khay R'Moh (burned by the SPDC before relocation), Myint Wah Kyo Baw, Pyu Gyi, Meh Baw Tee Kaw, Dta Dah Lee, Seik Doh, Kyaw Meh, and Ta Gay (relocation deadline: January 12th 2000). Villagers identified different relocation sites where they were ordered to go, most of which are clustered on the main car road to Ghaw Gheh in order to provide easier access by the SPDC military and to prevent contact with KNLA troops in remote locations. All were warned that if any villagers were caught in their village after the relocation deadline had passed, they would be shot on sight. The large majority of villagers in the area left their paddy in their fields and fled before the deadline arrived. Some village heads surmised that the SPDC was waiting to relocate the tract until the villagers had harvested this year's paddy and deposited it in the Army's storage barns, but that the troops were hesitant to confiscate the abandoned paddy from the fields themselves because they feared KNLA ambushes. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

Forced Relocation in Bokpyin Township

Since the beginning of 1999, LIB 432, 355 and 589 have been increasing the military activities in Bokepyin Township, Tenasserim Division to wipe out the KNU's activities in the region. Due to the various forms of human rights violations, local people fled to Thailand during April-June, 1999.

According to the refugees from the region, the SPDC local battalions had ordered Pawa village to relocate to a designated area near their military base. The military warned that anyone found after the order of relocation would be killed without questioning. Like Pawa village, Kamawpyin village in the area was also ordered to relocate by the military. As they had threatened, in the third week of March, 1999, troops from LIB 432 led by Lt. Col. Htein Win, shot over ten villagers they found in the area of the village ordered to relocate. All of them died immediately. Similar executions also took place elsewhere in the region. Many villagers in the area who refused to move as ordered were accused of being KNU supporters and persecuted. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

5.4 Life in the relocation camps, Karenni State

The relocation sites were scattered throughout the state at Shadaw, Ywathit, Mawchi, Pah Saung, Baw La Keh, Kay Lia, Mar Kraw She, Tee Po Kloh and Nwa La Bo. As more villages were relocated, more sites such as Daw Dta Hay were created. All were under complete control of the Army, usually located adjacent to new or existing Army bases. Although living in the jungle was fraught with problems associated with the danger of the patrols and finding food to eat, some people still tried to remain there, but many gave in to the order and moved to the relocation sites.

Upon arriving at the relocation sites, the villagers were provided very little in the way of food or land and nothing in the way of materials for constructing their new homes. In several of the sites, including Shadaw and Mawchi, villagers report that they were given some rice during the first three months, though it was much less than what they required, and after that nothing else.

The perimeters of the relocation sites are largely left unguarded and the fences that the villagers are often forced to build are primarily around the army camps and not the actual relocation sites. The troops are lax in securing the camp perimeters mainly because they realize that the villagers have no choice but to go and forage for food outside the camps. This opportunity is often used by the villagers to flee the relocation site and go into hiding in the jungle, usually near their old villages.

This has been ongoing since the relocation sites were first established. Many villagers have reported that large numbers of people have already left the relocation sites in search of food and that the current populations of the relocation sites are much less than what they were originally. Shadaw relocation site reportedly had approximately 600-800 households in it after the bulk of the forced relocations, Nwa La Bo initially had 80-100 households and Daw Dta Hay had approximately 120 households. There are far fewer families in those sites now and many who are remaining are starving and need to find another alternative.

Those in the jungle can produce little or no food because of the SPDC patrols and must rely mainly on what they can forage in the forest, and for those still in the relocation sites the situation is little better. In the relocation sites, those who have been allowed to grow food must either do it outside of the site, which requires them getting a pass, or grow things such as corn in small gardens next to their houses, which is the case in Shadaw relocation site. Villagers can pay the SPDC troops to obtain a plot of land to farm near the relocation site, though often part of their crop is taken by SPDC troops. Those who have arrived as refugees in Thailand have reported that the military is taking half of the rice produced by villagers.

Even holding one of the passes which the villagers are required by the military to have before leaving the camp doesn't guarantee safety, particularly farther than a few miles from the camps. Villagers who have fled Shadaw site say that they were told that if they went more than three or five miles from the site they would be killed.

Another source of food for the villagers in the relocation sites was rice they had managed to hide in the jungle before their villages were destroyed. However, leaving the relocation site to retrieve the hidden rice was a dangerous proposition and could only result in small amounts of rice being brought back each time. By now all of that rice has either been used up by the villagers themselves, found and destroyed by the SPDC troops or taken by villagers hiding in the jungle who can't find food elsewhere. The food shortage problems have been exacerbated in 1998-99 by widespread crop failures that are affecting not only the majority of Burma but other Southeast Asian nations as well. The erratic climate during this period has resulted in alternating droughts and floods, causing much lower yields in most of the region.

Deaths from basic dehydration due to diarrhea and vomiting are commonplace. In the area in and around the southwestern relocation site of Mawchi, it would seem that the majority of the people are dying from this, which would normally be easily treatable. Most of these deaths are among those hiding in the forests around Mawchi, but many have also died in the relocation site itself. This is in combination with malaria, dysentery and infection from

a host of parasites that can normally be found in the jungle have already killed more than half of the people who were living in the jungle in the Mawchi area. Villagers from the Mawchi area and most other areas say that before they fled there was always at least one member of their family who was sick, and that family members and friends have already died of minor diseases. The villagers in the jungle fear going very far from their hiding places because they may be killed if seen, so they resort to burying the dead in and around their small settlements, and this can lead to even further spread of disease. The villagers in the Mawchi area have virtually no access to medical supplies and the journey to flee the area is too long for those in poor health.

Hospital facilities are virtually unheard of in the relocation sites. One exception to this rule is in Shadaw, where the hospital is understaffed and the medicine is very expensive if available at all. Refugees who have come from Shadaw are reporting that the doctors who are meant to be working in the hospital in the relocation site are only coming once every two or three months and spending the rest of their time in Loikaw, presumably because they find life more comfortable there. The doctors are reportedly posted to care for the people in Shadaw, but they hardly ever appear in the relocation site. This is consistent with reports from other areas of Burma such as Shan and Karen States, where recently graduated doctors are posted to remote places but choose to stay in nearby towns instead. Diarrhea, malaria, dysentery and the other common illnesses previously mentioned can all be found in Shadaw relocation site, and chicken pox has also caused problems and death for the villagers living just outside the relocation site. Those interviewed have noted that the few nurses that are at the hospital aren't capable of dealing with anything other than minor problems. If a serious problem has to be treated, the person who is ill must pay to be taken to Loikaw for treatment or simply stay and suffer.

Basic education is also lacking in the relocation sites. Most of the relocation sites have no schools whatsoever. Space at the Shadaw School is limited and for the most part only Shadaw townspeople can send their children there. People in the relocation site must pay the full cost of schooling. Very few of them have money to do this, so very few of their children go to school. Even if children are able to get into one of the small number of schools that are available they are only permitted to study Burmese. Study of the Karenni language and culture is forbidden. In Daw Dta Hay there is a primary school for the children, but if they wish to continue their education beyond that they must take the risk of going elsewhere to find it. Although education is available in some areas the young people are rarely able to go because they have to work to help their family survive.

Daw Dta Hay is not set up as a formal relocation site, but an existing village where others have been forced to settle. Villagers who were relocated to Daw Dta Hay say that there was recently an SPDC military training exercise conducted nearby. The SPDC military brought in children and adults aged 14 to 30 from other parts of Karenni State to participate in the training course, which was called 'The Column 7 Training Exercise'. Many of the children who came told the villagers at the site that they were summoned by the SPDC military and hadn't been told where they were going when they were forced to go with the soldiers. Some young people from Daw Dta Hay said that they had been told they would have to join the training exercise as well, but they never did. After the exercise the trainees were reportedly sent to Loikaw, presumably to join one of the 4 SPDC Battalions that are based there. The people of Daw Dta Hay were ordered to provide large amounts of food

and other support for the military personnel who came to conduct the training. Little or nothing was given to the villagers in return for whatever food or goods they provided. Daw Dta Hay has also seen at least three of the village's young girls taken as wives against their will by SPDC soldiers.

Earning money in the camps is limited to odd jobs that are rarely. Some people have been able to work for the military as guides, interpreters, teachers, etc. However, they don't get paid much and what they are paid is often reduced because of unfair fees. The small amount of work that can be found outside of the relocation sites virtually always requires a pass costing from 5 to 50 *Kyat*, but a pass doesn't guarantee safety for the one who holds it.

However, most of the labor to be found is non-paying forced labor. Forced labor or *Loh Ah Pay* ('voluntary labor') is commonplace in and around the camp. The SPDC troops force the villagers to work on a daily or weekly basis; generally one person from each family must go. This forced labor includes clearing bushes and trees from the roadsides both inside and outside the relocation sites, cleaning military buildings, cultivating land for the military outposts, hauling water for the troops, building fences around the military camps, digging bunkers, road construction, portering for the military and other general servant work. The villagers are also being used to construct a road from Daw Wah Kaing to Daw Dta Hay.

5.5 Rangoon Division

Residents of Kyisu western ward which surrounds Ywa-thar-gyi, North New Dagon Township and South New Dagon Township, Rangoon Division were invited to attend a meeting held on January 29 1999 by Township PDC group headed by chairman U Thein Tun. They were told by the authorities to vacate the land and return to where they came from. Arrangements would be made only for groups of ten households. Individual households would have to make their own arrangements. On the other hand they were given the option to move to the new scheme called Arakan Development (New Living Project) which would entitle them to a pair of cattle and agricultural land at the going price. If they preferred to move towards wetlands in Nyaungdon they would have no ownership rights to the land but would have to work as laborers. The choice was to either go for a new scheme without any proper definitions or to make their own plans. They were threatened that those who failed to do either way by March 30, 1999 would be jailed.

The residents of the area refused to sign the document that was presented to them to indicate their approval of the terms. They appealed and asked that consideration be given because of the children who were attending schools in the area. The reply given was that this was not an important issue because all the children will be promoted without having to take any exams. Some of the people have lived in this area for over ten years, others for over five and others for over three years.

On the January 31, 1999, the group entered the area at a time when most were away at work. They demolished all the houses that had no occupants despite the pleas from the neighbors. The total population in that area is 1700 to 2000. **(*Source: NLD*)**

5.6 List of Incidents

♦ In the first week of January 1999, after an attack by the KNLA in late December 1998 in Kyauk Kyi Township, DKBA troops called in the local SPDC Battalion and the two groups cooperated in forcibly relocating Kya Plaw and Leh Wain Gyi villages to a forced relocation site. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On January 12, 1999, Villagers from Naung Lun village, Htee Sae Kha village tract, Loikaw Township, Karenni State were given fifteen minutes to pack their belongings and then were forcibly ordered to relocate to Htee Sae Kha village. The relocation order was given by riot troops led by Captain Thein Htoo from a Loikaw-based battalion. **(*Source: Karenni*)**

♦ On January 29 1999, U Thein Tun, Chairman of the administration unit in North New Dagon Township ordered the very poor residents of Kyisu western ward which surrounds Ywa-thar-gyi, North New Dagon Township and South New Dagon Township, Rangoon Division to relocate by March 30. He accused them of being trespassers and ordered them to move to an Arakan Development project or Nyaungdon, or else face imprisonment. The residents refused to sign his document, and the next day the homes of these 1700 people were demolished. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On January 31 1999, Troops from SPDC army forcibly relocated Htay-kay-lor village to Kwin -seik and Kyun-chang village to Don-za-yit, Naung-le-bin District, Karen State. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ On February 2 1999, a Special guerilla force from SPDC army ordered villages such as Mau-bin and Let-kauk-wa to be forcibly relocated to Kyaung-gon and Baw-ta-daw-kho village to Kyee-bin seik, Naung-le-bin District, Karen State within (5) days. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ On March 13 1999, IB 53 ordered everyone living in Aunchanthar village, Kyauk Kyi Township, Pegu Division, Karen State to relocate to the outskirts of Mone town within 3 days. They accused the villagers of supporting rebel troops with food and other assistance. The Shan village had been surviving on betal palm and other plantations, and lost their fields when they moved. **(*Source: BI*)**

♦ They all were forced to sign saying they would obey the order. Some villages effected that order were big villages with population over 500. They had been established for a long time and that order left the people deprived of their livelihood. **(*Source: Yoma-3*)**

♦ On April 1, 1999, residents of 31 villages from Kyar-in-seik-kyi Township, Karen State were ordered by the SPDC regional commander to abandon their villages and move to new relocation site no later than April 20, 1999. Villager headman, monks, priests and prominent members of the 31 villages were summoned by members of LIB 284, led by by Major Kyaw Win and issued orders to depopulate the area and move to four designated sites near SPDC military posts. The consequences for failure to obey the relocation order were spelled out in no uncertain terms. Villagers are warned that they would be treated as hostile forces if they were found in or near their village areas after April 20. **(*Source: HRDU*) *See Appendix #1***

♦ In the first week of April, 1999, the Southeast Region Military Command, IB 97 and 32, and LIB 230 and 284, ordered 12 villages in Kyer-Ein-Seik-Kyi Township, Karen State, with a population of both Karen and Mon, to relocate to 5 designated villages, (1)Yatagon,

(2) Anan-gwin, (3) Taung-zun, (4) Maezalee and (5) Chaungzon. The deadline of forced relocation was April 30. **(*Source: HURFOM*) - *see Appendix #2***

♦ On April 2, 1999, Aung Chan Tha, Mee Taw Taw and Mae Zali Gone villages were forcibly ordered to relocate to a place near Mong town, Karen State. Similarly, Paw Pedai and Myaung Oo villages in the same area were ordered to move to a place between Htee Tolo and Si Pin Tha villages. **(*Source: Refugee News*)**

♦ In mid-1999, 7 villages in Kyauk Kyi Township, Pegu Division, Karen State were forcefully relocated. They were:

Kawnee - 100 houses with over 700 people. Relocated by Sathonelone.
Aungchanthar -
Meetaingtaw-
Mezalikon-
Kyaungsu-
Myaung U-
Myaung U (new section) - These 6 villages had a total population of 2,800 people living in 800 houses. They were relocated by IB 53.

(*Source: BI*)

♦ From March 17 to April 21, 1999: troops led by Lieutenant Colonel Kyaw Win from IB 284 carried out forced relocation in Win-yay Township, Dooplaya District, Karen State. Villagers from (1) Zee-hna-pin to Yeh-da-goon, (2) Yeh-paw, Ta-nyin and Tharn-bya to A-nan-gwin, (3) War-mor-lay to Taung-zun, (4) Tat-daying to Chaung-zone, and (5) A-pa-lone were ordered to go to Meh-za-li. Some of the affected villagers went with the forced relocation, but others chose to flee, away from the SPDC troops, into the jungles and live in hiding. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ On April 10 1999, troops from SPDC LIB 208 destroyed by burning a cart and 5 houses situated between Yauk-ka-kya and Mae-ka-thort villages, Toungoo District, Karen State. They extorted 50,000 *kyat* cash from the villagers and drove out people of the 2 villages by force, for relocation in other villages. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ On April 29 1999, Maj Aye Thaung of LIB520 sent Capt Khin Kyaw Win with 80 troops to Pung Kur village, Nawng Yaang tract, Murng-Pan Township, Shan State to move the villagers to the town. The Captain ordered the village headman to start moving his villagers to Murng-Pan town on April 30 (the next day)and the move was to be completed by May 2, 1999. Starting from May 3, anyone found in the area of the village would be assumed to be a "destructive element" and shot dead. Pung Kur consists of 186 houses of mostly farming families. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 1, 1999, Maj Aye Thaung sent about 80 troops led by Capt Than Htoo to Nawng Yaang village, Nawng Yaang tract, Murng-Pan Township, to force the villagers to relocate to Murng-Pan. The villagers were ordered to move within 4 days, and were warned that from May 6 onwards anyone who failed to move would be shot dead and their houses burned. There were 85 houses of farming families in Nawng Yaang village. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 2 1999, Capt Kyaw Myint, with about 80 troops, was sent by Maj Aye Thaung to Pa Khaa village, Ho Phaai Long tract, Murng-Pan Township, Shan State to forcibly evict the villagers from their homes. The villagers were ordered to move to Murng-Pan town and were told not to dismantle their houses but to leave them intact so that one day when the situation became better they could come back home. However, only 2-3 days

after the villagers had moved away, the troops came back to the village and dismantled a big wooden house, owned by a villager named Loong Zaang Kaeng Tung, and took the lumber to their military base in Murng-Pan. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On August 8 1999, LIB 520 Major Aye Thaung ordered all the villagers of Pung Kur, Nawng Yaang tract, Murng-Pan Township to move to Murng-Pan town within 5 days. But, only after 2 days, before most of the villagers could move, the troops came back and looted the village and the village monastery and took away what they wanted. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 16, 1999, 32 soldiers led by deputy commander Tha Sein Win from LIB 431 arrived in Tha Kho and Taung Pai villages, Mergui-Tavoy district, Karen State and forced the villagers to move out of their village. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On September 29, 1999, around 70 SPDC soldiers led by commander Thein Lwin from LIB 557 forcibly moved the villagers from Pyo Ein village, in Mergui-Tavoy district, Karen State. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ In the last week of November 1999, SPDC military strategy commander Min Thein from the Southeast Military Command ordered Tagay village in Kyar-ein-sei-kyi Township, Karen State to move to Kyar-ein-seik-kyi Myothint by the end of November. The villagers were accused of having communication with the KNU. Over 850 villagers had to move out of their village during the harvest time. Some of them did not relocate as ordered and are hiding in the forest nearby. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 3 1999, the SPDC Commander of Military Stategy Operation ordered Rat Kalar, Haw Ket, and Hti Kyaw Ki villages of Kyar-Ein-Seik-Kyi Township, Karen State to relocate to Paw Htu Ki village. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 11, 1999, a military column led by battalion commander Tin Tun Aye and division commander Captain Maung Maung Htun from LIB 534 forcibly relocated Kaw Le and Htee Wah Klu villages in Kyar-ein-seik-kyi Township, Karen State. The villagers were ordered to move from the village within a day and they would face persecution if they failed to comply the with order. Without any other choice, about 100 people moved from their villages. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 12, 1999, SPDC military strategy commander Min Thein from the Southeast Military Command ordered Dali village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi Township, Karen State to move to Kyar-ein-seik-kyi Myothint , accusing the village of having connection with the KNU. Over 600 villagers, mostly Shan and Karen, moved to the new site. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

Appendix to Relocation

Appendix # 1 : 31 villages forced to relocate from Kyar-in-seik-kyi Township, Karen State

Viillage	Relocation Site
Kakatit	Ye Tagun
Yathe	Ye Tagun
Loshan	Ye Tagun
Reiphaw	Ye Tagun

Viillage	Relocation Site
Htee Hto Kaw	Ye Taung
Khanit Wah	Anan Gwin
Tanyin	Anan Gwin
Upper Phaya	Anan Gwin
Lower Phaya	Anan Gwin
Win Khana	Anan Gwin
Pan Aung	Anan Gwin
Thanpara	Anan Gwin
Putaw	Anan Gwin
Khoke Khwa	Taungzun
Mae Kanaw	Taungzun
Mae Kawah	Taungzun
Sin Pway	Taungzun
Mhar Law	Taungzun
Htee Mawke	Taungzun
Kyauk Belu	Taungzun
Thapway Gone	Phar Pyat
Myayni Gone	Phar Pyat
Thaya Gone	Phar Pyat
Montlone Taung	Phar Pyat
Nan Khwee	Phar Pyat
Win Htaung	Phar Pyat
Khale Saw	Phar Pyat
Hnit Ein	Phar Pyat
Win Poke	Phar Pyat
Taung Kalay	Phar Pyat

Appendix # 2 : The 12 villages forced to relocate in Kyer-Ein-Seik-Kyi Township by April 20 :

Villages	Households (estimated)	Population (estimated)
(1)Zee-hnitpin	45	220
(2)Law-shan	150	625
(3)Rat-phaw	160	840
(4) Yathay-taung	65	320
(5)Ka-kathit	55	220
(6) Ta-nyin	120	800
(6)Thanpaya	180	1400
(8)Sin-pyay	20	120
(9)Khon-khan	90	480
(10)Ma-law	85	110
(11)Pan-auny	150	1200

(*Source: HURFOM*)

Appendix #3 : Lists of Villages Relocated in Karen State (KHRG)

From	Township	To	Order Date
Baw Bpee Der	Mone	Mone town outskirts	4/99
Myau Oo	Mone	Mone town outskirts	4/99
Aung Chan Tha	Mone	Mone town outskirts	4/99
Kyaut Bu Daung	Mone	Mone town outskirts	4/99
Sweh Dtee	Kyauk Kyi	Baw Ka Hta Kaw Tha Say	15/1/99
Noh Nya Thu	Kyauk Kyi	Yan Myo Aung	7/1/99
Kya Plaw	Kyauk Kyi	Yan Myo Aung	7/1/99
Leh Wain Gyi	Kyauk Kyi	Pa Hee Ko	3/1/99
Ma Oo Bin	Shwegyin	Than Seik/Min Lan	1/99
Kyi Pin Su	Shwegyin	Than Seik/Min Lan	1/99
Leh Bain (Leh Pa)	Mone	Yan Myo Aung	1/99
Lu Ah	Mone	Yan Myo Aung	1/99
Hintha Weh	Kyauk Kyi	Kaw Tha Say	1/99

APPENDIX # 4 : Partial list of relocated villagers who died from rat poison in Shan State

(This list is incomplete, as it was given by refugees from the villages listed, who only knew of deaths in those villages. There are only four villages listed here, out of a total of 144, so the total number of deaths is obviously much higher.)

Name	age	original village
1. Pa Mya (F)	53	Wan Tok, Sanen Tract
2. Pa Say (F)	70	Wan Tok, Sanen Tract
3. Loon Sai (M)	50	Wan Tok, Sanen Tract
4. Pa Mya (F)	48	Wan Tok, Sanen Tract
5. Mae Tao Nyo (F)	86	Wan Tok, Sanen Tract
6. Ai Mone (M)	6	Wan Tok, Sanen Tract
7. Loon Myat (M)	56	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
8. Pa Kham (F)	50	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
9. Nang Mon (F)	18	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
10. Mae Tao Su (F)	82	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
11. Mae Tao Par (F)	68	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
12. Loon Tun (M)	53	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
13. Ai Hla (M)	5	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
14. Loon Kham Lim (M)	75	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
15. Pa Mya (F)	60	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
16. Pa Kyi (F)	42	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
17. Aye Sain (F)	10	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract

Name	age	original village
18. Pa Kue (F)	65	Khong Kao, Sanen Tract
19. Loon Tun (M)	58	Berng Long, Sanen Tract
20. Pa Sone (F)	43	Berng Long, Sanen Tract
21. Pa Yoie (F)	40	Berng Long, Sanen Tract
22. Pa Mu (F)	48	Berng Long, Sanen Tract
23. Pa Tone (F)	65	Berng Long, Sanen Tract
24. Nang Sang (F)	7	Berng Long, Sanen Tract
25. San Sen (M)	18	Berng Long, Sanen Tract
26. Loon Sai (M)	50	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
27. Loon Phay (M)	48	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
28. Loon Kheng (M)	60	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
29. Pa Mark (F)	50	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
30. Nang Pang (F)	18	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
31. Ai Sai (M)	12	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
32. Pa Phong (F)	58	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
33. Loon Pan Da (M)	62	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
34. Pa Mya (F)	42	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
35. Pa You (F)	45	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
36. Pa Lem (F)	56	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
37. Tun Hla (M)	25	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
38. Nang Sang Kyi (F)	18	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
39. Sane Kyaw (M)	13	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
40. Pa Nang (F)	48	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
41. Pa Yone (F)	34	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
42. Nang Jang (F)	12	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
43. Nang Ani (F)	11	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
44. Loon Yon (M)	32	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
45. Nang Mya (F)	12	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
46. Mae Tao Aie (F)	62	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
47. Ai Aung (M)	6	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
48. Pa Kham (F)	32	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
49. Loon Hla (M)	48	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract
50. Pa Sane (F)	50	Wan Jong, Sanen Tract

(*Source: SHRF*)

6. Deprivation of Livelihood

6.1 Background

Karen, Karenni and many Shan areas are looked upon by the SPDC as areas of active or potential resistance, and their policy in all such areas (particularly in the last to or three years) has been to "drain the ocean so the fish cannot swim"; in other words, undermine the ability of the civilian population to survive until they can no longer support any opposition. This is characterized by mass forced relocations, destruction of villages and the village economy, and completely unsustainable levels of forced labor. The current SPDC plan for consolidating control over areas where there is resistance appears to consist of the following steps: 1) mount a military offensive against the area; 2) forcibly relocate all villages to sites under direct Military control; 3) use the relocated villagers and others as forced labor, portering and building military access roads into their home areas; 4) move more Military units in and use the villagers as forced labor to build bases along the access roads; 5) allow the villagers back to their villages, where they are now under complete military control and can be used as a rotating source of extortion money and forced labor, further consolidating control through "development" projects, forced labor farming for the Military, etc. If resistance attacks still persist or if villagers fail to cooperate at this last stage, retaliation is carried out against villages by executing villager elders, burning houses and other means.

Since September 1998 the SPDC has introduced a new strategy in areas just east of the Sittaung River in eastern Pegu Division. They already essentially control this area despite some small scale resistance activity, but in order to try to bring the population under complete control they introduced the '*Sa Thon Lon*' execution squads in September 1998. This unit of approximately 200 soldiers is divided into small sections of 5-10 troops each which go from village to village with the self-stated purpose of executing anyone and everyone who has ever had any contact whatsoever with the resistance, even something as minor as paying a tax to the Karen armed forces ten or more years ago. They carry lists of people to execute and have already killed anywhere from 50 to well over 100 villagers in a small region since their introduction. They kill brutally, cutting the throats of villagers and often beheading them to display their heads along the pathways as a warning. Their clear intention is to systematically strike terror into the entire population so that no one can even think of having any contact whatsoever with any form of opposition. Their victims have included both Burmans and Karens, and many are now fleeing the area even if they have never had contact with the resistance because the *Sa Thon Lon* can execute people on the slightest suspicion. This unit is not under control of the local Military and there is even evidence that the local commanders are afraid of them. They are under control of the Directorate of Defense Services Intelligence (DDSI) commanded by Lt. Gen. Khin Nyunt, Secretary-1 of the SPDC. Lt. Gen. Khin Nyunt has often been labelled a 'moderate' by the international community simply because he can speak more coherently than most SPDC Generals; however, a study of his past actions rather than his words shows that the *Sa Thon Lon* execution squads are entirely consistent with his regular tactics. The most worrying aspect of the *Sa*

Thon Lon phenomenon is that it may be an experiment which the SPDC could spread or move to other regions as a means of psychologically subjugating the population.

The effect of these strategies on rural subsistence farmers is devastating. Anywhere from 1 to 4 million people are internally displaced within the country, over 100,000 are in refugee camps outside the country, while at least a million more (many of whom fit the definition of refugees) are working illegally in neighboring countries. These people have not fled their villages because of fighting; if there is fighting around their village they just run to the forest for a day or two and then return. They flee because they can no longer survive. Those who are ordered to move to military sites find that nothing is provided, that they are used for forced labor almost daily and that they eventually have to flee or starve to death. Knowing this from experience, most villagers flee into the hills when ordered to relocate and live in hiding, while SPDC patrols come through to burn their villages and food supplies, uproot their crops and shoot villagers on sight if they find them. This is currently happening to the people of an estimated 1,500 villages in Shan State, 200 villages in Karenni (Kayah) State, 200 villages in northern Karen State and eastern Pegu Division, 50-100 villages in central Karen State, and 100 or more villages in Tenasserim Division.

People in villages which are under complete SPDC control and are not forced to move are also fleeing, even from areas where there is no fighting whatsoever. They flee because they are ordered to do so many forms of forced labor for all of the different military camps in the area that they can no longer grow their own crops or earn their own living. For example, villagers in an SPDC-controlled village in Karen State are typically forced to send one family member for 3-5 days of forced labor each month as servants and sentries at the military camp, one week per month of road labor, five days to two weeks per month of forced labor as porters, 24 hours each week as road sentries, and *ad hoc* forced labor as messengers and for other purposes. They also have to pay miscellaneous 'fees' of 500-1,000 *kyat* per family each month to the military and must regularly supply building materials and food to each nearby military camp. At the same time they must hand over crop quotas to the military and the authorities each year either for nothing or for 20-25% of market price; if the crop fails (as it did in both 1997 and 1998 in many areas), they must buy the food in the market to pay the quota or face arrest and confiscation of their land.

Initially the local Battalions issue orders to the Village Tract PDC demanding numbers of forced laborers for a specific purpose. Knowing that the villages do not want to do the labor and will be slow to comply, the Village Tract PDC often hires day laborers, pays for their transportation costs to the military bases, and supplies them to the SPDC military. The Village Tract PDC then issues orders to the villages under their administration to pay their share of the cost based on the relative size (number of households) of their village; for example, a village may be ordered to pay for 10 of the 80 people hired by the Village Tract PDC. The amounts are often not specified in the orders because they are already understood; for example, 4,000 *kyat* for each short-term porter plus 250 *kyat* for his 'car fee'.

Under this system even small villages must pay 30,000-80,000 *kyat* per month, and many simply do not have the money to do so because of all the other SPDC demands they have to meet. As a result, most villages are delinquent in their payments, and once payments fall behind by a couple of months the Village Tract PDC often tells the village 'we will no longer take any responsibility for you' and reports the village to the military for failure to 'perform their duty'. A military column might then storm the village to loot and burn houses as punishment.

In addition to these fees, villages are faced with direct orders to provide forced laborers, sometimes when the military says it is for 'emergency' purposes, meaning that they need laborers right away for one-time work. At the same time, they face constant demands for rice, meat, vegetables, fruits, cheroots, condiments, and building supplies such as bamboo and roofing leaves.

Because of all of these demands, most children are pulled out of school as soon as they are big enough to work. Families sell their valuables to pay the fees and pay to avoid forced labor so that they can work in their fields or do day labor to make money. However, there are so many fees that the money does not last long, and many families send small children to do the forced labor so that the adults can still work the fields. Eventually they sell all of their belongings and livestock to pay all of the fees, and when they are still ordered to go for forced labor or pay money they have no option but to flee the village or face arrest, torture and possible summary execution. Trials are not held in rural areas, villagers are simply tied up and taken to military camps where they are held in mediaeval-style leg stocks or pits in the ground, tortured and interrogated until the military officer decides what to do with them. They are often held for ransom, held for months under torture without charge, or simply executed without any record existing of their arrest. To avoid this, villagers in areas all over Burma have fled to the Towns where they become beggars or cheap labor, to the hills, or to neighboring countries.

In northern Karen State some villages in conflict areas have tried to appease the SPDC by making their own 'peace' agreements; they promise to abide by all SPDC demands and not contact the resistance if their village is not forced to move. They are subsequently labeled 'peace' villages, but even in these villages the demands for forced labor, money, food and materials usually become so intense that the village elders cannot keep up with them all. They are then arrested and tortured for failure to comply, houses are sometimes burned and many villagers flee just as though there had never been any agreement.

Most of the SPDC units posted to Karen and Karenni areas are not motivated to fight the opposition. If they know an opposition unit is in a particular place they will generally avoid that place, and if ordered to attack they will often deliberately attack the wrong village, burn houses, kill civilians and report it as 'combat with the enemy'. The officers focus on making as much money for themselves as they can before being rotated out of the area, and there are sometimes turf battles between SPDC units fighting for control of the most lucrative villages.

Many of the rank and file soldiers are teenagers who have been conscripted by lottery or coerced into joining the military at age 14 or 15, while most of the older soldiers would like to get out if they could, but are never allowed to leave unless they bring in five or 10 new recruits; to accomplish this they hang around the markets and schools and try to coerce young boys into joining. The desertion rate is high, but many are afraid to desert because the SPDC takes action against the families of deserters and executes anyone caught after deserting. In the military, officers steal over half of the salaries of the rank and file soldiers in the name of various 'fees'; they also steal most of the best rations and sell them, then order the soldiers to steal their food from the villages. In the last 2 years, the SPDC has severely cut its deliveries of rations to most field units and has ordered them to either produce food for themselves or take it from the population. This has resulted in increased looting of food from villages as well as increased confiscation of farmland and

forced labor as villagers are ordered to grow food for the military on what used to be their own land.

The rank and file soldiers are also ordered to obtain forced laborers, extortion money, food and materials from the villages for the officers, and are severely punished for any failure to do so; in this way they are drawn into the human rights abuses. In the meantime their officers make as much money as they can during their time in the field. The average village in rural eastern Burma pays 100,000 *kyat* or more per month in arbitrary extortion fees to local Military units in cash alone, not counting extortion of crops, food, materials and labor for personal profit of the officers. Looking at all of Burma, this amounts to a drain of several billion *kyat* every month on the rural economy. All of this money goes to the military officers and corrupt officials at various levels. The Military officers have few or no expenses while in the field because they can steal everything they need from the villagers, so they send most of this money to their families in the cities. Their families use it to start small and large businesses, thereby financing a façade of 'economic improvement' in the cities which is entirely financed by stripping the rural people of their means of survival. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

In addition to these difficulties, from the first week to the third week of August there were big floods and accompanying storms in the southern part of Burma, which destroyed many houses in Mon and Karen States and made thousands of civilians to be displaced. From villages located along Gaing River, 11, 846 villagers became homeless. Thousands of acres of farmlands were also destroyed, putting further hardship on the people.

Again, in the last week of October 1999, due to big storms in the Andaman Sea and unusual rain and floods, there were landslides along the rivers in Mon State and Karen State. Htone and Kaw-hlein villages and about 100 villagers were displaced. Kyaikmayaw Township, Mon State, was totally destroyed and about 60 villagers from 10 households were displaced. About 10,000 acres of paddyfields in Paung Township, and 5,000 acres in Chaungzun Township were under the water and many farmers lost their crops. In Kya-Inn-Seikyit Township area of Karen State, the authorities issued an order to the all farmers in the Township to dry out their crops as quickly as possible yet did not help them bring the crops to dry places. At the same time, the authorities sent another order to farmers to prepare to sell their paddy at a low price to the government's set paddy-buying centers, but did not reduce the rice quota to be sold, even under the circumstances of the flood. In November, the Karen State and Mon State PDC called various rounds of meeting with local village headmen and instructed them to force the farmers to sell their paddy to the set paddy-buying centers.

The flood victims did not receive any assistance from the government relief program and most of them had to find new settlement places by themselves. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

6.2 Situation of farmers in Burma

The cultivators in Burma have lost the right to own farm lands in spite of the existing law promulgated in 1953 know as "Land Nationalization Act" (Section 38, Part 16 Use of Agricultural Land) which clearly confers the rights and privileges to farmers.

Notification 4/78 of the Trade Ministry not only prohibited the cultivators from trading their produce freely but also adversely affected the cultivators' rights and the economy of the country. The laws and regulations enacted after independence are based on principles

leading towards socialism in respect of land ownership and restricting free trade of agricultural products. In applying the Land Naturalization Act 1953 and bye-laws of 1954 pertaining thereto it was possible to achieve the grant of ownership and distribution of over 3,300,000 acres of land only. Yet a cultivator was not permitted to decide on one's own to pawn-sell, transfer or partition his allotted parcel.

Under section (9) and (10) of the agricultural lands Act 1953, landowners can transfer or partition their land only on receiving permission from the authorities. Under section (11) and (12) of the same act, they are not permitted to cease agricultural work, let the land lie fallow or lease the land to others. These are clear indications that cultivators do not really possess the land they own.

The Revolution Council promulgated (1) Tenancy Act 1963 (2) Bye Laws relating to Tenancy Act 1963 (3) Protecting the right of cultivators Act 1963 and (4) Tenancy Amendment Act 1965. According to section (3) of the Tenancy Act 1963 the government by notification order any land to be leased to tenants and thus the state usurps the right of landowners to lease their land. Section (6) also stipulated that the state had the authority to issue regulations for the tenants working on the lands leased from the state. The cultivators who under the Land Naturalization Act 1953 possessed the right to own land became lessees under the new laws.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council, SLORC, has continued to exercise the same powers and the cultivators have not gained any relief from the state. The cultivators not only lost their basic rights but also suffered under the additional burdens imposed by SLORC.

Notification No. 4/78 dated 18 September 1978, stated that any failure to sow the allotted land with the earmarked crop to obtain optimum results or failure to sell the full quota at the stipulated price during a determined period would result in confiscation of the land. Presently such drastic powers are entrusted to village and Township administration and the cultivators are compelled to follow their dictates without voicing any protest.

The 'Protection of the Right of Cultivation Act, 1963,' stated that the following were protected: (1) agricultural land (2) cattle and ploughing implements (3) tractors and machinery (4) other implements whether animate or inanimate (5) prohibition from confiscation for any reason of agricultural produce and arrest of cultivators. However, at the same time it was stipulated that such protection would not apply in the case of (a) non-payment of dues owing to the state (b) disputes arising from inheritance cases or actions taken by the state for security reasons.

Cultivators are therefore in the position of "Given but not received." At the present moment, village and Township administrations are misusing the powers given under these regulations by arresting land workers, forcing them to stand under the scorching sun, canceling the right to work the land, as well as prosecuting and jailing them.

According to existing laws dealing with grazing grounds near villages, these places have traditionally remained as pastures for the cattle nearby but recently the village and Township administrations in collusion with land records officials changed the designation from grazing land to agricultural land. They then either sold the cultivation rights or worked the land themselves and as a result there is no pasture for cattle. This has created great difficulties for cultivators. Every year about 3,000 to 5,000 acres of land are formed in river areas. There are rules and regulations how such land should be allocated. However, it is

learnt that the village and Township administrations ignored the regulations and allocated such land to relatives, people who offered bribes, veterans, or among the members of the administrative bodies. Some obtain over 50 acres, which they then sell at high prices to others. The real farmers are unable to do anything but just accept the situation.

Under the socialist regime, which took power in 1962, rice production was nationalized. The government attempted to redistribute productive lands under nationally administered, locally managed collective farming. The general ineffectiveness of this program, combined with the fertility of Burma's soil, meant that the changes posed little threat to food security, despite populations growth from 17 million just after World War II to 24 million in 1962. Trouble in the rice market triggered the end of the socialist-styled agriculture economy. By 1987 another food crisis loomed, and the government abandoned its strictest controls on the rice market. Fearing possible feminine, in September 1997, the SPDC lifted the ban on harvest-time rice trading, in place in 1962. The market price of rice was cut in half.

The SLORC/SPDC era has retained central planning and control of food production. Farmers are still required to sell a percentage of their rice to the government at discount prices. The paddy procurement system is implemented by Myanmar Agricultural Produce Trading (MAPT), a state agency which, along with other arms of the bureaucracy, inherited the duty from its socialist predecessor. MAPT's national structure reaches down to the village, where it designates paddy land and collects a fixed quota based on land area. This quota rose steadily from 1988 until 1995, when it was fixed at 12 baskets per acre in high rice-producing areas such as Irrawaddy Division.

An inherent flaw in this system is the government's quota calculation based on arable land area rather than amount of rice actually planted or harvested. Farmers who work poor land, or for other reasons produce an imperfect crop, are not exempt from the quota. They fulfill their obligation by supplying paddy bought on the market. In these cases, the difference between the relatively high market price and the low government purchase rate results in a net loss for farmers.

Households that fail to fill the quota face a variety of consequences. For households unable to sell the earmarked quota to the government, the local authorities, with the help of the armed forces and police, often forcefully confiscate the households entire supply of paddy including that used for consumption and seed paddy. If even after such confiscation the quota is still not achieved, the defaulting cultivators are arrested and their rights to cultivate prohibited. While arrests and beatings have been reported, more common is the confiscation of paddy land, for redistribution to other farmers more likely to produce. Farmers have also been sent to labor camps to work off their debt. In Irrawaddy Division, local military authorities are said to have ordered the rice mills to close, preventing the milling of harvested rice for consumption or trade until entire villages filled their quotas. Lastly, farmers have been threatened, scolded and publicly abused by government rice procurers dissatisfied with their quota. The authorities also force cultivators to leave their work unfinished and use them in army projects such as road building, railway track laying, and digging canals. In addition, farm workers are forced to guard railway tracks day and night for so-called security reasons. Another shameful and despicable act is the use of agricultural workers and their families as "porters" by the armed forces during their operations. Many lives have been lost as a result of exhaustion, torture, etc. The unfortunate cultivators are also required to attend so-called political rallies organized by the authorities whatever their feelings and whether

their daily routine is adversely affected or not. Those who are unable to join these rallies due to sickness are compelled to give bribes to village authorities. The cultivators also are forced to provide dry provisions to the army unit posted near them and when one unit moves out and another takes its place the poor farmers are called upon to pay "moving expenses". This is another factor causing them a lot of difficulties and financial distress. If a cultivator is unable to perform forced labor he has to pay whatever charges are required, however harsh such charges may be. When performing the labour requirements of the troops, the farmer does not receive any payment, and on top of that is often required to shoulder numerous expenses relating to such things as porter duties. During the period of forced labor the cultivator does not get any medical attention, food, accommodation, or welfare and because of lack of such facilities the cultivators suffers from malnutrition, diseases, wounds from accidents, loss of limbs and in several instances, death. Without abiding by the provisions of the Tenancy Act 1963, farm lands confiscated from cultivators and newly developed land plots are re-allocated by land survey clerks and village officials to those who bribe them.

The rice obtained by the government from the farmer's rice quotas is used not only to provide rice to the military and civil servants, but also sold on the international market. Although Burma was once the world's largest rice exporter, the country currently exports less than 100,000 tons a year, which is even lower then the period of 1990 -1993, when rice exports reached a historically low average of 193,000 tons per year. Burma's 1999/2000 rice crop is projected at 9.55 million tons, up nearly 3 percent from the year before, as result of greater area, but the export amount will still be comparatively low. Inability to increase output from its dry season crop, difficulty in acquiring government rice quotas from farmers, and higher domestic consumption are behind the poor export performance. Since 1988 there has been a renewed emphasis on agricultural production for export. The main strategies are to increase the land area under cultivation, increase productive capacity through a variety of irrigation and agricultural development projects, and license commercial ventures to grow rice for export.

In 1994, the SLORC/SPDC announced a major new drive to increase rice exports fourfold, but in the first years of its plan it was forced to buy rice at market value to make up for the short-fall of MAPT-procured quota rice. The World Bank estimates that in 1994-95 rice farmers lost about one quarter of their gross income because of MAPT procurement. This mass purchase of an additional three percent of the nation's rice over and above the quota raised its domestic market value.

The SPDC has launched agricultural development schemes throughout the country, but especially in the Irrawaddy Delta area. The centerpiece is the summer paddy program, in which the traditional single rice crop per year, sown in the rainy season and reaped in the cool season of October-December, is followed by another crop raised and reaped in the hot season. The summer paddy scheme has several elements: development of irrigation systems such as dams and canals, introduction of high yielding hot-season rice strains, and use of new fertilizers, pesticides, and machinery to cope with the technical complications of the new crop.

These tactics have created two new burdens for farmers. The first is the labor needed to build roads, small dams, and irrigation ditches. State-directed, uncompensated labor is common practice in Burma. Farmers who work on these development projects have less time to tend their crops or other subsistence activities. Secondly, the chemical ingredients

of the summer rice program are not distributed free to poor farmers, but are sold to them. Farmers who do not buy the necessary materials cannot participate in the program; their unproductive land, officially designated for double cropping, is reassigned to a more able household. Insufficiency of water added to the fact that inclement weather and unsuitability of crops to be cultivated on certain types of land are proving to be real deterrents to the country's agricultural development. In some parts of Irrawaddy Division, farmers who could not meet the required quota had to pay the market price in cash for the shortfall to the authorities. In some places flood prevented cultivation. There were some areas where crops failed all the three times they were cultivated. These cultivators not only wasted their efforts and suffered losses but also because of their ability to fulfill their quota were arrested by the hundreds.

In some localities the cultivators who could not sow the hot weather crop had to make payment at the rate of *kyat* 300 per acre to Township and village authorities that lined their pockets with these fines. Those farmers who do not have ready cash had to pawn or sell their cattle, carts, houses, etc., to pay the fines. The poor cultivators had to face lots of difficulties.

Over 100 men and women cultivators from Syrium Township, Rangoon Division were prosecuted because they could not fulfill their quota. In Hmawbi Township cultivators who did not achieve 75 percent of the quota had to give *kyat* 300 to *kyat* 500 in addition to which they had to make up the difference at the rate of *kyat* 3 per basket of paddy. The reason given by those collecting the "levy" was that the money was to be used to come to an understanding with Land Records Department and Agricultural Department officials. Moreover, the farmlands of those who failed to provide the required quota were confiscated and transferred to those who were close to the authorities. The original owners were therefore compelled to lease back these paddy lands from the newly authorized farmers for sums ranging from *kyat* 3000 to *kyat* 6000.

In Taungdwingyi Township, Magwe Division the Township sugarcane purchasing committee sent a letter through village and Township officials threatening sugarcane growers. The letter stated that sugarcane growers who failed to supply their produce would have their land confiscated and transferred to the army training unit and they themselves would have to proceed at their own expense to the Ann Valley Road building project and work there. This caused great alarm among sugarcane growers.

The socialist-era reassignment of arable land to productive farmers has taken a new twist in the late 1990s: corporate rice farming. In January 1999, the SPDC announced that 200,000 acres of paddy land in Irrawaddy, Rangoon, and Magwe Divisions had been transferred to nine unnamed entrepreneures licensed by the SPDC to reclaim "wetlands and vacant, fallow and virgin lands."

6.3 Labor Situation in Burma

Even though Burma has been opening up to a market economy system in recent years, agricultural products are still the primary economic markets of the country. Burma's population of 44.74 million (1996) includes 26.34 million people who are between 15 to 59 years of age and being as such have productive capacity. This figure includes 11.72 million farmers, out of a total productive population of 17.59 million. Therefore, the labor force

amounts to 39.3% of the country's total population and 66.8% of the population that has productive capacity. Grassroot workers and farmers, that is, the human resources, are the main forces for the country's potential economic, political and social success under Burma's developing market economy. Matters of industrial peace, decent living standards, social justice and employment regulations are the main problems facing workers in the current circumstances. The labor laws used for many years are far from perfect. Moreover, given current levels of inflation and excessive policy emphasis on the market economic system, some laws are no longer conceptually or practically acceptable, causing workers to have lost their rights. Under the market economic system imposed during the period of SPDC governance, workers in foreign investment and joint venture projects and factories have had to suffer the following;

(a) According to job appointment rules, the employer has the right to dismiss any worker from employment without giving a month's advance notice, as outlined in existing labor laws. This grants excessive opportunities to the employer and prevents a stable workforce from forming at work sites.

(b) There is no process or system by which worker's grievances can be aired, no mechanisms for demanding labor rights, no trade unions permitted at workplaces and departments, no clear mechanisms for resolution of cases where a worker was forced to resign (or rather, workers are afraid to complain) and no step by step appeal programs (for negotiations, interventions and plenary discussion) therefore, workers suffer considerably.

(c) Foreign employers and investors establish factories in Burma as well as in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Although the products are of the same quality, Burmese workers receive much less money than other countries' minimum wages, because of the non-application of the minimum wage law. Some employers who are willing to raise salaries have to first consider workers' salaries in nationalized factories, and in circumstances of inequality there can be conflict between private and government enterprises. Thus, they cannot raise wages even if they wish to and so the workers are unable to attain a fair income.

(d) According to Burma's "Leave and Holiday Act", shift workers must work a maximum 48 hour week, and for offices and service industries 42 hours per week. However staff and workers in supermarkets and factories, which have appeared as a result of the developing market economy, have to work about 10 hours a day in defiance of labor protection laws. Working on Saturday and over time duties are also required, but there is no appropriate recompense, the employees are sometimes paid a small amount of money or issued some food. Social welfare laws are also ignored. Although the wage rates set are not equivalent to the current pace of inflation, there have been no changes and improvements. For example, the Labor Compensation Act excludes by definition workers earning over 400 *kyat* per month, so employers can claim that their workers are not covered by the Compensation Act.

Existing labor affairs laws are not suited to the present situation and system. There are weak points that need to be revised. Legal mechanisms to protect workers have dwindled away, so a worker, who independently demands his or her rights, will not succeed and can be threatened with his or her job. Medical assistance, social assistance and job security programs are not systematically organized.

6.4 Health Situation in Burma

While the SPDC is to be commended for its goal of spending five per cent share of its GDP on health by the year 2000, such goal is likely to remain unmet. According to the WHO, the SPDC is estimated to spend US$ 9 per person per year on health care, while the basic minimum health care system requires expenditures of US 12 $ per person. By choosing to allocate resources to bombs and not beds in hospitals, missiles and mot medicines, the SPDC is waging war against its civilian on the battlefield of health care.

Although Burma's economy continues to register moderate-income growth (GNP growth was 5 percent in 1998/99), the benefits of this growth are poorly distributed since most poverty and human development indicators are unsatisfactory. At $300 per capita, Burma is one of the poorest countries in the World. Life expectancy at birth is 60 compared with an average in East Asia of 68; infant mortality is 79 per thousand births, compared with the Eat Asia average of 34; child malnutrition rates are very high and represent the "silent emergency" in Burma. Wasting affects 30% of children under age 10, reflecting long term deprivation. Education is also a major concern. Official statistics indicate that a quarter of school age children never even enroll in primary school, and that drop out rates are very high. Of those who begin the primary education program, only a third complete the full five years. **(*Source: World Bank report, 2000*)**

According to a SPDC's determined poverty line, about one quarter of the population of Burma lives below minimal subsistence levels. Poverty rates are approximately the same in urban and rural areas, but most of the poor (71 percent) live in rural areas. There is considerable regional variation in poverty rates. The highest rates of poverty are in the Chin State, Magwe Division, and Karenni State, and the lowest rates are in the Tenasserim Division and Shan State.

Burma has the second worst HIV/AIDS epidemic in Asia, after only Cambodia where an estimated four per cent of the adult population is infected, according to the report of United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) in 1999. UNAIDS estimated there were at least 440,000 cases of people infected by HIV/AIDS in Burma, where intravenous drug use is widespread and there is an active cross-border sex trade with neighboring Thailand and China. The SPDC claims to have only 21,503 confirmed HIV cases and 2,854 AIDS cases in 1999. The SPDC could not address the extremely serious AIDS problem in Burma because it refuses to even recognize the epidemic's existence.

6.5 Education Situation

The Education system of Burma has rapidly deteriorated after the junta came into power. 90 per cent of the universities and colleges in Burma have been closed since 1988. Some of them were opened on and off in last twelve years. From 1988 until now, the schools and universities of Burma have been opened for a mere 40 months. The educational system is continuing to deteriorate beyond comprehension, and several generations have missed out on their chances for education. The closures of schools has been a systematic objective of the military to deprive the youth of knowledge, thereby sealing the fate of the students' future.

Since the bloody military coup in 1988, the SPDC has systematically been ruining

the education system of Burma. Students are the most affected group in the country because not only have they been denied their education, but they also have been denied fundamental rights such as freedom of speech and expression.

The military's main objective has been to prolong its power. Militarization has been top priority for the SPDC instead of providing education for the population. Students have always been viewed as a threat to the military regime and are considered the most vocal group of opposition. Therefore, the SPDC is sacrificing the youth's future in order to prolong its tyrannical reign. Since the closure of universities, colleges and schools, the regime has opened several military institutes in order to produce well-qualified and loyal personnel. By opening these facilities, the military has admitted the poor state of the educational situation. These institutes were prioritized, well equipped and despite the closure of other schools, they have remained opened. Due to these circumstances, there have been only two options for Burma's youth: either join the army and receive education or stay idle with no future. Although small numbers of colleges were reopened in 1998-99, students are forced to attend the classes under the closed surveillance by the Military Intelligence. All students were required to sign an agreement in which they promised that they would not involve in any political activities or they would be expelled. It is a frightening ordeal for Burma when considering its future. Schools have been closed so often that the number of educated people within Burma is significantly decreasing. The curriculum has also repeatedly been changed to fit the government's needs, thereby reducing the standard of the student's education. The Burmese Education system has deteriorated to the point where it is no longer recognized by world standards.

The SPDC claims a strong commitment to develop human resources as they prepare to integrate into the global economy, a commitment that will be difficult to meet under the present spending limitations. It is impossible to provide good quality education services with the substantial erosion in education spending over the past decade, SPDC's spending in education as a share of national income is among the lowest in the world. Official data shows that real public spending per child has fallen from about 1200 *kyat* per child (5-9 years) in 1990/91 to a dismal 100 *kyat* in 1999/2000. Education financing is further confounded by the lack of affordability at the household level. The cost barrier is compounded by the poor quality of infrastructure and little adaptability of schooling (including schedules and curricula) to local conditions. The gap between SPDC spending on defense as compared to education is enormous by Asian standards. While the UNDP in 1998 said that education spending rose from 1.4 per cent of GDP in 1986-87 to 2.6 per cent in 19991-92, it has been in steady decline since then, to just 1.1 per cent. With the exception of military universities, the universities in Burma have been open for only three out of past eleven years, and many four-year curriculum have been reduced to two-to-three month courses. The SPDC's refusal to reopen the schools on the pretext that they must maintain "political stability" calls strongly into question their commitment to education.

6.6 Unfair Levies and Taxes

Tax for Disabled Veterans

The SPDC's financial crisis, a result of poor economic management, corruption,

and international sanctions, has deteriorated to the point that they are not able to make payments to workers and the armed forces. However, this dilemma has not stopped them from implementing a special program to raise funds for their numerous disabled veterans.

70 million *kyat* have been earmarked in Mon State alone to fund this program. Owners of vehicles must pay a special tax of 30,000 *kyat* when they renew their vehicle licenses. Rubber plantation owners must contribute 2,000 *kyat* per acre. Even those making only subsistence living — snack shop owners, rick-shaw drivers, and horse-drawn cart drivers — must pay 250 *kyat* each. The imposition of such a tax adds to the evidence of the economic desperation of the regime. **(*Source: Voice of Burma radio - January 18*)**

Situations In States And Divisions

6.7 Situation in Tenasserim Division

High taxes and Extortion From the villages in the Yadana Pipeline Area, Tennasserim Division

LIB 273 and IB 106 have been securing the pipeline project site in the seaside area north and south of Hpaungdaw village, and unfairly taxing the villagers in the region. Fishermen from villages including Hpaungdaw, Ohnpingwin, Kywe-tho-nyima, and Kyachattaw are required to pay a yearly tax for their fishing boats, from 4,000 to 20,000 *kyat* depending on the boat size. Also, whenever they go out to sea they are required to get a permission letter from the local military post, which costs 250 *kyat*. When the fishermen return from the sea, SPDC troops often take whatever fish they want.

Every household in the area is also required to pay 500 *kyat* per month for the transportation and food costs of the army pipeline security force. The troops of the 2 Battalions also take whatever they want, such as soft drinks, pigs, chickens, and alcohol from the shops and villagers homes whenever they desire. In addition, families usually have to pay an extra 300 to 1000 *kyat* every month for other food costs and fines demanded.

These Battalions have also ordered the village headmen to be ready to provide porters whenever the army needs them. If a family cannot provide a porter, the replacement fee is 1,000 to 3,000 *kyat*.

In addition, when farmers go to their farms or plantations they must obtain a permission letter from the village headman or military commanders, which costs 50 *kyat*. Without the permission letter, the farmers are seen by the troops as rebel forces and are severely punished or killed. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

The Situation of Farmers in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division

Most of the rural areas of coastal Yebyu Township are recognized as “Black Zones”, or “Free-Fire Zones” by the SPDC. Therefore, farmers face great difficulty. A farmer must pay 20-50 *kyat* per day, and 100-300 *kyat* per night to get a permission letter from the authorities to go to their farms. Often, even if they have the permission letters, they are accused of being rebels and persecuted or killed by the troops. Farmers are often required

to work on government infrastructure projects, leaving less time for their work. Yet despite the hardships incurred by the army, the army still require the rice paddy tax. The Battalions in this area set the amount and prices for the paddy quotas, and in addition, this year they looted more paddy from the villagers. From January to March 1999, there were several instances of soldiers looting the farmer's paddy. The soldiers were short on rice because they had been instructed to grow a rainy season crop and had failed due to their inexperience. The farmers in this areas are given no oppurtunity to report the looting to the higher authorities. With all the taxes, and looting, and difficulties to grow their crops, many people have been left with nothing and forced to flee their farms and live in hiding. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Plantations Destoyed by power line from the Yadana pipeline area to Ye, Ye Township

In 1999, the army put electric wires and poles through several private properties as they were providing electricity to the Yadana pipeline area from Ye Township. When they erected the wooden electricity poles near Kyaukadin village, the poles passed through the property of a Mon family, Nai Daing and Mi Hla, and the soldiers ordered the whole family to immediately move from their house and garden. Their house was destroyed to make way for the power poles. In total, the family lost about 1 million *kyat* for their house and garden. Then, at a betel-nut plantation owned by the Nai Char and Mi Hla Kyi, the soldiers looted all the betel-nut fruit, cut all the trees and burnt them down to make way for the power poles. This family lost about 600 betel-nut trees, which had the earning potential of about 2 million *kyat*. The poles crossed many other betel-nut and fruit plantations and another six families from Kwethalin villages also lost their lands and fruit. These families were (1) Nai Lain-Mi Hla Din, (2) Nai Pho Sein- Mi Khin Nyunt, (3) Nai Pha-Mi Nyi Ma Lay, (4) Nai Thaung Nyein- Mi Khin myint, (5) Nai Myint-Mi Khin Aye, and (6) Nai Kit-Mi Khin Nu. All of these families who lost all or some parts of their plantations did not receive any compensation payment from the government authorities or the Yadana gas and oil companies. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Land confiscation for new military battalion and air base in Ye Township

In March 1999, many hundreds acres of fruit and rubber plantation lands were confiscated by IB 61 at the east side of the Ye-Tavoy motor road, in the southern part of Ye Township area. Due to this forced confiscation, many local villagers from Hangan and 9-mile villages have lost their land and regular income from these plantations. The villagers were given a compensation of 7 *kyat* per tree, and 2,000 to 3,000 *kyat* per plantation. (A tree can produce thousands of *kyat* per year, and the usual worth of a plantation is between 200,000 and 500,000 *kyat*)

In April 1999, after the land confiscation by the authorities, the local people from Hangan and 9-mile villages were also conscripted to be forced laborers in constructing military buildings for LIB 299, the new battalion. Later in May and June, the villagers from the whole southern area of Ye Town were forced to clear the ground, build fences, dig trenches and build quarters.

Not only were the people subjected to forced labor for the new military battalion,

but they also had to provide cash to buy planks and wood for the construction. IB 61 was responsible for collecting funds from every village in the southern part of Ye Town and villages on Ye riverbank. The military officials from IB 61 ordered the headmen to provide 3,000-20,000 *kyat* from the each village depending on the size of the village.

Then, in September 1999, according to the SPDC plans to repair an old Japanese air base in the northern part of Ye Township, and turn it into a strategic air base, another 800 acres of land was confiscated by government troops under the direction of the Southeast Region Military Command. The government also seized local forests and mountains in the area, as it plans to deploy a new battalion, an artillery regiment to secure the air base. The lands were previously rubber, durian (fruit) and betel-nut plantations, owned by Mon villagers from Aryu Taung and Kun-dune villages. Altogether, 51 farms were forcibly taken from Aryu-Taung, with a total value of approximately 64,800,000 *kyat*, and 19 plantations taken from Kun-dune, with a total value of about 24 million *kyat*. No compensation was given. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

Tax for the construction of the Kwethonyima dike

For the construction of the Kwethonyima dike in Yebyu Township, Tenneserrim Division, LIB 273 was provided with 6 millions *kyat* of funding from the Border Area Development program. In addition, they collected another 3.5 millions *kyat* from the villagers. The village headmen were responsible for collecting that fund and asked the villagers to give a tax in four increments. The families who were considerably rich had to pay about 10,000 *kyat* while poorer families had to pay about 500 *kyat*. Although the battalion had raised such funds they also required the villagers to give free labour in the construction of the dike. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

6.8 Situation in Rangoon Division

Sentry fees in Twante Township, Rangoon

People from the following villages that surround the ancient Da-noke pagoda in Ya-Khine-gyaung, Twante Township, Rangoon division are being forced to pay 400 *kyat* per month in sentry fees to the army that safeguards the pagoda, or else go themselves to serve for free. As a result of a death at the pagoda last year, the villagers mostly resort to paying the fine. Those villages are:
(1) Yakhine-gyaung (south), (2) Yakhine-gyaung (north), (3) Tone-tin-kan (south), (4) Tone-tin-kan (north), (5) Shan-kan, (6) Taung-gyaung, (7) Thet-kae-gwin, (8) A-noe-gyaung, (9) Koe-daung, (10) Sut-chaung, (11) Po-phyu-gyaung, (12) Lade-gon and others. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Various taxes in Htantabin Township

During the rainy season of 1998, village and Ward administrators from the 26 village tracts from Kyun-ngu to Hlei-hseik in Htantabin Township, demanded that 1,500 to 4,000

kyat from every household be paid by February 27, 1999. The collections from the village tracts were made on various pretexts. The authorities in Yebyu village tract claimed the collection was for a census, another pretext was that the collection was for the Myawaddy Television Station, at another village it was alleged that the contribution was for the United Nations, and for most it was claimed the money was for re-enforcing local embankments with laterite. The villagers were threatened that if payment was not made by February, action would be taken, such as arrest and detention, or the families would be forced to dig rocks from the ocean. One very poor family in the Tha-baw-chaung village tract had to sell their children's clothing to meet the demand on them for 1,500 *kyat*. The villagers were also required to give free labour for the reconsruction of river embankments with laterite, the digging of laterite pits, and the carrying of the laterite to the embankments. If the villagers were unable to carry the laterite due to illness or being out of the locality, penalties were imposed. This penalty in Thabawchaung was 300 *kyat*, in A-lein-lei, 150 *kyat* and in Yay-dwin-gone it was 400 *kyat*. On February 26, 1999, each person had to give the authorities an impost of 40 *kyat* in addition to this forced labour with their own provisions. **(*Source: NLD*)**

6.9 Situation in Mon State

Situation of Farmers in Mon State Forced to Grow 2 Paddy Crops

In November 1998, after the rainy season paddy harvest, the farmers of Kyaikmayaw, Moulmein, and Paung Townships intended to grow their normal dry season crops of peanuts and sesame. However, the authorities forced them to remove all the peanut and sesame plants that were already growing, and replace them with paddy in order that the farmers would grow a dry-season paddy crop. However, as it was the dry season, and no irrigation assistance was given by the authorities, the crops were unsuccessful. Therefore, in early 1999, the farmers suffered from the loss of both their normal sesame and peanut crops, as well as the rice due to the wrong instruction of the authorities. Those who were not able to give their quota for the harvest were fined, detained, or their land or belongings were confiscated.

Then again, in November 1999, the authorities issued an order for the farmers to grow a dry-season paddy crop, putting the farmers once more in a difficult situation. The government has still neglected to assist the farmers to get such necessary things as fertilizer, irrigation equipment, and water sources. Local battalions have, however, confiscated hundreds of acres of land to start their own cultivation projects. Since they are able to produce 2 paddy crops every year (both a rainy season and a dry season crop) due to government assistance and the conscripted labor of nearby villages, they expect the farmers to be able to do the same. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Agricultural Department Program in Mon State

In July 1999, although floods destroyed crops in Mon and Karen State, the authorities forced the villagers to sell 15 baskets of paddy per acre to the government paddy-buying

centers. If the villagers were unable to pay, the farmers were detained until they could pay, or their belongings were confiscated. Also in July, the SPDC instituted a new program for collecting the rice quota.

Under the new plan, the Agricultural Products Trade Department (APTD) in Mon State, in cooperation with the Myanma Agriculture Bank, forces farmers to take an advance payment loan from the bank and sign contracts to sell their paddy back to the government at a low price. The APTD formed "Paddy-buying management committees" in all the Townships, which loan 2,000 *kyat* per acre to the farmers, contingent that they sell 15 baskets per acre to the government at 350 *kyat* per basket. If the farmers refuse or fail to sell the set amount of paddy to the centers, they will be arrested and detained as usual.

1)Mudon Township: In Mudon Township, there are 4 Town sections, and 42 villages, with 11 paddy-buying centers. The managing committee, led by U San Hlaing, the 2nd manager of the Township APTD, stated in September that they intended to buy 1.3 million baskets of paddy from the Township.

2) Thanbyuzayat Township: There are 4 Towns and 38 villages, with 6 paddy-buying centers. The managing committee, led by U shwe Yin, the manager of the Township APTD, stated in September that they intend to buy 800,000 baskets of paddy from the Township. The situation in the other Townships is similar. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

The Paddy buying Plan for Year 2000 in Mon State

In year 2000, the authorities decided to increase the amount of paddy tax from farmers in Mon State. The authorities decided to buy 15 baskets of paddy per acre from farmers in Mudoen and Chaungzon Townships and 12 baskets of paddy per acre from farmers in Thanbyuzayat Township. In 1999, the authorities had set the quota at 8 baskets per acre in Ye Township area, 10 baskets per acre in Thanbyuzayat Township and 12 baskets per acre in Mudon and Chaungzon Township areas. Thus, in 2000, the quota increased about 15-20% from the last year. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Civilians pay for Military Agriculture Projects in Mon State

In 1997 over 1000 acres of land between Kayon Taung and Kaw Bwee Taung villages, Kyeikmaraw Township, Mon State were confiscated by the South-eastern Military Commander. The land was allocated to the military Battalions under the command of government departments, the Navy and the police force for self-reliant agricultural projects. However, the military battalions were unable to do the work themselves for the cultivation. So the military assigned civilians from the village tracks in the area to cultivate for them. Every village in Kyon Wan, Kyeik Paran, Mae Karo, Kaw Panaw, Kaw Bwee, Kadon See, Kwun Ngan, Hnee Don, Kaw Thatm Tarana, Than Galaung, Karon Letpan and Yaung Pin Seik village tracts were assigned to work ten acres of land each. Civilians were assigned all the work responsibility from plowing to harvest. As the civilians also have their own land to work for their survival, the village headmen collected money and hired people who were able to work on the military run projects. Therefore, each tract spends approximately 300,000 *kyat* every year for hiring people and other expenses. After the harvest every year, the military comes and takes the paddy away, leaving nothing for the civilians. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

"Social Tax" in Paung Township, Mon State

The residents of Paung Township are required to pay taxes to the Township PDC on a monthly basis. The tax is called a "social fund" by the authorities, but the funds are used only by the army and government officials. The amount of tax depends on the village size, but even a small village with only 100 houses is required to pay 15,000 *kyat* for this tax per month.

In addition, on September 22 1999, the PDC authorities of Paung Township, Mon State ordered the village headman of all villages and Towns in the Township to collect a fund, supposedly to support the Township Buddhist Association and the Township USDA. Small villagers were required to provide about 20,000 *kyat* and large villages up to 200,000 *kyat*. The Township headmen also collected a TV tax to go toward the same fund, forcing the owners of TV sets to pay 1,500 - 4,500 *kyat* per TV, depending on the TV size. The Township PDC received about 3 million *kyat* from the villagers. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Huge Taxation for 1999 Student Sports Festival in Mon State

Following the instruction of Southeast Region Military Command to collect funding for the celebration of 1999 Student Sport Festival in December held in Moulmein, Mon State, the local battalions of Mon State collected unusual taxes from **the local population**. The Southeast Command required a bout 80 millions *kyat* to celebrate this sport festival in Moulmein as planned. The higher authorities could only provide 20-25 per cent of this required fund and the rest was collected from the local populace in Mon State by force.

In June 1999, local SPDC military battalions, police and Township authorities organized concerts, traditional boxing and women football competitions, and aggressively coerced people to buy tickets. A great amount of funds raised in this way went into the pockets of military officials, according to the source. Millions of *kyat* went to the military battalions, while the local people suffered from the incredible taxes imposed upon them.

From June 5-6, SPDC IB 210 led by Lt.Col. Tin Hla staged a traditional boxing competition in Mudon Town sport stadium. Before the competition, the commander called a meeting with local village headmen and ward leaders. He instructed them to sell 100 tickets in each village or ward without fail. Some big villages were ordered to sell 300-500 tickets. Each ticket cost 500 *kyat*. He also ordered the leaders to collect 100-300 *kyat* from those who did not buy the tickets. By selling the tickets by force, the IB 210 was able to earn about 5 million *kyat*. A small percentage of the raised funds went to the boxers, but a huge amount went to the military.

Similarly in June, a concert was organized in Mudon by the No.2 Mechanical Engineering Battalion led by Lt. Col. Ye Din. The commander forced the local headmen and ward leaders to sell 10,000 tickets at price of 300 *kyat* per ticket in their areas without fail. Using the same fund-raising methods as the student sport festival, many other fund-raising concerts, sport competitions and traditional boxing competitions were held through Mon State. The local people did not have a way to escape from the forced buying method of all these events, but had to buy all these tickets even though they lived far from the event and could not go. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Illegal Tax Collection in Paung Township, Mon State

In Paung Township, Mon State, the authorities collect taxes, including portering fees from the people of the Township, under the name of "social expenses". Through these taxes, the authorities are able to receive about 600,000 *kyat* every month. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

6.10 Situation in Karen State

Situation in Taungoo District, Karen State

For two to three years now the villagers in the western plain of the district, Karen State have faced heavy burdens of forced labor on roads, army camps and the Pa Thee dam project, while some of their villages just east of Taungoo Town were forcibly relocated to make way for the dam. Things have been even worse for the hill villagers in the east of the district, as over the past two to three years the SPDC has steadily increased its troop presence in this previously inaccessible area. Several villages in the region were destroyed to force the people to move to SPDC-controlled areas, and villagers throughout the hills of Tantabin (Taw Ta Tu) Township were forced to build a road from Baw Ga Li Gyi (Kler Lah) to Bu Sah Kee, opening up much of southeastern Taungoo District to the SPDC troops. Several military camps were subsequently established along this road, at Kaw Thay Der, Naw Soe, Si Kheh Der and Bu Sah Kee. The new road is not passable during rainy season, so villagers have to do forced labor as porters carrying supplies to and from all of these Army camps, then they have to do forced labor rebuilding the road after every rainy season. They also face regular demands for Army camp labor from these units, and suffer from regular looting and extortion of money.

Battalions operating in the area include SPDC IB 26, 30, and 48, and LIB 535 and 707, all under the Southern Regional Command, and LIB 234 from the Western Regional Command. Their troops rotate every four months, and the Battalions are regularly changed; IB 39 was there in 1998 but was replaced by IB 48. There is one Strategic Command (usually consisting of 3 Battalions) from the *Na Pa Ka*, which is the Western Regional Command based in Arakan (Rakhine) State of western Burma, and there have been reports of troops from the Rangoon Military Command in the area as well. The Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA), a Karen armed forces, is active in the hill areas of most of the district, performing guerrilla operations, harassment and ambush of SPDC columns. The Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA) and other SPDC proxy armies are not present in the region.

Like in other areas, the SPDC forces try to undermine the KNLA activities by targeting the villagers. Most villages which do not have an SPDC camp and are not along vehicle roads have been ordered to relocate; more than ten villages have been ordered to move to Baw Ga Li Gyi (Kler Lah) alone since the beginning of 1998. Rather than move as ordered, most people still stay in their villages or the surrounding forests, dodging the SPDC patrols which come through the area. Those who moved as ordered were provided with nothing at the relocation sites and could only build small bamboo huts in which to live. Unable to farm or earn a living and with no support, many of them have fled back to the

forests around their villages. People found hiding in areas around the outlying villages and villages which are perceived as uncooperative have been treated brutally. Villagers found in their fields in outlying areas are either grabbed to be porters, shot dead or brutally executed and robbed on the spot. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

Situation in the "Peace Villages"

Whenever the SPDC troops are attacked or otherwise suffer miletary setbacks in the 'black' areas, they tend to retaliate in the easiest way possible: by going back to the 'brown' villages and demanding cash compensation, arresting elders, executing villagers, or burning houses. After suffering this for years on end, having no control over it and seeing no end in sight, the elders of many villages in the 'brown' areas made their own informal agreements with local SPDC commanders: they gave promises not to help the resistance forces in any way, to report on all movements and activities of the resistance forces and to fully and quickly comply with any and all orders of the SPDC, and in return they were given assurances that they would not be arrested, their villagers would not be tortured or executed, their village would not be forced to move and their homes would not be burned. Villages which have made such agreements are generally dubbed '*Nyein Chan Yay'* ('Peace') villages by SPDC commanders. In Taungoo District this includes most of the villages along the road from Toungoo to Kaw Thay Der, such as Thit Say Taung, Kler Lah (Baw Ga Li Gyi), Ler Ko (Kyaut Pon) and Kaw Thay Der (Yay Tho Gyi). The 'Peace' villages are ordered to live under all kinds of restrictions which make it difficult for many of the people there to tend their crops and earn a living.

Larger villages along the vehicle roads, such as Kler Lah (Baw Ga Li Gyi), Kaw Thay Der (Yay Tho Gyi) and Naw Soe, are under tight SPDC control and have Army bases adjacent to the village. These villages are known as '*Nyein Chan Yay'* ('Peace') villages, in reference to an informal agreement existing between the village elders and the local military that they will cooperate with all SPDC demands and in return will not be forced to relocate or have their houses burned. The leaders of these villages receive constant demands for 'porter fees' and other forms of extortion money, food and materials. The Army also sends regular demands for porters, and to avoid sending people on long-term frontline portering duty the villages have to pool their money and pay labor agents to hire itinerant laborers from Taungoo Town to fill the Army's demands. However, even after paying all this money the villagers regularly have to go for *ad hoc* forced labor portering Army rations to outlying camps; women often do this forced labor because the men fear that they will be held for several months if they go. The villages also have to provide rotating forced laborers for Army camp labor and as messengers. All vehicles transporting goods or passengers to and from Taungoo have to pay bribes to all of the SPDC checkpoints along the way. This causes the price of rice to be 1,000 *kyat* more per sack in Kler Lah than it is in Taungoo, and has also led to a shortage of transport because some drivers have left to find work elsewhere. Villages which are slow in complying with demands for money and forced labor are threatened with having their people and vehicles prohibited from travelling to Taungoo, or with having their homes burned, despite their designation as 'Peace' villages.

People in the 'Peace' villages have also had to do forced labor clearing the route for a new road from Taungoo to Mawchi, over 100 kilometers to the southeast in southern

Karenni (Kayah) State. A road already exists from Taungoo to Kler Lah, and they are now continuing this road towards Mawchi along the route of an old pre-war road. Much of the actual road construction is being done with bulldozers, but villagers have been forced to do all the initial clearing of the road route by hand. Many farmers with fields along the route could not plant a crop in 1998 for fear of being taken for additional forced labor by the soldiers along the road. Construction is still ongoing and is far from complete, and there have been reports that construction is also ongoing from the Mawchi end of the road using the forced labor of Karenni villagers.

The SPDC is currently intensifying its clampdown on the outlying areas of the district, and this results in even further restrictions on the 'Peace' villages. Even sleeping away from one's house at night can result in arrest for 'contact with insurgents'. In the brown areas of Taungoo District, the 'appropriate action' taken against such people usually means execution, or at the very least prolonged detention under torture. The prohibition against sleeping in farm huts makes life very difficult for villagers in the cropping season, especially those whose fields are a significant distance from the village. The restrictions on travel to Taungoo make it very difficult for traders to bring any goods into the area or for villagers to shop for required items in Town. In practice, this restriction is used to extort money from traders before allowing them to travel and to 'tax' everything they transport. In addition, there are at least six military checkpoints along the road from Baw Ga Li Gyi (Kler Lah) to Taungoo, and every checkpoint demands money or goods from passing drivers. To further worsen matters, the few vehicles in the villages are often commandeered by the military or banned from travelling the road whenever there are military operations ongoing, and whenever a village fails to send money or forced laborers as demanded one of the most frequently used punishments is to ban the people and vehicles of the village from travelling. There are very few vehicles in the villages to begin with, but some of the vehicle owners have already left to move to the plains because they can no longer face all these restrictions and pay all the extortionate fees required to transport people and goods to and from Baw Ga Li Gyi.

Education and health services available in the region are minimal. In the 'Peace' villages people have access to primary school, and to some higher levels in large villages such as Baw Ga Li Gyi, but all the costs must be paid by the parents and the curriculum is strictly Burman. People in the SPDC-controlled areas have access to basic medical facilities at Baw Ga Li Gyi and a few other places, but while these 'hospitals' have a doctor or two the villagers have to buy the medicines at high prices which most of them cannot afford. In addition, when people from the village are injured or killed during forced labour it is not the SPDC which pays to treat the injured or compensate the families of the dead, but the villagers themselves.

Situation in Nyaunglebin Township, Karen State

Nyaunglebin District (known in Karen as Kler Lweh Htoo) is one of the northern Karen districts, straddling the border of Karen State and Pegu Division (see maps on pages 4-5). It covers an area about 110 kilometres from north to south and averaging 40 kilometres from east to west, bounded by the Sittaung River in the west and the upper reaches of the Bilin River in the east. To the north lies Toungoo District, to the south Thaton District, to the

east Papun District, and to the west the heartland of Pegu Division and the Pegu Yoma hills.

Finding itself unable to suppress Karen resistance activity in the hills, in early 1997 the SPDC began a campaign to wipe out all Karen civilian villages in the Destrict. Where villagers could be found they were ordered to relocate westward into the plains; where they could not be caught, their villages were shelled without warning, looted and then burned to the ground, while villagers found afterwards were shot on sight. Most villagers fled into the hills to live in hiding in small groups of families while trying to grow small patches of rice, and many others moved westward as ordered into SPDC garrison villages in the plains, or to stay with relatives in the comparative safety of larger villages.

Many of those who fled to the plains found they could not survive there; they had no land to plant and there was little work to be found, because villagers in the plains were suffering heavily under the heavy extortion fees and crop quotas imposed by the SPDC military and civilian authorities. At the same time, the hill villagers found they were being used as forced labor by the SPDC much more in the plains, both at Army camps and on local infrastructure projects. Unable to survive under these conditions, many have fled back to their home villages in the hills, only to find that the clampdown on the hill areas is continuing. In most cases the hill villages have not been rebuilt because SPDC patrols continue to move through the area destroying whatever structures they find, destroying rice stockpiles and crops in the fields, shooting livestock and shooting villagers on sight. Those living in the hills and those who have returned from the plains have no choice but to live in hiding in small groups, usually near their home villages or their old hill fields. They try to grow small crops, forage for food in the forest and flee further into the hills whenever SPDC patrols come near.

The SPDC has increased its military presence in the area in an attempt to increase its control in the hills to the east, and these troops are placing ever-increasing demands for extortion money, crop quotas and forced labour on the civilians. The SPDC in Rangoon is no longer sending them full rations and has ordered them to grow their own food or take it from the villagers; as a result, not only are they taking food from the villagers, but they are also taking their land and forcing them to work to grow food for the Army. At the same time, crop quotas which all farmers must hand over to the SPDC have increased and the corruption of the civilian authorities who collect the crop quotas has grown worse. The farmers might be able to survive this in good years, but most of them have suffered partial or complete crop failures for the past two years running due to droughts when they need rain, followed by floods once the crop is planted. The combination of the crop failures and the increased demands has made it impossible to survive. As though this were not enough, many have found they have to flee a new SPDC force which has been introduced in the area: the *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation death squads.

The *Sa Sa Sa*, or *Sa Thon Lon*, is the Bureau of Special Investigations of the SPDC's Directorate of Defense Services Intelligence (DDSI), and its Guerrilla Retaliation squads have been handpicked from Battalions based in the region, reportedly under the direct orders of DDSI chief Lt. Gen. Khin Nyunt. They began operations in the region in or around September 1998, and currently operate in the plains area east of the Sittaung River, covering Shwegyin, Kyauk Kyi and Mone Townships. The Guerrilla Retaliation squads operate secretively in small groups, but with a clearly stated purpose: to execute without question everyone suspected of any present or past connection with the KNU or KNLA,

regardless of how long ago or how slight that connection may have been. Their obvious purpose is to deliver a message to villagers that any contact whatsoever with resistance forces will be punishable by death, if not now then 10 or 20 years from now. They have already executed dozens of villagers both in the plains and the hills, both Karens and Burmans, guilty and innocent, and the terror they create is now driving many to flee their villages even if they have had no contact with the opposition. Recently they have expanded their operations northward into Tantabin Township of southern Toungoo District, and they have also begun searching for people on the western side of the Sittaung River. This combined with all the other forms of oppression the villagers are suffering has driven them beyond their endurance, and villages in the plains as well as the hills are now breaking up.

It began appearing in the villages of western Nyaunglebin District in September 1998. The force only consists of an estimated 200 troops but they have been handpicked and specially trained. Operating in small sections of 5 to 10 soldiers, they are very secretive, moving by night from village to village. Their self-stated purpose is to summarily execute every villager who has ever had any kind of contact with resistance forces, whether at present or long in the past. They have been carrying out this function brutally, shooting, stabbing, and often beheading their victims and dumping their bodies in the rivers.

As in the rest of Burma, villagers in the plains near the Sittaung River all have to hand over a portion of their crops to the SPDC authorities. This applies both to people still living and farming in their home villages and to those living in relocation sites but commuting to farm their own land. For the crop harvested at the end of 1998, the quota rate was 15 baskets of paddy (unhusked rice) per acre of flat irrigated paddy field, and 12 baskets per acre of hillside ricefield (one basket of paddy weighs approximately 20 kilograms, and when milled produces about ½ basket of rice, which weighs 16.5 kilograms). The SPDC paid 300 *kyat* per basket for this quota paddy, while local market price at the same time was 520-600 *kyat* per basket. In a good year, one acre of flat paddy field can produce only 40-50 baskets, so this is a sizable portion of the crop. However, in the 1998 season many farmers lost over half their crop and some lost almost their entire crop due to early lack of rain followed by floods; others only had enough seed to plant part of their fields because of debt caused by 1997 crop failures and SPDC extortion, and some lost part or all of their crop because of restrictions on movement or fear of SPDC and *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation units. No exceptions or reductions were made for any of these farmers, with the result that many had to sell their livestock and valuables or go even further into debt in order to buy paddy at market price and then hand it over as their quota. When they asked for quota reductions because of the failure of their crops some were told by SPDC officials, “We don’t care if your bucket has a hole in it, just bring us the water.” In the end, many have been left with no valuables, large debts, and nothing to eat but boiled rice soup - a thin gruel which families eat to try to make what little rice they have last longer.

To make it worse, the local quota collection officials are extremely corrupt and the Army demands additional quotas from some farmers. The written law in Burma decrees that all land belongs to the state. A farmer from *xxxx* explained that his field to the west of the Mone - Kyauk Kyi road was designated as property of the Township Peace & Development Council, while his field to the east of the road was designated as property of the Army; for the Township land he had to give 12 baskets per acre at 300 *kyat* per basket, but for the Army land he had to give 10 baskets for an acre to the local Battalion with no

payment whatsoever. In addition, the Township officials use several transparent tricks to steal much of the villagers' paddy and money. When farmers bring their 12 or 15 baskets per acre, the officials often claim that it's not 'clean', i.e. that it contains bits of straw and impurities, and either winnow it a second time or calculate a reduction in the number of baskets to be paid for. They then deduct a portion of the paddy which they say will be a 'donation to the temple', and reduce the payment appropriately, though it is very unlikely that this paddy will ever be given to any temple. An additional 4 bowls (a quarter basket) of paddy or husked rice per acre is then demanded for the Township Peace & Development Council without payment, and a cash service charge is deducted from the amount to be paid to the farmer. Sometimes even more deductions are made. In the end, most farmers are paid for no more than two thirds of the paddy which they are forced to bring, and at only 300 *kyat* per basket. The officials take all the paddy, probably log it as all having been paid for, and can keep the extra rice they confiscate for the Township as well as one third or more of the cash for themselves. The villagers are fully aware that this is simply corruption, but they do not dare complain for fear of arrest. They have no choice but to pay the quota as demanded, and they must do so before the deadline of April 1 each year.

Some villages are also paying heavy monthly or yearly fees to local Battalions to hold off orders for forced relocation. Ter Bpaw and Po Thaung Su villages in Mone Township paid 300,000 *Kyat* each to avoid being forced to move several years ago but could not pay again, so they were forced to move to Thit Cha Seik. Yay Leh village, a larger village also in southern Mone Township, is reportedly still paying to avoid being moved, as is Zee Byu Gone in Tantabin Township. Whenever fighting between SPDC and resistance forces occurs, nearby villages are also heavily fined as part of the punishment. In January 1999, *Sa Thon Lon* Guerrilla Retaliation troops called a meeting and told villagers in Kyauk Kyi Township that they would be fined 100,000 *kyat* for each gun lost by the *Sa Thon Lon* in fighting in their area, in addition to other punishments such as executions and forced relocation.

Fees are usually demanded through the village headperson, who must distribute the burden of the extortion fees among the households of the village. Usually only the village head and a few others are exempt, such as the village secretary and the pastor. The burden is so heavy that all other households must pay, even widows and others who have great difficulty supporting themselves. When troops take livestock, food, alcohol and other such things, money is often collected from all the villagers to compensate those who have been robbed, though often it is the village head who must provide these things and pay for them out of his/her own pocket. Whenever demands are not met, it is the village head who is immediately arrested, detained and physically punished. The expense and physical risk of being a village head make it difficult to find people who are willing to do the job, so some villages have implemented a system to rotate the headman's duties every week or every month between themselves. In some Burman or part-Burman villages the situation is more stable for the village head, and here the village heads often become part of the corruption; if the troops demand 1,000 *kyat* from each household they will demand 1,200 or 1,500 *kyat* and keep the balance for themselves.

In order to make it impossible for the villagers to survive or to support the resistance, the SPDC columns are also systematically trying to destroy their food supplies. After villagers harvest their paddy, they winnow it, dry it and then store it in paddy storage barns, which are small sheds measuring about 2 metres square, raised on posts and filled entirely by a woven

bamboo paddy storage bin. In recent decades, their fear of Burmese troops and the regular need to flee to the forest has caused most of them to hide their paddy storage barns deep in the forest, only keeping a portion of their supply in the village at any given time. When SPDC columns approach the village, people have no time to save their rice or paddy, so the troops take it or deliberately destroy it when they arrive in the village. They also hunt for the villagers' paddy storage barns in the forest, and whenever they find them they either burn them along with all of the paddy, or tear them down and scatter the paddy on the ground to be destroyed by dirt and animals. Sometimes if the owners return from their hiding place soon afterward they can salvage some of the paddy which is scattered on the ground, but usually only a small portion of it.

The SPDC columns also shoot the villagers' livestock whenever they see it in the village or the fields, and either eat it or leave it to rot. One villager from a hill village in Kyauk Kyi Township told KHRG that in his area the troops cut open one side of the cattle and buffaloes they had shot, just to make sure the meat would be destroyed by insects or rot before the villagers could get to it. During the rice growing season, SPDC columns which see rice crops growing in the hills often go into the fields and pull up the plants or beat and stomp them down with machetes and Army boots in order to destroy the crop. In Khoh Lu village of Kyauk Kyi Township in August 1998, an SPDC column cut and bundled the entire crop of several farmers, then threshed the unripe grain from the stalks onto the ground to destroy it. Another Column used the same method to destroy much of the crop at Kler Kee village in November 1998. The hillside rice fields are impossible to conceal, though fortunately for the villagers the Columns often do not have the time to stop and destroy more than a portion of the crop. When harvest time comes the Army columns seem to step up their activities, possibly with the intention of driving the villagers away from their crop at this crucial time. It is common for villagers to lose much of their crop because SPDC Columns are too close to their fields just when the rice is ready for harvest.

For the villagers in hiding in and around their hill villages, the key factor is food. As long as they can somehow obtain food they feel that they can survive, even if they regularly have to avoid SPDC patrols. For this reason they try to stay near their farmfields unless it is absolutely impossible, and if they cannot then they try to establish new fields elsewhere. Unfortunately, rice fields are very visible to SPDC patrols and very vulnerable, and the villagers often have their crop destroyed by an SPDC patrol or they have to flee at a crucial point in the crop cycle. Even after the harvest is in, there is always the danger of SPDC troops finding the hidden paddy storage barns and destroying the food supply. For these reasons, villagers in the hills often have little or nothing to eat.

The Situation of Farmers in KawKareik Township, Karen State

In the Kawkareik Township area, farmers were instructed to give a paddy tax to the government of 8 baskets per acre. They were instructed to take this amount of paddy to the paddy-buying centers, and the officials of these centers set the deadlines for the farmers to bring in the tax. In the Township area, as the local farmers had been ordered to work on farmlands owned by government officials, they had little time to work in their own fields. The farmers had been instructed since June of 1998 to work, on a rotation basis, on the government farms. The farmers and their oxen were forced to work at least 3 days a week.

Therefore, the farmers were forced to hire people to help them work on their own farms, incurring more cost for the farmers. There was also a flood, so for the January 1999 harvest, the farmers were unable to give the full amount of the paddy tax to the government. Subsequently, many farmers were arrested and detained until their families gave the tax. Often the family members were forced to sell belongings in order to buy paddy to give for the tax. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

The Situation of Farmers in Kyer-Ein-Seik-Kyi Township, Karen State

In the last dry season (from December 1998 to June 1999), the local farmers were required to grow a dry-season paddy crop. Two Battalions in the area, LIB 284 and IB 32, cultivated a dry season harvest with the material assistance of the government and the labor assistance of the Township people. The Township was also required to provide them with fertilizer. In the Township area, however, many poor farmers are unable to cultivate such a crop as the soil is poor in the dry season, and they have no irrigation equipment or assistance from the government. For the rainy season harvest, the authorities required 30,000 baskets of paddy from the entire Township area, and ordered about 30 Mon villages between the Zami and Winyaw rivers to give 20,000 baskets of paddy. In February 1999, the authorities sent an order complaining that the full tax had not been given, and demanding the remainder be sold at once. Then on May 5, 1999, the Township authorities ordered the 30 Mon villages to give 5,000 baskets as their dry season paddy tax, which they didn't have due to low crop production and the difficulties of a dry season crop. The villagers then had to pay 750 *kyat* per basket in substitution for the paddy. *[However, when the authorities buy paddy from villagers, they pay only 350 kyat per basket].* **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

The Situation of Farmers in Pa-an Township, Karen State

In the Pa-an Township area, there are about 20 Mon villages and 30 Karen villages. For the 1998-99 rainy season crop, the authorities required that 80,000 baskets of paddy be sold to them at low prices from the Township. They also required that the farmers give them 10 baskets per acre in tax. In addition, the farmers in the area are required to give a rice tax to the local SPDC Battalions as well as the DKBA troops in the area. The DKBA tax is illegal, and amounts to about 1 basket of paddy per family per month, but is allowed by the SPDC in order to keep good relations with their DKBA allies. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Heavy Tax Collection on the Pa-an- Myawaddy Motor Road

Beginning in November 1999, the Karen State's various departments including army, police and intelligence unit created a check-point between Kawkareik and Paan Towns to collect tax from ferry trucks. About 1500-2500 *kyat* from each truck, which passes their checkpoint, and all trucks, which run forth and back between Myawaddy and Paan have to pay this tax. Besides the official tax paid to the checkpoint to the authorities, the ferry trucks also have to pay each army or militia outpost along the road. There are about 20 outposts along this road, each ferry truck has to pay tax 100-300 *kyat* for each outpost. Thus, according to the truck drivers, one truck has to pay about 5000-10000 *kyat* in total taxes to both

checkpoints and many other security outposts. As the ferry trucks have to pay huge amount of tax, they have again increased the ferry fares for passengers. Therefore, passengers travelling on the road have to pay higher fares, and also waste their time because of the many stops made by soldiers and militias. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Unusual tax collection in Gyaing River area

When the SPDC ordered its local battalions to raise funds by their own means, in November 1999, a new tax collection method was introduced to the fishermen of Gyaing River.

Fishing is a traditional way of life for local people along the Gyaing River that flows from Karen State, passes through Mon State and flows into Andaman Sea. Now, since November 1999, a huge amount of tax has been demanded from the fishermen for fishing permission in the Gyaing River by SPDC's Kawkareik Township authorities of Karen State.

The amount of tax varies depending on the size of fish-boat and types of fishing nets. Fishermen in the region are required to pay between 1000-2,500 *kyat* per month to the police officer, Major Min Tun, whose base is the Karit village police station. About 250-300 fishermen from villages such as Kawbein, Kaw Pauk, Kawgu, Karit, Kaw Kataw, Thayet taw, Kanni, Gyaing and Than Hlae villagers were ordered to pay the required tax. The amount of this new tax has put a big burden on the fishermen because most of them only earn 3,000-4,000 *kyat* per month.

After the fishermen pay the tax to the police, they are given a permission letter to fish in the river. Those who are arrested without permission are punished with confiscation of their fishing nets and boat. Under this condition, the poor fishermen who don't have enough cash to pay the tax must stop their traditional occupation and face hardship for the survival of their families. Some of them have abandoned their work and migrated to Thailand to seek new jobs. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

DKBA tax in Pa-an Township

Many villagers from Mon villages, such as Zathapyin, Thanhlae, Khyaya-ahtwin, Khayar-apyin, Kawlamu and Kronebar in Pa-an Township, Karen State are forced to pay taxes to the DKBA. For much of 1999, DKBA battalions No. 3 and 4 collected 200 *kyat* per household per month for the expenses of their office and troops. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Taxes for the army in KyaEinSeikKyi Township

In July 1999, when IB 32 built a camp in KyaEinSeikKyi Town, Maj. Nyein Chann Aung, of IB 32 issued an order which forced the villages close to the Town to provide free laborers for the construction. For the villages that were far from the Town, such as Win-yaw-seikyi, Miparan, Hteepho-naing, Phaya-nga-su and Naung-tae villages, the village headmen were instructed to send bamboo, tree poles, or money to the army for the construction. For the villages quite far from the construction site, the villagers were instructed to pay money instead of bamboo, at the substitute rate of 30 *kyat* per bamboo tree required.

In early September, IB 32 had asked for 4 laborers from Winyaw village, but later

the commander Lt. Col. Ko Ko Aung instructed the village headmen that they would take only 2 laborers, and they wanted the headman to pay money for the other 2 laborers at 8,000 *kyat* per head. In addition, IB 32 has regularly demanded porter fees, with the amount of the fee depending on the size of the village. A village with 300 households, such as Than-baya village has to pay 20,000 *kyat* in porter fees every month.

Also in the Township, when the so-called Karen Peace Organization (KPO) took base in Than-paya village they forced the local villages to build their camp. In addition to the labor, the villages, including Nanpahpaw, Hteepauklo, Shwe-la-inn, Dayae-gwin, Thayet-gone and Kha-thwin-suu were instructed to provide a regular tax. Since June, each village in the Than-paya village tract has been required to pay 4,000 - 10,000 *kyat* per month, supposedly so that the KPO can hire labourers to take the security of the bridges along the road from Chaung-htitkwa to Kya Inn Seikyi Town. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

6.11 Situation in Shan State

Villagers With Dry Fields Forced To Sell Rice In Murng-Su, Shan State

SPDC authorities in Murng-Su Township, Shan State have been diverting water from Nam Su river to gem mines nearby. Previously the Nam Su river had been the main source of water that fed the rice fields in the areas of the following villages in Murng-Su Township:

1. Murng Zaang
2. Ho Pung
3. Huay Hoe
4. Ho Seng
5. Nam Tawng
6. Maw Mae
7. Wan Loi
8. Loi Naa
9. Murng Awt
10. Na Wai
11. Nawng Aep
12. Pha Ya
13. Wan Saw
14. Hai Pa
15. Paang Zoi
16. Na Zaam
17. Kung Kyawng

Because of the severe shortage of water, the farmers in the areas were not able to cultivate the land and more than 700 acres of rice fields have been abandoned. However, the SPDC authorities are still demanding that they sell their rice quotas to them. The farmers in the areas are obliged to sell 15,000 baskets of rice at a price of 350 *kyat* per basket while the market price is over 560 *kyat*. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

Land Confiscation In Mu-Se

In early 1999, a wide area of rice fields on the border with China, belonging to the people in Mu-Se Township, was confiscated by the SPDC military authorities in the name of Ngwe Sin (Silver Elephant) Company for a high tech building project. At least 51 families in Mu-Se Township lost hundreds of acres of their ancestral land to this project alone. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

Land Confiscation And Extortion In Kaeng-Tung

In early 1999, SPDC troops of IB245 confiscated 60 acres of rice fields from the Shan villagers of Wan Pawm, Tin Thaat and Waeng Sun villages in Kaeng-Tung, Shan State. After that, the troops forced the villagers in the area to lease the land to grow rice at the rate of 2,000 *kyat* per acre per year or for one harvest. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

6.12 Situation in Karenni (Kayah) State

Between April and July 1996, relocation orders were issued by the SLORC (renamed the SPDC in November 1997) to at least 182 villages in Karenni (Kayah) State. The villages affected by the forced relocations account for well over half of the geographic area of the State and are home to at least 20,000-30,000 people. The orders demand that the villagers move to military-controlled sites within 3-7 days. The main reason for the gathering of the villagers into these relocation sites was to bring the civilian population under tight military control and to prevent the villagers from being able to provide any support to the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP). The other resistance groups in Karenni, the Karenni Nationalities People's Liberation Front (KNPLF), the Kayan New Land Party (KNLP) and the Shan Nationalities People's Liberation Organisation (SNPLO) have already made ceasefire agreements with the SLORC. The KNPP, a notably larger and older resistance force than the others, made a ceasefire agreement with the SLORC in March 1995. However, the SLORC used the premise of the ceasefire to move its troops into offensive positions and then broke the ceasefire in June 1995 by launching an offensive against the KNPP. By the end of March 1996 the SLORC had taken all of the main KNPP bases near the Thai border. The KNPP reorganised and sent guerrilla columns throughout Karenni to disrupt SLORC forces, and the SLORC responded by commencing the mass forced relocations. Fighting has been ongoing ever since, despite the false SLORC/SPDC claim that the KNPP surrendered in 1995 and that there has been no fighting in Karenni since then. Currently the bulk of the fighting is located in the southeastern part of the state.

At least 20,000-30,000 people have been displaced, forced to move into military-controlled camps where many of them have been starving and dying of disease, or to flee into hiding in the forest where they face similar suffering as well as the possibility of being shot on sight by SLORC/SPDC patrols. Some have escaped to Thailand but the vast majority are still struggling to survive in the relocation sites or in hiding in the forests near their destroyed villages. There is no sign that their situation will improve anytime soon, as the SPDC continues its campaign aiming at the complete military control of Karenni State and the obliteration of all possibilities of resistance.

Immediately following the largest of wave of forced relocations in June/July 1996, about 3,000 people made their way to existing Karenni refugee camps in Thailand. After the following few months of the rainy season another 1,300 arrived. Since then there has only been a slow trickle of refugees coming into the camps, 1-3 families at a time. In January 1998 some larger groups, consisting of 60 or 70 people, reached the camps. Groups of this size came again in March of the same year. However, since January 1999 over 1,500 refugees have arrived in the Karenni refugee camps in Thailand. The overwhelming reason for this sudden, large migration seems to be a shortage of food as a result of the unpredictable

weather and inability to work farms out of fear of being shot or enslaved by the Burmese Army.

The only immediately available option to slowly starving to death in the relocation sites is to flee to the jungle where life can be even more difficult. The perimeters of the relocation sites are largely left unguarded and the fences that the villagers are often forced to build are primarily around the army camps and not the actual relocation sites. The troops are lax in securing the camp perimeters mainly because they realise that the villagers have no choice but to go and forage for food outside the camps. This opportunity is often used by the villagers to flee the relocation site and go into hiding in the jungle, usually near their old villages.

However, the only alternative is to flee into the jungle and jungle life offers up many new problems. Not only is food still a difficulty, but also the same problems of health care and education are greatly exacerbated while hiding in the jungle. Army patrols sweeping out on "clean up" missions must be watched for at the cost of lives. If the villagers are found in the jungle they are often killed immediately or abused first and then killed. This often results in the villagers living in small groups of 1-4 families to be less detectable.

A KNPP officer has informed KHRG that the military patrols that once swept regularly through the Mawchi area killing anything and anyone they saw have now been reduced to approximately one patrol every three months. This reduction in the number of patrols may indicate that even the SPDC soldiers are aware that the people remaining in the jungle can only be few and hardly pose any threat. According to the same KNPP source, these "mopping up" patrols are still going out on a weekly basis in the Shadaw area. When patrols come near the villagers must quickly move to a new hiding place, so the villagers have to move a few times a month or even a few times a day depending on the number of patrols. Often when two groups of villagers see each other moving in the jungle they mistake each other for SPDC troops and flee in fear. Even when they meet and talk, they sometimes do not dare share the location of their hiding places for fear that SPDC troops may capture and interrogate them. These factors make it difficult for villagers to get together or pool their resources, such as food and knowledge of escape routes, in any way.

Most villagers are determined to survive as long as they can near their land but that often proves to be futile. One of the major problems in getting from the jungle to the Thai border is that people simply don't know which way to go. In particular, the people in the southwest corner of Karenni, around Mawchi, have a very long way to go to get to the Thai border and the threat of being seen and killed is all too real. The fear and distrust that the Army patrols have engendered in the villagers living in the forest also poses a problem for those wishing to find refuge in Thailand. The villagers are afraid to confront or join with one another for fear of informers or detection and this reduces their options when looking for people to help lead them towards the Thai border. KNPP soldiers often help the villagers to find their way, but there are a lot of areas which the KNPP soldiers can't reach. Often villagers will follow merchants who have been previously to the Thai border. Some of the villagers in the north of Karenni State head into Shan State to find their way to Thailand, but that route is no easier to travel. The trip offers many obstacles which pose a particular problem for the sick and elderly. There are many hills on the way to the border, rivers have no bridges, and the boats that were once available to ferry people across are gone. When the villagers are fleeing to the Thai border, they have to travel at night and away from roads

to avoid detection by the Army. One common meeting point for villagers who are fleeing seems to be along the banks of the Salween River. Many villagers have reported joining larger groups of people by the river and then continuing to Thailand together.

The trip to the Thai border can take up to 3 weeks, and in the case of villagers coming from the Mawchi area it can take up to 2 or 3 months. However, many villagers from the Mawchi area don't dare to make the dangerous trip to the Thai border and are instead taking their chances holding out in the jungle, a choice which is resulting in many deaths from starvation and disease. People often run out of food on the way, but there is no access to additional food along the way except by sharing with other people who are in the same circumstances or borrowing food from villages which they happen to pass. Most of the villagers arrive at the refugee camps in a state of malnutrition and very poor health.

The future of the villagers, both in the relocation sites and in the jungle, looks bleak if the situation continues in its current direction. The SPDC has made it clear that nothing less than unconditional surrender will be accepted from the KNPP and so the fighting continues. With the weather patterns in the region continuing to be erratic, it is difficult to predict whether the rice crop in 1999 will be successful, or a complete failure as it has been for the past two years. Even with good growing weather it is very unlikely that villagers in most of Karenni will have the required seed paddy or safe access to their fields, both of which are essential if they are to produce any crop at all. All of their villages have been destroyed and all of the food reserves are long since used up. Food is scarce and the death rate due to starvation and minor illnesses is only likely to increase unless something is done soon. The SPDC appears to have no intention but to continue on with business as usual. There are even indications that they may start building more new roads, which would all be built with forced labour and would therefore put further strain on the already very desperate situation for the villagers. The villagers are starving and aren't able to move anywhere without the risk of being arrested and forced to work or simply shot on sight. Fundamental political change in Burma still seems to remain the only hope, albeit remote, for these people.

6.13 Situation in Sagaing Division

Situation for Rice Cultivators in Kawlin Township

The 1999 paddy crop in Kawlin Township, Saigaing division had to be sold at *kyat* 350 per basket calculated at 10 baskets per acre. An additional cupful (measured in one condensed milk tin) had to be given free for every basket. Kawlin Township harvested 60,000 acres, so over 600,000 baskets of paddy had to be sold and a total of 4600 baskets had to be supplied gratuitously. Calculated at *kyat* 600 per basket (open market rate), the loss totals over *kyat* 2,760,000. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Land Confiscation for the Mandalay-Myitkyina Highway

Lt.-Col Than Han (Chairman of District Administrative body) has visited the villages in Kant-ba-lu Township, Saigaing division 5 times in order to threaten and persuade people to sign over their land for the construction of the highway. The authorities have plans to acquire by force approximately 6300 acres of land in the villages of Pay-gyi, Kha-ohn-bar,

Nge-pyaw-taing, Phoke-kone, Htauk-sha-ain in Kant-ba-lu Township. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Extortion for a Fire Engine in Wuntho Township

In early 1999 U Than Tun, the previous Chairman of the PDC in Wuntho Township, Sagaing division, demanded 300 *kyat* from about ten thousand households to purchase a fire engine. However, the fire engine was never bought, nor the money accounted for. The new chairman, U Khin Maung Swe then claimed that money collected from the people was in fact not collected, as there was no fire engine or evidence of the collected money. He then proceeded to collect 100 *kyat* from each household in order to repair an old fire engine that was donated from Katha Township. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Situation for Wheat Farmers in Myaung, Sagaing Division

In 1999, wheat farmers in Myaung, Sagaing Division were ordered (by authorities who claimed that they were acting under instructions of the area military commander) for the 3rd year in a row to cultivate 5000 acres of cotton instead of wheat. This crop is significantly less productive then wheat, with losses of up to 40,000 *kyat* per acre. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Villagers in Haikhal village, Sagaing Division Pay to get their Confiscated Land back

In 1999, Chin villagers, consisting of over 200 households from Haikhawl village, Sagaing Division, had to pay 50,000 *kyat* per household to make a request to the Falam District PDC to cultivate their land again. 6000 acres was confiscated by the military in 1997. The military tried to cultivate the land by using convicts labourers and soldiers, but due to their inexperience, the hardship, and malaria, they were not successful, and the land had been lying unused. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

Extortion in Myaung Township

The authorities have collected by force a total of approximately 5 million *kyat* at the rate of *kyat* 50 per acre from 50,000 acres of 85 villages in 52 village tracts in the Township. What they have done with the money no one knows. Those who do not own any land, and those who are in service have to pay an average of 100 *kyat* per household, and traders or brokers have to pay 200 *kyat*. The Township authorities have issued orders threatening action against those who fail to make payment within the prescribed period. **(*Source: NLD*)**

6.14 Situation in Chin State

Villagers Threatened With Land-Mines

Non-Commissioned Officers (NCO) from IB 274 Lungler camp, Thantlang Township, Chin State are roaming around villages, threatening to plant land mines on the

main roads and surrounding areas. When the villagers plead against this, the army demands money from them. Soldiers from IB 274 are using this tactic to get money from the villagers. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

6.15 Situation in Mandalay Division

Tax for the International airport Road, Ta-Da-Oo Township

A collection of *kyat* 15 per horse drawn cart, *Kyat* 20 per bicycle, *kyat* 50 per motor vehicle (small), *kyat* 100 per motor vehicle (big) travelling on the road is taken allegedly for the construction of the road, which is in reality being built, in part, with the use of forced labour. **(*Source: NLD*)**

6.16 Situation in Magwe Division

In January 1999, the authorities ordered villagers living in the western side of Pakkoku Township to clear all their crops (without compensation), within a month, and give voluntary labour in digging canals for the implementation of a new project. The villages affected included Koke-ko-hla, Ywar-thit-kone, Sei, Sin-lan, Tha-phan-pin, Kyun-nyo, Kan-hla and others extending up to Myit-chay Township. Another burden that has to be born by these cultivators in the Pakkokku district is the compulsory requirement to grow sunflowers for sunflower seeds. The seeds harvested has to be made over to the authorities for a nominal price which is then sold at a much higher price resulting in a loss of *kyat* 170 a pyi for the cultivator. It is the authorities who enjoy the profits. Any view expressed is considered as obstructing the project for which one could be arrested. One such action was against U Tin Shwe, chairman of the administrative unit of Nyaungbin village, Myit-chay Township. **(*Source: NLD*)**

Situation in Wakhem Township

In Wakhem Township, cultivators are forced to buy fertalizer from authorities at 2,000 *kyat* per bag, and diesel at 480 *kyat* per gallon, then pay an additional 200 *kyat* tax to the district PDC. Also, when cultivators do not want to sow a summer paddy crop, they have to pay from between 3000 and 5000 *kyat*. In addition, the authorites confiscate land at will, for whatever reason they choose. In early 1999 the Education department confiscated seventy four acres in Thar-yar-gone village, Wakema Township for their Welfare General Fund. **(*Source: NLD*)**

6.17 List of Incidents

♦ In January officers from Infantry Regiment 273, based in The Chaung, Yephyu Township, Tenasserim Division, ordered that each household in 11 villages in the area sell two baskets of rice to the army. The army paid only 100 *kyat* per basket. The requirement was particularly difficult for non-farmers to meet, as they had to buy rice at inflated prices

to sell to the army. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ In January 1999, despite the drought that caused farmers in Padaung Township, Pegu division the authorities forced the farmers to sell their quota of rice to the army. They were required, at great hardship and personal cost, to sell 12 baskets of rice per acre at a price of 32,000 *kyat*. The market price is 60,000 *kyat*. The farmers were threatened that if they did not deliver the paddy by a fixed date, they would be arrested. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In January 1999, around 2000 acres of land between Chin Su village, Kalay Township and Tantat village, Tunzan Township, Chin State were confiscated by the Kalay Township Chairman Major Thein Htun. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ In January, the Commander of Burma Army North Western Command Brig-Gen Sein Win issued an order to the battalion commanders in Chin State- LIB 538, LIB 309, IB 274, IB 266, IB 268, and IB 269 to collect whatever rations they needed from the Chin people. The villagers have to deliver the orders to the army camp or where the patrolling troop is posted by fixed time. Sometimes the soldiers impose a fine of *kyat* 1,000 to 1,500 for late delivery or if they claim the food is not fresh. They also demand the villagers buy alcohol from Thantlang which is a 3 day walk from the village. The villagers do not have time to work in their farms because the are busy hunting, fishing and buying alcohol for the soldiers. Consequently, the villagers are extremely disappointed and are waiting for the opportunity to flee to Mizoram in India. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ In January 1999, in addition to the regularly collected water tax from 12 wards in Kyaukpadaung Township, Mandalay Division, 3000 *kyat* was being demanded for every water hydrant. The people do not know why this is being done. Despite payments of the tax, there is no water supply. Also in Kyaulpadaung Township, every household has had to pay 100 *kyat* for the Miss Beauty contest and 100 *kyat* for military training at the 78th Infantry Battalion. This military training is compulsory for four USDA members from every ward. Owners of toddy palm gardens have to pay 5 *kyat* for every tree, notwithstanding immaturity, or lack of yield. Payment had to be made to the Agricultural Bank by January 22, 1999. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In January 1999 the villagers of Mindon Township, Magwe division, were ordered to sell 3 baskets per acre of split peas at the very low rate of *kyat* 150/- per basket. This had to be fulfilled without regard of crop failures due to pests and other causes. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In early January 1999, Shan Bpu of the Sa Thone Lone troops burned down Lu Ah village, Mone Township, Karen State. He burned down the village because it was where his wife was from. He had ordered his wife, whom he forced to marry him in December of 1998 and had fled, to return to him. When she did not return, he first burned her father's house, then the entire village. The villagers are now in hiding. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On January 1, 1999, troops from SPDC army IB 38,2 and a company led by Commander Than Htun went into Lay-Po-hat village, Karen State and forcibly collected 1,000 *kyat* form every household to make a devotional offering to Maw-lor-klo pagoda. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 3, 1999, troops from LIB 401, led by Major Thaw Min, entered Chabone village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, and looted about 250 baskets of paddy. He entered every house in the village and instructed the farmers to put 10-20 baskets of paddy in a location in the middle of the village, then ordered the village headman to send the paddy to Kwethonyima village. The headman had to arrange oxen carts and boats in order to send

the paddy. The Major had promised 300 *kyat* per basket, but he did not pay. Later, the Commander of the Battalion ordered the villagers to send more paddy, but as they could not, they had to send 500 *kyat* per house instead. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On January 4, 1999, SPDC LIB 442 issued an order imposing heavy taxes on farmers who grew sesame, peanut and other vegetables but rice on Laikha Township, Shan State. The farmers were required to give thirty percent of their farm product to the local military in the region. That order made things very difficult for many farmers who were already barely able to subsist on their vegetable farms. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On January 9, 1999, SPDC troops burned down eleven villages in Wan Ngaw village tract, Loikaw Township, Karenni State. The villages were destroyed following fighting between SPDC and Karenni rebel forces that had taken place in the area. **(*Source: Karenni*)**

♦ On January 9, 1999, SPDC army officer, Major Tin Hlaing arrested Saw De Taw Nor 32, of Ta-gor-kyo village, Pa-pun district, Karen State, and accused him of being a cattle trader. The Major released him after extorting 10,000 *kyat* from him as a fine. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 10, 1999, a patrol of about 25 SPDC troops from LIB316 led by Capt Myint Thu robbed 3 villagers of 2 buffalos at a place called Parng Mark Kawk in Murng Ko tract, Takhilaek Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On January 16, 1999, SPDC's IB 227 ordered the villagers of Murng Nung, Murng Khart Township, Shan State to collect funds for the purchasing of a car for the commanders to use it making periodical and monthly inspection rounds in the area. All the 65 houses in Murng Nung had to provide 3,000 *kyat* each. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On January 18, 1999 2nd in command Than Htun of DKBA Battalion 1 demanded 1,000 pieces of thatch from each of Pah-hat, Pah-khee, Htee-wah-kalay, Htee-wah-pu, Plaw-po, Ta-roai-wah, Naung -ka-dok and Taweh-ban villages, Thaton district, Karen State. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 18, 1999, the 2nd Commander of LIB 504 based in Murng Wee Township, northern Shan State, led his troops about 30 km. from their camp. They met 2 trucks, stopped them, and found 6 tons of wood, owned by a local cease-fire group. He beat up the drivers and then ordered them to drive the wood to the military camp and pay the army 800,000 *kyat* within 2 days, or he would kill them and burn their truck. After the Commander received the money he released the men, but kept the wood and later sold it. **(*Source: Palaung Youth Newsletter*)**

♦ On January 19, 1999, 12 SPDC troops from LIB328 came to Murng Phen village tract in Murng-Yarng Township and shot dead 2 pigs belonging to the villagers of Wan Lom village and ordered the villagers to carry the carcasses to the military base in Murng Yarng. Murng Phen was in the territory of UWSA (United Wa State Army), a ceasefire group in control of the area which was supposed to be free from SPDC troops' oppression.
The villagers who lost their pigs were:
1. Loong Long, aged 45, lost 1 pig worth 6,000 *kyat*
2. Sai Num La, aged 39, lost 1 pig worth 7,000 *kyat* **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On January 20, 1999, Pah Ni Tho from DKBA went into Law-pa-waw village, Thaton district, Karen State and destroyed 2 villager's boats which were 6 metres long each, owned by You Po and Kwe Po respectively worth a total of 50,000 *kyat*. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 23, 1999, Troops SPDC army IB 73 shelled the villagers who were hiding at Bway-baw-doe and Si-daw-kho area, Toun-goo district, Karen State with heavy weapons and burned down 4 huts at the villager's hide out and also destroyed 200 viss of betelnut. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 25, 1999, Pah Ni Tho from DKBA for a 2nd time robbed Law-pa-waw village, Thaton district, Karen State. This time he looted 50,000 *kyat* from Naw Ka La and killed and ate 2 pigs owned by Saw Maung Nyo and also looted 33,000 *kyat* form him. In addition, he and troops with him burned down Saw Maung Nyo's hut. The DKBA troops also destroyed villager's crops in the fields nearby. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 25, 1999, troops from IB 96 led by Battalion Commander Than Sein Win ordered 100 pieces of palm leaf thatch from each of the 200 households in Rai-thaw-khee, Ta-ya-day, pa-na-deh, Htee-pa-doe and Mae-praw-hta villages, Naung-le-bin Township, Karen State. Later the troops sold the thatch at 5 *kyat* per piece. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 27, 1999, SPDC troops came to Kyo-mu-lay-doe village, Pa-Pun district, Karen State and burnt down 4 rice barns, destroying 322 baskets of paddy. These troops confiscated all the villagers' rice found and destroyed the amount they could not eat or carry. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 31, 1999, SPDC troops came to Lay-baw-hta village, Pa-Pun district, Karen State and burnt down 2 rice barns, destroying 80 baskets of paddy of Win Khin Pa, and 10 baskets of paddy of Saw Hla Oo. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ In February, Major Myint Aung from BI 307 and the army camp commander from IB 274 based in Lungler, Chin issued an order to 29 villages nearby to deliver 4 big chickens, 2-viss of fish or pork, 2 legs of deer, any other wild animal and vegetables. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ In February 1999, Kyee-gan-thaik field, which serves as a grazing ground for cattle in Yay-nek-kwin, Baw-lei-kyun village tract, Htantabin Township, Pegu Division was sprayed with weed killer in order to kill the grass so the field could be cultivated by a company. The villagers were not informed, and as a result about fifty of their cows and buffaloes died. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In February 1999, troops from five battalions including LIB 538 and 309, stationed near Tantalung Township, Chin State demanded food and other goods from the 29 villages in the area. The demand included meats, vegetables, fish, salt and alcohol. Those who were late or who failed to meet the demand were charged 1000-1500 *kyat* by the SPDC authorities. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ In February 1999, U Kan Sa, chairman of the village administration unit of In-daing village, De-pae-yin Township, Sagaing division, ordered farmers in the area to pay 400 *kyat* per acre, or give 8 baskets of paddy per acre. The farmers had previously signed an agreement in which they would sell their paddy conditional on crop success. An investigation of their fields had proved their crops failure due to the weather, and the farmers who had not been able to plant everything had been exempted. However, after this order, the farmers were forced to pay 31,200 *kyat* for 78 acres. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On February 2, 1999, SPDC troops from LIB 439 came to the farm of villagers, Par Ohn Myint and Saw Hla Oo, of Meh-paw-hta village, Pa-Pun district, Karen State. They had worked on the farm with the permission of LIB 439. The troops confiscated all the belongings found in the two huts, on the farm, and all the chickens, worth about 10,000 *kyat*. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On February 3, 1999, troops from SPDC LIB 546 ordered Ta-rweli-kee and Htee-pu-wah villages, Thaton district, Karen State to give 1 goat per village and 10 log poles, having 8 inches in diameter and 6 yards in length, per household. The villagers were ordered to deliver the demanded items to Pa-nweh-kla military camp. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On February 6, 1999, two columns of LIB 273, led by Lt.Col. Kyaw Soe entered Chabone village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division and forced the villagers to give them 120 baskets of paddy. The villagers had already lost 300 baskets of paddy to LIB 401, but the soldiers forcefully took the rice from people's storage areas, put them in the middle of the village, and ordered the paddy to be carried by oxen cart to the LIB 273 headquarters. The commander promised to pay the villagers 400 *kyat* per basket, but they received nothing. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On February 8, 1999 Capt Ant Maw, Chairman of the Nam Kham Township SPDC, ordered each Town quarter to sell tickets for the Union Day celebrations in Nam Kham. The large Town quarter had to sell 300 tickets and each small quarter had to sell 200 tickets at the price of 30 *kyat* each. (***Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On February 9, 1999, a group of traders returning from the Thai border by boat were stopped near Moulmein, Mon State. A group of police and customs officers searched the traders, 4 men and 11 women, and then took 15 kg. of gold-wares the villagers had been trading. They looted the boat, saying the traders were engaging in illegal business. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On February 8, 1999, government authorities including Township secretary, U Soe Myint from Mudon Township, Mon State, entered Kwan-hla village and forcibly took paddy from over 10 farmers who had failed to give their full rice quota after an insect plague had destroyed most of their crops. They also entered the home of a widow farmer, Mi Thee (62 years old), who owned about 5 acres of land. As she was out of her house, hospitalized in Moulmein, they did not meet her. However, they climbed into her house and looted every valuable thing they found. Two valuable mats and one bicycle were stolen by the authorities. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ Between February 10 and 14, 1999, a DKBA group commanded by Moe Kyo burned 56 houses in the 4 villages of Tee Bper, Dta Wih Ko, Dta Greh Ni and Tee Pa Leh in Dta Greh Township after accusing the villagers there of being 'relatives of KNU'. These troops also burned all the family paddy supplies they could find and the piles of rice straw, which are used as fodder for the cattle. The villagers have fled into hiding in the forests. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On February 12, 1999, officials from the paddy buying center entered the farm of a Mon farmer, Nai Noe (56 years old) from Kwan-hla village, Mudon Township, Mon State. The farmer had lost most of his crop due to an insect attack, but had gone to the paddy buying center, explained about his situation, and paid 48 baskets of his rice quota, appealing to the authorities not to take the tax for the other 4 acres. When the authorities arrived at his farm, they did not find any paddy, so they confiscated his belongings that they found in his house. They took: A steel food container, one cassette tape recorder, some polished rice and sticky rice the farmer had kept for his own family's consumption, and a bicycle. Now, this family has no more food. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On February 15, 1999 DKBA Battalion Commander Po Maung demanded 30 baskets of rice and 150,000 *kyat* from each village tract in the plains of Kyauk Kyi Township. This

was for the completion of the Klaw Maw pagoda that the DKBA wanted to celebrate on the full moon of March 1999. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On February 19, 1999, in Nyaung-tae village, Tha -byay-gone village tract, Myan-aung Township, Irrawaddy Division a group led by the head of the Township police raided the homes of the following cultivators and confiscated paddy stored for household use. They claimed that they had failed to supply their full quota of paddy:

1. U Ko San
2. Ko Kyauk
3. Ko Maw Thein
4. U Kan Hla
5. U Tin Pay
6. U Sein Thaung
7. U Than Tin
8. U Htun Khin
9. U Kyi Thaung
10. U Htoon Yin
11. U Saw Win
12. U Thaung Shwe

The police group, including U Than Lwin, U Aung Soe and U Hla Tin also demanded 640 *kyat* per basket for the short fall and threatened to arrest and confiscate the lands of those who defaulted. Some had to sell their cattle, lands and belongings to pay the money demanded. Other farmers in Seit-phu-gone and In-gwae villages, Tha-byay-gone village tract were arrested for the same reason. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On February 25, 1999 there was a skirmish between SPDC LIB 351 and the KNLA near Ler Wah village in Kyauk Kyi Township, Karen State. As retaliation, the Battalion shelled Ler Wah village, then entered after the villagers had fled and looted and destroyed their belongings. They also went to Htaw Ee Soh village nearby on February 27th, but they couldn't catch any villagers there so they destroyed the paddy storage barns of 15 families, a total of 715 baskets of paddy. The troops took some of the paddy to eat and destroyed the rest. The villagers fled into hiding in the fields and forests, and some continued on to refugee camps in Thailand. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ In late February 1999, Major Win Naing Oo of LIB 547 ordered 44 villages in Pa-an district, Karen State to "donate" a total of 141,250 *kyat*, 44 tins and 128 pyi of rice, 44 viss of chicken, 44 viss of cooking oil, 132 viss of vegetables/produce, and 33 cartloads of firewood. This donation was said to be for the Nabu Aung Teik Dee Monastery 'Buddha Zaniya Worship Celebration'. The donations were to be sent "quickly", before March 2. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ Since the establishment of a military camp for Nam-tu based IB 22 between Nam Tu and Mang Thon in northern Shan State March 1999, villagers around the area have been ordered to sell 10 sacks of rice at a cost of 2,800 *kyat* per sack. This is around 1000 *kyat* lower than the current market price. Those refusing to sell rice had their rice confiscated. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In March 1999, each household from Taung Pyauk and Son Sin tracts in Thayet Chaung Township, Tenasserim Division was ordered to pay 700 *kyat* by the IB 403, 404 and 405. This money was for the re-cultivation of a military –owned rubber plantation damaged by fire. The soldiers stated the money was for buying new rubber plants and building fences around them. Although the people paid the money levied on them, the soldiers ordered each household to provide five logs and ten bamboo poles for construction of the fences. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In March 1999, officials of the Yephyu Township Peace and Development Council in Tenasserim Division forced local farmers to sell 10 baskets of paddy to the state, which

was the rice the farmers had been keeping for consumption. There are 280 areas of paddy field in The Chaung village tract in Yephyu Township, although up to two-thirds of this land yields very little crop output because it is affected by seawater. Crop production has further dwindled after last year's drought. Despite this, the authorities maintained their quota demands. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On March 1, 1999, SPDC LB 22 led by Major Aung Myint, set up a camp between Nam Tu and Mang Thon in northern Shan State. Villagers in Mang Thon who came to sell rice in Nam Tu, at a cost of 3,800 *kyat* per small sack, have ben forced to sell 10 sacks to SPDC troops at a cost of only 2,300 *kyat*. Those refusing to sell rice have had it confiscated from them. The SPDC troops claim the rice is for their own troops, but in fact they sell it to villagers near their camp at a cost of 3,800 *kyat*. **(*Source: Palaung Youth Newsletter*)**

♦ On March 5, 1999, troops led by Captain San Lone from SPDC LIB 202 came to Mae-kor-kee village, Toungoo district, Karen State and looted from the villagers. They stole:

1. A gold chain, 73,060 *kyat* in cash, 10 rice cooking pots, 20 dinner plates, 16 condensed milk tins, 3 viss of sugar and clothes from Par Nee Kay, M, 38.
2. 5 cooking pots, dinner plates, and clothes from Naw Tor Ku Poe, F, 59.
3. 6,000 *kyat* cash from Saw Cut Kyay, M, 32.
4. 40,000 *kyat* cash from Saw Dit Dee, M, 36.
5. 6 cooking pots and 6 dinner plates from Par Htwi Dee, M, 32.
6. 10 cooking pots and 13 dinner plates from Par Dit Oo, M, 32.

(*Source: KIC*)

♦ On March 8, 1999, SPDC LIB 324 Commander Aung Kyaw Nyain, based in Namtu Township, northern Shan State, ordered Pang Long villagers to cut 5 tons of wood within 2 months to build more high schools in Namtu Township. He said he would buy all 5 tons. After the Pang Long villagers had cut all the wood and were transporting it in two trucks through a checkpoint near Namtu, they were arrested by the Second Commander of LIB 324, Lin Lin. The wood owner and drivers tried to explain that they had cut the wood on the orders of Aung Kyaw Nyain, but Lin Lin did not listen. He confiscated all the wood, and ordered everyone back home, threatening to shoot them if they did not obey him. During the next two weeks Lin Lin sold the wood himself in Namtu and gave half of money to Commander Aung Kyaw Nyain. **(*Source: Palaung Youth Newsletter*)**

♦ On March 12, 1999, LIB 327 based in Murng-Khark ordered the people of Murng Yarng, Shan State to provide money for the repair of a market place. Each house from the 9-10 quarters and village tracts was ordered to give 1,000 Chinese RMB (about 9,000 *kyat*). Some had to borrow the money to give. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On March 15, 1999, 3 cross-boarder traders were forced to pay 30,000 *kyat* tax per truck by the officer in charge, Bo Ni, of the Ta Ping bridge checkpoint, Kaeng Tung Township, Shan State. The drivers had protested the unreasonably high tax and explained that each truck only made 20,000 *kyat* profit. They were forced to give the money when Bo Ni threatened to burn their trucks. The drivers were from Murng Ma tract, Shan State. They were: Sai Peng, 35 from Wan Tong, Sai Oon 31, from Wan Long, and Sai Law, 31, from Kaeng Law. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On March 18, 1999, 7 SPDC groups entered the Palaung village of Wan Pui, Murng Ma tract, Shan State and looted the village, which was supposedly under the protection of a

cease-fire agreement. The following villagers lost their livestock:
1. In Saw, male, aged 45, lost 1 pig worth about 18,000 *kyat*.
2. Loong Ping, male, aged 36, lost 3 chickens worth 2,300 *kyat*
3. Ai Noong, male, aged 41, lost 6 chickens worth 4,600 *kyat*.
(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On March 26, 1999, 12 troops from LIB 331 accused A-Pe, a Lahu man from Ai Long village, Loi Taw Kham tract, Tachilek Township, Shan State of collecting information for SSA-East. They burned down his house, and A-pe lost all his property, worth 12,000 *baht*. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On March 27, 1999, SPDC authorities in Murng Phyak Township, Shan State ordered each family in the area to pay 2,000 *kyat* for the repair of the Murng Phyak- Phak Tu Murng road. Those who did not have the money were forced to sell their property in order to pay. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On March 28, 1999, 3 women who had worked in Thailand were stopped at the Murng-Phyak checkpoint as they were returning home for the water festival on the Tachilek-Kaeng Tung highway. They were accused by the SPDC search team of carrying illegal money and threatened with arrest. They were allowed to go, but the troops confiscated their money.
The losses of the women were as follows:
1. Naang Seng Non, aged 21, lost 21,000 *baht*
2. Naang Aam Non, aged 19, lost 30,000 *baht*
3. Naang Dui Dip, aged 19, lost 7,000 *baht*
(*Source: SHRF*) * Note: This contradicts the 22-4-99 statement made by Deputy Foreign Minister Khin Maung Win that stated migrant workers could return safely.

♦ On March 29, 1999 Captain Sein Win of Murng-Sart-based IB 49 promised 24 villagers from Naa Kawng Mu, Murng Haang tract, Murng-Ton Township, Shan State that he would help them to acquire land for rice cultivation. He explained that first, a dam would have to be constructed at Nam Haang in order to provide water for the cultivation, and that the government intended to give 15,000,000 *kyat* to build it. Then he told the villagers that they would have to begin to build the dam, so they should pay 15,000 *kyat* and be reimbursed later. The construction of the dam has yet to begin, and the villagers are still without land, and had to borrow the money from others to give to the Captain. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On March 29, 1999, Troops from SPDC IB 232 extorted a bag of rice, 15 viss of pork and a viss of chicken from Thaw-pweh village, Toungoo district, Karen State. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ During March and April, 1999, when SPDC Mon State authorities planned to build a field hospital in Kyaung-ywa village of Ye Township, an area under the NMSP- SLORC ceasefire, the Mon State PDC authorities confiscated land owned by villagers without compensation, and ordered the local Ye Township authorities to collect 3.3 million *kyat* from the civilians of over 30 villages and Town wards. According to local villagers, even a poor family had to pay at least 1,000 *kyat*. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On April 6, 1999, Major Moe Kyaw Soe and troops from SPDC LIB 3 issued orders to the villages in Shway -yaung-bya village tract, Tha-ton district, Karen State to send in paddy to the soldiers in Pan-aung-gon village, at the rate of 6 baskets per acre. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ On April 6, 1999, 30 troops from LIB 330 led by Lt. Kyaw Htin shot 2 cattle. The cattle belonged to Loong In Kham, aged 49 and Loong Saam Taan, aged 40 of Murng Pak, Murng Phyak Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 7, 1999, a force of 95 troops led by Capt. Knin Maung Htwe from LIB 422, who were camping in the area of Kaeng Tawng, ordered the villagers of Waeng Kao to gather at the military camp. The villagers had been forcefully relocated, but had returned and settled back in their original village with the permission of Capt. Than Htun from IB 246. The troops did not believe the villagers and told them if they wanted to stay, they must help them. They demanded 5,000 *kyat* from the village tract headman, 90 tins of rice from the village headman, 60 tins of rice from the assistant village headman, and 2 tins of rice from every other family in the village. After giving the 5,000 *kyat* the village headman left for the Thai border, considering that this kind of extortion would occur again and the village might be forced again to move. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 9, 1999, Capt. Sein Htwa of IB 221, the leader of the search team at the Murng-Phyak checkpoint, forcibly took 10,000 *baht* from a group of monks and villagers, saying it was illegal. The money was part of the charity money the group had collected from relatives in Thailand to build a new temple at Hawng Koey village, Murng Yawng Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 10, 1999, 5 troops from LIB 526 entered Phak Hi village, Murng Phong tract, Tachilek, Shan State and shot and took away a pig, shouting to the villagers to complain to the company commander if they were unhappy about it. The pig belonged to a woman, Pa Laeo, aged 51. It was worth 2,600 *baht*. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 13, 1999, SPDC troops from LIB 316 burned a civilian truck loaded with garlic at Fa Kaang village, Murng Laen tract, Tachilek Township, Shan State. The troops had ordered the driver to unload the garlic and transport the belongings of their commander, but as he had been about to leave to sell the garlic in Tachilek, the driver pleaded to be excused from the duty. The soldiers became angry and burned the garlic, which also damaged part of the truck. The damage was estimated at more then 100,000 *baht*. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 19, 1999, Captain Shway Yaung Por and troops from SPDC LIB 230 stole from Ber-wah-hta-hser villagers, in Thaton district, Karen State. They took in extortion:

1. Maung Kyaw Par - 5,000 *kyat*
2. Naw Ma Chaw a pig weighing 20 viss
3. Naw Khin Win 2 chickens, 2 bottles of cooking oil, a basked of rice, and a dinner plate
4. Naw Ber Li 2 bottles of cooking oil
5. Naw Than Myint a basket of rice
6. Naw Mu Nor a tin of rice and a chicken.

In addition, they beat up villagers Waw Par Bo 22, and Saw Mor Kway 26, until their heads turned red with blood. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ On April 13, 1999, troops led by Battalion Commander Hla Win from SPDC IB 62 came to Saw-plaw village, Kaw-ka-reik Township, Doo-pla-ya disrict, Karen State in the evening, and burnt down all the houses, together with the belongings of the villagers. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ On April 14, 1999, troops from SPDC LIB 201 burned and destroyed 5 houses and a bullock cart in Raw-ka-kya village, Doo-pla-ya district, Karen State. On the same day, the troops summoned the villagers of Meh-ka-taw and Set-ka-wet villages and extorted 50,000

kyat from each village in porter fees. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ On April 22, 1999, Kyaik Mayaw Township PDC ordered that 52, 444 acres of paddy must be cultivated for the summer 1999 season. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ In late April 1999, SPDC Commander of the Golden Triangle Special Regional Command, Brigadier General Thein Sein and District and Township PDC authorities in Kaeng-Tung Township, Shan State called a meeting. They ordered the chairmen, headmen and leaders of the 5 zones and 10 village tracts solicit 2,000 *kyat* from every house in their respective areas. They were told the money would be in developing Loi Muay area into a tourist destination and recreation resort for SPDC officials. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ From April 20, 1999 until the end of May, the local SPDC battalions, such as LIB 343 and 106, in cooperation with other government departments such as the police stations and the local USDA collected huge amounts of tax on the road between Ye and Moulmein. They demanded payment from all passengers, buses and trucks that travelling between Ye and Moulemin on that road, giving the explanation that they were providing security along the road. Bus and truck drivers had to pay between 2,00 and 5,000 *kyat* depending on the numbers of passengers in the buses and weight of the load in the trucks. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ Beginning from April 30, 1999, SPDC's Kyaikmayaw Township authorities collected 500 *kyat* from each household in the Township area, in order to build a water canal (15-20 feet wide and 4 miles long) to distribute water to the nearest government rice farming lands. This water canal connects two Mon villages; Khayone and Kawbawe. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ Villagers from Oh-pho village, Pegu division, were ordered to contribute 3000 *Kyat* per household for the construction of a moat by May 15 1999. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In May, 1999, SPDC battalions under the command of Strategic Command (7) confiscated the plantation land owned by the villagers from Lwe Pi village, Pin Laung Township, Shan State. According to the information from the local people, villagers had already planted crops on the land when the troops forcibly took it. The land was then handed over to Khun Sa, a drug warlord. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In May 1999, around 100 acres of fertile land were confiscated in Kasake, Minlan, Yaelein and U-kyun village tracts, Wakaema Township, Irrawaddy Division by the SPDC authorities. The authorities claimed that the farmers did not obey an order to cultivate rice and grew chilies instead. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ From May 4, to the beginning of June 1999, SPDC Battalion Commander Major Aung Win and his Second-in-Command, Aung Thet, began gambling near Kheway village, Karen State. Villagers were forced to play cards with the officers, and were not allowed to leave until they had lost all their money. If the villagers did not come to play cards, light and heavy weapons were fired near the village. Both SPDC officers drank whiskey and raped four women (ages 20-27) from Kheway village, 2 single and 2 married. The village elders had been told they must find 4 women or they would be punished. On June 6, these two officers demanded one loud speaker and one gun each. Not having any, the village elders had to pay a 70,000 *kyat* fine instead **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ From May 3, 1999, U Khin Maung U (village chairman) and Sergeant Tun Hlaing of Infantry Unit 534 collected 600 *kyat* from all 761 households in Ma-bay village tract. The collection was allegedly for the cultivation of fields confiscated for the army. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On May 6, 1999 troops from Co.4 of LIB 520 led by Capt Kyaw Thein robbed gold jewelry and 1,465,000 *kyat* in cash from the house of Loong Thun La in Murng-Pan, Shan State. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 6, 1999, about 30 SPDC troops from LIB 330 led by Lt Kyaw Htin shot for meat 2 cattle belonging to the villagers of Murng Pak, Murng-Phyak Township, Shan State. The 2 villagers that lost their cattle were Loong In Kham, male, aged 49 and Loong Saam Taan, aged 40. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 11, 1999, two columns of SPDC troops, one with soldiers from Light Infantry Battalion #355 under commander Than Soe and the other with soldiers from LIB #9 under commander Mya Htun, entered Way Raw, Ta Noh, and Kaw Ler village tracts in Thaton Township, Karen State. They ordered the villagers in those 3 village tracts to give them 150 logs, each 3 handspans in circumference and 10 *taun [15 feet / 5 metres]* long, as well as 300 bamboo poles each 12 *taun [18 feet / 6 metres]* long. When the villagers gave it to them, they sold all of it for their own profit. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On May 19, 1999, SPDC troops from Light Infantry Battalion #355 under commander Soe Aung entered Ta Rer Kee village and demanded two baskets of rice, one pig weighing 20 *viss* and worth 17,000 *kyat*, two chickens, and one bottle of cooking oil. The commander told the villagers, "The KNU came and gave you money but you didn't inform us, that is why you must give us whatever we demand now. If you do not give it, your village will see problems". **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On May 23, 1999, troops of IB 279, led by the Commander of Company #3 Captain Sein Myint, demanded 12 viss of chicken from the headman of Yarng Lao village, Yarng Lao tract, Murng Yarng Township, Shan State. When the headman couldn't find the required amount, the Captain shot his gun into the air, until the headman brought a pig. The Captain was satisfied after he made the villagers kill it, cut it into pieces, wrap it properly, and then carry it to the military base in Murng Yarng. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In June 1999, SPDC military authorities of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Battalion #6 ordered the villagers of Paang Law and Murng Zaem tracts, Keang-Tung Township, Shan State to provide 2,000 *kyat* per household. The villagers, consisting of 560 households from the 12 villages of the 2 tracts, were told the money would be used to hire labour for the military corn, peanut and soya farms. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In June 1999, SPDC authorities in Kaeng-Tung Township, acting under the instruction of the Brig Gen Thein Sein, Commander of the Golden Triangle Special Region Command, confiscated 3 acres of land from the villagers of Yaang Law. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ Since June 1999, villagers from Aindan Ywathit, Aindin, Hnee Kayok, Yebaw Thaung, Tha Garan, Hneenu and Palain Thein coastal villages at Palein Taung coast, near Ye, Mon State have been suffering excessive demands of food and taxation by the troops from IB 31. Troops from IB 31 are demanding one basket of rice, two bottles of cooking oil and two packs of seasoning powder from every village per month. In addition to this monthly taxation, the troops levy two bottles of patrol from every fishing boat going out to sea for fishing. Also the fishing boat are required to give fishes and prawns to the military eveytime they come back from the sea. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On June 1, 1999, 12 troops from LIB 334 shot a cow in Hawng Koey village, Murng Yawng Township, Shan State and then ordered the villagers to cut it up and carry the meat to the military camp. The cow belonged to Aai Zawm, aged 39, and was worth 65,000 *kyat*.

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On June 2, 1999, troops from LIB 316 led by Commander Yan Naing, burned a civilian motor boat with consumer goods on it at one of the Mae Kong river crossing points at Kaeng Laap village in Kaeng Laap tract, Ta-Khi-Laek Township, Shan State. The troops burned the boat because the boat owner protested when they ordered him to unload his full boat and take them downstream. The boatman, Sai Oon Peng, aged 36, lost his boat and all the goods on it. The boat was worth 270,000 *baht* and the goods, 36,700 *baht*. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 3, 1999, LIB 8, Brigade 44, led by Major Aung Soe patrolled though Paing Kyone Township, Pa-an district, Karen State and forcibly took whatever they desired. In Htee Pae village, they took one pig; in Haw Htoo Kaw village, 2 chickens and 3 large tins of rice; in Htee Maw Kee village, they took 32 chickens, one goat, 3 large tins of rice, 2 pots, and 2 chopping knives. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ On June 5, 1999, the LIB 314 issued an order demanding money from the people in the village tracts of Kaad Fa, Yaang Kaeng and Yaang La, Kaeng-Tung Township, Shan State for fixing the road between Kaeng-Tung and Ta Ping, leading to Murng La. Each of the 3630 houses in the 3 village tracts was ordered to bring 3,000 *kyat* to the army base within 5 days. Many people who could not afford that much money had to sell their rice or cattle or other possessions and some had to borrow from their relatives to pay. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 22, 1999, troops led by Capt Myint Lwin of Company #4, LIB 292, issued an order to the farmers in all the villages of Wan Zit tract, Larng-Khur Township. They were required to sell 14 baskets of rice per acre of land, at the price of 300 *kyat* per basket. When the village leaders and headmen tried to ask for mercy, as the required amount was unrealistic, the Captain said that 800 *kyat* would have to be paid to substitute 1 basket of rice. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 24, 1999, SPDC Maj. Aung Aung, of LIB 356, Company 3, entered Leikon village, Karen State with his troops and stole goods from villager Mu Kyaw Naw. Items taken were a gold ring and chain, seven pots, 15 garments, and 37,000 *kyat* in cash. They later entered Tathukhee village and took two pots from villager Naw Dha Yet and 15 garments from villager Naw Ma Aye. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ In July 1999, SPDC troops of LIB 526 confiscated land belonging to a villager, Loong Saam, male, aged 49, of Hawng Lerk village, Hawng Lerk tract, Ta-Khi-Laek Township, Shan State. The confiscated lands, which included a plot of farm or garden and 2 patches of rice fields, were said to have been given to the families of the soldiers to use as their farms or gardens. The lands were worth, according to the estimate of the villagers in terms of current market rates, as follows:

1.The farm or garden was worth 65,000 *baht*

2. Each of the rice fields was worth 200,000 *baht*.

Altogether, Loong Saam lost 465,000 *baht* worth of land. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On July 1, 1999, 12 troops from LIB 311 forced villagers at the Nam Luay river crossing point in Murng-Yawng Township, Shan State to pay 300 *kyat* in order to cross the river. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On July 7, 1999, SPDC police in Mu-Se set up a checkpoint at two major intersections and forced travelers to buy tickets for a fashion show at prices of 1,000, 1,500 or 2,000 *kyat*.

Ignition keys of the vehicles whose drivers refused to buy the tickets were simply taken away by the police, or the drivers were fined. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On July 15, 1999, 6 traders from Kui Thang village, Tiddim Township, Chin State sold 10 pigs and 18 chickens to Zote villagers in Mizoram State, India across the border. On hearing the news, 12 Burmese soldiers of LIB 268 based in Falam, Chin State and led by Lt. Myo Kyaw and Srgt. Tin Oong immediately chased the Indian villagers who just bought the pigs and chickens up to one mile inside the Indian Territory and forcibly took one pig worth 20000 *kyat*, one chicken worth 1000 *kyat* in Burmese currency, and Rs.500 in Indian currency in cash. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ On July 18, 1999, SPDC Maj. Thein Shwe, of LIB 540, took 20,000 *kyat* cash, one radio, one cassette, one fishing net, and other items from villager Saw Tun Khin, Kadephe village, Htawtalu District, Karen State. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ On July 24, 1999, LIB 285 Commander Aung Naing demanded a pig for food at Pa Kyaw Ain village. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ On July 27, 1999, DKBA Saw Maung Kyi and his group went to Yaw Pho Pale village, Bihla District,Karen State and took more than two bushels of rice and 12 chickens from the villagers. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ On July 29, 1999, SPDC Cpn. Ba Thein, LIB 285, demanded 50,000 *kyat* from Payhsa village. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ On July 29, 1999, Captain Soe Myint of LIB 508 forced all the villagers from every village tract of Mong Pieng, Lawkzawk Township, Shan State to attend the opening ceremony of his new market place in Mong Pieng. Each family had to bring one viss of chicken for his battalion. After the ceremony the villagers were again forced to go and trade in this market daily for two weeks. Whoever failed to do so, was fined 5 viss (18 pounds) of chicken for each family. **(*Source: SSArmy News*)**

♦ In July and August 1999, a total of 77 cows had to be supplied to the army by 36 village tracts in Man-aung Township of Arakan State (72 cows at 2 per village tract and 5 cows by the wards in the Town). The cows had to be sold at the price of 20,000 *kyat* per cow though the real value was 50,000 *kyat*. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ From July to October of 1999, MI Unit 10 as well as soldiers from the army units stationed at Gau and Thama villages, Man-aung Township, Arakan State, exploited the residents by forcing them to regularly supply rice, chicken, pigs, goats, cows, fish, and other types of food. Even prawn sellers, who can receive 7000 *kyat* per viss of prawn were required to give a large portion of their catch to the army. Women who went out collecting firewood or vegetables were raped and when reports were made no action whatsoever was taken against the offenders. Motor vehicles had to be supplied on a daily basis for transportation of army personnel, and the front compartment of busses was reserved for the army. Even monks are not given that preference. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ An order was issued in mid 1999 to the villages and quarters in Ta-da-oo Township, Mandalay Division to cut down all banana trees by November 16, 1999. Villagers from Aye-kyi-gone, Po-lin-htoung, Wun-pa-te, The-maung-kan, Zaga-in, Pin-ya, Ma-gyi-taw, Mwa-kyaw-da, Zegyo, Ba-le, Oak-kyut-pho, Wei-hto-kan, Hanthawaddy, Oo-te, and No.1, 2, and 3 wards were required to cut down their banana trees because they had not been planted on classified land. The divisional authorities, and the Kyaukse district authorities headed by the Township chairman ended up chopping down the trees themselves and fined the owners 5

kyat per tree. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In August 1999 soldiers from LIB 268, led by 2nd Lt. Khin Than ordered Mangkheng, Rialti, Lungpi, Lungrang and Thlanrawn villages, Falam Township, Chin State to provide two chickens per week to the soldiers without fail. When the villagers complained to the Battalion Commander that they could not afford to provide the chickens, he sent a group of soldiers to the villages who took the chickens by force. In addition, the soldiers ordered the villagers to weave baskets to keep the chickens in, and collected porters by force to carry the chickens that they had looted. When the villagers complained again, the Battalion Commander told them it was their responsibility to feed the army. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

♦ During August 1999, SPDC battalion 273 has changed Kyauk Htayan village into a detention center by fencing the village in Ye Phyu Township. Kyauk Htayan is a big village with 200 households and a population of about ten thousand. The only exit the army left open was the seashore.

Kyauk Htayan is controlled by Captain Htun Naing and Ltn. Maung Maung Lay of LIB 273. They restricted the villagers from going out of the village so the villagers had to leave their cattle out of the village for grazing. The soldiers of LIB 273 took advantage of it, slaughtering the cattle for their meals. They also stole fruits from the orchards outside the village. They are making money by selling fruits such as Durian, Coconuts and Betel nuts. **(*Source: THRF*)**

♦ On August 2, 1999, SPDC troops from LIB 518 went to rob and burn the farm houses of the villagers in Huay Yaeng, Mong Khun tract, Mong Kung Township, Shan State. The losses of the people were as follows:

1. Loong Sarng Saw lost 100,000 *kyat* worth of household belongings
2. Sai Luu lost 70,000 *kyat* worth
3. Nang Nu lost one basket of polished rice and 1,700 *kyat* in cash
4. Loong Karn lost 160,000 *kyat* worth of goods and was also beaten by the Burmese soldiers
5. Loong Ling lost about 60,000 *kyat* worth of goods

(*Source: SSArmy News*)

♦ On August 7, 1999, Captain Soe Myint of LIB 508, summoned all the village headmen in Mong Pieng tract, Lawkzawk Township, Shan State and demanded that since he was going to be transferred to another post, as a present, every villager had to give him one viss of chicken each. **(*Source: SSArmy News*)**

♦ On August 9, 1999, Brig Gen Thein Sein ordered all military units in Kaeng Tung Township, Shan State to grow different kinds of fruit bearing trees at their respective locations. The troops subsequently ordered the villagers in their respective areas to provide the seed for the fruit trees, or provide money to buy the fruit seeds. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On August 9, 1999, troops from LIB 526 led by Capt. Tint Lwin forced a group of cattle traders in Tachilek Township, Shan State to pay a tax of 2,000 *kyat* per head of cattle, or else lose their cattle. The group had to pay 150,000 *kyat* for their 75 cattle. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On August 15, 1999, Captain Htun Aung of IB 508 summoned every village headman from Mong Peing Township, Shan State to his meeting. Each village headman had to bring 5 chicken (which had to include one cock and four hens, each should be at least 80 tickels: about 2.9 pounds). Every headman who sent a representative instead of attending this meeting

had to face extra fine of 5 chicken, 2 bottle of cooking oil and 50 pieces of bamboo**. (*Source: SSArmy News*)**

♦ August 27, 1999, Major Kyaw Moe led SPDC soldiers from LIB 524 to buy paddy from the people in Kunhing Township. The villagers had to sell to them as follows:

1. Kun Muong tract 3,000 baskets
2. Ton Hung tract 3,000 baskets
3. Nong Hee tract 3,000 baskets
4. Nong Tao tract 1,000 baskets

The Burmese soldiers purchased the rice at 120 *kyat* basket, while the actual price was 650 *kyat* per basket. **(*Source: SSArmy News*)**

♦ On August 27, 1999, a column from IB 66 (Namzarng) to rob the people of Wan Loi Kang, Loi La tract, Mongnai Township, Shan State. The people's losses were as follows:

1. Loong Su 14,749 *kyat* worth
2. Nai Mu 1,000 *kyat* worth
3. Loong Wi 4,000 *kyat* worth
4. Singta 2,425 *kyat* worth

(*Source: SSArmy News*)

♦ Since early September 1999, about 30 SPDC troops from LIB 519 led by Capt Hla Hpe, stationed at Naa Pa Kaao, Mae Ken tract, Murng-Ton Township, Shan State have been catching cattle which the villagers let graze in the nearby forests and demanding 500-600 *kyat* for each head from the owners. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 5, 1999, a patrol of about 60 SPDC troops from LIB329 met a group of 6 cattle traders with about 30 head of cattle in Murng Hai tract, Murng-Phark Township, Shan State. The troops shot at the cattle when they could find no fault after interrogating the cattle owners and the cattle owners had refused to give them a cow. The troops cut up the one cow they had killed and left the cattle owners to chase after the rest of the cattle. According to the head of the traders, Loong Mi, one head of cattle was worth 95,000 *kyat*. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 8, 1999, a patrol of 12 SPDC troops from IB 279 led by Lt. Khin Nyo shot a pig at Wan Hu Tai village, Wan Waeng tract, Murng-Yarng Township, Shan State and took it away. The pig belonged to a poor widow named Pa Naang Peng, aged 46, and was worth 5,600 *kyat*. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 16, 1999, Private Hlaing Win from SPDC's IB279 was caught by the villagers while stealing a tape recorder valued at 25,000 *kyat* from a villager's house in Mawn Ke village, Murng-Yarng Township, Shan State. The villagers took Hlaing Win, together with the stolen tape recorder as evidence, to the office of the Township Peace and Development Council. However, the Township authorities not only let the Private soldier go without doing anything to him, but also scolded the villagers because the private was the nephew of the Battalion Commander's wife. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 17, 1999, a military column from LIB 101 led by Captain Aung Kyaw Latt entered Taphokhee village, Tenessarim Township, Tenessarim Division and burnt down 16 houses in the villages. Fifteen buffaloes, six bullock carts and three pigs were forcibly taken away by the soldiers. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 19, 1999, Major Kyaw Moe from LIB 524 demand 100 coconuts from the villagers in the Keng Tong tract, Shan State. They said these coconuts were to be

used as seedlings to be planted in Lower Burma. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On September 19, 1999, SPDC troops from LIB518 threatened to conscript 130 villagers of Naa Khaan, Naa Khaan tract, Murng-Nai Township, Shan State to serve as militia and porters. He arrested and detained them until their families paid 5,000 *kyat* per head. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 25, 1999, the Thaton Township PDC, Mon State, ordered the village headman from the 59 villages in the Township to collect 250 *kyat* per household for a fund to support the military training of village militias. The PDC received about 2.5 million *kyat* from the villagers. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On September 27, 1999, SPDC troops of LIB 528, in charge of the Salween bridge at Ta Kaw, closed the bridge without any apparent reason and extorted money from the vehicles that wanted to cross over. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On October 1, 1999, local military authorities ordered the villagers of Napakao, Mongton Township, Monghsat District, Shan State to sell part of their new harvest to the government at a rate of 200 *kyat* per half basket of paddy. The market rate is 600 *kyat* per half basket of paddy. **(*Source: SHAN*)**

♦ On October 2, 1999, village headmen from the villages around Aryu Tang village, Ye Township, Mon State were summoned by the military commanders of IB 229 and ordered to provide 1,000 of bamboo, 10,000 of thatch and 500 of wood before the end of October. The materials were for the new army base being built on land confiscated from the villagers. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On October 3, 1999, when troops from LIB 120 entered Kyone-sein village, the soldiers not only took rice, vegetables, chicken, pigs and ducks, but they also took some valuables, such as gold-wares, cassette recorders, and house-hold materials such as pots, spoons, from the whole village. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On October 7, 1999, troops from IB 233 and LIB 534 came to Ko Haw Dae village, Thandaung Township, Karen State and cut down all coconut trees in the village. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On October 10, 1999, officers from LIB 515, IB 64 and the Laikha Township PDC met the local people from Laikha Township, Loilem district, Shan State and instructed them to sell their unhulled paddy at 1 lang and 6 kwais (7 baskets) per acre, at 1,200 *kyat* per lang. The market price per lang is 2,500 *kyat*. Those whose paddy crops had failed were not exempted from this quota. All the local rice mills were forbidden to open shop until the farmers' quota had been fulfilled **(*Source: SHAN*)**

♦ On October 15, 1999, troops from LIB 329 shot 2 cattle at Murng Kok village, Nam Naang tract, Murng-Phark Township, Shan State then forced the villagers to cut up the meat and carry it.

The following 2 women lost their cattle:

1. Pa Lu (f), aged 51, lost 1 cow worth 13,000 *kyat*
2. Pa Naang (f), aged 48, lost 1 cow worth 10,000 *kyat*

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On October 15, 1999, troops from LIB 120 entered Htee-pat-kat village, arrested many women porters, took cash and looted the villagers' belongings. The soldiers took rice, vegetables, chicken, pigs and ducks raised by villagers. The commander also requested about 25,000 *kyat* from the wife of Christian Pastor, as a ransom when they could not meet

the priest in the village. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On October 18, 1999, an SPDC traffic police officer, roaming the streets of Ta-Khi-Laek, stopped and extorted money from motorbikes which happened to be on or passing his way. He would find fault with one thing or another and forced them to pay a fine of 400 *baht* each. He had been doing that with ease for some time because people did not want to argue with such an authority.

But when he stopped a couple, Maung Soe Naing and his wife, they asked for a relevant document and said they would pay the fine either at the law court or police station. However, the police officer angrily said that he was fully in charge and fully authorized to do as he pleased and the fine would have to be paid to him. He then snatched up the motorbike key and did not let it go until they paid the demanded 400 baht. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On October 19, 1999, SPDC troops from Murng-Phyak-based LIB 330 robbed and beat 4 Akha villagers at Sarm Pi village, Loi Taw Kham tract, Ta-Khi-Laek Township, Shan State. Since food has become so scarce due to the closure of the Thai-Burma border, many people on the Burma side of the border have been trying to get food from the other side. The 4 Akha villagers were returning from buying food across the border in Thailand when they ran into a group of SPDC soldiers who were on security at Sarm Pi village. The soldiers arrested them and seized all the food they had bought from Thailand, including cooking oil, salt, sugar and other food stuff, and beat them 5 times each with a stick as punishment.
The 4 Akha villagers were:

1. Ar Pe (m), aged 29
2. Ar Mi (f), aged 16
3. Pu Pur (m), aged 45
4. Ar Lu (m), aged 39

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On October 25, 1999, soldiers from LIB 120 went into Palaw-toki village and looted rice, vegetables, ducks, chicken and pigs from every house in the village for their own food. In addition to the looting of food from the villagers, the soldiers asked cash from some houses. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On October 29, 1999, 3 Shan women from Murng-Yarng who were returning from working in Thailand were robbed by SPDC troops from LIB327 at Ta Purm bridge checkpoint in Murng-Khark Township, Shan State. The 3 women had gone to work in Thailand for sometime and had managed to bring home some of their savings. But the SPDC troops stopped the car they were riding from Kaeng-Tung to Murng-Yarng, searched them and took all their belongings, leaving only 5,000 *kyat* for each of them. The 3 women were:

1. Naang Mon, aged 21, from Tong Le village, Tong Le tract, Murng-Yarng Township
2. Naang Pan, aged 25, from Wan Waeng village, Wan Waeng tract, Murng-Yarng Township
3. Naang Kham La, aged 19, from Wan Paeng, Tong le tract, Murng-Yarng Township

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On 27, October 1999, 180 troops from Battalions 55, 99, and 196, made a cleansing campaign in the kharms (farm huts), at Wan Has Harmg, Keng Lom tract, Kun Hing Township. They captured:

1. Loong Waling (age 46)
2. Loong Kang Hseng Mong (age 56)
3. Sai Wunna (age 32)

They were released the following day, after they had been beaten and stripped of their belongings. They lost:

1. 2 baskets of polished rice
2. 39 chickens
3. All their kitchen utensils
4. All their clothes and bedding
5. One cassette recorder
6. 5 heavy cutting knives

In total they lost about 19,000 *kyat* worth of belongings. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On October 30, 1999, 30 SDPC troops entered a village in T'Nay Hsah Township, Karen State and stayed until November 6. They killed and ate all the pigs and chickens in the village and took some paddy with them for their rations. They also gathered much of the paddy together in one place and burned it, and they laid landmines around the paddy which was left *[in the fields]* so that people couldn't dare reap it to get food. The owners *[of the fields]* are Po Kway, Po Gyi, Tan Pya, Po Lu Kay, Po Tad, Po Ko, *kyat* Han, Po K'Law, Po Ka Hser, Po Ket and Hsah Mu. Some of them lost 5 baskets of paddy, some lost 3 or 4 baskets. Then they laid landmines around there so the villagers wouldn't dare go back. Two people stepped on these mines, and later died. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On October 31, 1999, a military column led by battalion commander Nyunt Lin and deputy commander Moe Aung from LIB 415 looted four shops at Za Mi stream near Kyunchaung village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi Township, Karen State. In total, 17,000 *kyat* worth of belongings were looted and destroyed by the soldiers. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On October 31, 1999, cotton cultivators from Sin-baung-wei Township, Magwe Division had to pay 8000 *kyat* in advance crop payment. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ Since November 1, 1999, the Township authorities have forced at least 2 or 3 adolescent boys from every village in Sin-baung-wei Township, Magwe Division to attend the army Red Cross training. The cost for such training (*kyat* 20,000 to *kyat* 30,000 per 100 boys) has to be born by the villagers. Pay-le village has paid over *kyat* 30,000 and Kan-chaung village over *kyat* 25,000. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ In early November 1999, SPDC authorities in Murng Yawng Township ordered all the rice farmers in the Township to provide their quotas of 15 rice baskets per acre. The villagers of Wan Nim and Wan Thom Mon had begged the authorities to reduce their quota to 7 baskets, as their fields had been mostly destroyed by flood, but they were forced to sell their property in order to buy rice from other sources to fulfil the quota. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On November 3, 1999, 2 Shan villagers of Wan Pung village, Murng Phong tract, Ta-Khi-Laek Township were robbed and extorted by a mixed group of SPDC soldiers, police and militia at the Thai-Burma border. The 2 Shan villagers were returning from buying food in Thailand when they were arrested and robbed of all their things. Further more, they were forced to pay a fine of 600 *baht* each for 'illegally' crossing the border.

The 2 victims were:

1. Ai Sung (m), aged 21
2. Ai Taan (m), aged 23

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On November 4, 1999, troops from LIB 322 robbed the people of Mong Tom tract, Tang Yan Township, Shan State. The losses were:

1. Loong Sarngt Keng of Wan Peing Lin lost a gold chain
2. Wi Mala of Wan Peing Lin lost 2 baskets of polished rice.
3. Sarng Saw of Wan Peing Lin lost 5 chickens.
4. Hsi Aw of Wan Nong lost 1 duck, 1 viss of cooking oil, half a kg of seasoning and large box containing snacks for sale. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ One November 4, 1999, troops from IB 33 led by Major Win Nyunt, robbed the people of Kharm Kung Hsa, Wan Nong tract, Mong Nai Township, Shan State. The losses were:
1. Loong Ti Ya lost 20,000 *kyat* worth of household belongings.
2. Loong Ta lost 1,200 *kyat* worth of household goods.
3. Loong Sing Khae lost a cow worth 8,000 *kyat*. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On November 9, 1999, an army commander, Lt.Col. Aung Maw Maw of Southeast Region Military Command went into Tarana village, Kyaikmayaw Township, Mon State and called a meeting. In the meeting, he explained that the government had planned to widen the water canals in the area to provide water to grow dry season crops, and the civilians must provide funds for that important project. He instructed that a family without farmland must pay 500 *kyat*, while farmer families must pay 1,200 *kyat*. The army also instructed the villages in the area that they required another 100 acres of paddy growing lands. Villages in the Township area, such as Kyone-wan, Kyaikpayan, Thangalaung, Nyaung-oin-seik, Babugone, Khayongu, Kawkareik, Kaw-swe, Tarana and Damathus villages were instructed to give 10 acres from each village. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On November 11, 1999, Commander Swe Myint of Murng-Ton-based IB65 and Commander Pan Hle of Murng-Sart-based IB226 told the 108 villages in Murng-Ton Township that in 1999 the military would buy 30 baskets of unhusked rice per acre of rice-cultivating land at a price of 200 *kyat* per basket. (The market price was 450 *kyat* per basket). Everyone who grew rice was required to sell it and the lands of those who failed to do so would be confiscated and people from lowland Burma would be brought to cultivate them. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In mid-November 1999, SPDC authorities, acting under the order of Brg-Gen Thein Sein, confiscated 30 acres of pineapple farms belonging to the villagers of Kaeng Ka village, Kaeng Tung Township, Shan State. The villagers were given 3 days notice to gather their pineapple crop, but this was insufficient time, and as a result, when the military ploughed the acres with a tractor to prepare for a military rice crop, the villagers lost over 1 million *kyat* worth of pineapples. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On November 18, 1999, troops from LIB 322 robbed the people of Wan Keow Sai, Mong Tom tract, Tand Yan Township, Shan State.
1. Khing Saw lost 1 basket of polished rice and some clothes.
2. Khing Nay lost 16,000 *kyat* worth of provisions.
3. Khing Sarng Toon lost his household belongings and some clothes.
4. Khing Leng, a grocer, lost 6,000 *kyat*.
In addition, the villagers had to gave them 10 viss of chicken.
(*Source: SSA*)

♦ On November 21, 1999, 15 troops from IB 221 led by Lt. Yan Naing stopped every car attempting to cross Murng Ngaam bridge in Murng Phyak Twonship, Shan State. They forced each driver to pay 1000 *kyat* before they allowed them to cross the bridge. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On November 22, 1999, combined SPDC troops from Battalions 423, 426, and 427 operated a cleansing campaign in the Townships of Mong Kung and Kaesi, Shan State. They robbed livestock and provisions from the people, Those who had lost their chickens and provisions were: (a) Loong Pang, (b) E Lort, (c) Nang Kham, (d) Wiya, (e) Sarng Hsu,

all from Wan Nam Oon, Ho Khai tract. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On November 22, 1999, troops from IB 45 robbed the people of Wan Kaw Kom, Nong Leng tract, Tang Yan Township, Shan State. The villagers who lost their properties were:

1. Pu Kae Loong Pang
2. Ko Nyo
3. Loong Ong
4. Loong Korn
5. Pa Sing
6. Loong Has Oon
7. Loong Ku
8. Sai Yawd

(*Source: SSA*)

♦ In November 1999, LIB 273 troops took the buffaloes and cows belong to Mayan Chaung village and neighboring villages, while they were grazing in Mayan Chaung village. The owners of the cattle from Mayan Chaung are:

1. U Pan Shwe, age 64, Tavoyan — 1 buffalo
2. U Thee Shwe, age 58, Tavoyan — 1 buffalo
3. U Kyaing *Kyin*, age 72, Mon — 3 buffaloes
4. Ma Win Kyi, age 36, Tavoyan — 3 buffaloes

IB 408 troops took the buffaloes and cows of the owners from the other villages are:

1. U Hale, age 58, Mon — 2 buffaloes — Kywe Thone Nyima village
2. Ma Hla Aye, age 42, Tavoyan — 2 cows — Byu Gyi village

(*Source: THRF*)

♦ On November 25, 1999, Operation Commander Myint Thein from Strategic Command #881 (under #88 LID) summoned village heads from 70-80 villages in Kya In Township, Karen State for a meeting at Kya In Seik Gyi. There he announced that instead of imposing their current rice quota per village, the SPDC would begin confiscating all the villagers' rice in December 1999, at the end of the annual rice harvest. All villagers were required to bring their harvested paddy to SPDC-controlled storage barns at Ta Mi Ni, Plaw Toh Kee, Ter Noh, and Da Nu (near Kya In Seik Gyi). The villagers were told that they would then have to come to the storage location, regardless of the distance by foot from their villages, to collect enough rice for their family before each meal. The SPDC explained to the village heads that strictly regulating the food supply was the only way to break the resistance, since villagers would be monitored to ensure that no surplus rice could be hoarded for the KNLA. The SPDC imposed a deadline of December 20th to complete the harvest and hand over the paddy. Any paddy left in the fields after that date would be seized, and any villagers caught in their fields or huts once the deadline passed would be shot, no questions asked. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On November 27, 1999, troops from IB 11, 12 and LIB 108 destroyed houses and paddy from the villages of Ne Khee, Mae Hut Lu, Lay Hta and Hay Pu in Papun district, Karen State. In total, about 10,000 baskets of paddy were destroyed by the troops. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On November 28, 1999, Lt-Col Ko Ko, Chairman of the Tachilek PDC instructed members of the Tachilek USDA to collect 200,000 *baht* for the SPDC senior official inspection of the hotel and casino business in Tachilek planned for January 2000. Therefore, the USDA members forced each house in Town to pay 800 *baht*, and each house in the rural area around Town to pay 600 *baht*. Many villagers had to sell their rice paddy to pay the USDA. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On November 29, 1999, Paung Township authorities and the deputy manager of the paddy-buying managing committee closed a paddy-husking mill in Kyone-hor village tract, which was owned by Nai Par. They instructed the manager of paddy-buying, U Myint Kyaw, to carefully watch the activities of that paddy-husking mill and take action if the mill owner did not follow the order. Due to this order, the villagers in this village tract faced insufficient food, and the farmers had to buy polished rice at high price from Town traders. The village tract leaders informed to Township authorities about the situation of the villagers, and requested to re-allow the husking of paddy. The authorities gave permission to only the farmers who had already sold their qouta and had gained permission from the village leaders, which cost a farmer 10 *kyat* per basket. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On November 30, 1999, troops from SPDC IB 246 based in Nam Awe village, Kun Hing Township, Shan State robbed the villagers who were threshing their paddy in their fields near Wan Pae, Ho Yan tract, Kun Hing Township. About 10,000 *kyat* worth of property was looted from the villagers. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On December 1, 1999, three houses from Walo Klo village, Papun district, Karen State were burned down by the SPDC troops under the command of Division 66. In total, 33,000 *kyat* worth of property were destroyed. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 2, 1999, troops from LIB 608, upon returning from battle, entered Wan Nong, Mong Tom tract, Tang Yan Township, Shan State. They captured 2 villagers and robbed 10,000 *kyat* in cash. Later they went to the house of militia leader Sao Khun Yawd Mong and robbed about 200,000 *kyat* worth of precious and household goods. From there they went to rob the house of Sao Khum Pang, another militia leader, and took 50,000 *kyat* worth of goods. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 2, 1999, troops from LIB 296 led by Major Moe Hein, burned the paddy of the people of Wan Weing Phwee, Weing Phwee tract, Kun Hing Township, Shan State. They lost at least 120 langs (about 600 baskets) of paddy which were burnt. The villagers who lost their paddy were Santaka, Teing Nyo and Maha. In addition, about 40 langs (200 baskets) of paddy threshed by the people of Wan Weing Phwee were robbed by the same troops later that day and carried to their garrison at Ho Tang, Ta Kaw tract, Kun Hing Township. The villagers who lost their paddy were Saw Singna, and Nan Ta. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 3, 1999, 22 bullock carts from Mee Tai Taung village, Mone Township, Karen State, were summoned to carry the logs for the construction of SPDC IB 26 military camp. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 3, 1999, every household in Kaw Tun, Kaw Pauk, Kadoe and Kaw Hlar villages, Moulmein Township, Mon State were forced to purchase various kinds of fund-raising calendars. The calendars, such as the Students' Sport fund-raising calendar, cost 500 *kyat* each. The villagers were threatened that if they did not buy the calendars, their rice mills would be forcibly closed. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 5, 1999, SPDC military column led by battalion commander Aung Kyaw Hla from LIB 101 arrived in Wah Tho Hta village, Nyaunglebin Township, Karen State and proceeded to destroy and burn down five houses from the village. They also looted 80,000 *kyat*. worth of belongings from the villagers. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 7, 1999, SPDC troops from LIB 336 from Loikaw, led by Major Aung Gyi looted properties worth of 30,000 *kyat*, from villagers of Kharm Koong Loi

Khwang, Loi La tract, Nam Sarng Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On December 8, 1999, troops from the 102nd IB butchered 2 water buffaloes from Khing On Long, a villager of Wan Kung Has, Wan Lao tract, Kun Hing Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 9, 1999, a military column led by commander San Win from LIB 357 came to Tadawmaw village, Thaton Township, Karen State and beat a villager named Maung Soe Mya. The troops also took 40,000 *kyat* and a watch from him. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 11, 1999, troops fromn LIB 264 came to Thay Nar-u village Papun district, Karen State and burned four houses in the village. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 13, 1999, troops from IB 45 robbed the people of Wan Huay Oarng, Nong Leng tract, Tang Yan Township, Shan State. Loong Kae Sarng Yi and his son were tied up while their house was searched. Altogether they lost about 40,000 *kyat* in cash and provisions. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 14, 1999, troops from Battalion 514 and Myo Tint, chairman of the Township PDC forced the people of Harm Ngai tract, Mong Kung Township, Shan State to sell their paddy at a loss. They had to sell 500 baskets to the Township PDC and 300 baskets to the battalion. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 14, 1999, troops from IB 46 demanded that the people of Harm Ngai tract, Mong Kung Township, Shan State give them 300 viss of oranges or pay them 80 *kyat* per viss in cash. The people were told that if they failed to give what they had been ordered to, the indigenous people would have to surrender their lands to Burmese settlers from lowland Burma. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 15, 1999, troops from LIB 264 burned down 4 houses in Thay-Ner-Oo village, Papun District, Karen State. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On December 16, 1999, troops from IB 32 entered Maw Kee village, Doo-Pla-ya District, Karen State, shot their guns into the air, drove people from their houses, and then stole a gold necklace and 1,000 Baht from a villager, Naw Ta Nu. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On December 22, 1999, Major Saw Shwe and major Hla Myint of IB 248 from Mong Nai Township, Shan State forced the people in the region to sell the maize at a knocked down price. The military paid 400 *kyat* per basket while the actual price at the market was 1,000 *kyat*. The amount of quota to sell was as follows:

1. Naa Kharn tract 400 baskets
2. Ka Hae tract 100 baskets
3. Wan Yae tract 100 baskets
4. Kun Naa tract 300 baskets
5. Loi Kaew tract 200 baskets
6. Nam Maw Som tract 50 baskets
7. Paw Mong quarter 100 baskets
8. Nong Kaeo quarter 50 baskets
9. Nar Hong quarter 50 baskets
10. Oo Yean quarter 50 baskets
11. Mai Hai tract 300 baskets

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On December 22, 1999, Battalion Commander San Win of IB 545 entered Mae-Thet-Ywa-Gyi village, Thaton District, Karen State and stole 5 baskets of paddy, a tin of

rice, and 17 chickens from villager Naw Ma Aye. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On December 23, 1999, Captain San Win from LIB 357 killed a pig worth 4,000 *kyat* owned by Saw Kyaw Mya of Noe-Ber-Baw village, Thaton District, Karen State. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On December 25, 1999, U Soe Tint and U Thein Than Htun, both were Lankho Township SPDC officials in Shan State ordered the people to sell them paddy at knocked down price. For a total of 120 acres in Nong Long tract, the villagers were required to sell 8 baskets of rice per acre. The military paid 300 *kyat* per basket, while the local price was 1,000 *kyat* per basket. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ During the month of December 1999, the SPDC authorities of Laikha Township, Shan State forced he people to pay highway taxes for every vehicle entering or exiting from the Town. Each bullock-cart had to pay 100 *kyat* for entry and 125 *kyat* for exit. Each tractor had to pay 500 *kyat* for entry or exit. Each truck had to pay 1,000 *kyat* for both entry and exit. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On December 25, 1999, soldiers from IB 246 forced 200 people to attend the ceremony of new pagodas in Kun Hing Township, Shan State. Although the authorities said the people were invited, they were forced to donate 100 *kyat* each for admittance to the authorities. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On December 28, 1999, troops from IB 35 led by officers Mya Win, San Hla Htun, and Myint Htay shot at villagers hiding in the jungle in the Bway-Baw-Doe area, Toun-goo District, Karen State. They burnt down 5 houses and the household items. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On December 28, 1999, SPDC troops burnt down Hser Kee village, Tavoy-Mergui District, Karen State. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On January 10, 2000, every household from Daw Tamagyi, Daw Pu, Daw Nge Khu, Daw So Pya, Daw Pha, Daw Tacha, Daw Be Soe and Daw Bo Lae villages in Demawsoe Township Karenni State were ordered to supply material for the building of fences and a military outpost at Daw Tamagyi village. Each village was ordered to give 50 pieces of bamboo and 50 strips of thatche. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

The orchards from Ayu Taung village, Mon State occupied by army for camping on 7 September 1999

No.	Name	Areca Palm	Durain Tree	Rubber Tree	Amount Kyat (lakh)
1	Nai Lay & Mi Khin Yee	500	50	-	10
2	Mi Khin Aye Mu	300	20	700	9
3	Nai San Thein	700	40	-	15
4	Nai Kalaw & Mi Shan	600	25	500	25
5	Nai Hadee & Mi Nyein	1000	100	1000	22
6	Nai Kyi & Mi Put	300	100	600	15
7	Nai Kun Kalaw	300	20	-	5
8	Monastery	-	80	-	24
9	Nai Kyaw Aye	1000	30	-	5
10	Nai Aung San & Mi Nyein	400	80	1000	40
11	Nai Aung Ba San	-	20	-	3
12	Nai Bala Sein & Mi Njay	1500	200	1000	50
13	Nai Aa & Mi Phwar Khin	1200	60	1000	35
14	Nai Hadee & Mi Ngwe Shin	1500	45	700	35
15	Nai Wave & Mi Moe	-	-	1200	8
16	Nai Wai Aye & Mi Khin Win	-	-	600	2
17	Nai Han & Mi Mya	-	-	800	6
18	Mi Hnin Shwe	500	15	-	7
19	Nai Nyein & Mi Alone	500	90	800	35
20	Nai Htun Win & Mi Nyein	-	-	1200	9
21	Nai Pan Tin & Mi Chaw	700	40	200	20
22	Nai Aung Kyi & Mi Alay	-	-	1000	8
23	Nai Kun Sein & Mi Kun Thit	500	30	-	12
24	Nai Min & Mi Yee	-	-	2000	13
25	Nai Hale & Mi Ahtwe	-	-	2000	10
26	Nai Bai	-	-	1500	12
27	Mi Kun Hatone	-	-	1000	10
28	Nai Shone & Mi Myint	500	20	700	13
29	Nai Tone & Mi Kun Dout	-	-	500	3
30	Nai Kalaw & Mi Khin San	-	-	800	7
31	Nai Nyen Thein	-	-	1200	7
32	Nai Maung & Mi Anyunt	-	-	1000	8
33	Nai Shwe	-	-	800	5
34	Nai Ru & Mi Mham	-	-	1200	9
35	Nai Hale & Mi Myint Htay	-	-	800	4
36	Nai Nyein & Mi Atalint	-	-	500	2
37	Nai Kalaw & Mi Shan	100	20	2000	13
38	Nai Kun Ba & Mi Tin	3000	50	1000	50
39	Mi Ayee	500	20	700	7
40	Nai Shain & Mi Ayee	-	-	800	5

41	Nai Jarm & Mi Magyi	600	30	400	7
42	Nai Soe Thein & Mi Khin Shwe	100	10	-	1
43	Nai Myain & Mi Nge	500	20	1600	10
44	Nai Moe & Mi Zein	-	-	200	1
45	Mi Aswe	700	40	100	10
46	Nai Dute & Mi San Nu	1000	20	1300	7
47	Nai Hmain & Mi Hla Zein	400	5	-	6
48	Nai Nyunt Mi Adute	100	7	-	2
49	U Parla (monk)	-	10	-	1
50	Nai Soun & Mi Adute	1000	20	600	20
51	Nai We	-	-	900	5
ALL TOTAL					**648**

The orchards from Koe mile village, Mon State occupied by LIB 299 in June 1999.

No.	Name	Areca Palm	Rubber Tree	Lime & Cashew	Amount Kyat (lakh)
1	Nai Hmain & Mi Khin Aye	1500	-	-	20
2	Nai Kyaw Thein & Mi Tayoke	700	-	-	5
3	Nai Kyane & Mi Kyin	-	-	500	3
4	Nai Win Myint	300	-	-	1
5	Nai Khin Maung Nyunt	-	-	500	10
6	Nai Pann Oo	-	-	-	1
7	Nai Kun Pinn	-	-	-	5
8	Nai Maung Hla Tin	-	1500	-	15
9	Nai Kyin	-	-	-	30
10	Nai Hmwe	-	-	2000	15
11	Nai Thaung	300	-	-	1
12	Nai Pinn & Mi Tin Kyi	-	800	-	5
13	Nai Yar Htun	500	-	-	10
14	Nai Kun Plaing	-	-	-	5
15	Mi Kun Mee	-	1000	-	8
16	Nai Kun Ze	-	-	-	1
17	Nai Shwe Hlaing	-	-	200	5
ALL TOTAL					**141**

(***Source: Mon***)

(16) Family of farmers from Kaw Kyeik village, Mon State, are hiding away from their village in order to avoid arrest for their failure to sell their quota paddy to the SPDC. (Photo: HURFOM)

(17) SPDC's paddy-purchasing centre in Mudon township, Mon State. Farmers in the region are forced to sell their paddy at extremely low prices set by the SPDC.

7. Rights of Minorities

7.1 Background

Armed opposition by seventeen 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 uprising, it pursued offensives against the military armed opposition groups. For decades now the policy of the military regime in Burma has been to undermine armed opposition groups by targeting the civilian populations who allegedly support them. The rural and areas where the majority are ethnic people are divided into SPDC-designated 'white', 'brown', and 'black' areas. 'White' indicates SPDC control with little or no incursion by opposition forces, 'brown' areas are SPDC-controlled but opposition forces can and do penetrate and operate there, and 'black' areas are either opposition-controlled or cannot be effectively controlled by the SPDC. Villages in 'brown' areas face heavy demands for forced labor and extortion by the military, particularly by columns which go to patrol the 'black' areas, and if there is any failure to meet these demands village elders can be arrested and executed or homes can be burned as though the village were 'black'. In 'black' areas villagers are regularly tortured or killed on sight and villages are regularly forcibly relocated and burned.

Whenever the SPDC troops are attacked or otherwise suffer setbacks in the 'black' areas, they tend to retaliate in the easiest way possible: by going back to the 'brown' villages and demanding cash compensation, arresting elders, executing villagers, or burning houses. After suffering this for years on end, having no control over it and seeing no end in sight, the elders of many villages in the 'brown' areas made their own informal agreements with local SPDC commanders: they gave promises not to help the resistance forces in any way, to report on all movements and activities of the resistance forces and to fully and quickly comply with any and all orders of the SPDC, and in return they were given assurances that they would not be arrested, their villagers would not be tortured or executed, their village would not be forced to move and their homes would not be burned. Villages which have made such agreements are generally dubbed *'Nyein Chan Yay'* ('Peace') villages by SPDC commanders.

The SLORC/SPDC adopted a policy of negotiating cease-fires with individual ethnic groups. Since 1989 about 15 such groups have reached cease-fire agreements with the SPDC. However, the Karen National Union (KNU) has continued to conduct armed operations in areas with significant Karen populations in the eastern and southern region of Burma, the Karenni National Progressive Party (KPP) has resumed fighting against the SPDC since the breakdown of a cease-fire nogotiated in 1995. In central and southern Shan State, military forces continues to engage the Shan State Army (SSA), a remnant of Kung Sa's narcotics-linked Mong Tai Army. Numerous other minor ethnically armed groups including the Chin national Front (CNF), the Naga National Council, the Rohingya Solidarity

Organization (RSO), and the Arakan National Organization (ANO) continue to oppose the SPDC with varying levels of armed opposition.

In areas where cease-fire agreements have been reached, human rights abuses continue to take place. 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 SPDC 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, SPDC had vastly increased the number of its soldiers in those areas.

Cease-fire groups are also unhappy with the implementation of SPDC's so-called local development projects. SPDC officials have redirected development projects funds into their own pockets. As a result, the groups have had to finance the construction of schools and hospital facilities as well as provide the necessary infrastructure themselves. By doing this, cease-fire groups have attempted to prove that they are able to carry our their own development projects efficiently and humanely.

The continuing armed conflicts in the Karen, Karenni, Shan and Chin States have been accompanied by massive human rights violations. The SPDC army routinely seized civilians to work as porters, the majority of whom are members of ethnic minorities. These civilians are arbitrarily detained, tortured and ill-treated. They are severely punished, especially when they are unable to perform all that is required of them. Further abuses of porters include being repeatedly beaten with bamboo sticks or rifle butts, being deprived of food, water, rest and medical treatment, and being killed.

Hundreds of thousands of others, including many ethnic minorities, have been forced to work as unpaid laborers on new construction "development" projects in the past years. No one is spared, neither the sick nor the elderly, neither women nor children. For many, this work is utterly degrading, and causes cruel and inhumane suffering, which often results in death. Countless numbers of ethnic minorities have been removed from their homes to resettlement areas, where the conditions of the 'resettlement" are brutally enforced by the army. In areas where the SPDC suspects opposition, some or even all of the civilian populations is forced at gunpoint to move into relocation camps, where they are told that they cannot return home until the opposition groups among them surrender. If villagers do not obey, they are summarily executed. Their homes, crops and livestock are also destroyed. Such "scorched earth" campaigns have been conducted in Karenni State, Shan State and Karen State.

7.2 Banning ethnic languages in school

Though ethnic groups have their own primary languages, Burmese language is the sole language of instruction in all state schools. Even in ethnic areas, primary and second state schools do not offer any instruction in the local ethnic minority language, even as a second language.

After a cease-fire agreement between the New Mon State Party and the SPDC, the SPDC promised that if the students in Mon State wished to study Mon literature, they could attend special Mon literature studies outside school time in government schools. Many Mon students joined the Mon literature classes and they were strongly supported by the Mon community. However in 1997, the Mon State LORC issued an official statement that it

would no longer allow the use of government schools to teach Mon literature. They later instructed the concerned Township authorities to prohibit the teaching of Mon literature. After the leaders of the NMSP complained about this case, SPDC issued that the Mon community must build their school if the students really wanted to study the subject. Therefore, the Mon community leaders built many Mon schools in Mon State with their own funds and manual labor. Then, in 1998, the Mon State PDC authorities instructed the local authorities to close down all Mon national schools in the whole of Mon State. These schools had been built and were running as self-supporting entities of the local Mon community in the State. The authorities claimed the teaching Mon literature is illegal and the running of Mon national schools in the villages is against existing laws. However, many schools remained open or re-opened.

7.3 Mon Schools ordered to Close down in 1999

On October 16, 1999, SPDC authorities in Mon State ordered a Mon national school to close down. The school had been providing education to Mon children in a building in a Mon monastery compound of Kwan-tar village, Mudon Township, Mon State. The order actually came from Military Intelligent No. 5 and the village PDC chairman, Nai Sein Aung, and Secretary, Nai Thar Aung, had to take responsibility to close the school down. The next day, on October 17, the village headmen called a meeting with all students' parents and explained that the "higher authorities" had ordered them to close down the school because it was an illegal institution and the teaching of the Mon language was also illegal. The parents were threatened that if they sent their children to a Mon school in the future that both they and their children would be arrested. The parents were then forced to sign a letter promising to keep their children out of the school. After the school was closed, about 100 children lost access to education. Village militia troops waited around the Mon school to prevent the operation of the school until the end of October.

On October 28, the Mudon Township PDC authorities closed down another school. The Township Secretary, U Myint Soe, went to Set-thawe village in southern part of Mudon town and ordered, through the village headmen, to close down the local Mon school immediately. The next day, the village chairman asked the school headmistress to meet him. He asked her to close down the school immediately, and warned her that if she refused to close down the school, she would be arrested and detained according to the laws as she was leading illegal activities. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

7.4 Banning Shan script in Shan State

In early March 1999, SPDC's Northeastern Regional Military Command Commander, Maj-Gen. Tin Aung Myint Oo, instructed all the regiments and battalions under his command to destroy all the signboards bearing villages' names in Shan script in their respective areas of control. These signboards had been put up by the Shan cease-fire groups and village communities alongside the Burmese signboards. According to the SPDC, the Shan language is not allowed to be used even in Shan State, and only signboards that bear the Burmese script are to be used. In September 1999 SPDC command in eastern Shan State banned the sale of the traditional locally made rice wine. The army brew now has the monopoly. In

addition to Shan alcohol, the Shan language is banned in schools, on signboards and video tapes dubbed in Shan are banned. **(*Source: SHAN*)**

7.5 Shan Refugees Lose Citizenship

New household registrations by the SPDC in the town of Pang Long are causing concern that Shan refugees from the area are being deliberately deprived of their citizenship. Since May 22, 1999, the SPDC authorities in Pang Long have been ordering headmen of town quarters and villages around the town to compile new house registration lists. Anyone not physically present in the household is not allowed to be registered. Since the forced relocation of over 10,000 Shan villagers to Pang Long in early 1998, a large number of these Shans have fled to Thailand. With the new registrations, those seeking refuge in Thailand are now being deprived of their original identity and may not be allowed to return if they wanted to. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

8. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, Degrading Treatment or Punishment

8.1 Background

There is widespread practice of torture through Burma. The extent of this practice is enormous; and the methods used are most brutal, barbaric and inhumane. The victims are civilians including women and children; and rape remains quite common. Both physical and mental forms of torture are involved. In many instances deaths are caused as a result of torture.

At least six departments of the SPDC's security forces have been implicated in torture and ill-treatment of former detainees, including political prisoners. The six departments are as follows: (1) SPDC's army of Phyithu 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 SPDC. The DDSI is also commonly known as the MIS or Military Intelligence Service and is the agency most frequently identified as inflicting torture during interrogation, Since 1988, the units under its control (MI-1, MIS-1, MI-3, etc.) have nearly doubled from 14 in 1989 to 23 in 1991. Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt, Secretary of the SPDC, is the head of the DDSI. The breakaway groups of Democratic Karen Buddhist Army and other ethnic armed groups associated with the SPDC also use torture against the civilians as a way of terrorizing people in rural areas.

Ethnic people living in areas of counter-insurgency operations are subjected to harassment, abuses, and ethnic persecution by the SPDC 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 the relocation deadlines are shot on sight. Moreover, civilians are routinely tortured by SPDC troops for allegedly having contact with ethnic armed groups or for being "sympathizers."

Political opposition activists often endure particularly severe treatment while in detention. Torture is used to punish them and to compel them to cooperate with their interrogators. These prisoners endure both physical and emotional torture during the often prolonged periods of detention following arrest while they are isolated from public scrutiny and protection. Many of them are forced to sign "confessions" admitting to anti-SPDC activities or implicating colleagues or friends in such activities. Some are forced to sign documents confirming that they had been well-treated during interrogation or in jail, and other says that they have been incommunicado following torture to allow time for the physical signs of torture to heal before anyone could see them.

In Burma the practice of shackling of prisoners still persists. The prisoners are shackled in heavy chains, like the ones used to tie elephants even when they are kept in cells

which are securely locked while they are waiting to be called before Courts. The practice of shackling prisoners in this manner dates from medieval times. Such shackling clearly falls under inhuman and degrading punishment. Such shackling should be declared illegal and more suitable methods must be developed to ensure that prisoners do not escape while in custody.

8.2 Solitary Confinement

An iron rod, about 1 1/2 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 cell. No blankets or mats are provided; prisoners are forced to sleep on the concrete floor. Most days, prisoners are taken out of the cells, 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 to three months. In some cases, political prisoners are forced to remain in solitary confinement indefinitely.

8.3 Beatings

SPDC uses many forms of beating 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, stick made from three interlaced pieces of cane, solid bamboo sticks, about three feet in length, and hard plastic water pipes. Victims often sustain serious permanent injuries including paralysis and even death.

SPDC beating 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 lying 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, along 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.

8.4 Ill-treatment during forced portering and labor

Local civilians are arbitrarily seized by the military and forced to serve as porters during military offensive 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.

The use of forced labor on SPDC's infrastructure projects is widespread across Burma. During the past years, SPDC has increasingly forced hundreds of thousands of civilian laborers to build railway lines, airports, dams, quarries, and road without compensation, Conditions at work sites are often harsh, in many cases soldiers use inhumane and degrading treatment to keep laborers working; forced laborers are often shackled in chains and received inadequate food and medicine.

8.5 Torture during detention and interrogation

SPDC's use of cruel and unusual torture techniques have been well-documented by survivors of such techniques and human rights groups. SPDC's 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 roads are rolled up and down the shins until the skin is lacerated; ordering solitary confinement with extreme small and unsanitary cells for prolonged period; rape and sexual assault and the use of 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 iron rod thrust between the feet.

8.6 List of Incidents

♦ In January 1999, SPDC troops savagely beat a woman from Thaton Township, Karen State because they thought her husband was with the KNLA. The turban she was wearing protected her head a bit from the blows, but she was seriously injured. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ In early January 1999, private Nga Maung of IB 92, son of Daw Kyi Sein from Kyauk-taing village, Mindon Township, was demanding money on home leave, claiming to be MI. As a result, he was arrested, interrogated, and tortured to death by Sergeant Shwe Hla Maung, Lance Corporal Khaing Too, the Chairman of the Village Administration U Aye

Maung. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On January 12 1999, a farmer from Kyauk Kyi Township, Karen State drove the families of LIB 264 troops out of his bean field where they were taking his beans. An hour later, a group of 4 soldiers led by Sergeant Mya Than appeared and told the farmer that everything belonged to the military and they and their families could take what they wanted. The 5 troops beat him until he was severely injured, fell unconscious and needed to be hospitalised. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On January 13, 1999, following the robbery of a passenger bus near Koe-mile village, Ye Township, Mon State, troops from LIB 343 arrested 6 villagers, including 1 women and accused them of being friends or relatives of the robbers. They detained the villagers at the battalion outpost for 5 days, and inhumanely and brutally tortured the villagers to get them to admit they were accomplices in the robbery case. Their relatives were forced to pay 20,000 *kyat* per person before they were released. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On January 21 1999, troops from LIB 401, led by Major Thaw Min, entered Kwethonyima village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division to collect the paddy tax they had ordered the farmers to give. However, as the village secretary, "Nai Tin Swe", had been unable to organize the villagers, and only a little rice had been collected to give as the tax, the troops arrested and tortured him severely. Then the soldiers looted 270 baskets of paddy from the village. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On January 23 1999, SPDC troops from LIB 328 arrested two villagers of Wan Zarng village, Murng Yarng Township, Shan State. They were Sai Taan, aged 22 and San Nadawun, aged 20. The troops accused the two of giving information to the Shan human rights group mobilizing in the area. Both of them were beaten and tortured during their interrogation. They were released only after their parents paid 2,000 *kyat* each for their release. Both suffered severe head injuries from the beating. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On February 3 1999, troops from SPDC LIB 546 came to Naung-ga-doke village, Thaton district, Karen State and brutally beat Naw Mu Mu, a 57 year old woman. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On February 12, 1999, a farmer named Sai Maing Sai, aged 27, of Wan Naa village, Nam Kham Township, Shan State, was badly beaten by two SPDC soldiers from IN 242. He was temporarily diverting some water from the stream that has long fed the rice fields in the area. The soldiers said this water was only for the military-own fields. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On February 22, 1999, SPDC troops from LIB 427 led by second –Lt. Than Aung arrived Daw Le Khu village, Prusoe Township, Karenni State and arrested Mee Ur, chairman of the village, Aye Lee, a secretary, Patrick, a pastor, Mozart, Mary, Pra Rei and Palo. All these villagers were accused of having communication with the Karenni armed group. They all were severely beaten and stabbed with sharpened knives. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On February 22, 1999, SPDC troops from LIB 427 led by 2nd Lt. Than Aung arrived in Htee Taw village, Prusoe Township, Karenni State and arrested U Ko Rei, chairman, Bae Rei, secretary and Hae Rei. The troops also arrested We Rei, Danny, Sha Rei, Not Rei and Haal Law Khi from Daw Raw Khu village. They were accused of supporting the Karenni armed group in the region. The troops severely beat them and slashed their faces and bodies with knives. After the torture, they went to Prusoe hospital for treatment but they were not given any medicine as the military had prohibited the hospital from providing any. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On February 22 1999, Company 4 Commander, Thuta Swe, and a Sergeant from IB 231 seized Mauns Ngwe Yee (40,M) and a friend from Myo-haung village of Kaw-ka-reik Township, Doo-pla-ya district, Karen State and tortured them for many hours. They repeatedly hit Maung Ngwe Yee with a machete, severely wounding him. **(*Source: KNU*)**

♦ In late February 1999, 'Saw Toh Wah' of Waw Raw Township, Karen State was tortured by troops led by Capt. Han Myaing of LIB 343. They tied him to a tree and told the porters to dig a grave. They gathered the villagers, and asked them to guarantee for his 'good behaviour', then shot to miss him in mock execution twice. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ In March 1999, about 70 SPDC soldiers arrested Saw Thay Htoo, aged 35, from Thaton Township, Karen State and interrogated him about the activities of the KNU. They beat him with a short pole on his head and shins. They quickly sutered the place where they broke his scalp with 3 stitches, but he was unable to walk for 10 days after the beating. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On April 6 1999, 12 SPDC troops from LIB526 came to Yan Shin, a Lahu village in Murng Ko tract, Ta-Khi-laek Township, Shan State and demanded 15 labourers from the Lahu headman, Kya Hi, to clear the bushes and other rubbish in the compound of the military base. The Lahu headman refused to comply with the demand and so the troops beat him with their rifle butts. They stopped only when the head of the Lahu People s Militia came to intercede. Headman Kya Hi was sent to a clinic at Murng Ko and the wounds on his head had to be treated with at least 7 stitches. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 21 1999, SPDC troops from LIB526 arrested Sai Kam, age 28, and Sai Thai, age 21, of Saw Kong village Murng Phong tract (2), Ta-Khi-Laek Township, Shan State. They accused them of recruiting new soldiers for SSA-E and beat and tortured them while interrogating them. Both of the villagers suffered serious wounds on the heads and waists and could not walk or stand up. They were released only after the headman and the village leaders testified to their innocence and signed a guarantee paper taking responsibility for them. Both of them had to be hospitalized and received treatment at a hospital in Mai Sai Town in Thailand for 3 days before they were taken back to their village. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 25 1999, 20 DKBA soldiers of Brigade 333, led by Paw Li and Maw Klah arrested Saw Hsay Hsay, aged 26, from Thaton Township, Karen State. The accused him of contacting the KNU and tortured him. They tied his sarong around his head to suffocate him, stood on his chest, and poked him with a gun. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On April 29 1999, SPDC troops from LIB334 beat and tortured 6 men from Murng He village in Murng-Yawng Township, Shan State then left them hanging from trees. Ai Phom-Ma, 25, son of Loong Pin, Ai Lao, 20, son of Loong Hong, both later died due to the injuries from the beating and torture. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 30, 1999, the village chairman and secretary of Tarana village, Kyaikmayaw Township, Tenasserim Division, were severely tortured by a SPDC back-line tactical commander, Col. Tin Win and his soldiers from Light Infantry Division No.22 for the headmen's failure to organize a meeting with them. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On May 4 1999, 35 troops from LIB 332 led by Maj Than Aung arrested the village headman and his deputy of Pa Khaa village, Ho Phaai Long tract, Murng-Pan Township, Shan State. The village had been ordered to relocate to Murng-Pan in February. The troops interrogated the man and burned their bodies and faces with torches of hay. They were so badly burnt that they were unable to speak after the incident. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 4 1999, troops from IB 55 led by Capt Kyaw Myint arrested 4 villagers from the Lai-Kha relocation site, Shan State who were out collecting firewood. Loong Maha Zai, aged 51, Loong Lai Seng, aged 49, Zai Nyunt, aged 22 and Zai Mala, aged 20 were accused of being Shan rebel soldiers, and brought to the military camp. They were severely tortured until the next day, when villagers came to vouch for their innocence, and paid 12,000 *kyat* per person for their release. 2 tractors owned by 2 of the men were also confiscated by the army. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 6 1999, at around 10:00 at night, about 60 SPDC troops from LIB 330 surrounded Naa Ke, a Lahu village in Ta-Khi-Laek Township, fired their guns into the air and ordered all the villagers to gather in the centre of the village. Many villagers were frightened and ran away, but they were shot after, and 2 were killed. Two wounded villagers were captured and brought back to the centre of the village. The soldiers, accusing them of having connections with SSA-E, cut off their ears. They threatened all villagers that whoever dared to work as agents for the Shan soldiers would have to face the same fate. After that, the SPDC troops left the village, taking the 2 wounded Lahu villagers with them. There has been no news so far about their whereabout or whether they are alive or dead. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 15 1999, 15 troops from LIB 332 led by Sein Maung Win arrested Sai Nya-Na, aged 40 and his wife, Naang Mon, aged 36 who had been forced to move, but had secretly gone back to their village of Paa Saa, Kaeng Tawng area, Murng-Nai Township, Shan State to catch their loose cattle. The troops took them to the army base and tortured them both for a while, then tortured only the husband, and made his wife watch until he was almost dead and she agreed to show them where they kept some of their hidden valuables. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 17 1999, Loong Loi Hurng, 51, and Loong Lai Seng, 49, Kaw-Na, Ma-La, Khat-Ti-Ya and Kun-Na,(all in their twenties) and two teenagers, Zaai Taeng and Zaai Suay, were herding 15 of their cows from their former village to the Lai-Kha relocation site where they lived. They were stopped by 50 troops from Battalion 515 who arrested them and took them to the army base in Lai-kha. At the base, Commanding officer Saw Hpyu accused the men of going back to the village to provide rice to Shan insurgents and gave an order for them to be punished. The beating they received was so severe that some of them lost consciousness several times. They were released only after paying 2,000 *kyat* for each of the cattle and 5,000 *kyat* per person. However, their cows remained in army possession. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In the early morning of May 23 1999, Maung Kyi Khine, 25, son of U Paw Khine, of Myoma quarters, De-pai-yin Town, Sagaing division was arrested by Police sergent Tha Doon and some constables on the charge of swearing at his aunt Daw Khe. Members of his family were present to vouch for his good character, but he was taken to the jail. When the family took food for him later they were denied contact. That evening, they were informed that he had committed suicide by hanging in jail. However, the family found no signs of death by hanging when they saw the corpse. There was swelling of the face, back and chest with lacerations in the area above the pubic bone. The medical report and exhibits which were sent by parcel from the hospital were lost in transit to the post office and recovered later in a bush along the Ye-u /De-pai-yin motor road. Shwebo district police investigated, and found only one man, Sergeant Sein Win responsible, but took no action against him. **(*Source:***

***NLD*)**

♦ On May 26 1999, troops from LIB 334 severely beat up 3 young men from Kaeng Khaang village, Murng Yu tract, Murng-Yawng Township, Shan State to get information the villagers didn't have about the activity of the former members of the MTA. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 6, 1999, Lt Hla Tin from LIB 330 beat up Aa Kyuay, aged 49, the Lahu village headman of Wan Li Za village, Loi Taw Kham tract, Tachilek Township, Shan State because he had been unable to provide the amount of chickens the Lt. had demanded. His skull was fractured and split open as a result of the beating. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On June 20, 1999, a man from Murng-Kerng Township who had been detained and mentally tortured at the Ba Htoo military base in Lawk-Zawk Township, Shan State since May 16 of 1999, was warned that he should talk or be brutally tortured. They showed him instruments of physical torture, and brought in victims of torture with mutilated noses, ears, lips, and soles, and those with broken legs and sprained waists to show him what he would face. He was released after intervention from his family and village heads. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In July 1999, Pha Kar, aged 13 and his friend Saw Cha Lwe Lwe aged 15 were arrested by troops of Division 88 while they were tending the cows outside of Htee Tablu village, Kyar-Ein-Seik-Kyi Township, Karen State. They were arrested in the evening and detained until midnight. They were given no food, and they were tortured even though they were only young boys who did not know anything about the KNU. The troops beat them because they couldn't speak Burmese. Pha Kar was repeatedly kicked by the troops, who were wearing military boots. At mid-night, they were finally released after women from the village went and pleaded their innocence. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On July 17, 1999, troops from IB 226 arrested 3 young men of Wan Laen, Murng-Khawn tract, kaeng-Tung Township, Shan State. They tortured them in the middle of the village, accusing them of working for the SSA-East. Ai Maat, aged 19, Zaai Num, aged 20, and Zaai Peng, aged 16 were all seriously injured. The headman had to pay 5,000 *kyat* for each before they were released. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On July 26, 1999, 7 troops from IB 227, led by Lt. Hla Tint entered Wan Tap village, Murng Nam tract, Murng-Khark Township, Shan State, arrested 3 young men and brought them to the army base in Murng Khark. Ai Lap, aged 21, Ai Wong, aged 19, and Zai Kam, aged 36 were detained and tortured at the base for 3 days. They were all severely wounded from the torture. (***Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In July 1999, Ma Bwae, age 29, while her husband Naing Lu, age 32, a Mon National was going out to the sea, was raped by a soldier at gunpoint for 3 times within 4 hours. The soldier was from Capt. Maung Maung Lay's troops. In the morning Ma Bwae went to Capt. Maung Maung Lay and reported about this. Then Capt. Maung Maung Lay called that soldier and punished him. That soldier had to run from the village to the seashore for a hundred times. The captain also made him to hop from the village to the seashore as his punishment. Capt Maung Maung Lay also told Ma Bwae not to tell about this story to other villagers and foreign news agency or he will take a severe action against her.

♦ On 29 July, in the forest, Ma Bwae's husband Naing Lu came face to face with the soldiers. Among those was one who raped his wife. The soldiers captured him and beat him till he lost concciousness, then left him in the forest. On 2 August, some villagers from other village saw him unconscious, and helped him to his home. Naing Lu dared not report about this incident to the army officials. Instead he had to take medicine for his wounds secretly.

(*Source: THRF*)

♦ On July 30, 1999, SPDC Maj. Thu Yein, of LIB 356, Company 2, came to Po village, Karen State and tortured villagers Tihpade and Naw Sonny Yeik Htoo. **(*Source: MOJO*)**

♦ On August 7, 1999, 45-50 SPDC troops from LIB520 led by Maj Aye Thaung came to Pung Kur village, Murng Pan Township, Shan State and arrested 2 villagers, Loong Aw, aged 56 and Zai Hurng, aged 26 on suspicion of collecting rice for SSA. The troops tied them up and interrogated them, put plastic bags over their heads to stifle them into confessing, while continually beating and kicking them. When the 2 villagers kept denying the charge, the troops used a pointed knife to poke their arms, thighs and necks until they were bloody all over, and continued to beat and kick them until they lost consciousness several times. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On August 11 1999, Captain Win Myint led some SPDC soldiers from IB 292 to seize two village headmen. They were Loong Heng Ong Hsa of Wan Nam Koke and the headman of Wan Naa Poong village, Mong Pieng tract, Lawkzawk Township, Shan State. They were tortured and interrogated about the movements of SSA. When no information could be obtained, the village headmen were then tied up and submerged in the village pool until they lost consciousness. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On August 16, 1999, 12 troops from LIB 331 entered Li Za village, Loi Taw Kham tract, Ta-chi-lek Township, Shan State and arrested 2 Lahu villagers. Kya Yur, aged 33 and Kya Pae aged 26 were accused of assisting the Shan resistance and were severely tortured. The soldiers beat them, and crushed their shins by rolling thick bambbo sticks across them, until the men lost consciousness several times. The men were released after the villagers of Li Za paid 20,000 *kyat* for each. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 4, 1999, Nai Win Shein, a 25 yr. old fisherman from Aindan Ywathit, Palein Taung coastal region, near Ye, Mon State was arrested by troops from IB 31 stationed at his village. He had failed to provide the fish the troops had demanded when he came back from fishing at sea, so he was tied up and beaten by the troops and then left under the scorching sun for the whole day. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 5 1999, SPDC troops from LIB 333 arrested 3 villagers at Murng Ing village, Murng Sen tract, Murng-Sart Township, Shan State. They were:

1. Zaai Sing Kham (m), aged 21
2. Zaai Kam (m), aged 26
3. Zaai Kan-Tha (m), aged 36

The troops accused the villagers of secretly collecting information for the Shan soldiers of SSA-E and ordered them to confess. But the villagers denied the charge and the troops beat them again and again until they virtually lost consciousness. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 7 1999, at night, Major Lay Naing led troops from IB 66 to shoot at innocent villagers of Wan Kart - Maw Nang, Kesi Township, Shan State. One of their bullets hit the left breast of Nang Li, 35 years, daughter of Loong Htoon and Nai Pock. Her condition was not known. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On September 11, 1999, SPDC troops led by division commander Soe Aung from LIB (8) entered Shwe Yaung Pya village, Thaton district, Karen State and tortured Maung Win, aged 35. The troops accused him of having connection with the KNU. He lost one eye

as a result of the brutal torture. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 17, 1999, SPDC troops led by division commander Than Shwe and deputy commander Htun Aung Kyaw from LIB 357 came to Taye Khwee village, Thaton district, Karen State and randomly rounded up all male villagers. All of them were then tortured butally. The troops tied one of the villagers, Saw Maung Win, aged 26, around the neck with his longyi and later stabbed him to death. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 19, 1999, SPDC troops led by Commander Zaw Win Aung from IB 231 arrived in Palwah Khee village, Thaton district, Karen State and forced the village headman to collect 35 baskets of rice from the villagers. Later the soldiers tied up Tee Kyaw Ke, aged 55, owner of the rice mill, and tortured him. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 20, 1999, Nai Amon from from Aindan Ywathit, Palein Taung coastal region, near Ye, Mon State was arrested and severely beaten up by troops from IN 31 stationed at his village. He had failed to provide the fish the troops had demanded from him when he came back from fishing at sea. He was released only after he paid 1,000 *kyat* in compensation. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ In October 1999, 4 Karenni people, including a Christian preacher and a woman, visiting relatives across the border in Thailand were arrested by Burmese troops (regiment 5) and taken back across the border where they were tortured and interrogated about the Karenni resistance. **(*Source: ABSDF*)**

♦ On October 3 1999, SPDC troops from LIB 120, led by Lt. Col. Maung Maung Oo, went into Kyone-sein village, KyaEinSeikKyi Township, Karen State and arrested 12 villagers including two women, accusing them of supporting rebel troops. (1) Saw Thar See-16 years, (2) Saw Kaw Kaw - 40 year, (3) Saw Ohn Miyint-28 years, (4) Saw Kar Koe-17 years and Pastor Saw Kwae Kwae (unknown age) were among those arrested. The soldiers beat them with gun-butts, kicked and beat them, with fire. At the end, the soldiers cut off Pastor Saw Kwae Kawe's ear. The soldiers stayed in the village for nearly 7 days and also tortured other villagers, including Saw U Htoo and his 2 sons. Saw U Htoo was beaten in the head so severely that he lost most of the skin on his scalp, and the soldiers also cut his body in many places with knives. When the soldiers left the village, they took him with them, and detained him in Kya-Inn-Seikyi Town. The 2 women, namely, (1) Naw B-B—16 years, and (2) Naw M-K—17 years, were also severely tortured. The soldiers cut Naw B-B-'s breasts with a knife, causing her to lose consciousness because of the extent of the injury, and poured hot water into Naw M-K-'s nose so that her whole face was burnt and her skin was ruined and painful. In addition, the troops didn't allow Naw M- K- to feed her 4-month-old baby, who was with her. Her hungry baby cried for the whole day. The soldiers also raped the women. These women were accused of being rebel's wives because their husbands were away from home. Of the villagers arrested by soldiers, three villagers died as a result of the torture. They were: (1) Saw Lay Doe- 17 years, (2) Saw Kaw Kaw- 40 years (3) Saw Phar Kalu -23 years. The soldiers cut open the bodies of Saw Lay Doe and Saw Kaw Kaw in many places and put salt in the wounds. They tortured the 2 villagers this way for five days. At the end, the soldiers clamped the 2 men with bamboo slats and burnt them in a fire until they died. They similarly tortured Saw Phar Kalu for many days, and in the end strangled him to death with strong rubber loops. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On October 6, 1999, Kasawwah troops led by DKBA leader San Kabaw Yu entered Poma Hell village and tortured village headman Saw Hto Kukara aged 45. As a result of the

torture, he was not able to walk properly for a long time. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On October 17 1999, 2 SPDC troops were captured and beaten by the villagers while stealing things at the house of Loong Zaai Pi at Paeng Saang village, Murng-Paeng, Shan State and were sent back to the military camp. The camp commander was angry and sent out 2 truckloads of troops, numbering about 40, to Loong Zaai Pi's house to punish him. When they got near the house, Loong Zaai Pi's daughter, Naang Phiu Phawng, came out to meet them and explain the situation. But the troops did not listen, and beat and kicked Naang Phiu Phawng until she was bruised and swollen all over her face and body. After that, they drove their trucks around the Town, stopping to beat up people and throw stones at houses where lights could be seen. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On October 25 1999 LIB 120, led by Lt.Col.Maung Maung Oo entered xxxx, Karen State and arrested five villagers with suspicion of being rebel-supporters. The five arrested villagers were: (1) Saw Pel Khaw-40 years, (2) Saw Thaw Hae-35 years, (3) Saw Chit Chit-28 years, (4) Saw Hae Say (unknown age) and (5) Saw Special-26 years. After the villagers were arrested, they were interrogated about the activities of Karen soldiers. During the interrogation, the soldiers were dissatisfied and beat and tortured them. These villagers were beaten, burnt with fire, cut with knifes, and received other cruel treatments. After the interrogation and torture, the soldiers killed three of them (1) Saw Pel Khaw, (2) Saw Thaw Hae and (3) Saw Chit Chit by cutting their throats. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

♦ On November 1, 1999, 30 SPDC troops from IB226 led by Capt. Kyaw Own came to Wan Lawn village, Murng Khawn tract, Kaeng-Tung Township, Shan State and arrested 3 villagers. The troops beat and tortured the villagers while interrogating them about SSA-E. They were only released after the village headman and some other villagers paid 10,000 *kyat* for each of them. The 3 villagers were:

1. Zaai In Phya, aged 18, son of Loong Num
2. Zaai Ya, aged 20, son of Loong Long
3. Zaai Leng, aged 19, son of Loong Pan-Ti

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On November 22 1999, combined SPDC troops from Battalions 423, 426, and 427 operated a cleansing campaign in the Townships of Mong Kung and Kaesi, Shan State. They robbed livestock and provisions from the people, and Sarng Hsu, from Wan Nam Oon, Ho Khai tract was interrogated and tortured until he lost consciousness. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On November 23 1999, 3 Burmese policemen from Kun Hing police station tortured Khing Law King Ta, a resident of the 3rd quarter of Kun-Hing, Kun Hing Township, Shan State. They demanded 300,000 *kyat*, which the victim could not give. The victim was then beaten and his head and hands cut with swords. He was severely wounded and had to be hospitalized. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ In December 1999, three villagers from Bae Ngaw relocation (concentration) camp, Loikaw Township, Karenni State; Tho Rei, Day Rei and Khu Rei, all over 30 years old, were taken as porters by troops from IB 54. While labouring as porters, they were accused of being supporters of the KNPP, then tortured and put into stocks at IB 54 base in Likaw. At of the end of 1999, none of them had been released, and it was reported that Ku Rei died due to the severe torture by the soldiers. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On December 1, 1999, troops from IB 524 led by Major Kyaw Aung rounded up two civilians from Wan Nam Zoom village, Nong Hee tract, Kunhing Township, Shan State.

Their lips, noses and ears were cut off and later they all were executed on December 8. They were Loong Karng Kar Lin aged 28 and Loong Saray Hsaw Sing aged 35. Both were village headmen. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

- On December 1 1999, Phar Not Mu, aged 38, Tar Kwar, aged 40 and other villagers were arrested in Plaw Htoo Kee village, Kyar-Ein-Seik-Kyi Township, Karen State. The men were accused of being formerly involved in the KNU and severely tortured. Tar Kwar was tortured by being repeatedly cut with a knife all over his body, and Phar Not Mu was beaten. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

(18) A Karen woman randomly shot by the SPDC soldiers at her village in Karen State was seen at Mae Khonkhee refugee camp in Thailand. She lost her tooth and her lip was severely wounded due to the gunshot. (Photo: KIC)

9. Freedom of Belief and Religious Discrimination

9.1 SPDC control over Buddhism

The SPDC monitors and exerts control over all religions. Thus, as Buddhism is the majority religion in Burma, with 85% of the population claiming to adhere to its principles, and because of a history of Buddhist congregation members being politically active, the SPDC has ensured that they are in control of the religion. After the monk's boycott in 1990 in Mandalay, the SPDC banned all independent monks associations. The SPDC now prohibits any organizations of Buddhist clergy other than nine state-recognized monastic orders, which submit to the authority of a state-sponsored State Clergy Coordination Committee ("sangha maha nayaka committee"—SMNC) elected indirectly by monks. The SPDC provides guidance and enforcement for the Committee at the national level and for its subordinate bodies at regional, Township, and local levels. The SPDC funds two State Sangha Universities in Rangoon and Mandalay to train Buddhist clergy under the control of the SMNC. The State's relations with the Buddhist clergy and Buddhist schools are handled chiefly by the Department for the Perpetuation and Propagation of the Sasana (DPPS-"sasana" means Buddhist doctrine) in the Ministry of Religious Affairs. All monks in the country are required to obey the orders of the organizations, whether or not they belong to them. Buddhist monks cannot do anything without the permission of the SPDC. For example, only the Township or district Sangha organization may authorize a monastery to build additions or renovate old buildings.

In October 1990, the military regime promulgated three orders, which ensured their control over monastic activity. The first order, Order 6/90, bans any organization of Buddhist clergy other than the nine orders constituting the SMNC. Order 7/90 authorizes military commanders to try Buddhist clergy before military tribunals for "activities inconsistent with and detrimental to Buddhism;" and Decree 20/90, the "Law Concerning Sangha Organizations," imposes on Buddhist clergy a code of conduct enforced by criminal penalties. These edicts remain in effect at the present in Burma. In 1995 the SPDC prohibited the ordination as clergy of any member of a political party. This measure, too, remains in effect. In April 1997, following widespread riots that involved Buddhist clergy, the Government effectively closed the two State Sangha Universities and banned for an indefinite period the administration of religious literature examinations required for advancement in the clergy. In 1996, Lt-Gen. Myo Nyunt, former SPDC Minister of Religion, sent a letter to the senior monks' committee demanding that all those who wished to be ordained receive approval from the SPDC. Furthermore, SPDC issued Order No. 85 that prevented any NLD members from being ordained. The Sangha Mahanayaka Committees were instructed to contact all levels of SPDC offices if any NLD members sought ordination. The order also prevented members of other political parties and their families from being ordained.

Monks are under close watch by the Military Intelligence. The SPDC, which operates a pervasive internal security apparatus, generally infiltrates or monitors the meetings and activities of virtually all organizations, including religious organizations. The military officials

detain Buddhist monks for nonviolently expressing support for democracy and for demanding increased independence of the clergy from the State, and the SPDC continues to imprison monks for efforts to speak and associate freely. Throughout the country, there have been cases of monks who have been tortured and extra-judicially killed by the military. Military personnel often loot, damage, or destroy Buddhist monasteries in ethnic minority regions, evicting or arresting their monks. The SPDC has instructed Buddhist clergy that they must persuade Buddhist laymen to resign from leading opposition political parties.

In 1999 there continued to be credible reports from diverse regions of the country that military officials and security forces compel persons, especially in rural areas, to contribute money, food, or uncompensated labor to state-sponsored projects to build, renovate, or maintain Buddhist religious shrines or monuments. The SPDC calls these contributions "voluntary donations" and imposes them on both Buddhists and non-Buddhists. There were reports that in 1998 authorities required village households in Wuntho Township in Sagaing Division to pay money to renovate a local pagoda. Those who could not pay were required to contribute five days of labor. In Twantay Township in Rangoon Division, authorities forced villagers to guard the ancient Danoke Pagoda, which has been under renovation, and to gather wood, fetch water, and perform other tasks for soldiers involved in the project. Villagers were allowed to pay money to be exempted from pagoda guard duty. In Bogalay Township in Irrawaddy Division, authorities forced villagers to construct 32 miles of road between Pe-Chaung village and Kadone village, or else to hire substitutes at the price of about $10 to $20 (5,000 to 10,000 *kyat*) at market wages. The road is being built for the use of Buddhist pilgrims at the request of the Pe-Chaung monastery. In predominantly Islamic Maungdaw District in Arakan State, authorities required villagers to build a Buddhist pagoda in Dail Fara; residents of one village said they had to provide ten laborers per week. A foreign academic studying urban Burma reported in 1998 that she personally had interviewed more than 100 families from Rangoon and Mandalay who were forced to work during the mid-1990's on the construction of Buddhist pagodas, including the Buddha's Tooth Relic Pagoda, which was completed in 1996.

Through the 1990's, the SPDC increasingly has made special efforts to link itself with Buddhism as a means of asserting its own popular legitimacy. It has tried to present itself as the preserver and protector of Burmese culture, including Buddhism. State-controlled news media frequently depict or describe SPDC officials paying homage to Buddhist monks, making donations at pagodas throughout the country, officiating at ceremonies to open, improve, restore or maintain pagodas, and organizing ostensibly voluntary "people's donations" of money, food, and uncompensated labor to build or refurbish Buddhist religious shrines throughout the country. State-owned newspapers have routinely featured, as front-page banner slogans, quotations from the Buddhist scriptures. Buddhist doctrine is part of the state-mandated curriculum in all elementary schools; however, individual children may opt out of instruction in Buddhism. SPDC has published books of Buddhist religious instruction. The Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), a SPDC-sponsored mass organization in which participation often is not entirely voluntary, has organized courses in Buddhist culture attended by millions of persons, according to state-owned media reports. In a further attempt to gain legitimacy and respect, SPDC 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 monk under the SPDC control. The regime's propaganda, laws and actions, however, make a cruel mockery of its pious facade.

During the mid-1990's, the SPDC funded the construction of the International Theravada Buddhist Missionary University (ITBMU) in Rangoon, which opened in December 1998. The ITBMU's stated purpose is "to share Myanmar's knowledge of Buddhism with the people of the world," and the main language of instruction is English.

Buddhist monks, including novices, number more than 300,000, roughly two percent of the male Buddhist population. For their material needs they depend entirely on alms donated by the laity, including daily donations of food. The clergy also includes a much smaller number of nuns. The monks and nuns, who normally eat only what they are given by devotees, are not getting enough from their own people under the economic hard time in Burma. Due to this reason, at least 320 monks and 30 nuns, from as many as 80 temples inside Burma, illegally sneaked into Thailand from Burma to seek offerings because of food shortages in October 1999.

At the same time, the Government, apparently in order to promote national unity and bolster its legitimacy among the Buddhist majority, discriminated against members of minority religions and restricted the educational, proselytizing, and building activities of minority religious groups. Christians and Muslims experienced difficulties in obtaining permission to build places of worship and in importing or printing indigenous-language translations of traditional sacred texts. Security forces destroyed or looted churches and mosques in ethnic minority areas.

9.2 SPDC disrespect for all Religions

At least one-third of Burma's population — about fifteen million people — belong to ethnic nationalities. In addition to the large ethnic groups — the Mon, Karen, Shan. Kachin, Chin, Karenni and Arakan, within which there are dozens of sub-groups— there is also a significant population of immigrants of Chinese and south Asian origins. The ethnic nationalities tend to have large Christian and Muslim minorities within them. The degree of integration among ethnic nationalities differs greatly, but in general depends on geographic location. Nationalities based in remote highland areas are least integrated and most 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 SPDC. Burma has been ruled since a 1962 coup d'etat by highly authoritarian military regimes, the most recent being the SPDC, which was organized in 1997. The military has governed without a constitution or legislature since 1988. The most recent constitution, promulgated in 1974, permitted both legislative and administrative restrictions on religious freedom, stating that "the national races shall enjoy the freedom to profess their religion ... provided that the enjoyment of any such freedom does not offend the laws or the public interest." However, people from Burma do not enjoy the freedoms guaranteed under the 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.

Since the 1960's, Christian and Islamic groups have had difficulties in printing or importing religious literature. Religious publications, like secular ones, remained subject to

control and censorship. Translations of the Bible and the Koran into indigenous languages can not be imported or printed legally, although this ban is not enforced in many areas. State censorship authorities reportedly object to existing translations of the Bible and the Koran, including some translations that became widely used and accepted by some of the country's Christian and Muslim groups during the colonial period. According to some reports, the censors have objected to the use in Christian or Islamic literature of certain indigenous-language terms long used in Buddhist religious literature; the censors reportedly have maintained that the use of these terms is appropriately limited to Buddhism. According to other reports, the censors have objected to passages of the Old Testament and the Koran that may appear to approve the use of violence against nonbelievers.

9.3 Religious discrimination against Christians

Christian persecution is on the rise in Burma. Christian activities in the Churches and the practices of their faith are being obstructed by any possible means despite Burma being a country that has claimed the right to freedom of religion. The SPDC reportedly has denied permission for churches to be built on main roads in cities such as Myitkyina, the capital of Kachin State. Also, in Than Tlang Township in Chin State, authorities denied a local church permission to make repairs and told the church leaders to replace a word commonly translated as "church" on its signboard with a term commonly translated as "religious center." Authorities in Rangoon have also instructed Chin and Kachin Christian worship facilities to use the term "religious center" rather than "church." In addition, there have been no Christians promoted to a rank higher than Major since 1990 in Burma's armed forces.

Persecution in Chin State

From January 1-3, 1999 Chin Christian in Thantlang celebrated their Christianity Centennial, which marks the beginning of Christianity in Chin State - the arrival of American missionaries Rev. Carson and his wife Laura Carson in 1899. On January 5, 1999 when the celebration in Thantlang was over, the citizens of the town posted a Centennial memorial cross at the top of Vuichip Hill near Thantlang. However, even though Buddhist pagodas are regularly allowed to be erected on hilltops, SPDC troops from Thantlang ordered the people to remove the cross. When the citizens refused to remove the cross, soldiers pulled it down and destroyed it. In addition, 6 Christian pastors from Thantlang, Rev. Thawng Kam, Rev. Biak Kam, Rev. Thantu, Rev. Tha Ceu, Rev. Cung Bik and Rev. Beauty Lily were then taken away from the town and interrogated. The following day, in protest, all the citizens of Thantlan staged a general strike and held prayer services and fasted at local churches or in their homes. In retaliation, the military cut all telephone lines to Thantlang and summoned 20 pastors and church leaders from various denominations for interrogation. On January 9, 1999 churches around Haka joined the protest by holding prayer services. SPDC officers from Haka then told church leaders that if they wanted to re-erect the memorial cross, they would have to apply to the Home Minister in Rangoon.

The SPDC also ordered the postponement of Centennial celebrations in Haka, giving the additional reason that they could not allow the celebrations due to the foreign guests that

had been invited. The Christian villagers in Haka were also told to contact the Ministry of Home and Internal Affairs. The celebrations were given approval to be held, but only after the church council had revised the worship program 4 or 5 times to align with the objectives of the military. The military also ordered that no more then 4,500 people would be allowed to attend the celebrations, which usually draw more then that.
The Centennial celebrations were also delayed for Chin Christians in Rangoon. They were held on March 13 & 14, but the permission to worship, which they had applied for 10 months earlier, came only 5 days before the worship service began.

Chin Christian missionaries have also been hassled. The military government forbade the CCOC (Chin for Christ in One Century) evangelists from preaching in Paletwa, and put 70 of them under "house arrest" in their headquarters in Paletwa for six months. The ZBC (Zomi/Chin Baptist Convention) later withdrew these evangelists since they were not allowed to preach in Paletwa. Also in 1999, 8 evangelists who had been sent by the Churches from Chin State to Magwe Division were ordered by the military government to return to Chin State. They were forbidden to preach anywhere in the district. **(*Source: CHRO*)**

Hindrance on Christian worship in Karen State

Christians in Karen State are generally able to worship freely, however, their worship services are subjected to the whims of the army as with many other aspects of their daily life. If soldiers are present in their village, they may prevent the villagers from gathering to attend church. In one instance, villagers from Sein Kyi, Kyar-ein, Kara Nee, Tagay, Shwe Doe, Thu Lay Gone, mee Laung Chaung and Mae Klaw villages in Kyar-ein-seik-kyi Township, Karen State were not allowed to celebrate the Christmas festival in their respective villages in 1999 as they usually do. They were told to gather at a church in Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town by SPDC military strategy commander Captain Min Thein from the Southeastern Military Command Headquarters. Their previous plan for Christmas celebrations in their villages had to be cancelled and moved to that specific place instead. While they were conducting a religious ceremony during the celebration, Captain Min Thein and chariman of the Township PDC came and ordered the revellers to provide them with alcohol. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

9.4 Religious Discrimination against Muslims

Muslims in Burma have been regularly denied the right to freedom of religion. They have also been subject to various forms of persecution and discrimination. There were credible reports that in early 1999 anti-Islamic booklets were widely distributed throughout the country through the USDA, a SPDC-sponsored mass organization. The All Burma Young Monks Association (ABYMU) denied military allegations that they had printed and distributed the booklets. The reports of these booklets followed other reports in recent years of SPDC's instigation or toleration of violence against Muslims. These booklets didn't indicate where they were printed or who wrote them, but they shared a basic message: Muslims are about to subvert all other religions. The anti-Muslim booklets explain how this had happened in Iraq and Indonesia, and how Muslims in Burma are about to turn the country into an Islamic state. During the widespread distribution of these pamphlets, communal riots were

in Myinggyan, Myinmu, Myanaung and Tarmwe(Rangoon). It has been noted by some in Burma that in the past, Muslim people have been made the scapegoats for the government's economic failures, and the resulting religious conflicts distracted people from these failures.

Persecution of Rohinga Muslims in northern Arakan State

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. SPDC has built Buddhist pagodas in the region and Muslim students are required to study Buddhism in the schools. Parents of students do not speak out against the program, as they fear their children's expulsion from school. The SPDC denies citizenship status to most Rohingyas on the grounds that their ancestors allegedly did not reside in the country at the start of British colonial rule, as required by the country's highly restrictive citizenship law. There were also reports of resettlement programs in northern Arakan State. In these programs, reportedly supervised by top generals of the SPDC, Muslim villagers were uprooted to make room for the settlement of Buddhist villagers, and that the settlements were developed using the forced labour of the former Muslim landowners.

Many of the 21,000 Rohingya Muslims remaining in refugee camps in Bangladesh in 1999 have refused to return to Burma because they feared human rights abuses, including religious persecution, as well as other government restrictions. The U.N. High Commission for Refugees reported that authorities cooperated in investigating isolated incidents of renewed abuses of repatriated citizens. However, returnees complained of government restrictions on their ability to travel and to engage in economic activity. There were credible reports that Muslims in Rakhine State have been compelled to build Buddhist pagodas as part of the country's forced labor program.

On November 19, 1999, Mr. U Myint Tun, Director of Buddhist Religious Association of Arakan State accompanied by director and assistant director of Buddhist religious center of Maungdaw Township visited the village of lower Burma about 18 miles north of Maungdaw Township. They summoned village head and religious personalities and ordered them to demolish the main congregation mosque which is a very old and historic mosque in the area.

10. Freedom of Opinion, Expression and the Press

10.1 Background

Following the practice of previous military administrations, the SLORC/SPDC has clamped down heavily on the freedom of expression of the people of Burma. Not only is there a wide comprehensive censorship of the media, much of which is state-controlled, but all expression of views or opinions critical of the SLORC are usually visited with swift and concise punishment under one or more of the broadly -worded criminal laws.

The SPDC continues to arrest, detain, convict or imprison many persons for peacefully expressing or attempting to express political opinions critical of the military and its rule, or for possessing or distributing publications in which such opinions are expressed. The strict control in turn encourages self-censorship on the part of writers and publishers.

The SPDC operates one of the most strict and severe censorship regimes, which has really stunted the country's political, social and economic development over the years. The abuses range from censorship of the media, books, song lyrics, and movies, and restrictions on computer use to the harassment of political opponents of military rule.

All forms of domestic public media are officially controlled or censored by the SPDC. The SPDC continues to own and control all daily newspapers, domestic radio and television broadcasting facilities. These official media remain propaganda organs of the SPDC and normally do not report opposing views except to criticize them. The only English-language newspaper, New Light of Myanmar, is a long litany of the doings of the country's leaders, not forgetting venom-filled attacks on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her NLD party. In November 1999 General Khin Nyunt, one of the junta's strongmen, made the front pages of the government newspapers after telling a political rally that "internal traitors must be eliminated", making special mention of journalists who supported democracy.

The SPDC also continues to restrict the legal importation of foreign new periodicals, as of all other goods, by licensing. Citizens are generally unable to subscribe directly to foreign publications, but a limited selection of foreign newspapers can be purchased in a few hotels and stores in Rangoon. Censors frequently banned issues or deleted articles deemed unwelcome by the SPDC. Since 19998, the SPDC has ordered publishers of weekly journals to include articles attacking Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Each journal has to include at least one article. People caught reading underground newspapers are severely punished.

News agencies are only allowed to employ Burmese reporters. Foreign journalists who apply for a press visa have to promise to interview a member of the junta. Any who enter Burma on a tourist visa are liable to be thrown out of the country and may be harshly interrogated. Deemed guilty of "illegal investigation", they are thereafter banned from returning to Burma.

10.2 SPDC's laws restricting freedom of expression

The main instrument of censorship is the ***Printers and Publishers Registration Law of 1962*** under which all books, magazines, periodicals, songs and films are vetted by a Press Scrutiny Board (PSB) prior to publication or distribution. The Board has powers to restrict not only the contents of materials submitted for scrutiny, but also the number of copies that may be legally published and distributed. Its decisions may not be contested through the courts and are reviewable only by the Minister of Home Affairs, whose decision is final. In 1975, the BSPP government, presumably in an attempt to lessen the uncertainties inherent in the system, issued a set of guidelines. These set out the broad parameters of censorship followed by the PSB. According to these guidelines, the following materials would not be tolerated:

(a) anything detrimental to the Burmese Socialist Program;
(b) anything detrimental to the ideology of the state;
(c) anything detrimental to the socialist economy;
(d) anything which might be harmful to national solidarity and unity;
(e) anything which might be harmful to security, the rule of law, peace and public order;
(f) any incorrect idea and opinions which do not accord with the times;
(g) any descriptions which, though factually correct, are unsuitable because of the time or circumstances of their writing;
(h) any obscene(pornographic) writing;
(i) any writing which would encourage crimes and unnatural cruelty and violence;
(j) any criticisms on non-constructive type of the work of government departments;
(k) any libel or slander of any individuals.

Under the law, individual writers who are seen as critical of the government can be blacklisted. A breach of the law can lead to imprisonment for up to seven years and/or fines of up to 30,000 *kyat*. The law, which is introduced soon after the military coup of 1962, has been amended several times, usually to widen its scope and/or increase its severity, most recently in 1989.

Another law which has been frequently used by the SPDC to stifle freedom of expression is the ***Official Secrets Act 1923***, a pre-independence law which has been jettisoned even in its country of origin in favor of more liberal legislation. Under this Act, it is an offence, among other things, to possess, control, receive or communicate any document or information, the disclosure of which is likely to affect the sovereignty and integrity of the state or friendly relations with foreign states or otherwise be prejudicial to the safety of the state. It has been used against people who have passed on documents not so classified and which cannot reasonably be argued to be a threat to the national interest. The authorities enjoy an almost open-ended power to classify official information as 'secret" under the Act, and no exception is made whatsoever for the disclosure of classified information on public interest grounds. Anyone convicted of an offence is liable to be punished with imprisonment for up to two years, or with a fine, or both.

Emergency Provisions Act (1950) has been one of the most heavily used laws over the past half century. Those currently or previously imprisoned under it include opposition politicians, monks and other clerics, students, writers, and trade unionists. Despite not being

a law exclusive aimed at suppressing freedom of expression, it has frequently been invoked towards that end, usually in conjunction with other media-directed law such as the Printers and Publishers Registration Law and the Official Secret Act.

This law confers sweeping powers on the authorities to silence and punish any act of real or perceived dissent, even in the absence of a proclaimed state of emergency. This law makes it an offence, punishable with imprisonment for up to seven years, to commit any act which "violates or infringes upon the integrity, health, conduct and respect of State military organizations and government employees towards the … government", or "causes or intends to spread false news about the government", or "causes or intends to disrupt the morality or the behavior of a group of people or the general public." A more sweeping provision in the law renders any act which is "intended to cause, or causes, sabotage or hinders the successful functioning of the State military organization and criminal investigative organizations" liable to be punished with death or life imprisonment. Similar punishment is prescribed for "collecting and divulging, or intending to divulge, information to people involved in treason against the State, on the movements, the strength, the location, the guidelines and regional defense strategies of the State military organizations and criminal investigative organizations who are engaged in preserving the stability of the State. This act is silent on procedural matters. It does not indicate whether anyone convicted under its provisions can appeal to a higher court against conviction and sentence, nor does it make any provision for the granting of bail pending trial or sentence.

State Protection law (1975), also known as the "Law to Safeguard the State from the Dangers of Destructive Elements" allows the government to declare a state of emergency in a part or the whole of Burma "with a view to protect state sovereignty and security and public law and order from danger", and to restrict any fundamental rights of the citizens in specified regions or all over the country. Although any state of emergency declared under this law has to be approved by the People's Assembly within 60 days, it can be extended indefinitely by the Assembly. This law gives the authorities sweeping power: anyone who is suspected of having committed, or who is committing, or who is about to commit, any act which "endangers the sovereignty and security of the state or public peace and tranquillity", can be imprisoned for up to five years without trial on the orders of the executive. These power are in practice exercised by a cabinet committee chaired by the Home and Religious Affairs Minister and including the Ministers of Defense and Foreign Affairs, as amended by Law 11/91, dated August 9, 1991. This amendment was made applicable retroactively, so that prisoners suffering detention prior to its enactment could also be subjected to the enhanced punishment. This law also allows the executive to pass restriction orders under which anyone can be confined to a specific area or have their freedom of movement otherwise restrained, or be prohibited from possessing or using specified articles. No order passed under this law can be the subject of an appeal to any court, although appeals are allowed to be made to the Union Cabinet. The law also contains provisions for periodic reviews of detention or restriction orders to be carried out by the executive. In 1994, the SPDC announced that, according to advice received from their legal advisors, they would be justified in holding anyone arrested under the State Protection law for a total of six years, arguing that the period of five years specified in Section 14 was in addition to the period of one year initially allowed under the section- an interpretation which has been criticized by human rights monitors. This state protection law has been applied extensively to suppress peaceful political dissidents; it was

used to detain Daw Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest between July 1989 and July 1995.

A new law entitled ***"Protection of the Stable, Peaceful, and Systematical Transfer of State Responsibility and the Successful Implementation of National Convention Task, Free from Disruption and Opposition***" was issued on June 7, 1996. Its makes offence to instigate, protest, say, write or distribute anything which would "disrupt and deteriorate the stability of the state, communal peace and tranquility, and the prevalence of law and order", or "affect and destroy the national consolidation", or "affect, destroy and belittle he tasks being implemented at the National Convention…. and cause misunderstanding among the people." The law also forbids anyone from drawing up or writing or distributing a Constitution for the country without legal authorization, and also makes any attempts at collaboration in any of the above-mentioned acts an offence. All offences are punishable with imprisonment, which may range from three months to twenty years, and possibly a fine. Organizations found guilty of any of the offences risk being banned or disbanded, and their properties confiscated. This law has been seen by many observers as being targeted specifically at the NLD and its supporters to counter the growing supports for the party and its leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The law's sweeping provisions are clearly designed to stifle all dissent.

"The Television and Video Act" issued ion July 31, 1996, is another law whose addition to the statute book has had a considerable adverse impact on the state of freedom of expression in Burma. Though aimed ostensibly to:

(a) modernize and uplife the standard of the video business,
(b) cause the emergence of video tapes which will b beneficial for the all-round development of the State and the preservation of Myanmar cultural heritage;
(c) cause the emergence of video tapes which will contribute towards national solidarity and dynamism of patriotic spirit;
(d) prohibit and band decadent video tapes which will undermine Myanmar culture and Myanmar tradition; and
(e) control and prevent malpractice which are caused through video business,

this law, in practice, further restricted freedom of expression in the country.

It provide for compulsory licensing of television sets, video cassette recorder and satellite television by the Ministry of Communications, Posts and Telegraphs, and of the video business by newly-constituted State or Division Video Business Supervisory Committee. The latter has been brought within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Information, but the role of determining the conditions to be imposed on licenses has been allocated to the State-run Myanmar Motion Picture Enterprise. A Video Business Supervisory Committee, composing government officials and representatives of the public, has been entrusted with the task of supervising the State and Divisional Committees, including "finding that any order or decision made by (them) is not in conformity with the law." The State and Divisional Committee have been given responsibility for deciding on the grant of video business licenses and for inspecting and supervising video businesses within their territorial jurisdictions. A provision has been made for constituting District or Township Video Business Supervisory Committees where the State or Divisional Committee considers it necessary. The law also provides for mandatory censorship of all video tapes, whether locally produced or imported, by a Video Censor Board composed of government officials and representatives of the public. In deciding censorship applications, the Board has three options:

(a) to permit unrestricted exhibition of the video tape to the public or for a family show;
(b) to prohibit the public exhibition of the tape and to order its seizure or destruction; or
(c) to permit exhibition of the tape after excisions, amendments or erasures are made of matter deemed unsuitable for public viewing."

The law makes it compulsory for every video tape prohibited within Burma to include the censorship certificate and for that certificate to be shown at every screening of the tape. The Censor Board has been empowered to re-inspect any video tape which it has previously certified for public exhibition, and to revoke any certificate issued by it "if there is valid reason to do so".

The law lays down stiff penalties for non-compliance with its provision. Operation of a television transmission business without permission from the government is punishable by imprisonment for up to five years or an unspecified fine, and may render the property which relates 'directly to the offence" liable to confiscation. A number of other offences, such as: operating a video business for commercial purposes with a license; copying, distributing, hiring or exhibiting a video tape in disregard of directions from the Censor Board to make excisions, amendments or erasures; exhibiting to general public an imported video tape which is certified by the Censor Board as suitable only for family showing, are made punishable with imprisonment for up to three years or with a fine of up to 100,000 *kyat*, or both, as are the offenses of ; distributing, hiring or exhibiting, for commercial purposes, copies of any television program transmitted by the government; and copying, hiring, distributing or exhibiting of commercial purposes any video tape without the permission of its owner or license-holder.

Concurrently, the SPDC has launched a crackdown on hundreds of video shops through the country and forced many of them to close, after discovering that home-made video tapes of NLD rallies and of Western reports on Burma were distributed through them. The authorities have also blocked public access to foreign satellite television broadcasts by setting license fees at an exorbitantly high level, effectively restricting access to the wealthy and ruling elite.

In 1998, the SPDC issued new rule requiring the licensing of all video cassette recorders and imposing new control on the export and transport of video tapes. The revisions to the Television and Video law of July 1996 also required new licenses for all satellite receivers. Opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has repeatedly sent video tape messages from Rangoon on such occasions as International Human Rights Days. it is not clear whether the revised law would criminalize such actions.

Another law entitled ***"The Computer Science Development Law",*** issued on September 27, 1996, makes the unauthorized import, possession, and use of certain types of computer equipment illegal. This has been the subject of universal and strong condemnation by human rights monitors in recent years. This law requires anyone who wishes to import, possess or use computer equipment, notably those with networking or communication facility, to obtain a license from the Ministry of Communications, Post and Telegraphs. It also requires those desirous of "setting up a computer network or connecting a link inside the computer network" to apply for prior sanction to that Ministry. The Ministry is granted absolute power to grant or refuse licenses and sanctions and to impose such conditions as it may deem fit. Failure to obtain a license or sanction is made punishable with imprisonment for between seven and 15 years and with an unspecified fine.

The law also makes it an offence to use a computer network "or any information technology" for the following purposes;

(a) carrying out any act which undermine State security, prevalence of law and order and community peace and tranquility, national unity, state economy or national culture.
(b) obtaining or sending and distributing any information or State secret relevant to State security, prevalence of law and order and community peace and tranquility, national unity, State economy or national culture."

This offense is also punishable with imprisonment for between seven and fifteen years and with an unlimited fine, as is the offense of importing or exporting any type of computer software prescribed by the Myanmar Computer Science Development Council, a state-appointed body entrusted with wide-ranging powers to implement the provisions of the law.

10.3 First privately owned English newspaper in Burma

In February 2000, the first privately owned English newspaper was allowed in Burma. The weekly paper, 'The Myanmar's Times', run by editor-in-chief Ross Dunkley, is a tabloid, printed in four colors, on high-quality imported paper. The new tabloid is owned by a joint venture between local and foreign partners, called Myanmar Consolidated Media Co Ltd. The paper is priced at US $2-a hefty sum by Burma standards when compared with 35 *Kyat* for other journals and newspaper now in circulation with government approval.

10.4 Restrictions on foreign journalists

SPDC rarely issues visas for journalists. Nowadays, these visas only seem to be available if the journalist is known to be pro-SPDC or if he or she is writing about business and/or military issues. Consequently, the only other way for journalists to enter Burma is under cover of a tourist visa. The SPDC describes this activity as "illegally gathering news", and if discovered, journalists are usually deported and banned from ever returning to Burma. The SPDC announced in March 1999 that foreign journalists and anyone else working with the media had to obtain special permission from the Burmese embassy in their country before going to Rangoon. Anyone arrested in Burma without such permission would be immediately expelled.

10.5 Internet access in Burma

The Ministry of Defense continues to operate the country's only known internet server but it was only for a select few business owners who are friendly with the military. In July 1999 there was an Internet training workshop in Rangoon, organized by the World Trade Organization, and attended by military intelligence, staff from the foreign affairs and commerce ministries. Since then the regime has been talking up the wonders of information technology. Its leader, Gen Khin Nyunt, told a symposium last October: "Information technology has become an indispensable tool in our daily life . . . Myanmar is fully aware of the importance of information technology in nation-building."

Diplomats at a few foreign embassies also acknowledged that they have Net access and email, despite the SPDC's restriction. Even then, they say their email is intercepted and read by the SPDC authorities.

In 1999 it began to offer Internet services selectively to a small number of customers. The new regulations, issued in mid-January 1999, forbade "any writings detrimental to the interests of the Union of Myanmar, and any writings related to politics. " Web pages can only be created with state permission, and Internet account holders are responsible for ensuring no-one else uses their account.

In December,1999, SPDC announced that it would be the sole provider of Internet services in Burma. On December 18, six people including Col. Khin Maung Lwin, the computer officer at the War Office in Rangoon and five instructors from Eagle Computer School and Winner Computer School were arrested for violating the "Official Secrets Act." The schools were closed and the teachers were instructed to tell students that they were closing due to "Y2K problems." According to the opposition media, the 6 men were arrested for, "the proliferation in Rangoon of reports carried by the opposition web page, 'BurmaNet'". At the beginning of February, Eagle IT was allowed to reopen for one week to allow customers to get their 42,000 incoming email messages that had piled up on Eagle's servers since the December closure. The only catch was customers had to come in person to Eagle's office—and bring a floppy disk. **(*Source: Burmanet*)**

10.6 Arrest and death of journalists

Twenty-seven employees from the 'Kyemon' newspaper were interrogated in September 1999 for describing Lt-Gen Khin Nyunt as the world-famous crook. Two people died in the course of the interrogation. The September 25 issue of 'Kyemon' carried a picture and a report about Lt-Gen Khin Nyunt meeting the chairman of the Burma Council of Churches. Above the picture of Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt was the caption: "The World Famous Crook." Soon after the release of the newspaper, military intelligence agents came and conducted interrogations, leading to 'Kyemon' newspaper employee, U Hla Han's death on September 27 and another employee, U Tha Win's death on October 2. The bodies of the two were cremated immediately after their deaths and their family members were allowed to view the bodies for only a few minutes. According to some close relatives, they had bruises on their faces. The SPDC authorities were reported to have given only 10,000 *kyat* for their funeral expenses. The military intelligence threatened the family members not to disclose the incident. Due to much discontent among the 'Kyemon' staff members, 20 of the persons who had been detained were released. However, seven are still being detained.

10.7 List of journalists and artists in detention

Name	Prison	Comment
1.Maung Wan Tha (a) U Soe Thein	Insein	Celebrated Burmese writer
2. Htun Zaw Htay (a) Ko Htay Lwin	Myingyan	Writer and poetry critic

Name	Prison	Comment
3. Myint Myat Thein (a) U Myint Thein	Thayet	Article writer
4. U Win Tin	Insein	Famous Burmese journalist who worked as an editor of Hantarwaddy Newspaper
5. San San Nwe (a) Daw San San	Insein	Famous writer
6. Aung Zin Min (a) U Min Zin	Tharawaddy	Writer and poet
7. Thu Yein Htet Lin (a) Ye Htut (a) Yan Naung Soe	Myawn Mya	Notable writer
8. Nyein Thit (a) Ko Thaung Htun	Insein	Poet
9. Maung Aung Pwint (a) U Aung Pwint	Insein	Famous poet and editor for Padauk Pwint Thit Magazine. Also a journalist for MV media group
10. Maung Thwe Ni (a) Ko Mya Kyaing	Tharawaddy	Poet
11. Ko Thet Zaw	Insein	Editor for a Burmese Magazine
12. Myo Myint Nyein	Tharawaddy	Prominent editor for MaHayThi Magazine
13. Maung Ngwe Oo (a) U Sein Hla Oo.	Myint Kyi Nar	Editor of a well-known Newspaper
14. Aung Wint (a) U Ohn Kyaing	Taung Ngu	A journalist since the 1950's parliamentary period
15. Cho Seint (a) Kyaw San	Tharawaddy	Poet (Grandson of Thakin Kodaw Hmaing, noted poet of the anti- colonial struggle)
16. Tin Maung Kyi	Tharawaddy	Poet and Magazine graphics designer
17. Kyi Tin Oo	Insein	Writer
18. Maung Hmaing Lwin (a) U Tin Aye Kyu.	Mandalay	Poet
19. Maung Tin Thit (a) Ko Yin Mon	Mandalay	Poet
20. Maung Nan Wai-Bamaw (a) Ko Yan Naing Min	Mandalay	Poet
21. Aung Khin Sint (a) Dr. Aung Khin Sint	Insein	Writer and physician

Name	Prison	Comment
22. Maung Thein Nyunt-Kaut Ka Yake	Ye-Mon detention center	Writer
23. Aung Htun	Tharawaddy	Writer of Burmese Student History

(*Source: ABFSU*)

U Win Tin

U Win Tin, the former editor of Hanthawaddy, is one of Burma's most respected journalists and intellectuals. He was arrested on 4 July 1989 and sentenced in October of that year to three years' hard labor. The sentence was later reported to have been extended to 11 years, then reduced to ten under the terms of an amnesty announced in January 1993. He is still at Insein jail. Aged 69, he is frequently interrogated by the MIS but has always refused to condemn the opposition parliament in exile - which the junta has set as a condition of his release. His health worsened considerably in 1999 and he is believed to be suffering from an inflammatory infection of the spine. He was arrested because of his political work for the NLD. In particular, the government accused him of urging the party to adopt civil disobedience as a way of resisting martial law. Officially, U Win Tin was convicted of "harbouring a criminal wanted for arrest" under article 216 of the penal code. The "criminal" in question was thought to be a young woman who had had an abortion, which is illegal in Burma.

San San Nweh

San San Nweh, winner of the 1999 Reporters Sans Frontières - Fondation de France prize, has been a journalist for 30 years and was joint editor of several women's magazines before her arrest in 1994 at the same time as her elder daughter. San San Nweh was sentenced to ten years in prison. The authorities accused her in particular of talking to two French journalists in April 1993. According to recent reports, she is still being held at Insein jail and has spent several months in the prison hospital. Now 55 and weakened by bouts of malaria, she is said to be suffering from liver disease and eyesight problems. Since the death of her husband, also a journalist, her mother has been her only source of support. People who have tried to send her food or money have been threatened by the MIS, and the publisher of one of her books was recently detained for a month because he had helped her financially.

U Sein Hla Oo

U Sein Hla Oo, a journalist with the daily Botahtaung and a well-known short story writer, was arrested in 1994 and is currently serving a 14-year sentence for translating Aung San Suu Kyi's book "Freedom from Fear" into Burmese. He is being held at Myitkyina prison, in the north of the country. Until August his wife was allowed to see him every three months but those visits have now been banned. Aged 61, U Sein Hla Oo is thought to be suffering from heart disease and was recently admitted to the prison hospital.

Myo Myint Nyein and Sein Hlaing

Freelance journalists Myo Myint Nyein and Sein Hlaing worked mainly for cultural magazines. They were arrested together in September 1990 and sentenced to seven years in jail for publishing an "antigovernment propaganda" leaflet entitled "What has become of us?" In November 1995 they were sentenced to a further seven years after books were found in their cell at Insein prison. Myo Myint Nyein has been moved to Tharrawaddy prison and is reported to be in good health. Sein Hlaing is still at Insein, where his family has not been allowed to visit him since August 1999.

U Moe Thu

U Moe Thu is a reporter for the economic magazine Dana as well as a well-known author. He was arrested in May 1996 under the terms of article 10 (a) of the 1975 State Protection Law, which means that he can be kept in prison indefinitely without trial. Aged 60, he is currently being held at Insein jail and is said to be suffering from stomach and heart disease.

Sonny (Khin Maung Win)

Sonny (Khin Maung Win), a 40-year-old photographer and cameraman working for the NLD, was arrested in June 1997 for filming an interview with Aung San Suu Kyi which was shown at the ASEAN summit in Bangkok. He was sentenced to seven years in jail in August 1997 for "knowingly publishing false information". He is believed to be detained at Myitkyina jail, in the north of the country, although the prison authorities recently told his family that he was no longer on their list of inmates. No-one has seen him for several months.

U Tha Ban

U Tha Ban, a journalist with the daily Kyemon (The Mirror), was arrested in March 1997 and sentenced to seven years in prison for helping a student leader to publish a book. Aged 65, he is being held at Insein jail. He is reported to have difficulty walking and to be suffering from eye problems. His family's request that he be examined by an ophthalmologist was rejected by the authorities.

U Soe Thein (Maung Wontha)

U Soe Thein (Maung Wontha), a journalist with the daily Botahtaung, was arrested in May 1996 under article 10 (a) of the 1975 State Protection Law. He is being held at Insein prison and is reported to be suffering from high blood pressure.

Ohn Kyaing

Ohn Kyaing, a journalist working for the dailies Kyemon and Hanthawaddy under the pen name of Aung Wint, was arrested in August 1990 and has been sentenced to a total of 17 years' imprisonment. He is currently held at Taungoo jail, 120 miles north of Rangoon. A member of the NLD executive committee, he was elected to parliament in 1990. His arrest came after he spoke out against the bloody repression of demonstrations by students and Buddhist monks in Mandalay. On 17 October he was sentenced to seven years in jail for "writing and distributing seditious pamphlets" and "writing an antigovernment article". On

15 May 1991 he was sentenced to another ten years under article 5 of the emergency law. His family has been forced to sell their house and land in order to help him.

Aung Zin Min

Aung Zin Min, a journalist with the magazine New Style, was sentenced to seven years in jail in 1996 for publishing articles supporting democracy. Aged 60, he is currently held at Tharrawaddy prison.

U Thein Tan

U Thein Tan, 60, a journalist with Kyemon and Hanthawaddy, was arrested in 1990 and sentenced to a total of ten years in prison. According to some sources, his health has worsened recently.

Cho Seint

Freelance journalist Cho Seint was arrested in 1996 and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment because of his commitment to democracy. He is in Tharrawaddy prison.

U Tin Maung Kyi

Some sources maintain that U Tin Maung Kyi, a freelance journalist and contributor to the magazine Moewai, was arrested in July 1996. He was reportedly sentenced to seven years' imprisonment that year, and a further ten years in 1997.

10.8 Journalists Released

Two journalists were released from Burmese jails in 1999. Myat Hlaing of the magazine Payfulwa, who is also a poet and NLD Member of Parliament, was arrested in December 1991. He was initially given a ten-year sentence, which was later extended to 15 years without his family being given any explanation. He was freed from Tharrawaddy prison in November. Freelance Mau Thwe Khaing was released at the same time. He had been arrested in 1996 and given a 14-year sentence. He too had been campaigning for democracy.

10.9 Journalists arrested

Independent sources said that on September 25, 1999 members of the secret service went to the editorial offices of the government daily 'Kyemon'. That morning the newspaper had published a photo of one of the junta's strongmen, General Khin Nyunt, alongside the headline "The world's most famous crook". At least seven employees of the newspaper, including some journalists, were taken to a police station and interrogated about the reasons for the "mistake". One is believed to have died under torture (see "Journalists killed" section). They were all released eventually but were dismissed from their jobs. A representative of the junta said when questioned by foreign journalists that the juxtaposition of the photo and headline had been an "unintentional error", and that the journalist had died in an alcohol-induced coma.

11. Freedom of Assembly and Association

11.1 Background

SLORC issued Order 2/88 on the day it assumed power which prohibits freedom of assembly and association. It states: (a) no one, without proper authorization, is permitted to travel on the street between 20.00 and 04.00; (b) gathering, walking, marching in processions, chanting slogans, delivering speeches, agitating, and creating disturbances on the streets by a group of five or more people is banned regardless of whether the act is with the intention of creating disturbance or of committing a crime or not; (c) no one is permitted to open strike centers regardless of whether or not the intent is to cause disturbances or commit a crime; (d) no one is permitted to block roads or to demonstrate en masse; (e) no one is to interfere with or to obstruct people carrying out security duties.

Section (e) of this Order was repealed in April 1992, when General Than Shwe came to power. But the other sections remain in place. While this law has not often been enforced, there are many other laws which have. The most frequently used law is the 1907 (1957) Unlawful Association Act which allows for the detention of up to three years of anyone who is a member of or assists in any way an unlawful association.

SLORC Order 1/91, promulgated on April 30, 1991, requires that the conduct of public service personnel remain clear of party politics. This orders prohibits public service personnel engaging in any party politics or providing financial assistance to or supporting by other means any political party, as well as also prohibiting their dependents or persons under their guardianship from taking a direct part in activities that are aimed at opposing the government, and they must not be party to any labor association, organization, union, and other like bodies not formed in accordance with the rules occasionally prescribed by the government.

11.2 Pressure on the National League for Democracy and the CRPP

On May 27, 1990 a national election called by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) was held to constitute a new Parliament (Pyithu Hluttaw). In this election, the National League for Democracy (NLD) won 392 of the 485 seats (about 81% of total seats). Yet despite the fact that MPs had been elected and were ready to convene the Pyithu Hltuttaw, SLORC refused to transfer power as it had pledged before the election. Instead, SLORC ruled in Declaration 1/90 that the duties of the elected representatives were merely to draft a State Constitution and convene a "National Convention," which would lay down the fundamental principles of a new democratic Constitution. Under severe pressure from SLORC, the National League of Democracy participated in the Convention's work but withdrew in November 1995, severing whatever link there may have been between the convention and the popular will as expressed in the 1990 elections.

Since 1990, the military regime has not only systematically impeded the functioning

of the National League for Democracy, in particular, but eliminated from the political process the MPs elected in 1990. They have done this by first invalidating election results, then dismissing the MP elects from Parliament and banning them from future elections, by forcing them to resign and finally by arresting, detaining and sentencing them on the basis of laws. Some of the numerous laws the MP elects have been imprisoned under include the Emergency Provision Act, State Protection Act, Official Secrets Act, Printers and Publishers Registration Act, and the Unlawful Associations Act.

As a result of such measures, out of the 392 NLD MPs-elect, over 160 have been deprived of their status as MPs-elect. On May 27, 1998 the NLD leadership demanded that the ruling State Peace and Development Council convene the Parliament elected in 1990 within three months. In view of the impossibility of doing this, a Committee was constituted on September 16, 1998, "to act for and on behalf of the 1990 Multiparty General Elections People's Parliament". Thus the CRPP (Committee Representing the People's Parliament) was formed, composed of 10 MP-elects belonging to different political parties and regions. The CRPP was authorized by more then 50% of the elected MPs to act on the behalf of the People's Parliament until actual parliament is convened, and was initially endorsed by 4 ethnic political parties. Other ethnic political parties later voiced their support, and the CRPP also has gained support from several Burmese groups in exile, and numerous International bodies.

As a result of the NLD demand to convene Parliament and the establishment of the CRPP, the SPDC increased its pressure on the NLD and its party members, and began to crackdown on the Members of Parliament. They called in NLD MPs-elect outside Rangoon demanding that they sign a declaration not to leave their hometowns in the foreseeable future. In fact, restraining orders were issued against all NLD MPs-elect, who were required to stay within the confines of their respective municipalities for a year. Those who refused have either been arrested or are subject to judicial prosecution. Since September 1998, approximately 150 MPs-elect have been arrested and are still in detention. According to the SPDC, these MPs-elect have merely been "called in temporarily at guest houses for the purpose of exchanging views on the consequences of the actions of the party (the NLD) for the peace and stability of the State". Sixty-three NLD MPs-elect and 321 party members who agreed not to participate in such "illegal activities", were returned to their homes after over 800 MPs and party members were detained in September 1998. In addition to the illegal arrests of the elected members of parliament, NLD organising committee members at all levels (State, Division, Township, Ward, Village), ordinary members, and members of working groups formed by the central executive committee have also been arrested.

A number of NLD working committees throughout the country were demolished by the authorities, numerous offices forcibly shut down, and the SPDC has forced hundreds of people, some of whom are not even NLD members, to sign documents of resignations from the party. Some were forced to resign from their positions and from the party by threats, intimidation and illegal forceful pressure from members of the military intelligence units. Ethnic political parties who had voiced support for the CRPP were also increasingly oppressed, and many such groups were forced to revoke their support. In addition, the SPDC introduced a new strategy in the fall of 1998 of forcing people to attend "no-confidence" rallies, intended to show a public loss of trust in the NLD and its MPs elect.

The SPDC campaign to crush the NLD has been repeatedly condemned by the

International community. In a statement to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Special Rapporteur Rajsoomer Lallah condemned the crackdown. The Commission adopted a unanimous resolution in April 1999 deploring "the escalation in the persecution of the democratic opposition...and the continued harassment, arrest and detention of the National League for Democracy and other democratic group activists." On October 16, 1999 the Inter-Parliamentary Union adopted a similar resolution. In addition, the IPU rated Burma as one of the world's worst countries for Members of Parliament.

This military backlash against the NLD, the CRPP and its members and supporters is further notable by the fact that it indicates that the junta sees the CRPP as a significant threat, and a constant reminder of their own illegitimacy. Also, by suppressing the MP's elect, and organizing no-confidence motions against them, the SPDC inadvertently lends them their legitimacy as elected Members of Parliament. Previously the junta has refused to acknowledge that the MP's elected in 1990 were in fact elected MP's for the people.

NLD lawsuit against SPDC oppression

Due to the criminal activities conducted by the government against members of the party, the NLD was driven to take action under the law. Therefore, on December 31, 1998, the Chairman of the NLD lodged a criminal complaint against the Director General of the Military Intelligence Services under Section 4(a) of the Judiciary Law and the Criminal Procedure Code. The complaint was filed to the Chief Justice of the Union of Burma for adjudication by the proper court. When this legal action went unheeded, on September 30, 1999, the NLD proceeded to file 'Abuse of Power' lawsuits against government officials for the illegal harassment and intimidation of the NLD and its members. Lieutenant-General Khin Nyunt, the powerful director-general of the National Bureau of Intelligence and one of the top leaders of the SPDC; Home Minister Colonel

Tin Hlaing; Information Minister Major-General Kyi Aung; Election Commission Chairman Ba Htay and some twenty-five other officials were named as defendants. This was the first time that the Burmese courts heard a case submitted by the NLD. On October 29, 1999, Supreme Court judge Tin Aung Aye declared the case invalid and dismissed it due to lack of evidence. The court rejected the NLD's claim that NLD activities had been "continuously disrupted, prevented and destroyed" and that hundreds of its members had been illegally detained. The NLD then submitted an appeal to the Supreme Court in Rangoon concerning the dismissed case. On February 22, 2000 the court appointed a date to hear the case. Yet again, the case was dismissed.

Harassment of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

picture!

In 1999 the military regime continued to restrict and monitor the activities of Aung San Suu Kyi, who had been released from house arrest in 1995. During her house arrest, she had led the NLD to victory in the 1990 elections, and was honored in 1991 with the Nobel Peace Prize. Military Intelligence personnel continued to follow and monitor her movement, and as usual attempted to prohibit her from having regular media contact from abroad.

In January the military's mouthpiece newspaper, 'The New Light of Myanmar,' accused her of treason and threatened that she could be sentenced to death because of her "crimes." She was said to have broken the law by divulging state secrets to other nations, by contact with outlawed rebel groups, and by openly calling for the destruction of the state.

In March 1999, Micheal Aris, the British husband of Aung San Suu Kyi was denied a visa by Burma's military regime, despite the fact that Japan, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, the United Nations and the Sultan of Brunei had made appeals to the Myanmar government to grant Aris a visa. Micheal Aris, a noted scholar of Tibetan Studies at Oxford University, had requested the visa to visit his wife of 27 years, as he was gravely ill, suffering from prostrate cancer, and was not expected to live long. The regime, which is eager to see Suu Kyi leave the country, had refused to issue Aris a visa for the past three years. The regime urged Aung San Suu Kyi to go to London, where Aris was, stating that the well person should visit the sick person, and that Burma didn't have adequate facilities to deal with her husband's illness. Suu Kyi refused to leave Burma, as she knew that if she did, she would not have been allowed back in.

Sources close to Aung San Suu Kyi reported how in the weeks leading to her husband's death the regime further antagonized her by cutting phone calls between her and her dying husband.

On March 27, 1999, Micheal Aris, aged 52, died in a London hospital. The authorities again attempted to push Aung San Suu Kyi out of the country to attend the funeral service, but she rejected their offer. Her 2 sons were later allowed to visit her in Burma, however.

11.3 Forceful Removal of NLD signboards

There were several reported instances where NLD offices were ordered to take down their signboards, or where the SPDC officials came and forcefully took them down.

In January 1999, the NLD Organizing Committee's signboard was forcibly removed from their office location in Gwa Township, Arakan State. It was torn down by Township Police Station Officer U Maung Maung Lay and his group under instruction from his superiors. On September 19 1999, NLD members U Myint Thein and U Tin Maung Win were summoned to the Commission's Township office in Mawlaik, Sagaing Division. They were ordered by the police, a judicial officer, the MI, and the officer in charge of the army unit to remove the NLD signboard, shut down their office, and hand in all papers, flags and seals. The NLD members were adamant and refused to comply reiterating that if the authorities used force to shut down the office it would be totally without their consent and illegal. Later that day, members of the defunct Township Election Commission assisted by the police and MI forcefully removed and took away the NLD branch signboard.

The destruction of NLD signboards in Monywa Township, Monywa district:
December 21 1999 - Monywa district, Yin-ma-bin Township (NLD signboard)
December 26 1999 - Monywa Township, Le-te Quarter of Myoma Ward (NLD signboard)
December 27 1999 - Monywa Township, Hle-dan Quarters of Myoma Ward (NLD signboard)
January 3 2000 - Monywa Township NLD signboard was ruined at 12:38 midnight by a gang who threw acid on it and fled on motorcycles. This was witnessed by the owner of the house where the NLD committee office is based.

Before a visit of SPDC Chairman General Than Shwe to Kawthaung town,

Tenasserim Division, the NLD office in town was told to remove its signboard. However, the NLD leaders in town refused to remove the signboard. On January 15, 2000, Police Captain Htun Lin ordered the policemen to take off the signboard from the office. A group of policemen intruded into the compound of the NLD office and secretly removed the NLD office signboard without informing the NLD members.

11.4 Illegal seizure of NLD documents

In the beginning of January 1999,the Magwe Division, Yenangyaung Township Multiparty Elections Commission repeatedly demanded that the NLD organising committee produce important NLD documents within 6 days, which the NLD committee refused. The documents they desired included the daily list of persons visiting the office, office documents, and files and account books. Therefore, on January 11, 1999 Military Intelligence Service Corporal Thein Hteik and his companion forced U Tint Lwin (executive member of the NlD Township organising committee) to accompany them at 5 PM, which was after office hours, and compelled him to open the office. When they demanded that he open the tin trunk in which official papers were kept U Tunt Lwin explained that he did not have the key with him. Corporal Thein Hteik threatened to break the lock and U Tint Lwin returned home. The corporal proceeded to a neighbouring house and fetched a crow bar, hammer, and chisel; then broke the lock, removed all the papers and locked the box with a new lock which he had brought with him.

On March 23 1999, when NLD member Daw Than Than Htay, was about to have an emergency operation in Thingangyun Sanpya(Model) Hospital, Deputy Police Superintendent Thoung Naing, and one constable entered Daw Than Than Htay's room. They demanded that the doctors and nurses present give them the patients file, which contained her address and other personal information in addition to her medical record. When the doctors refused in line with their ethical code as doctors, the deputy forcibly seized the document and copied down information. The men ignored the doctors request for their ID, and said Daw Than Than Htay was a political criminal.

11.5 Arrest of NLD MP's and supporters

The arrest of NLD MP's elect, NLD party members, and NLD supporters continued throughout 1999, and indeed increased after the call to convene parliament and the formation of the CRPP in September of 1998. Many of the party members who refused to sign letters of resignation were subsequently arrested. Other party members were arrested for various other reasons and "crimes." Ordinary citizens who refused to join in the "no confidence" rallies against the NLD members were also often subjected to arrest. U Kyaw San, an NLD organizing committee member for Prome Township was arrested for the distribution of an NLD statement in January 1999. Then in February 1999, 8 members, including women, of the same committee in Prome Township who had been arrested in 1998 for holding a monthly NLD meeting were each sentenced to 5 years imprisonment.

Between July and September 1999, SPDC arrested and detained hundreds of local NLD leaders and former student leaders throughout the country. In Pegu and Mandalay alone, the SPDC reportedly detained as many as 100 persons. These arrests were intended

to prevent public demonstrations in connection with the anniversary of the August 1988 pro-democracy uprising or on the numerologically significant date of September 9, (9.9.99) on which some pro-democracy groups in exile had called for a nationwide general strike to commemorate the 1988 uprising. Three sisters were reportedly arrested for wearing yellow t-shirts with pictures of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on the front.

The IPU recognized in October 1999, and again in April 2000 that since September 1998, more than a hundred MPs elect have been arrested and forty were still in detention. The IPU, and the International Committee of the Red Cross also acknowledged the continuing existence of the military "guesthouses" where many elected MP's and NLD members have been held. For more information on these arrests, please refer to the chapter on Arbitrary Detention.

11.6 Harassment due to NLD association

On December 2 1999, MI forced the Thrizeya Reception Hall in Dala Township, Rangoon Division, to cancel the wedding reception plans of the son of a Sergeant stationed at Dala Township Police Force and the daughter of an NLD member. The MI had contacted the parents because they heard that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was planning to attend the wedding reception. They told the parents to tell Daw Suu not to come, and then proceeded to cancel the wedding reception and revoke the wedding invitations.

11.7 Pressure to Resign

In addition to arbitrary arrest, NLD members, and those associated with the NLD have been subjected to systematic, often blatant harassment in order to discourage them from participating in the activities of the NLD. In 1999 this harassment intensified as the SPDC stepped up its scheme to invalidate the NLD. Through various persuasive measures, threats, intimidation's, and orders, the SPDC, through the Military Intelligence, accompanied by members of the Multi party Elections Commission, civil officials and/or members of the USDA has coerced hundreds of party members to resign. These resignations are announced publicly en-masse, on a regular (daily or weekly) basis in the State-run media, usually stating that "xxx number of NLD members voluntarily resigned because they no longer wished to participate in party politics." As early as February 1999, the military-run media had reported that over 10,000 NLD members had resigned from the party since October 1998. However, these reports are often fabricated and distorted for the purposes of the military's propaganda, which has become the SPDC's strongest weapon against the NLD. People who have not participated in the NLD for years, or are not even NLD members are occasionally conscripted to sign such letters of resignation. The SPDC uses various tactics to persuade people to resign. Job security, their children's education, and imprisonment are common threats.

Some examples of forced resignation

In January 1999, in an attempt to get the NLD organizing committee in the towns of Yenangyaun and Chauk, Chauk Township, Mandalay Division to resign, the authorities illegally resurrected the defunct Township Elections Commission. They issued orders through this

commission demanding documents such as incoming and outgoing letters, attendance registers, all other files and account books. From January 29-31 1999, NLD members of Mindon Township, Magwe division, were ordered to come without fail to the office of the local MI. The MI group, including Srgt. Shwe Hla Maung, Lance Corporal Win Toe, and a corporal, told them that the NLD would soon be an illegal organization, and then forced them to sign a prepared letter of resignation. The members who refused to sign were detained within the military unit and further pressured through threats to their personal business or livelihood. The printing license of a member who made his living from a small printing machine was withdrawn, and false charges were laid against a member who was a trader for his living.

In February 1999, NLD members in De-pae-yin Township, Sagaing division were forced to resign their membership from the party. They were threatened that if they refused their children would be removed from schools.

On February 20 and 21 1999, 3 USDA members from Insein Township, Rangoon Division went round with a list of over twenty residents of Phauk-kan ward and forced them to sign letters of resignations from the NLD. The people were not members of the NLD, but the USDA members coerced them into signing by telling them that they had been accused of collaborating with the NLD in terrorist acts, but if they signed, they would have no trouble. In November 1999, Daw Khin Hnin Kyi, theYouth Wing organizer of the NLD Township Organizing Committee of Kalewa town in Sagaing Division was pressured and illegally coerced to resign from her position. This resulted in the break-up of her marriage, because the pressure applied was that her husband would lose his job if she did not resign. She did not resign, and in the end of November she and her husband filed for divorce so that his job would not be lost.

11.8 No-Confidence and Anti-NLD Motions and Rallies

Another disturbing recent trend is the public "no-confidence" rallies, which aim to destroy the validity of the CRPP, the NLD, and the NLD elected and party members. These types of public gatherings are not new. In 1996, the military organized "spontaneous" people's rallies to counter the popular house-front assemblies then held by Aung San Suu Kyi. In 1998-99, it was the NLD's stated intention to reconvene parliament, the Hluttaw, that led to the public denouncements of the NLD. In both cases, "voluntary resignations" of NLD members followed en masse, and continue to the present.

However, the latest rallies are not mere reruns. Previously, great effort was made to refer to the opposition party and it's leader obliquely, as if catastrophe might befall the state were it to identify Suu Kyi or the NLD by name. By contrast, rallies are now dominated by explicit personal attacks on individual members of the NLD. Secondly, as a corollary, the military is emphasizing its own relative legitimacy. Thus, resolutions from the 1998 rallies inform viewers that state stability, peace and economic progress are "already achieved" and now must be "safeguarded". While the process of legitimization is not new, it appears to be playing a more significant role in state propaganda than in the past.

From October 1998 to January 1999 alone, anti-NLD rallies were staged in 19 towns across the nation. Legal sources have stated that this latest move of the regime is not permitted under any legislation in Burma.Such motions, protests and rallies continue to be frequent to date. In October 1999, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC)

organized mass rally meetings known as "expressions of the people's desire'' over the whole country. Hundreds of thousands of people were forced to come to these rally meetings by local authorities. Most of the people were from the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), a government sponsored organization which has proposed the banning of the NLD because it is an "unlawful association" as well as the deportation of Aung San Suu Kyi. The people have rarely said "no'' to the rallies, because to do so would mean dismissal from their jobs and imprisonment for their sympathies for the NLD.

In November 1999, at a meeting of the Coastal Military Command in Mergui (southern Burma), Maj Myint Oo, chief of Unit 19 of the junta's Military Intelligence Service (MIS) said, "We must respect the people's desires expressed at the 'people's rallies'' all over the country. The people request that the government ban the NLD as an unlawful association and to deport 'Mrs. Trouble'. Therefore, we want to ask all NLD members to please resign before the 18th of this month. After the deadline, we must take action against 'enemies of the state', who have not resigned from the NLD."

'No-Confidence' for U Than Tun, NLD and CRPP Secretary

In December 1998, during three rallies, the military authorities forced more than 50,000 people in Taungtha, Mandalay Division to sign documents expressing a lack of confidence in U Than Tun, the NLD MP elected to Parliament from Taungtha-2 Constituency. The papers were then handed over to the Township Election Commission.

More than a month later, on January 22,1999 military authorities, citing a report from the Election Commission, announced that U Than Tun was no longer supported by the people. The declaration did not mention whether U Than Tun remains an MP. U Than Tun, 77, is a member of the CRPP formed and led by the NLD in its effort to convene Parliament. He is also the chief organiser of the NLD for Upper Burma, head of the party's workers committee, and was a prominent labour activist and Parliamentarian during Prime Minister U Nu's Government in 1958. U Than Tun won 47.79% of the votes cast in the electorate in the 1990 election. However the military announcement stated that his election win has been rejected by 89.78% of the electorate. Local people are confused over the announcement, particularly the inconsistent statistics. They believe that U Than Tun is being targeted in this manner because of his role within the NLD and the Committee Representing the People's Parliament (CRPP). Later state-run Burmese newspapers denounced U Than Tun for remaining as an MP "despite withdrawal of support from the people". The papers called for his resignation from Parliament.

'Loss of Confidence' in U Hla Pe, NLD MP elect and CRPP member

On February 7, 1999 Zaw Oo from Mah-mhwe-gyun village tract, Moulmeingyun Township, Irawaddy Division approached every house in the village tract, and produced papers for the villagers to sign. Without showing them the contents of the paper, he explained the signature ensured them to continue in peaceful cultivation. However, when a member of one household checked the paper, he found that it was related to a loss of confidence and denial of support for U Hla Pe. Then on February 8, the Chairman of the Kyaik-Pe village administration, along with civil servents and the secretary of the local USDA took the names

of all the town's residents and forced them to sign a paper declaring that they did not support U Hla Pe. The same thing was done in Byangi village.

'No-Confidence' for U Bo Zan and U Ngwe Htoon, NLD MPs elect

In the 1990 Multiparty General Elections, U Bo Zan and U Ngwe Htoon were overwhelmingly voted for by their respective constituents in Kyaukpadaung Township, Mandalay Division. On February 15, 1999, in contravention of the provisions stipulated in the Political Parties Registration Law and the People's Parliament Elections Law, certain groups in authority orchestrated a "no-confidence" demonstration. The meeting was announced over loudspeakers, ordering all people over 18 to attend the meeting, and teachers were told their duties would be relinquished if they failed to attend. A kyats 50 penalty was installed for default. Signatures of all members of a household (over 18 years) were taken to prove attendance and to signify opposition and no confidence. Of the 150 who did not attend, 35 did not make their payments and were subsequently apprehended and threatened that they would be associated with the NLD and imprisoned. The group delinquent in their payments, consisting of mostly poor elders, widows, and orphans were forced to walk 3 miles in order to pay their fines.

'No-Confidence' for U Paw Khin, NLD MP elect

In February 1999, a no-confidence rally was held in Myingyin Township, Mandalay Division, where U Paw Khin had been elected in 1990 to the people's parliament. The people were forced to attend the rally, and shout slogans of no support, or face a 400 kyat fine, as well as other possible implications. Other NLD MPs elect have faced the same strategy of the SPDC to undermine their legitimacy as people's representatives in parliament. In January 1999, over 10,000 people were reportedly forced to attend a rally to denounce U Lwin, an MP elect and CRPP member from Thwonga Township. In February 1999, U Lun Tin, an MP and CRPP member from Mon State was targeted, and in March 1999, U Maung Maung Win of Myin-Gyan Township, Mandalay Division was declared to have "lost confidence". This trend has continued at an alarming pace. In the middle of October 1999, Daw Htay Aung, who was in charge at the Natmauk Auditor's office in Natmauk Township, received a transfer order because she had refused to sign the no-confidence petition against her husband. Her husband, U Aung Myint Thein, parliamentarian elect of Constituency 2 Natmauk Township, Magwe division, has been incarcerated at the 88th Light Infantry Division based at Magwe since July13 1998. She was transferred to Saigaing division.

11.9 Measures to restrict NLD gatherings

Since late 1996, the SPDC has prohibited regular weekend gatherings in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's residence at which she and NLD vice-chairmen U Tin Oo and U Kyi Maung responded to letters from the public and delivered speeches.

Existing political parties are required to request formal permission from the SPDC to hold internal meetings of their members; however, the SPDC permitted several public gatherings of NLD members and supporters on various holidays. Those meetings continued

through the year's end, although SPDC security forces were present. While the SPDC allowed celebrations to take place in Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's compound, police or riot police restricted the size of the gatherings, and their suspension of restrictions was sporadic. NLD members and their sympathizers were prevented from attending the gatherings. They are methodically arrested whether on their way to such meetings or after attending the gatherings. The SPDC enhanced the existing barriers that blocked access to her residence during 1998, and severely restricted her freedom to leave her compound or to receive visitors.

Independence Day

On the 51st Anniversary of Burma's Independence from Britain, the SPDC held a rally during which Senior General Than Shwe attacked the NLD, and referred to the "people's desire" to disband the party, citing the recent government organized rallies against the NLD. Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD were able to hold a low-key ceremony at the party headquarters.

Union Day Celebrations

Union Day, which marks the 52nd anniversary of the historic Treaty of Panglong, signed by General Aung San and leaders of several ethnic groups in a pact of mutual agreement, was celebrated by the junta through another attack on the NLD and Aung San Suu Kyi. Aung San Suu Kyi handed out rice to hundreds of poor at the National League for Democracy office, but refrained from making an address to avoid provoking the authorities.

Martyrs Day

The military put road blocks around the National League for Democracy (NLD) party headquarters on Monday to vet attendance at a ceremony to mark the 1947 assassination of party leader Aung San Suu Kyi's father. Security personnel allowed a mere 400 people with invitations to attend the ceremony in the capital marking the 52nd anniversary of the death of Aung San, Burma's national hero and founding father. No incidents were reported.

Anniversary of the founding of the NLD

In late September 1999, military police again blockaded roads leading to the NLD party headquarters wich was making preparation for the party's 11th anniversary of its founding, in an attempt to prevent people from gathering there.

11.10 Guest-Lists and Restrictions on Public gatherings enforced

In 1999 the Order2/88 law which prohibits such things as gathering, walking, marching in processions, chanting slogans, and creating disturbances on the streets of more then 5 people was enforced, especially during the months of August and September 1999, when the junta feared that mass uprisings might take place. During this time curfews were imposed

in many towns and cities across Burma, with threats of severe repercussions if broken. As orders released at this time also prohibited the gathering of more then five peoples in the streets or in coffee shops or other public places, the authorities closed down several movie and other show theatres, and many coffee/teashops were temporarily closed.

The authorities also ordered people to inform them if they had any guests, and give them information about their guests' name, identity card, and background. They were threatened that if they failed to report their guests to the nearest section/ ward leaders, those in their house and the four nearest houses would be punished. The usual threatened punishment was 15 years in prison.

Also around the time of the planned '9999' uprising, people were prohibited from wearing anything with a yellow colour, the symbol of the planned 9-9-99 pro-democracy movement, which would associate them with such activities. Three women were reportedly arrested for wearing yellow T-shirts with pictures of Aung San Suu Kyi on them.

11.11 Prohibition of Free and Independent Trade Unions

Burma ratified the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention, 1948 (No. 87) in 1955 and is bound as an ILO member to apply the principles of freedom of association. However, the Government of Myanmar has been criticized for not bringing its laws into compliance with the Convention No. 87, refusing to recognize independent trade unions, and harassing workers who attempt to organize.

Several Burmese laws relate to freedom of association and union organizing, but each is inconsistent with international standards and ignored in practice. The ruling regime does not recognize any independent labor unions in Burma. The Burmese government actively suppresses attempts by workers to organize, and workers who try to form or join such unions are liable to be harassed, arrested, and tortured. They are also under constant surveillance by the police and the military intelligence agency. Workers are, however, compelled to join a state-run union, the Union Solidarity and Development Association.

The ILO Committee of Experts has criticized the lack of freedom of association in Burma for over 40 years. This criticism increased after the 1962 military coup and intensified further after the GOB's suppression of the pro-democracy movement in 1988. Similarly, the ILO's Conference Committee on the Application of Standards has regularly denounced Burma's violation of Convention No. 87. In 1995, the Conference Committee highlighted the Government's failure to implement this core convention in a special paragraph, and it has continued to do so in each of its reports in subsequent years, including 1999.

12. Freedom of Movement

12.1 Background

The interference by the SPDC in the live of its citizens continues. Through its extensive intelligence network and administrative procedure, the SPDC systematically monitor the travel of all citizens and closely monitor the activities of politically active people in the country. All residents in Burma have to carry identity cards, showing the citizenship status, normal place of residence, date of birth, name of father, and so on. The format of the identity card was changed in 1990 to include not only all of the above, but also of ethnicity and religion. All residents and citizens of Burma are required to apply for the new cards, without which it is illegal to buy a train or bus ticket, to register with a local council outside one's normal place of residence, and to vote in any future election.

Citizens can travel freely within the country except for limitations in areas of ethnic armed activity. However, there is the requirement that any person who spends the night at a place other than his registered domicile must inform the police in advance, and that any household that hosts a person not domiciled there must submit to the police a guest list. The name of the overnight guests must be reported to and registered with the local authorities. SPDC's Order 1/90 on May 22, 1990 said "action will be taken against all those who fail to report people illegally residing in their home." This order threatens that those who fail to report their guests will be charged under section 124 of the Criminal Code, "for failing to disclose to the authorities concerned either an act or a conspiracy that amounts to high treason." The minimum sentence for this crime is seven years' imprisonment, or three years' imprisonment under the Unlawful Association Act, section 17.1 or six months' imprisonment and a fine or both under section 22 of the Criminal Code for "failure to report crimes committed." Authorities sometimes enter homes during night hours to check registration documents of occupants as a form of monitoring personal movements. Security forces also commonly search private premises and other property without warrants in other contexts.

Leaving the country (legally) requires the possession of specific government authorization, which it is extremely difficult to obtain. The SPDC carefully scrutinizes prospective travel abroad. This produces rampant corruption as many applicants are forced to pay large bribes to obtain passports to which they are otherwise entitled. The official board that reviews passport applications denies in some cases apparently on political ground. All college and higher education graduates who obtain passport (except for certain government employees) are required to pay a specific education clearance fee to reimburse the government. The authorities on occasion restrict the issuance of passports to young women applicants seeking work abroad, reportedly to prevent young women from being enticed to travel abroad for jobs that are in fact in the commercial sex industry. Each time Burmese citizens come back to the country, they are required to return their passports to the authorities; a passport application must be submitted each time they want to travel outside the country.

Government servants general are required to obtain advance permission before meeting with foreigners. Military intelligence continues frequently to monitor the movements of foreigners and to question citizens about conversations with foreigners. Restriction on foreign travelers have been tight in 1999 as two foreign activists held one-person demonstrations against the regime in Burma this year. Burmese embassies abroad issue tourist visas, valid for one month. However, select categories of applicants, such as foreign human rights advocates, journalists and political figures, continue to be denied entry visas unless traveling under the agency of a sponsor acceptable to the SPDC, and for purpose approved by the authorities. Although some areas of the country remain closed to foreigners for security reasons, the authorities permit travel to most other destinations. Rangoon-based diplomats generally must apply ten days in advance for travel outside the capital.

12.2 Restriction on the movements of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

SPDC has prohibited the weekend gathering in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's residence since late 1996, at which she and other NLD leaders formerly responded to letters from the public and delivered the speeches. Freedom of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to leave her compound or to receive visitors is restricted. During late 1998 and early 1999, SPDC refused to allow Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's late husband Michael Aris, then terminally ill, to travel from Britain to visit his wife in Rangoon. SPDC stated that if Daw Aung San Suu Kyi wanted to see her British husband, she could leave the country to visit him in the United Kingdom. The SPDC announced that it would allow her to reenter Burma only if they judged her visit to be non-political.

12.3 Restriction of the movement of NLD MPs-elect

The NLD party continue to be subject to intense and constant monitoring by the SPDC throughout 1999. This is aimed at restricting its activities and prohibiting its members from leaving their localities. Existing orders including the 1961 Habitual Offenders restrictions Act prelude members of political parties from leaving their localities or their houses without prior permission from the authorities; otherwise they risk arrest and interrogation by the police or military intelligence agents. Many of the NLD MPS and members were arrested under this Habitual Offenders Act and are being detained at the military bases.

Some sixty MP remain under detention while thousands of NLD registered voters and members are forced to resign their party memberships in 1999.

On July 19 1999, the NLD held a ceremony to mark the 52nd anniversary of the death of Aung San, Burma's national hero, at the NLD party headquarters in Rangoon. The army put up road-blocks, barring the entrance to the headquarters, but allowed some 400 people with invitations to attend the ceremony.

In another instance in late September 1999, military police again blockaded roads leading to the NLD party headquarters in preparation for the party's 11th anniversary of its founding.

12.4 Restriction on the movement of Rohingya

It is still virtually impossible for Muslims to move within Arakan State or to other parts of Burma from Arakan State. 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 "citizen law". Rohingya (Bengali-speaking Muslims) who would like to travel outside the village must apply to the local SPDC authorities, which pass requests on to the nearest administrative base. The Immigration and Manpower Department, Police, Riot Police, Military Intelligence, and Custom Departments all have to agree to each individual's request. In most cases, passes are only granted for a twelve-hour period; only on rare occasion are Muslims permitted to stay outside their village overnight. To travel further, for instance, to the Township capitals at Maungdaw or Buthidaung or the state capital at Sittwe is virtually impossible.

12.5 Restrictions on the movements of villagers in areas of ethnic insurgency

In areas of ethnic insurgency, there are often severe restrictions placed upon movement. In "brown" or "black" areas, people wishing to leave their village often must obtain a permission slip from local officials before they can go out to tend their farms, or travel. In These permission slips are usually only obtained if a "fee" is paid. In relocation sites, people are often not allowed to return to their land, as they have been warned that anyone moving about in their former fields and towns will be shot on site. In addition, it is common for the army to burn houses and place landmines in the former fields and towns of relocated people to further prevent them from returning.

Refugees prevented from returning

In Shan State people have been denied their citizen cards, and therefore, cannot travel. New household registrations by the SPDC in the town of Pang Long are causing concern that Shan refugees from the area are being deliberately deprived of their citizenship. Since May 22, 1999, the SPDC authorities in Pang Long have been ordering headmen of town quarters and villages around the town to compile new house registration lists. Anyone not physically present in the household is not allowed to be registered. Since the forced relocation of over 10,000 Shan villagers to Pang Long in early 1998, large numbers of these Shans have fled to Thailand. With the new registrations, those seeking refuge in Thailand are now being deprived of their original identity and may not be allowed to return if they wanted to. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

In mid July 1999, SPDC Township authorities in Kaeng-Tung, Shan State issued an order banning people who held citizen ID cards issued on the western side of the Salween river from going through to Tachilek. Many people from lowland Burma and Shan State west of the Salween have been turned back by the authorities under the order, which was apparently issued to prevent people from fleeing to Thailand. However, traders who could afford to pay 100,000 *kyat* were allowed to travel through without any obstruction. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

- there are many checkpoints in which documents are inspected, if the document is old or tattered, in some places the card is then rejected and the person arrested or "fined"
- in times of insurgent or army activity, more roadblocks are put up
- villagers in areas of fighting are often restricted more then others:

In one instance, on August 2 1999, nine villages were blockaded by DKBA troops, who came from nearby camps. In Waiyaw, Htee Nya Baw, Ma Hta Aye, Mayakon, Kalaw Yea, Shwe Yaung Pya, Phalaw Po, Dayae Mee, and Dayae Wa villages,in Karen State, people were not permitted to leave. **(*Source: KIC*)**

In March 1999, *Sa Thon Lon* units in Kyauk Kyi Township, Karen State began ordering villagers to build fences around their home villages, with only two gates for access. Villages in Tantabin Township, Toungoo District have also been forced to fence in their villages. This is to limit village access. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

12.6 Restrictions on the movements of people in cease-fire areas

Even in areas where the local armed group has signed a cease-fire with the junta, restrictions on the people continue. On September 12 1999, a curfew was ordered by Major Aung Naing of IB 296 based in Kali, Kun-hing Township, Shan State. The order stated that anyone seen on the streets during the curfew hours of 9 PM to 4 AM would be shot on the spot. The order also stated that household registers were to be hung outside houses for the inspecting officials to see, and anyone whose name was not stated in the household register and was found, would face instant arrest. The village is near the headquarters of the Shan State Army (North) 7th brigade, a group which signed a cease-fire with the junta in 1989. The Shan State Army South, whose peace offers were turned down by the junta, is reported to be active in the area also. **(*Source: SHAN*)**

12.7 Restrictions of movement prior to the '9999' planned uprising

Restriction of the movement of military personnel

On August 27 1999, two military orders were issued from the military command headquarters of the main War Office in Rangoon. These orders instructed all military commanders to prohibit military personnel from travelling to Rangoon unless they had duties in the capital, and to call back all officers who are presently in Rangoon, including those who are on casual leave, to return to their respective military units. Restrictions were also imposed on relatives of military personnel. They were strongly prohibited from wearing anything with a yellow colour, the symbol of the planned 9-9-99 pro-democracy movement, and they were not allowed to organize any religious ceremonies at that time. **(*Source: NCUB*)**

Increased Security in Mon State

Beginning in August, the government beefed up security in Mon State. Extra security forces were brought in, all roads were also blocked and the local military battalions made check points along the roads. LIB 343 had to take security along Ye-Tavoy railway road section in Mon State while IB 106 took security in areas along the Thanbyuzayat-Ye Motor

road. Additionally, the police, army, MI No. 5 unit and the respective Township authorities also opened check-points at the entrance of every town and village.

The members from USDA, Myanma Red Cross Society and Fire Departments were instructed by Township PDC authorities to supervise the closest security outposts and have people watch the Town section or village areas to check the situation of the civilians and civilians 24 hours a day. Similarly, civilians were conscripted into security forces and forced to watch the activities of residents and students. This also took place in other Township areas. According the civilians in Paung Township, each family had to provide one person to be security member in an outpost and stay for at least two days within the month. In Thaton Township, IB 24 took civilians to use as watchers in security outposts and porters when they checked security along the railway and motor roads.

Starting from the second week of August, 1999, Mon State PDC authorities in many Townships declared a curfew and restricted the movement of civilians. According to the curfew, the authorities only allowed the civilians to be on the roads until 8:00 p.m. in evening. If they met someone on the roads later than this time, he /she was to be arrested. Following to this order, 3 young men, 1 day-labourer, and 2 tri-shaw drivers were arrested because they returned to their homes late. Similarly, two farmers who returned home to Kalorttort village late at night were also arrested and detained. As a result of the curfew, people had to give extra care about their activities and lost some income from their work.

The order also prohibited the gathering of more then five peoples in the streets or in coffee shops or other public places and so authorities closed down movie and other show theatres, and many coffee/teashops were temporarily closed.

The authorities also ordered people to inform them if they had any guests, and give them information about their guests' name, civilian card, and background. They were threatened that if they failed to report their guests to the nearest section/ ward leaders, those in their house and the four nearest houses would be punished.

The authorities also called a meeting with high and middle level schools head masters, head mistresses and teachers. They gave two months rice ration supplies to the teachers, and asked the teachers to sign papers promising they would not encourage or participate in any uprising, that they would help the authorities by giving information regularly concerning any uprising, and that they would keep their students from joining any uprising in coming 9-9-99. The authorities closed some schools, pretending that the teachers were asked to attend training. Moulmein based MI 5 also ordered their Township MI unit to send one MI officer to each school, except primary schools, and report the situation development to the battalion regularly. Thus, in August, MI officers in civilian clothes holding walkie-talkies entered every school and stayed in the head master or head mistress rooms, regularly reporting the students situation to the Township unit base. When the schools closed at 3 p.m., the teachers were not allowed to return home until they had searched every room for illegal materials that could encourage the uprising.

In addition, the Township authorities arrested some well-known 1988 pro-democracy activists and detained them until the situation became "normal". Some former activists had not participated in any pro-democracy activities for a long time, but they were still detained for several months. Nearly all active NLD members in Mon State were arrested and kept in detention. **(*Source: HURFOM*)**

Curfews in Rangoon area

In the first week of September, security increased in the Rangoon area. Ward authorities in new Dagon town, a northern suburb of Rangoon, announced an 11 p.m. curfew over loudspeakers, warning people to report arrivals of guests to the local ward police and development council office. Residents were warned that failure to obey the curfew or to report the arrival of guests could result in prison up to 15 years.

According to ward residents, at least one youth who broke the curfew was detained and interrogated the first night of the curfew, but later released. According to residents of Rangoon, a curfew was also declared at night in the city. In addition, Military lorries were patrolling the streets of Rangoon, and high-school students were checked before and after entering their classrooms.

It was also reported by the BBC World service that in Rangoon, in the weeks prior to the planned 9999 uprising, that extra troops were deployed at temples and official buildings, some tea shops and restaurants were ordered shuttered, and hundreds of people were reportedly detained.

13. ABUSE OF WOMEN

13.1 Background

Burma is a signatory to the 1952 UN Convention on the Political Rights of Women and also became a State party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in July 1997. Although the SPDC has made some token changes, establishing women organizations and limiting some forms of violence against women, discrimination against women is still pervasive, and fundamental changes which are necessary to uplift the status of women and improve the human rights situation in general have not occurred.

There are many indicators of male dominance and female subordination throughout Burmese society. Women and girls are educated less frequently, leading to a higher literacy rate for men than women. Women also have less access to power and decreased ability to make and implement policies, as evidenced by the fact that relatively few women serve in important government positions. Women are frequently exploited sexually and economically, as demonstrated by a growing sex industry in Burma. Highly restrictive access to contraception and abortion means that women lack control over their reproductive health. Additionally, women are either excluded from the official workplaces or relegated to low-paying, unskilled jobs in the national economy, as indicated by official statistics.

During the military's violent suppression of the mass pro-democracy movement in 1988, women in Burma were arrested, and killed by the military for their active participation in the movement. Between March and September 1988 hundreds of women were among the thousands shot dead when the troops opened fire at mostly unarmed demonstrators in Rangoon and other towns throughout the country.

With the formation of independent political parties after the military coup in September 1988, several women rose to leadership roles, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, General Secretary of the National League for Democracy (NLD) that won the 1990 general election but has never been recognized. Beginning in 1989 Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other women activists were arrested for their peaceful political activities. Elections were held in May 1990, and 14 women belonging to the NLD were elected out of a total 485 members of parliament.

Although Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other female political prisoners have been released, currently there are over 100 women still imprisoned for political reasons in Burma. Several young female students were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment after student demonstrations in Rangoon in December 1996. Wives and mothers of the hundreds of male prisoners in Burma have been harassed by members of MI and have also borne the responsibility of supporting their families in the absence of their husbands and sons.

There are no independent local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Burma today, although there are several international aid NGOs as well as UN program such as the UN Development Program (UNDP) and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF). In accordance

with their international obligations and declarations, the SPDC have begun to implement a national program for women. Subsequent to the Beijing conference, a Myanmar national Women's Affairs Committee was established on July 3, 1996, chaired by the Minister for Social Welfare, Relief and Settlement, the ministry which has been designed the National Focal Point for Women's Affairs. Most of the other committee members are from the ministries overseeing related affairs, the police force, the judiciary, university faculties, and the Government Organized NGOs or GONGOs. Among the GONGOs are the Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association (MMCWA), led by Dr. Khin Win Shwe, wife of Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt, SPDC First Secretary. The Myanmar Women Entrepreneurs' Association (MWEA) was also established under the sponsorship of the SPDC in February 1995 and the Myanmar Women Sports Federation (MWSF) was founded in 1991.A National Working Committee was formed on October 7, 1996, and subsequently Women's Affairs Committees were established to the division and Township level. At the national level, both the chair and vice-chair are men; of the remaining 32 members, 16 are women, The state/division, district and Township level committees share a similar structure to the National Committee, but have fewer members; ten at state/division and district level and nine at the Township level. At all three levels, the wife of the Peace and Development Council administrators holds the second position.

Ethnic minority groups in Burma are often caught up in the SPDC's counter insurgency efforts against armed ethnic groups who have been seeking autonomy since the end of British rule in 1949. The SPDC has undertaken forced relocation in ethnic areas for a variety of political, military and economic reasons; to assert control over ethnic nationalities; to create "free-fire zones" under the "Four Cuts" policy of cutting sources of food, arms, intelligence, and recruits between civilian communities and opposition groups; to clear the way for infrastructure development projects. During the offensive against the ethnic armed groups, SPDC soldiers commit atrocities such as rape, extrajudicial executions, arbitrary arrests, torture, beatings, and forced portering. State-sanctioned violence is one of the most serious threats to women's well being, especially in rural and border areas. This violence may be directed at the population at large, as with the forced labor and forced relocation, but it could also be directed specially at women. Humiliation of and violence against women has been documented repeatedly as a tool used to terrorize communities. Women have been tortured, raped, and killed, and women who speak against injustice have also been subject to similar violence as examples of what happens to "trouble-makers". When justice is sought, it's always the communities and not the perpetrators not violence that suffer.

For at least a decade, ethnic women, most of whom live in rural areas are routinely taken for forced labor duties, including building roads and military barracks. As their husbands are often trying to farm or to work as day laborers, women frequently go in their place, as each family must 'donate' at least one of its members for forced labor. Teenage girls are also often taken for forced labor duties because both parents are busy working. If their husbands are not available, women are taken as porters for troops who are patrolling the mountainous countryside and made to carry heavy loads of equipment and ammunitions. Women who are unmarried or widowed often porter on a regular basic. These women are effectively detained by the army until they either escape or are released. As a result of these human rights violations (combined with severe economic difficulties, caused in part by the SPDC arbitrary tax policies) hundreds of thousands of people, mostly women and children, who suffer the majority of casualties, have sought refuge in neighboring countries. Currently

there are some 105,000 Karen and Karenni refugees in camps on the Thai-Burma border. Women and children account for 67% of the camp population with 49% of the population consisting of women and girls. Women in refugee camps are separated from their traditional homelands and for the most part cannot earn their living. Shan refugees, also numbering around 100,000 are not permitted by the Thai authorities to reside in camps. As a result they must find low-paying jobs in the agricultural or manufacturing sectors, where women and girls are more vulnerable to being lured into prostitution.

Due to continuing poor economic conditions and political instability in Burma, women from all ethnic groups often become migrant workers in Thailand and other neighboring countries. Many of these women are lured or trapped into prostitution where they are at a high risk of HIV infection, Most Burmese sex workers are in Thailand which has become a regional center for trafficking in women and children. Many female undocumented migrant workers have lost their jobs in Thailand since the 1997 economic crisis besetting Asia. Beginning in November 1999, thousands of them were arrested by Thai authorities in a massive crackdown on all undocumented migrant workers. These women, many of whom have a well-founded fear of persecution in Burma, have been pushed over the border to face an insecure future.

13.2 Health, educational, economic and social status of women in Burma

Gender roles deprived from cultural and religions stereotypes continue to underpin laws and practices that prevent women in Burma from enjoying their full rights to health, employment, education, freedom of movement, and participation in leadership, recreation and community activities.

Access to healthcare in general is limited, especially in rural area and conflict area. According to the report by the SPDC Ministry of Health in 1998, approximately 35 per cent of the population in Burma has no access to public primary health care services of any kind.

The armed conflict in Burma, at best, exacerbated the health problems women experience in a developing nation, and at worse, gives rise to a host of fresh medical troubles that women might not otherwise suffer in peacetime. The armed conflict in Burma elevates military matters while it renders insignificant the concerns of vulnerable civilian populations, particularly women. Such problems include insufficient access to family planning and prenatal care, inadequate nutrition, increased maternal morbidity and mortality, ineffective AIDS education, and the medical crises suffered by landmines victims. In Burma's many conflict areas, insuperable barriers prevent women's access to basic health care services for themselves and their families, including, actual and threatened armed warfare, an inadequate health care infrastructure, impassible or nonexistent roads, few communication structures, and the prohibitive cost of health care, where actually available. There are few medical facilities staffed by sufficiently trained health care personnel, and in fact, it is estimated that only 60 per cent of the population in Burma has access to hospitals or clinics, according to the International Planned Parenthood Federation Country Profile, 1998. Cost is yet another impediment to women's access to health care. While, in theory, health care in public hospitals is free, patients are often required to purchase medicines and medical supplies, as well as pay the bribes necessary to receive care in a corrupt system.

The general and reproductive health status of women suffers accordingly. Chronic healthcare under-funding over decades has resulted in too few trained health professionals, insufficient public health facilities, inadequate rural services, and meager health education programs. Problems also occur with poor medical facilities. Many women receive little or no pre-natal care. Many suffer anemia, resulting in complications during childbirth, which requires blood transfusions. Family planning programs are not widespread in Burma, and the consequences are dire for women: in many cases, complications at birth due to repeated pregnancy are a major cause of maternal mortality. Estimated maternal mortality rates for Burma have reached approximately 517 per 100,000 live births, compared with 80 in Malaysia and 10 in Singapore, according to the 1998 International Planned Parenthood Federation Country Profile. According to the UNICEF report, 'State of the World Children 1999', the under 5 mortality rate in Burma is 114. Burma ranks 42nd in the world, but 3rd in Asia behind Cambodia and Laos.

While the leading causes of maternal mortality are labor hypertension, post partum hemorrhage and retained placenta, abortion is also a major cause. At major teaching hospitals in Burma, the abortion delivery ratio has been cited a 1:3, according to the SPDC's Country Report to the CEDAW committee in 2000. Abortion is illegal in Burma according to Burmese Penal Codes S312 and S315 and can incur imprisonment of 7 to 10 years and/or fines, depending on the time of termination. This often leads women to seek assistance from untrained practitioners or traditional birth assistants. When abortions go wrong, women are sometimes afraid to seek care at the hospitals, especially if they are unmarried. UNICEF also estimated in 1992 that 58 women per week died due to illegal abortion and that fifty per cent of all maternal deaths result from illegal abortion. Education about and availability of contraceptives is limited, also contributing greatly tot he numbers of abortions in Burma.

The number of commercial sex workers has also increased in recent years, some working in Burma, others trafficked or traveling to other neighboring countries. Lack of knowledge of HIV/AIDS and the exploitative working conditions make them particularly vulnerable to the disease.

According to the recent economic and social assessment of Burma by the World Bank, there are over one million HIV/AIDS cases. The severity of the HIV/AIDS situation in Burma is often denied by the SPDC. In October 1999, Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt proclaimed that the AIDS scare was being used "to attack Myanmar". While the SPDC claims that only 25,000 people have tested positive for HIV in Burma, the UN AIDS program has cited 440,000 as a more realistic figure. While the number of HIV-infected individuals continue to rise in Burma, women in Burma remain woefully uninformed about its risks. Prostitution and the risk of HIV infection are widespread yet the SPDC-controlled media does not supply adequate public health information to the populace. SPDC's restrictions on the media, freedom of expression and the right to community participation are some of the main obstacles that face women from Burma who wish to educate themselves about the disease.

Education is beyond the reach of many girls in Burma. The state of education throughout Burma is so catastrophic that fewer than one-third of all girls who enroll make it through primary school, according to a Human Development in Myanmar report prepared by the UN Working Group in 1998.

The SPDC spends less than 1.1 per cent of its GDP on education. The SPDC's indifference to the importance of education is illustrated by the fact that most universities

have been shut down since the 1988 student-led civil uprising. While the SPDC insists on its commitment to "Education for All", the paucity of SPDC's spending and the chronic closure of universities suggests otherwise. Furthermore, the fact that the SPDC cannot supply accurate and updated information about the educational status of girls points to their indifference to this critical issue. Anecdotal evidence indicates that armed conflict and poverty are the two primary causes of Burma's poor state of education. An emphasis on military spending has produced an atrophied educational system lacking in schools, trained teachers, supplies, and funds. In ethnic conflict areas, even if the schools were open, girls could not travel to school outside their village because of the presence of SPDC troops amassed there and because of their propensity for rape. The war has impoverished vast populations, particularly in ethnic minority regions, which prevents many girls from attending school because they simply cannot afford the costs. Where there is extreme poverty caused by that conflict, which is almost universally true in these areas, education is deferred to physical survival and the struggle for food security. The SPDC not only fails to ensure girls' access to education, but also fails to respect basic right through its policies and practices of forced relocation, rape, extortion, forced labor, and warfare against ethnic minorities. These hardships disrupt schools and cause a climate of instability and fear severely detrimental to the educational process. Traditional gender stereotypes, which the State does little to eliminate, further hinder as there is little perceived social value in educating them beyond bare literacy.

The average rate of inflation during the last fiscal year, according to an assessment by the World Bank, was 49.1%. With extremely limited employment opportunities, especially women, the feminization of poverty in Burma is hardly a surprise. Women traditionally are not primary income earners but are responsible for making sure that the income their husbands bring home is spent appropriately and the family well cared for. As the economic situation continues to get worse, women as well as children are leaving their traditional family roles to look for paid employment. For women, this means carrying dual responsibilities for the family, the wage earner as well as the homemaker. Women in conflict areas often become primary income earners through default when their husbands are taken away for forced labor or killed.

Lack of employment opportunity often leads to trafficking of women from Burma, both domestically from rural areas to the cities and internationally. Women are trafficked into various fields including construction, agriculture, factory work, and sex work. Traveling through contacts with brokers is a common means for women to migrate for economic reasons, but it is neither a safe nor secure means often with devastating consequences. In its attempt to prevent women from being trafficked to neighboring countries, the SPDC created a law prohibiting women between the ages of 16 and 25 from crossing borders unless accompanied by legal guardians. The SPDC claims this law is to protect women, but in reality it only makes them more dependent on traffickers to get them through checkpoints and makes them more vulnerable to exploitation.

13.3 Women in Politics

At the preparation meeting for the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing on February 7, 1995, SAecretary-1 of the SPDC Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt said, "Myanmar women are enjoying equal rights with men on political, economic, administrative, judicial,

and social aspects." Yet, this is found to be contrary to the real life situations for the women of Burma in all spheres of the society. Burma signed the UN Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1954, and under this convention, women are guaranteed equal rights with men. However, like many other social and political approved by governments in Burma, such declarations of intent conceal a very different social reality.

General Ne Win staged a military coup in 1962 by overthrowing the elected parliamentary government. Since then, the military has controlled the entire nation, and both political and administrative sectors are monopolized by current or former military officers. There has been a noticeable decline in the number of women reaching medium to high positions in their various careers after 1962. This makes sense, as the government is a military junta; women are not permitted to be a part of the military, and are therefore effectively blocked from all positions of leadership or power in the country. Despite the theoretical equality Burmese women are supposed to enjoy, few have ever reached senior positions. In the "people Assembly" of General Ne Win's government there were a few women representatives, but they were not elected by the people. They were instead selected by the central administrative system. These women did not have a chance to express their opinion and views in the assembly, like their other male counterparts. They had to act and speak under the pre-planned programs and no criticism was allowed.

At present there are no women in the Cabinet of the SPDC, and very few occupy high positions in government ministries or the Peace and Development Councils at the states, district, Division or Township level, apart from the Committees for Women's Affairs. At the district and Township level, administrators are military men, appointed by the state. In villages and remote areas, which often have little contact with the central machinery of the state, most village heads and councils are also men. While female staffs serve in the diplomatic corps, there are also no female ambassadors under the current administration.

Under the new and as yet unfinished national constitution, qualifications for the Head of State and Vice-President appear to introduce de facto constitutional restrictions on women standing for office. In the bicameral system proposed, a quarter of all seats is reserved for appointed military representatives. The President and Vice-President are elected not through popular vote but by the Presidential Election Body, composed of equal numbers of representatives of the two houses and the military. Qualifications require that candidates have 'vision' concerning national affairs, including the military, as determined by the representatives. According to the International League for Human Rights, "The extent to which women are prejudiced, in practice of not by law, from equal access to government service in elected and appointed posts is in doubt given the requirements of various experience, including military service, for the Presidency, other elected posts, and all reserved military posts in the legislative and executive bodies at all governmental levels."

Though SPDC has claimed that women in Burma enjoy equal rights and equal status, their chronic hatred towards Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is the most undeniable sign of discrimination against women in politics and inequality with men. The main intention of the regime towards Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is to exclude her from Burma's politics. From the very early stage to date, the SPDC has been attempting a countless number of times to defame her in any way as possible to keep her out of politics.

When the SPDC declared to hold the multiparty general elections soon after it came into power in September 1988, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi founded the National League

for Democracy party. Then the NLD became the largest legal political party among 236 political parties registered. But the military put various restrictions on the NLD and its leaders. Especially Daw Aung San Suu Kyi became the target of harassment during her campaign tour across the country. Finally, she was detained under house arrest on July 20, 1989. Despite the fact she was under house arrest, NLD won 82 per cent of the seats in the 1990 elections. Yet, the SPDC refused to recognize the election results. After her release, she has been physically attacked by the SPDC-sponsored UNDA. Slanderous statement by the SPDC are routine and her ability to move freely is severely restricted. These kinds of restrictions on and harassment of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi are clear evidence of the violation of both "Convention on the Political Rights of Women" and "Convention on the All Forms of Discrimination against Women."

Under the present military regime, women's political and social rights are still denied. Besides, those who confront the political system and fight of human rights are treated just as harshly as men. Many of the hundreds of thousands of women who joined the democracy movement were arrested and reportedly killed by the security forces. Today, women who become politically active, by expressing their opinion in favor of human rights or simply by aligning themselves with a particular political party, are systematically discriminated against and harassed. A number of women have been imprisoned with long sentences in Burma for their political beliefs and activities. Many have been harassed, interrogated and detained from time to time because of their family members' involvement in politics. Fear of vulnerability to abuses strongly discourages women's participation in political movements, or direct it into different areas from men's participation. The number of politically active women on the whole has been much smaller than that of their male compatriots, partly because political activities in Burma is seen as "dangerous," and both men and women and their families greatly fear custodial rape and other forms of sexual harassment. The SPDC maintains that all women prisoners are guaranteed the right to fair treatment during incarceration under the terms of the Prison Manual, which provides for maternity and women's health need. Testimonies of former prisoners indicate that women political prisoners are often tortured and that the nature of torture is often sexualized. Some female former prisoners state that a number of them were forced to give birth in their cells without medical assistance.

Often times being a relative or spouse of an activist is also enough to warrant detention, In one such case in 1999, authorities who could not locate activist Kyaw Wanna arrested her wife and six other family members, including their three years old daughter on July 19, 1999. She was later released in July 30 1999.

13.4 Violence against women

Women in Burma experience a continuum of gender-based violence as a result of government actions and failure to institute appropriate remedial measures. Some of this violence is systematic and sponsored directly by the state, especially in conflict areas where the military equates ethnic civilian women with ethnic armed forces. Other violence, both inside and outside Burma, is opportunistic and arises because the SPDC's policies such as forced displacement put women in situations of high vulnerability.

Military sanctioned violence against women is rampant in Burma. In Burma's ongoing civil war, women have been victims of the well-documented and pervasive human rights

abuses also suffered by men, including forced labor on SPDC's construction projects, forced portering for the army, summary arrest, torture and extra-judicial execution. These and other human rights violations are committed sometimes in the course of military operations, but more often as part of the military's policy of repression of ethnic minority civilians. It is exercised for purpose of making examples of those who challenge authority, for terrorizing communities, and demoralizing opposition groups. Violence can take place anywhere, but is particularly common during forced labor, in detention and in conflict areas or areas where there are large numbers of military troops. Seldom is any justice attained after violence occurs. Much more frequently, the victim, her family, or community suffers if they report the violence to higher authorities.

Rape and sexual violence against women

Hundreds if not thousands of individual incidents of rape by SPDC soldiers against the ethnic women in particular have been documented. The rape is perpetrated by both officers and rank-and-file soldiers, all of whom commit these crimes with impunity. While the rape targets women from the ethnic nationalities at war with the SPDC, including the Karen, Karenni and Shan, it clearly demonstrates a lack of respect for all women. The rape is purposeful in many cases; it is intended to send a signal to the communities that the women inhabit, and that signal is that the SPDC is more powerful than the ethnic peoples. It is also intended to demoralize ethnic communities by terrifying the potential victims, and by leaving the entire communities to feel powerless in their ability to "protect" the women and girls.

In their ongoing war against those ethnic communities that refuse to capitulate and 'enter the legal fold', the SPDC frequently resorts to brutal, impermissible attacks on civilian populations. The SPDC's military clearly sees all civilians, including non-combatant women, in ethnic areas of conflicts, as the enemy. A popular weapon in these violent encounters is rape against ethnic women. Through the numerous documented instances of rape, the SPDC soldiers seek to establish their dominance over all facets of the ethnic population, not just the men serving in the ethnic armies.

As a tactic of psychological intimidation, rape is not only a crime enacted against a person, but also violence against a community acted out through violence against individual women. The frequency of the rapes against ethnic women suggests that these rapes must be perceived as more than random acts perpetrated by rogue soldiers. By committing such acts regularly, the SPDC instills fear not only in the villages where women are actually raped, but also in all ethnic communities where women might be raped. This is particularly true because women are raped during their normal, daily activities. The message sent is that all ethnic women are at risk everyday, and that is impossible to avoid the circumstance under which the rape might occur.

Women are raped and gang raped by soldiers, sometimes in front of members of their families including husbands and children. Women as old as 80 and girls as young as 10 have been raped. Women who are raped, in particular pre-pubescent girls, often die of injuries sustained during the act of rape, while others are sometimes intentionally killed afterwards to prevent their reporting the acts to others. Bodies of women have been found in the forest, at times dumped in streams and ravines, at times burned, at times stripped naked, bound, or tied to tree, however, there are usually no witnesses or means of forensically

investigating these cases to confirm rape. Women have often been raped when soldiers raid or occupy their villages, or when caught by patrols on their way to fields or the forest to look for food. Women who are suspected of having contact with insurgent troops or whose male family members belong to opposition groups are often subjected to sexual violence. 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 SPDC's development projects or at their places of work. Women who fled to neighboring countries to escape the 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. Testimonies from women indicate that rape is a widespread form of torture. women may be detained for their political activities, involvement in ethnic movements, or even simply perceived links to anti-regime groups. When women are detained, they are extremely vulnerable to rape and harassment. Police and Military Intelligence officials use rape and sexual harassment to torture women when they detain and interrogate women. These law enforcement officials use various forms of torture such rape and sexual abuses to extract information from women detainees.

In general, survivors of sexual violence face not only the physical impacts of violence, but are also stigmatized for their experiences. Virginity is highly valued, and those who experience sexual violence are often too ashamed to speak about it. In cases where women do have the courage to speak out and file complaints against perpetrators who are military personnel, sometimes a small amount of money is given to the family to "compensate." More often, however, the perpetrators face no consequences and those who report the crimes are further harassed. Therefore whether reported or not, perpetrators of sexual violence are not held responsible for their actions. Sexual violence thus continues unabated. If civilians fail to believe that authorities will punish the wrongdoers, and therefore refuse to report these crimes, the effect is to grant impunity to the rapists. If there is no legal deterrent to such action, soldiers are free to engage in repeated acts of violence against women without repercussion. It is the responsibility of the State both to prevent those acts that cause discrimination against women, and to punish those acts when they nonetheless happen. The SPDC is failing in both ways to address sexual violence against women, and is therefore sending a tacit signal to its soldiers and its civilian population that women deserve the treatment they receive.

In one case in June 1999, four women were raped after interrogation about their allegedly links to Shan resistance forces. The father of the youngest victim complained to the headman and members of the Village Committee, so they all went to the battalion and filed a complaint with the commander. The commander lined up 70 soldiers and instructed the girl to identify her rapist. The man, however, had been purposely left out of the lineup, and therefore could not be identified. The headman and the committee members were then accused of defaming the military and were detained in the prison at the military base. This was not the end. The following day, the headman was beaten until he lost consciousness and the families were to pay 2,000 *kyat* each for the release of the detainees. Then the four women who had been raped were also fined 500 *kyat* each, according to the SHRF report.

Marriage is sometimes forced upon women, especially in conflict areas, when a military officer takes fancy to a local girl or women and demands her in marriage. Sometimes the women's family or community will encourage her to marry if they are afraid of the

repercussion of her refusal. Other times they may protest, but the women are taken away by the military an forced to marry. In other cases, village leaders will try to arrange for the marriage between a woman and a man who has raped her in an attempt to 'normalize' the situation.

Women and forced labor

During the past few years, increasing numbers of women, including young girls, those who are pregnant and aged, have been forced to work on SPDC infrastructure projects and to act as porters in ethnic war zones. Such uncompensated forced labor continues despite Burma's ratification of Article 11 of ILO Convention No .29 in 1955, which confines the use of compulsory labor to able-bodies male between the ages of 18 and 45 under very limited circumstances.

SPDC's use of female porters to carry military supplies for soldiers, to stand on sentry duty, to build and maintain army bases and camps, and to act as human mine sweepers. SPC troops prefer to use women and children in mine sweeper operations because it dissuades local women are considered more versatile as forced laborers and as porters because, in addition to carrying goods, their rape provide a source of sexual entertainment for soldiers.

Forced labor leads to food scarcity in conflict areas in two different ways: first, by taking women and men away from their fields and preventing them from producing food; and second, by swallowing up a family's resources in order to avoid the labor. Whenever possible, people hire others to take their places as forced laborers, or they pay fines to avoid the labor. In this way, precious cash is unavailable where it is most needed, to purchase commodities. In many instances, money and time is also extracted when women or their family members incur injury or death during forced labor.

The practice of forced labor has an anticipatory as well as present impact. Not only are men absent from the households while engaged in such labor (the present impact), but also men flee their villages in order to avoid the labor (anticipatory impact). Women incur an increased burden in the absence of men. it is not uncommon for elderly women to serve as village heads, (who act as the first point of contact to the SPDC), under the mistaken belief that the SPDC troops will treat them more gently. This is frequently not the case, however, and demands for forced labor are made nonetheless.

Women and forced relocation

Forced relocation is not a practice directly at women because of their gender. Nonetheless, the impact of forced relocation is often more deleterious to women, because frequently women bear the brunt of relocating and caring for the family under difficult and changing circumstances.

Two of the most common reasons why women and their families are forcibly ejected from their land are the "Four Cuts" policy and military or development projects in border areas. Under the "Four Cuts" strategy, the SPDC orders entire tracts of villages to move from their land to a SPDC-designated relocation site. Villagers must leave rapidly, sometimes within hours and sometimes within days, their houses, livestock, food stocks, and large possessions. As a consequence, thousands of square kilometers of farming land are rendered

barren. These regions are then proclaimed "black areas," in which SPDC troops shoot anyone, civilian or ethnic soldiers, on sight. To further discourage villager from returning to their homes the SPDC soldiers eat and steal what it needs before destroying all remaining food stocks.

Whether relocated as a part of the Four Cuts strategy or to pave the way for military or development projects, their choices are the same: women and their families may moved to the designated relocation site; they may move to another area; they may flee to refugee camps in neighboring countries; or they may hide in jungle and wait for SPDC troops to pass. None of these choices are desirable. Once their land is confiscated, villagers find short-term access to food and long-term food security very difficult. Women and their families must choose between starvation in the towns and relocation sites or a life of constant peril in the black zones. Prior to their arrival at the camps, many women and their families suffered malnutrition and anemia. For those who choose to leave Burma, they risk a dangerous and expensive journey across war zones to seek refuge in Thailand, where recent refugees have been rejected entry into camps along the border and have been forced back into conflict zones in Burma.

Villagers who avoid the relocation sites, for good reason, sometimes choose to hide in the forests close to their fields so they can try to plant crops on their own land. They live in hiding in small groups, usually near their home villages or their old hill fields, which have become black area. The SPDC troops, aware of this practice, repeatedly patrols these areas in an effort to drive villagers further into the forest. To the extent villagers have managed to stockpile food in hidden locations, it is generally discovered and destroyed by troops during these sweeps; if, by some chance, it survives the army, the food is often consumed by animals in the forest.

Women hiding in the forest submit themselves to a different set of danger from those present in the relocation sites, including competition for food from large animals, diseases such as malaria. They live with little or no convenient access to safe water supplies, and little access to adequate food. It is common for villagers hiding in the jungle to suffer from hunger, starvation, and other horrors. Women are subject to rape and sexual violence while hiding in the jungle.

13.5 The situation of refugee women from Burma

During the SPDC's counter insurgency campaign, ethnic minority groups of Burma are often caught up. The SPDC has undertaken forced relocation in ethnic areas for a variety of political, military and economic reasons: to assert control over ethnic nationalities; to create "free-fire zones" under the "four-cut" policy of cutting sources of food, arms, intelligence, and recruits between civilian communities and oppositions; to clear the way for infrastructure development projects. During the offensive against the ethnic armed groups, SPDC soldiers commit atrocities. As a result of these human rights violations (combined with severe economic difficulties, caused in part by the SPDC's arbitrary tax policies), hundreds of thousands of people have sought refuge in neighboring countries.

Refugees from Burma number around 161,000 in Thailand and 200,000 in Bangladesh. Large numbers of refugees are also in the borders with China and Indian borders. It is estimated there are a further one million internally displaced persons inside Burma. Many

refugees are initially internally displaced people. When they can no longer endure the conditions as displaced people, they cross the border to become refugees. The difficulties women face as internally displaced people are great. While some IDPs move from village to village, other must hide in the jungle. Yet others live in relocation sites designated by the SPDC. In those sites, food and employment are not provided, making life extremely difficult. Some people return to the areas they were relocated from, and harvest the crops. This is dangerous activities, however, as many women have been intercepted en route, accused of providing assistance to ethnic resistance groups, harassed and killed.

People who fled into the jungle face extreme difficulties finding food and fighting disease. Some are able to forage for food in jungle, and sometimes they sneak back to relocation site for rice. If there is not a good water source, then drinking water and hygiene are also serious problems. For fear of being found, people often do not build houses but cut leaves to make a floor. They are also careful about building fired, even when it is cold, for fear of alerting soldiers to their presence. When the IDPS decide to move across a border to become refugees, their journey is perilous. They have to travel at night if soldiers are near. Some areas have been mined by either the SPDC troops or by ethnic forces, creating an additional treat to the lives and safety of internally displaced people.

The condition in refugee camps can differ from one region to another, While people living in camps in Thailand generally are provided at least rice and salt, due to the increasing militarization in Burma, there are hundreds of people each month crossing the border seeking refuge. Most of the camps have reached their capacity, if not already gone beyond it. As NGOs are allowed to provide food for the number of people officially in the camps, new but uncounted arrivals in 1999 do not receive rations. They must either find food in the jungle or depend on the generosity of other refugees.

Refugee women often face the insecurity in the refugee camps due to attacks or threat of attacks on refugee camps by SPDC troops and SPDC-back armed groups. 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 abuses by the Thai Border Patrol Police and other authorities concerned. Thai authorities have agreed with the UNHCR's involvement in the protection of refugee from Burma along the border; however, it is not clear yet how the UNHCR will be involved and the degree of protection it can offer.

13.6 Trafficking of women from Burma

Every year, thousands of women and girls from Burma are trafficked into neighboring countries, and sometimes beyond to third countries. Men and boys are also trafficked, but in number far less than women. It is often difficult to term refugees, economic migrants and trafficked person from Burma because there is a great deal of overlap between these categories. Many refugees, in particular those from Shan State, Chin State and Sagaing Division, are not able to enter refugee camps, and therefore need to search for work. Many women, both refugees and economic migrants, are restricted in the ways that they can leave the country and seek the help of agents to do so. While some women and girls from Burma

have been kidnapped or sold without their consent, sometimes by parents or other relatives, the majority of women who are trafficked make the conscious choice to leave, either to escape forced labor and other human rights abuses suffered in the course of primary motivation. Some women who are trafficked are eventually able to find their way out of exploitative labor conditions and into situation where they enjoy greater self-determination; while others who migrate independently also often end up in work environments that restrict their freedom and exploit them. Age is an important factor in considering the situation of trafficked persons, since younger women and girls usually have relatively less chance to escape exploitation.

While trafficking is commonly associated with sex work, many of the women who leave Burma are also trafficked into other types of labor including factory work and domestic service. The greatest numbers of women and girls are trafficked to Thailand and via Bangladesh to Pakistan. Women are also trafficked from Kachin State to China, and Burma is a receiving and transit country for women from Yunnan, China, who are usually further trafficed to Thailand. A growing number of women are leaving central and western Burma for India, however most migrate individually or in small groups without brokers or agents and thus are not trafficked.

Although there are different destinations for the trafficking of women and girls from Burma such as Thailand and Pakistan and the situation in each country are somewhat different, most women share experiences of being exploited, insecurity due to lack of travel documents, no knowledge of the language, violence, arrest as illegal migrants, extortion, and poor health. Women are trafficked not only into the sex industry, but also into domestic work, factory work, sweat shops, and the service sector. In worse situations, women are sold into debt bondage where they are kept in slavery-like conditions with no access to help.

Traffickers are often powerful, and investigating and persecuting them is difficult. Despite growing publicity particularly of the trafficking of women from Burma into the sex industry in recent years, trafficking continues, because most agents and brokers maintain close ties with, or sometimes are themselves, police and other authorities. Complicity of border police and other officials who profit from trafficking not only allow the trade to continues, but also drives it further underground. Traffickers who wait at borders and enable women to pass through checkpoints directly into the hands of brothel owners ensure that migrating women have less access to other kinds of work.

Undocumented migrants in Thailand are at constant risk of arrest and deportation, and have little access to health care, legal or educational facilities. Women deported back to Burma as sex workers can be charged for both illegal departure and prostitution, with sentences of up to three years imprisonment.

Unknown numbers of Rohingya women in refugee camps in Bangladesh have been trafficked alongside Bangladeshi women through India into Pakistan, which is estimated to have more than 2000,000 Rohingya migrants. Successive waves of Rhingya refugees have fled Arakan State for Bangledesh since 1992 due to the persecution by the SPDC troops. In Bangladesh, economic conditions are scarcely better, and Rohingya women collect firewood, work as domestic servants, or beg for their families' survival. Economic uncertainty makes them more vulnerable to traffickers who offer to transport them and their families to Pakistan, usually promising work in carpet factories. En route, the women and their families are transported together with others from Bangladesh in large groups through India to Pakistan.

Little is know of the work conditions for Rohingya women who are trafficked, and sold into domestic labor or forced marriage. The situation for Rohingya women is of particular concern, since as stateless persons, they have no resource to protection in receiving countries, and have been denied re-entry to Burma except during organized repatriation under the UNHCR.

An unknown number of women have also migrated or been trafficked from Burma to China into sex work and other forms of labor. There is little documentation of brothel or other migrant work conditions in the Kachin State-Yunnan province, China. Local source in Ruili claimed in March 1999 that of the approximately 300 women from Burma working as sex workers in Gie Guo, China, 60 per cent were from military families. The other 40 per cent were from poor families in Central Burma.

Along the Indo-Burma border in Mizoram and Manipur State, increasing numbers of women from Chin State and Sagaing Division are migrating to work in domestic labor and handloom weaving. There are an estimated 40,000 Chin women in Mizoram, with 10,000 in Aizawl, the State capital. As migrant workers, they are still illegal, and while some handloom weavers enjoy a relatively high degree of protection from employers who value their labor, reports that women working as housemaids are raped by employers are common.

13.7 SPDC's policies to combat trafficking

There are some legal provisions to prevent trafficking and prostitution, claimed by the SPDC. Related provisions from the Penal Code include section 361 against kidnap, section 366(a) against procurement of minors, and 366(b) against importation of girls from other countries, section 369 against kidnap or abductions children under 10 years of age with the intent of stealing the child; section 370-1, against the slave trade, section 372 against sale of minors for prostitution, 373 against purchase of minors for prostitution, and 376 against sex with a girl under 14 irrespective of consent. Some of these laws are outdated and ineffective in addressing the problems faced by women in the growing sex industry in Burma. The 1949 Suppression of Prostitution Act defines brothels and criminalizes solicitation and procurement, and has recently been amended to increase sentences, from one to three years, to one to five years. It aims to "protect women from being ordered or coerced into prostitution;" however, coercion in other parts of the law is usually defined as threat to inflict bodily harm, and it is not known if a wider interpretation has been employed in prosecuting traffickers in Burma. Women can also be arrested under this act, and some are detained in special training centers. The legal provisions primarily address the situations of minors, and do not guarantee the rights of women who choose to migrate and are subsequently trafficked into sex work or other kinds of work. Moreover, they have been largely ineffective at reducing the flow of women trafficked or migrating into sex and other industries over international borders. Rather, women who suffer exploitation are further punished with imprisonment for illegal migration.

The SPDC has also imposed restriction on travel of women both domestic and internationally. In general, passports for women are much more expensive to acquire than for men, and under a new law initiated in 1995-6 women under 30 cannot obtain passport which allow them to work abroad. For travel within the country, women between the ages of 16 and 25 must be accompanied by a legal guardian. Traveling between towns also requires permits which are often expensive and expire after a short duration of time.

13.8 Situation of undocumented women migrant workers from Burma in Thailand

Thailand faces a problem with the undocumented migrant workers whose visibility and problems have become more sensitive and difficult. Undocumented labor- mostly Burmese -left their country for political reasons, or due to internal fighting and insecurity. Recent reasons are more economic. To escape hardship in their home country, they find work as unskilled laborers in three Ds- dirty- difficult and dangerous jobs in Thailand.

Unlike many other migrant labor situation where most migrants are young men, women constitute a significant segment of the approximately one million of migrant population in Thailand. Women from Burma who migrate to Thailand, much like other people migrating all over the world, move from their homes and families in search of job opportunities in more prosperous areas. Human rights violations in Burma often cause economic hardship. However, determining whether people leave Burma due to the hardships they suffer as a result of human rights violations is not always easy to distinguish from purely economic difficulty. Some migrant women have stated that they left Burma solely because of economic hardship. However, many other flee because of serious human rights violations. Many who have fled do not have enough to eat because unpaid forced labor under harsh conditions prevents them from earning a living. The distinction between economic hardship and violations of civil and political rights is not necessarily a clear one. Many of these people have been unable to make a living due to continuing unpaid forced labor and forced relocation from the homes.

With little knowledge of the country to which they are moving and working, its language and it laws, women migrating from Burma are in vulnerable position. Labor exploitation, sexual assault by their employers and law enforcement officers, abuse of power during detention and deportation against undocumented migrant women in Thailand are systematically documented.

The disproportionately high numbers of undocumented migrant workers in Thailand results largely from its geographical location. Thailand's shared borders with neighbors Burma, Cambodia and Laos are long and accessible. For example, Thailand shares a border with Burma that is approximately 2,532 kilometers long. A further 1,750 kilometers of Thailand's border is shared with Laos and an additional 789 kilometers with Cambodia. Despite the existence of six official border crossings between Burma and Thailand, there are countless unofficial ones. Government controls are difficult to maintain on both sides of the Thai-Burma border largely due to the presence of mountains and thick jungle terrain along a large part of the border that is only accessible by foot.

Anecdotal evidence suggests the overall number of Burmese migrants in Thailand to be somewhere in between 800,000 and one million. Within this number are numerous distinct ethnic groupings. The most highly represented Burmese ethnic groups in Thailand are the Shan, Karen, Burman, Mon, Arakan (Rakhine) Tavoyan[3] and Karenni (Kayah). The differing ethnic populations pursue different occupations and lifestyles, and engage in different social and cultural worlds both in Burma, and while in Thailand. However, as the majority of Burmese migrants in Thailand are undocumented or illegal, it is difficult to determine

the exact population of Burmese migrants in Thailand, and their ethnic composition. Inadequate enforcement of Thailand's immigration and labor laws, while at times due to lack of resources, is very often the result of the collusion between elements within the Thai bureaucracy with labor recruiters and traffickers. Such practices are widespread and well-documented and further complicate the task of building a more precise population profile.

Cross border migration into Thailand has steadily increased in recent years. Increasing political and economic differences between Burma and Thailand, particularly Thailand's economic boom of the 1980's and Burma's worsening political and economic crisis culminating in the 1988 uprising, attracted large numbers of not only Burmese refugees and migrants, but large numbers of Cambodians and Laotians. Many argue that workers from Burma, Laos and Cambodia filled a widely felt labor shortage left by 300,000 - 400,000 Thais who went to work abroad.

A significant factor that continues to stimulate illegal migration into Thailand is its investment promotion policy during 1980s. The policy emphasized opening domestic markets and encouraging foreign investment, export businesses, and international tourism. The Thai export industry has grown by an average of 10 per cent annually since 1985. This export industry has required large numbers of unskilled, cheap, hard-working laborers to fill low-paid unskilled positions that Thai nationals were no longer prepared to do, leading to an influx of Burmese migrant workers who had come from predominantly border areas, some fleeing in the very wake of a worsening civil war. During 1995 and 1998 in particular, dramatic increases in human rights abuses and an ever worsening political and economic background 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 from military harassment and forced labor, but the booming economy in Thailand also attracted them for potential employment.

Undocumented, illegal workers constitute the most vulnerable section of the work force because as illegal non-citizens, they are least protected by a nations legal system. These workers have no job security, little access to social services, health protection or accident insurance. They are housed in substandard conditions and exposed to many health risks as result of the dangerous labor they perform, and the conditions in which they are forced to live. They are not compensated for injury, illness or death even when it is caused by employer negligence. They are usually treated as faceless laborers - economic tools - and not as human beings. Because they are foreigners, they are subjected to dehumanizing conditions and various forms of discrimination. Their human and labor rights are usually not recognized, protected or respected. A large numbers of undocumented workers, particularly women from Burma, who are rendered more vulnerable to certain kinds of exploitation, depend on the protection of Thai employers in order not to be arrested and deported from Thailand. Such dependence on employers often leaves undocumented workers, particularly women, at risk of abuse, exploitation, humiliation, and violence from employers and corrupt police.

Despite the high incidence and reportage of abuses against women migrant workers from Burma, survivors are not often afforded any legal redress. If survivors complain to police, they are simply arrested, charged with illegal entry and deported to a remote location along the Burmese border. The current economic crisis exacerbates the already vulnerable situation of migrant workers in Thailand, exposing them a greater risk of xenophobic attitude,

exploitation and abuses during forced repatriation.

In February 1998, the Thai government announced its intention to send back some 300,000 undocumented migrants workers within a six months. Again in November 1999, the Thai government launched a crack-down on the undocumented migrant workers in Thailand. This practice of deportation to Burma leaves migrant workers, particularly women, exposed to further abuse and exploitation. When women stranded at the border in Mae Sod area, some were raped by SPDC soldiers. The distinction between undocumented workers and refugees from Burma is already so blurred that there is a genuine fear that people are being forced back into Burma where they face serious persecution on political, religious or ethnic grounds. Many migrant workers from Burma have been driven out of their country not only for economic but also for political reasons and human rights violations by the regime. Greater economic and political stability in Burma can only reduce the flow of migration into Thailand. Until or unless it is achieved, Thailand must continue to bear the burden of undocumented migrant workers from Burma, and the many problems generated by their influx.

13.9 Women and HIV/AIDS

In June 1999, Burma's health minister Maj-Gen. Ket Sein said publicly that AIDS has now spread to all states and divisions, the first official admission of an AIDS crisis in Burma. The US AIDS program cited 440,000 HIV positive patients in Burma. However, at the WHO regional meeting for health ministers held in Rangoon from 12-14 October, 1999, SPDC Secretary-1 Khin Nyunt stated, "Since there have been various comments in the AIDS situation in the country, allow me to present the true picture. At the outset, allow me to state categorically that there is no rampaging AIDS epidemic in Myamar. The number of patients tested HIV positive remain relatively low numbering less than 25,000 in the last ten years." He further elaborated that cultural factors, including prohibition of "sexual promiscousness", and administrative measure to curtain young women's cross-border travel and therefore trafficking, would prohibit the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Women in Burma are at risk because of the failure of the SPDC to provide adequate health care facilities and education. Despite the recent flurry of "development" in Burma, little attention has been paid to the hospitals, schools, or social welfare and education facilities, especially in grossly underdeveloped rural areas. Most population in Burma have limited knowledge and understanding of HIV/AIDS. Although the government, national and international NGOs, religious organizations and UN agencies carry out HIV/AIDS education projects in different part of the country, and some have produced very good educational materials, the number of Townships and population they reach is limited.

While the number of HIV-infected individuals continue to rise in Burma, the general public remains woefully uninformed about the risk, protection and education. Women particularly suffer greatly from the lack of special attention and public education. There is a lack of social support to prevent the spread of disease through condom use.

Women in Burma are especially vulnerable to HIV infection through unprotected sexual intercourse with infected male partners, unhygienic injections and the frequent need for blood transfusion after childbirth due to anemia or poor perinatal care. They may also risk transmission through Depo-provera injections, as disposable syringes are in short supply and not always used. Sentinel surveillance research has shown that there is a steady rise in

HIV infection among not only sex workers and STD clients but also lower risk groups such as blood donors and pregnant women, which suggests that current efforts to reach 'high risk' populations are ineffective, and that the epidemic is spreading further within the general population. Mother to child transmission has also increased dramatically.

Another very vulnerable group is the large number of women doing sex work in Burma and neighboring countries such as Thailand. Sex workers are sometimes forced to service as many as 50 clients in a typical week, often without being able to negotiate condom use. With the high number of men using sex workers, this is resulting in a rapid increase of HIV cross-infection between sex workers and clients, and further to clients' wives or other partners. The median HIV infection rate of sex workers tested in Rangoon and Mandalay, the country's two largest cities, has risen from 4 per cent in 1992 to 21 per cent in 1996, according to a research by the US AIDS in 1998. Condom use among commercial sex workers is reportedly low, both because condoms are relatively expensive, and because carrying condoms is taken as evidence that a woman is doing commercial sex work, and therefore grounds for arrest. As prostitution is illegal in Burma, most sex workers and their clients are out of reach of public health workers and NGOs conducting HIV/AIDS education and distributing condoms.

Young women are at particular risk of HIV infection. Believed to be less sexually experienced and "AIDS-free", they are increasingly sought as sexual partners within and outside commercial sex networks. Women aged 15-24 made up 20 per cent of AIDS cases detected in Burma up to 1997, more than double the proportion of men in the same age groups, states the UN AIDS research in 1998.

13.10 Partial List of incidents - Women raped and abused in 1999

♦ On January 1, 1999, SPDC IB 66 led by Myint Sein met 6 women carrying rice from their farm to their village near Wan Wawn and Wan Ek villages, Nawng Kaw tract, Nam-Zarng Township, Shan State. The Commander accused the women of planning to give the rice to Shan rebel soldiers, then took away Nang Leng Sa, aged 15, from Nawng Kaw village and raped her. After the rape, as he was about to shoot the girl one of the civilian porters pleaded for mercy, saying that he was from the same village and knew that she was innocent. But the SPDC commander forced the porter, Sai Mu, aged 29, to sit down near Nang Leng Sa and shot him dead as well. After the killing, the troops raped the rest of the women with the permission of the Commander and then left. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On January 4, 1999, Captain Mya Han from SPDC LIB 264 raped Naw Mu Mu aged 20 from Htee Pulwee village, Kyaukkyi Township, Karen State. She was later killed. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 9, 1999, soldiers from SPDC IB 520 based in Ho Maeng, Shan State detained and raped two women villagers from Phone Na village, Hon Maeng Township. Mai Aike Sai, aged 40 and her daughter Neng Eilai, aged 15 were rounded up while they were working at their farm and later were gang-raped by the soldiers. They reported the case to the village headman but no action has been taken so far. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On January 10, 1999, SPDC troops from LIB333 led by Capt Maung Maung raped Naang Sai, aged 17 and Naang Leng, aged 16, who had been collecting firewood at Murng In village, Murng-Sart Township, Shan State. The authorities took no action when the case

was reported. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On January 27, 1999, a column of troops from IN 246 led by Major Aung Sein met a group of men and women villagers of Nam Pa Man village, Kunhing Township, Shan State. The villagers were on their way to the farm in Keng Lom area. The troops seized the villagers, and raped the five women. They also took away Ta Oo, Sarng Na Ling and Wala and forced them to serve as porters. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On February 16 and 17 1999, at Tar-gwa, Htan -thone-bin village tracts, Myan-aung Township, Irrawaddy Division, the Towsnship SPDC headed by secretary U Myo Set summoned all the farmers who failed to supply the required amount of paddy. He threatened and ordered them to supply 14 baskets per acre even though the prescribed amount was 12 baskets. Daw Tin Yee, a cultivator from Pay-gone village, tried to explain that she had not been able to fufuill the quota because of weather. U Myo Set publicly rebuked her, even though she was an elder. Later, when Daw Tin Yee's daughter approached U Myo Set about this social disrespect, he handcuffed the daughter and put her inside a car and left her to bake in the hot sun. **(*Source: NLD*)**

♦ On February 25 1999, around 6:30 pm, SPDC LIB 324 troop column (3) led by Captain Tin Maung Myint based in Nam Tu Township met UL-K, aged 42, and his wife AK-A, 30, on the way between Pang Kha and Loi Jare village. The SPDC troops stopped the couple and searched them. They took 100,000 *kyat* from the man and made him watch them rape his wife. After the rape, Capt. Tin Maung Myint threatened the couple that if they reported the incident to the PSLA cease-fire group he would kill them. **(*Source: Palaung Youth Newletter*)**

♦ On February 25, 1999, a SPDC column led by Captain Tin Maung Myint from LIB 324 based in Nan Tu Township, Shan State, met a couple from Pang Kha village in the jungle. The soldiers stopped the couple and searched them. They took 100,000 *kyat* from the man and made him watch them rape his wife. After the rape, Captain Tin Maung Myint threatened the couple not to report the incident to anyone, or they would face death. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On February 27 1999, SPDC Captain Tun Win of LIB 504, based in Namshan, raped a village girl (name withheld) from Man Sai, Shan State. The captain had long admired the girl and before the rape had asked her to marry him, but she had refused. After the rape, the captain told the girl's mother that the girl wanted to marry him, and ordered the girl to live with him in his army camp. After 2 months, the captain was transferred to Mandalay and abandoned the girl. **(*Source: Palaung Youth Newsletter*)**

♦ In March 1999 a drunken DKBA Sergeant named Saw Shwe Min demanded that a young woman marry him in Taw Ko village of Kyauk Kyi Township. When she refused, he fired his gun outside the village, claimed he had fired at the KNLA, and fined and robbed the villagers as punishment. The young woman who refused him no longer dares to live in the village. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On March 7 1999, DKBA Sergeant Saw Shwe Min went to Taw Ko village, Kyauk Kyi Township, Karen State. He asked for the love of Naw M—, age 25. She refused because she knows he already has a wife and children, so he got drunk and then left the village and fired his gun. Later he claimed that he had shot at the KNLA, and ordered the villagers of the entire village tract to pay 20,000 *Kyat* for the bullet *[which is at least 50 times the real price of a bullet]*, as well as 4 watches with metal bands and 4 watches with

plastic/leather bands. He said he would ask her to love him again, and that if she refused he would shoot her dead. As a result Naw M— is afraid to stay in her village anymore, and now often lives elsewhere with relatives. She is always in fear of DKBA patrols. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

♦ On April 6, 1999, Khin Mar Wai, a 10 year old girl, was raped by the son of Corporal Maung Oo from LIB 202 based in Taung Kalay village, Pa-an Township, Karen State at the military compound where she was selling ice. She was raped at a plantation between the military barracks of Division (2) and (3). **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On April 10, 1999, Naang Thuay, aged 37, and her daughter, Naang Awng, aged 19, from Kun Mong village were raped and killed by Major Khin Maung Lay and his troops from Company No.1 of LIB 422, near Kung Nyawng village, Kun-Hing Township, Shan State. They were accused by the troops of carrying rice for Shan rebel soldiers, even though they only had enough rice for their own lunch. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On April 13, 1999, 7 SPDC troops from Murng-Sart-based LIB527 raped and killed a village girl, Nang Kawng Tip, aged 17, of Murng In village, Murng Poo tract, Murng-Sart Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On May 8, 1999, Captain Aung Ttu Lay from LIB 22 based in Namg Tu, Shan State raped 2 Kachin girls, Tan Gun and Tan Naw, on their way home from their farm near Mang Wee. The parents of the girls reported the incident to the cease-fire Kachin Defense Army, but no investigation has been done so far. **(*Source: PLF*)**

♦ On May 21, 1999, about 80 soldiers from SPDC's IB64, LIB513, LIB514 and LIB515 captured 15 young Shan women. The women had been relocated, but had gone back to their old village to pick their crops of tea. The troops took them to the village of Loi Hong, Shan State and raped them. The next day, the troops beat the women before releasing them. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

On May 22 1999, troops from LIB 514 led by Capt Sein Win arrested 4 couples at their rice farm because they had obtained permission to cultivate from LIB 424, but not from them. They detained the couple at the army camp for 3 days and 3 nights. During that time, Capt. Sein Win and 3 close friends kept the women with them, away from their husbands, and raped them every night. They were released after relatives paid 10,000 *Kyat* per couple. They were:

1. Pa Murng Awn, aged 49, and her husband Loong Paan La, aged 51.
2. Pa Long, aged 45, and her husband Loong Nya-Na, aged 47.
3. Naang Zam, aged 25 and her husband Zaai Khan-Thi, aged 28.
4. Naang Mo Khur, aged 20, and her husband Zaai Taan Lun, aged 21.

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On May 28, 1999, troops from SPDC LIB 232 led by Captain Khin Maung Soe, gang-raped Naw Ko Ko, mother of two from Thabar Soe village, Thantaung Township, Karen State. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On May 29 1999, a combined force of SPDC IB246 and IB12, led by Capt. Soe Naing Oo, Capt. Tin Maung Win and Capt Than Naing Oo, approached 4 young Shan women who were working on their farms with their parents in Kaeng Lom tract, Kun-Hing Township, Shan State. The women were surrounded by the troops, then separated from their parents and taken to different places by different groups of troops who gang-raped them and later killed all of them.

The victims were:

1. Naang Yaen, aged 20
2. Naang Kham, aged 16
3. Naang Zaan, aged 18
4. Naang Zing, aged 22

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On June 29 1999, troops from LIB 524 led by Captain Win Naing arrested 7 villagers from the Merng Kerng relocation site at their farm 3 miles from town. They separated the men and women, and raped Naang Seng Phaa, aged 27, Naang Thun Ung, aged 19, Naang Lawn, aged 17 and Naang Wo, aged 15. The Captain took the youngest for himself, and when she cried and struggled, he struck her on the head with his pistol, splitting her scalp, and fracturing her skull. They raped the women to their satisfaction, and also tied up and tortured the men. When the villagers lodged a complaint with the LIB Commander, he lined up 70 soldiers and told Naang Wo to point out her rapist, who was not in the line. Then he accused the villagers of defaming the army, arrested and beat the headman, and charged 2,000 *Kyat* for his release. They also made each of the 7 victims pay a fine of 500 *Kyat* each. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ Ma Nu Sein (age 24) is a Tavoyan woman who lives in Kyauk Htayan village. In June 1999, while her husband was going out in the sea, she was raped by a soldier at gunpoint. The soldier is from Captain Htun Naing's troops of LIB 273. Ma Nu Sein told her husband Naing Chan Aung about this when he came back from the sea. Even though this news was spread all over the area they (husband and wife) dare not report it to the authorities for the threatening of the army.

♦ In July 1999, Ma Bwae, age 29, while her husband Naing Lu, age 32, Mon Nationality was going out to the sea, at one night she was raped by a soldier at gunpoint for 3 times within 4 hours. The soldier was from Capt. Maung Maung Lay's troops. In the morning Ma Bwae went to Capt. Maung Maung Lay and report about this. Then Capt. Maung Maung Lay called that soldier and punished him. That soldier had to run from the village to the seashore for a hundred times. The captain also made him to hop from the village to the seashore as his punishment. Capt Maung Maung Lay also told Ma Bwae not to tell about this story to other villagers and foreign news agency or he will take a severe action against her.

♦ On July 24, 1999, a joint military column of LIB 102 and IB 2 arrived in Phar kalu village, Pa-an district, Karen State. The troops spent a week in the camp during which they destroyed the belongings of the villagers. Some of the women were repeatedly raped by the troops as the men from the village were hiding in fear of being killed or conscripted as porters. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On July 30 1999, 2 soldiers from LIB 316 seized and raped a Lahu woman, Ae Mi, aged 23 near her village, Naa Lao, Murng Laen tract, Tachilek Twonship, Shan State. She was threatened that she would be killed if she told others, but she and her father reported the case at the LIB base. However, nothing was done about the case. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On August 22, 1999, about 4-5 SPDC soldiers from LIB 513 sexually violated Nang Nu, age 26, daughter of Loong Wi and Nai Seng of Wan Kong Larng village, Wan Kart tract, Kesi Township, Shan State. **(*Source: SHAN*)**

♦ On August 23, 1999, Ma Myint Ye aged 17 from Mhu Shwe Ku village, Thayetchaung Township, Tenasserim Division was raped by six soldiers led by Corporal Htun Mya from Division (3), IB 402. She was raped on the way back from her forced labor service at the military rubber plantation project between Saw Phyar and Mhu Shwe Ku villages. She fell

unconscious after the gang rape and was later taken to hospital. The soldiers threatened her parents not to expose the case. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On September 4, 1999, a military column from IB 92 entered Khee Lay village, Thaton district, Karen State. An intelligence officer named Nyi Nyi Aye raped village headwoman Phee Pay Ne, aged 46. **(*Source: KIC*)**

♦ On September 16, 1999, about 70 SPDC troops from IB246 led by Capt Kyaw Aye arrested Kaw-Ling, aged 45 and his wife, Naang Mon, aged 30, who were tending their rice field on the eastern side of Nam Paang river, about 4 miles from Kun-Hing. They were interrogated about the movement of Shan Soldiers, then Kaw Ling was beaten to death, and Naang Mon was forced to go with the troops for 4 days and 3 nights during which she was raped by the Captain whenever he liked. On the last day when the troops were about to return to their base, Kyaw Aye called up all his officers one by one and ordered them to rape her one after another. Eventually, she was given to a Private who, after raping her, stabbed her to death with his bayonet. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 18 1999, a Private named Hla Tin from IB227 raped Naang Not, 18, from Wan Tap village, Murng Nung tract, Murng-Khak Township, Shan State. When the soldier left, Naang Noot went immediately back to the village and told her father about her plight. Her father then took the case to the village headman, who in turn led him to lodge a complaint with the village tract Chairman. However, the village tract Chairman was too afraid of the SPDC troops to do anything against them and dared not push the case any further. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 21, 1999, Maung Bo and 2 other privates from Company 2 of LIB316, stationed at Kaeng Laap village, were strolling around and saw Naang (En),21, who was digging bamboo shoots on the bank of Nam Kai stream, Nam Kai village, Kaeng Laap tract, Tachilek Township, Shan State. Her husband Zaai Wan, 26, was out of sight of the troops. The 3 soldiers seized Naang (en) and when her husband responded to her cry for her help and came running, Maung Bo shot him and he died instantly. After that, all of them raped the woman to their satisfaction and left. The authorities took no action when the couple's relatives raised the case. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On September 29 1999, SPDC troops from IB246 met Nawng Pe, 18, and Naang Khin Lu, 21, who were peddling confectionery to farm workers in Kun-Hing Township. The troops seized the women and accused them of being wives of SSA soldiers. The troops forced the women to go with them for 5 days and 4 nights during which they abused and raped the women to their satisfaction and eventually shot both of them dead, and took away their confectionery, worth 2,876 *Kyat*, and 252 *Kyat* of money from them. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In early October 1999, two schoolgirls from a middle school in Lai-Kha were arrested, detained and raped by the Commander of SPDC's LIB515, Lt-Col. Htun Sein, in the military base in Lai-Kha, and money was extorted for their release. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In the first week of October 1999, Aye Aye Pu and Aye Aye Khan, both from Thanpon village, Kutkhaing Township, Shan state were raped by privates Saw Aung Nyunt and Than Zaw Oo from IB 290 based in Mai Kyay village, Kut Khaing Township, Shan State. **(*Source: HRDU*)**

♦ On October 30 1999, 4 women who were returning from reaping rice at their farms were raped and shot dead at a deserted village west of Murng-Kerng town, Shan State by SPDC troops from LIB514, led by Captain Myint Aung.

The 4 victims were:

1. Pa Poi, aged 38
2. Naang Awng, aged 31
3. Naang Mawn, aged 30
4. Pa Loi Pe, aged 42

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On October 30, Pa Poi, 38, Naang Awng, 31, Naang Mawn, 30, and Pa Loi Pe, 42, were returning to their homes in Mong Kung, Shan State after spending the day reaping rice, when they ran into a patrol of SPDC troops. They were accused of having provided some of the rice they had harvested to Shan insurgent troops and taken to a deserted village west of the town. There they were held and repeatedly raped during the night that followed. The next day when the patrol returned to the base of the 514th battalion in Mong Kung they reported that they had shot at women who had trailed behind when a Shan State army unit fled from them. Fearing the worst because their wives had failed from their outlying farm the previous day, the husbands of the four women went to look for them and were horrified to discover their bodies lying together in a heap. **(*Source: Burma Courier*)**

♦ On November 8 1999, 15 girls were raped by SPDC soldiers on the Burmese side of the Moie River near Myawaddy. The girls were among the 2,000 Burmese forcefully deported from Mae Sot, Tak, Thailand and left stranded on an isle in the middle of the Moie River dividing Thailand and Burma. They planned to spend the night on the isle, but armed Burmese troops followed them. They selected 15 good-looking girls and made them accompany them to the Burmese bank of the river, where they were raped. **(*Source: Bangkok Post*)**

♦ On November 11 1999, a private from IB 226, Company #2, named Kyaw Lwin raped a 23 year old woman from Wan Paeng village, Murng Khawn tract, Keang-Tung Township, Shan State. Her parents and the village headman were scolded and threatened when they brought the case before the Company Commander, Captain Htun Sein. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ On November 17 1999, Commander Thein Maung and 6 of his troops from LIB 333, Company #3 seized 4 villagers from Pa Sak village, Me Nim Township, Murng-Sart Township, Shan State on their way home from Murng-Sart. They tied the only boy, aged 16, to a tree and then raped the women for 3 hours, beating them if they cried. The victims were (not their real names)

1. Naang Muay, aged 22
2. Naang Hawm, aged 19
3. Naang Peng, aged 18

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On November 22 1999, 6 young women from the Ka Li relocation site, Kun Hing Township, Shan State were arrested on a forest road by 23 soldiers from LIB 524, Company # 5, led by Commander Hla Aung. The troops accused the women that the goods they were carrying, which they had bought to sell, were for the Shan resistance. Then they separated the girls and took them to different parts of the forest and gang-raped them, beating them if they cried or screamed out. The six women were: (not their real names)

1. Naang Suay, aged 20
2. Naang Taan, aged 19
3. Naang Nu, aged 17
4. Naang Thun, aged 17
5. Naang Phawng, aged 16
6. Naang Poi, aged 16

(*Source: SHRF*)

♦ On November 22 1999, troops from Battalion 423, led by Major Thein Lwin, approached the daughter of Loong Lu and Pa Teing of Wan Kart, Ho Khai tract, Mong Kung Township, Shan State, who had been tending to her field. Nang Naw, aged 18, was

then gang-raped by 5 SPDC soldiers, including Major Thein Lwin. **(*Source: SSA*)**

♦ On December 12 1999, Brigadier General Soe Myint, Deputy Minister of Forestry made an appointment with a schoolteacher to discuss how he could help her with her promotion, but instead he raped her. **(*Source: "david guy" <nldburma@hotmail.com>*)**

♦ On December 23, 1999, a military column from IN 102 led by Captain Sein Win arrested and raped Nang Nu, aged 26 and Nang Seng aged 15. Both women were from Wan Khun Muong villagem Kun Muong tract, Kengtung Township, Shan State. They were detained in military posts and repeatedly raped by the soldiers. They were released the next day. **(*Source: SHRF*)**

♦ In late November and early December 1999, SPDC troops from LID #88 came to villages in Kya In Township, Karen State and found no men, so they captured women to serve as porters, human shields, and minesweepers with the logic that the KNLA would not attack the column if they saw women leading the way. Some of the women were pregnant and many had to carry infants and small children on their backs while they walked. In one notable instance the women were forced to sleep in the jungle in the cold and rain surrounded by soldiers. When their babies cried during the night the Burmese soldiers feared that the whole column would be discovered by a KNLA section, so they twisted the necks of the infants in an explicit threat to the mothers to make their babies stop. Several women were wounded during ambushes, and the overall experience proved so frightening and strenuous for them that the stories spread quickly throughout the district, prompting many women to flee before facing a similar arrest. While male porters must endure physical abuse in addition to the strain of their loads, women are vulnerable to sexual assault by soldiers and fear for both their own safety and that of their children. **(*Source: KHRG*)**

Appendix # 1

Women Political Prisoners In Myanmar (Amnesty International May 2000)

The following is a list of female prisoners reportedly detained in Myanmar and believed by Amnesty International to be prisoners of conscience or possible prisoners of conscience. Amnesty International urges authorities in Myanmar to immediately and unconditionally release all those imprisoned for their peaceful exercise of the rights to freedom of expression, association and assembly and to make public information on all detainees.

To Amnesty International's knowledge, all prisoners have been sentenced in trials which fall short of international standards of fairness, and many have been denied legal counsel. The majority of prisoners have been sentenced under vaguely-worded security legislation, including the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act (EPA), Sections 5 [j] and [e], and the 1908 Unlawful Associations Act (UAA), Sections 17/1 and 17/2. Amnesty International is concerned that they subject rights and freedoms to greater restrictions than are strictly necessary to meet requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare, and that they have been applied arbitrarily and indiscriminately to suppress dissent. Amnesty International is also calling for the revocation or amendment of all such legislation to bring it into line with international standards.

The organization is further concerned by reports that a number of prisoners below

have been held incommunicado and tortured, and is calling on Myanmar authorities to institute a full, independent investigation of these allegations and for those found responsible to be brought to justice.

(19,20) Karenni refugee woman laying and taking rest at the temporary site upon her arrival to the border. These arrivals are separated from the former refugees in the camp. They have to live in the temporary sites with very insufficient supplies for food and shelter.
(Photo by Aung Myo Min-HRDU)

No.	Name & Age	Profession, Political affiliation	Sentence & Leg.	Date of arrest	Further Information	Place of detention
1	Daw San San Nwe	journalist and writer. National League for Democracy (NLD)	10 years 1950 EPA, 5 [e][1]; UAA, 17/1	00/08/94	She was sentenced for allegedly sending documents to the United Nations and opposition groups in exile, and for speaking to diplomats and journalists "to cause misunderstanding of the government". She has reportedly suffered from bad health. She was previously detained between July 1989 and April 1990 for her peaceful political activities as an NLD member. Her daughter, Ma Myat Myo Myo Tun, is also detained. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience.	Insein Prison Yangon Division
2	Ma Myat Mo Mo Tun dob not known	not known, from Yankin Township, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA, section 5 [e]	00/08/94	She was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for allegedly recording defamatory letters and documents on computer disc and making contacts with	Insein Prison, Yangon

[1]Section 5 [e] of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act allows authorities to imprison up to seven years, or fine, or both, anyone who causes or intends to spread false news, knowing beforehand that it is untrue?

					illegal political groups. Authorities also alleged that she sent antigovernment articles to "Khit Pyaing" Journal published by the expatriate group. She was sentenced at the same time as her mother under legislation that criminalizes the dissemination of false information. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience.	
3	Moe Kalayar Oo dob c. 1968	former student (Yangon University, mathematics)	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 [j][2]	20/02/95	She was arrested for reading an eulogy at the funeral of U Nu, former Prime Minister. A total of 11 persons were sentenced for their participation in the funeral, under charges of trying to form a political movement. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience. She is believed to be in a poor state of health.	Tharawaddy Prison, Bago Division
4	Cho Nwe Oo dob c.1969	former student (Yangon University, Burmese) from Kamaryut,	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 [j]	20/02/95	As above. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience.	Tharawaddy Prison, Bago Division

[2]Section 5 [j] of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act allows authorities to imprison for up to seven years and/or fine anyone who causes or intends to disrupt the morality or the behaviour of a group of people or the general public, or to disrupt the security and stability of the Union.?

		Yangon				
5	Aye Aye Moe dob c. 1969	student (Yangon University, Philosophy) from Kyauktada, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 [j]	20/02/95	As above	Tharawaddy Prison, Bago Division
6	Daw Khin Mar Kyi	NLD: from Monywa, Sagaing Division.	7 years 122/2 of Myanmar Penal code	04/06/96	She was arrested at the time of a widescale crackdown on NLD supporters, and charged with attempting to open a branch office of the NLD in Monywa, and with distributing "antigovernment" materials within Myanmar. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience.	Mandalay Prison, Mandalay
7	Daw Aye Aye Win	NLD: from Tharketa, Thingangyun	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 [j]	30/06/96	She was arrested during a crackdown on NLD members and supporters in June 1996, following large public attendance at weekend speeches made by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Rangoon. It is reported that Daw Aye Aye Win was arrested on account of her peaceful support of the NLD: at the time of her arrest audio cassettes of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's speeches and various NLD written materials were confiscated from her house. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience.	Insein Prison, Yangon

8	Daw Thein Kywe	NLD: from Ahlone, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 [j]	12/08/96	It is believed that she was arrested on account of her attendance at NLD weekend meetings. At the time of her arrest two cassettes of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's speeches were confiscated from her house and other NLD materials. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience	Insein Prison Yangon
9	Daw Khin Soe Win	not known, from Monywa, Sagaing Division	7 years Section 122/2 of the Myanmar Penal Code	00/06/96	She was accused of fostering contacts with expatriate groups, who the government alleged were inciting riots in Myanmar. It is believed that she was arrested for possessing written material of political nature.	Mandalay Prison, Mandalay
11	Ma Khin Mar Yi	NLD Youth member from Sanchaung, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 [j]	06/12/96	It is believed that she has been imprisoned in connection with student demonstrations that took place in Yangon in December 1996. Students had demonstrated in Yangon and Mandalay in protest at the alleged beating in custody of three students by police officers. They also called for permission to form the student union, the release of student political prisoners and improvement in educational standards.	Insein Prison, Yangon Division

12	Ma Thi Thi Aung	student, NLD Youth, from Sanchaung, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 (j)	03/12/96	As above	Tharawaddy Prison, Bago Division
13	Ma Nilar Thein aka Ma Ni	student, NLD Youth from Kamaryut, Yangon	10 years 1950 EPA section 5 (j)	00/12/96	As above	Tharawaddy Prison, Bago Division
14	Pyone Pyone Aye	worker from Mingala Taungnyunt, Yangon	14 1950 EPA Section 5 (j) UAA 17/1	00/12/96	As above She was charged with collaboration with the underground by using a photocopier. Her husband is also detained.	Insein Prison, Yangon
15	Ma Thida	student	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 (j)	00/12/96	as above	Tharawaddy Prison Bago Division
16	Ma Thin Thin Aye	.udent from Dagon University. From North Okalappa, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 (j)	00/12/96	as above	Tharawaddy Prison, Bago Division

17	Ma Cho	NLD Youth from Sanchaung Township, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 (j)	06/12/96	as above	not known
18	Ma Yee Yee Htun dob 1967	Democratic Party for a New Society, (DPNS) from Kyauktada, Yangon, student (Yangon Arts and Sciences University)	14 years 1950 EPA Section 5 (j) 17/1 of UAA	00/12/96	As above.	Tharawaddy Prison, Bago Division
19	Ai Shwe Zin Nyut	student from Insein Township, Yangon	7 years	00/12/96	As above	Tharawaddy Prison, Bago Division
20	Ma Lay Lay Mon	student (Dagon University), from North Dagon, Yangon	7 years	00/12/96	As above	Myaungmya Prison, Irrawaddy Division

21	Hnin Hnin Hmwe dob c. 1970	student from Tharketa, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA Section 5 (j)	00/12/96	As above. She was previously imprisoned for three years after being detained in 1989 for her peaceful political activities for the DPNS. She was reportedly seriously tortured in Insein Prison in September 1990 after prison authorities cracked down on prisoners who supported a hunger strike for better conditions for political prisoners in the prison.	Tharawaddy Prison, Bago Division
22	Daw Tin/Khin Yi	NLD Township organizational committee member from Wakema,Irrarwaddy Division	10 years 1950 EPA section 5 (j)	13/12/96	She was reportedly arrested for taking a prominent part in the funeral of an NLD Township organizational committee member.	Myaungmya Prison, Ayeyarwady Division
23	Kalayar	NLD Youth member from Tamwe, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 (j)	00/00/97	No further information available	Insein Prison Yangon
24	Ma Thida Win dob c. 1969	Tutor, Mandalay University, from Monywa	7 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 (j)	00/00/97	She is believed to suffer from partial paralysis	Tharawaddy Prison, Bago Division
25	Cho Mar aka Daw Cho Cho Mar	NLD Youth member from Kamaryut, Rgn	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 (j)	00/00/97	No further information available	Insein Prison, Yangon

26	Kyu Kyu San	NLD Youth member from Sanchaung Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 [j]	00/00/97	No further information available	Insein Prison, Yangon
27	Daw San San Win dob 25/12/45	Supreme Court lawyer; NLD MP elect for Ahlone, Yangon	20 years	00/00/97	No further information available. She was previously imprisoned between 1990 and 1992 under charges of high treason on account of her alleged participation in discussions about the formation of a parallel government, after military authorities failed to recognize election results.	Insein Prison, Yangon
28	Daw Ni dob c. 1937	villager from West Pathein Township, Ayeyarwady Division	not known	06/01/97	She was reportedly imprisoned after being unable to provide labor or money when requested by authorities to participate in the building of a road.	Pathein Prison, Ayeyarwady Division
29	Daw Khin Ma Than aka Nge Ma Ma Than	NLD from Yangon	10 1950 EPA Section 5 [j] UAA 17/1	00/06/97	She was sentenced with her brother and husband, allegedly in connection with a video of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi speaking about Karen refugees that was smuggled out of Myanmar. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience.	Insein Prison, Yangon Division

30	Daw May Win Myint dob 08/03/50	former medical doctor, NLD MP elect, Mayangone 2, Yangon Division, and NLD divisional organizer	6 years 1950 EPA, section 5 [j]	28/10/97	Daw May Win Myint was sentenced after an attempt by the NLD to hold a meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and NLD Youth in Mayangone Township. She is reported to have been deprived of drinking water and to have been manhandled during interrogation. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience.	Insein Prison, Yangon
31	Ma Win Win Htay	NLD Youth member from Kyauktada, Yangon Division	6 years 1950 EPA, section 5 [j]	28/10/97	As above. She was not given access to lawyers or family members before her trial. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience.	Insein Prison, Yangon
32	Daw Saw Hlaing	from Henzada Township, Ayeyarwady Division	7 years	31/10/97	She is reported to have been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment with hard labor for allowing an NLD MP-elect to stay in her house without registering as a visitor. It is believed that her sentence is politically motivated.	Not known
33	Daw San San dob 10/01/30	NLD MP elect, Seikkan, Yangon, Deputy Divisional Organizer, NLD Women's group member,	25 years	00/11/97	She is reported to have been arrested after authorities prevented an NLD meeting in Mayangone from taking place. Officials stated that she was arrested for her involvement in anti-government activities, such as *providing false information to foreign media and taking a lead role in anti-government mass rallies.* Daw San San had reportedly conducted an	Insein Prison Yangon

		former civil servant and marine biologist			interview on an internationally broadcast radio program, during which she was critical of the authorities. Authorities reportedly tried to force her to promise to end political activities, and when she would not comply she was made to serve the rest of a previous prison term of 25 years imprisonment. She had been released from prison in 1992, after serving one year of a 25 years sentence for participating in discussions about the formation of a parallel government. Her release was on condition that she would not get involved in politics. AI considers her to be a prisoner of conscience.	
34	Su Su Win aka Ma Su Su	All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU), from Mingalataungn yunt, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA section 5 (j)	00/02/98	Su Su Win was reportedly sentenced without legal representation at a trial with 40 co-defendants, who were charged with planning to bomb embassies in Yangon, and to assassinate SPDC leaders. She is reported to have been charged on account of her alleged involvement in the preparation of a written history of the student movement in Myanmar.	Insein Prison, Yangon
35	Khin Moe Aye	ABFSU from Kyauktada, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA, section 5 (j)	00/01/98	As above	Insein Prison, Yangon
36	Khin Mi Mi Khine	NLD Youth Thingangyun, Rangoon	7 years 1950 EPA, section 5 (j)	00/00/98	no further information	Insein Prison, Yangon

37	Daw Lae Lae, aka Lait Lait, dob 1971	thought to be NLD - associated, Mayangone Yangon	10 years	00/00/98	Daw Lae Lae is thought to have been arrested in connection with NLD calls to convene parliament in September 1998.		Shwebo Prison, Sagaing Division
38	Ma Tin Mar Ni	former Democratic Party for a New Society (DPNS): a student political group.	7 years 1950 EPA, section 5 [j]	00/07/98	She was arrested in a crackdown on opposition activists and students, after student demonstrations and the National League for Democracy's call for the convening of parliament in September 1998. Student demonstrations called for the convening of parliament and the release of student political prisoners arrested for demonstrating in 1996. They also protested the relocation of the university campus to smaller campuses in remote places and the fact that students were required to take exams after a 7 day crash course covering the last two years' curriculum, during which period universities had been closed.		Mandalay Prison, Mandalay Division
39	Ma Ohn Mar	as above	7 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 [j]	00/07/98	as above		Mandalay Prison, Mandalay Division
40	Ma Mya Sabae Moe	student from Hlaing college	7, 14 or 21 years	00/09/98	As above.		Shwebo Prison

	dob c. 1975		1950 EPA, Section 5 (j) UAA 17/1		She was also detained after student demonstrations in Yangon in December 1996	Sagaing Division or Mandalay Prison Mandalay Division
41	Ma Kyi Kyi Win dob c. 1963	student and NLD Youth member, Kyimindine, Yangon	7 or 14 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 (j)	00/09/98	As above. She was also detained after student demonstrations in Yangon in December 1996.	Mandalay Prison, Mandalay
42	Ma Hnin Mya Aung	NLD	7 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 (j)	00/09/98	As above	Insein Prison, Yangon Division
43	Ma Chan Mya Aung	NLD	7 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 (j)	00/09/98	As above	Insein Prison, Yangon Division
44	Ma Kyi Kyi Mar	NLD Youth from Sanchaung, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 (j)	00/09/98	As above	Insein Prison Yangon
45	Daw Aye Myint Than	NLD, from Thingangyun, Yangon	7 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 (j)	00/09/98	As above. It is believed that she was sent to Insein for her peaceful political activities as a member of	Myaungmya Prison, Ayeyarwady

					the NLD, and for possessing NLD materials. Her daughter, Hnin May Aung, is also in detention.	Division
46	Hnin May Aung	student from Thingangyun, Yangon	42 years 1950 EPA Section 5 [j]. 17/1 of UAA	00/00/98	As above	Mandalay Prison or Myingyan Prison, Mandalay Division
47	Ma Khin Cho Myint aka Zalu	Student (Yangon University, Physics) from Kamaryut, Yangon	7 or 10 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 [j]	00/09/98	As above She was reportedly tortured in detention	Mawlamyin e Prison, Mon State
48	Aye Aye Swe	student from Kyimindine, Yangon	10 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 [j]	00/09/98	As above	Pathein Prison, Ayeyarwady Division
49	Ma Zin Mar Aung	NLD Youth from North Okalappa Yangon Division	7 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 [j]	00/09/98	As above	Mandalay Prison, Mandalay
50	Ma Cho Mar Twe	NLD from Kamaryut.	7 years 1950 EPA.	28/09/98	As above	Insein Prison,

		Yangon	Section 5 (j)			Rangoon Division
51	Swe Swe Win	student	10 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 (j)	00/09/98	As above	Insein Prison, Yangon Division
52	Aye Aye Moe	from Thingangyun, Yangon	10 or 8 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 (j)	00/09/98	As above	Insein Prison, Yangon Division
53	Mar Mar Oo	Student, Mandalay	7 years 1950 EPA 5j	00/12/98	She is believed to have been previously detained for three years between 1989 and 1992.	Insein Prison, Yangon
54	Ma Kyi Kyi Khin dob c. 1966	former ABFSU	7 years 1950 EPA 5(j)	00/00/98	She was previously detained for eighteen months in 1990 in connection with her peaceful activities for the ABFSU.	Pathein Prison, Ayeyarwady Division
55	Dr Daw Shwe Bo dob c. 1950	former medical doctor, NLD member from Bago Division	life 1950 EPA, section 5 (j); UAA, Section 17/1	00/07/99	She was arrested allegedly in connection with a march that had been planned to commemorate the assassination of General Aung San and reportedly to support the National League for Democracy, the lowering of food prices and revision of civil servants salaries. She was sentenced in a special trial in Insein Prison under charges of association with the All Burma Students Democratic	Not known

						Front. She was formerly a Township medical officer, but was reportedly required to resign after becoming a member of the National League for Democracy.	
56	Ma Thida Htwe dob c. 1971	teacher	life or 35 years 1950 EPA, section 5 (j); UAA, Section 17/1 and 17/2	23/07/99	As above		Not known
57	Ma Khin Khin Leh dob 1966	teacher	life	00/07/99 1950 EPA, section 5 (j); UAA, Section 17/1	As above. She was arrested allegedly in connection with her husband's activities at the above mentioned march. Her three year old daughter was arrested at the same time, and was held in custody for up to five days. She is believed to be suffering from lung disease, and was reportedly tortured during interrogation.		Not known
58	Daw Aye Than aka Ama Gyi	trader from Thathone Township, Mon State.	25 years	28/07/99	Authorities reportedly charged her with distributing within Myanmar pro-democracy information published by opposition groups. Her three sisters were also sentenced to one year's imprisonment after authorities alleged that they had withheld information about the time that Daw Aye Than had visited their houses. They have reportedly been released.		Not known

59	Daw Tin Win Kyi	from Zegya Market, Mandalay	5 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 [e]	08/09/99	Daw Tin Win Kyi and her two sisters Daw Tin Tin Aye and Daw Khin Kyi Kyi were arrested for wearing t-shirts with yellow stickers of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. They were arrested on the day before 9 September, on which opposition student groups had called for a popular unrising against military authorities. It is believed that they were denied legal counsel at the time of their trial.	Mandalay Prison, Mandalay Division
60	Daw Tin Tin Aye	from Zegya Market, Mandalay	5 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 [e]	08/09/99	as above	Mandalay Prison, Mandalay Division
61	Daw Khin Kyi Kyi	from Mandalay, Mandalay Division	5 years 1950 EPA, Section 5 [e]	00/09/99	as above	Mandalay Prison, Mandalay Division

14. The Situation of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons

14.1 Background

There have been remarkable increases in the Burmese populations along the Thai-Burma border over the past several years, which appear to have accelerated since 1995. Widespread human rights violations in Burma's ethnic minority areas have had a significant impact on neighboring countries, particularly Thailand, Bangladesh, and India. Refugee populations in the established camps have remained relatively stable, at roughly 120,000 persons, largely Karen and Karenni. In addition, however, there are approximately 1.2 million migrant workers from Burma in Thailand, newly arrived refugees without formal refugee status, and an estimated one million internally displaced persons (IDPs) still inside Burma. The continuing economic downturn throughout Asia has affected Thailand's abilities to cope with the new refugees, as it is faced with widespread unemployment and other problems.

While the numbers of both internally displaced persons in Burma and migrants to Thailand has grown, the demographic shifts have been perhaps more marked than the absolute numbers. Populations crossing to Thailand now include many more whole families, including the elderly and children, than in the past. Also, more of the migrants are not from areas of ethnic armed forces (such as Karen or Shan areas); they are urban and rural Burmese from areas including Moulmein and Thaton in Mon State, the Irrawaddy Divisions, Bassein, and from as far as Arakan. These groups have been forced to flee largely due to the additive effects of demands for forced labor, heavy corruption, taxation, impoverishment, and theft or confiscation of property, livestock and land.

Rampant systematic human rights abuses have driven at least a million people away from the security of their homes in Burma. Their flight, however, does not guarantee their safety. Many refugees risk terrible dangers on their journey towards the border, or when crossing the border itself, and they later face further human rights violations, such as the forcible return from the country in which they have sought asylum. Refugees from Burma are in double jeopardy: at home, and as refugees abroad.

Refugees from Burma are still today living in camps strung along the Burma's border areas with other countries. Some Mon asylum seekers have been "repatriated" across the border, but continue to live in camps in areas protected by a cease-fire agreement with the SPDC and the New Mon State Party. They fear returning to their original homes because of the continuing human rights abuses by the SPDC troops, including forced relocation and forced labor, both of which make a sustainable livelihood for subsistence farmers nearly impossible.

For the first time since the first refugees crossed Burma into Thailand sixteen years ago, Thailand's Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai announced in March 1999 that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR) would be allowed to play a role in managing aid for refugees and administrating the camps. In August 1999, the Thai National

Security Council announced that Thailand would repatriate 90,000 Burmese displaced persons within three year.

14.2 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

The SPDC policies toward ethnic peoples, most notably the forced relocation and forced resettlement of many populations in the ethnic Shan, Karen and Karenni areas, have led to large numbers of internally displaced persons within Burma. The majority of the IDPs is in the areas close to Thai-Burma border and an unknown number in widely dispersed areas including Naga Hills, the Chin States, Arakan, and central Burma. What little is known concerning IDPs is best understood in the Shan and Karen areas, and this is due, at least in part, to the information and organizational capability provided by non-cease-fire groups. Many of the IDPs in the Thai-Burma border area are villagers who have fled or been driven out of their home communities and survive in hiding, living in the forest or hill tracts to avoid detection. They live without security, regular food, or access to medical services, and many are in heavily land-mined area. They are in the most severe health situations, with widespread malnutrition and under-nutrition, chronic insecurity, and high exposure to forest illnesses, including malaria and other infectious diseases. Most survive on bamboo shoots and other forest foods markedly lacking in protein. These groups are generally villagers who have been targeted for forced relocation programs but do not want to leave their land. They move into hiding in forest tracks, generally near their home villages and attempt to evade SPDC patrols.

The health and humanitarian challenges for these populations are staggering, and the unmet health needs diverse and changing. The constraints under which such services must currently be provided are also many and varied. Morbidity and mortality are extremely high. The displaced villagers are always fleeing from one place to another to avoid the patrols. Some villagers say they won't build a proper shelter with a raised floor until rainy season, because in dry season the SPDC patrols are almost certain to find and burn it. They have no change of clothing and few or no blankets, and have to sleep around fires in temperatures, which can drop to ten degrees Celsius or lower at this time of year. They have no medicines and speak of treating gunshot wounds by applying sesame oil after saying incantations.

These villagers don't dare go down into the plains for fear of arrest as 'insurgents', and it is difficult or impossible for most of them to get to Thailand because they would have to pass through all of northern Papun district, where SPDC troops have destroyed even more villages and are patrolling to shoot villagers on sight.

14.3 Thai Policy towards refugees from Burma

Thailand allowed waves of Karen refugees fleeing Burma to stay in camps along Thailand's western border, from 1984 to mid-1990s. Despite the fact that Thailand is not a party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugee or its 1967 Protocol, it is a member of the inter-governmental Executive Committee of the Program of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR Excom). This body, which meets once a

year in Geneva, oversees the work of the UNHCR and adopts conclusions regarding issues of refugee protection and assistance. It is the only international forum where refugee issues are discussed in a comprehensive manner, and its conclusions represent an authoritative international consensus regarding standards of refugee protection. Ironically, all refugees who are present in Thailand without authorization are branded as "illegal immigrants" and risk being of forcibly repatriated to their country of origin at any time. In fact, Thailand also has obligations based on customary international law (including the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and various other human rights treaties to which it is a signatory) not to send the refugees back to Burma where they are likely to face persecution (the principle of non-refoulement).

In 1997, Thai authorities declared that Thailand could provide asylum only to those "fleeing fighting". This was clearly interpreted as those "fleeing immediate armed combat," and since the ethnic armies were deemed to have been defeated, almost no new arrivals were considered to fit the asylum criteria. The Thai National Security Council formally defined its policy as "providing temporary asylum to displaced persons fleeing fighting", which resulted in a de facto "no new refugees policy" in many camps. This policy was despite the fact that new refugees continued to cross the border and enter the camps near northern Karen State and Karenni camps, the vast majority of whom were fleeing from numerous human rights abuses such as extra-judicial killing, forced labor and forced relocation. Thus, at any time the Thai army can refuse access to the camps; however, new arrivals continue to enter the camps, keeping a low profile.

In the past few years, several of the camps along the border have been attacked by SPDC troops and the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army, a breakaway group that split from the Karen National Union (KNU) in 1994 and allied itself with the SPDC. The proximity of the camps to the border makes them especially vulnerable, and as part of their mandate of protection, the UNHCR is also involved in relocating those camps a safe distance away from the border. Royal Thai Army has faced increasing criticism for its inability to protect the ethnic refugees in camps from cross-border attack by the SPDC troops. Army Chief Gen. Surayud Chulanont, since he took over this powerful position in 1998, has adopted a no-nonsense policy on the Thai-Burmese border. Any border incursions by the Burmese forces are responded with the strongest measures possible. The security forces have been instructed to be professional and to avoid shady transactions. Transparency along border areas has since increased tremendously.

In March 1998, Thailand's Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai announced that the UNHCR would be allowed to play a role in managing aid for refugees and administering the camps. The Thai government made the following comment about UNHCR role; "Thailand will also facilitate their return to their homeland with safety and dignity ..... The UNHCR's role will cover four important areas of work, namely, to witness the process of admission, to assist the Thai authorities in registration, to assist the Thai authorities and give suggestion (if any) on the relocation of temporary shelter areas, and to assist the Myanmar displaced persons for their safe return." In June 1998, the Thai government formally requested UNHCR's assistance in caring for some over 100,000 refugees from Burma accommodated in 13 camps scattered along the Thai-Burma border. UNHCR acceded to this request and decided that the agency's role should focus primarily on protection monitoring. Since then, the UNHCR has established offices and staff in Mae Sod, Mae Hong Son and Kanchanaburi,

gained access to the camps, and begun implementing its programs to fulfill its mandate of protection.

In January 1999,before the full details of UNHCR's role had been decided upon and before permanent staff were in their field office, the agency faced two situations where the Thai authorities were threatening to repatriate new arrivals from Burma. In Karenni camp 2 and Hway Kaloke Karen refugee camp, the Thai authorities rounded up new arrivals and announced that they would be sent back to Burma. In both situations, NGO and UNHCR staff intervened and prevented the threatened repatriation. Though they excluded UNHCR from the process in the Karenni camp, the Thai authorities agreed to jointly interview the new arrivals with UNHCR staff in the Karen camp to determine if they were legitimate refugees.

In July 1999, Thailand invited the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to play a bigger role in taking care of the Burmese refugees living in settlements along the Thai-Burmese border. UNHCR and other international relief organizations have assisted Thailand to cope with its refugee problems on humanitarian grounds. These border refugees have from time to time been resettled in new camps deep inside the Thai territory to ensure that they would be safe from possible attacks and incursions from the Burmese military. In August 1999, the Thai National Security Council announced that Thailand would repatriate 90,000 Burmese displaced persons within three year.

14.4 Reception of new arrivals in 1999

In 1999, the Thai authorities initiated a new official process for refugee reception, status determination, and camp registration for new refugee arrivals. The process is intended to proceed through three main steps. At the reception center, local Ministry of Interior (MOI) officials are to interview the refugees. The material collected in the interviews is then to be submitted to a provincial admission board consisting of representatives of various local government offices. The board is empowered to review the cases on a group basis and to determine if the applicants are refugees or economic migrants. If the applicants are rejected, they have the right to appeal the decision. Following the final decision, refugees are to be registered and admitted to a camp and economic migrants are to be deported. The Thai government's willingness to take greater responsibility for the status determination of refugees is commendable, but significant obstacles remain to hinder the full operational ability of the provincial admission boards.

Refugees are required to report to reception centers, but at many points along the long border, no such centers exist. Though they are not figured into the relief calculus, the new refugees do receive assistance from private humanitarian relief organizations. In other places, reception centers are located at insecure sites. On April 21, the Thai army moved 757 Karenni refugees who were living on the edge of a camp in Mae Hong Son province to a site closer to the border overlooked by SPDC military bunkers. Reception centers must be accessible to newly arriving refugees, but locating a reception center close to a SPDC military position poses grave risks to the refugees, especially given the history of SPDC attacks on camps.

After reporting to reception centers, refugees are interviewed by local MOI officials. UNHCR also conducts its own informal interviews. The MOI data is submitted to the

provincial admission board and the board then makes a determination on whether the applicants will receive temporary asylum, The board is mandated to rule on thousands of refugees as one group. If the group is denied entry into the camps, they may appeal the decision as a group. This system of group screening violates international standards. Although refugees can be admitted on a group basis where a receiving country is facing a mass influx of people and individual determinations are logistically impossible, rejection of applicants on a group basis is not acceptable. Screening of refugees must be conducted on a case by case basis.

Because of the inconsistent application of criteria in status determination, the boards have already rejected some refugees while accepting other who have fled under similar circumstances. In September 1999, the Tak admission board rejected a portion of 1,800 new arrivals. The majority of those rejected were persons not fleeing immediate fighting but the forced relocation and destruction of their home villages. It was reported that 152 refugees were rejected by the same board in December. The Ratchaburi admission board, did, however, decide to admit 1,000 refugees who fled a mid-January SPDC offensive. The official role of UNHCR in the admission procedures is as an observer only. The Thai government has not formally invited UNHCR to intervene in cases

On January 28 1999, Thai authorities entered Huay Kaloke (also known as Wangka) refugee camp near Mae Sot and announced that they would start the process of counting the refugees in the camp. They started by asking the camp authorities to gather the non-registered newly arrived refugees in the church. When the group of 808 new arrivals was gathered, the soldiers began asking many questions, and were especially antagonistic toward the Burman refugees.

The next month, Thai authorities threatened repatriation to the newly arrived refugees from Burma. On February 29, 1999, the new arrivals were once again asked to gather in the church by the Thai area chief, army, and the border task force No. 34. As the refugees came together, six 10-wheel army trucks converged on the site and it became clear that the Thai authorities intended to repatriate these newly arrived refugees, despite the dry-season offensive by the SPDC that forced many of them to flee in the first place. With the Thai trucks ready to go, Non-Governmental Organizations and representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) arrived at the camp and appealed to the Thai authorities not to send the refugees back to Burma. The advocates for the refugees urged the Thais to at least wait to allow UNHCR to interview the new arrivals and determine if they are legitimate refugees, stating they would need at least a week to complete the process. The discussion ended with the Thai authorities leaving the camp but not committing to calling off the forced repatriation. The situation remained in limbo, and the NGO's and UNHCR monitored the situation over that weekend.

14.5 Partial list of the Instances of Border Incursions

♦ On May 2, 1999, early in the morning, around 20 troops of SPDC and DKBA troops stormed Ban Nam Piang Din police station located about two kilometers from the Thai-Burmese border, with grenades and automatic gunfire. After the attack, which badly damaged the police station, the intruders pulled back into Burma with three Thai hostages who were later released unharmed.

♦ On July 23, 1999, a 60-man company of Burmese troops intruded into Mai Sa Peh

village of Mae Hong Son, three kilometers inside Thailand to snatch four refugees. The Burmese intruders beat a Thai villager with rifle butts when he tried to intervene in the kidnapping. The arrested people included three Karenni and a Burmese, one of them a 16-year-old boy. They all were released on August 2, 1999 after several rounds of talks between border police and Burmese troops and a plea from a missionary in Rangoon. Burma presumably wanted them for information about the anti-Rangoon resistance, and torture was most likely involved.

♦ On August 28, 1999, about 20 armed men from the pro-Rangoon DKBA (Democratic Karen Buddhist Army) crossed the border to Ban Rain Don Chai in Tambon Mae Dao of Mae Sot district at about 4am. They fired on shops and a border observation post with rifles and M79 grenade launchers for nearly an hour. Malik Nakacharn, 44, a shop owner, received a shrapnel wound in the leg and was later admitted to Mae Sot Hospital.

14.6 Relocation of refugee camps

14,000 people from Huay Kaloke camp and Mawker camps near Mae Sod were moved to Um Phaing of Tak district in October and November 1999. Both of these camps had been burned by SPDC troops in 1997 and 1998. Due to these instances, and the security problems that arise from being so close to the Burmese border, Thai authorities planned to relocate both camps further from the border after the last invasion in February, 1998. These camps were supposed to have moved during the dry season of 1999, but due to various delays, relocation did not start until the rains had already begun.

14.7 New arrival of Karen refugees into Thailand in 1999

A small group of just over 100 refugees managed to make this difficult journey and arrived in Ban Zala refugee camp in Thailand on January 10, 1999. Many of these were from Ler Wah and Tee Mu Hta villages of Ler Doh Township, both of which were shelled and burned by SPDC troops in November 1998. The troops also shot at the villagers and burned the entire rice supplies of many families in these villages, giving them little option but to flee for Thailand.

Since mid-August 1999, new flows of refugees have begun arriving at the Thai border from Karen villages in southeastern Pa-an District, central Karen State. Over 100 families, totalling well over 500 people, have arrived thus far and they say that many more will follow. Those who have arrived so far come from the villages of Pah Klu, Taw Oak, Tee Hsah Ra, Kyaw Ko, Tee Wah Thay, Tee Khoh Taw, Tee Wah Klay, B'Naw Kleh Kee and Ker Ghaw, most of which are within 2-3 days' walk of the border. They have fled through heavy rains along washed-out and treacherous pathways which can best be compared to mud-holes, making it almost impossible to make it over the hills which are on the way. The rains also make it impossible to find shelter along the route or to find materials to build shelter once they arrive anywhere. Because of these factors, villagers usually avoid fleeing at this time of year at all costs, so their flight in itself indicates the desperate situation they must be facing in their villages.

Some villagers said that they were told the SPDC has already issued an order that all villages in the Meh Pleh Hta area are to be cleared out and that all villagers remaining

there will be shot on sight. Other villagers said that they have been informed by the DKBA units in their area that two SPDC Light Infantry Divisions are coming to the area to clear all villages; that all villagers will be forced to move into the center of their villages and will be guarded there by SPDC troops, and that SPDC patrols will take the villagers and march them in front of the soldiers to set off any landmines. The DKBA reportedly told village elders in Pah Klu that the SPDC troops are coming to kill all of the villagers.

Villagers who arrived to Thailand in 1999 from Pa-an district said that increasing numbers of SPDC troops have been arriving in their villages, looting their belongings and taking all of their rice and livestock. SPDC troops have already destroyed all of the villagers' farmfield huts in the area of B'Naw Kleh Kee village, and this is the middle of the rice-growing season when villagers need to live in their farmfield huts. SPDC LIB 310 and 102 have occupied the area of Pah Klu and Taw Oak villages, and the SPDC LIB 9 and 2 have occupied the area of Ker Ghaw and Kyaw Ko villages. Villagers complain that though they have already paid heavy fees to avoid forced labor as porters, these troops are still rounding them up as porters, and it is usually the porters who are used as human minesweepers. The situation is particularly bad in Pah Klu village, where another group of unidentified SPDC soldiers has also arrived. This group wears short pants and other civilian clothing, and spends most of their time trying to rape the women of the village. Women who have fled the village say that this group is always trying to call women to come to their camp, and they come into the village at night looking for women. As a result, the women of the village began gathering to sleep in groups at night, and if the soldiers came they would shout and sometimes wave knives at them to scare them away. However, the women say they could no longer dare stay in Pah Klu village under these conditions so they fled with their families.

Refugees continue to arrive at the Thai border fleeing these abuses once they can no longer survive in their villages or home areas. Many of those who have arrived most recently have come from southeastern Pa-an District, near the Thai border in central Karen State. In the past, very few new refugees have arrived in Thailand in monsoon season because SPDC troops tend to be less active and flight with children and belongings along the washed-out muddy and steep paths in the heavy rain is almost impossible. However, these people have been showing up at the Thai border during one of the wettest rainy seasons in recent times, an indication that SPDC troops are now very active in the monsoon season and also of how desperate the situation of these villagers must have become. The new refugee said they are fleeing because the SPDC military has announced that it will clear out all villages in their region by December and shoot anyone who remains. They say that already more troops are arriving, looting their villages and raping women in some villages. They also fear being taken as porters by the SPDC troops, particularly because this region is heavily landmined by the SPDC, the DKBA and the KNLA and the SPDC marches villagers in front of their columns as human minesweepers.

New Karen refugees into Ratchaburi

On May 7, 1999, some 300 Karen refugees have fled into Suan Pueng district of Ratchaburi following a clash between the Karen rebels and Burmese troops.

The refugees, mostly women, elders and children, crossed over via Pong Haeng border pass and Ban Purakam. A rapid deployment unit of Rangoon troops which has been

on the offensive against the Karen National Union guerrillas, clashed some five kilometers from the border opposite Tambon Tanaosri, sending local Burmese fleeing for their lives.

Thai authorities later moved them to a makeshift camp deeper inside Thai territory to avoid possible attack by SPDC soldiers. On May 12, provincial authorities transported them to a temporary shelter in Suan Phung district. The refugees and Thai security officers said they were confused as to why the SPDC troops had launched such a heavy attack against their village. There were no Karen rebel soldiers in the area to provoke the SPDC army. Aid workers, including the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and doctors from Medicins Sans Frontiers, were on standby at the makeshift camp to assist the refugees, most of whom are women and children. They all were sent back to Burma in July by the Thai authorities.

New arrivals of Karenni refugees into Thailand in 1999

Since January of 1999 over 1,500 villagers from the Karenni areas have arrived in Thailand seeking refuge. The majority of new arrivals are coming from the Shadaw area but some people are coming from other areas, such as the Mawchi and Loikaw areas. Thus far all of the arriving refugees have been allowed into the refugee camps by the Thai officials but there is often a delay before the Thai officials will permit aid to be taken into the camps for the new arrivals. There are still serious concerns over camp security, especially after the refugee camp known as Karenni Camp 2, which was attacked by the Karenni National Democratic Army (KNDA), a 'splinter' organization aligned with the SPDC, in January 1997. On May 2, 1999 Burmese soldiers attacked a Thai police post in Mae Hong Son province and left evidence that would point to the Karenni group (KNDA) as the perpetrators. Mae Hong Son has a total of six refugee camps along the Thai-Burmese border. In light of this most recent event and attempted deception, security in and around the camps is of high concern.

For people in northern and central Karenni State, the flight to the Thai border is extremely difficult and dangerous; it takes several weeks travelling with the entire family, there is little or no prospect of food being available along the way, and there is always the possibility of encountering an SPDC patrol. However, many have been making the trip. Immediately following the first wave of relocations in mid-1996, about 3,000 people arrived at existing Karenni refugee camps in Thailand. A few months later another 1,300 arrived, and then the flow decreased to a trickle as most people settled in to live in hiding in the forest or were effectively blocked from escape by SPDC troops. However, since January 1999 approximately 1,500 people have arrived in the refugee camps, most of them fleeing the Shadaw area of north-central Karenni. Some have been living in hiding in the forest for one to three years and fled because they could no longer produce or obtain any food. Others recently fled relocation sites back to the forests around their villages, but quickly found that there was no food to be had there and that SPDC patrols posed a constant danger. Most of the new arrivals are in very bad physical shape when they reach the border, sick, weak from the journey and emaciated from lack of food. There have also been handfuls of new arrivals from the Mawchi area; many more from this area would like to flee, but it is twice the distance of the trip from northern Karenni and twice as difficult and dangerous to travel, and there are few or no people available who can guide them along the way.

One of the major problems in getting from the jungle to the Thai border is that people simply don't know which way to go. In particular, the people in the southwest corner of Karenni, around Mawchi, have a very long way to go to get to the Thai border and the threat of being seen and killed is all too real. The fear and distrust that the Army patrols have engendered in the villagers living in the forest also poses a problem for those wishing to find refuge in Thailand. The villagers are afraid to confront or join with one another for fear of informers or detection and this reduces their options when looking for people to help lead them towards the Thai border. KNPP soldiers often help the villagers to find their way, but there are a lot of areas which the KNPP soldiers can't reach. Often villagers will follow merchants who have been previously to the Thai border. Some of the villagers in the north of Karenni State head into Shan State to find their way to Thailand, but that route is no easier to travel. The trip offers many obstacles which pose a particular problem for the sick and elderly. There are many hills on the way to the border, rivers have no bridges, and the boats that were once available to ferry people across are gone. When the villagers are fleeing to the Thai border, they have to travel at night and away from roads to avoid detection by the Army. One common meeting point for villagers who are fleeing seems to be along the banks of the Salween River. Many villagers have reported joining larger groups of people by the river and then continuing to Thailand together.

Most of the new arrivals have been accepted into the refugee camps by Thai authorities, most of them in a site called Karenni Camp 2. There are serious concerns over the safety of this site. The camp is just a twenty minutes' walk from an SPDC Army post across the border, and has been attacked before by SPDC-backed forces. The attack occurred on January 3, 1997; three refugees were killed and nine others were wounded, and there was no attempt by Thai forces to defend the camp.

14.8 Situation of Shan Refugees

In March 1996, SPDC delineated a huge area of central Shan State and ordered the forced relocation and destruction of every village in the region, whether or not these villages had had any contact with Shan armed groups. Over 700 villages were relocated and destroyed, with well over 100,000 people displaced. Throughout 1997 and 1998 the SPDC expanded the target area and also forced people who had already been moved to relocate again into larger sites under more direct military control. By mid-1998, over 1,400 villages in eight Townships had been forcibly relocated and destroyed, displacing a population of at least 300,000 people. Tens of thousands of people were struggling to survive in relocation sites throughout the region, foraging for food and begging from cars passing on the roads. The SPDC provided them nothing. Those who tried to hide in the forests around their villages were shot on sight by SPDC patrols.

Due to the difficulty of survival, many villagers are fleeing relocation sites or deciding not to go there at all when their villages are relocated. People often return to the jungle near their former villages, where they are able to forage for food in deserted villages or farm small plots of land in remote locations where they are unlikely to be discovered by SPDC troops. While fighting off the threat of starvation, the daily life of these villagers rotates on the axis of fear. They must constantly evade SPDC troops on patrol, and those who are discovered are most often executed on sight. In the past few villagers have opted to brave

a life in the jungle, as SPDC columns regularly patrol the areas looking for 'rebels' and shoot all villagers that they see. Now, however, the dwindling population in the relocation sites indicates that people are exhausted by the struggle to survive the desperate conditions inside them and would rather brave the dangers of living in hiding in the forest than live under such abuses.

In order to survive, well over 100,000 Shan villagers have fled into Thailand in the past four years. During January and February of 1999, at least 1,100-1,200 people per month from Murng-Kerng, Lai-Kha, Paang Long (in Loi-Lem), Murng Nawng (in Kae-See), Kun-Hing, Nam-Zarng, Murng Pawn (in Loi-Lem), Murng-Nai, Murng-Pan and Larng-Khur of central Shan State moved to the eastern side of the river Salween, to the border areas and to Thailand. They fled because of the unfair rice procurement policy by the SPDC, increasing demands of conscription of forced labor and excessive restrictions of movement against them. People are not allowed to go beyond three miles from towns to cultivate crops, making it very difficult for those who have been forcibly relocated over the past 2-3 years because there is usually no land available for them to cultivate within three miles of the towns. Those who go beyond the set limit are severely punished and sometimes shot dead.

The SPDC troops they encounter along the way usually allow them to go, happy to see the Shan population leaving Burma. At some border camps the soldiers even confiscate the National Identity Cards of refugees heading for the border, so that the SPDC can claim in future that they never lived in Burma. The Shan call themselves Tai Yai and are related to the Thais, with similarities in language and culture. There are no refugee camps for them so they cross the border in silent droves, slipping into the illegal Thai labor market on rural farms and in big cities. With nothing to protect them, many are sold into bonded labor or slavery in brothels, sweatshops, or the households of the rich and influential in Thailand. Even so, most of them say they would rather face these risks than attempt to survive the forced relocations. At one monitored border crossing alone in Fang district of northern Thailand, approximately 1,000-1,200 new refugees are now crossing each month. Their swelling numbers have flooded the job market near the border, making it harder to find illegal work to survive and forcing many to head further into Thailand, which exponentially increases their risk of arrest or entrapment into slavery. At the same time, the Thai authorities have been cracking down on illegal labor, making it even more difficult for the Shan refugees to avoid arrest, abuse and possible deportation. Many have called for refugee camps to be established for them, but the Thai authorities refuse to consider creating any new refugee camps on the grounds that it would create a 'pull factor'. Very few foreign governments or agencies are willing to stand up for the Shan villagers, viewing them as though they are all 'narcotics producers' simply because most of Burma's heroin and methamphetamines come from Shan State. In reality, virtually all of the refugees are rice and fruit farmers and have no connection whatsoever to opium, heroin or methamphetamine production.

Since the beginning of the forced relocations in 1996 there has been an unending stream of Shan villagers fleeing across the border into Thailand, as villagers try, and fail, to survive in relocation sites or fear the hazards of hiding in the jungle. Although they have heard of both the advantages and hardships of migrant work in Thailand, in the final analysis they believe they are safer there than inside Burma. People attempt the journey in various ways, from walking to floating in rafts down the Salween River, to paying exorbitant bribes

to passenger truck drivers. A journey to Thailand will commonly wipe out a family's savings; one recent arrival said he had to pay 10,000 *Kyat* for each member of the family to get to the border. The main crossing points for Shan, Pa-O, Palaung, and Lahu refugees from Shan State are on the border of Fang Province, where over 1,000 refugees continue to cross each month. In 1997 the SPDC started confiscating the National Identity Cards of all Shans and other minority groups heading for Thailand at the final checkpoints on the Burmese side, issuing receipts and saying that they could reclaim them when they crossed the border again. This is a disturbing tactic, which the SPDC also used in the case of the Muslim Rohingyas when they fled from Arakan State to Bangladesh in 1992. Should the refugees later decide to return home, the SPDC can deny that they have never lived in Burma. The lenient treatment that Shans encounter when crossing the border with all their possessions, quite obviously intending not to return, reveals the SPDC's willingness to expel the Shan from the area.

14.9 Situation of Mon Refugees

From November 1999 to January 2000, about 200 villagers arrived near a Mon returned refugees resettlement area, Halockhani, and took refuge there, as they were not allowed to cross the border and take refuge in Ban Ton Yang refugee camp. Ban Ton Yang was established about 2 years ago and is situated in Sangkhlaburi district of Kanchanaburi province in Thailand.

14.10 The Situation of dissident activists from Burma in Thailand

After the Burmese Embassy in Bangkok was seized by five armed Burmese members of the Vigorous Burmese Student Warriors (VBSW) in October 1999, Thai authorities cracked down on Burmese activists in Thailand, tightening control and trying to speed up the resettlement process for those wanting to go to third countries. Thai authorities apparently have made a decision to reduce the number of Burmese asylum seekers in Bangkok and other urban centers and to regulate more closely the movements of Burmese asylum seekers in the country.

This direction in Thai policy is in part a response to the sieges of the Burmese Embassy and the Ratchaburi Hospital in January 2000. These events led to pressure from within the government for Thailand's security agencies to consolidate and improve their intelligence collection capacity and reduce future threats. Measures employed toward the achievement of greater security have had serious implications for Burmese urban refugees in Thailand.

Burmese activists who had received 'Persons of Concern' status from the UNHCR were given until November 21 to register to enter the Maneeloy Special Holding Center in Ratchaburi province to be later resettled in a third country. Those who did not register by the deadline would be treated as illegal immigrants and subject to deportation. Australia, Canada, the United States and number of European Union countries responded positively and have since resettled hundreds of the activists. In November 1999, the Thai authorities announced that it was closing Maneeloy and has allowed only a handful of refugees to enter the center since then. Even persons UNCHR determined to be refugees, or those who had been in

immigration detention were denied access when the deadline passed. UNHCR said it could provide neither protection nor assistance in Bangkok because the Thai authorities considers anyone living outside of the camp to be illegal immigrants.

Dissatisfaction and tensions rose among the camp residents with the tightening of restrictions. There were two incidents where students were shot; one by a nearby shop owner who accused the student of attempting theft and another one was shot by a Thai official during a riot where there was clash between camp residents and camp security guard on November 16, 1999. The residents started the hour-long riot after guards at the camp refused to let them out to get a colleague who had been arrested over the weekend for stealing. One resident named Nwe Aung was also shot in the left leg and hospitalized.

In one highly publicized incident, seven UNHCR staff including one French, two Thai and four Burmese were held captive by students inside the center on October 18, 1999. The incident was sparked when the UNHCR officials refused to pay the students their monthly allowance, as the students had not been at the center when the monthly allowance was handed out. Students who missed out on the payment were among the ones who had traveled to Bangkok to protest in front of the Burmese Embassy on September 9. After intervention by the Thai Provincial Governor, the staff agreed to pay the rest of the residents.

There is a long history of problems in the Manooly holding Center which have not been adequately addressed by neither UNHCR not the Ministry of Interior, and this is largely responsible for the current state of confusion in the center today.

14.11 Thai policy on migrant workers from Burma

The disproportionately high numbers of undocumented migrant workers in Thailand results largely from its geographical location. Thailand's shared borders with neighbors Burma, Cambodia and Laos are long and accessible. For example, Thailand shares a border with Burma that is approximately 2,532 kilometers long. A further 1,750 kilometers of Thailand's border is shared with Laos and an additional 789 kilometers with Cambodia. Despite the existence of six official border crossings between Burma and Thailand, there are countless unofficial ones. Government controls are difficult to maintain on both sides of the Thai-Burma border largely due to the presence of mountains and thick jungle terrain along a large part of the border that is only accessible by foot.

Anecdotal evidence suggests the overall number of Burmese migrants in Thailand to be somewhere in between 800,000 and one million. Within this number are numerous distinct ethnic groupings. The most highly represented Burmese ethnic groups in Thailand are the Shan, Karen, Burman, Mon, Arakan (Rakhine) Tavoyan and Karenni (Kayah). The differing ethnic populations pursue different occupations and lifestyles, and engage in different social and cultural worlds both in Burma, and while in Thailand. However, as the majority of Burmese migrants in Thailand are undocumented or illegal, it is difficult to determine the exact population of Burmese migrants in Thailand, and their ethnic composition. Inadequate enforcement of Thailand's immigration and labor laws, while at times due to lack of resources, is very often the result of the collusion between elements within the Thai bureaucracy with labor recruiters and traffickers. Such practices are widespread and well-documented and further complicate the task of building a more precise population profile.

Cross border migration into Thailand has steadily increased in recent years.

Increasing political and economic differences between Burma and Thailand, particularly Thailand's economic boom of the 1980's and Burma's worsening political and economic crisis culminating in the 1988 uprising, attracted large numbers of not only Burmese refugees and migrants, but large numbers of Cambodian and Laotians. Many argue that workers from Burma, Laos and Cambodia filled a widely felt labor shortage left by 300,000 - 400,000 Thais who went to work abroad.

Undocumented, illegal workers constitute the most vulnerable section of the work force because as illegal non-citizens, they are least protected by a national legal system. These workers have no job security, little access to social services, health protection or accident insurance. They are housed in substandard conditions and exposed to many health risks as result of the dangerous labor they perform, and the conditions in which they are forced to live. They are not compensated for injury, illness or death even when it is caused by employer negligence. They are usually treated as faceless laborers - economic tools - and not as human beings. Because they are foreigners, they are subjected to dehumanizing conditions and various forms of discrimination. Their human and labor rights are usually not recognized, protected or respected. A large number of undocumented workers, particularly Burmese women, who are rendered more vulnerable to certain kinds of exploitation, depend on the protection of Thai employers in order not to be arrested and deported from Thailand. Such dependence on employers often leaves undocumented workers, particularly women, at risk of abuse, exploitation, humiliation, and violence from employers and corrupt police.

In a cabinet resolution of September 1996, Thailand announced a new policy for the registration of undocumented migrant workers from Burma, Laos and Cambodia. The resolution approved a directive to permit Burmese, Laotian and Cambodian workers to remain in Thailand as laborers in the authorized sectors namely, agriculture, fishery, fishery related activities (pier work, selection and classification of seafood, cleaning seafood, shrimp farms), construction, mining, porter of goods from water to land, domestic work, salt fields, jar making and brick making, production (shrimp paste, fish cause, squid drying, filleting fish, tobacco, sweet and salty fish production, drying tapioca, storage of agricultural goods in silos, storage of goods in warehouses, timber mills) and other production activities as approved by the Ministry. The drafters of the resolution aimed to consider and systematize the influx of immigrant populations in new ways, at the same time prohibiting new entries. Employers were required to register their undocumented migrant employees between September 1 and November 1996, but due to the bulky caseload of the final weeks of registration, an extension of an additional 90 days for processing was permitted. No new applicants were accepted during this period and registration was also only available to those migrants who has entered Thailand before June 25, 1996.

In order to register, employers had to follow a three-step process. First, all migrants were required to pass a health check at specified local hospitals and health centers. Physicians checked for tuberculosis, filariasis, leprosy, syphilis, narcotics addiction, alcoholism and mental health problems. Workers were either classified as 'pass', 'requiring treatment', and 'fail'. Those falling within the final category of migrant workers would not be permitted to work, and under the new legislative measures introduced, would be required to leave the country.

The second step involved preparing documentation and paying of a bond to the Immigration Office. Immigration officers recorded a detailed personal history of each migrant and collected a 1,000 *Baht* guarantee per person from each employer. The workers then

received a Temporary Residence Permit for Immigrations Awaiting Deportation (commonly known as '*Taw Maw 69'*). Immigrant workers and the guarantor were required to report to the Immigration Office every three months, forfeiting their bond payment in failure to do so. If the worker decided to leave his employer and return to his/her home country during this period, both worker and employer reported this the Immigration Office to report travel details and the deposit would be refunded.

In the third and final step the resolution required employers to take was to request a work permit from the Department of Employment. An additional 1,000 *baht* was paid for the work permit after which the registration would be complete. Workers and employers needed to extend this permit after a period of one year. Under official directives, workers would be permitted to change employers within the same province if all parties were in agreement to the transfer. Both employers would then report to the Immigration Office where the outgoing employer could be refunded his bond and a new bond could be paid by the incoming employer. As of the end of registration process, 293,652 undocumented migrants had received their work permits. Another 20,290 qualified for a work permit but failed to pick it up from the Thai authorities. Most employers preferred to pay a bribe to the police rather than undergo the cumbersome registration procedure to make their employment legal.

Thai government policy on undocumented migrant workers changed dramatically in response to Thailand's currency and resulting economic crisis. Thailand was the first Southeast Asian economy to collapse in mid-1997. By January 1998, Thailand's unemployment rate stood at around 1.8 million at the time, and official statistics estimated this figure would reach two million by the end of the year. In January, 1998, in an effort to address the issue of rising local unemployment, the Thai government announced their plan to deport at least 300,000 undocumented migrant workers within a six month period and their strategy to simultaneously fill the vacancies with unskilled Thai workers. According to Chidchai Wannasathit, Immigration Police Bureau Commissioner, between January 1 and March 11, 1998, a reported 60,000 -70,000 undocumented workers had voluntarily returned home, predominantly Burmese.

On March 2, 1998, Thai Labor Minister Trairong Suwankhiri, announced that undocumented foreign workers in nine specific sectors would be repatriated by May 1, 1998 or face eight years imprisonment and a fines of up to 110,000 *baht*. It said those arrested on charges of illegally entering the country or violating the Immigration Act were liable to five years imprisonment and a 500,000 fine, while those transgressing the Foreign Workers Work Act will be subjected to a three years imprisonment and 60,000 *baht* fine. However, the labor department directive allowed migrants to continue working in the fishing industry in 13 border province including Chiang Rai, Mae Hong Son, Tak, Kanchanaburi, Ranong, Chathaburi, Trad, Sa Kaew, Mukdahan, Nakhon Phanom, Nong Khai and Surin. The nine sectors include the service sector, transport, commerce, textile, garment, food, chemical, wood and wood by products, paper and publishing. The Labor Minister also detailed plans to force the total one million Burmese migrant workers to return home by the end of 1999, as the labor and Social Welfare Ministry would not renew work permits for registered workers at this time. These knee-jerk and somewhat conflicting measures forced migrant workers even further underground, making them even more vulnerable to abuses and exploitation at the hands of brokers, employers and Thai authorities. To date, Thailand has consistently failed to fully implement any of these policies, and policy remain unclear and confusing.

14.12 Mass Deportations of undocumented workers and people from Burma

In November 1999 the Thai government made a landmark decision to restrict the number of legal migrant workers in Thailand to a mere 106,684 workers in 18 industrial sectors across 37 provinces and embarked on a swift campaign of deportation and repatriation. The terms "deportation" and "repatriation" are used interchangeably in this section, as both "persons of concern" to UNHCR, and migrant workers fell victim to the immigration crackdown. The principle of "non-refoulment", should apply to persons of identified concern to the UNHCR, who has a general policy of encouraging only voluntary repatriations. Thailand's non-compliance with this international standard has been an ongoing problem in relation to Burmese refugees over the past 10 years.

On November 3, 1999, Thai authorities commenced implementation of this policy. Border Police forces were increased and mass arrests began to take place. Combined forces of border police, soldiers, immigration and labour officials made several raids on factories employing undocumented workers from Burma, as well as raids on homes, apartment complexes, and markets. They used large trucks that could accommodate up 300 people, and usually crammed more people in, to transport the arrested people to immigration detention centers (IDC's) where they would await for deportation. Eyewitnesses reported severe overcrowding and poor conditions at the IDC's, including the main center at Suan Phlu in Bangkok where arrested people are held before they are sent to the border for deportation. Over the past 8 years, Amnesty International has documented such poor conditions of the IDC's in Thailand, such as the severe overcrowding, lack of proper food, medical care or sanitation.

From the outset of this mass repatriation, armed Burmese soldiers were waiting for the deportees at the Moei River border crossing at the Mae Sot, Thailand and Myawaddy, Burma border point. On November 3, they threatened to shoot a group of 200 migrants if they stepped out of the boats onto Burmese soil, preventing Thailand from repatriating this group. However, the mass deportations continued. Immigration officials in Mae Hong Son, Chiang Rai and Ranong provinces also reported that Burmese workers were being refused entry by the SPDC troops on a large scale.

Denied deeper access into Burma, many were being forced to spend the nights in the jungle along the border, without food or shelter. Many others were forced onto a territorially disputed islet in the Moie River. Due to late rains, the Moie River was still dangerously deep with a swift current, and at least 8 people drowned trying to swim back to Thailand. On November 8 1999, 15 girls were raped by SPDC soldiers on the Burmese side of the Moie River near Myawaddy. That day, 2,000 Burmese had been forcefully deported from Mae Sot, Tak, Thailand and left stranded on the islet in the middle of the Moie River. They had planned to spend the night on the isle, but armed Burmese troops followed them. They selected 15 good-looking girls and made them accompany them to the Burmese bank of the river, where they were raped.

Others who managed to return to Thailand, or who had not been deported yet were forced into hiding in the fields and forests of Thailand near the border. Therefore, thousands of Burmese were left to languish on both sides of the border, as well as in between, with nowhere to go and without access to food or proper shelter. An emergency relief committee

from the Mae Sot area, who was quietly distributing some aid to those in hiding, reported that those in hiding were subjected to violent reprisals from officials and members from the local community, including muggings, rape, and beatings. Two migrant workers from Burma were allegedly killed by Thai farmers who mistook them for thieves.

Most of the people rounded up for deportation were migrant workers with neither legal protection nor organizational support from sending or receiving governments, NGO's or INGO's. However, UNHCR refugees and political activists were also detained, and in some cases forced across the border.

Despite Thai Foreign Minister Surin Pitsuwan's pledge that all repatriation would be handled in an orderly manner and in accordance with basic Thai laws, Thai NGOs made repeated claims about authorities attempting to pressure male workers by arresting and repatriating their wives and children. The groups stated that Thailand's repatriation policy in regard to Burmese workers is a clear violation of the right of children not to be separated from their parents, particularly when there can be no guarantees made for families wishing to be reunited.

The deportations were further complicated by the Burmese response. Many workers were unable to bribe their way past Burmese troops enforcing a border closure, which had been ordered by the SPDC in early October response to Thailand's handling of the hostage crisis at the Burmese embassy in Bangkok. After the October 1-2 hostage drama in downtown Bangkok, relations between the two countries had sunk to their lowest point. The SPDC had shut the border in clear retaliation against the Thai government's release of the five exiled Burmese students who had occupied the embassy, stating that the border would not be opened until the five allegedly hostage takers had been arrested. Thai fishing vessels normally permitted to fish in Burmese waters were forced into port, and two dozen Thai gamblers who had attempted to try their luck at a border casino, spent a week a jail. Burmese policy on the deportation and repatriation was consistently clear. On November 12, 1999, Amnesty International expressed its concern about reports that Burmese national being deported had been refused entry, or had been arrested and detained for illegal entry into their own country by the Burmese authorities. In an open letter dated November 20, 1999, a consortium of Thai NGO's and human rights organization accused Burmese troops of raping female deportees, and threatening to shoot others.

For those who were deported and were able to make their way deeper into Burma, they faced great difficulties. For the whole month of November, under the order of Karen State PDC Chairman, Saw Khin Soe, a group of authorities including immigrants officers, police, army and DKBA troops opened a check-point on Myawaddy-Paan motor road, near Paan town. They stopped every passenger truck and checked for and took out all returned immigrants. The authorities forced the returned immigrants to give 5,000 *kyat* per head as a fine. If they could not give payment for the fine, they were kept at the check-point or in the Paan police station, and had to inform their families to come and pay the fine. After they received payment for fine, the immigrants were released. If a returned immigrant was not able to contact their families, they were used as unpaid labourers in military outposts and in farms owned by army or police. This type of situation existed at other border crossing areas in Burma as well in November, which posed incredible predicaments for many returned people, as their money had already been taken by Thai police, Thai immigration, or Burmese police or immigration during their time of deportation. In addition, some Thai employers took

the opportunity created by the mass deportations to cheat the workers by refusing the pay wages from the commencement of the crackdown. Workers in many factories around Mae Sot were dumped near the border without receiving their wages. In one incident, 94 Burmese deportees confronted two Thai employees from Fupo Knitting Thailand near the border, demanding the payment of outstanding wages from the company. The two had been sent by the firm with a mere 90,000 *baht* to pay to the 94 deportees. However, the workers said they were owed in excess of 200,000 *baht*. The demanded the company pay all the money outstanding, but were unable to secure payment.

On October 30, 1999, before the major crackdown began, 7 Mon immigrants, who had been deported back to Burma via a place near Myawaddy, were arrested in the middle of Attaran bridge, the border bridge between Karen State and Mon State. They were taken by the Burmese authorities. The 7 Mon immigrants were: (1) Aung Tun -30 year, (2) Kyaw Htun-25 years, (3) Soe Win -25 years, (4) Min Win-18 year, (5) Min Oo Lay-16 years, (6) Halae -18 years, and (7) Ma Hla Yee- 28 years. The authorities brought these civilians to Moulmein and the police put them on trial for illegally leaving the country. According to the court and existing laws, they were detained for 6 months in the Moulmein jail.

In a separate case, on November 6 1999, Thai officials deported 101 Shans from Thailand's Mae Hong Son province to the Ho Muang area in Shan State, which is Khun Sa's former stronghold. Burmese Soldiers from Battalion 249, stationed at Na Moon village immediately arrested about 30 people, most of whom were elderly people and young children, as they could not run away after the Thai Immigration Police dropped them at the Border. A Burmese border control official stated that the group was being held in a military camp at Ban Namonluang and would probably be charged with illegal entry into Burma, a "crime" which carries a sentence of 9 years imprisonment by Burmese law. The arrested are believed to be working involuntarily to rebuild the road in Ho Mong, which was damaged by the last heavy rain.

Some returned workers were interrogated and asked to pay bribes to SPDC officials upon returning to their villages. During November in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, returnees were told to report to the Township Peace and Development Council. Between 1,000-2,000 *kyat* were demanded upon reporting to the authorities and some questions were asked. They were told to report again at the Military Intelligence No. 19 offices based in Kanbauk. Another 5,000-10,000 *kyat* were demanded from returnees. Those who were not able to pay were arrested and detained. Approximately 400 returnees from Thailand were arrested in this period because they were not able to pay the required amount of money that was demanded by the authorities.

The deportations continued throughout December, with factories on the border undergoing weekly raids. Many people deported were able to return to Thailand, but the chances for finding work were severely reduced. As a result, the end of 1999 saw an alarming rise in the number of women and girls from Burma working in the sex industry.

On December 31,1999 over 1,000 Burmese people living in Thailand were arrested on their way to a religious ceremony hosted by the Dhammakaya Temple, where a religious ceremony to welcome the new millenium was to be held.

Abuses against Migrant Workers

In February 1999, a riot broke out at Champion Knitting Factory in Mae Sot, Tak province, Thailand after a worker was grabbed by 15 guards, beaten severely for complaining about a guard's order, and then taken away. There had been instances in the past where Burmese workers had been beaten to death, so the workers were concerned and demanded that the worker be returned. The next day they were told that he had fled back to Burma.

On October 7, 1999, Min Chit Thu, 24, a male migrant worker from Burma was murdered by a Thai man and two Karen men in Mae Sod. These three men raped his wife, San San Naing and two other women while they were spending the night at a hut after they were fired from Hyatt Knitting Company. The four Burmese victims spent the night at a hut belonging to Somrak Chantha, 36, after they left the factory. Somrak, the Thai man, came to see them during the night and asked to sleep with San San Naing who politely refused, saying she was already married. He left but returned with two Karen. They started beating up Min Chit Thu, then took him outside. Later, the three men came back to the hut and raped the women. In the morning, people found the dead body of Min Chit Thu with signs of having been beaten.

The Case of Ko Phyo

Ko Phyo was arrested on November 1, 1999 along with another Burmese worker. He had been recently terminated by the Champion Factory of Mae Sot for his activities in organizing other workers to demand basic rights for the thousands of Burmese workers at this factory. In 1988, as a Burmese student, he had been active in the 1988 Student Demonstrations within Burma. He was forced to flee Burma immediately following the Demonstrations, and settled in Mae Sot, Thailand, after several years of living underground within Burma.

During the arrest, the Thai Police Officers beat them with hard rubber batons, smacking their ears with great force. Later, at the Mae Sot Police Station, the Policemen in charge further beat them, banging their heads together and kicking them, before he ordered the criminals in the same cell to 'kill them' (in Thai). After this beating, Ko Phyo lost consciousness, and was dragged to the toilet area to wait for the morning deportation. He was then carried from his cell, and taken - along with 50 other 'illegal' Burmese - to an illegal crossing gate at the Moei River where they were instructed by Thai Police to cross. Due to his involvement in the '88 revolution and pro-democracy forces, he knew he would face arrest, torture, and possible execution, if sent back to Burmese soil, so he began pleading with one of the Thai Police Officers, who took pity on him for his pathetic appearance, and temporarily hid him. He was treated at a border clinic, and finally, on December 7, 1999, after a month of being unable to eat or sleep, and having lost feeling in much of the left side of his face, as well as sight in his left eye, he secured passage to Chaing Mai, where he will undergo extensive surgery to repair his broken left mandible. (***Source: Young Chi Oo Workers Association***)

(21) Karenni refugee women and families at a temporary reception site upon their arrival in Karenni camp (2). (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)

(22) Karenni new arrivals having a meal after their long journey to the Thai-Burma border. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)

(23) Karen new arrivals in No Pho refugee camp in Umphang district, Thailand. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)

(24) Karen new arrivals preparing for their meals in the winter at Umphang refugee camp. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)

(25, 26) Karen families fight a losing battle to stay warm, in Thailand's coldest winter in a decade. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)

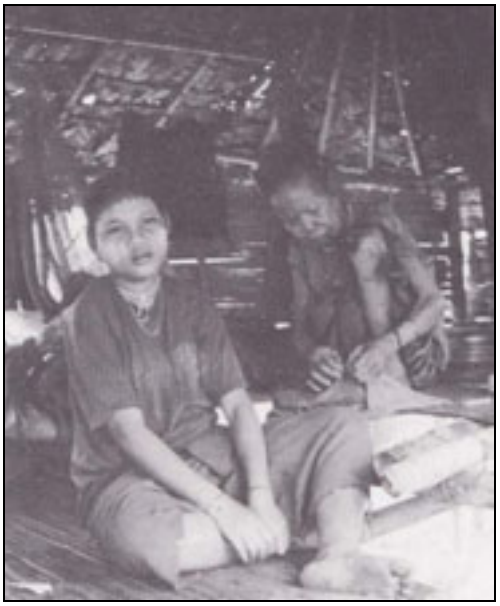
(27) A displaced family who fled from Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, taking a rest on the way to the border area. (Photo: HURFOM)

(28) A landmine victim in No Pho refugee camp. He has lost his leg while he was collecting food in the jungle in Karen State. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)

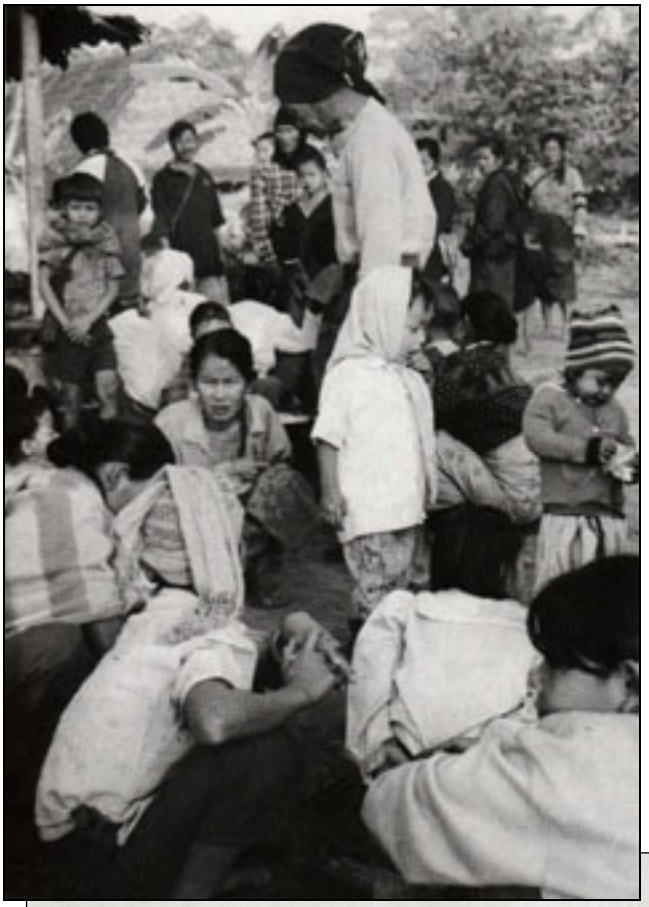
(29) Karenni refugee mother feeding juice to her dehydrated sick child upon their arrival after long journey. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)

(30) Fleeing Karen villagers are on their way in Phapun district, Karen State to Thailand. (Photo: HRDU)

(31) Mother feeding simple food to her baby after their long journey to Thailand's border. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)
(Right)

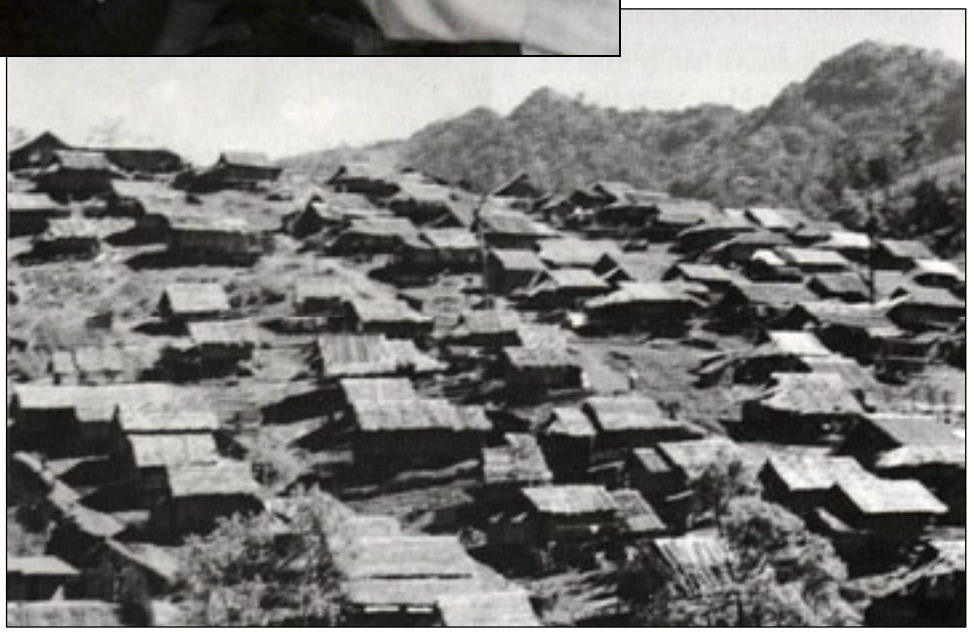


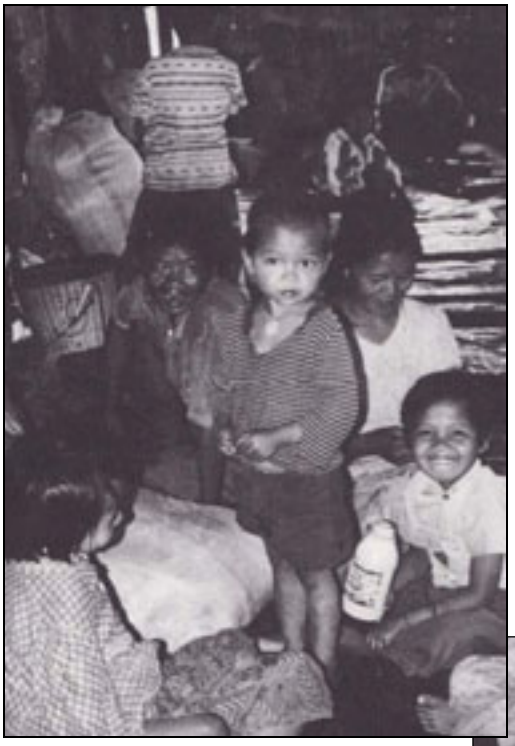
(32) Karen family members at an internally displaced persons' site inside Burma. No future, no security. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)
(Left)



(33) Karen refugee waiting for their supplies at Pho Pho refugee camp after their arrival. The SPDC have subjected these people to all manner of human rights violations. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)
(Left)

(34) Um Phang a new refugee camp is seen three months after the relocation of refugees from Hway Kaloke and Maw Kel was carried out. Refugees are suffering due to the unsuitable geographical location of this site. (Photo: HRDU)
(below)





(35) Children are seen with their family after arriving to a refugee camp in Thailand. They are accepted as refugee for humanitarian reasons but their future is unknown. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)
(Left)

(36) A displaced family from Ye township in Mon State fleeing to the border area. (Photo: HURFOM)
(Right)

(37) Women migrant workers in Mae Sod, Thailand during a major crackdown on illegal migrant workers in November, 1999. (Right)

(38) During the crackdown thousands of these migrant workers were rounded up and sent back to Burma in border towns such as Mae Sod and Ranong. They were transported by bus. (Below)

(39, 40) During the crackdown thousands of these migrant workers were rounded up and sent back to Burma in border towns such as Mae Sod and Ranong. They were transported by boat (Above and below)

(41, 42) Refugees from Kamaplaw near Ratchaburi Province of Thailand are relocated to an area near Halockani Mon refugee camp near Sankhlaburi. (Photo: NLD-DA)

(43) Refugee families at a temporary reception site in the Karenni refugee camp (2), Mae Hong Son district, Thailand. (Photo by Aung Myo Min – HRDU)

Burmese Border Refugee Sites With Population Figures
June 2000

KARENNI

2 Ban Kwai	11,624
3 Ban Mai Nai Soi	3,660
5 Ban Mae Surin	2,934
	18,218

KAREN

K1 Mae Kong Kha	12,696
K2 Mae Rama Luang	8,610
K3 Mae La	34,268
K4 Umpiem Mai	15,732
K5 Nu Po	8,755
K6 Ban Don Yang	3,382
K7 Htee Wa Doh*	1,989
K8 Tham Hin	8,221
K9 Bor Wii**	0
K10 Chumphon**	284
	93,937

Mon - Resettlement Sites

M1 Halochanee	4,500
M2 Bee Ree	3,177
M3 Tavoy	2,945
	10,622

Total: 122,777

★ Maneeloy Student Centre 1,767

*Sites on Burmese side of the border (Not registered)
**Not registered

Note: Figure are the BBC food case-load and include new arrivals since MOI/ UNHCR registration.

Source: Burmese Border Consortium (BBC)

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 of 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 disap pearances
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: Arrest, Torture, Forced Portering

Name:	"Saw Ghay"
Sex:	Male
Age:	36
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	Married with four children aged 1 month to 8 years
Address:	Bilin Township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	January 1999
Place of Interview:	Near his village
Source:	KHRG

Q: Have SPDC troops ever come to your village?
A: Yes, they came not long ago. They came a couple of months ago, but I wasn't here because at that time I was sleeping out in the jungle.

Q: Do they ever make problems for the villagers?
A: Yes, they do. They also made problems for me when they arrested me. It was the military who arrested me. They came at the start of the paddy harvest *[October-November 1998]*, in the month of Thadin Kyo. There were 6 Burmese soldiers. They have a camp at M—. They came and arrested us at night when we were sleeping. At that time we were sleeping in the forest, at our fields near the river. When they arrived at the steps of our farm hut, we woke up and saw the Burmese. Then they ordered us to come down to the ground. They interrogated me and punched me one or two times, and they touched my throat with a bayonet. I couldn't do anything, because we are villagers and they can do whatever they like to us. They arrested four of us. The others were M—, K— and P—. They are not married yet, they are all single. All of us are just villagers.

After they arrested me they took me to the village and interrogated me. They told me, "Your brain is hard *[you are stubborn, you won't speak]* so I must give you some water to drink". Then they grabbed me and forced me to lay down, and made me drink water. I couldn't drink it. They asked me, "Do you have a gun?" Then they held my nose closed and poured water into my mouth. *[A traditional torture – the victim cannot breathe and so continues gulping the water while also suffocating. This form of torture can be continued until the belly becomes distended and the stomach bursts, killing the victim.]* I couldn't bear it so I told them I would talk. I said I have no gun, I am a villager and have no gun. Then he closed my nose and did it again. He did it six or seven times, until I was about to die. Then he said my answers were strange. He tied me to the post of the monastery, and he told me I'd better think about it and that I'd have to drink more water. One of the commanders came to interrogate me and slapped my face. They punched me one time, and when they brought me back to the monastery they slapped me. After interrogating us, they took me to the hall, and they tied my hands to a post behind my back. I couldn't lay down and sleep, I had to stay like that all night until morning. In the morning, villagers brought rice for us. The others could eat, but not me because of the way I was tied. M— *[another villager]*

fed rice to me with a spoon. I had to eat like that.

Q: Did your friends also suffer?
A: They beat one of them three times – they hit him once on the head and the skin was broken. They punched P— one time and hit him with a rifle butt, then they interrogated him, covered his head and forced him to drink water.

Q: When did they release you?
A: They arrested us at night around midnight, and they released us the next morning in the village.

Q: Why did they treat you like that if you are villagers?
A: I don't know. They just want the villagers to suffer. They think that if they treat us like that then we won't be able to do anything against them.

Q: Have you ever had to do *loh ah pay* or portering for them?
A: Since they arrested me I haven't done any portering for them, but before that they called me two or three times when they were going back and forth and saw me along the way. If they see us when we are tending our buffaloes, they order us to go with them. We complain to them that the buffaloes will eat the paddy, but they won't listen to us. They told me to follow them for just a few minutes, but when the Burmese say "for a few minutes", it is a long time!

I never went as a porter for these troops *[the ones who arrested him]*, but for other Burmese troops. When we stay in our village we eat whenever we want, two or three times a day. When we went portering and stayed with them, they fed us only twice. Sometimes they gave us enough rice and sometimes not enough. They never gave us hot rice, just cold rice. Sometimes they gave us fermented sesame oil, jackfruit curry or a bit of shrimp paste. In the jungle we had to sleep on the ground. They guarded us, and wouldn't allow us to go to piss or shit. Usually three or four soldiers went in front with a *[villager]* guide, and then the porters had to go between the soldiers. But sometimes the villagers guiding them have to go in front of the soldiers. *[The villagers are usually forced to march between the soldiers so they can't escape, but if the troops suspect possible landmines or ambush they often force the villagers and some villager porters to march in front.]*

They also force people to go for *loh ah pay* all the time. The villagers have to go and sleep there for three days, the same as porters. They have to take their own rice. I've never gone for *loh ah pay*, because you have to go by bullock cart. *[It's too far and he has no cart, so he probably pays to avoid going.]*

Interview: 2: Forced Labour, Beating, Extra-judicial Killing

Name:	"Naw Lah Paw"
Sex:	Female
Age:	21
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer

Marital Status:	Single
Address:	Haw Ko Ghaw village, Mone township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	January 1999

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: I arrived here last night. I went to Ler Doh on Wednesday and slept there, then I rode the car and it took one day to come here directly. Five of us came together.

Q: Did you ever have to go for forced labour?
A: No, I always stayed at home. My younger brother always went. He is 19 years old. We hired people *[to go in their place]*, but sometimes people didn't want to go even if we paid them so we had to steel our hearts, be brave and go to do sentry duty. My youngest brother had to do it. I had pity on him, but then I'd think, "What if I saw any trouble while on sentry duty?", and then I never dared go for him. He was afraid, but there was only him who could go for our family.

He also had to go to Thaung Bo *[Army camp]* to do forced labour clearing the weeds. As for me, I never even dared leave our house because I was so afraid. But then before I came here I was beaten by the Burmese special soldiers. It was one month ago. It was just before 6 a.m. on a Monday in December *[1998]*, but I can't remember the date.

Q: Which group beat you?
A: Shan Bpu and his group *[Shan Bpu is a Sa Sa Sa group commander]*. I've never came face to face with the soldiers in my life, but this time my aunt and uncle asked me to carry rice so I went to help them. I'm the type who never dares go anywhere, even when my mother asks me to go. It's because I can't speak Burmese well. I know how to speak Burmese, but when I saw the soldiers I couldn't speak. I lost all the words I wanted to say. It was the first time I'd ever met the soldiers.

We hadn't done anything, we were just going to carry our paddy and they saw us, called us to them and then beat us. Most of us were Karen, but there were three children among us and they were Burmese. Some were 35, 40 or over 50 years old, and the children were about 10 years old. Eight of them called us over. First they just asked us, "Where do you live?", and we told them we live in Haw Ko Ghaw. They forced us to lie on our stomachs on the ground. They beat us with eight cane sticks until all but one of the sticks were broken. They beat us here, on our legs. Thirteen of us were beaten, and they beat each of us ten times. The children were only beaten three times each, but they beat the rest of us with all of their strength. While they were beating us their officer *[Shan Bpu]* ordered them, "If they move, shoot them dead at once". Two of them were beating us, and the rest were aiming their guns at us. After they had finished beating us we waited until they were far away and then we stood up. If we'd stood up in front of them they would have killed us, because they'd ordered us not to move.

Q: What were the soldiers' names?
A: One was Shan Bpu, but I don't know the others. They are special troops, and they are divided into many groups. They wear clothes like ours *[civilian clothing]*, and sometimes

they wear guerrilla clothing *[camouflage uniforms rather than standard Burma Army fatigues]*. Most of the time they wear short or long camouflage pants.

Q: Are they the same troops who killed four villagers from Twa Ni Gone *[in November 1998 at the fish pond; see other interviews]*?
A: Yes, they are. That was about 2 months ago. I know because my younger brother had to go and bury them after the soldiers killed them. They called the 'patrol' people to bury them, and my brother was on 'patrol' *['patrol' refers to rotating shifts of forced labour which villagers are forced to do at Army camps; 'patrol' labourers are used as messengers, porters and whatever other forced labour is required during their shift]*.

Q: Why did they kill those four people?
A: I don't know because I didn't dare to ask or think about that. If I busy my brains about things like that then I will have to die someday. Please don't get me in trouble because I've told you about these things. I've never had people ask me questions like this so I'm afraid.

Q: What do those troops call themselves?
A: They call themselves 'Bo Shwit', because 'shwit' is the sound of thrusting a knife into someone to kill him. They are murderers.

Q: How many people have they killed?
A: *Huay*!! I can't say how many tens of people they've killed. Any place you go you'll hear about the people they've killed, they've killed people in almost every village. They haven't killed anyone in Haw Ko Ghaw yet, but they've killed people in Myeh Yeh, Hsi Mu Plaw, Si Pa Leh, and Meik Tha Lin, which is across the *[Sittaung]* river from our village. Their commander is Bo Maung Maung. I don't know their base, they just travel from village to village. They don't make camps, they just stay in people's houses. They walk the whole night without sleeping.

Q: Do the 'Bo Shwit' troops burn houses?
A: Before I came here they burned some houses and farm huts in Twa Ni Gone. They burned them without any reason. They said they were ordered to do it. The villagers there were forced to relocate to Yan Myo Aung a few years ago, but there were some old houses still left there. There were some villagers who had gone back there to work in the village, but they didn't dare say anything *[when their houses were burned]*. They can go back to the village to work, but they need a pass, and if the soldiers see you and call you, you must go to them and answer all their questions. If you don't go to them or if you run they kill you. Also, the villagers of Lu Ah had been forced to relocate before this group *[Sa Sa Sa]* came, but this group ordered them back to their village and they burned down the only school in the village. Now they've also burned down everything outside the village *[i.e. the farm huts and paddy storage barns]* in all the villages which are far from town. It's very difficult in our area.

Q: Do the KNLA ever arrive in your village?
A: No, we don't see them. If the KNLA went to our village now, things would get worse

and all the villages would disappear *[the SPDC will destroy them all to punish the villagers]*.

Q: Since you were beaten do people still dare go to their fields?
A: Some people dare but some don't. People always have to get a pass from the headman before they can go anywhere. We had to get a pass. I don't think they would have allowed us to come to the refugee camp if they knew. I just told the village headman I was going to see my father in the hospital in *xxxx*.

Q: Have there always been Burmese soldiers around your village?
A: Yes, but the Burmese soldiers in the past were nice. The Burmese soldiers who come now, I don't know what kind of group they are. Everyone has to be afraid of them because they only kill people. If you know about Karen soldiers coming you had better not face them *[the Sa Sa Sa]* or you will die at once.

Q: Will you go back again?
A: I will find a job and work here. My mother will come next week, because she doesn't dare stay in our village either. No matter how hard we work in our village we can never get enough to live on. They demanded that we give 10 baskets of paddy from each acre. We didn't have enough to eat but we had to give it. We even had to buy rice to eat from other people.

Interview 3: Forced Labour, Extortion,

Name:	"Daw Khin Htwe"
Sex:	Female
Age:	30
Ethnicity:	Burman
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	Married with two children
Address:	Shwegyin township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	January 1999
Source:	KHRG

[When interviewed "Daw Khin Htwe" had fled her village and had just arrived in Thailand as a refugee.]

Q: What did you do in your village?
A: I found food in the forest. We cut and carried bamboo, made thatch and kept a plantation.

Q: Why did you come here?
A: We had to come here because of the current situation. I went to the forest, and whenever I came back they *[the SPDC military]* demanded money. If I made 100 *kyat* they demanded 50 *kyat*, and if I made 50 *kyat* they demanded 25 *kyat*. They were the

Burmese Army. They said it was for the price of a pass from their Army camp. We had to get a pass whenever we went anywhere. If we didn't they arrested and fined us, saying that we were disrespectful of them. Moreover, we also had to give porter fees and 'patrol' fees of 1,000 *kyat* every month *['patrol' is the name given to rotating shifts of forced labour as general servants at the Army camp; if you pay you still have to go when called, but if you don't pay you have to go even more]*. In the past we only had to give 500 *kyat*, but starting three months ago we've had to give 1,000 *kyat* each month. If we couldn't give it, the soldiers from the Army camp captured us and tied us up in the camp, then afterwards they forced us to go out to find the money and bring it to them.

Q: Did they really arrest people if they couldn't pay?
A: Yes, but first they wait for one month, then if we still can't pay they arreat us, they send us to talk to the *Ma Wa Ta [Township LORC, now called Ma Ah Pa, or Township Peace and Development Council]* to frighten us, then send us out the next day to find money for them. Whenever they went anywhere they called us to go with them. They also called us to work to get them their food. They forced us to do many kinds of work for them. At last when we didn't have any food for ourselves anymore we talked to them about our problems, but they didn't care. They said, "If we let one of you behave like this *[be exempted from forced labour]* then everyone will become like you. So if there is one person in your house then half of that person should work for us, and if there are two people then one should work for us." At first we forgave them and remained there, but when they kept doing it for a long time *[constantly demanding forced labour and money]* we came here. I have siblings already here, so when I couldn't take it anymore I sold my pots and plates and came here.

Q: Is the Army camp close to your village?
A: Yes, you just have to climb up the hill and then go down. It takes about fifteen minutes. The regional Battalion is LIB 57, but now the mobile Battalion is rotating. The soldiers who are staying there now are LIB 440.

Q: Did you have to go for *loh ah pay [forced labour]*?
A: Yes, I had to go often. Now we have to go for three weeks every month, and if you don't go you must pay 700 *kyat* for each week. I couldn't do the work because I had to go to stay with my mother and also with my Aunt for a while. So I didn't go for the work for three weeks, and then they came and demanded that I pay 2,100 *kyat* for 3 weeks plus 2,000 *kyat* for porter fees. I told them that I had no money to pay, and they said they would send me to the Army camp. So I decided not to stay there any more and I came here.

Q: What kind of work do they force people to do for *loh ah pay*?
A: Fencing, cutting grass, and making thatch for their roofs, and the men have to dig pits *[for bunkers, etc.]*. I had to make thatch for them. They use the women for women's work and the men for men's work. They don't shout at the women, but we heard them shouting at the men right in front of us. From each section *[of the village]* they call for five, ten, or fifteen people at a time. They never give us rice to eat, we have to eat our own rice.

Q: Do children ever have to go and do *loh ah pay*?
A: In each family, if the children can go then they send the children *[so that the parents are free to work for the family's wellbeing]*, but only the children who can work. In some families, old men who can still work go and do the work. You can't just stay or go as you like, you must go whenever they call you. *[Usually the troops demand one person per household, often with different sections of the village rotating between each other.]*

Q: What is the situation of the others in your village?
A: All the poor people are in trouble because we have to go wherever they call us to go and we have to do whatever they force us to do for them. Sometimes when they suspect someone, they arrest him and hit him.

Q: When did you arrive here *[the refugee camp]*?
A: I arrived here two days ago. We left our village 15 days ago but there was a problem on our way, so it took us a long time. We didn't know how to get here, so we had to ask people and come along with them step by step.

Interview: 4: Forced Relocation, Extra-judicial killing, Extortion

Name:	"Pu Hla Maung"
Sex:	Male
Age:	57
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital Status:	Married with 5 children aged 19-30
Address:	Haw Ko Ghaw village, Mone township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	January 1999
Source:	KHRG

[When interviewed "Pu Hla Maung" had just arrived in Thailand as a refugee. His village is 7 miles from Kyauk Kyi (Ler Doh) town.]

Q: Why have you come here and when did you arrive?
A: I arrived here two or three days ago. I came here because they foundout about me. In the past I stayed in the mountains and worked for the resistance, but when I started getting old I knew I couldn't do that anymore so I went back to live with my children in the village. However, my name was on their list and now they *[SPDC - Sa Sa Sa]* are going to kill me so I have to find a place of refuge. After I fled my village, police and soldiers from LIB 351 went to my family and asked my wife about me once or twice. My wife told them I had gone to do work but she didn't know where. I went to my daughter's house on the other side of the *[Sittaung]* river and worked in the fields. They *[the Sa Sa Sa]* are only moving in the area east of the Sittaung river, they are not moving around in Pyu township *[west of the Sittaung]*. I was staying with my daughter in N—, and people came to tell me what had happened. I can't go back.

Q: Which way did you come here?
A: I went from T— to Rangoon and then from Rangoon to Pa'an, that bus face was 450 *Kyat*. Then I came from Pa'an to Myawaddy and the bus fare was 1,200 *kyat*, and then I crossed the *[Moei]* river. I've never been here before so I followed my friends here, there were four of us altogether. I couldn't stay in my village or my head would have been cut off. The day before I left to come here my friend from P— village, which is near my daughter's village of N—, received a message from a Burmese officer asking him to go and see him in his Battalion camp at 9 a.m. It was the camp of LIB 439 at Pyu town. He didn't dare go there so he came to me early in the morning, before dawn, and said, "Let's go now!" So we took our bags and left. He told me that the Burmese officer who had ordered him to go that day was going to make trouble for him. Four of us came here.

Q: What else is happening?
A: They have forced all the villages around Yan Myo Aung to move to Yan Myo Aung. It is about two hours' walk from Haw Ko Ghaw. The villages that were relocated are Twa Ni Gone, Yay Leh, Bpa Reh Si, Noh Htaw Hta, Myeh Yeh and Si Bpaw Bpaw. Those people have to stay in Yan Myo Aung. They can return to their villages to work on their fields but they have to get a pass first. Some people went to town. If people don't want to relocate they kill them. About 20 years ago Yan Myo Aung was only a forest, and they made the people in the area clear the forest and all have to go and stay there together *[the first time they were relocated]*. Since then they've only been able to go back and live in their village sometimes *[according to other villagers, two to three years ago everyone was forced to move to Yan Myo Aung again]*.

Q: Have you heard about people being killed?
A: They killed four villagers from Twa Ni Gone when the paddy was blooming, about November *[1998]*. They killed them by a pond. They were living in Yan Myo Aung but they went back to their old village to get food for their cattle, and they went to a pond. The village headman had written a pass for them but they killed them anyway. That first time they killed two people who were single and two who were married. Then the next time they killed five people - they were all Twa Ni Gone villagers as well. That was on December 26 or 27 *[1998]*. Three of those people were single and two were married. All the people they killed *[from Twa Ni Gone]* were Karen. The group that killed them were soldiers from Battalions 59, 60 and 351. They killed them for being friendly with the KNU. It's part of their 'dig out the roots' policy.

Q: Did they abuse your family or kill and eat your livestock when they entered the village?
A: No, they don't operate like that. They just quietly kill people one by one. As for me, I don't dare travel, I just hide myself and find my way. In December, I heard about an 18 year old female student from Lu Ah village who was still going to school, she had not yet finished 9th Standard *[grade 9]*. When he *[Shan Bpu from the Sa Sa Sa]* saw her, he demanded that she love him but she didn't. Her parents sent her to another place, so he threatened her parents and the village headman telling them that if the girl didn't come back he would kill both her parents and the village headman. The girl was so worried that she had to marry him. Her father's name is U T— and the one who forced her to marry him was Shan Bpu from IB 53 *[sic: 59]*. This is the only case of this nature that I have heard of.

Q: What is the name of the group that is operating like this?
A: They are called the *Sa Sa Sa*. They have a lot of authority.
His son: *Sa Sa Sa* means no interrogation, no analysis and no questions. *[In other words, they just kill without interrogation; several villagers believe this is what it stands for, though it actually stands for "Bureau of Special Investigations".]*

Q: How many people came with you?
A: I came with my son W—. He is about 30 years old and is married with five children. He sent his family to my daughter's house on the other side of the Sittaung river, to N— village, which is in a better situation than my village.

Q: When you were in your village did you have to pay taxes to the SPDC?
A: Each family had to give over 1,000 *kyat* to the SPDC each month. Sometimes they had to give 1,400 *kyat* and sometimes 1,900 *kyat*. Sometimes we had to give over two or three thousand each month. Every house had to pay them. If you couldn't give it, the police would come and arrest you and put you in prison. Then you have to buy your release for not less than 10,000 *kyat*. That has happened to many people in my village, but not to my family. Those who don't have the money to pay flee with their families to stay in other places.

Q: Do farmers have to give taxes for their fields?
A: Yes, seven baskets *[of unhusked rice]* for each acre. If they don't give, the soldiers come and arrest them.

Interview: 5: Forced Labor, Extortion, Forced Relocation, Rice Quota, Livelihood

Name:	Omitted
Age:	23
Sex:	Male
Ethnicity:	Omitted
Address:	xxxx village, Latputta Township, Irrawaddy Division
Date of Interview:	February 1999
Source:	FTUB (Hsaw Wah Deh Group)

My village is in Latputta township, in Irrawaddy division. The reason I left my village is there is no hope for our family to live. In December 1998, the SLORC officials ordered that about thirty villages in Latputta township should be relocated because, according to the Forestry Department's map, those villages were located in the preserved forest area. The villages have been there for years, since before the independence of Burma. Each village has about 200 families and there are many rice fields and coconut trees there. Thus, villagers were very upset about the relocation and tried to negotiate with the authorities. There is no proper law to defend us and the authorities can do anything they want. Even criminals who offered money to the court were released.

The villages have not moved yet because the harvest is not finished. In our region, this year's crop is low because of drought. However, the quota rice demanded by the

SLORC is the highest compared to the previous years: Twelve baskets of unhusked rice per acre for every acre. (one basket is 46 pounds). The quota rice rate is about 350 *kyat* a basket. In the previous years, soil were graded and with that classification, the quota rice demanded ranged from five baskets to twelve baskets per acre. Moreover, there is another rice demand from the army, which is called "Goodwill Rice". It is officially two tins of rice. (one tin is about 2.4 kgs). However, the army demands two extra tins to cover transportation and shrinkage. The actual quota, therefore, is four tins.

There were threats that persons who fail to fulfill the quota rice would be imprisoned and his or her rice field confiscated and handed over to companies that were encouraged by the SLORC to grow rice.

The army is also recruiting new soldiers. The soldiers demand three to four villagers over 14 years of age every year. Therefore, villages have to collect money (about 500 *Kyat* a family) and give it to the soldiers for failing to recruit new soldiers for the army. There are demands for Kahtein and other religious ceremonies of the army. Villagers have to donate money but we do not hear any ceremonies being held by the soldiers of the camp.

In summer, the army camp, usually soldiers from LIB 271, ordered villagers to cut down coconut trees for repairing bunkers. We have to contribute our workforce for that purpose. Our village sends about fifteen persons a day by rotation to the camp for building bunkers, barracks and fences. We receive nothing. We have to bring tools and food of our own. Even soldiers do not allow sufficient time to have lunch. When the whistle blows to continue work, we have to stop eating and leave the rest of the food. If the soldiers do not like the work, they order villagers to work at night or continue work the next day. Villagers who fail to work are charged 60 to 90 *Kyat* a day depending on the type of work.

The villagers are getting poorer and poorer. However, the UNDP has started assisting our poor villagers by its development programs. The UNDP Burmese staff members are rich. They use high quality equipment and materials, such as good boats and bags. They come to villages for giving injections to children and granting loans to the villagers. Medicine is free but villagers have to pay money to the team for meals, while they are staying in our village. A six men team which came for injections and spent a day in a village, requested 10,000 *Kyat* for their meals. Big villages like Ein Ma Gyi had to pay 30,000 *Kyat* to the UNDP team for food. Sometimes, there was a Westerner with the group and then, the group did not ask money for food.

The loan program is for poor villagers in our area. The UNDP lent money for a pig farm, for buying new fishing nets, for growing eucalyptus trees and for growing betel leaves. There is 3 percent interest rate per month. The loan is for one year term. However, the staff explained that if a borrower is only able to pay interest by the year end, they would consider extending the period. I think the program is not so good for the rural people.

Moreover, the buying rate for a pig is also about 35 per cent higher than the actual rate. There are primary schools and clinics jointly built by the UNDP and villagers. Villagers have to pay half of the price of buildings being built. After that, wealthy families of villages have to pay 100 *kyat* a month for teachers and nurses whose salaries are around 1,000 *kyat*.

In our region the SLORC is encouraging villagers to grow eucalyptus trees. We are informed by the Forestry Department that Japan will buy oil extracted from the trees and will give a lot of money. Therefore, many villages have around a thousand of those trees grown by

villagers. Also the Forestry Department is growing a lot. Shwe Kyun Thar camp, a place formally a village of Eukyun village which was relocated has around five thousands of those trees. The Department forced some villages to relocate and cut down coconut trees and then grow eucalyptus trees. They said they would make the region green by substituting with eucalyptus trees. (There is no knowledge distribution that growing eucalyptus trees would affect the land.)

My parents advised me to give up being a farmer and find a job in town. Therefore, I went to Bogalay but it was difficult to get a job. I met a security guard of the hospital there and he suggested not to work because his salary was around 700 *kyat* and it was not sufficient. Then, he requested permission to resign, but the authorities told him he would be allowed to resign if he give 7,000 *kyat* as compensation. He has no money so he has to continue working there. This rule is about the same in every department. Therefore, I left for Thailand to work.

Interview: 6: Extortion, Forced Labor

Name:	"Pu Lianthlang"
Sex:	Male
Age:	36
Ethnicity:	Chin
Marital Status:	Married, with 2 children
Address:	xxxx village, Thantlang Township, Chin State
Date of Interview:	February 1999
Source:	CHRO

["Pu Lianthang" is a respected person in the village. Although he does not want to serve as the village chairman under the SPDC, upon requests by the villagers, he is serving as chairman of xxxx Village Peace and Development Council in Thantlang township.]

Q**:** How is your relationship with the SPDC army? Could you tell us about it?
A: SPDC's army and government give us the orders. And I, the chairman, and the villagers have to follow accordingly.

Q: Could you tell us what kind of orders are given?
A: The most amoral man we ever met is Major Myint Aung from IB 372. One of his orders was that fifteen villagers had to do sentry duty every day. Counting the number of the villagers, each person has to do sentry duty three days per week and so have no time to do our own work.

Q: Could you not explain these problems or make requests to the Major?
A: To make a request to military personnel, I need at least *Kyat* 20,000 and a pig. We have nothing right now. If I go without money, I will be accused of acting against the army and be beaten. Therefore, at this time,I cannot make any request.

Q: Why do you think they give these kind of orders?
A: He knows that we can not carry out his order. He purposely gives us orders which we cannot carry out. Then, he expects us to bring him money, pigs, and /or liquor for his reconsideration. I think that's why he gives us these kind of orders.

Q: Any other kind of orders?
A: There are a lot more. They order us to bring them four big chicken, two viss of fish or pork, two thighs of deer or wild pig (or any wild animal) and fresh vegetable to the army camp (Lungler village) every week, not later than the time they fixed.

Q: What do you think why they order like this?
A: I think, because the government does not provide them sufficiently. That's why we are being forced to suffer.

Q: What will happen if you do not give them?
A: Do not mention the word 'not giving'. If we bring them the orders an hour later than the time they fixed, we would be imposed a fine. Sometimes they even fine us, complaining the food we bring them is not fresh.

Q. How much do you pay for a fine and to whom do you pay it? And what do they use it for?
A. It depends on how big the village and financial standing of the villages. They know the financial standing of the villages around this area. They frequently impose a fine the villages with a good financial standing. They put a fine on the poor villages when they do not have money to buy alcohol. Usually they impose a fine from *kyat* 1,000 up to 5,000. We have to pay it to Major Myint Aung. In his absence, we pay it to the Commander-In-Charge of the camp. When they get the money, they send two or tree villagers to Thantlang which is three days walk away from our village to buy alcohol. They never pay the villagers for this service, and the villagers have to pay their own travel expenses.

Q: Did you write a complaint to the higher authorities?
A: Major Myint Aung told us that he has received instruction from the higher authorities to get anything the army wants from the remote villages where there is difficulty of transportation. That's why I don't want to make any complaint. I think that they are real beggars, they have no shame about begging from others.

Q: Do you have anything more to say?
A: On July 15, 1998, the Department of Land Taxation issued an order prohibiting us from doing our traditional cultivation. The order stated that every household has to complete 3 acres of terrace cultivation and give a *kyat* 1,500 deposit to the Land Taxation Department. Whoever fails to pay a deposit will faced severe action.

Q: Is there anyone who has knowledge of how to do terrace cultivation and how did you start it?
A: No one knew how to do it. According to the order each household had to complete three

acres but we had no money for a deposit. For that reason, on April 24, 1998, I went to Thantlnag Township Land Taxation Office and made a request to U Hoi Ling that we did not have sufficient funds. This request meant paying them 30,000 *kyat* which I collected from the villagers. Afterwards, we were allowed to continue with our traditional cultivation practices.

Q: Could you please share with us your feelings and thoughts?
A: I think the soldiers have been begging in an unfair manner from the people because the government cannot provide them with sufficient resources. The more they beg, the more excess materials they can get, and therefore, the more the honor of the government will be tamished. I think the authorities are trying to build up their own power and maintain stability through these soldiers. I believe, if every citizen selflessly acts against a group of authorities, this government will definitely be demolished. However we can not give up our 'self' easily because we must struggle for our daily lives. That is why people are continually being made to suffer.

Interview: 7: Forced Labor, Forced Porters, Landmines, Child Labor, Looting

Name :	"Zing Par"
Sex:	Female
Age:	41
Ethnicity:	Chin
Religion:	Christian
Occupation:	Slash-and-burn farmer
Address:	Khan Tlang village, Paletwa Township, Chin State
Marital status:	Married with three children (2 daughters and one son)
Date of Interview:	February 5, 1999
Place of Interview:	Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh
Source:	Images Asia

(*Note: Her husband is sick and cannot work, she supports the family alone*)

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: We fled our village because we had to suffer too much. We were tortured by the Burmese Army! They forced us to work for them all the time. Even, we, the women and the girls, were forced to work in their camp, while they took our husbands and all the men as porters during their patrol. When our husbands went as porters, they didn't receive any food. There is an army camp in Khan Tlang. We don't know which battalion, but their headquarters are in Paletwa. We, the women and children, were called to cut grass in their camp for the whole day, everyday. They didn't give us any food, nor any wages for our labour. We didn't get anything from the army. Moreover, they collected rice and money from us. The Burmese soldiers are living off the people. We could no longer endure this unbearable situation, so we decided to leave Khan Tlang and flee to the border. We stayed in a village there for a while in 1997 [on the Burma side of the border]. One night in February 1998, we were informed

that the army had surrounded our place. All the villagers decided to run away secretly. We couldn't carry anything. We fled with only the clothes that we were wearing and with our children. It was night time. The army was chasing us and fired at us. The next morning we crossed the border just before the soldiers caught up with us. Here is my husband. He is a sick man. He is suffering from malnutrition because the army always called him as a porter and they never gave him any food [he is very thin and cannot walk properly].He was suffering so much. That is why he became like this. Because of the army!

Q: Did all the villagers from Khan Tlang flee?
A: There were about 150 families. Most of them fled. Only one family is left there because they have connection with the Army. Some fled to Bangladesh, but most went to Mizoram. Because in Mizoram, the people are Mizos [same ethnic group]. It is easier for us to get work and survive there.

Q: How often did your husband have to be a porter?
A: Two or three times a week! We couldn't work for ourselves. Every time, he had to carry for one day, or two days each time. Sometimes they even called him at night.

Q: How many days could he work in a month?
The Husband : In a month, I could only stay about 5 days at home. Even in the rainy season, when there was flood, we could not sleep, and we were forced to cross rivers.

Q: What did you have to do at the army camp?
A: They ordered me to carry sand from the river bank to the road. Inside their camp, but also outside in the village. They were building a road. The men had to carry for them as porters and, at the same time, the women had to work in the army camp. Only the elderly people and the small children could stay at home. Fathers and mothers, as well as the elder brothers and sisters had to work. My youngest daughter here is now 12 years old. She had to carry water at the army camp too.

Q: How did the soldiers call the workers?
A: The soldiers came by themselves in our village, and grabbed anyone at random. Everyday like that!

Q: Did they ever beat anyone?
A: Of course! When we were working, they beat us. They kicked us with their boots. They forced me to carry sand from the river and I was too slow. They beat me to force me to work faster.
Another Villager : Even though we were working for them, they forced us to work very fast. When I was carrying, my head load was very heavy and I couldn't walk fast. Then they kicked me with their boots and hit me with a bamboo stick. They hit my legs and my back quite badly. I also had to repair their barracks, fetch water from the river and build fences around their camp.

Q: When did that happen?
A: Since CNF started their activities. Since that time, we are suffering a lot.
Another Villager : When we are going to our fields with a bag of rice, they accuse us that we are carrying it to CNF, and they beat us. In the past we had to do a little bit of labour for them, not much, but after CNF started operating, it became continuous and serious. More and more…
Zing Par: They (the Burmese soldiers)come to check our rice. If we have three kg of rice, they take two kg for themselves. Moreover, every month, they collect 500 *kyat* from each family. They also take from us whatever animals we had, our chickens, our pigs. They never pay for anything they take. Whenever they see that the animal is fat enough to eat, they demand it from us. When we go and ask for compensation, they beat us and answered to us: "This is what you have to do! You must give us!"
Other Villager : They (the Burmese soldiers) even said: "This is not your country. This is our country! If you don't want to give us, then go away from this country!"
Zing Par : Anything they see in our house they steal. They even take our own properties, our clothes. They stole my back-strap loom and my money. They robbed 1,000 *Kyat* from me. In front of me! They came into my house and pointed a gun at me, and then they robbed me.

Q : What do you think about CNF?
A: They never entered our village. Whether they are good or bad, we don't know. CNF collected funds in our village through the———. We had to pay anyway. But we feel much worse that we had to support the Burmese Army. The Burmese Army extorted a lot of money from us, and they also tortured people. They always inquired about the taxes for CNF but we never told them. Those who are suffering the most are the traders who are going to Bangladesh from time to time. They grabbed them, beat them and accused them: "Of course, you are helping CNF and you are carrying their letters!"

Q: What about landmines?
A: There were many landmines around our villages. I never heard of any people stepping on them, but so many animals blew up, especially at night. We had to be careful for landmines since 1988. The Burmese army usually warned us not to walk here and there, especially along the small footpaths, not the main paths that the army and the civilians are using for traveling [small footpaths are used by opposition armies].

Q: What was the situation in the border village where you stayed in1997?
A: The situation was not good there either. Several [opposition] armies were active around there, and they all demanded money from us. But the Burmese Army was especially bad. One day, the troops stayed overnight in the village and ordered the people to organise a cultural night. For that, they called all the villagers to gather at one place. One woman did not participate the programme. The commander of their group, a Lieutenant, saw a light in her house. He got angry and just fired at the house. She got killed.

Q: What do you hope for the future?
A: For the future, I hope that we can stay here, and that we could improve our life like other

people. There is a high school here [two hours walk away], a market to sell some of our production and some communication with the outside world. My children can now go to school. My daughter is now in second Standard and my son in first Standard.

Interview: 8: Arrest, Beating, Extortion

Name:	"Saw Plaw"
Sex:	Male
Age:	23
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	Married with four children
Address:	Bilin Township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	February 1999
Place of Interview:	Near his village

Q: Do SPDC soldiers ever come to your village?
A: They come to the village very often. They came and arrested and beat me, just four days ago. They came in the daytime, at 3 p.m. I didn't know they were coming. When they arrived, two responsible *[KNU]* people were in my house, the group leader and the militia leader. When they jumped down out of the house, the Burmese shot at them. Then they accused me of helping those people. When I came down the house, they beat and punched me. I don't know how many times they hit me, over ten times, and they hit me three times with a gun. Then they took me to the monastery. When we arrived at the monastery, they poked me with a bayonet, they beat me in the face with a bayonet and they put the bayonet in my mouth and shook it around. Then they tied my hands behind my back and I had to sleep like a dog or a pig.

Q: When did they release you?
A: They released me after two days. I had to give three baskets of rice and one pig. It wasn't my own rice. The villagers gave it for me, then I had to buy rice to give back to them. It cost me 3,000 *kyat* for one basket of rice, 9,000 *kyat* altogether.

Q: How big was the pig?
A: 16 *viss [25 kg / 55 lb]*. It was worth 8,000 *kyat*. They forced us to give it. They ordered me to give them a gun, and I said I had no gun, I only had one pig. I couldn't find a gun for them because I'm not a soldier, I'm a villager.

Q: Did they arrest other people together with you?
A: They arrested three of us, but they only tortured me. They only hit my friend one time. His name is P—, he is 35 and married with 4 children.

Q: Why did they arrest him?
A: He was together with me in the house, so after those two *[KNU]* people left the house

they arrested and tortured us. They also took things from my house. They took 2 big tins of sesame oil and all of our clothing, knives, spoons and our axe.

Q: Where did the soldiers go back to after beating you?
A: They went back to M—. Their uniforms said LIB *xxx* on them. I don't know any of them.

Q: Now how do you make your living?
A: Now I can't do anything. I am feeding my family like this. We stay together with our parents and eat together.

Interview: 9: Extortion, Forced Portering

Name:	"Saw Joseph"
Sex:	Male
Age:	27
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Christian
Address:	Pa Doh Plaw village, Kyauk T'Ga township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	February 1999
Source:	KHRG

["Saw Joseph" was interviewed after fleeing his village and arriving in Thailand as a refugee.]

Q: Why did you come here?
A: I arrived here seven days ago, on February 12, 1999. I came because they *[SPDC soldiers]* are collecting too many fees for portering and sentry duty. We had to pay the porter and sentry duty fees one to three times per month. We have been paying the fees for a long time, since about ten years ago. They demand 1,000 or 1,500 *kyat* each time *[per family]*. Sometimes they collect money for 'urgent' situations; they order the village headman to collect that for them.

Q: What did they do to the villagers if they can't give the fees?
A: If we have no money we borrow money from a money-lender, for which we have to pay 15 or 20 *kyat* per month for every 100 *kyat [15-20% interest per month]*, or we give paddy which they value at 400 *kyat* per basket. The most we can get for one basket is 500 *kyat*. It's not easy if you borrow money or give paddy. If the villagers can't pay, they force the villagers to go *[labour for them]*.

Q: Do you have to pay every month?
A: Yes. They ask the leader of each group of ten houses to collect the money from each house. If we can't give the money, they take our belongings. Only Indians *[villagers of Indian descent]* and Chinese are still coming and staying in the village *[no one else can*

afford to].
Another Woman: Karen villagers are leaving the village and only Indian and Chinese *[villagers]* are staying in the village.

Q: Did you have to go for *loh ah pay* this year?
A: This year when they arrested porters, we always fled. As for *loh ah pay [other forced labour]*, we had to go when the Sittaung river overflowed but that was a long time ago. We had to rebuild the broken embankment. They forced about 150 villagers to go and work for ten or twenty days. You can walk to the Sittaung river in one day, but by the time you arrive it's dark. They told us to bring our own food and didn't give us anything.

Q: Do you think you will go back?
A: No.

Interview: 10: Relocation, Extra-judicial Killing, Forced Portering, Extortion, Health and Education, Forced Marriage

Name:	"Saw Tee Ko"
Sex:	Male
Age:	40
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Marital Staus:	Married with five children
Address:	Myeh Yeh village, Mone township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	February 1999
Source:	KHRG

["Saw Tee Ko" was the headman of his village, which was forced to relocate in 1991. He was interviewed shortly after fleeing the relocation site and arriving in Thailand as a refugee.]

Q: Who said they were going to kill you?
A: The operations commander of Battalion 60. I can't recall his name. I didn't dare ask his name because I thought if I asked him he would do something to me. He captured me in my house and accused me of being in contact with *Tha Bone ['rebels']*. They accused me of feeding the forest people, of letting them sleep in my house and sending food to them.

Q: What is the name of the relocation site where you were?
A: It is called Yan Myo Aung and I moved there in 1991 because the Burmese forced us to. The relocation site was five miles from Ler Doh and four miles from Na Than Gwin. They forced us to move during the rainy season and we had to leave our houses. They burned down our houses and cut down our mango and coconut trees, because they said we were attached to those things so we wouldn't want to leave our village otherwise. They cut them all down and forced us to relocate to Yan Myo Aung because Yeh Aung and his *[KNLA]* troops shot at them and killed fourteen of their soldiers. The soldiers they fired at were a

mixed column from the SPDC IB 351 and 60. That happened in April of 1991. A KNLA soldier came and saw that there were only a few Burmese soldiers, so they *[the KNLA soldiers]* were waiting on the path that the Burmese would return on. I knew that the KNLA were waiting for them so I told them not to go back, because if they did they would be shot. But they never listened to me, so they went back and they were shot. They got angry with us because of that and forced us to relocate. Before they forced us to relocate they tied us up under a banyan tree. Villagers from three villages were punished: they tied up 25 people from Ter Bpaw, 25 people from Po Thaung Su and 25 people from Myeh Yeh. It was only the young men who were tied up, but the old men, women and children were put out in the sun. They put the old people, women and children in the sun for two or three days. They told us they must not hear the sound of gunfire, and that if they heard it they would kill us all. We told them they wouldn't hear the sound of guns and that we would take responsibility for that. If we tell the Karen soldiers not to shoot, they don't shoot. They told us that we must tell them the truth or they were going to kill us. Then we told them, "Before the KNLA shot at you we saw them and we informed the Burmese soldiers but they didn't care and left our village." They continued to hold us but didn't harm us. They didn't untie us until they forced us to relocate. Then they forced us to destroy our own houses and when we moved we had to take along our own rice and water.

They forced us to live on the road at first, then they forced us to relocate to Done Doh and stay there. Three villages had to relocate: our village, Po Thaung Su and Ter Bpaw. We thought that they would let us live in Done Doh, but when everyone from all three villages arrived they forced us to move to Yan Myo Aung. That was during the rainy season. We had to travel in the rain and build our houses in the rain. While we were building our houses they wanted us to suffer, so they shelled us with heavy weapons and one cow was killed.

Q: Did any other villages have to relocate?
A: The people of other villages who had helped us to transport our things while we were relocating thought they weren't going to have to relocate. Those who helped us were from Twa Ni Gone, Bpa Reh Si, Noh Htaw Hta and Ta Maw Ma villages. However, after they finished helping us they themselves were forced to dismantle their houses and relocate to where we were. That was during the rainy season and the rain was falling heavily. By then the rain had destroyed the road so they weren't able to transport all of their things. Things which they left behind were stolen by the Burmese people from Haw Ko Ghaw. They stole only the nice wood and nice possessions, and then the Burmese soldiers burned the rest of the houses in the villages.

There were 370 households in the relocation site after we were first forced to move there in April of 1991. When we first arrived we had to clear the bushes and trees to stay there, because they forced us to move to a jungle area where a nearby village let its buffaloes forage for food. It was rainy season and water was everywhere. The water came up to our waists in some places. It was very hard to live. We couldn't do anything. We had to stay in our houses because of the water. If we went to find vegetables we had to walk in water that was sometimes chest deep. They didn't arrange anything for us. The next dry season they came and drilled a well eighty feet deep. When we pumped up the water it looked clear and good but when we cooked rice with it the rice turned black so we couldn't

eat it and threw it away. *[The water was clear after being pumped out but if let sit for a moment it would turn yellow and a layer of oil formed on the surface.]* After that, we had to filter the water through sand and stone in two or three stages before we could cook the rice and the rice would remain white.

Q: Where did you get rice?
A: We had to borrow rice from our friends. Some people were able to bring a lot of rice while others weren't able to bring any. We had to share with each other. We couldn't go to our old villages and those who did were heavily punished. Hunger became common. It was very hard for us until the harvest of the following year. We tried hard throughout the year. People weren't allowed to go back to work in their villages, so some people hired themselves out to farmers in the area around our relocation site. We had to sell our bullock-carts and our cattle and then we worked for other people. Sometimes we were paid 200 *kyat* per day and other times it was only 150 *kyat* per day. As for me, I carried people on my trishaw every day.

Q: Did any Burmese villages have to relocate?
A: The Burmese people in Burmese villages were not forced to relocate, but they were afraid when we weren't there so they relocated to where we were. The Burmese village is just the Burmese section of Myeh Yeh *[his village]*. They lived with us for two years and then finally returned to their old villages.

Q: Could you open a school for the children?
A: Yes, we opened a school there that went from Kindergarten to 4th Standard *[Grade 4]*. The teacher was from Myeh Yeh, her name was Thramu C—. Another teacher was the wife of Thra T—. Because of our poverty we couldn't support the teachers, but they understood our situation and encouraged our children to learn without receiving anything themselves. The children were allowed to worship and sing but they weren't allowed to learn Karen *[language]*.

Q: Did you have medicine if your children became ill?
A: There was no medicine and we weren't allowed to carry medicine. When our children were ill, we went to buy medicine for them and had to hide the medicine on the way back. If they *[the Burmese soldiers]* saw us with medicine, they would kill us. After the soldiers told us that, no one carried medicine anymore so no one was killed for that reason. When my children were ill I had to give them traditional medicine and if that didn't work I had to take them to the hospital. We couldn't carry medicine but we were allowed to take sick people to the hospital.

Q: After you were relocated, how many villagers eventually returned to their old villages?
A: After we were relocated almost every family from every village eventually returned to their villages. Those who didn't dare didn't return. As for us, we returned to the area of our old village and lived there for one year. We didn't dare live in the village but instead lived between the Burmese section and Leh Bpah. We lived there a year, then Bo Htun Htun from IB 73 told us to go live back in our old village in Myeh Yeh, so we moved. He told us

to live quietly so we did. He stayed there with us for 3 months and then left and went back. After he left, *[Battalion]* 440 came and stayed with us for a month and then forced us to go back to the relocation site at Yan Myo Aung. Their Battalion commander's name was Major Khin Maung Shwe. They forced us to move during the rainy season while it was raining heavily, and the children got bitten a lot by mosquitoes. We couldn't carry everything with us, so we had to rebuild our houses with what we had brought. While we were building our houses we had to live in the rain, and when we were finished the houses were very small and the thatch for the roof was old and falling apart. That was in 1994.

Q: How many villages had to move back to the relocation site?
A: Myeh Yeh, Bpa Reh Si and Noh Htaw Hta had to move back. Yay Leh, Ter Bpaw, Po Thaung Su and other villages bribed the soldiers with money so they could stay in their old villages. Each village had to pay hundreds of thousands of *kyat* to bribe the soldiers. I heard that Ter Bpaw and Po Thaung Su had to pay 300,000 *kyat* each. Yay Leh village is large, so they had to give 500,000 *kyat*. As for our village, we couldn't bribe them so we had to relocate again. At first they didn't demand that we go, but they said, "If you can't give us this amount of money, go!" We couldn't give them the money so we had to go.

Q: Did they kill anyone while you were in Yan Myo Aung?
A: They killed a villager from Yay Leh named Say Sai, a villager from Twa Ni Gone named Maw Kaw Gwee, a villager from Thay Ghee Lu named Maw Peh Yah, a villager from Thu Boh Lu named Lah Khaw Wah Pa, a Bpa Reh Si villager named U Gah Lu and a Ta Maw Ma villager whose name I can't recall. They killed them because they said they had been feeding, hiding and helping the people in the bushes *[KNLA soldiers]* who the Burmese said had shot at them at Na Than Gwin. They said that the bush people were able to shoot at them at Na Than Gwin because of those villagers so they arrested and killed them. Those people hadn't done what they said. They told them that they hadn't fed, hid or helped the bush people but the Burmese wouldn't believe them so they killed them.

Q: Did they ever capture you to porter while you were living there?
A: They captured us like this: first they ordered every man to come to a meeting where they said they would tell us important things. When all the men arrived, they forced us to get in their truck and then took us to the other side of the road. They told us, "Anyone who dares not go must pay us a bribe." The people had to pay 5,000, 6,000, 7,000, 14,000, 15,000 and 20,000 *kyat* and then they released them *[the price went up as more were released]*. They did that twice. They also captured everyone they saw working in the fields. They chased them so the men couldn't escape. People had to leave their working tools behind and follow the soldiers. They captured two people, U Mya and his son, from our village. U Mya's son had to go to Mu Theh and Pwa Ghaw *[as a porter]* for almost 2 months. He tried to escape twice because he was ill, but the Burmese soldiers captured him and beat him badly. They beat him, kicked him and punched him until he was almost dead. He was very ill and couldn't walk any more so he was left in Mu Theh. He called his parents to go and get him from Mu Theh and take him home. They went and he had to be carried home. When he got home he was almost dead and his mother was crying, but she was able to cure him. The medicine was much too expensive for them, but he got better in the end. They

captured porters like this in '96 and '97.

Q: Why couldn't you live there any longer, why did you flee?
A: We can't stay there anymore because they have accused some of us of being members of the KNU organisation and of providing security for its army. They find people, accuse them and then kill them. They find people who had contact with the KNU in '95 and those who have contact now. If they can find people who have had *[any]* contact with the KNU at any time in their past, they kill them. Shan Bpu *[leader of one of the 'Guerrilla Retaliation' groups]* has killed people in Lu Ah, Haw Ko Ghaw, Twa Ni Gone, Myeh Yeh, and Yan Myo Aung too. When we found out that they are going to kill all the villagers who had helped the KNU, we knew they would kill us too. Our names are in their books. When they read out the names, people told us so and we ran. Now they are still persecuting all the people. They are the *Sa Thon Lon [Three S's, i.e. Sa Sa Sa]*. People said that they don't ask any questions *[they kill without interrogation]* and they are going to "cut off the tops of all the plants". The second group, Sweeper, will come to sweep up the people and then the third group will come to scorch the earth and "dig out the roots". They will kill all the relatives of the forest people *[the KNLA]*. The *Sa Thon Lon* don't look like they will go and fight *[go into battle]*, they are just going around killing members of the general public. They said that they are going to clear the people out of the countryside, that they have to kill all people who support the forest people and people who give taxes to the forest people. They also said that if the KNLA shoots and kills one of them, they will burn down the village closest to where it happened and kill everyone in the village. They killed 4 people from Twa Ni Gone but I only know the name of Saw Gka Bweh. In Lu Ah I only know the name of Saw Heh Bo among the people they have killed. They've killed many people but I don't know all their names. In Mone township, where we were living, they have killed no less than 10 people but I only know some of their names. Therefore we didn't dare stay any longer and we came here. We had to suffer many problems while we were fleeing to get here.

Q: Why did they kill the four people from Twa Ni Gone?
A: They told people that those four ran away when they called to them so they killed them. However, what they said is not true. Those people didn't run when they called them. When they called those people away from their fishing at the pond, they took them to a garden and said to them, "*Tha Bone ['rebels']* come and sleep in your village and you cook fish for them to eat." The villagers answered that the KNLA hadn't come and they'd never cooked for them, but they kept on accusing them and finally killed them. As for the boy, they shot him 4 times with their gun but that didn't finish him so they stabbed him to death and then cut off his head. Before they killed him the boy said, "I haven't done anything bad to you but if you are going to kill me, I'm at peace because I have no guilt." Still they killed him. They thought that the boy may have had some special stone in his belly because their guns hadn't killed him, so they cut open his belly and his intestines but saw nothing. Then they cut open his whole body and still found nothing. Another of the four said to them, "You've accused me and are going to kill me, so kill me and I will wait for you in heaven!" Then they killed him. *[After killing them]* they took all their fish and rice and also took all the money which the villagers had in their huts that they had got from selling fish.

Q: How did they kill Saw Heh Bo?
A: They were staying and eating in Saw Heh Bo's house. They told him that he'd had contact with the forest people, acting as security for the forest people and giving them money. He told them he had done that in the past but he hadn't done that for a long time. But they told him, "We aren't just killing people who have done these sorts of things recently, we are also killing people who have done things in the past. We have to kill all of them!"

Q: What about the situation in Baw Bpee Der and Ma La Daw?
A: When they went to Baw Bpee Der and Ma La Daw areas they killed people there too but I don't know their names. They killed people in Aung Chan Tha, Goh Nee, Tee Hta Lu, Baw Bpee Der, T'Kaw Pwa and Way Sweh. They killed four people in T'Kaw Pwa but I don't know their names. In T'Kaw Pwa, when they saw people going to their farms to pound their paddy they interrogated and beat them even though they had a pass. Those who didn't have a pass were captured, killed and their paddy was burned. The Burmese burned a lot of paddy in Way Sweh and T'Kaw Pwa areas.

They killed Saw Aye and Po Theh Pyay while they were fishing in their boat *[in November 1998; Saw Aye was from Myeh Yeh and Po Theh Pyay from Ter Bpaw]*. When they saw them, they demanded that they come to them. When Saw Aye and Po Theh Pyay got to them, they ordered them to raise their hands and then they shot them dead. After killing them, they cut off their heads and took them to Ter Bpaw and Po Thaung Su. They hung one of the heads on the path to Mone and the other on the path to Ler Doh *[Kyauk Kyi]*. They ordered people *[villagers]* to guard the heads and said that if the heads were lost they would be replaced by the heads of those who had been guarding them and lost them. People on sentry duty watched them all day and night. They finally threw the heads away when they were decomposing. They had been hanging there for over a month before they finally ordered them thrown away.

Q: Do they demand that people give them anything?
A: They demand that people give them a lot. When they enter the villages they tell the villagers, "The forest people have come to your village, so if you want to live peacefully come and give me money." Villagers from each village have to bribe them with hundreds of thousands *[of kyat]*. What they said about the forest people entering the villages isn't true, they just lie to the villagers to get money. They demand alcohol, bags and clothing. People bought them things worth 2-3,000 *kyat* but they didn't like them, they wanted things worth 4-5,000 *kyat*. They required two bicycles but they didn't want bikes worth 4-5,000 *kyat*, they demanded bikes worth 15-20,000 *kyat*. If they see business people, like traders of rice, beans and pigs, they rough them up and take their money. Business people have to avoid them if they hear they're in the area. That's true, they really have taken people's money like that.

Q: Are they the group that is called "Short Pants"?
A: Yes, people call them *Baw Bi Doh ['short pants']*, but they don't like that so they ordered people to call them *Thad Shin A'Pweh ['killing and clearing group']*. Later, they didn't like that either and forced people to call them *Shwit A'Pweh ['shwit' group]*. They say that the sound of cutting someone's throat with a knife is "*shwit*".

Q: Do you know of anything else the *Sa Thon Lon* have been doing recently?
A: The *Sa Thon Lon* are killing all the dogs in the villages because they don't like the dogs barking when they arrive during the night. If the dogs bark at them, the villagers will know that they have arrived. They beat the dogs to death and then they beat the owners of the dogs *[which bark at them]*. If they shoot the dog dead, then they beat the owner and also demand 500 *Kyat* for the cost of the bullet after they beat him. They have ordered villagers in the area of Way Sweh, T'Kaw Pwa and Nga Byaw Daw villages to kill all their dogs. The dead dogs filled two bullock-carts and were discarded outside of the villages. Now there are no dogs there. I even had to kill my own dog. In Yan Myo Aung 10 dogs were killed, but in Twa Ni Gone, Haw Ko Ghaw, Lu Ah, Weh Gyi and T'Kaw Pwa all the dogs were killed.

Q: Do they walk during the night?
A: They only walk during the night and sleep during the day. If they are in Haw Ko Ghaw, they can come to Yan Myo Aung in one night. If they want to go from Kyo Ber Tha to Haw Ko Ghaw, they can do that in one night also. During the day they sleep in people's houses but they never introduce themselves to the owners of the house, they never make friends with them. They live there with faces of stone and eat whatever they want to. They never look at the faces of the people they are staying with because they are afraid the villagers may be able to recognise them. They never make friends with any villagers. They don't have people staying in every village at the same time, but they move around and sometimes stay in Haw Ko Ghaw, or Thit Cha Seik, or Yay Leh, or Nga Nwah Seit, or Weh Tu, or sometimes in Yan Myo Aung. They move around like that and don't really have a home base. Sometimes they go to Thit Cha Seik, Ter Bpaw and Po Thaung Su and then leave. They kill people wherever they go.

One of them got married in Nga Nwah Seit. His name is Bo Maung Maung, he is from the *Sa Thon Lon.* He asked the girl's parents to give him their daughter, and she didn't like him but she had to marry him. People in the countryside are forced to marry them. They wrote letters to each of the villages and the village leaders had to collect enough money from all the villagers to pay for the food that was going to be prepared and for the clothing and jewellery, a necklace and earrings for the bride. The elders from my village of Yan Myo Aung collected money from the villagers and the whole village had to pay 17,000 *kyat*. I don't know what other villages had to pay but big villages had to give more. He *[Bo Maung Maung]* showed movies in each village before the wedding to make money. Each person had to pay 50 *kyat* for each night the movies were showing regardless of whether they went to see the movie or not. In our village *[Yan Myo Aung relocation site]* they showed movies on two nights so we had to pay 100 *kyat* each. One movie was an English movie and the other was Burmese, but I don't know the titles of the movies because I'm not interested in movies. The village elders couldn't do anything, they could only tell us that we had to pay whether we went or not, so some villagers went and watched the movies. After the wedding he *[Bo Maung Maung]* had a house built in Nga Nwah Seit. It was a brick house and the villagers had to bring the bricks as well as build the house. All the expense and labour that went into that house came from the villagers.

Q: Do they ever capture and abuse women?
A: When they see women and girls on their way somewhere, they ask them whether they have passes. They take the pass and ask their names. If the name that they give is one letter longer or shorter *[than the name on the pass]*, they beat them. When they see girls who are quite pretty, they put powder on their own faces and then force the girls to kiss them until the powder is gone. As for women or girls who have no pass, they force them to take off their clothes and sit in front of them naked. The girls feel shy and sit shyly but they don't like that, they force them to sit in the open so they can see everything on their bodies. If he *[a Sa Sa Sa soldier]* likes a girl, he asks her to love him and if she doesn't love him he demands that the village headman speak on his behalf. If the village headman can't convince her, they will kill the village headman. If the parents of the girl don't agree, they kill her parents. We saw a girl in Lu Ah treated this way. Shan Bpu *[a Sa Sa Sa group commander]* asked the village headman, her parents and the villagers to give her to him. Both her parents and the village headman had to tell her to marry him. The villagers told her the same thing. They said, "If you don't marry him they will kill us all, as the village headman and your parents told you." Finally, she had to give herself to the Burmese *[soldier]* because she loves her parents, the village headman and the villagers. She gave herself sadly. She told her husband *[Shan Bpu]* that she would pray for him every night. Her husband asked, "What do you pray for?" She answered, "May Kawthoolei *[KNU/KNLA]* people not shoot you dead and may you not die by a landmine." Then he asked, "Why?" She answered, "If the Kawthoolei shoot you or your men dead or if you die by a KNLA landmine, you will come back and beat and kill the villagers. That is why I pray you don't die this way. I pray that a snake will bite and kill you!" He didn't understand and asked her again, "Why do you pray for a snake to bite me?" She said, "If a snake bites you and you die, you can't kill the villagers and if you want to kill the snake, you can't chase it. That's why I pray for you this way." She was crying when they first got married and after they were married she was still crying because she doesn't like him. Now her husband has called her to go and live in another area but she didn't go, so he said that she was too attached to her house and returned to burn down his father-in-law's house. When he had finished burning his father-in-law's house he was worried that people would say "He's the one who burned his own father-in-law's house", so he burned down every house in the village. He told his wife, "I have burned your house because of your attachment to it." Then her father got angry, he stuck out his chest and said, "My daughter is still attached to me and her siblings, so shoot us all dead so that she can go with you. If you don't kill us all, you won't be able to make her go with you." But Shan Bpu didn't shoot him.

Interview: 11: Forced rice quota, forced relocation, forced portering, forced labour,

Name:	"Saw Min Shwe"
Sex:	Male
Age:	56
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Christian

Marital Status:	Married, five children aged 4-26, some other children already died
Address:	Zee Byu Gone village, Tantabin township
Date of Interview:	February 1999
Source:	KHRG

["Saw Min Shwe" was interviewed just after arriving in Thailand as a refugee.]

Q: Where is your village?
A: My original village was Dta Weh Dah, but I went to work near Tantabin and got married there, so I settled down there. I lived in Taw Ta Tu area, they call it Tantabin township. My village, Zee Byu Gone, is not near any town. When I was there I worked in my fields.

Q: Can you tell us why you came here?
A: I came here because the Burmese tortured us until we had no time left to do our own work, they forced us to work for them so much. As less and less time was left for us to do our own work we produced less and less food, until it was not enough for us to survive anymore. So we came here.

Q: How did the Burmese make you suffer in Taw Ta Tu township?
A: As for me, I suffered because I am a farmer and I was working my fields, but then the Burmese soldiers told us that the fields we were working were fields of the government. That means fields of the Burmese. Then they decreed that one acre of field can yield seventy baskets *[of unhusked rice]* so we must give them fifty baskets from each acre. But our fields do not even yield 50 baskets per acre, so we couldn't give them what they demanded from us. Fifty baskets was the very top yield we could ever get. Therefore they made problems for us. If you couldn't give it they arrest you and put you in the stocks, they forced you to dig their ponds and do other work. As for me, they never arrested me because I tried very hard to give whatever they ordered *[he bought or borrowed rice to fill the quota]*, but I still had to go and do their *loh ah pay ['voluntary' labour, actually forced labour]* many times, such as digging ponds and digging the path. I had to go because I had no money to hire someone else *[to go for him; he was never taken for failure to pay quota, but he had to go whenever the troops made their regular demands for forced labourers]*. My children had to go too. Other times they captured me and I had to do *loh ah pay*. I couldn't take it so I set out to come here. I'm telling you the truth, I'm telling you what I have suffered.

They also forced us to leave our houses and go to live near the car road where there is a relocation site. Our village is at the foot of the mountains, and they made us go live near the car road at a place called Taw Ma Aye. That was three or four years ago. After they forced us to go to the relocation site they killed some people in the forest, and they arrested some people and put them in jail.

Q: Did they force only Zee Byu Gone village to go there?
A: No; Sha Yi Bo, Zee Byu Gone, Taw Gu, Yay Sha and many villages around there had to go. All. They gathered us there and showed us the area where we had to live but they didn't give us food. We had to go back and work our old fields, but it was difficult and we couldn't

get enough food to eat. Our field is in Zee Byu Gone so we had to go back and work in Zee Byu Gone. It is two hours' walk. They gave us a pass for three days *[at a time]*. Then we had to come back every three days to get another pass for another three days. But even during those three days *[when you are at your fields with a pass]*, if their troop patrols saw you along their way they called you over and harassed you, so you couldn't do your work. The people from the other villages had to live the same way as me.

Q: When you went back to do your work did they ever grab you *[for detention or labour]*?
A: They didn't grab me when I went to my old village, but they grabbed me when I went to cut bamboo on the mountain. They captured me and told me to stay with them for only one day but then forced me to live with them for a week, sometimes more than one week, and they didn't give me enough rice to eat. Each time I came back home after that I felt sick of that kind of thing, because it took away the time I need to work for my family. That is why I am here.

Q: Did you have to give porter fees?
A: If you don't have time to go you must give porter fees, sometimes 1,000 and sometimes 2,000 *kyat*, or amounts like that. If you have no money to give porter fees and you go *[for the labour]* yourself, it is very hard because they don't give you enough rice to eat so you don't have enough strength to carry their heavy things. When you feel tired and can't carry they beat you. Some people have died when they were portering. All of the abuses they have committed - you just can't describe them all because there are too many, so I'm just telling you what I myself have suffered and what I have seen. I didn't go as a porter, but I had to go and do *loh ah pay* many times.

Q: How many times did you have to go?
A: Sometimes once a month, sometimes twice a month, and each month we also had to give money to reimburse people for whatever the soldiers had eaten in the village, like pigs or chickens *[after SPDC troops steal livestock, the villagers collect money to reimburse the livestock owners in order to distribute the cost evenly]*. We are forced to give 100 or 200 *[per family]* every time they come and eat things in the village. Money is not easy for us to get, so sometimes we couldn't give it and they sent us to do *loh ah pay* when we couldn't give money *[the village authorities are always ordered to send numbers of forced labourers to the Army, so they send those who cannot pay money to reimburse the other villagers for SPDC looting]*. I'm telling you exactly what I have suffered.

Q: What kind of labour did you have to do as *loh ah pay*?
A: Go dig the road, go dig ponds *[fishponds for the Army]* and many other kinds of labour, whatever they forced you to do. I had to go and dig dirt on the path. They put big piles of dirt on the path and forced you to dig. If they said to do one armspan then I had to dig one armspan. It wasn't a car road, just a path for them to travel along.

Q: Do they have a camp at Zee Byu Gone?
A: They don't have a camp there but they often travel to Zee Byu Gone, so they force people to dig [repair] that path every year when it is destroyed. People have to dig it every year.

Q: Did they give you rice to eat when you were doing *loh ah pay*?
A: *Ahh lah*!! We had to take our own rice with us. They never give us rice to eat. Sometimes we have to work for two or three days.

Q: What do they do with the ponds they force you to dig?
A: I haven't gone to see them after they've been finished but people told me they are raising fish and planting banana trees around the pond. It was at a place above Taw Ma Aye, beside the car road.

Q: What Battalion are those soldiers from?
A: I don't know which battalion because they change all the time. I only know the name of the commander who came a long time ago and stayed for a long time; his name was Soe Tha. Since then there have been many commanders but I don't know any of them. Even their soldiers don't know them. We just had to work for them, until we were finished whatever work they forced us to do.

Q: Are they still killing people this year?
A: It is still happening, but as for me I just worked in the village and they couldn't capture me to be a long distance porter. I had to go but just near our area. As for the people who have to go *[as porters]* to places further away like Kler Lah, we've heard of some of them being beaten to death. But we only had to go to Swa Ler, K'Waw Kheh Der, Ko Mi Der and Play Sha Ler. I had to carry cookpots, rice and their other rations. They never beat me, but they shouted at me and slapped me.

Q: When did the Burmese start forcing people there to pay fees and do *loh ah pay* and portering?
A: I didn't take note, but I think it was ten years ago. Since my eldest child was small. Since the Burmese soldiers entered the area. When I was single and first married the situation was good and we were free to work, but since the Burmese came there has been no freedom for us. We had to run to escape from them whenever we were working because we didn't want to do porting when they captured us. After suffering abuse by the Burmese as I've described, I'm worried that my children will have to suffer it much more in the future than I have. That's why I moved from place to place and eventually came here.

Q: What were your sons doing for a living?
A: One hired himself out to take care of another person's elephant and another one lived with me. If you all live in the house together it is not easy to survive, so I asked one of my sons to go and take care of a rich person's elephant. The pay is 20,000 *kyat* for a year, but you have to eat and pay all the *[SPDC]* fees, so 20,000 *kyat* cannot support you for a year. This season I didn't work on my fields, I just helped my son with the elephant and did some day labour. I knew that life for my children would only get worse and worse in the future, so we came here. Now all of us have come here. If we go back the Burmese will only torture us more, so we don't dare go back.

Q: Did you ever work for the KNU?
A: I never did that.

Q: Did KNU/KNLA members ever come to your place?
A: They arrived. Battles occurred sometimes. If battles occurred the Burmese came and beat and tortured our village head. They accused him of having contact with the *tha bone ['rebels']* and feeding the *tha bone*. But if you think about it, they are your people *[i.e. Karens]* so you feed them. Could you stay without feeding your own people?

Q: Do the Burmese troops eat your livestock when they enter your village?
A: Some Burmese commanders are very bad and hate Karen people, so they shoot livestock in the village whenever they come, but some commanders are kind and they ask for permission before they eat our livestock. As for me, I was busy with my field and *loh ah pay* so I didn't rear any animals and I didn't have any livestock for them to eat, but I myself was abused often.

Q: Do the Burmese soldiers eat people's rice when they come to your village?
A: They didn't just eat it, they also destroyed the rice of the villagers by burning it. When they saw the paddy of the villagers in the hills, they forced villagers *[at the relocation site]* to go up and carry that paddy down to them. Not only the paddy from around my village *[Zee Byu Gone]*, but from the hills all around that area where people stored their paddy. I thought they would take it to eat, but when the villagers had carried it down to them they threw it all in the bushes and burned all of it. That happened just before I left the village *[to flee to Thailand]*. I left in the first week of January *[1999]*.

Q: In that area can you get any day labour to earn money?
A: There is day labour. The pay for one day is one bowl *[8 small milktins, about 1.5-2 kg/ 4 lb]* of rice. That is for day labour transplanting paddy seedlings. If they pay money it is 100 *kyat* per day. In hot season you can go and gather betelnut and betel leaves, but you need a pass to go and the pass costs 5 *kyat*. It is easy for us to work for money, but if you work for money then you aren't free to go for *loh ah pay*, so you have to pay the *loh ah pay* fees when you come back from making money. I saw that we could never get anything that way, so we came here. Your Aunty here *[his wife]* is always ill. If you had seen her when she was on the way here you would know how hard it was for her. Even now she's still not healthy, but she goes to the clinic here and gets medicine so she is getting better.

Q: How did you come here?
A: We didn't have enough money to make the trip here so we waited for our brothers and sisters to join with us and take us. We came by way of the towns *[southward through central Burma, then east to the border]*. They *[his relatives]* took us to K— one by one, and then we reunited with each other there and came here. We had to sleep one night on the way to K—, then we came by the jungle paths and followed other people who were coming here *[from Pa-an District]*. It was very difficult coming here from K

Interview: 12: Forced Portering, Torture, Beating

Name:	"Saw Thay Htoo"
Sex:	Male
Age:	35
Ethnicity:	Karen

Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Animist
Marital Status:	Married, had five children but 2 died; 3 surviving children aged 10-12
Address:	Thaton township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	April 1999
Place of Interview:	Near his village in Burma
Source:	KHRG

Q: Did the SPDC troops ever come to your village?
A: Yes. Recently they came one time to the village. They came before the water festival *[which occurred in mid-April 1999]*. When they came to the village there was shooting *[they encountered the KNLA]* and then the people *[KNLA]* fled, so they fined the villagers. They fined us 2½ baskets of rice and one pig.

Q: What would they do if you didn't pay the fine?
A: They don't like it if the villagers don't pay. If we didn't give it to them they would abuse the villagers. They've done that before. If villagers flee when they come, they fine us, and if porters flee and escape, they fine us for that too. Each person has to give five *viss [8 kg / 17.5 lb]* of pork.

Q: Have you ever gone portering?
A: I've always had to go portering! They don't give food to the porters. The porters have to take along rice, salt, chillies and everything for themselves. Sometimes we sleep in villagers' houses, and sometimes we sleep in the jungle. They guard us closely. Sometimes they kick the porters. When people get sick they don't take care of them well. They give some medicine, and when porters can't walk they leave them. One porter who got bad diarrhoea couldn't climb the mountain, so they got annoyed and kicked him down the mountainside. He was a villager from Naw Yo Hta village. I don't know his name. Then they gave him a bit of medicine and forced him to walk and carry a load again.

Q: Have the KNLA ever beaten you?
A: No, the KNLA never beat me. The SPDC tortured me though. On the 6th day of Dta Baun *[March 7, 1999]* they beat my head and broke the skin. They entered the village at 9 p.m. There were about seventy soldiers, and they arrested me while I was pounding paddy. They asked me, "Have any Karen soldiers come to the village?" I said, "Sometimes they enter the village." Then he asked me, "When Karen soldiers come do they eat and drink, and whose field do they stay in?" I couldn't answer him so he beat me. The one who beat me was a commander with three stars *[Captain]*. He beat me with a wooden stick as thick as my wrist, and over an armspan long. He hit me three times on the head, and the skin on my scalp was broken so he stopped hitting me there. Then he started beating my shins about twenty or thirty times. After that they tied me up with my hands behind my back and sutured my head. They sutured my head three times. After that I couldn't walk for ten days. Then he told me to go and summon the village headman. Before I reached the village headman's place, they left and went down to *xxxx* village. Five days later, they moved to

another place and were replaced by new troops.

Q: When they beat you did they beat anyone else?
A: Before they beat me, they beat one of the village women. Her name is M—, she lives in T— village. It was the same troops who beat me. That was when the Karen *[soldiers]* were celebrating Karen New Year *[in January 1999]*. The Burmese were going to shoot at them and they saw a dog, it was her dog. Later they went and asked M—, "This is your dog and it was there *[at the KNLA celebration]*, so you also must have been there". She answered, "I didn't go there, and this is not my dog either." Then the officer said, "This is your dog, and if you didn't go then your husband must have been there". That's why they beat her. They hit her on the head, but she had a wrap on her head *[a towel or cloth which Karen women often wear wrapped around their heads like a turban, and which would have protected her a bit from the blows]*. They hit her thirty or fourty times on her head. I saw them beat her. They beat her savagely. They beat her with the same size of stick that they used to beat me. They hit her with the end of the stick.

Q: Was she alright afterwards?
A: She suffered for many days. She had to smear the wounds with yellow spirit powder.

Q: Didn't the SPDC take care of her?
A: No, they didn't. I suffered for many days too, but they put a little medicine on my wound *[when they sutured it]*. Now my leg is also still in pain. He beat me on the shins, and I couldn't walk until ten days later.

Q: When the SPDC troops came to the village do they ever take anything from the villagers?
A: They always do that. They never 'organise' the villagers *[this term translates as 'organise' and is commonly used in Burma; it means to rally people to support you, or in this case to implement a 'hearts and minds' campaign]*. They just rob the villagers, they take things like our pots and plates, then they take the paddy from our paddy storage barns and pound it, then they eat it. They came in September *[1998]* and did all of that.

Interview: 13: Forced portering, forced labour, extortion, forced relocation, Sa Thone Lone Guerilla Unit

Name:	"Saw Dee Ghay"
Sex:	Male
Age:	38
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital Status:	Married with three children
Address:	Sweh Dtee village, Kyauk Kyi township
Date of Interview:	April 1999

["Saw Dee Ghay" is the husband of "Naw K'Ser Tee" (see Interview below). He was

forcibly relocated, and when interviewed had just arrived in Thailand as a refugee.]

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: Today. We came because the *Baw Bi Doh [Short Pants]* force of the government forced us to work unfairly.

Q: Did you have to go for *loh ah pay*?
A: Yes, I had to go. I had to go four or five times per month, every month. For portering, I had to carry rice or shells. We had to go for portering in turns. The last time I went I had to carry about 20 *viss [32 kg / 70 lb]* of shells. We had to porter for two days but we had to sleep there *[at the Army camp]* for two or three nights. We also had to go for sentry duty, each time for two days. They forced us to work for them every day. For *loh ah pay*, we had to cut down the whole forest so they could see anyone who might be walking there. We had to cut three or four *khah* each day for a whole week. They are trying to clear all the trees between Kyun Gyi and Sweh Dtee. They didn't give us any food while we were working, we had to take our own. We had to go in the morning and return in the evening. They forced us to do it every day until we finished. They forced us to work until we couldn't work anymore. We had no time to do our own work, we only did work for them.

Q: Did you have to build roads?
A: In the past we didn't have to, but just before we came here they forced the villagers to dig a path. Cars can't go on it, only bicycles can. It takes about 2 hours to walk the length of the path.

Q: How did you tend your field?
A: We had to leave it. When we had time to work on our fields, we had to go and come back in the same day. At this time of day there *[evening]*, they shut the gate and you can't go. They told us that they could shut the gate for two or three days if they wanted to, so that nobody could get food to eat. Nobody dared to say anything. Almost everyone is suffering from poverty but no one dares to say anything. People must suffer quietly.

Q: Are there any villagers who go hungry because they don't have rice for every meal?
A: Yes, there are many.

Q: Where is their Army camp?
A: Their camps are in Kyun Gyi, Hintha Weh and Thay Payaung Dan. I don't know their Battalion number but people call them *Baw Bi Doh [Short Pants, i.e. Sa Sa Sa Guerrilla Retaliation troops]*. They demanded we give them a chicken every day. We had to buy the chickens for them. When they demanded alcohol they didn't like the local rice whisky, they liked the alcohol that people sell in town. They demanded things like that for a long time, until the villagers couldn't support it any longer. If you do something they don't like they kill you, so some people joined the DKBA to avoid being killed.

Q: Did you ever see them kill anyone?
A: No. They didn't kill anyone in our village but they killed many people in other villages.

They once held a meeting where I heard them say, "Whenever I go out *[on patrol]* you will hear that I have killed people." The villagers talked about them killing people but we didn't dare to say what we had heard because we were afraid they would kill us.

Q: What is the aim of the *Baw Bi Doh*?
A: I don't know.

Q: Are there any DKBA in that area?
A: Yes, there are. They live separately from the *Baw Bi Doh*. The DKBA live in Klaw Maw. They came to the village and demanded rice, they didn't pay for it and then they went back. When they are angry, they are even harsher than the *Baw Bi Doh*. Villagers told me that the DKBA beat people from Hintha Weh, which is about fifteen minutes' walk from my village. I had to work on a pagoda for the DKBA a few times. They're building it on the flat land outside Kyun Gyi. I had to carry stones for two or three days at a time. Ten people had to go each time, and then we had to go again if it wasn't finished.

Q: When did you have to relocate from Sweh Dtee?
A: This year. We had to relocate because we were near a mountain. In the past the KNLA came and fought in that area, but since the DKBA and the *Baw Bi Doh* have come we only hear about the KNLA sometimes. Some people relocated to B'Deh Gaung and some went to Kaw Tha Say, but we went to Kyun Gyi. Kyun Gyi is two hours' walk from Sweh Dtee.

Q: Is the situation now getting better or worse?
A: In the past it was better and now it's getting worse. People can't tolerate it anymore. Some people would like to flee but they don't know how or where to go.

Interview: 14: Shot by SPDC, Cruel Treatment, Extortion

Name:	"Pu Dta Ler"
Sex:	Male
Age:	50-60
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	Married, three children
Address:	Pah Klu village, T'Nay Hsah township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	April 1999
Source:	KHRG

Q: Can you tell me the story about how the Burmese shot you?
A: I decided to go and hire myself out to get some money to cure my child with bad legs. When I arrived at the other side of the river, I didn't know that the Burmese had arrived. There were not many of them, not more than ten soldiers. I was outside the village, but they were inside the village when they shot at me. The young man from my village who had

come with me ran from behind me and passed me. The Burmese shot at him but hit my leg instead, so I fell down. They didn't come to look at me, and they went away. I was left alone for a while until I saw a young woman who was coming back from gathering firewood. I told her to go back and tell my son to come and get me. She told my son and he came and carried me to the village.

Q: Did the Burmese know that you had been hurt?
A: They said that they didn't know. When people went and told them that I was hurt, they asked my son to carry me to Ker Ghaw. They gave me one injection when I arrived there. I bled a lot. When I was in my village, someone gave me an injection of medicine. When I arrived at Ker Ghaw, it seemed that they didn't care about me even though I had gone with them to Ker Ghaw as soon as they called me there. When I arrived at Ker Ghaw, they gave me 3,000 *kyat* and told me to go to Myawaddy Hospital. How would 3,000 *kyat* be enough? I stayed there for ten days and they took care of me while I still had money, but when my money ran out they stopped taking care of me. When it was gone, I had to go back to my village again. Then I asked people to treat my wound with traditional medicine and holy oil. I can't stand up yet because it is painful.

Q: Had the Burmese ever come to your village before?
A: Yes, they come to my village often and whenever they come they shoot villagers. The other time they came they shot a man named Htay Lah. He is Karen and a villager. He was eating rice at his wife's parents' house when they shot him. He wasn't wearing clothes while he was eating, only short pants. They started shooting into the house, so he stopped eating and ran down to the ground. He ran and they shot him to death. They accused him of being Nga Pway *['Ringworm' derogatory SPDC slang for KNLA soldier]*. People told them, "He is not Nga Pway; he is a villager. Look in his house - there are no weapons!" When they came another time, they shot dead two villagers at Thay Po Kyu too. After they shot those two villagers, they shot Htay Lah, then me.

Q: Did the Burmese who shot you appear in your village again before you fled here?
A: No, but now the DKBA is there to do logging. They went to pull out all the big old logs that they have been cutting down.

Q: Did you tell the DKBA that the Burmese had shot at villagers?
A: The village head told them, but they said they couldn't do anything after the person had been shot. They said he was shot accidentally.

Q: What had the villagers done to provoke the Burmese into shotting them?
A: The villagers didn't do anything to them. We even gave them whatever they wanted to eat such as pigs and chickens. They even killed cattle to eat without permission. They just took whatever they want by force. People dared not tell them anything. They just watched them. They even demanded rice and salt and chillies. People gave it to them because they were afraid.

Q: How did you feel after they shot at you and broke your leg?
A: I only felt sorrow because of the pain, and because I had to borrow money to cure myself. I had nothing to sell, no cattle, pigs, or chickens, because I had already sold everything to cure your Auntie *[his wife, who is infected with tuberculosis]*.

Q: Was anyone else hurt at the same time as you?
A: They shot many times but only hit me. They also fired two mortars. When their commander asked them *[later]* they said that a small battle had occurred with the KNLA and that they had accidentally hit a villager. For sure there was no battle, because there were no KNLA there. They just shot at a villager who was running.

Q: Do you think the villagers still worry?
A: When the DKBA was logging, the KNLA went to disturb them and the DKBA said that if they thought they couldn't fight back against the KNLA, they would ask the Burmese Army to help them. Therefore the villagers are worried.

Q: Will you go back to your village?
A: If I go back to my village, I'll have no rice to eat. My children have been working in the fields, but since there was no rain we didn't get enough rice. My daughter has two small children, and my daughter-in-law also has two small children who are still breastfeeding. My daughter-in-law is ill in the hospital. When we are cured, we would like to stay here as refugees with all our children, but we don't have any money to build a house.

Interview: 15: Forced Labour, Forced Portering, Torture, Extortion, Landmines

Name:	"Maung Hla"
Sex:	Male
Age:	30
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	Married, three children
Address:	Kru Bper village, Kawkareik township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	April 1999
Source:	KHRG

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: I arrived here five days ago.

Q: Why did you come here?
A: We had to do forced labour, such as planting paddy for the Burmese every day until we had no time to do our own work. We also had to serve as porters. Anytime they called us we had to go because we did not have money to flee. That's why we came here with our families.

Q: When the Burmese troops entered your village, what did they do?
A: When the Burmese troops came to our village, they ate any livestock they saw. We dared not complain to them because if we did they shot us with a slingshot.

Q: This year did you have to do forced labour or portering?
A: We had to go every day and every month. We had to dig and work the fields for the Burmese and also build roads and bunkers. Sometimes it took us three or four days, and sometimes one week. We had to go to T'Nay Hsah, Maw Ghaw and other areas. We were in their grip, so we dared not stay in the village without doing what they ordered us to do.

Q: What was the number of the Burmese Battalion that ordered you to work?
A: I don't know, but there are Burmese battalion camps in Kawkareik. There are two Army camps near our village. One is in Mya Pa Deh *[called Myapadine by the Burmese],* and another is in Kru Bper Kaw Day Kyay. T'Nay Hsah camp is far from our village. People in Mya Pa Deh township must go to Mya Pa Deh camp, but we must go to Kru Bper camp for *loh ah pay*.

Q: What kind of work do you do at the camp?
A: At the Burmese camp now there is a farm, so we must go to plough, sow, and transplant paddy in their field. If you have buffaloes and a plough, you must go to plough, and if you have nothing you must go to dig the earth, sow, and transplant. At harvest time, they force people to reap for them until it is finished. As for us, we don't even have enough food for our own family, and no time to work for ourselves. We always have to work for them, which is why we couldn't tolerate it and decided to come and live here with our relatives.

Q: Which road did you have to build?
A: The road that leads from Kawkareik to Mya Pa Deh and T'Nay Hsah. The width of the road is approximately 10 cubits *[15 feet]*. We had to dig earth and put it on the road to build its height to 4 or 5 cubits *[8-foot high embankment]*. People from the whole village had to go. If you had money you could hire others, but if you didn't have money you had to go. People who had bullock carts had to go with bullock carts. We had to take our own rice, fishpaste, and chillies from our house. We even had to take our own machetes, axes, mattocks and spades.

Q: What did you do in Maw Ghaw?
A: I had to plant rubber. They have already planted many rubber trees in lines. Many people had to go, so we had to do it for two to three days, then we went home. They didn't give us anything to eat. We had to take our own food there too, but they gave medicine to the workers who were ill, and if they couldn't work anymore they sent them home.

Q: If you couldn't work, did you hire others to go in your place?
A: We had to give 200 *kyat* a day. If someone works five days for us, we must pay him 1,000 *kyat*. If we couldn't go and couldn't hire another person to go for us, they *[Burmese]* would come and give us problems, like fining us. We dared not face that. Even the very poor people had to pay 200 or 300 *kyat* for porter fees *[extortion money in addition to payments*

to hire substitute labour]. We paid big fees three or four times a month and small fees four or five times a month. Some months we had to pay a total of 2,000 *kyat*, but some months we paid 3,000 *kyat [per family]*. If we couldn't pay the village head might take away our precious things, such as cooking pots and other things that he could sell to get enough to pay the fee. He is the Burmese village head *[the village head appointed by the SPDC]*.

Q: Did you ever have to serve as a porter?
A: I had to go once. It was three months ago. I can't remember the date, but it was during the time that people reap paddy. They came and captured me from my house. I had to porter for them for ten days, then I escaped. I escaped when people *[KNLA]* were shooting at them. We were in the middle of them. They were guarding us, but when people shot at them, we ran and escaped. Many of my friends stepped on bamboo spike traps and landmines.

Q: Which battalion captured you?
A: I don't know. They just came from the camp in our village at Kaw Day Kyay. They captured nine people. They captured me in my village while I was eating rice. They came and called to me in Burmese language, "Come down, come down", so I had to come down from the house. They told me that I must go for *loh ah pay* for moment. Their 'moment' lasted a long time!

Q: What did you have to carry?
A: They forced me to carry 12 of the 2.5 inch shells. It was over ten *viss [16 kg / 35 lb]*. I had to carry them from my village to Ker Ghaw. They gave us very little rice to eat; two of us had to share one small plastic bag of rice. Sometimes the rice was not well cooked. We did not have enough water to drink because they rushed us. We had to eat *[the stems of]* wild banana trees to curb our hunger.

Q: How many people ran with you when you escaped?
A: Nine of us. We all wished to run, but one of us dared not come with us when we called him, so he is still with the Burmese. Eight of my friends ran with me, and porters from other villages ran too. I know two porters who are still left with the Burmese. The places where we ran were full of landmines. We didn't know the direction to run, but we ran ahead and reached Pah Klu even though we'd never been there before. When we arrived at Pah Klu, the Sgaw *[Sgaw Karen; he is Pwo Karen]* women asked us, "How could you dare to come back this way? Landmines are everywhere. We are surprised to see you arrive here safely." Some people ran into Burmese soldiers, though, so the soldiers tortured them.

Q: When you portered, did the Burmese soldiers ever torture you?
A: They beat me on the temples once. I tied up my load to the baskets and the soldier asked me, "Is that tied tightly?" and I answered him, "It is tight." But when we were marching the shells fell down, so he beat me on the temple. Another time he kicked me with his jungle boots when I was picking up the fallen rice grains on the ground to eat. When we arrived at a place where people had lived and recently left, I picked up some rice to eat to curb my hunger since I hadn't eaten enough rice. He asked me, "Why do you pick up that rice to eat? If they have poisoned it, you will die." And he kicked me with his boots on the head.

Interview: 16: Life as an IDP in the jungle, Extra-judicial killing, forced relocation, forced portering

Name:	"Klaw Reh"
Sex:	Male
Age:	45
Occupation:	N/A
Marital Status:	Married. two children aged 11 and 16. Wife is 30 years old.
Address:	Kyu Leh *[Su Leh, village #17]*, in Shadaw area.
Date of Interview:	April 1999
Source:	KHRG

Q: How many people came here with you?
A: 382 people. They live separately. Some people are in Section *x [of the refugee camp]* and others are in Sections *x, x* and *x*.

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: I arrived on January 16, 1999. I came from the forest. We went to hide in the forest and then finally came here. The Burmese came here and there *[everywhere]* and if they saw us, they captured and beat us so we had to go hide in the forest. They wanted us to go live in Shadaw. We didn't dare go to Shadaw. They forced villagers from all villages *[in the area]* to go live in Shadaw, however, *[many]* people didn't dare go to live there so they ran to live in the forest.

Q: When did they force people to go to Shadaw?
A: *[They've been doing that]* since three years ago. They sent letters *[to the villages]* which said, "If you are still not living in Shadaw by this date, we will regard you as our enemies when we come to clear the land." They really came! They captured people in our village and then killed them. They captured five people, all male, on the fields in an old village and killed four of them after one person fled and escaped. The names of those killed were Ah Tun, Ker Reh, Moo Reh and Moo. As for the Shan person, N—, who owned the field, he ran away and escaped before they could kill him. He was tied to a tree with rope and they almost shot him. He pushed off the rope and rolled himself down the slope of the hill and then finally was able to return. He didn't come here but *[I'm not sure why]*, maybe he has some sort of problem preventing him from coming. That was a long time ago, in 1998, but I don't know which month. It was paddy sowing time *[possibly June/July]*.

Q: Were all four of the people who were killed Karenni?
A: No, some were Shan and some were Kayah. There were three Shan but one escaped so only two of them, *[Ah Tun and Moo]* were killed, the other two people who were killed, Moo Reh and Ker Reh, were Kayah. Moo Reh was about 45 years old and Ker Reh was about 20 years old. They both have families and Ker Reh's wife arrived here five days ago with some other people who arrived recently. Her name is O— and she has two children.

Q: Based on your own knowledge, how many people living in the jungle did the Burmese kill?
A: I know of five people. Meh Reh disappeared *[and is presumed dead]* but we never saw his dead body. The Burmese came when we were going to get a kind of liquid from a tree that can be used to make a torch. His friends ran away when they heard the sound of the Burmese. He is deaf so he didn't hear the Burmese coming and they captured him. After that we went to his place but we didn't see him. We did see a rod *[approximately 5 cm, 2 inches, in diameter]* with blood on it so I think they beat him to death with the rod.

Q: Did many people from your village go to Shadaw when they were forcing people to go there?
A: There were about thirty houses in our village and 6 of them went to Shadaw. Some also went to live *[in the area of]* the Pon River and some went to hide in the jungle. Now all *[of those six houses]* have left Shadaw except one. They lived in Shadaw for one year and couldn't take it any longer so they left and hid in the jungle.

Q: When Kyu Leh villagers were forced to go and live in Shadaw, did they force only Kyu Leh village to go or did they force any other villages also?
A: They forced the people from many villages, such as Thirida, Daw Tanaw, Leh Du, Tee Leh *[Pray Kyu Leh in Kayah]*, Daw Klaw Leh, and many other villages. Pray Kyu Leh is to the east of Thirida and is also near our village, Kyu Leh. They demanded that we go live in Shadaw but people didn't want to go so some went to live in the jungle, some went to live near the Pon river and some went to live in Daw Ta Hay. Some of the people did go to live in Shadaw.

Q: How many people are living in the jungle?
A: I can't tell you how many people because we didn't live together. We lived far from each other. Sometimes, while we were moving from one hiding place to another, we came upon each other and ran away in fear. We were afraid of each other because *[each of us thought]* the other was the Burmese *[troops]*. When we meet each other we can't ask each other where we live because we are afraid and have to hide ourselves. Even though we occasionally met other villagers while we were looking for food, we don't know each other's hiding places.

Q: How many families were living with you in your hiding place?
A: There were eight families, all from my village. We all came here together as we are all related.

Q: When you hid in the jungle, did you hide near Kyu Leh village?
A: Yes, we hid in the jungle near Kyu Leh. Sometimes we had to change our place three or four times in one month. If the Burmese weren't coming, we could stay in one place for one or two months. Sometimes, when the Burmese were coming, we had to change our place three or four times in one day. It depended on the situation.

Q: Could you build your house?
A: If there are four people in the family, we made a floor *[big enough]* for four people to sleep on and made a roof with tarpaulin. People who had no tarpaulin, they made their roof with leaves. The situation wasn't good so we couldn't have large hillside fields and instead had to make small fields and hide our paddy after the harvest. There was less rain and water, but hillside fields don't need as much water as flat paddy fields.

Q: How did you get food when you were in the jungle?
A: In 1996 they gave us the letter *[telling them to relocate]* and after three or four months of forcing the villagers to relocate, they burned the village. *[At first]* we secretly went back to our farms and gardens to get food. There is no village anymore; all villages were burned along with all the rice and paddy in the villages. I was hiding in the jungle for three years. We had to find food in the forest most of the time. Even those who lived with them in the relocation site had to find food like us. They *[villagers from Shadaw]* came looking for vegetables and then went back to either sell them so they could buy rice or exchange them for rice. They were also looking for Wa U *[elephant foot yam]* to eat as we were. We ate that when we had no rice, but sometimes we had a bit of rice so we could cook it with rice also.
His wife: When we didn't have rice to eat we dug up elephant foot yams and brought them to our place. We slice them and then cover them with cloth and put them in water over night. We change the water each day for at least three days. We then squeeze out the liquid and put them in the sun to dry. Then we could cook and eat them.

Q: Couldn't you work on your fields?
A: We couldn't work in the fields because they would come and shoot us dead when they saw us working on fields. The four dead people I told you about before were killed when they saw them working in the fields. You see!
His wife: If they don't see you while you are working on the farm they uproot all the paddy or burn it all. Sometimes they collect paddy that has been harvested and burn it all.

Q: How many months did you have to go with no rice to eat?
A: We can't say how many months. Sometimes we didn't have anything to eat for a few days and sometimes we had no rice for five days. When we had rice we boiled it and drank it *[rice soup is made to add more volume to the small amount of rice that is available]*. When we had no rice, we ate plants and tubers.

Q: How could you get rice?
A: We secretly went to buy rice from Shadaw. When the situation was still good we worked so we had some money and belongings. We bought rice with the money and then finally had to sell our belongings to buy rice. We weren't allowed to be in the jungle so if they saw us they captured us. People couldn't travel without passes. If we lived with them in Shadaw they would treat us very badly, so we didn't want to go and live there.
His wife: We sold all the belongings we had in order to buy rice.

Q: Do they feed the people who are living in Shadaw?
A: No, they don't feed them. People there have to find their food on their own. They are able to go out and move about with a pass, but we had no rights to travel as they did. They force people to work for them too much. If they *[the villagers]* can work for themselves for one day they have to work for the government for 2 days.

Q: Do you know anyone from Shadaw who has come here?
A: I know one person, a man named S—, who came from Nwa La Bo relocation site.

Q: Did they arrest people in the jungle and force them to porter?
A: I was able to avoid them but they captured other people. Anytime I saw them I ran away. If they saw me it would have been better that they shot me dead rather than capture me because they treat you very badly if they capture you. B— and his elder brother, Mee Reh, were captured in our hiding place by the Burmese. They captured them while they were harvesting paddy. They forced them to porter for one month but they couldn't carry *[much]* so they beat and hit them a lot. Mee Reh couldn't *[walk]* anymore because he was tired so they tied rope around his neck and pulled him. He had no strength to walk and they just wanted to torture him. After pulling him by the neck for a while, they thought he was dead and left him. He wasn't dead and later returned to us. His brother, B—, also escaped during the night and came back to our place but Mee Reh died two months later. He couldn't do anything. He was sick all the time, coughing up blood, and then he finally died. The elder brother is dead and the younger one is still in the jungle. When B— first came back he was also coughing blood and he couldn't work but he can work a bit now.

Q: Was there any medicine in the jungle?
A: No medicine. He came back and was coughing blood and couldn't do anything. He was suffering from the beating and kicking the Burmese had given him. He was 50 years old and died when the harvest was finished in '98 or '97. That's the same year that the other four died.

Q: Where did they have to porter to?
A: They were travelling around. They *[the Burmese soldiers]* were just looking for people in the jungle and the porters had to carry their things. Each day we had to find *[another]* hiding place. We moved from place to place, one or two places every day. If they see anything in the old villages they will shoot. If they see people or buffaloes they shoot them dead. That's what they said *[they would do]*. They are trying to find us in the forest. After we had hidden in many hiding places we knew that they would find us some day so we went to Shan State.We couldn't live for long in Shan State so we came back to Kayah state again.

Q: When you were in the jungle were there any ill children?
A: Yes, there were. Some children were thin but others were bigger because they were suffering from oedema *[which swells up their bodies]*. We could only watch them. If they lived, they were lucky and if they died, they weren't lucky. In our hiding place there were eight families and five children died. Some of the old people were also ill but they didn't die.

Q: Could the children in the jungle study?
A: There was no teacher. We were on the run all the time so we couldn't ask teachers to join us.

Q: Do you know the names of the mother and daughter who were taken by the Burmese soldiers to sleep with them?
A: The mother's name is L— and her daughter's name is B—. We're not sure if they slept with them or not because we didn't go to see them. Their village is *xxxx*. They were living in the jungle and were going to their farm when the Burmese soldiers met them and took them to go and stay with them for a few nights. We don't know if they raped them or not. We don't know what they did with them, because they didn't say anything when they came back.

Q: Did you ever go to Shan State?
A: While we were living for three years in the jungle, a battle occurred between Karenni soldiers and Burmese soldiers at Lweh Pee, which is a mountain. There's no village there, it's above Daw Tanaw. In 1998, at the beginning of the harvest *[Oct./Nov.]*, I went to live in Shan State, on the other side of the river that defines the border, for a month in order to find refuge. We were staying in a place between *xxxx* and *xxxx*. We went there before harvestime and returned later to harvest our paddy. Our farm still had paddy when we returned, but the farms near the path had all been destroyed. After the battle, the Burmese were looking for people in the jungle. We didn't let the Shan people know we were there because we were afraid they would tell the Burmese and the Burmese would come to find us.

Q: When you went to Shan State, how many families went with you?
A: The 8 families we were with together in the jungle. We didn't know about other families living in different areas of the jungle. We didn't know where they hid when the Burmese came or if they had gone to the Shan side or not. When the Burmese come, they even kill villagers. If they can capture them, they torture them before killing them. Some of the people they capture and torture aren't killed, instead they force them to go with them and carry things for them.

Q: How many days did it take you to come here from your hiding place?
A: 8 days. We came out in the evening. We had troubles climbing up and down the mountains because some of the people were ill, but we didn't see any Burmese on the way. Each of us carried 30 milktins *[about 8 kg / 18 lb]* of rice for the journey. We walked through the jungle *[not along the path]* on our way here from our jungle hiding place. We came through the jungle so we wouldn't see any landmines. If we had come by the path, there would have been landmines.

Q: Have you ever come here before?
A: No, but in the past, when the situation was good we came in this direction to sell things, so we guessed the direction *[to come here]* and came through the jungle. We didn't dare walk too close or too far from the path.

Interview: 17: Forced labour, Sa Thone Lone Guerilla Unit

Name:	"Naw Ghay"
Sex:	Female
Age:	*xx*
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	Married with 4 children
Address:	Kyauk Kyi township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	April 1999
Source:	FTUB

In January 1999, SPDC battalions IB 60 and LIB 351 from Kyauk Kyi started calling villages to repair their barracks and fences. Our village was ordered to cut down trees, and other villages were ordered to build fences for the battalions. Villagers had to work on that construction for almost twenty days in January.

In our region, there are units of army intelligence soldiers calling themselves *Sa Sa Sa*, guerrilla retaliation, or short pants soldiers. They have killed many people who were suspected of supporting the KNU, and they demand money, women and belongings. In the village shops, those soldiers take expensive clothing and other valuable things without giving money. People are very much afraid of them because they have killed about 50 people within the past four months.

The KNLA guerrillas have tried many times for a chance to ambush those troops. The latest attempt was in the end of February or maybe in March, when guerrillas ambushed a car which Shan Bpu, the notorious intelligence leader, had travelled in near Kyun Bin Seik village on the Kyauk Kyi-Mone road. The driver and a traveller in the front of the car were killed, but Shan Bpu, who was aware of his own security, had already got off along the way and escaped.

Most of the SPDC soldiers are afraid to travel on the Kyauk Kyi-Mone road unless they are fully equipped. As a result, starting in January 1999 the intelligence *[Sa Sa Sa]* soldiers ordered about 20 villages in Kyauk Kyi township to build a new road from Na Than Gwin to Mone, along the Sittaung river due west of the old Kyauk Kyi-Mone road. The Kyauk Kyi-Mone road has to pass through forest and hills, so the SPDC soldiers feel it is not safe to use. The Mone-Na Than Gwin road construction is under the control of the intelligence units led by Shan Bpu. The road is 15 feet wide, 24 feet wide at the base *[of the embankment]*, and raised by 4.5 feet. It is at least twenty miles long. The work was divided and each family had to dig the earth and make a segment of road 54 feet long. Therefore villagers had to bring cattle, rakes, baskets, hoes etc. and work until their quota was finished. The villagers were even ordered to work at night in February, so the villagers brought lamps, batteries and fluorescent tubes to the work site and had to work nights. There were no materials supplied and there was no payment for the construction. The intelligence soldiers watched while villagers were working but they didn't beat anyone, because the work was by the quota system so if a family could work faster then they were allowed to go back earlier. Therefore entire families came to the work, so children, women and old people

around 50-60 years old could be seen on the work site.

In March the earth work was almost finished, except the bridges. For bridge construction, the intelligence soldiers confiscated wood, even small pieces, from houses and ordered villagers to build bridges. Some villagers had to cut down trees in the forest for bridge construction. Then each family was ordered to give 500 *Kyat* to buy materials for the construction. Moreover, each family had to send a person for three days for bridge construction. There were around ten bridges or maybe more. If a family could not work on bridge construction, they had to give 200 *Kyat* per day to hire a substitute person. The road construction crossed rice fields and farms but no compensation was given to owners of the land.

In March 1999, when the road construction was almost finished, the intelligence *[Sa Sa Sa]* soldiers of the SPDC Army ordered villages in Kyauk Kyi township to make fences around their villages. The villages were allowed to have only two gates. I don't know much about that work, because when it was starting my family decided to flee toThailand and we left our village.

Interview: 18: Women Trafficking

Interview Date: May 9, 1999

During the first week of March in 1999, Ma Than (13), Ma Yi Win (14), Ma Hla Myint (26), Mi Nann Aung (13) and Naw The Mu (15) were taken by Commander Lt. Col. Kyaw Kyaw Win from LIB 284 to work at the Phaya Thonesu Town (Three Pagoda Town). They were told to pay 10,000 *kyat* per month for their job. They reached Phaya Thonesu on 28th March. The next day Lt. Col. Kyaw Kyaw Win brought them by a car to a restaurant named War Yon Taw at the Thai-Burma border to work. This restaurant is just a namesake given to a brothel run by MI 5, LIB 284, Burmese Immigration, Thai Immigration, Thai Police and Thai national Wunna Yai Yai (Big Boss). The owner of the restaurant is known as Wunna Yai Yai. These 5 girls were forced to work as the prostitute at this restaurant. From this War Yon Taw brothel house, only Ma Than (13) was able to escape on 29 March 1999, with the help of a young pro-democracy Burmese man. He helped her get back to her native land.

Ma Than told THRF her true story like this;

I was told by Daw San Mu from Moulmein, Aung Mingala Quarter that I can get a job at Phaya Thonesu Town at a rate of 10,000 *kyat* per month. I agreed to take that job as I was looking for a job in Moulmein for my family found difficulties in living. After that in the first week of March Lt. Col. Kyaw Kyaw Win came to take us.There were six young women in my group including me. The races are variety, Tovoyan, Mon, Karen and Burmese. We had to go to Paya Thonesu by car through Moulmein and Kyar-inn-seik-kyi. We got two days rest at Paya Thonesu. Then they sent us to War Yonetaw restaurant. We thought that we have to work as restaurant workers. But what we thought were all wrong when we get there. The restaurant is on the Thai side of Thai-Burma border with concrete floor, wooden walls and thatch roof. We found six other girls were already there. They were

of the same age as us and together with them we made twelve girls. The day I arrived there a Thai man took me. I had to go with him without knowing anything. Then at last my whole life was ruined and I soon understood the real meaning of War Yonetaw. We were new faces there so the customer gave 500 *baht* to 1,000 *baht* for us but we got only 10,000 *kyat* per month (30-40 *baht*/day). During the first month of work we did not get any day off except Sunday. We got permission on Sundays to go shopping. We had coffee in the morning two meals a day. Two months later, an elderly woman who came here before me said that our rate would be reduced to 200 *baht* or 300 *baht*. Every girl working here had their rate reduced at that time. Then after nine months we were to be expelled. All the girls working in War Yonetaw are girls aged between 13 to 17 years old. Two days after we reached the War Yonetaw, we were sent to Apho Gyi (old man), Burmese, we did not know his real name. Every new girl who came to War Yonetaw had to go to Apho Gyi for two days in turn.

As we were new, we had customers every night. There was no day off. The brothel got 15,000 *baht* to 30,000 *baht* per month for a girl make 500-10,000 *baht* per night. But the girl got 350-400 *baht* per month only.

There are all together twelve girls in War Yonetaw. Every girl has a sad story of her own about how she became a prostitute there. All their stories are pathetic. The girls are Tavoyan, Mon, Karen, Burmese and are from remote villages of Burma. They are very simple and honest. The SPDC army officials took advantage of this and sent them to this terrible life.

*Ma Than is not her real name.
(*Source: THRF*)

Interview: 19: Extra-judicial killing, extortion

Name:	"Naw Paw Paw Htoo"
Sex:	Female
Age:	31
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital Status:	Widow with 4 children aged 1, 4, 6 and 8
Address:	Twa Ni Gone village, Mone township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	March 1999
Source:	KHRG

["Naw Paw Paw Htoo" was living in Yan Myo Aung relocation site after being forced to move there. She fled into hiding after her husband was executed by a Sa Sa Sa death squad in November 1998. After a few months she found she wasn't safe there either, and is now a refugee in Thailand.]

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: I arrived here on Saturday the 20th *[of March 1999]*. I left Yan Myo Aung on Thursday.

I came here with D— and my two nephews. If not for D— I couldn't have come, because I have never come here before.

Q: How is life in Yan Myo Aung?
A: Some people are really very poor. People who have fields have better lives. I had nothing. My husband died three months ago. His name in the registration, the name his parents gave him, was Saw Mah Htoo but his cousins and nephews called him Gah Gyi *['goose']* because he had long legs and hands and he was tall and thin. He was 37 years old. I couldn't stay there any longer and came here.

Q: How did he die?
A: The Burmese captured and killed him. That was in November, but I don't remember the date. The one who captured him, Shan Bpu *[a Dam Byan Byaut Kya section commander]*, came to Yan Myo Aung at about 6 a.m., called him down *[out of their house]*, tied him up and forced him to follow them. When they came and captured my husband, we were all in the house: my mother, my children and me. When they called him to go with them, I told my husband, "Don't be afraid, pray to God." Then Shan Bpu took his knife and held it to my throat telling me not to speak. He said, "Don't say anything! Don't open your mouth! Or you will die!" I was afraid and couldn't speak. At first only two Burmese came for my husband, but later Bo Maung Maung *[another Dam Byan Byaut Kya commander]* arrived and tied my husband's hands behind his back and covered his face with one of his old sarongs. They took a guitar string and tied it around his neck. That's when they saw our guitar hanging on the wall. Shan Bpu said he wanted my guitar, bag and trousers that he saw on my wall so I should give them to him. They didn't say anything after that and they killed him that evening. They pulled him from place to place and then killed him at Teh Su while we were still in Yan Myo Aung.

Q: Why did they kill him?
A: How could I know?

Q: How did they kill him?
A: I think they hit him but we didn't see it. I went and told the village headmen but they told me that they wouldn't go. The village headmen wouldn't go to rescue him for us.

Q: Did they come and ask you any questions after they killed your husband?
A: They didn't interrogate me, but they came back and asked for the bag and the guitar that they'd seen when they came and took my husband. The village headman called me and said, "Do you still have your guitar, trousers and bag? Give them to me and I'll take them to the soldiers, because he came and told me to get them from you." I told him, "I sold my guitar, trousers and bag to buy rice so I don't own them anymore." People were worried that he would make trouble for me or kill me when he saw me, so I hid myself and then fled and came here. Only my family knows that I've come here.

Q: Did your husband ever help Kawthoolei *[KNU/KNLA]*?
A: In the distant past when he was single, he used to help them as a guide. After he got

married he never did that again, but when the KNLA came to our area he treated them as friends because he knew them.

Q: How many people have they killed recently?
A: In Yan Myo Aung they killed my husband and K'Ser Ko, but they have also killed people from many other villages, such as Meh Tha Lay, Lu Ah, Weh Gyi, Haw Ko Ghaw and Twa Ni Gone *[villages]*. They killed three people from Meh Tha Lay, and five people from Twa Ni Gone including my husband. The other four people *[from Twa Ni Gone]*, Saw Lay Heh, Saw Gka Bweh, Saw Maw Nyunt Po and Saw Po Shaw, were all killed at the same time before my husband. My husband, Saw Aye and K'Ser Ko were killed in the same month. Saw Aye and K'Ser Ko *[K'Ser Ko ('mountaintop') is a nickname; his other name was Po Theh Pyay]* were killed at the same time and place *[November 18 at the Oo Yay river]*, and then their heads were hung up by the road. I don't know why they killed them. Now their heads have been thrown away already.

Q: What is Shan Bpu doing now?
A: He's killing anyone he wants to kill. He'd slap your face if he saw you on the path. He doesn't care about anyone. Now he's gone to stay in Thit Cha Seik. His wife lives in Lu Ah. He doesn't go to *[Yan Myo Aung]* very often but he does go to Lu Ah, Weh Gyi, Thit Cha Seik and Ter Bpaw.

Q: Did he force any villagers to relocate?
A: When we were in Yan Myo Aung, Bo Maung Maung came and told us, "In this area, if I don't allow you to live here, you can't live here. If I allow you to stay you can stay, so cut down the trees and plants in the village so it looks clear." Anytime he comes to the village he demands clothing, sarongs and food. When we see a taxi arriving with Shan Bpu inside it, everyone prays and no one feels like eating. He forces taxi drivers to take him wherever he wants to go, and he never pays them. When he came, all the villagers didn't dare move. Some hid in their rooms and others went to hide in their toilets.

Q: Do the villagers enjoy living there?
A: No one likes to live there but they can't do anything about it so they just have to suffer. Who would want to live in a place where you have to give fees and taxes until you can't afford to buy food? We were forced to give things all the time. They demanded money, sarongs, bags, clothes and Karen traditional clothing. People either wove them or bought them for him *[Shan Bpu]*. I don't know what he's going to do with them, but I think he's going to wear them.

Q: Can you tell me how you feel in your heart?
A: The sadness I suffer from is so deep I can't describe it. It's like I'm in the dark. When they first captured my husband I couldn't eat for two days but still my stomach felt full. I prayed all day and night. We also had the problem of not having any rice at that time so I had to find rice. I have many children and had to find food for them before every meal. My children didn't know what was happening, they were playing and laughing innocently. My children are all boys except the youngest. The day that my husband was taken, I carried my

youngest child and went to the village headman for help. I didn't care if the older children had food or not. I went to the first Karen village headman and he told me that he couldn't help. I went to another Karen village headman and he told me he couldn't help because Bo Maung Maung told him that the ones he captured couldn't be rescued. I went to a Burmese village headman and he shouted, "Bo Maung Maung came and asked me if there was anyone in Yan Myo Aung named Gah Gyi and I told him that I don't know a Gah Gyi in Yan Myo Aung but I know a Gah Gyi in Twa Ni Gone." See! The Burmese village headman was asked about us and he should have told us so but he didn't, so we went on living as people who have nothing to fear. Moreover, he didn't help us when I went for his help, he simply shouted, "He just called him, so! He will release him later." I thought that they were going to release him but they didn't and they killed him. When Bo Maung Maung came and tied up my husband, I was going to go to the village headman but he stopped me and asked me where I was going. I told him that I would go to my uncle but he said, "Don't go anywhere." Then he put me in a house and told me not to leave. I knew he was worried about me telling someone.

Q: Do you think they will kill everyone who's in contact with the KNLA?
A: They will kill anyone who's in contact with the KNLA and they are really doing it. We didn't have contact with the KNLA and we are not well known names. The Burmese soldiers had never asked about us before, so how could we have known that they were going to come and kill us? They held a meeting in our village one time, the same morning that they captured my husband. He *[Shan Bpu]* said that we mustn't contact people on this side *[KNLA]*. He said, "If you want to contact them, leave with your whole family. If you don't go, the day that you contact them will be the day you die." They have killed many, but we don't know every one. They have also killed people in Nyaung Dang and Kler Ko.

Q: Do they still plan to kill people?
A: They are still planning to kill. Their mouths are always saying that they will kill people. Shan Bpu said, "I will rape the Karen women and kill the Karen men." He forced a girl from Lu Ah, Naw O—, to marry him but he hit and punched her after they married. Then even though he had a wife he came to Twa Ni Gone to marry another girl, but she was studying in town so he couldn't find her in the village. Her name is Naw L— and her mother's name is Naw M—. He came with pigs and asked people about her but people told him that there is no one named Naw L—, so he forced people to buy the pigs which he had pulled all the way from Weh Tu.

In Shan Bpu's section, all the soldiers are stupid and impudent because all of them are NCO's *[Non-Commissioned Officers]*. When each of them got married, the villagers had to give them money for gifts and money for pigs. When they gave the invitation to the village headman, it had written on it how much money each village had to give and it also said that everyone must go to the wedding and bring money as a gift. It said those who didn't go must still give 500 *Kyat* as a forced gift. The villagers had to bring wood and build a house with a fence around the garden for each of them after they got married. They got married one by one and the villagers had to do that each time but they didn't dare to say anything. They all married Burmese women from Ah Nya Su except Shan Bpu, who married a Karen woman.

Q: Did you ever have to work for them?
A: I didn't go but many people had to go to build their houses. They have to live in nicer houses than ours. A few days after my husband died, the *[SPDC]* village headman told me to go and do *loh ah pay ['voluntary' labour]* for the SPDC soldiers. I told him that I couldn't go because my children are too young. Then he told me to do sentry duty but I didn't go. The village headman came and demanded I give porter fees but I told him I had nothing to give. When I was living with my husband I tried hard to pay all the fees, just as the village headman had told us to do in the meeting, even though it left us with no chance to eat. The headman said, "Even if your water bucket has a hole in it, we don't care. What's important is that you bring us water." We tried to pay the fees and go for *loh ah pay* and sentry duty, but after my husband died I didn't do anything for them because I was busy with my small children. I had to sell my house to buy rice and then we went to live and eat in my sister's house in Yan Myo Aung. Sometimes I went to my other sister's house in Thit Cha Seik because the Burmese asked about me often. Sometimes I lived in my sister L—-'s house, sometimes in my sister M—-'s house and sometimes with my brother in D—.

Q: Weren't your siblings worried while you were living in their houses?
A: They worried about me so they sent me here. They were worried that the Burmese would get me and eat me. I told them, "It doesn't matter if I die, it would be good for me. I would like to die because I'm thinking about things too much." I told them not to worry about me but they worried and found a way for me to come here. I didn't know how to come because I've never travelled.

Interview: 20: Forced relocation, forced labour, education and health in relocation camp

Name:	"Say Mya"
Sex:	Female
Age:	21
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Marital Status:	Single
Address:	Thirida. Went to school in Haw Gka Tah.
Date of Interview:	March 1999
Source:	KHRG

Q: Did your mother come here with you?
A: My mother is very old, over 60 years old. She couldn't come so she stayed behind with my sister in Daw Saw Leh. I don't have a father. I have five siblings who are all older than I am, I am the youngest. We came here with 4 other families. The total number of people we came together with is over 20.

Q: Did the soldiers know you were coming here?
A: They didn't know. We moved during the night, we didn't dare come during the day.

Q: Where did you go to school?
A: We were living in Thirida but I studied in Haw Gka Ta school and only finished grade 4. Haw Gka Tah is in the western part of the state while Thirida is in the east, they are very far apart. I lived in Thirida from when I was very young until I was 6 years old. I then went to study with a Karen teacher who came to our village and took pity on us because we didn't know the Karen or Burmese languages. She took us to her village and taught us the languages and sent us to school. I was there for three years and then I returned to Thirida to live. We were then forced to relocate to Nwa La Bo and stayed there for three years.

Q: Why did you go to live in Nwa La Bo?
A: The Burmese forced us to go there in 1996. I was 18 years old at the time. Nwa La Bo was never a village, it is only a relocation site. They sent a letter to the village headman demanding that we leave. They said, "You are not allowed to stay here anymore. All you Kayah people must go." I don't know how many villages they forced to go there. There were over 1,000 houses in Thirida *[her brother-in-law later points out that this is not the case and in fact there were only about 100 houses in Thirida]* but not all of those people went to Nwa La Bo. About twenty-five families went to Nwa La Bo, some went to find their relatives in Daw Dta Hay and some went to Shadaw.

Q: Did they feed you when you relocated to Nwa La Bo?
A: They gave us two bowls *[about 4 kg / 8.8 lb]* of rice per person per month for the first three months. They only gave us rice, nothing else. However, later, they didn't give us any so we had no food to eat. At that time, it was only my mother, myself and my elder sister who was still single.

Q: How did you get food while you were there?
A: They didn't allow us to leave so we couldn't go to our old village, which was too far away anyway. We couldn't even rent a field. We had to stay in the house and if they had given us food we could have eaten it but they didn't give us anything after the first three months. When we finished the rice they gave us, we sold what we had to buy more food to eat. However, now we have nothing. We couldn't do anything so we didn't want to stay there any longer. We came here because we needed to get out of there.

Q: Did you have to work for the Army?
A: Battalion 250 forced us to plant seedlings in a monastery garden on a hill. It could have been rubber but I don't know. Their army camp is just below our village, Nwa La Bo, on the plain. One person from each house had to go every day every week. They never gave us anything to eat while we were working, we had to bring food from home. If we didn't have food at home, we didn't eat. They didn't pay us for working for them either. They also forced us to carry stones to build a road from beside the village to Peh Kong *[the Burmese name; it is Pleh Kue in Kayah]*. I think the road will go up to Yan Gong but I'm not sure because I didn't go there. We went to work on the road at 8 a.m., sometimes 9 a.m, and then returned in the evening at 4 p.m. We had to take our own food, they didn't give us any, and we were only given ten minutes to eat lunch. We had to work very quickly.

Q: When you were working on the road, did you see the soldiers beat anyone?
A: If you don't work hard and do your best, they beat you. I saw them beat my friends. I don't know their names, we didn't know each other very well. They were from other villages and had come to live with us when we were all forced to relocate. The soldiers said to them, "Do it nicely." My friends said, "We have never done it before so how can we do it nicely?" Then he beat them. My friends were women about the same size as I am. He beat them with a stick wider than my big toe. He hit them too many times for me to count. Some of them were crying.

Q: When you were in Nwa La Bo, did you have to carry things for the soldiers?
A: No. Men went to do that but I couldn't go so I had to go and do Loh Ah Pay. My brother-in-law had to carry things for them but I can't remember how many times.

Q: How many houses were there in Nwa La Bo in 1996, when you relocated there?
A: There were over eighty houses, including our village and other villages who relocated there. Now I don't know how many houses there are because I didn't count. Quite a few people have left Nwa La Bo.

Q: Is there a school in Nwa La Bo?
A: No. The children cannot study. If we wanted to study we had to go stay with our relatives in other villages such as Tay Tama *[a.k.a. Htee Gkeh]* which is quite a long way from Nwa La Bo. Tay Tama is beside Loikaw.

Q: Is there a hospital in Nwa La Bo?
A: No. If we were ill we had to go to Loikaw. There was a problem in going there. There were patrols in the area and they would interrogate us so we were afraid of them.

Q: Which way did you come here?
A: I came through the forest and didn't know the way. My elder siblings used to walk in the forest so I came with them. It took us eight days to come here and we brought rice to eat from our village but it was only enough for seven days, so one day we had no rice and ate nothing. There were no villages on the way so we couldn't find food. We were tired but we kept going because we wanted to arrive. We arrived here on January 16 *[1999]* with about thirty other people and have been here for about two months.

Q: When you were coming here, did you see Kayah people in the jungle?
A: We saw many people on the way. I saw a grandmother beside Nwa La Bo who couldn't walk and had to have people carry her. When she was able to walk a little, another woman couldn't walk and had to be carried. There were many women who had to be carried because of illness or fatigue.

Q: Do you want to say anything else?
A: When we were in Nwa La Bo we had no food to eat and were deeply worried, but we can't describe that. People who are clever can describe that to other people but people like us aren't so clever so we can't. I would really like to study but I think I am too old to go to

school and my mother can't afford to pay for it. My mother told me that I couldn't go to school because she can't afford to send me. I cried. I would really like to go to school but we have no money. No one in my family can go to school. I had to stop going to school to do forced labour.

Q: Do you want to go back to your village again?
A: I don't want to go back because the situation is not good. I will go back to Thirida if there is peace in Burma. There are no longer any houses in Thirida because they have all been burned. I have only been here a short time, so I don't know if I like it here yet.

Interview: 21: Forced relocation, forced labour, poor education, extortion, soldiers forcing children to marry, rape, arrest, torture

Name:	"Nyi Reh"
Sex:	Male
Age:	28
Ethnicity:	Karenni
Occupation:	Farmer/Buffalo herder
Marital Status:	Single. 4 siblings, he's the youngest, the eldest is 35.
Address:	Daw Dta Hay
Date of Interview:	March 1999
Source:	KHRG

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: January 16 *[1999]*. My parents didn't come with me, they are still in Daw Dta Hay. I didn't tell them or write to them about my coming here because I can't read or write, but they know I'm here. A person who came here two weeks after I did said that my mother believed I had come here. They wanted to come as well but they couldn't walk the long distance. I came alone but have a sister here. 408 people arrived when I did, some of them are from Nwa La Bo, some are from Shadaw, some are from Bpa Law, which is near the Pon River, and some are from other villages. Some people were living in the forest but they came from Shadaw.

Q: Is Daw Dta Hay a relocation site?
A: People from Thirida, Daw Tanaw and other villages were forced to leave their mountain villages and go there. I am from Daw Dta Hay originally. There are about 120 households in Daw Dta Hay. I don't know what villages all the people in Daw Dta Hay are from.

Q: Why did you come here?
A: Because they forced us to work. Other people want to come here as well but they can't; they can't even leave the village. They forced us to cut trees for them to sell. They forced us to fetch two big tins of water and take them to their camp eight times a day. One person was forced to do that eight times a day and if you couldn't, they either put you in the stocks for twenty-four hours, fined you 2,000 *kyat*, or you could give them five *viss [8 kg or 17.5 lb.]* of meat such as pork or beef. People who had ox-carts could use them to fetch water

but those who didn't have them had to carry it themselves. They used all that water for drinking, washing and bathing. Now there's not enough water in the village.

Q: What problems did you encounter along the way?
A: There were many problems but we had to come. There were people near farms along the way *[to the border with Thailand]*, some of whom have no rice or food. The farmers also complain that they don't have enough rice because the army takes half the paddy from their farms.

Q: Did they force you to work while you were in Daw Dta Hay?
A: We had to do forced labour in the village and on the hill. There is an army training camp there called Sa Gka Khun *[abbreviation for 'Column 7']*. Soldiers from Battalions 43, 261, 250 and 102 came for the training. There were 30 to 50 soldiers from each battalion and they came from places like Dee Maw So, Pleh Ku, Hsi Hsaing and other places. Their commander and head trainer is Major Kyi Hlaing and he is from Pleh Ku. There are many officers staying there: Major Myeh Kyeh, Bo Win Myint and Bo Ne Win. The captains who came are Captains Aung Saung and Thay Htoo. Thay Htoo is Karen and is from Hsi Hsaing. There are also instructors, namely: Than Naing Oo, Moe Zaw Oo, Maw Way, Thant Oo, Kyaw Shwe, Chit Ko Ko and others. They had a training exercise there for soldiers ages 14 to 30 that they called 'Column 7 Training Exercise'. There are over 100 soldiers. The soldiers are from many villages, such as Bay Yay, Hsi Hsaing and Dee Maw So. They are from all battalions including 250 and 261 and they went there for the training exercise. They said they would force us to do the exercise also, but they didn't and we didn't know when they were going to. They forced villagers to kill pigs for them *[for an opening celebration banquet]* and only gave them about one third of the cost**.** The villagers still have to give chickens and they are demanding beef twice a week. Some villagers still have to give them rice and if it's the big commander, they have to give their best quality rice. Many people can't work on their farms and produce food because the army forces each family to do five acres of rubber plantation. The plantation is beside their army camp. The people are cutting and clearing the area but the rubber seedlings haven't come yet. The army is forcing people to prepare the area before the seedlings arrive. People also have to do clearing and do plantations of things like peanuts and other kinds of beans for the army. Also, if cattle go near their camp, they take them into their camp garden area and then the owners must give them 5,000 *kyat* to get their cattle back. Moreover, if the cattle trample ten big tins worth of peanuts, they charge the owner the cost of 15 big tins of peanuts. If nobody comes to get the cattle, they shoot them.

Q: What sort of Loh Ah Pay do people have to do for the army?
A: For the road construction, they forced people who own ox-carts to carry stones, three trips each day. Those who don't have ox-carts have to lay the stones on the road. People have to stand up while they are working. If they sit down, the soldiers beat them with bamboo as big as my forearm *[about 5 cm in diameter]*. I saw them beat E—, R— and a few other people. They were sitting down so the soldiers beat them and said, "Don't you see what those other people are doing?" People can't even sit and rest. I only saw a few people who were beaten because I had to go and dig out the stones and bring them to the road on carts.

Q: Do they give rice to the labourers?
A: People who go for Loh Ah Pay have to take their own rice and water, they don't provide either. People have to go at 8 a.m. and then they can return and 4 or 5 p.m. We had to work very hard without taking a rest. We were forced to go for Loh Ah Pay two days per week, every week.

Q: Do the villagers have fields?
A: There are 120 houses in Daw Dta Hay and twenty houses have fields. The villagers can work their fields but the army takes half of their rice.

Q: Have you ever gone to school?
A: No, I have never gone to school. Daw Dta Hay only has a primary school. I had to take care of the buffaloes and then work on the farm. However, now we can't work on the farm because we always have to work for the soldiers. The soldiers force us to get a pass from them which costs 50 *kyat* and is for one day. A pass for a week costs 150 *kyat*. One week is the maximum they allow. If you don't come back on time, they put you in the stocks for a week.

Q: Do they ever demand money from the villagers?
A: They demand money often. They forced a boat owner to go and buy some things for them and when he returned a little bit late, they fined him 2,000 *kyat*. People have to buy them things from Loikaw or Leh Lwin town *[Leh Lwin is Burmese, in Kayah it's Leh Lwin Lin]*. They demanded he be back by 7 o'clock and he arrived at 8 o'clock. It was his boat, they forced him to go without paying him and when he was a little late they fined him. The soldiers have a car but they don't use it and say they don't have petrol or a battery and then force the villagers to do things. When they sell charcoal, they force the villagers to go to Leh Lwin Lin and sell it for them but don't pay them anything.

Q: Have many people from Daw Dta Hay came here?
A: I don't know. I know that only a few people came because people couldn't get out. I fled with S— who is 24 years old. We fled together when they forced us to cut trees for them. We came by way of the Shan border. I started heading here on January 3 *[1999]* and arrived here on January 16.

Q: What did you eat on the way here?
A: There were Shan farms on the way and if we arrived at a farm in the morning the farmer gave us food. We spoke to each other in Burmese and I asked them if they wanted to come here with us but they didn't dare. The Shan farmers work and live on their farms, there are no old villages in the area anymore. In the evening we didn't eat anything.

Q: Do you want to say anything else?
A: In October of 1997 they captured 6 Kayah people, between the ages of 30 and 40 years old, in Daw Dta Hay and put them in jail for 3 years. Their names are Seh Reh, Gee Reh, Pah Reh, Ee Reh, Soe Reh and Soe Reh. There were two Soe Rehs. They put them in the jail in Loikaw, the only jail in the area. The soldiers arrested and jailed them because they

didn't go for Loh Ah Pay when the village headman called them to go. I saw them go. I don't know exactly why they arrested and put them in jail. They were people who were from Daw Dta Hay originally and could speak Burmese. Soldiers from Battalion 54 beat them and electrocuted them while interrogating them. Their brains aren't normal anymore and they have oedema. Battalion 54 has left and gone to other places, now soldiers from Pleh Kue and other areas are stationed there.

Q: What other abuses have you seen?
A: They like to marry women who are very young. One soldier wanted to take a 12 year old Kayah girl named C— as his wife. People told them the girl is too young and not to take her but their commander forced the people to give her to his soldier. The girl had to agree even though she didn't want to. Another girl, L—, was studying in grade 8 and had to stop studying *[to marry a soldier]*. She was 14 years old. An 18 year old girl named H— also had to marry a soldier. They didn't want to marry the soldiers but the commander said they must marry his soldiers so they had to do it. That was last year. One of the girls is close to having a child. Their parents aren't very happy about this.

Q: Anything else?
A: An instructor, Sergeant Kyaw Shway, raped a Kayah woman who had a husband and 2 children. That happened in July of 1998. Kyaw Shway has a wife but she isn't with him in the relocation site so he raped her. When many people were talking about it, his commander asked him and he denied it saying it wasn't true and that the Kayah villagers were spreading rumours. Finally, they called the Kayah woman and she said it was true. She said, "When my husband was not at home, he came and raped me." Kyaw Shway fled to Yan Gone *[Rangoon]*.

Q: Is there a hospital in Daw Dta Hay?
A: No, there's no hospital but there's a clinic at Goe Nah, a Shan village. There are two villages there, a Kayah village above a Shan village. We call them Daw Kloh Ku and Goe Nah Glo Ku. There is a middle school in Daw Kloh Ku. There is a primary school in Daw Dta Hay.

Q: Do you have to pay when you go to the clinic in Goe Nah?
A: If we go to the clinic between Thursday and Saturday we have to pay. If we go between Monday and Wednesday they are open, so we don't have to pay.

Interview: 22: Forced Labor, Livelihood

Name:	"Mi Sein Ngwe"
Sex:	Female
Age:	46
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Marital Status:	Not Stated

Address:	Paukpingwin village, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division
Date of Interview:	May 4, 1999
Place of Interview:	A Mon village under the protection of NMSP
Source:	HURFOM

Q: When did you arrive here? Are you alone or with your family or with your relatives?
A: I arrived here about ten days ago with my family. When we fled from our village, we were altogether ten families and fourty-five people. We came here together. Some are my relatives and some are not.

Q: Why did you flee from your village?
A: We fled to escape the mis-treatment of Burmese soldiers (SPDC troops), because they used us to build a railway and motor road.

Q: When did the Burmese soldiers force you to work on these construction projects?
A: Before January (1999), we were forced to rebuild Ye-Tavoy railway for nearly three months, After working for railway construction, we were informed by our village headmen that we had to work on Ye-Tavoy motor road again.

Q: How did the village headmen managed to get villagers to work in the railway and what type of work did you have to do in the railway construction?
A: Our village had about three hundred households and whenever the headmen told us to work on the railway construction, about one hundred villagers from one hundred households went and worked on the construction. In the railway construction, we were instructed to re-build the embankment that had collapsed during the last rainy season. At the construction site, we collected stones and filled them in the many holes of the embankment, and crushed stones into small pieces and laid them on the surface of embankment. In some places, we dug earth and filled it in many holes in the embankment to regain the proper embankment again. Then, we found grass nearby and planted it beside the embankment to protect the embankment from eroion.

Q: Did some villagers from your village die because of this construction?
A: I remember one man who died after returning from the construction site. His Name was Pha lay, he was about 17 years old. After he returned home from construction site, he became seriously sick. At the construction site, the weather conditions are very terrible.. In the daytime, when we were working at the "Malawe-taung" construction site, the sun was so hot, and at night, it was too cold. Even in the night the soldiers forced us to work, and then when we had the chance to sleep, we could not sleep very well because of the cold. Many villagers got sick at the work site and at their homes after their return. So, the young man, Pha Lay, got a high fever when he arrived home and his parents were too poor to send him to the hospital in town and could only treat him with herbal medicines in the village. But he died.

Q: Can you tell about your experience in the motor road construction?
A: Everytime, about fifty villagers from our village were conscripted to work in the

construction. Our family had to work four times, before I left home. My husband worked two times, myself and my son (about 12 years old) worked another two times. We were brought by the village headmen to the "Malawe-taung" and "14-mile" construction sites. In the construction site, we worked together with soldiers from LIB 408. One column of soldiers, consisting of about four men, and a hundred villagers worked together. According to the news from the soldiers, they received 300 *Kyat* per day for their labour and the commanders would give this to them monthly.

Q: What type of work did you have to do in the construction?
A: The four different times my husband and I worked, we did four different types of work. First, when I worked, the soldiers instructed us to clear about three feet of land from both sides of the former motor road. We cleared grass and small trees, moved out all the big stones and dug deep water canals, two feet wide and 1 feet deep, on both sides of the road. The second time, when my husband went and worked, he was instructed to gather stones from near the work site in the forest and streams. The soldiers guarded them as they did this work, and conscripted some oxen-carts from the nearest villages to carry the stones. Then, the villagers were forced to crush the stones near the work-site to get many 'kyins' of stones. The third time, when my husband went and worked again, the villagers were instructed to lay small stones on the widened track. The last time, when I went to the work-site, we were instructed to clear the small trees and bushes from beside the road, fifty feet on each side.

Q: How many days did you work at the construction site each time?
A: When we went to the work-sites, we were not told exactly by the headmen how many days we would be forced to work in the construction. Depending on the sharing of work-duties, and how heavy the burden of the work, we stayed and worked at the work-sites from 5 days to two weeks.

Q: Did the soldiers beat the villagers, or how were the conditions at the work-site?
A: I did not see the soldiers beat the villagers. But the punishment was to do a somersault. If a sergeant saw a villager taking a rest under a shady tree, he would punish the man by ordering him to do a somersault for fiften times on the ground. If you don't attempt to flee, it's no problem. If you flee, the soldiers will shoot you. We had to work regardless of the heat or cold.

Q: While you were working in the construction, did you meet other villagers?
A: When I went to the work-sites, I always met many villagers working like us. They are divided into many groups. One group has about 15- 20 villagers. They were from many villages, such as Aleskan, Kyaukadin, Kywethalin andYapu.

Q: If you couldn't go to the work-site, how did you manage for a substitute?
A: If we couldn't go to work-site, we would have to pay 500 *kyat* to village headman for one day of labour. If the work lasted for ten days we would have to pay 5,000 *kyat*. Nobody could pay except about ten rich families in our village. We never paid the fee or hired a substitute. When we were ordered to work the last time, my husband was sick and could not

go, so me and my son went to work.

Q: Do you expect to go back to your village soon?
A: We are a poor family in the village and while we were in village, my husband was a day-labourer. We owned only one house and two oxen. We received some paddy from hiring the two oxen, and the income from my husband allowed us to survive in the village. At the end, when my husband was seriously sick because of the hardship in the construction site, I went to the work-site. Then I had to work, in his stead, in a beetle-nut plantation for our family's income. Then we heard about another conscription of free laborers, so we decided to flee. For nearly six years, our village has been constantly forced to work in various construction projects and if we go back now, we will be subjected to harsh work again. I will stay here a long time, because here we can escape the construction work.

Interview: 23: Extortion, Forced labor

Name:	"Saw Po Thu"
Sex:	Male
Age:	36
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	Married with 4 children aged 2-10
Address:	Thaton township
Date of Interview:	May 1999
Place of Interview:	near his village
Source:	KHRG

Q: Have the SPDC soldiers ever come to your village?
A: Yes, the Burmese soldiers came to the village. They just came to the village last night. They came to sleep in *xxxx* village on the May 3. They came to collect 2,000 pieces of thatch and 1,000 bamboo *[each piece of thatch is several feet long, consisting of jungle leaves tied onto a frame of split bamboo; the 1,000 bamboo are long bamboo posts]*. They came in the evening and visited the village chairman. The village chairman came to tell me. We can get bamboo in our village, but there are no *ta la aw* leaves for thatch in our village, so they forced us to give them money instead of thatch. We collected 70 *kyat* and 5 bamboo from each household for them. They said the Brigadier had ordered them to collect it. We don't know what it is for, they took it to their camp. Some villagers have no money, but they still had to give because they are afraid of the Burmese. If the villagers didn't give it, the village head would have difficulties with the Burmese, so the villagers try to help the headman. Villagers here are afraid. If we don't give they will do something, because our village is not far from town. So we don't dare stay here without helping them.

Q: Where did these Burmese soldiers come from?
A: Usually only the senior village leaders go to the camp. Those who have gone to their camp told us that the Burmese have Battalion bases in Kyone Doh and Kawkareik. But

these Burmese said they came from N—.

Q: Did you already give them the money and bamboo?
A: Now we are still collecting the money and bamboo, but in the next two or three days we will finish collecting it. Then we must give it to them. The village heads don't dare take any for themselves. If you are village headman for the Burmese *[i.e. the SPDC-appointed Village Peace & Development Council Chairman]*, you have to follow and obey them. When you don't, they accuse you of helping Karen soldiers, and then if one or two *[KNLA]* people go and shoot at them they make problems for the village. They say that we didn't inform them that KNLA people were staying in our village. They come and stay in our village many days and shoot and eat our chickens and pigs, then when they leave the village they shoot and kill all the livestock they see along their way.

Q: Do they ever do that?
A: If their commander is good, the soldiers will also be good. If their commander is not good then you'll know about it. If they can't take things from a house, they'll make problems for the house owner. They ask rice from the villagers. They know that villagers keep rice in their houses, and if the villagers say they have no rice then they won't believe it. They shoot and eat our poultry, and we can't tell them not to. They don't pay us any *kyat* for that.

Q: Do they ever ask for *loh ah pay*?
A: Yes, they force us to go for *loh ah pay* to build the motor road and their camp, to dig trenches and fence their camp. They also force us to go portering. Right now they've demanded 6 people. They got 5 people, and they collected money for the one they didn't get.

Interview: 24: Relocation camp, forced labour, restriction of movement, extortion, rice quota

Name:	"Saw Lah Thaw"
Sex:	Male
Age:	xxx
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Yan Myo Aung relocation site, Mone township
Date of Interview:	May 1999
Source:	KHRG

["Saw Lah Thaw" was interviewed shortly after arriving in Thailand as a refugee.]

Q: How many villages are in Yan Myo Aung relocation site?
A: There are many villages in Yan Myo Aung: Noh Htaw Hta, Bpa Reh Si, Ta Maw Ma, Twa Ni Gone, Ter Bpaw and Myeh Yeh. There are also five villages in Thit Cha Seik: Tha Htay Gone, Nga Law Der, Ter Bpaw, Po Thaung Su, Oo Chit Kin, and Thit Cha Seik itself. Not all of the villagers have gone to those places though. Some Myeh Yeh villagers have gone to Leh Pa, some to Ler Doh and some are still around Myeh Yeh. They've forced Lu

Ah to relocate two times. The first time they forced them to live in a place between Haw Ko Ghaw and Meik Tha Lin. Then they forced them to go back to their old village. Then another group of troops came and forced them to go to the relocation site again. After that the Short Pants group *[Sa Thon Lon]* came and forced them to go back but they don't allow them to stay in the village anymore, they force them to live in a place nearby. Baw Bpee Der had to relocate too. All the villages around Baw Bpee Der, like Kyaut Bu Daung, Myau Oo and all the others there had to move. They had to relocate to a new section of Mone town.

Q: What about Nyaung Bin Seik *[a village in northern Mone township]*?
A: In Nyaung Bin Seik people were having a festival in honour of a dead monk, and there was a stage show. While one performer was dancing and singing, people were going up to give her presents. Shan Bpu *[of the Sa Thon Lon]* also went to give her a present, but he acted like he would grab her so her friends got angry and jumped up to protect her from him. He got angry too and said, "I was giving her a present with good intentions, but you've made a scene". Then he went and fired shells among the crowd and the performers.

Q: Does Shan Bpu take good care of his new Karen wife?
A: It seems like he's taking care of her, because whenever he's staying in a place 2 hours' walk away from the place where his wife is staying he forces people to go and bring his wife to him. He burned his parents-in-law's house because he was forcing everyone in Lu Ah *[village]* to dismantle their houses and take them to the relocation site. Some houses are very big so people can't dismantle them and carry them away in just one or two days, so he burned his parents-in-law's house *[they live in Lu Ah]*. Then they got very angry with him, and his brother-in-law became very angry with him. His brother-in-law went up into a house and Shan Bpu asked him, "Why are you going in the house?" He answered, "I'm going to get a knife to cut you with because you burned our house. Houses don't cost just one or two *Kyat* you know, and we aren't machines who can build a house in just one or two days! We can't take it when you treat us like this!" Other people took the knife away from him so he couldn't cut Shan Bpu, but if they hadn't taken it he really would have.

Q: Where are the Lu Ah villagers staying now?
A: They won't let them stay in the village, they are keeping them in a field between Lu Ah and Weh Gyi. They just abuse the population. People have their village nearby but they aren't allowed to live in it, instead they have to live in a field where there is no shade and build tiny huts to live in. People who've been forced to relocate have to live like wild chickens. They have no place to work, so they must get a pass to go back and work in their old villages. One pass only lasts for three days. People aren't allowed to go to the forest to graze their cattle or to find food for themselves.

Q: When you left, which villages were being forced to cut down their trees?
A: Noh Htaw Hta, Bpa Reh Si, Twa Ni Gone, Ta Maw Ma, Ter Bpaw and Myeh Yeh. Twa Ni Gone was just forced to cut them down in April *[1999]*. They forced people to cut down all the trees – the mango trees, coconut palms and every tree that our ancestors had planted so that we could eat the fruit. The Short Pants group forced the villagers to cut them

down. They had one power saw, and some people had to cut them with handsaws. In Myeh Yeh they cut them once but not all the trees were cut down, so they had to go back and cut them again. At first the villagers from Noh Htaw Hta didn't go back to cut their own trees, so the soldiers forced Burman villagers from Leh Pa to go and cut those trees. After they were forced to cut them the Burman villagers went to the Karen villagers and said, "Each fruit tree that people have planted, they had to give it attention and good care so it would grow to bear fruit, so we were ashamed when they forced us to cut them down. If we were so ashamed ourselves, then how much worse must the owners of those trees feel? If the soldiers didn't go with us we wouldn't have cut them, but the soldiers came and watched us with guns when we went to cut the trees by their order."

Q: What is their objective?
A: We can't understand their aim. We don't know what they'll do next. They burned all the farmfield huts in the hot season and forced everyone to go back and live in the middle of their villages. Now they are patrolling around there and abusing people. They forced us to build a road. They force everyone to work on whatever they want them to do, and they also force us to give so many taxes. We have to do 'volunteer labour' constantly, and they also force us to go as porters, so how can you have time to work for your own living? They forced us to work on the road and they forced us to cut the forest. We had to cut down all the forest where people used to let their buffaloes graze for food. They forced us to cut it completely clear. It took us the whole month to cut it down, and then they forced us to dig out the stumps. We also had to do sentry duty once every three days. When it's your turn for sentry duty but you're already doing other 'volunteer labour' so you arrive a bit late, they beat you as though they're going to kill you. They often beat people on sentry duty.

Q: What do the Short Pants soldiers say to people?
A: They said that if the resistance *[KNLA]* comes then people should tell them, and that if people don't inform them and then they find out about it later they will kill people. They said that battles must not occur, that if a battle occurs near any village they will burn that village and kill the villagers or force them to relocate. They also forced us to work for them constantly, so we didn't have any time to do our own work. Even then they still demanded taxes and fees from us, so we could only give to them and had no food for ourselves, and in the end we had to find a safer place to live. I saw villagers from Twa Ni Gone and Bpa Reh Si. Since they were forced to relocate they have to get a pass to go back to work in their old villages each day. One pass is only good for 3 days so they are always travelling, and the Short Pants group is always interrogating them along their way. If they just interrogated them I wouldn't mention it, but now they are interrogating them, searching their bags and confiscating whatever money and other things they find. They beat people and kill people. They've killed many innocent people they've seen along the path. In March, Shan Bpu beat the pastor who had baptised him before his wedding *[when he forced Naw O— to marry him in December 1998]*. Many people in the village saw it. The people who had been ordered to go back and cut down trees in their village didn't have passes with them so he beat all of them, and he beat the pastor more than the others. He said the pastor didn't have a pass, so he beat him. That pastor had baptised him before his wedding.
Now they've said that they *[the Sa Thon Lon]* plan to kill thirty people per month between

Shwegyin and Mone, and thirty more between Mone and Tantabin. Among the thirty that they kill, one will be a bad person and the rest will be good *[innocent]* people. If they kill thirty people each month then eventually all the people will be gone.

Q: Did you hear about the KNLA shooting at a car and burning it near Kyun Bin Seik?
A: That was the Short Pants group who shot and burned that car. They ordered the car to stop but it didn't stop until the driver saw them raise their arms. Then they told the driver, "You didn't stop when I called, you are being disrespectful to me". The driver said he hadn't heard, but they shot up the car and then burned it. After that they demanded that the people of all the villages around there pay the cost of that car.

Q: When did you start building the road *[from Na Than Gwin to Mone]*?
A: They started it in March. From March to May *[1999]*. For those two months we had no time to rest. They forced people from every village, from Yan Myo Aung and all the other villages. Starting in Na Than Gwin, the people in Ah Nya Su, Ohn Bin Su, and Ohn Chit Gone had to dig as far as Nga Nwah Seik. Other villagers had to dig from Nga Nwah Seik to Say Bpa Leh and on to Haw Ko Ghaw, and as for us, we had to dig from Yay Leh to Twa Ni Gone. For the road to connect to Say Bpa Leh, people from Ler Doh, Gah Kyi Seik, Leh Pa, Ywa Gyi Inn and Yan Myo Aung had to go and dig. They forced many people to go to dig that road. The road is ten cubits *[15 feet/5 m]* wide and three cubits *[5 feet/1.5 m]* high. Each person from our area has to build a section 17 cubits *[26 feet / 9 m]* long. We had to take our own food. They forced us to work on it for four or five days, then stop for three or four days, then work on it again for four or five days. I already worked on it two or three times, and we also had to work on the road beside our village at the same time. The road beside our village goes from Yan Myo Aung into the forest, but I think it will go to Mone in the future. Now we've heard that they've called people to work on it again.

Now they're demanding that we give money for the bridges *[along the new road from Na Than Gwin to Mone]*. They're demanding 600 *Kyat* from each household. They came and confiscated the wood that people had cut for their houses, they saw it and confiscated it all. Then they demanded that people go and buy that wood from them and use it to build the bridges. For the foundation of the bridges we had to buy bricks, cement, powdered lime and nails. We had to buy everything for them. Every village has to do that.

We have to do 'volunteer labour' carrying things into the hills. We call it "Chaw Gyi" *['big portering']*. We have to carry stones, build car roads and build bridges along the car roads so that their troops can go up into the hills. Then they also demand people to go and do 'volunteer labour' for them in their camp. Not only do we have to work for them, they also demand that we give them thatch, wood, and bamboo; we must give them these things all the time.

Q: Do you have to give rice?
A: We have to give it for free. People have to give paddy for free from all of the fields east of the car road from Mone to Ler Doh *[Kyauk Kyi]*. Whether you plant the field or not you must give them three baskets from each acre for free or they confiscate all your paddy as

well as your field. As for the fields west of the car road, whether they yield well or not we have to sell them thirteen baskets from each acre. It's called 'obligation' paddy. They say we must fulfil our 'obligation', and that they will arrest and kill anyone who cannot. They said they would give 400 *Kyat* per basket, but then they cut some out *[for themselves]* and only pay 300 *Kyat* per basket for the rest. I have ten acres so I have to give 130 baskets. Ten acres can only produce 200 baskets, or not even 200 baskets if the soil is poor. And you still have to pay other taxes and fees, so what will you do? When people hire themselves out or do anything to earn money so that they can pay the porter fees and taxes, the Burmese demand the money you make from your work as well, so when the time comes to pay the porter fees and taxes we have no money and we have to sell our livestock. Sometimes no one could buy our livestock so we had to borrow money to pay them.

Interview: 25: Sa Thone Lone Guerilla Unit, Forced labour, porter,

Name:	"Pu Nya Thu"
Sex:	Male
Age:	70
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital Status:	Married with 5 children
Address:	Myeh Yeh village, Mone township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	May 1999
Source:	KHRG

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: 4 days ago. My daughter looked at our situation and knew that we couldn't stay there, so she called us to come here and we came. We were afraid and wanted to come. The Burmese are abusing people all the time, but I just stay in my house so I don't know much in detail. I know that they won't allow us to walk at night or to go to the forest, and that if we go to another village we have to take a pass or they'll kill us easily if they want to. If they decide not to kill you they still beat you.

Q: Have you ever seen the Short Pants soldiers?
A: I haven't seen them, but they came near my house and walked around in our village. I heard that in other villages they've beaten and tortured people. People are afraid of them because if you're walking on the path and you suddenly see them you're supposed to sit down and you must not look at their faces. If you look at their faces they kick you at once and say, "Why are you looking at my face? Am I handsome or something?" You're supposed to show respect to them by stopping and sitting down, and you can only get up and walk again after they've passed.

Q: Has the situation in your village changed since you were young?
A: The situation in our place is getting worse and worse. If we compare my youth to my old age, things are very different. When I was young we were free to work, to travel, and

to gather fish from the ponds. Later we were no longer free to gather them, and now the Burmese gather them every year but the Karen aren't ever allowed. In the past, the Karen and Burman sections of Myeh Yeh took turns gathering food from the ponds, Karen for 3 years and then Burmese for the next 3 years. But now the Burmese gather fish from the ponds every year and don't allow the Karen to gather anything at all. Our living is becoming more and more difficult. People with fields east of the *[Mone – Kyauk Kyi]* road must give them 20 baskets of paddy from each acre for free. As for the fields west of the road, people there must sell paddy to them for a very low price. This only started happening recently.

Q: Did your children ever have to do forced labour?
A: My son came back to the village not long ago and he had to hide himself most of the time. We had to pay 'volunteer labour' fees whenever he didn't go *[for forced labour]*. Sometimes 400 or 500 *Kyat*, sometimes 100 to 300. You must give it even if you have no money, or you must go even if you can't go. When you don't have money to give them you must sell whatever you have and give them the money. People do it this way.

There is a Burmese boy named K— from Yan Myo Aung. The Burmese soldiers captured him in the village and forced him to go to the mountains as a porter. He was sick when they were in the mountains so he thought it would be better if he escaped, and he ran. They recaptured him and beat him until he couldn't move, then they ordered his parents to come and take him back down from the mountains. He was sick and they had beaten him very badly. His parents had to borrow money and hire Burmese villagers to go and carry him back home. When he got back he was in very bad condition and couldn't walk, but he's better now. He is around 18 or 19 years old. That happened in March this year *[1999]*.

Q: What do the Burmese troops usually do when they come to your village?
A: In our village they don't do much, but in other villages they steal livestock. I heard that in Twa Ni Gone they entered the village and fired their guns. People ran away, and they killed people, pigs, chickens and ducks and ate the livestock. They are forcing people to cut down their trees and also to cut down the forest all around their villages. There is no benefit, they just cut down the forest and leave it lying there. The villagers who have been relocated have to go back to their old villages and cut down all the mango, coconut and other fruit trees. That happened in Myeh Yeh, Ter Bpaw and Po Thaung Su villages.

Q: How do you feel to be here *[in a refugee camp]*?
A: I feel happy to be here and people here have welcomed us nicely, but I feel sad for the people who remain in my village. They have difficulty finding food to eat, and if the situation gets much worse it will be difficult for them to survive.

Q: Will you go back if the situation gets better?
A: The Burmese said, "Myeh Yeh village is full of rebels", so I think it might be better for my village to simply disappear. The KNLA came by our village sometimes, so the Burmese accused all the Myeh Yeh villagers of being rebels. I don't want to stay there anymore. I am very old so there will probably be no chance for me to ever go back again, but some people here might be able to return later.

Interview: 26: Forced relocation, forced labour, forced porter, Sa Thone Lone Guerilla Unit

Name:	"Pi Naw Htoo"
Sex:	Female
Age:	75
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital Status:	Married with 3 children
Address:	Myeh Yeh village, Mone township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	May 1999

["Pi Naw Htoo" was interviewed shortly after arriving in Thailand as a refugee.]

Q: Are any villagers still living in Myeh Yeh?
A: Nobody is living in the village. People were forced to relocate to Yan Myo Aung a long time ago. Now many people are leaving Yan Myo Aung to go to places which they think will be safer for them.

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: We arrived here yesterday at 5 p.m. We couldn't work there anymore so we came. I worked a plantation and my children were working on a field. We couldn't work because we were afraid of the Burmese. If we went to work we had to take a pass, and if we didn't have a pass they could arrest us, hit and kill us if they wanted. That's why we couldn't stay any longer. We were working in our bean field, but they said, "Going to the forest is not allowed!", so we couldn't go to our bean field for a week or two and then our crop was partly ruined and we couldn't get enough food. They *[the SPDC]* are getting worse and worse each day. We were under their control, so we always had to be afraid of them. We couldn't work for our food, so we had to sell what we had to buy food. We sold and sold until everything was gone, and then how could we continue to live? We were living in fear and hunger, so we came here.

Q: But you are old, so what did you have to be afraid of?
A: We had to worry and be afraid for our children who were doing work for us. We worried that the Burmese would beat them when they were going to the fields. Moreover, they have to go for sentry duty for three days at a time, and sometimes they force people who are doing sentry duty to go as porters. Just before I left a child from our village was forced to go portering from sentry duty. He's already disappeared for two weeks, but we don't know where he is. His name is Saw Htoo Gkee, he's about 20 years old. He is single.

Q: What about your own children?
A: The Burmese forced them to do 'volunteer labour' often. The Burmese forced them to dig roads, and the DKBA forced them to build pagodas. Every day they had to dig earth and carry earth for road construction. If you go along the route you can see group after group

of people. They have to go for three days at a time. They don't give them anything. You have to take your own food, work for them as a 'volunteer' and come back with nothing. They call it 'volunteer labour'. You must sleep at the place where they force you to work. The DKBA are rebuilding the Klaw Maw pagoda and forcing people to work on it. The Burmese Short Pants group forced us to build a road. For that labour, you must prepare your own food and go, dig earth for three days, come back and then another group must go as you did.

Q: Who is the DKBA commander?
A: Commander Law Plah. They are building a pagoda at Maw Lay and staying there *[this pagoda is in northern Mone township, while the Klaw Maw pagoda is further south in Kyauk Kyi township]*. It takes two hours to walk to Maw Lay.

Q: Who are the commanders of the Short Pants group?
A: Shan Bpu and Bo Maung Maung. If they come you really need to be afraid of them, because they kill people wrongly. Recently they killed four or five Twa Ni Gone villagers at a fishpond. They didn't ask them anything, just killed them quickly. Those villagers were still young. That's why we are afraid of them. The Short Pants group demand money and food from the villagers, then they eat some and throw some away just to make the Karen people poor. They treat Karen people differently from Burmans; in 'volunteer work', portering, taxes and fees they always treat the Karen people worse. If they see a Karen person going to work and want to slap, beat or kill them they do it freely, but not to Burmans. Now a battle took place at T'Kaw Pwa and Way Sweh so they have gone to torture the villagers there. The battle happened about two weeks ago.

Q: Some people say that the Short Pants group will leave and be replaced by another group. Is that true?
A: We just heard that, that's all. We heard that a 'white uniform' group will come, but we've never seen them. We don't really know whether they'll come or not and what they'll do to us when they come. We are caught between so many groups, we just couldn't take it any more so we came here. We'd never seen this place before and we had no idea of the situation here, we just walked here like blind people. We prayed along the way and God led us here. We came here and we are now relying on you, so please take care of us.

Interview: 27: Forced Labor, Extra-judicial killing, Porters, Landmines, Looting

Name:	"Naw Lay Wah"
Sex:	Female
Age:	25
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Stauts:	Married with two children aged 5 months and 4 years
Address:	Pah Klu village, T'Nay Hsah township, Karen State

Date of Interview: July 1999
Source: KHRG

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: I arrived here one month ago, to bring my child to hospital.

Q: Were you there when the Burmese came to your village?
A: Yes, when we came here, they were still staying in the village. They have come to every village and haven't left yet. Sometimes they stayed for ten days in our village and sometimes only two or three days, then they would go back to Meh Pleh. They have about 200 or 300 soldiers with camps in Meh Pleh and Ker Ghaw. Last year the Burmese troops who came were IB 44 *[sic: actually LIB 44]* and LIB 118. The commander of LIB 118 they call Kyaw Zay Ya. One of their groups went up to Loh Baw, one has gone to Thay K'Dtee, and another one has gone to Po Thay Kyu. They are patrolling the fields, divided into four groups. One group is left in Pah Klu. The Ko Per Baw follow the Burmese, but they stay separately from them while they are in the village. They said that they plan to build a camp and will force the villagers to build it for them. Also the villagers worry that they will capture the men to be porters, so the men don't dare stay in the village. Only the women dare to stay.

Q: When the Burmese came to your village, did they kill any villagers?
A: Before I came here they killed one villager in Taw Oak village. His name was Pa Eh Kweh, and he was about 20 years old. They accused him of being a spy for the KNU, but it wasn't true. He was just a crazy man. When they came to our village, they shot their guns—I don't know if they were shooting Karen soldiers or villagers. They are always shooting their guns in the village, both big weapons and small guns. If they see people run, they shoot them all. They started shooting last year, and they don't think beforehand whether they're aiming at villagers or the KNLA. The Burmese accuse the DKBA of doing the shooting and the DKBA accuse the Burmese of doing it.

Q: Did any villagers get hurt then?
A: Yes, 3 villagers: P— (40-50 years old) broke his leg, Pa M— (40 years old) got hit on the shoulder, and Naw W— (13 years old) got injured in her leg *[Naw W— is a girl and the other two are men]*. P— came to stay here too. The Ko Per Baw asked the villagers to take him to Ker Ghaw, but when he arrived there the Ko Per Baw didn't take care of him, so he came back to Pah Klu. After that the people asked him to come to *xxxx [refugee camp]*, so he came here. The Burmese didn't take care of the other villagers either. Before they already came one time and killed one villager named Maung Tin Hta. They shot him because he ran. He was about 30 years old, and he was married. It happened in the cold season when I delivered my baby *[about February 1999]*.

Q: Do they force the villagers to do *loh ah pay*?
A: Yes, if the men don't stay in the village they force the women to go and carry rice. They force one villager per house to go. If the villagers are not free to go, they have to hire someone for 500 *Kyat* per day. We have to pay the village head and then the village head

pays the one who goes in the villager's place. I didn't go for *loh ah pay,* but my husband did. The villagers have to go one or two times every year. They went to build a road one time in Ker Ghaw and Kwih Lay because the Burmese have camps there, and they haven't finished that road yet.

Q: Do they come to capture or collect porters?
A: They tell the village head to collect the porters. If they don't ask first, they arrest them themselves. They collect the porters for one month and sometimes two months at a time. My husband fled and escaped before the Burmese arrived in the village, but before that he always hired porters *[to go in his place]*. The villagers who went to porter had to go to Loh Baw and Toh Thu Kee, then to Lay Gaw Pu. They told the villagers they had to go for only five days, but if it takes more than five days and the Burmese haven't come back yet, the porters can't come back either. I heard that they beat and kick the villagers from Maw Toh Ta Lay. One porter stepped on a landmine and they shot him. They didn't bring him back to the village. A villager from Pah Klu witnessed it.

Q: Do you hear whether they feed the porters?
A: Yes, they feed them but not enough rice. They eat twice per day but only just a little per person. They don't get curry, they just eat rice with salt. The Burmese eat rice with oil or curry. They all came back to the village, but when they arrived they were very sick because they hadn't had enough food. They were thirsty also. They got water to drink but not enough because the Burmese didn't allow them to drink. They didn't allow them even to clean their faces. When they came back, they said that they didn't get enough food and it was bad food. The weather was very hot and they didn't have enough water. Along the way if the Burmese forced them to keep moving, they had to go.

Q: Do you now the aim of the Burmese in coming to your village?
A: Their aim is to do logging and to guard it.

Q: Did Ko Per Baw also force the villagers to do *loh ah pay*?
A: Yes, they forced them to carry rice and bullets. The villagers had to hire porters to go for them, at the same price that the Burmese soldiers collected. They forced them to carry one or two times a month. They also forced the villagers to send them pork and chicken. The Ko Per Baw commander's name is Pu Lay Yo. Mostly they stay in Ker Ghaw because they have a camp there. It is about 3 hour walk to Pah Klu from Ker Ghaw.

Q: Are there landmines around Pah Klu village?
A: Yes, KNLA landmines. If the Burmese came to sleep in the village, they planted landmines at night near the village. Mostly the cattle stepped on the landmines, but two villagers died from stepping on landmines. They were Pa Kyaw Lu, who was about 30 years old, and I don't remember the name of the other one.

Q: Do you have a village head?
A: The villagers elected *xxxx*. The villagers also chose T— - she is about 40 years old - to be the Burmese village head. The Karen soldiers *[KNLA]* elected *xxxx* to become village head.

Q: Did the KNLA ever go to your village?
A: Yes. There was a battle in June before I came here. Karen soldiers and Ko Per Baw were fighting each other. If it happens in the village they don't cause problems *[afterwards]*, but if it happens outside the village they get annoyed. If the Burmese or Ko Per Baw step on a landmine, they say that the villagers didn't tell them and they fine them. If they step on a landmine, they force the villagers to give one pig and one or two *viss* of chicken. Mostly they fine them a pig. The Ko Per Baw also fine the villagers.

Q: Did any villagers flee and stay outside the village?
A: Yes, they stayed in the farmfield huts. The Burmese don't say anything about that in the rainy season, but they don't allow the villagers to stay there in the dry season. They force them back to stay in the village. If they see any villagers staying outside the village, they accuse them of contacting the Kaw Thoo Lei *[KNU/KNLA]*.

Q: Do you think the Burmese come to the villages to do good things for the villagers?
A: The Burmese did not come to do good things. They just came to torture us. If they see no one in our house they accuse it of being a Kaw Thoo Lei house, and they take everything from the house. They take everything. At my mother's house they took everything, even the fire grill. They took all the pots and plates. They also eat the chicken and pigs of villagers who raise them.

Interview: 28: Forced Labor, Livelihood, Child Labor, Forced Porters, Arrest, Extra-judicial

Name:	"Pa Po Doh"
Sex:	Male
Age:	24
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	not stated
Address:	Tee Hsah Ra village, Myawaddy township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	July 1999
Source:	KHRG

Q: Why did you come to *xxxx [refugee camp in Thailand]*?
A: We came because the Burmese soldiers oppressed us with forced labour and caused us many problems until we couldn't tolerate them anymore. The Burmese also ate our chickens and livestock and we had to reimburse people for them. I always had to go for *loh ah pay* every day. They forced people who live in the fields to go, and if they didn't the soldiers chased them and captured them. The fields are destroyed because no one is working on them. We couldn't solve these problems and we were dying. Some came here and some stayed there, but I came alone.

Q: What kind of soldiers are in your village?
A: There are Burmese soldiers from IB #44 *[sic: actually Light Infantry Division #44]*. They have about 30 soldiers under Company Commander Pa Nya Plah. He is Karen, but the tone of his speech is up and down like people's from the lower place *[plains of central Burma]*, not flat like ours. The Burmese stay in the village and the monastery. They don't have a camp, but they sleep for 7-10 days in the village when they're on patrol. Sometimes they come and go on the same day. The DKBA are living in the village too. They don't demand fees but they force us to work whenever they go anywhere. They also eat the livestock in the village, and if they eat pigs and chickens then the villagers have to reimburse the owners. They sometimes ask for livestock that they want to eat, but they also take it at night, along with rice from the villagers' houses. If they don't see the owner of the house, they go into the house and take their things. They took Naw T—-'s two chickens, one big tin of rice, and one pack of Ajinomoto *[MSG seasoning]*. The DKBA shoot their guns wherever they are living just to make noise.

Q: Do people in your village have to porter as well?
A: If the Burmese call it *loh ah pay* it means we have to go as porters, but if they call it "portering" it means we have to both carry and pay them a fee. People who go for *loh ah pay* have to porter also. Some disappear for one week and some for the whole month, and they still have to pay the porter fees. The DKBA also forces the villagers and does the same things as the Burmese. Just before I came I had to go to Bu Deh once and to Tha Bya Yeh Gone once as well. They captured me in the village and forced me to carry to Tha Bya Yeh Gone. I carried bullets for M16's *[a type of common assault rifle]*. Each person's load was 20-30 *viss [32-48 kg / 70-105 lb]*. It takes half a day to walk there and I had to sleep there 2 nights. Then they released us and another group replaced us. For *loh ah pay* the Burmese also force people to build their camps and bunkers and to carry their things. When they see us outside the village they capture us for portering, and if they see us in the village they order us to go. If we refuse to go, they capture us anyway. Four people from the village have to go each month, and each family has to give 600 *kyat* for them.

People who do not go to porter have to hire someone for 500 *Kyat* per day. But for the villagers who are sick or who have no money, the Burmese wait for a while and if they still cannot pay then they give them trouble. They make them go for more days when they become well. Also women who have no husbands and women whose husbands are ill must go. As for children, if their parents cannot go, they have to go. The oldest labourer is about fourty and the youngest person is about sixteen. They have to take along their own food and start work at 7 a.m. and work until 5:30 p.m. in the afternoon. At Tha Bya Yeh Gone we had to build their shelter, carry wood, and build their bunkers. At Old Wangka *[on the border with Thailand]* we had to dig and then pour cement for their bunkers. They let us take a rest once to eat and they guarded us while we worked. They shouted at us and wouldn't allow people to rest when they were tired, but they didn't beat us.

Q: What were the conditions like when you were portering?
A: They gave us food, sometimes it was enough and sometimes not enough. They didn't beat or kick me but they hit my friend from the village. There were four of us from the village: Pa M—aged 25, H— aged 24, and T— aged 24. They beat Pa M— because he

could not carry things. We were at the foot of Tha Bya Yeh Gone. They kicked him twice, then they made him stand up. They decreased the weight of his pack and forced him to carry on.

Q: Does your village have a village head?
A: Yes, his name is *xxxx*, but he was arrested by the DKBA. Their company commander's name is L— from Brigade 999, and he has about 20-30 soldiers. They accused the village head of collecting money for the opposite side *[KNU/KNLA]*. Then my friend heard that *[DKBA]* Commander P— would send the headman to *xxxx*, but we weren't sure what would happen to him. We were afraid of the DKBA because they knew us from the village and because they had chased us once before. He *[his other friend]* was clever, so he ran first and left a letter behind *[for the DKBA]*. When I was told that he ran, I ran too. If you don't run you never know what they will do to you, and you can't do anything to stop it, though they can do anything to you if they capture you. We couldn't stay, so we had to run. As my friend was leaving he heard on the radio *[probably a KNLA-supplied walkie-talkie]* that the Burmese had captured the village head, and he told me that later. We dared not return because the village head had told us to avoid them if he was captured. They put him in Ra Ma Tee *[Myawaddy]* Jail and still haven't released him.

Q: Did you ever hear of the DKBA or the Burmese killing any villagers?
A: Yes, the DKBA shot six people on July *10 [1999]* in Tee Hsah Ra. I was sleeping at night but I heard it, though I didn't go and look. It was near my house, only two minutes walk away. They came at night to shoot people in the fields, then they came back *[into the village]* to shoot people in the houses. They shot them because they accused them of casting spells over people. But they were villagers, just simple people who cannot do magic or cause harm to people, but only work in the fields. They didn't belong to the opposite side *[KNU]*, they only worked in the fields. One villager disliked them because she thought they had cast a spell on her husband. But everybody saw that he was a fool, even though he said that the other family was making magic to do him harm. Pa Maung Wah told him that if he had truly done magic things to harm him, he would drink *Thit Sa Yea ["vow water", which once it is drunk forces people to keep promises made or face dire consequences]* and confess, so that whatever he had done would come back to him. But the man didn't believe him and threatened that he would wait for his wife's brother to come back and kill all of them. The wife also had a son who died, and she accused them of casting a magic spell on harm him. So she asked her younger brother, who had joined the DKBA, to go and kill them. First they stabbed Pa Gyi Reh in his field at 9 o'clock. Then they went to his father's field and killed his three brothers and his father, Maung Wah *[a.k.a. Pa Noh Wah]*. Then they came to shoot his mother in the house. People called her Pa Gher Mo *[a.k.a. Daw Aye Khin]* and she was well over 40 years old. Pa Gher *[her son]* was over 35 and he was married. His brother Pa Saw Leh is 20 years old, Pa Saw Hsah was 16, and Saw Bleh Ku was 13. There are 6 people in the family; 4 of them were murdered and only 2 women are left. They still live in Tee Hsah Ra and are married already. The DKBA *[officer(s)]* came to look after this happened, but they didn't say anything about it. They didn't accept the fact that they had killed them, and so they're trying to say that it was an accident, that no one killed them. They are going to make the case disappear and make peace between each

other. Commander Maung Chit Thu's soldiers killed them, but he told us it was an accident. But he knew about it because his soldiers had to get permission from him to kill these people. If he doesn't give permission they can't do anything.

Q: Did you hear about soldiers burning down people's houses or rice barns?
A: They burned villagers' rice barns this year in the dry season, around Christmas time *[1998]*. The DKBA burned the rice straw *[used as fodder for cattle]* and paddy at Meh Pleh Wah Kee. The troops were from IB 999 *[Brigade]* and their commander was Moe Kyo, but we heard he died in Mae Sot *[Thailand]* after he was injured by a landmine. Now the commander of IB 999 is P—, the one who recently moved to Tee Hsah Ra. His commander was L—, who arrested the village head.

Q: Do you think that the Burmese and the DKBA are collaborating in your village
A: Yes, they cooperate and patrol in the same group. Both of them are so rude to people who live in Tee Hsah Ra. We couldn't deal with the forced labour and fee collections, so we fled and came here for a better future. We still have people there who will come here. Some villagers still have their fields and are waiting to finish the harvest before they come. I came here alone but my wife and children arrived yesterday. We dare not go back, my friend or I, because the DKBA is still looking for us.

Interview: 29: Forced Porters, Women Porters, Child Labor, Looting, Rice Quota, Landmines

Name:	"Saw Daniel"
Sex:	Male
Age:	70
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Christian
Marital Status:	Married with eight children
Address:	Dta Greh (Pain Kyone) town, Hlaing Bwe township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	July 1999

Dta Greh (Pain Kyone) town is in northeastern Pa'an District; the Karen consider it a township of its own, but the SPDC considers it part of Hlaing Bwe township.]

Q: Did you come here to stay?
A: I came to take care of my wife. The medic sent her to Mae Sot *[in Thailand]* but the white foreigners there couldn't do anything, so she came back and stays with our children. In the last few days she has been feeling worse, so she sent our youngest child to go back and bring me from the village. So I followed my youngest child here.

Q: What is the situation in Dta Greh?
A: Recently the situation has become worse. It was a big village, 100 houses in the past. But many villagers have left and now there are only 40-50 houses. During the old times the

Burmese settled down in the middle of the village, but now they are camped about one or two furlongs from the houses and they don't allow the villagers to go there. There are about 10-20 soldiers from Division 44. The Burmese were staying in the village when the Karen soldiers *[KNLA]* came and told the villagers to flee. That happened one or two years ago. The Karen soldiers were going to fight the Burmese in the village and they were worried that the villagers would get injured. So they told the villagers to stay outside the village; some fled, and some stayed at Pa Nya Plih about one furlong from our village. As for us, we have fields between Pa Nya Plih and the village, so we went to stay in the fields. But the Burmese didn't allow us to flee and called the villagers back to stay in the village.

Q: Do the villagers have a headman?
A: The village heads work for 1-2 years and then run away. They are not honest. The people who become village heads don't follow through, and we don't know what they will do for us. We are living in difficulty. Now the villagers are working together with 'Dta Lah Lu Gyi' *['monthly village head']*, who is always a woman. The villagers elect her every month. The villagers work for Dta Lah Lu Gyi throughout the year, and each house gives 1one basket of paddy to them for taking care of us. The villager would like to elect men but they dare not. When the DKBA or the Burmese come to the village, it is a different matter with a male village head. Once in the past they came to collect emergency porters and the headman couldn't find any for them. Then they beat the headman and the people dared not complain. The Burmese stay at the village, and when the Battalion is going out *[on patrol]*, they force the village head to collect porters.

Q: Do you stay in the village?
A: Yes, I stay in the village, but when my wife came here I had to stay in the farmfield hut with our cows and belongings. They allowed us to stay in our farmfield huts during the rainy season, but after finishing the fields we all had to come back and stay in the village. When it was time for the villagers to come back, they didn't care that the villagers who have many animals can't come back and stay in the village. They need to stay in their farmfield huts. Once before when the Ko Ko fruit was ripe their cows went down to the fields, and the soldiers captured them and fined the villagers. So this time they dared not come back and stay in the village. Some are still staying in the farmfield huts and the hills. They can't stay in the field huts forever, but their livestock is there. We can't watch them all the time. Whenever the animals go down to their camp they fine us, and we can't pay them. Sometimes they fine us 300-400 *kyat*.

Q: Do they force the villagers to porter?
A: If they can't collect people *[by demanding quotas from village heads]*, they capture porters. If they cannot capture, they demand them from the villagers and the villagers have to hire porters for them. Bpay Pwet *[payroll troops]* bring a salary once a month for the Burmese who stay in the mountains *[and collect porters to go with them]*. Sometimes they come to rotate their troops, then the troops collect the porters. We have to hire the porters at 100 *kyat* per day. Sometimes the villagers hear that the Burmese will capture porters and they send a message to the village, so all the men leave the village. The Burmese came to call me but said, "Ah, Grandfather, we won't force you to do anything", and then

they left me alone. As for the young people who they can catch, they force them to go. My children stay in the farmfield hut but they had to go when the Burmese forced them to send rations by bullock cart.

Q: Do the villagers go to porter or pay the fees instead?
A: As for Bpay Pwet *[payroll troops]*, they come and call the women to go with them. As for portering, mostly the villagers give money to them instead of going. They collect 100 *kyat* per day for porters, and if they demand 5 villagers for 10 days, the villagers have to pay 5,000 *kyat*. The village head plans out who will go to porter in turns. If we don't go this time, next time we will have to go. Before people go to porter the villagers have to collect for them, because their wives and children have no food to give them. They don't tax the houses with no men, but we all have to support them. The widows who are very poor only have to pay 20-25 *kyat*.

Q: Did anyone from Dta Greh ever die while portering?
A: Last year one porter died. His name was Hsah Po Dee, about 25 years old. He stepped on a landmine. The Burmese captured him while his wife was pregnant, just before she was supposed to give birth. He was going to hire someone to replace him, but he missed the car at Dta Greh Bridge, and so he had to go. Two groups of people came to replace the group he was in, but he didn't come back. Later the porters who were captured by the Burmese and went together with him returned to the village and said he had been injured by stepping on a mine. He shouted, but the Burmese didn't take care of him. He didn't die right away, but they couldn't go any further with him. No one carried him. His wife is still living in the village. After she heard about her husband, she gave birth to a son, but she was not healthy so she gave her son away to someone. I don't know if her son is alive or dead. She lives with her two other children. I don't think anyone can look after them because her mother-in-law is a widow and so is she. The Burmese didn't come to tell her anything. After people knew about it they went and asked for compensation, but the Burmese refused to listen.

Q: Do the villagers have to go for *loh ah pay*?
A: Mostly the women and girls have to go for *loh ah pay*, but sometimes they force the men to go. People over 40 years old have to work, and children start going when they reach 15 years of age. If the children are too small they cannot carry the thatch shingles *[which the villagers are forced to provide to the Army camps]*. The villagers have to send one person per house. If they tell the village to collect ten people at a time, then people have to go in turns. If they force them to come to this side *[of the mountains, i.e. a long trek of portering]*, the villagers have to hire someone for 100 *Kyat* a day if they cannot go. But if they capture villagers, the villagers can't hire anyone. They didn't force them to go to Paw Yay Pu or another place close to the village; mostly, they forced them to go to Gkah Deh. They are all women who come to this area *[as porters]* because before when the men came, they forced them to carry their bullets and rice rations. But when the women arrive at Gkah Deh they release them.

Q: Did they force villagers to do other projects for *loh ah pay*?
A: They force them to work whenever they come up to the village. When they construct a

building like a church last summer, they forced the villagers to work the whole summer. They started to build it in January and it lasted until May *[1999]*. The villagers had to carry sand, cement, and brick, and then make a fence all day and night. Only when they finished building could they have time to rest. Two years ago the villagers had to build a road between Dta Greh and Ka Kyo. They were rebuilding an old car road from the time of the foreigners *[British colonial period]*. They forced each village to do a number of furlongs. It is three furlongs between Dta Greh and Ka Kyo, and the villagers built the road between Ka Kyo and Ka Mah Ko. The villagers from Dta Greh, Mo Nain, and Ka Kyo had to build a furlong end. They started to build from Dta Greh and went up to Yeh Mee Lah *['5-mile']*, but the road didn't go down to the town. It went back into the forest and passed above the town. Sometimes they forced the villagers to work from 7 a.m. until 11 p.m. without rest. Don't even think that they'd pick them up by car to go to the work site! It was very difficult to walk, and it takes over one hour to walk to the place where they built the road. But they didn't beat or punish the villagers who went to build the road, and they allowed them to fetch water to drink.

Q: Did they feed the villagers when they were doing *loh ah pay*?
A: The villagers had to eat all their own food when they built the road, but if they go to Gkah Deh the soldiers feed them. As for building the school, the soldiers hired carpenters and the villagers had to feed them all.

Q: How do the villagers make a living if they have to work for the Burmese and also get taxed?
A: They work their fields and transplant paddy. But if the Burmese come the villagers can't work, and they flee. If they have an 'emergency' *[i.e. they need porters or forced labour immediately]* they won't let men or women flee, and they capture them all. The men are very important for them. Sometimes when the troops need help they are very strict. Then the villagers must hire women to transplant the paddy for them.

Q: When the Burmese come and collect porters and labourers, do they collect anything else?
A: They come to the village to eat and drink and the villagers have to feed them. If they eat one pig, the villagers have to reimburse the owner. Anything that they want, the villagers have to pay for. When the troops from the camp come to eat in the village, the villagers have to repay for all of that *[to those who were forced to provide the livestock and food]*. You can't even describe all that they collect within twelve months.

They are not always Burmese soldiers. Sometimes officials come to town and talk about agricultural development and the villagers have to feed them too. They come to talk about how to plant and fertilise the rice. They came to tell us but they didn't do as they said. We never saw fertiliser or anything else. *[The officials promise fertiliser as part of government programs but then steal it all themselves and sell it; meanwhile, the farmers are still expected to produce the fertilised second or third crop of the year, which they cannot do.]* We have been doing the fields in Dta Greh for a long time, and it is not productive to fertilise the fields in that area. We were tired of doing what they taught us with the fertiliser; there was no improvement. Sometimes when they came to the village, we wanted

them to help us because we don't have anything and our living condition is poor. They came to tell us that they understand, but we don't understand them. If they understood, they would come and show us new methods. But they just come and tell us about them. They already knew that the earth wasn't fertile, but they came to check. Here the earth is better for planting mangoes and other fruit. Instead we transplanted ten baskets of *[paddy]* seeds and some years we harvested only 30-40 baskets, which was not enough for us. We had nothing to give to the civil servants *[rice quota collectors]*, but they also have to give to the government *[they must collect their given quota with no excuses]*. They taxed us three times this year and were very strict. Every year they collect Ta Won Gyay *['obligation' quota paddy]* from the farmers, five baskets for every 100. It has been very hot and dry there, so there is a lot of chaff, and when we take five baskets to them, they blow off the chaff with a fan and it becomes less. Last year there was no paddy because it was so hot and dry, so they asked for money instead. The government's price is three hundred *kyat* per basket *[actually it is several hundred kyat per basket, but the officials steal most of the rice quota payouts and give almost nothing to the farmers who are forced to hand over the rice]*. They gave three hundred *Kyat* for one basket and then you had to give more than that to the owner of the bullock cart who carried the paddy for you. But we had to pay 1,000 *kyat* three times because we had no paddy, and we couldn't stay without paying them *[in lieu of giving paddy]*. After collecting the first time, the village head took all the money and fled the village. Then they elected a new village head and he collected again. But that time there wasn't enough money, and so we had to give a third time. We gave 3,000 *Kyat* in total last year. The last two years there have been droughts and we didn't get enough paddy for seed, so we had to sell the cows and buy paddy seed from Maw Goh village. One basket of paddy is 500 *Kyat*. Before for one basket of rice *[after husking]* we had to pay 1,400 *Kyat*, but now we have to pay 1,600 *kyat*. That's why we're bitter. If we suffer any more than this, we'll all die.

Q: What do the troops do when they stay in your village?
A: They don't always stay there. Some troops come to stay for one month or more, then a new unit comes to replace them. They always change their troops. I don't know about Division 44; they have already stayed for 1-2 months. One month ago some troops came, but I don't know where they are now. They stayed on this side *[of the mountains]* and then they went down to the village.

Q: You said they killed one of their own soldiers.
A: Yes, that was within the past month, just when my child came to the village to get me. One of the Burmese officers had two chevrons *[Corporal, actually an NCO and not an officer]*. He was Karen, but he only spoke Burmese. He was Christian, not like the other Burmese. He got sick and the Burmese sent him to the clinic at the police building. Burmese soldiers took him there, and as they brought him back to the village they beat him along the way, and he was shouting. They tortured him all day long. When they reached the steps of the Pastor's house they let him sit. There was a woman there who was waiting at her Uncle's house. She asked him, "What happened to you?" He said, "I am not healthy". She asked "What is your religion?" and he said, "I am Christian and I have two children". He laid down, and then they came to get him. When they arrived there at the steps of Thra C-

__'s house, they beat him to death with a stick.

After they killed him they buried him. Then they went to Thra C—-'s house and drank alcohol.

Q: Why do you think they killed him?
A: They were from the same unit but their religion was different, so they did not like him. I heard that afterwards they *[the soldiers]* went to tell their commander, and the commander was sorry for him and cried a lot. The commander asked his soldiers, "Why didn't you come to me and get medicine?" The soldiers told the commander he had got sick and died, they didn't tell him they had tortured him.

Q: It wasn't his commander who killed him?
A: The one who killed him was not his commander, he was a Corporal with two chevrons just like the one who died.

Q: When the troops enter the village do they eat the villagers' livestock?
A: We can't raise livestock because the soldiers take it and eat it. We can't even raise chickens. They take what they like. They don't ask the owners. I bred three geese and fed them in the evenings, but they came to capture them at night when we were asleep. If a dog or pig went after the geese they made a sound: "*gho gha, gho gha*", but I think that the Burmese grabbed their necks when they started to make this sound. Then they disappeared. Now they are stealing a lot but we can't do anything. They steal goats and shoot chickens in the daytime. In the past they respected the villagers but now they practice their immoral behaviour. Now that I look back on it, the situation has become worse this year. The villagers dare not complain. If we go to them they will tell us that we have no village head and so they will do as they like.

Q: How is the situation different now from when you were younger?
A: At first when they came, the situation was as bad as it is now. In between then and now they were friendly with the villagers. But now they are patrolling and also the DKBA are also patrolling, so the villagers have great difficulty. The DKBA has a camp in Myaing Gyi Ngu and some of them stay in the lower places *[the plains to the west and south]*. If they come down to the village or if they are going up *[into the hills]*, they capture the villagers. They force them to carry things like the sarong and clothes of their *[DKBA]* wives. Mostly they need men but the men hide, therefore the girls have to go. They beat the villagers, which is why nobody wants to be the village head. This May they beat one of the village heads, who was a temporary headman. He can read and speak Burmese well. After they tortured him, he didn't want to be the village head any more. He told me that the DKBA beat him. They wanted villagers to go immediately, but he told them that they could not find anyone right away. They said, "The villagers are bad, and we already told you to get them". Then they beat him. He told me, "Brother-in-law, I cannot suffer anymore." He could not bear it anymore and so he fled from the village. After that whenever he heard about the Burmese or DKBA, he didn't face them.

Q: Did you have any problems coming here?
A: While we were coming here they were fighting at P— and people told us not to go there because the Ko Per Baw and Karen soldiers were shooting at each other. When we arrived in S— they told us that the Burmese had gone back already and weren't staying in P—, which is only two furlongs from S—. In P— an Indian whom I knew said that the Burmese had already gone down to P—. Then I asked him where the KNLA were staying, and he told me they were staying at N—-. The Ko Per Baw shot at Karen soldiers at P— and 3 were wounded. When the Ko Per Baw were trying to take away the bodies of their friends, the Karen soldiers waited to shoot them again before leaving to stay at N—. We came and slept at B— and we met them. Then we slept at M— and another night in T—, and then we arrived here.

Interview: 30: Extra-judicial Killing, Looting, Arrest, Torture, Forced Porters, Human Minesweepers, Forced Relocation, Forced Labor, Extortion, Rice Quota, Rape

Name:	"Saw Lah Ku"
Sex:	Male
Age:	21
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	Married, no children
Address:	Pah Klu village, T'Nay Hsah township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	August 1999
Source:	KHRG

[When interviewed "Saw Lah Ku" had fled his village and was hiding on the Thai side of the border across the river from a group of internally displaced people at Tee Ner Hta, a vulnerable site near the border with Thailand. This site was later shelled by SPDC forces and the internally displaced villagers scattered.]

Q: What happened when the Burmese came to your village?
A: They came and shot to kill people. When the Burmese arrived within sight, you couldn't run or they would shoot you. If we heard that they were coming when they were still on the other side of the river, we could escape.

Q: Do you know of anyone whom the Burmese killed?
A: Yes, they shot and killed one villager named Maung Tin Hla from Pah Klu. It happened last year in the dry season. I know they've also killed others, but I'm not exactly sure whom or how. The last time when they came, over one month ago, they killed Du Lay Loh. I heard that they cut his throat. I dared not go back and see it because I am afraid of the Burmese.

Q: Do the Burmese stay in the village now?
A: We heard from the group that is arriving now that they are coming back to our village

again now. At the time that we ran and came here, the Burmese had gone back to Ker Ghaw, Meh Pleh, and Kway Sha. If the Burmese had been staying in the village we wouldn't have dared to escape. The DKBA aren't staying in Pah Klu, but they are staying in Taw Oak and they come to our village sometimes.

Q: Were you staying in the village when the Burmese came?
A: I was staying in our farmfield hut at a place we call T—. The Burmese considered us as rebels. There are about 40-50 huts in T— because the villagers all work their flat fields there. The villagers who have one field have one hut.

Q: When the Burmese came to your village, did they eat the villagers' livestock?
A: Yes, recently the Burmese have eaten a lot of the villagers' poultry. For every pig the owner eats, the Burmese eat 3-4. The Burmese said, "The villagers will breed poultry for us. When we come, we will eat it all." When they came to stay in Pah Klu they stole the villagers' pigs at night and nobody knew. Each pig weighed ten *viss [16 kg / 35 lb]* or more, and they beat them to death. They didn't let their commander know, and the villagers dared not complain. I don't know the name of the villagers they stole from; I just heard from the village elders that they stole pigs.

Q: If the villagers go to complain to the commander, what will the Burmese do?
A: I don't know. They will give some kind of problems to the villagers. The villagers dared not complain when they took rice from us. We just have to live with it.

Q: Did the Burmese ever arrest you or other villagers?
A: They arrested me last month when I came back to Pah Klu. I went back to get rice to eat. When I arrived at the village, they came at the same time and I had no time to flee. There is a river but I can't swim. I dared not flee. When they arrested and tied me up, my spirit nearly died. **T**hey tied me while they were holding their walkie-talkies and aiming a gun at me. I couldn't speak. They didn't beat me, but they interrogated me. They didn't shout at me because I could go along and give directions for them *[as a guide]*. They arrested me with two of my friends, but they released one named K—. The other is my best friend, Pa *xxxx*, and he is 21 or 22 years old. He is married and had one child but it died. They arrested us and tied us up, then they accused us of being Kaw Thoo Lei *[KNU/KNLA]*, but we told them that we are not Kaw Thoo Lei and they shouldn't kill us. Then they forced us to go and give directions *[serve as guides]* for them because they don't know the way in the mountains. I went carefully along the way. If you didn't know the way, you would lose half your leg. We had to go with them for 7 days in the hills with landmines. We dared not go, but if we didn't go they would have shot us with their guns. We were afraid but had to go. We didn't step on any landmines and we guided them through the mountains. My best friend took them to L—, and I took them to T—. We didn't see each other because we had to give directions to two groups of soldiers. They were going in two columns of about 300 Burmese soldiers.

They arrested villagers they saw along the way. They forced me to carry a military bag, which was very heavy. I hoped that the Kaw Thoo Lei would shoot at them because I wanted to flee, but they didn't shoot. Then we arrived at the farmfield huts and slept one

night at L—. The Burmese wanted to visit another flat field on the mountain, so they forced me to take them there. After that they returned to their place. I had to sleep and eat together with them. They are Burmese soldiers, but they can speak Karen. They wear LIB 44 on their badges. The commander's name is T— - he is a Karen national but a Burmese commander. The next morning they called me to go again. I asked them often, "Won't you release me?" but they told me that they wouldn't release me unless they captured some Kaw Thoo Lei. I told them that the Kaw Thoo Lei are in the mountains, and he asked me how many there were. I said that there are only one or two people, not so many. They went out again, and I thought about how the Kaw Thoo Lei don't like them and have planted landmines. Before daybreak we heard the explosions. Three Burmese soldiers died in two days because they stepped on landmines. After they stepped on the landmines, they released us at L—, close to T—. They fined us two chickens each, and then we went back to our farmfield huts.

After they released me, they went down to Pah Klu the same day and arrested another villager. He was Du Lay Loh, the one I told you about before. The Burmese went to ask the villagers from Pah Klu, "Is he Kaw Thoo Lei?", and the villagers answered, "No, he is not Kaw Thoo Lei." But the Burmese said the villagers were lying because they could see the villagers were afraid. Then I heard they would kill them all in the evening. Ah! I decided I would flee. The next morning it was raining, and we called each other and said that we would go to *xxxx [refugee camp in Thailand]*. But I didn't arrive at *xxxx*, I just arrived at Tee Ner Hta and stayed there. Along the way we had no rice, but the people who stay on the bank of the Moei River are our friends, and so they gave us rice to eat. We slept with our children only one night on the bank of the river, and we had to ride the *[KNLA]* soldiers' boat to this side.

Q: Did you hear of any plans to relocate your village?
A: They said they would drive us all out of the villages in the Meh Pleh Toh area. When I stayed with them, the Burmese told me themselves that they were ordered to clear the place and drive the villagers to a relocation site. I asked them, "Where will you force us to go?" and he told me, "I don't know. You have to ask the commander." I had to stay with the soldiers who arrested me, and they joked together. I said to them, "If you drive us to a relocation site, we will have no rice to eat." He said to me, "I don't know, because we were ordered to do it, so we have to. We wouldn't do it if we weren't ordered to do it." They are Karen people.

Q: Did they force the villagers to do *loh ah pay* also?
A: The Burmese also forced the villagers to do *loh ah pay* at Ko Ko. I never went there, but my friend went to work. I just heard from the other people who told me. They forced them to go 3-4 times a month for one day at a time. The villagers have to carry rice for them from Ko Ko back to Pah Klu. They force all the men and women to go. If the men dared not stay in the village *[if there were no men there]*, they forced the women to go. They didn't force the younger people to work, only people over 20 years old. They forced people over 40 who could carry one basket of rice, too. In one village if they set a quota for ten people to go, then the villagers plan it out with the village head. The villagers who get sick talk with their friends and say, "This week I will go for you and next week you will go in my place."

Q: Do the villagers have to hire people to go for them?
A: Only for porter fees. Some villagers dared not go as porters, so they hired their friends to go instead. They didn't summon me, but we had to give rice. The Burmese look at the living situation of the villagers. From rich villagers they collect 5,000 *kyat* per month. There are over 100 houses, so if you collect money from all the houses, you will get many thousands. If you cannot pay you have to borrow money from your friends.

Q: Do they also collect rice from the villagers?
A: Yes, they collect one basket of rice from each farmfield hut. We have to give one basket of rice regularly every month. Even if we have no rice to eat, we have to feed them.

Q: You said that the Burmese collect porter fees. Do the DKBA also collect fees?
A: The DKBA don't collect money, but they force us to do *loh ah pay*. The villagers have to go and stay with them and cook rice and fetch water. They force us to do it once a month. As for the Burmese, they don't even care if they force us to go twice or three times a month. The Burmese are always forcing the villagers to go.

Q: Did you hear of soldiers raping any women in Pah Klu village?
A: I heard they slept with women but I don't know their names. There were three or four women and the people told me they were married. They are older than me. The Burmese soldiers went to the women's houses; they didn't call them *[to the Army camp]*. They couldn't sleep with the women, but they could hold their hands and legs. At that time I was together with them because the Burmese had arrested and tied me up at the time when they slept with the women. They are the same troops who tied me. I didn't see it because they kept me in another place and in the morning we heard the village head complain to their commander that his soldiers had slept with the women. They punished the soldiers, but they are still doing it.

Q: What do you think of the Burmese who came to your village? Do you think that they came to do good for the villagers?
A: They did not come to do any thing good for the villagers. They came to break the villagers. I do not feel good since the Burmese came to the village. I suffer always. I eat in the morning and have to think for the evening, then I eat in the evening and have to think for the morning. We have no food to eat and no money to pay the fees, and we could not suffer anymore. That's why we came here.

Interview: 31: Forced Labor, Forced Porters, Livelihood, IDP life, Arrest

Name:	"Saw Baw"
Sex:	male
Age:	29
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist/Animist
Marital Status:	Married with one child aged 3
Address:	Tee Law Thay village, T'Nay Hsah township, Karen State

Date of Interview: August 1999
Source: KHRG

[When interviewed "Saw Baw" had fled his village and was living in a group of internally displaced people at Tee Ner Hta, a vulnerable site near the border with Thailand. This site was later shelled by SPDC forces and the internally displaced villagers scattered.]

Q: How many days have you been at Tee Ner Hta?
A: We have slept here three nights already.

Q: Why did you come here?
A: Because we had problems, for example we couldn't pay what the Burmese demanded and also transportation - we couldn't go *[to the distant forced labour sites]*. *Der*!! They demanded that we go for *loh ah pay*, portering and chores like carrying water for them at their Battalion camp. It is not in Tee Law Thay Kee. It is between Meh Pleh and Thingan Nyi Naung. It is quite far away, but I never noticed how many hours because we went all the time.

Q: Did they ever come into the village?
A: They weren't staying in the village before I came, but if they entered the village and asked for pork the villagers had to give it. They usually came to the village every two or three days. Sometimes 100 of them came together.

Q: How many houses are in your village?
A: I've heard people say that it is 280 houses. The village head's name is B—. The villagers elected him to be village head.

Q: Do the Burmese collect porters from the village?
A: Yes, they ask the village head. They do not collect monthly but each person has to go for seven days. They collect three people per time.

Q: Do they cause problems for people who cannot go?
A: They do not trouble them but their brother or sister has to go for them. Or if they don't have anyone *[to go for them]*, people like that have to run away.

Q: Did you have to give the Burmese a rice quota?
A: During this last rainy season they were not provided with rice *[ration shipments]*, so they didn't have enough rice. Then they demanded rice from the villagers. They demanded it from the village head, and he had to give it to them because he was afraid of their guns. So the villagers had to give and then had to buy rice for themselves. One big tin costs 2,500 *kyat*.

Q: Could you earn your living by working on the fields?
A: I could support my family if we didn't need to fear them, and if they didn't disturb us. But

in this messy situation, I had no time to work.

Q: Did the Burmese ever destroy your field huts?
A: *Der*! They destroyed huts at B'Naw Kleh Kee already. In my village they didn't destroy them yet, but in the first year that the Ko Per Baw was founded *[1995]*, they *[DKBA]* destroyed our huts and burned down our stacks of straw.

Q: Did you ever go to porter?
A: No, I ran to avoid them. We have to pay money if we dare not go, and if we can't give money we have to run. If we run we don't need to pay because the village head can't find us when we run into the mountains. People who live in the village have to give it, and the villagers who don't want to give have to run and stay in the mountains like my family. I had to run because I had no money to give, and we just didn't have enough money to buy food.

Q: Do they collect a monthly porter fee?
A: They collect it monthly from the whole village, and for each house it is 3,000 *kyat*. Even if you go you also have to pay.

Q: So all the villagers have to give whether they go for portering or not?
A: Yes, because it is not just for portering. For portering they also collect. Most people dare not go, so they also pay 3,000 or 4,000 *kyat* for seven days instead of going. They tell the village head to collect it. Then we use that money to hire our friends in the villages; it is not given to the Burmese.

Q: How long ago did you leave your village?
A: It is a long time ago, five years already. I stayed near T—, a three-hour walk from the village. But the Burmese couldn't see or find my hillfields and field huts easily. Mostly they pass by the huts which are along other pathways.

Q: When you lived in the village did you have to go for *loh ah pay*?
A: If the villagers run with their whole family, they don't need to go for *loh ah pay*. But if they captured us *[hiding in the fields]*, they would kill us.

Q: Did you see them kill anyone?
A: No, I didn't see them kill anyone. I've seen them fire at people who ran when they approached, but no one got injured. One time they shot at the village children who were looking after the cattle in the hills, and they captured many children. It was around twenty people. There were children and women, some of whom were carrying their babies. They called them back to their Battalion and forced them to spend the night. Then they released them.

Q: Why did you decide to leave your area and come here?
A: I couldn't stay near my place because they are going to stir up our place. I heard them say that they are going to drive all the villagers out to the same place. They didn't tell us where or when they will drive us out, but they said that they would. They will gather and

force out all of the villagers that are living around Meh Pleh Toh. They will block every path that passes or goes through Meh Pleh Toh until nothing can move, even food and other things. I heard that they will make trouble for people who stay in the mountains, that especially if they see men they will kill them at once. Our village head alerted us. If they see them, they will shoot dead all villagers they come across.

Q: What do you think their aim is in doing this?
A: Their aim is to destroy our Karen nationals until we disappear. I heard this from the village head, who said it is because the Karen villagers who stay in the mountains and work the hillfields are all considered as their enemies. If they see women they rape them, and if they meet men they kill them. It is better to stay in the village but there is too much forced labour there. The village head told us, "If you cannot stay here anymore and need to go you can go, because there are people who will look after you". The Burmese don't come to do good things, only to destroy things. Now more often than ever they are coming to persecute and kill us. That's the reason we fled here.

Interview: 32: Extra-judicial Killing, Women minesweepers, Forced Porters, Forced Labor, Extortion, Livelihood

Name:	"Naw Ther Paw"
Sex:	Female
Age:	not stated
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital Status:	Widow, four children, the youngest aged 4
Address:	T'Nay Hsah township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	August 1999
Source:	KHRG

Q: How long have you been here?
A: Just a little over two months. I came here in the rainy season. I fled in June or July.

Q: Why did you come here instead of staying in the village?
A: *Der*! We had to pay for portering but we couldn't pay, and we dared not go. Also the Ko Per Baw oppressed us and we couldn't do anything after my husband died. We faced many problems so we fled here.

Q: How did your husband die?
A: The Ko Per Baw shot him dead. They resented him because he worked to earn his living and so that his daughter could marry. But all the money disappeared when the Ko Per Baw came, which was before the wedding and the pork roast. They arrested and tortured him, so he ran up to the mountains and worked on the hill fields and his chillie field. One year later he was coming down from the fields and the Ko Per Baw shot him.

Q: Do you know the names of the people who shot him?
A: I knew the person who shot him very well. His name is Pa D—, and he is from K—. He stays with S—-'s group *[DKBA]*, which could be Maung Chit Thu's Battalion *[Brigade #999]*. S— disliked him so he called his soldiers to go as a group. They shot him near the village of T—. He was coming back alone from working in his hill field but he didn't know that the Burmese *[sic: DKBA]* were coming. They arrived at 10 a.m. in *xxxx*, and at 5 p.m they went to T—. The next morning they shot him dead.

Q: Why did S— dislike your husband
A: *Der*! Because he is a villager and they accused him of being a soldier. But he does not do anything, just ploughs the flat fields so he has enough to pay taxes. He was tied and beaten, and we still have a photo.

Q: Did the Ko Per Baw collect fees every month in the village?
A: Each month it was 2,000-3,000 *kyat* at the most, and at the least it was 400-500 *kyat*. It was more than 10,000 *kyat* per year. We couldn't pay them. Also we had to hire porters and people to go for *loh ah pay* for both the Burmese and the Ko Per Baw. We didn't have money to hire them every time, because it cost 2,000-3,000 *kyat*. We had to pay for porters and for their food. If they collected it you had to pay. You couldn't stay in the village without paying. All of our money was gone, and we sold our belongings so we had nothing. My husband would go for one or two days and carry as much as he could. Sometimes it was very far. He got yellow bean with rice to eat, but only one bowl and he was not full. This happened every time we went during the year. This situation frustrated us for more than 4four years. After we sold all our belongings we all had to run away and come here. I don't know what would happen if we still lived in the village, if they would kill us or not. But now a lot of people cannot pay them, and this year there is not enough rice or paddy either, so maybe the villagers will have to steal.

Q: Did you ever have to do any jobs for Ko Per Baw or the Burmese?
A: Oh!! We had to work for the Burmese. We planted and picked chillies in their garden. We also went far away and built a road near Tee Hsah Ra and Ko Ko. We built their camps and dug holes and did many other kinds of forced labour for 4-5 days. For the Ko Per Baw we had to dig ditches at their camp between K— and *xxxx*, at K—. We worked in the daytime and came home at night because it was nearby. They didn't give us anything *[money]* and they didn't feed us rice. They didn't give us water to drink, either. They were always very angry. If I look back on my life, this was the very worst time. It was disgusting.

Q: Did your husband have to porter for them when you ran out of money to pay the fees?
A: Yes. He had to carry everything: a basket of pots and bullets and shells. When he went for *loh ah pay* he had to carry rice and milk and their personal belongings. He usually had to go for one or two days.

Q: Were any porters beaten by the Burmese?
A: *Pwah*! A lot. The men cannot porter without being beaten. The Ko Per Baw beat everyone who was captured with my husband at the same time. The others were both from

xxxx and their names are S— and B—. They beat them severely until they couldn't take it anymore. *Pwai*!! They dropkicked one of them and bruised his face. One side of his face was discolored and his chin was swollen. They accused him of having guns and a radio, but he didn't do anything, he only worked in the fields. The village head went and tried to rescue them but could not. We went but they didn't look in our faces. After that they ordered us to bring 2 mattocks *[large hoes]* and people brought them. My husband, S—, dared not stay, so the next morning he escaped. He ran through an area where there are a lot of landmines, but he was lucky and did not step on one. They had put a lot of landmines in the ground.

A lot of women have to carry for the Burmese too. *Der*! Last year the Ko Per Baw forced women to go in front of them *[to step on landmines]* but the women didn't dare to go, so they forced the village head to go. He didn't dare to go either, but they pointed a gun at him and he had to. He went and he died. His name was P—. It happened at T— next to *xxxx*. His wife swore at them very badly. She still stays in the village and she wants to leave but can't because her children are so young.

Being a villager is the very worst because we have to feed both sides. You can't give to only one side, because if you give to just one, the other side hates you. If the Burmese force you, you have to go. If the Kaw Thoo Lei *[KNLA]* force you, you have to go. If DKBA forces you, you have to go. So it is the worst being a villager.

Q: Did the Burmese or DKBA ever steal anything from you, like food or belongings?
A: *Der*! They entered from the side of the village and if they couldn't get things by asking, they just stole it. In my house they came and ate. Also they took pots and spoons. They stole them; they didn't give me even one *Kyat*. They took all and we had to buy everything new. I was there but I didn't see them because they are very clever when they steal. After they've gone everything is lost, you don't have anything left. I didn't have any livestock so they didn't eat mine, but they ate other people's livestock a lot. They chased and shot every animal in the village.

There are people who scowl when they force us to work. It is not the same with people from this side *[KNU]*. I was sick of my troubles and problems that I faced and felt until now. Until I arrived here I faced many troubles and was poor. I was frustrated and I had to go to Mae Sot Hospital *[in Thailand]*, and now I have to go again. A lot of villagers want to flee to come here because the Ko Per Baw and the Burmese demand a lot and the villagers can't give them any more. But they've heard that the refugee camp is closed, and that they won't let any more people in. If they didn't hear this, many people would come.

Q: Do you know the other people who have also fled here?
A: Yes, I know them. They are from *xxxx [her village]*. They couldn't pay either and were unhappy to stay. Naw L— is like me; her husband is dead and she couldn't stay with her child and still pay the taxes, so she came here.
Another woman: Her husband went to porter and the DKBA beat him, and when he returned he was sick and died because they had beaten him so hard.
A: They beat him while he was going to porter at Kway Sha. T—-'s group beat him because they stay there and they are very rude. They beat him with everything they had, their feet as well as sticks. They forced him to keep going for so long, and they were not kind. They beat him wherever they wanted to; they kicked his sides, slapped and punched him until he

couldn't take it anymore.

Q: Are the Ko Per Baw still staying in your village?
A: The Ko Per Baw always stay there. T— didn't come back again but Maung H— still stays there. That group is a little bit better than T—-'s group from K—. *Pwai*! T—-'s group didn't care about any villagers who are non-military. When I was trying to find my husband, T— told me to go and find him for them, and if I couldn't find him he was going to kill me and my children and my mother. Myself, I thought if he wants to kill me then kill me. Being a villager is the very worst, so if he wants to kill me, go ahead. I would be happy to die.

Q: What did they do when they entered the village?
A: Ah! You don't need to know. They fired guns continuously and children were running and crying. They fired guns before they arrived in the village, and when they arrived on the hill they fired their guns, and when they entered the village they fired their guns again. They frightened all the women in the village, and they laughed at the women who ran with trembling feet. That is their manner and way of thinking.

Q: Did they ever beat any of the villagers?
A: *Der*! They beat my husband's cousin. They chased and captured him and stabbed him with a bayonet. Then they twisted it inside him and he yelled loudly because it was so painful. They accused him of having a gun and radio and making contact with T'Bee Met *["closed-eyes", DKBA slang for KNU/KNLA]*, but he never had. All of the people they capture they beat a lot. The time they captured my husband they captured seven people and they slapped their faces until they were bruised. They accused them all of having guns and radios, so they interrogated and beat each of them in the fields. They tied them all and beat and kicked them. Later they released them all because people gave guarantees for them. I was very afraid and my feet were trembling, and I was so afraid that I couldn't go to guarantee him *[her husband]*. But I had to go to give the guarantee because they kept telling me that they were going to kill him. They said that he and his cousin, B—, were most at fault.

Q: Did they shoot any villagers?
A: The Ko Per Baw went and shot Po G—, his wife, and Maung N—-'s uncle. I heard that the Ko Per Baw who shot him were named Pa T—, Pa D—, and Maung P—. All of them were Ko Per Baw but the Burmese were also involved because many of them went along. They shot both of them *[Po G— and wife]* as well as P—. Even now he can't walk well and still has pain.

Q: What are the villagers who remain doing?
A: A lot of people in *xxxx* want to leave the village. If they leave they have to go secretly, because if they *[the Burmese]* know people want to go, they stop them so that no one dares to go.

Q: Is it better for you since you came here?
A: When we arrived here it became better because we were not in fear and could sleep

until the sun came up. We don't have enough food yet because we are new arrivals, but if we stay long enough we will get enough to eat. When I arrived, if K— had not taken care of me I would be dead by now.

Interview: 33: Forced Relocation, Forced Labor, Forced Porters, Rape, Looting, livelihood, Prohibited from entering Thailand as refugee

Name:	"Taw Lay"
Sex:	Male
Age:	41
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Marital Satus:	Married with three children aged 5-14
Address:	Kwih Lay village, T'Nay Hsah township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	September 1999

[When interviewed at the end of September 1999, "Taw Lay" had fled his village to the Thai border but could not cross because Thai troops were not allowing new arrivals, so he was living with a group of displaced people on the Burma side of the border.]
Q: When did you arrive here at *xxxx*? *[the camp of internally displaced people on the Burma side of the border with Thailand]*

A: I arrived here at least three weeks ago, before 9-9-99, but I can't remember exactly.
Q: What happened in your village that persuaded you to flee here?
A: The Burmese Army came to our village and said they were going to force us to Ker Ghaw. They did not give us a deadline to move, but it looked like we would have to start moving by the next morning. On that night my family left our village. We did not want to go to Ker Ghaw because the Burmese told us our village was small *[i.e. remote]* so we couldn't go for forced labour every month. They wanted our whole village to stay in Ker Ghaw to be closer to their camp.

Q: Which Battalion came to the village and told you they would drive you to Ker Ghaw?
A: LIB 207, more than 100 soldiers. They were a new group that came to the camp, and they patrol like a mobile column. Usually IB 118 stays in the camp, but this one came from the lowlands.

Q: What happened to the other families in the village?
A: When I left the village in the evening the whole village hadn't moved yet, but the next morning the whole village was planning to move. There were 51 families in the village. After the Burmese told them to move, the village heads talked to them and I heard that the villagers came back to the village. I don't know the situation there now, but I heard that the Burmese have talked to the village head, M—.

Q: Which villages do they plan to relocate, and where will they move to?
A: In the beginning they told us that Kwih Lay, Pah Klu, and Taw Oak will move to Ker Ghaw, and the other villages of Thay K'Dtee, Thu Kee and Loh Baw would move to Tee Wah Blaw. I heard that they will move them so that they can guard them, and they will order the villagers to reap the paddy and give it all to them. But they have not moved yet. I am not sure, but I heard that people came back and stay in Kwih Lay again because the village head and the monks discussed it with the Burmese.

Q: What will the villagers who do not want to relocate to Ker Ghaw do?
A: *Der*! They told us that they will move all of us and that the people who do not want to go will be forced. They said that our village is too small to be able to afford porters and forced labour like big villages. Before they moved us, though, a battle occurred between Ker Ghaw and Kwih Lay. They forced villagers to carry their injured, then they detained them and kept them one night in the cell. They collected some villagers from Ker Ghaw, and five villagers from Kwih Lay to carry their wormded. Their names are M—, who is around 20 years old, K— who is around 30 years old, A— who is 20, M— who is 20, and P— who is around 40. There were 6 Burmese soldiers who were wounded and four who died.

Q: Did the Burmese ever enter your village before?
A: Yes, the Army stayed in Ker Ghaw and came to our village sometimes. Usually when they entered the village they were looking for the village head to demand villagers for *loh ah pay* and portering. Sometimes they demanded porters for one month, sometimes for five days and sometimes for one week. Then the village head had to arrange for the porters. They usually gathered 3-5 people from our small village and if they demand three people for a week, three people have to go. The villagers went to porter because we dared not disobey. If you did not go you had to pay money: 2,500 *Kyat* for five days, or 500 *Kyat* per day. I had to porter four times already during this rainy season when people started working in the fields, and I also had to pay money when I could not go.

Q: What did you have to do when you went to porter?
A: One time the Burmese were going from Ker Ghaw to Pah Klu and I had to carry bullets, shells, and rations for them. They forced us to carry five shells each, and they weigh more than 10 *viss [16 kg/35 lb]*. I carried it because I was afraid. There were three of us from Kwih Lay and around 40-50 villagers from Thay K'Dtee, Toh Thu Kee, and Ker Ghaw. We had to walk two days and sleep at Pah Klu for the whole month *[they had to make repeated two-day trips throughout the month and stay at the Pah Klu Army Camp]*. We had to carry our own food, but it was not enough food for me. They fed us only one bowl of rice mixed with yellow beans, which smelled very bad because they boiled it in plastic overnight. They never let us rest while we carried, and sometimes they beat the porters. One time in Pah Klu I saw them do this to one of the porters whom I knew from T— village, named Maung A—. He dared not cross the river with his load, so the soldiers kicked him and he fell into the river. When he came back to the bank of the river on the side where the soldiers were, they kicked him again. They were from LIB 120 under Column Commander Than Aung and Company Commander Saw Toe Aung.

Q: What were the living conditions like for the porters at Pah Klu?
A: We slept under the school building at Pah Klu and they guarded us during the night. If we got sick, they didn't care for us. The village head arranged for us to porter in turns, so when your time was up people took your place. That is why no one died on that trip.

Q: Who had to go for *loh ah pay* in your village?
A: If the village is small they collect more than 10 people for *loh ah pay*, but if it is a big village they collect about 30 people. The village head calls for one person from each house. In our village the women have to go too. My wife had to carry water for the soldiers when they needed it. Even children as young as 7 had to carry water and small things over the short distance between Kwih Lay and Ker Ghaw. They made people as old as 50, with grey hair, porter too. All of us had to carry their loads of rice, milk, pepper, salt, and other food to Meh Pleh. Sometimes we would go for the day, but sometimes we couldn't come back in one day so we had to sleep there also. We also had to bring our own food because they didn't feed us enough. The soldiers forced us to build their camp, dig their bunkers, and make fences.

Q: How many days did you usually have to go for *loh ah pay*?
A: When we arrived we worked until midday, then we took a rest and started to work again in the afternoon. If they demanded us for five days, we had to sleep there at their camp in Ker Ghaw.

Q: Did the soldiers ever loot your livestock when they entered the village?
A: Yes. I was with them when they entered Pah Klu village, and their Company Commander Saw Toe Aung and his column ate a lot of pigs, goats, and chickens. The Privates chased down and shot about 30 pigs to eat, and to dry the meat so they could carry it later. They didn't pay for it, they just ate it.

Q: Did they ever eat your livestock?
A: Yes, they looted in my village also. They caught my chickens and ate one of my pigs that weighed over ten *viss [16 kg/35 lb]*. They asked me for a pig, but I said "I have only one pig, so I can't give it to you". Then they said that they had arrived without anything to eat, so they shot and ate it. The village head, T—, went and complained to them, but they did not give us money for that.

Q: Which Battalion was it that shot your pig?
A: I know they are LIB 207. They slept in our village.

Q: Do the soldiers ever try to sleep with women in the village?
A: Yes, in *xxxx* the village headwoman named *xxxx* always has to go and sleep with Saw Toe Aung. She is about 50 years old.

Q: Do they have sex?
A: *Der*! They would have sex because she has to go and sleep with him in his bed and there are just the two of them that sleep in the same place. If he calls her to sleep with him, she always has to go.

Q: Have any villagers been killed by the Burmese?
A: At the time when they entered Pah Klu while I was with them as a porter, I heard that they killed a villager from Pah Klu named Du Lay Loh. People said that he was angry because he found out that they had raped his wife, who is mute. The Burmese called him outside and killed him. He was maybe 40 years old. His wife's name is Naw Mu Ga and she has no children. They didn't compensate her for his death; they did nothing and gave her nothing.

Q: When you worked the wet paddy field in your village, was it enough for you?
A: When I was working my wet paddy field we could plant 4 baskets of paddy, so if we had a good rainy season we got 200 baskets of paddy and it was enough. We had to give to the Burmese when they entered the village if they demanded rice. If they arrived and their food was gone, they demanded food from the villagers and we had to give it.

Q: Do you have a quota that you have to give to them every year?
A: This year they announced that the government will gather all the paddy that we get from the fields, and then we have to go and buy it from the government. According to them, Pah Klu and Kwih Lay are ruled by them so they have the power to do this. For example, if the villagers would sell each other a basket of rice for 500 *kyat*, we will have to buy it from them for 250 *kyat [i.e. the SPDC will force them to pay half of market price to get their own rice back]*.

Q: Do you have to pay other fees for *loh ah pay* or for portering?
A: For *loh ah pay* and portering they demand 2 villagers from each village or 20,000 *kyat* per month *[in addition to other forced labour demands]*. This is every month, and if you don't send the money you have to go yourself. Usually people from our village and Thay K'Dtee give money because people dare not go, but we know villagers in Kwih Lay who went because they didn't have money to give. You had to stay at their camp and carry their baskets and loads by their side.

Q: Are there any landmines around your village?
A: In Taw Oak the DKBA set up a lot of landmines at the top of the village and beside the bank of the river. Just two months ago two women stepped on landmines when they were going fishing. One of them named Nga Bla Ree died; she was about 30 years old. The other one lost her leg; her name is Y— and she is over 30. She still stays in the village. Her brother came here and said that they didn't take the pieces of shell out of her leg, and no one sent her anywhere.

Q: Why did they set up landmines near the village?
A: I don't know what their aim is and I can't guess.

Q: Did many villagers flee the village and come with you here?
A: Before I came here I heard a lot of villagers discussing coming here. At the time when I fled and came here I came with one family from Pah Klu. Now they are staying on the other side of the Moei River *[in Thailand]*, and they earn money by hiring themselves out

for daily work.

Q: What are your main reasons for fleeing?
A: They have guns but we do not have guns, so we cannot defeat them. They have guns so they forced us to work whether we wanted to or not. Even if we didn't want to leave we had to leave, because we couldn't tolerate it anymore. I am very upset. We are farmers and we work in our paddy fields; if we were allowed to we would only work in our fields.

Q: Would you like to go a refugee camp?
A: I will go. First we thought that we would go to the camp, but we heard that the Thais do not allow people to go to the camp, so we would have to stay here. We stayed like this for a while and some westerners came and took our photos and then sent us one month ration.

Q: Would you like to go back to your village?
A: Yes, I will go back if we have peace there, but now I can't go back and I dare not.

Interview: 34 :Extra-judicial killing, Extortion, Forced Labor, Forced porters, Looting

Name:	"Naw Paw Htoo"
Sex:	Female
Age:	27
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Occupation:	farmer
Marital Status:	Married with one child aged 6
Address:	Taw Oak village, T'Nay Hsah township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	September 1999
Source:	KHRG

[When interviewed at the end of September 1999, "Naw Paw Htoo" had fled her village to the Thai border but could not cross because Thai troops were not allowing new arrivals, so she was living with a group of displaced people on the Burma side of the border.]

Q: Can you tell me why you came here?
A: Because when we were staying there we couldn't meet their demands, and also it was difficult for us to get enough food. We fled here to hire ourselves out and to stay with our parents.

Q: Do you have any relatives still staying in Taw Oak?
A: One of my aunts was still staying in Taw Oak, but she went down to stay at *xxxx*. She wants to come but she can't because her mother's legs are in pain and the Burmese shot and killed her husband. My aunt has 3 children and when we fled here she said that they will come, but they have not come yet.

Q: Why did the Burmese kill her husband?
A: He went into the forest to find some vegetables to eat, but he didn't know that the Burmese *[LIB 331]* were staying along the path waiting for them, so he went down to enter the village and when the Burmese saw him and his friend, they shot the two of them dead. My uncle's name was Per Ta Lu and he was 32 years old. His friend was Pa Mu Dah, who was only 15 years old.

Q: How did you know that they had shot them?
A: We knew it because they came carrying their bodies in blankets and bags. They said that they made a mistake by shooting them, but they were dead already, and these dead people were villagers. They were carrying vegetables when the soldiers shot them dead. They did not accuse anyone of anything because they had not shot Kaw Thoo Lei *[KNLA]*, they had shot villagers.

Q: What type of things did the Burmese demand from you in the village?
A: *Ah hoi*! They came and looted money from us. The Burmese collected money for their ration and after that they ate it. They collect fees for portering, *loh ah pay*, and other charges. Our village is small with only 30 houses, so they collect over 20,000 *kyat* per month, but that is only enough for porters' fees so they charge for other things too, like *loh ah pay*. It is a lot. They come and collect it once a month, usually 25,000 *kyat*.

Q: Do you have a village head in Taw Oak?
A: Before we had one, but now I think that the village head ran away already. The village head always changes once a year. The villagers elected *xxxx*.

Q: How many people did they collect for *loh ah pay*, and what did people usually have to do?
A: For *loh ah pay* they demanded people once a week, sometimes for 5-6 days at a time. Sometimes it was five or ten villagers who had to go at a time, then others would replace them. If they *[the soldiers]* were staying nearby and if there were many of them, it was once a week, but if they went back *[to their main bases]* it got better. They have camps at Meh Pleh and Kway Sha and come up to stay in our village sometimes. They are Battalion 331, there could be 300-500 soldiers because when they came there were so many in the village and outside the village, too.

Q: Did they collect fees if people couldn't go for *loh ah pay*?
A: *Der*! All of the villagers have to give, and the people who can't give have to sell their rice and paddy to give money to them. Each family has to hire someone for 1,000 *kyat* or more per time; some families have to give 2,000 *kyat*. They don't care about young or old people; young and old all have to go. They force children as young as 10, and some people who go are 50-60 and have grey hair already. Some people who went came back and told us that they hadn't eaten for 4-5 days. As for me, I was afraid and I didn't go, also because I am a woman and mostly men go. In our village other women have gone, but I never went.

Q: Did they ever beat people who went to work for them?
A: Yes, we had people who were beaten by them a lot. They beat P— when he went to carry for them for *loh ah pay* and portering. They beat and kicked him because he didn't have enough food and couldn't follow them. The soldiers get good enough food so they can walk quickly, but he had to carry a lot of bullets in a basket that weighed about 20-30 *viss [32-48 kg/70-105 lb]*.

Q: Did any villagers die while portering?
A: Yes, we had one villager from our village who died, but I don't know his name.

Q: What do they do when they enter the village?
A: When they enter the village they eat pigs and hens, and they come and steal all the villager's belongings. They don't ask for it, and if they ask the owner and the owner doesn't give it to them they kill it for themselves and nobody dares to complain. If you talk back to them they point their guns at you. They ate one of my hens but I dared not say anything to them. I stayed quiet, and their commanders also scolded us the way they do. *Der*! The privates and their commanders eat together. They eat the villagers' pigs and chickens and they don't pay for it.

Q: What about the villagers' rice?
A: They demand and collect one big tin of paddy, and if people don't give them one big tin they have to give half of one. If the villagers don't give at all they step into the house to get it and pound it. Under the house villagers have a big mortar *[a large wooden bowl for pounding rice; the pounder is attached to a log levered in the centre, operated by stepping on and off the opposite end]*. They pound it by themselves and we dare not say anything. I don't know if they have their own rice or not, but they loot it from the villagers and pound it themselves.

Q: Have they beaten any villagers in Taw Oak?
A: Yes, they beat and tortured a villager named P—, who is around 30 years old. The commander ordered it and the privates beat him. They accused him of being Kaw Thoo Lei *[KNLA]* and working with them. He was never Kaw Thoo Lei, and he told them that but they did not accept it, so they sliced his ears. They beat him horribly with a stick in the village, and we dared not go to look because we were staying outside the village. Now he is not strong enough to carry anything.

Q: Have they ever killed any villagers, besides the ones who died while portering?
A: Yes, I have just two brothers and two sisters and one of my brothers was shot to death by the Burmese. They killed him in April 1997. At the time he didn't know that the Burmese were waiting on the way, so he was coming back to the village with his friends and some children. One child's leg had been broken and she walked slowly, so they were still walking late at night. They were coming back at night and the Burmese were staying along the path through the mountains. The Burmese shot at them and two of them died. The other one's name was Naw K'Nu *[a woman]*. All in all there were more than ten people with them: Naw K'Nu, her husband, their children, my brother, and three of his friends. The Burmese

captured all of them after they shot the two.

The Burmese didn't say anything afterwards, because they couldn't do anything since he was shot already. Maybe they could have done something, but the Burmese are like that - they shoot first and think later, and you can't bring people back to life. After the people ran away, they took the belongings that they had left. My brother's friend was with his wife, and she was shot. They took all the woman's belongings, like shirts, clothing, pots, and other things.

Q: What happened to the people they captured?
A: They captured them and beat them while they interrogated them because they had been coming back at night. Then they took them to Thay K'Yah, and after that they released all of them, including the three children.

Q: Did your brother have a family?
A: Yes, he had one child but it died. Now his wife has gone to stay in *xxxx [refugee]* camp. My brother was 21 years old when he died.

Q: What happened to the family of the woman who was killed, Naw K'Nu?
A: Her husband was there too, and after she was dead for a year her husband was arrested by the Burmese again and they killed him, too. Now one of their children stays with her grandmother at *xxxx*, and another stays in *xxxx [refugee camp]*, but the youngest one died of illness. After the child was dead, the Burmese arrested their father *[Naw K'Nu's husband]* and killed him. His name was Maung Thaw Pay and he was 35 or 36 years old. He died two years ago, at the same time that the Burmese killed my uncle.

Q: Why did the Burmese kill your uncle?
A: They accused him of being this and that, but he was not anything. The Burmese had already shot and killed his wife. They shot him and then they beat him to death.

Q: Did you also have Ko Per Baw *[DKBA]* in your village?
A: When I left my village the Ko Per Baw were not in the village, but after I fled here people said that they came and stayed there.

Q: How many families in Taw Oak have fled and come here?
A: I don't know right now how many *[Taw Oak]* families are staying here, but I think around 10-15. Many people are fleeing to come here continuously. We are many families, some stay here and some went to stay at *xxxx [refugee camp]*.

Q: When did you arrive here?
A: I arrived on the May *13[1999]*. I left the village when the Burmese weren't in the village, because they don't like us to go out and they don't allow it. We fled secretly. I slept two nights along the way. We had to cross the main road of the Burmese and look carefully as we went.

Q: Now are you having problems with the Thais at *xxxx [across the river on the Thai side of the border]*?
A: Just recently people told us that the Thais would come and drive us out and we had to run. I was staying on the other side of the river *[in Thailand]* to hire myself out for money. I get 50 or 60 Baht per day to buy rice to eat. But somebody told us to run from the Thai soldiers, so we had to run back here *[to the Burma side of the river]*. It was on the 15th or 16th of August when they said that we were illegals and had to move.

Q: Why did they ask you to leave?
A: I don't know, they just told us that because a lot of people had fled there *[to Thailand]* it was causing trouble, and they ordered the villagers to move back. They came and stayed for 3-4 days, and when they left we went back, too. They don't want us to stay there. When we first arrived back there they didn't know about us, but after a while more and more of our friends came. Now they know about it, so they drove us back here again because a lot of people came to stay there. They said it is messy so we had to move. They said, "Don't come and stay here for a long time" because it is their land.

Q: Did you get food from anyone since you've been here?
A: Some people *[foreign relief organisations]* came and provided a rice ration for us twice already.

Q: What is your decision? Will you stay here or go to the camp?
A: *Der*! It is up to my community where we will go. We will stay here and go across *[to Thailand]* to work and earn money like this, and if they come we will run back here, and come and go like that.

Q: Do you know of anyone who has gone into the refugee camp?
A: At the time when I arrived here none of the people who came with us went to the refugee camp.

Q: What about the first group that arrived?
A: Yes, they went to the camp, but we haven't heard about them yet.

Q: Are you worried about the Burmese Army coming through here?
A: *Der*! We have to think about it whether we stay here or not! We will have to worry in the dry season *[starting in November]*. If the situation is not better by then we will run again, but I don't know where to run to.

Interview: 35: Forced Porters, Human Minesweepers, Beating, Looting

Name:	"Pu Than Nyunt"
Sex:	Male
Age:	55
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Animist

Occupation:	farmer
Marital Status:	Married with six children
Address:	B'Nweh Pu village, Dta Greh township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	September 1999
Source:	KHRG

Q: Why did you leave your village?
A: We fled because the Burmese tortured us and forced us *[to do things]*. The Burmese were staying in Tee Wah and ordered us to go there, and when we arrived they grabbed us and pulled us to go along with them. There were a lot of people and we told them we dared not go to the landmine areas. Then they started to beat us.

Q: Do you know the unit number of the troops that beat you?
A: I don't know because this group of Burmese were new arrivals and they replaced the other ones very recently. Their Commander is named Aung Aung; he is the Company Commander but I don't know the Battalion.

Q: Where did they beat you?
A: He slapped me once on my face and pushed my chest once, then he hit the back of my neck and knocked me down. After I stood up he grabbed me again but he didn't beat me.

Q: Why did he beat you?
A: *Der*! He beat us because they ordered us to walk through the landmines, but we dared not cross there. They told us to go in front of them, but we dared not go. But they would shoot or kill us somehow *[if they didn't]*, so we were afraid and ran away. There was a Burmese soldier who can speak Karen very well named Maung Nyo, he used to be a Karen soldier before he went and joined the *Tatmadaw [SPDC Army]*. He said that if people came along the paths at night, they would shoot all of them dead. L— told us about that.

Q: Did you ever have to porter for the Burmese?
A: I always had to before. I carried bullets and shells when they patrolled Wah Mi Klah, then went back to Tee K'Haw, then came to this area along the path to Ler Pu. They collected five men per village and after three days we were replaced. It *[his load]* must have been over 10 *viss [16 kg / 35 lb]*, at least four 78 shells and six 81 shells *[78 mm and 81 mm shells, for the 3-inch and 81mm mortars respectively]*. I carried the same weight as one basket of rice. They didn't give us anything and they told us that they would torture us until we break while we tried to earn our living. And they do it like that by turn. They abuse us in every way.

Q: Did they ever beat any of the porters?
A: I didn't see that when I was there, but they slapped our faces.

Q: Did they feed you enough food?
A: *Der*! At first they fed us enough food like they ate. And if we slept in a house we had a good place to sleep. They didn't guard us because they were close to the people *[the*

previous group of soldiers had a decent relationship with the villagers], but the other group that replaced them treated us like dogs. They beat two people. They tried to force them to be messengers but they wouldn't go.

Q: Can you give them money instead of going?
A: You can't give the Burmese money for that, and people always have to go in person. Sometimes they ate pigs or goats and villagers had to reimburse *[the owners]* for that.

Q: Did they collect money from the villagers?
A: Recently they did not collect money, but in the past they asked the village head to collect for them because there were a lot of people. Each house had to give 30-40, sometimes even 50 *Kyat*. We had to pay for them to eat. They took chickens from people who had them, and every time they arrived they asked *[for livestock]* and people had to give. Sometimes they asked, but sometimes they shot them to eat. They didn't pay for it. They took them to their commander.

Q: Did they eat other things in the village?
A: Paddy and rice. They demanded it often and we always had to give. Last year we had only a small amount of paddy and rice *[the crop was very bad]*. For every basket or big tin of rice we ate, they looted one basket or big tin. We had to collect rice for them too, and Pa N— from the Ko Per Baw told me to complain to them so I did, but they didn't respond. He said that they would give it back to us because he is the one who takes care of their rations, but they gave us nothing. I know that the name of the chief commander of the Burmese is Pu P'Na Wah, and he has to send rations to all the soldiers, including the Ko Per Baw.

Q: Did they take any other belongings of the villagers?
A: They took everything that they saw, like gallon jugs and containers and as much as they could carry. Someone from Gkah Deh said, "They are like gorillas, even if they see pumpkins or pumpkin leaf they take it, and if they see just one aubergine they take it and put it in their basket and you can't keep it." Even if they saw half a knife *[a broken machete]* they would take it. Just recently they went and took O—-'s saw, and when he went and asked for it back the Burmese pushed his chest with the butt of a pistol and slapped him once on the face. But the Ko Per Baw don't take people's belongings like that. After I fled our belongings like pots were left in the house, so I think they are already lost. They ate two or three of my chickens. Sometimes they asked us but sometimes not. Some privates are disobedient and stupid, and they eat everything unlike the commanders. Mostly the commanders ask before they eat.

Q: Did the Ko Per Baw and the Burmese cooperate to abuse the villagers?
A: Ko Per Baw soldiers were not involved with the Burmese this past hot season *[March-May 1999]*. But during the time when they came and beat people the Ko Per Baw were involved with them. Not one of the Ko Per Baw opened their mouths when they saw the Burmese beating people and shooting people dead.

One evening more than 30 Burmese came to Paw Gaw Ko with four Ko Per Baw soldiers. They stayed at Law Mi Kyo for one night, and there was one company with ten

soldiers staying in B'Nweh Pu. They surrounded my daughter's house where I was sleeping, and they interrogated us about whether any Kaw Thoo Lei *[KNU/KNLA]* were there and if they had laid landmines. The Ko Per Baw were angry and threatened us that they would come and shoot into our wives' vaginas. They met with seven people. The youngest child was 6 or 7 years old. They released them before sunset, and they released me last. They made me follow them to Paw Gaw Ko, and they pulled S—-'s parents to Tee K'Haw. First they told us that they would have a meeting and they told Saw K—-'s father and I to "go and listen to the meeting". But they did not have the meeting that night, and they asked us to sleep for a while. Then they told us, "Move, move! We will go back to the house." But the Burmese did not go to our house. They went to the mountains and we had to go in the night through the bush and scrub, and we carried as we walked. *Der*! They did not feed us rice. After they released me I ran away because I dared not stay, because if I stayed longer the situation would have become worse.

Q: Did they force children to carry for them?
A: The children are so small that they did not force them. Mostly they forced people aged 20-30 like B— and K—. They forced people to carry loads of rice often from Taw Naw Ko down to Ka Teh. It took one day of walking, and then we slept one night there and came back. All of the porters were men. When we had to carry their rations it was not just for one day, and we had to carry them from the car road. They did not pay us. They did not feed us either, so people who couldn't go without food had to take some rice with them.

They forced porters to build their huts and gardens at Wah Mi Klah. People also cut trees and bamboo and dug bunkers or trenches and built small huts for a camp. The porters were mostly from B'Nweh Pu and Meh La Kee. Just a few were from Meh La Hta. We went for three days and then rotated.

Q: Where did you sleep when you had to porter?
A: At their place there is a big monastery where all the people slept. They had sentries for security, but not to watch workers. I don't know what they would do if we escaped. They would probably fine us. If people didn't finish their three days, they were fined. They fined us 2 or 3 *viss* of chicken or pork. People had to give this because all of us were afraid. When they forced us to work sometimes they would slap our faces and we couldn't do anything, like K— from Meh La Kee who had his face slapped twice. As for me, he hit me once here, another time there, and twice he pushed me hard so I fell down. I was carrying a backpack, and he grabbed the backpack and pushed as strongly as he could. *Der*! He beat me because they forced us to walk and show the way but we dared not go in front of them. People had planted landmines there! I told him that people said there are landmines there, so we dared not go there anymore. If we lost our legs, we would have nothing. One of my son's legs was blown off by a landmine. It was a Ko Per Baw landmine that had been planted a few years ago. But the soldiers only said that some people had warned us, so why were we so afraid? But they dared not go either, because they worried that their own legs would be blown off. I dared not go, but they went step by step. We thought it would be suicide to go like that. If I stepped on a landmine, maybe I would die or my legs would be blown off, so my life would be useless.

Q: When did this happen?
A: Just one month ago. After they beat me I ran here.

Interview: 36: IDP life, Forced Labor, Extortion, Rape, Landmines, Livelihood

Name:	"Naw Hsah Paw"
Sex:	Female
Age:	47
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	farmer
Marital Status:	Married with two sons and two daughters aged 4-18
Address:	*xxxx* village, T'Nay Hsah township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	November 1999
Place of Interview:	In hiding near her home village
Source:	KHRG

Q: How many times have the Burmese soldiers come to your village?
A: Ah! How could I count? This year they always come, but they just enter and go out again. Last year they set up their camp there and we had to carry water for them. Those troops were IB 116, and we had to carry water and find firewood for them until we were nearly dead. Their commander is Lah Thin, and the Battalion Commander is U Lat Aung. Their Division is from Mandalay, but I can't remember which Division it is. Usually there are about 70 soldiers in their camp. The Battalion Commander who beats people a lot is A—. He beat the village head of T— *[village]* named Pa M—, and we heard he also beat a longtail boat driver named S—, Saw A— from Sghaw Ko, and K— when he was carrying things by longtail boat, and many other people. He beat and abused a lot of villagers.

Q: Did Commander A— do anything else?
A: Later he took all the porter fee money *[for himself]*. I would guess that all that money collected by all the *[Army]* groups would have been 70,000 *kyat* during the 3 months that he was staying in the camp. For each month our village had to give 14,000 *kyat* for each of two people *[to not send two porters]*, so we gave them 70,000 *kyat* in three months. He took the money from every village. Our village is small, he demanded more from the bigger villages. From Ker Ghaw he collected for 6 people *[porters]* at 12,000 *kyat* each, 6 people from Tee Wah Blaw, six from Tee Law Thay and six from Sghaw Ko tract, all at 12,000 each. He just took money, not people *[he didn't want the porters, it was just an excuse to demand money; in total, the 5 villages listed had to pay a total of 316,000 kyat per month for 'porter fees' alone, not counting other fees]*. There are other village tracts too, like Pah Klu tract, Loh Baw, Meh Pleh Wah and so on as far as Tee Wah Klay and Day Law Pya. He also beat people, and a lot of villagers from our village ran away.

Q: What did he say when he beat people?
A: He said that people didn't listen to him when he asked for porters. He demanded porters

[in addition to the fees] but how could you find them for him right away like that? He should specify a date and time for us. Not all the village heads arrived together *[when called to supply porters]*, only Pa *xxxx* and Daw *xxxx*, so he beat Pa *xxxx* and he fell at the foot of the mango trees. Daw *xxxx* told him "Captain, don't do that, he's not a new Chairperson, he has been Village Chairperson for a long time. Why do you treat him like this?" And he shouted at her, "You don't need to tell me, Mother!" Later he said to her, "I argued with you under the mango trees, Mother", and she said, "I can't forget that because you were wrong, but we can't do anything because we have no horns so you can do to us as you please".

Q: Did he ever capture people as porters?
A: Yes, they captured people a lot. Sometimes he demanded ten people or thirty people from each village, took the money for that all for himself and then still called for *loh ah pay*. He demanded people as well as money. Sometimes when they were going to patrol to Meh Pleh and come back he took more than 10 villagers from our village.

Q: Did he ever eat the villagers' chickens or pigs?
A: The village heads of all the village tracts had to kill a pig for him once every four days *[by rotation]*. That group never runs out of pork in their camp. When they were staying in the camp we had to send them 20 *viss [32 kg / 70 lb]* of pork every 4 days.

Q: Did they ever try to rape women in your village?
A: Not in our village, but we heard that Battalion IB 120 from Moh Ta Ma near Moulmein came and raped women in Taw Oak. Those troops shit into people's mortars *[for pounding paddy]* and cookpots. There were a lot of people who had to face this in Pah Klu; the married women there said that you dared not open your cookpots because they were full of shit, and so were their *[rice container]* tins.

Q: Do you know the name of their commander?
A: I don't know because they didn't stay in our village, they just came and stayed one night and I said to him, "Son, don't shit in our mortars." He asked me, "Where did you hear that?" and I told him, "I heard from Meh Pleh that you shit in their mortars." A lot of Meh Pleh villagers ran to escape, and Naw P— told me "When they are drunk they come into your house with no shirts or pants on, and my husband was running around and my children were crying loudly". People wanted to go and report all this to the Division, but the Meh Pleh camp commander wouldn't allow it.

Q: Is it just their ordinary soldiers who do these things?
A: Both their leaders and their private soldiers do it, because their leaders are no good and it is like rain dripping down from the roof of the house *[the example of the officers trickles down to the men]*. People say "When the head goes, the tail is pulled along" *[a Karen proverb]*. I told them we would go to their battalion base at Moh Ta Ma to do our own shit, and I told them, "You have very rude habits! You should know a toilet, can't you tell a toilet from a mortar or a cookpot?" He said, "Mother, who told you this?" I told him I heard it when I was in Meh Pleh, and all the married women in Pah Klu were also talking about it.

They did it in Pah Klu just for spite.

Q: Do they do things like that in your village?
A: They don't do stupid things like that in our village because we dare to stand up to them. Whether it's the right time or not we tell them straight, and we go to meet them before they do stupid things so they can't do it.

Q: Did any of the troops ever make you build roads or other things?
A: U *xxxx [#xxx Battalion]* ordered us to build a motor road between Ker Ghaw and Kwih Lay, but the headwoman told him, "I won't walk on this road so I don't want to do it, because we would need petrol to use it. If you want to use it, come and build it yourself", and they came and built it themselves. Some villagers had do work for them clearing the road and cutting the scrub.

Q: When the villagers were working for them did they provide food?"
A: Aye!! When we were building their camp we had to take our own food, our own rice and our own water. They forced us to work and we had no time to rest.
Her husband: Each day someone has to go for *set tha [messenger labour]* and has to sleep there. We had to build a small hut and sleep alone there.
A: Yes, men have to sleep there in the camp.

Q: Do you want to talk about any other problems in your village?
A: I couldn't tell about all the torture we have suffered since the *[SPDC]* camp was set up and the Ko Per Baw was founded. At first people said that if the Ko Per Baw arrived in the village there would be no more taxes, so we hoped they would come. Oh my Lord! All of our cows and bullocks were already gone. When the Burmese enter the village they are like the wildcats who clap their hands while the forest is burning *[because it flushes out the prey]*. If they want a handspan, they demand an armspan. So I told them, "*Der*! Son, when I was staying down in the town, each Battalion and Division that was going to go up patrolling at the frontline was given fees to pay porters and rations for porters. But now you come and demand it all from us, so how can we survive because we don't even have enough for ourselves?" Then he said "What can I tell you, Mother?" Even if we don't have enough food for ourselves, if they demand food we have to give it to them and we can't do anything.

Q: Do the Ko Per Baw help at all?
A: They can't do anything, and if we ask them they say, "Our footprints are not as big as theirs and we don't dare rebuke them strongly for that". So they just deal with them gently and softly.

Q: How do the Ko Per Baw treat the villagers?
A: They don't beat us, and if they get angry and scold us we dare to talk back to them, because they are our own nationality, whether they are big shots or small fry. But before we had *[DKBA commander]* Moe Kyo, and he was more rude than all the others. When he was staying in the village he burned down our stocks of straw, and he laid landmines and our villagers had their legs blown off. Po Hla Paw lost his leg to one of Moe Kyo's mines, and

Saw Kho stepped on one but his leg was not blown off. He didn't dare beat our villagers, but we heard that he beat people in other villages.
Her husband: In Ker Ghaw, when he gave an order he wanted people to come at once, and if they didn't arrive at once he fired a machine gun.
A: *Der*! The houses were full of holes.
Her husband: So people didn't dare stay, some fled the village and fled up and down.

Q: Where is Moe Kyo now?
A: People told me that he stepped on a landmine at Paw Mo Baw, and some said that he died but others say not yet. I was very happy when I heard that he was dead, but when some people said that he is alive and they saw him I thought, "Ah ah!! My Lord, if he is still alive what will we do?" Our village is small, but he demanded porters. He said, "My son's mother-in-law, I don't ask much of you but it is emergency *loh ah pay*, so give me 15 people." And after we gave them to him, some have been gone for months and years *[died as porters]* so we can't do anything. How can we replace them when they are all we have?

Interview: 37: Killing, Torture, Rape, Looting

Name:	"Saw Lu Phaw"
Sex:	Male
Age:	37 year
Ethnicity:	Karen
Religion:	Christian
Occupation:	Farmer
Address:	Kyone-sein village, Kya Inn Seikyi township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	December 15, 1999
Source:	HURFOM

Q: Why did you come to this village (a village in Three Pagoda Pass area inside Burmese territory)?
A: In my village, the SPDC soldiers tortured and killed villagers and I was very afraid of being tortured and killed. That is why I fled here.

Q: Why did the soldiers kill and torture the villagers and how?
A: After SPDC soldiers arrived at our village, they gathered the village leaders and a Christian pastor. And the commander told the pastor that his followers were supporters of the KNU, because he had not taught good disciplines to them. Then the commander ordered his soldiers to torture the pastor and two other village leaders. Furthermore, the soldiers tortured two women and ten other men in the village.

Besides tortures, the soldiers also raped the two women. They raped the first woman, and cut her breasts. Because of the serious injury, the woman lost consciousness at the end. The other woman was also repeatedly raped and the soldiers poured hot water in her nose, ruining the skin on her face and turning it red. When her baby, who was there with her, cried for milk, the soldiers did not allow her to feed the hungry baby.

Q: Do you know the names of those women?
A: Yes, I know them. They are Naw B—B—. 16 years old, and Naw M-K—, 17 years old. Both of them were already married.

Q: How did they torture the men in the village?
A: Among the many villagers, two villagers were severely tortured until they died. The soldier cut their bodies with knifes in many places and then put salt in the injuries. They tortured them like that for five days and at the end, the soldiers killed them by clamping them between sharp bamboo slats and burning them in a fire.

Q: Do you know the names of two villagers?
A: Yes, they were Saw Kaw Kaw, 40 years old and Saw Lay Doe, 17 years old. Besides them, another villager, Saw Pha Kalu, 23 years old, was also strangled with strong rubber loops and was killed. They also tortured Saw Ple Htoo and his two sons. After the torture, the skin from the man's head was spoiled. Another man, Saw U Htoo, was also severely beaten and the soldiers cut his body in many places.

Besides torturing the villagers, the soldiers also took the villagers' belongings. Normally, whenever the soldiers arrive in our village, they also take rice, chickens, pigs, ducks and vegetables.

Q: How many times have SPDC soldiers entered your village?
A: They arrive about 3-4 times every month.

Q: Which date did the killing in the village you told me above happen?
A: It was between October 3 and 10, 1999.

Q: Did you remember the number of the battalion and the name of the commander?
A: The battalion was No. 120 and commander was Lt. Col. Maung Maung Oo.

Interview: 38: Force Labor

Name:	"U Naing Aung"
Sex:	Male
Age:	62
Nationality	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married
Address:	Kywe Talin village, Ye Phyu Township
Interview date:	17 December 1999
Source:	THRF

Q: Did you bring your family along with you when you come out? If you did, what are their names and ages?
A: Yes, they came along with me. I have five family members. My wife Mi Nge is 51 now, The three children, Mg Kyi Ngwe is the oldest age 28 and the second child Ma Thein is 26,

the youngest Maung Aung San is 19.

Q: If you don't mind, could you please tell me why you fled to this Thai-Burma border?
A: To speak frankly, I could not stay in Kywe Talin village anymore. IB 405 troops are in Kywe Talin now. As soon as they arrived, they asked 50,000 betel nuts from our village. The cost of a betel nut is 7 *kyat* but the army troops didn't give any money for it. The head of our village himself is not good. He cooperated with those troops and bullied the villagers in many ways. They also asked for gravel and forced labor for Ko Mine motor road.

Q: What did the troops ask the villagers to do for this motor road?
A: Now, the military force is demanding our villagers for Ko Mine motor road. They ask 60 rock *kyin*s as the quota of our village. The quality of the rock is Chipin in local name and sized 1 inch. For our village four households make one *kyin*. So we have to combine one household with a bullock cart and three households without a cart to workout together. One *kyin* is 10'X10'X1' = 100 cubic feet. After we finished digging the rocks we then have to send them to Ko Mine motor road by the cart. The village head himself demand the villagers to full fill the need of the army and he ordered his own villagers to leave the village if they can not work out for the army. So this is the way the village head and the arm forces gave us a lot of troubles at last I could not stand anymore and fled.

Q: Do you know other army troops apart from IB 409 who demand force labor or money from your village?
A: Yes, there are IB 405, IB 406, IB 408, IB 409 troops in our village. They always demand for force labor and arrest the villagers as porters. Once a villager was caught as a porter in their hands we have to bail him out with 3,000 *kyat*. If you can't afford to pay you were sent to the force labor camps for a week to 15 days to do hard work.

Q: Are there anymore families to flee from your village?
A: Yes, if the arm forces and the village head con*tin*ue doing these harsh things on the villagers, they will all run away to find a peaceful areas. Some people ran away to Thailand with the whole family but only a few fled to this refugee camp.

Q: Is it convenient for you to stay here?
A: It is a just normal situation here. There's no arres*tin*g for porter or force labor here but there're some difficulties for living and feeding because no rice is sent to this refugee camp yet. One good thing to stay here is that people from my village and other villages who already came here help me a lot.

Interview: 39: Forced Portering, Torture, Extra-judicial killing, human mine sweeper, extortion

Name:	Saw Nu Nu
Sex:	Male
Age:	27
Ethnicity:	Karen

Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Baptist Christian
Marital Status:	Married with four children
Address:	Haw Ket village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	December 23, 1999
Place of Interview:	No Pho refugee camp, Umphang district, Thailand
Source:	HRDU

I arrived here on December 16, 1999. Altogether 196 people arrived on the same day. All were from Htee Tablu, Haw Ket and Htoo Doe Ne villages of the same district. Our village has suffered constant demand for forced labor and porters by the SPDC troops for a long time. The demand intensified in 1998. Previously, there were troops from SPDC division (44), but in 1998, the troops under Division (62) were transferred to our village. Since then, the situation has become worse. The troops regularly demanded various forms of labor and porters from our village and nearby village. Our village had to provide the demands without fail. In November 1998, I was among the people arrested for porters by the SPDC troops. Usually, the troops order the village headman had to collect the number of people they require. That time, they did not tell the headman, but came suddenly and rounded up all the male villagers they found in the village. I was arrested together with my brother and my father. Even the pastor from my village was arrested. Around 40 people were arrested. The eldest was over 50 years old. All of us were taken by the troops. When we arrived Dee Ta Pu village more villagers were rounded up so the number of porters reached over one hundred. I was ordered to carry eight 8 mm, one tin of rice and one equipment bag. Some porters were ordered to carry less. At the beginning the troops said it would be only two days but we were not released for eight days. They only provided a handful of rice and chilies. One meal per day was allowed. If someone was sick, the medic gave some tablets, but they could not rest. Two porters from Dee Ta Pu village were left in the valley because they could not carry anymore. The troops did not kill them but left them to die of starvation or lack of medicine. We were released after arriving in Azin village. It took us one week to get released. When we got to the valley where the two villagers were left, we found their dead bodies.

In January 1999, a column from LIB. 355 came to our village and spent two days. They were attacked by the KNU near our village. One villager serving as porter with the SPDC troops was killed during the fighting. The troops came back and arrested over ten villagers. The blamed the village for not informing them of the activities of the KNU. The pointed the guns onto the arrested villagers and threatened to kill all of them. All the villagers were beaten, kicked and tortured. They hit the villagers with gun butt and stick of wood. One villager named Naw Pu Lu received the most severe torture. He was accused of having communication with the KNU. The soldiers demanded that he turn in his gun or they would kill him. He was tied to a tree and tortured the whole night. Fortunately all were released after the village was able to pay 20,000 *Kyat* for their release.

In November 1999, another military column arrived our village. They were from Division 88 and the number was around 300. This column aimed to attack the KNU base in the region. When the column came into village, we all ran away and went into hiding. The troops moved forward to Palaw Htoo Kee village and arrested five villagers. They were

tortured and killed later. On December 3, 1999, village headmen from over 50 villages from the western bank of Dami stream were called on to attend a meeting by the commander of the military strategy operation. (SPDC) During the meeting, he warned the village headmen that the SPDC would launch an attack against the civilians this time. The SPDC had attempted to eliminate the KNU for a long time and the KNU was still active with the help of the local civilians. So this time the civilians would be targeted in order to eliminate the KNU in the region. All the village headmen were shocked and scared. Even before they had announced to target the civilians, the situation was already terrible. Now the situation and mistreatment against the civilians would be unbearable. They all believed the commander who further said all the former members of the KNU would be sought out and punished. He alleged that they were still working for the KNU and providing information about the SPDC troops to the KNU. If there were a clash or attack by the KNU near the village, the whole village would be burnt down. During the briefing, some villages were ordered to move from their village. I knew he ordered Rat Kalar, Haw Ket and Hti Kyaw Ki villages to move to Paw Htu Ki village. All the villages were also ordered to provide a hundred baskets of rice to them.

When the villagers heard these orders, all were disappointed and frustrated. There were KNU troops round the region and unexpected fighting might be taken place any time. If there were a clash, we, the villagers would be subjected to retaliation by the SPDC. We would be tortured, our village would be burned and relocated. We were not able to provide the amount of rice they asked of our village. But they came and took it away. In December just before I left for the border, I was arrested by the SPDC troop outside of the village. The troops did not demand the people they wanted as usual from the village headman, they just came and arrested us. Three people from my village, including myself, were arrested. The other were Al Pacel, Phaw Gay, and Wah Pah. There were around 60 porters from other villages as well. All of us were taken for six days. Nya Lu, aged over 30 from Htee khee village and another unidentified villager of same age were killed because they failed to proceed. Nya Lu was ordered to march in front of the troops as human mine sweeper. When he fell down out of exhaustion, he was stabbed in the back with a knife and died later. Another porter died of exhaustion.

We expected the demand of rice and porters would increase in the future. What could we do, stay there to be tortured or run way? In November and December until I left for the border, at least 30 villagers died or were killed while they were serving as porters. So I decided to run away to the border where I think is safer and better for my family.

Interview: 40: Torture, Forced Porter

Name:	Saw Phaw
Sex:	Male
Age:	38
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Baptist Christian
Marital Status:	Married with five children
Address:	Htee Tablu village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi township, Karen State

Date of Interview: December 23, 1999
Place of Interview: No Pho refugee camp, Umphang district, Thailand
Source: HRDU

The reason I came here is I can no longer suffer the demands by the SPDC for porters. Luckily, I spend most of my time hiding in jungle. However, I did work once as a porter in April 1999. A troop under the Division (88) led by Captain Kyi Win came and tried to arrest the villagers. All of us escaped and went into hiding in the jungle. Later the village headwoman came and requested us to go with the troops just for three days. We went and in actuality we served one week. Five male villagers were ordered to go with the troops. Each person had to carry different loads such as launchers, ammunitions, rice bag, and other materials. I myself was ordered to carry 40 kg of rice. It was too heavy for me because the journey was full of mountains to climb. My back was bruised after the porter period. You can see it now. The column went back and forth between Mae Para and Kel See villages. We were given no food. They told us to bring our food when they first took us from the village. We took food for five days, but after five days all the food we brought was gone. So we begged from the villagers from these two villages. The soldiers also looted the properties of the villages as most of them had gone into hiding. I did not see any male villagers, only female when we arrived at the village. The male villager ran away because they were afraid of being arrested and used as porters. When the troops saw no men, they asked the women in the village why they ran away. Women answered because they were afraid. Then the troops asked if they had a connection with the KNU, the women said no. If the troops were in good mood, there was no problem. But if they were in bad mood, they beat the women up. They also arrested villagers found on the way and sent them to be used as porters. Around 50 people from different villages were together with me working for the military as porters at that time. After one week all of us from same village were released. But the fate of the remaining people was unknown. When I got back home, I vomited blood and got seriously sick. I think it is due to the heavy loads I had to carry during the porter duty. After that experience, I was really afraid of being arrested for porter duty. So As soon as I heard that troops were coming, I'd run away. In July 1999, my son, Pha Kar, aged 13 and his friend Saw Cha Lwe Lwe aged 15 were arrested by the troops while they were tending the cows outside of the village. They were arrested in the evening and detained until midnight. No food was given, and they were tortured. They were just young boys and did not know anything about the KNU. The troops beat them because they couldn't speak Burmese. They kicked my son, all over his body, with military boots on. At mid-night, women from our village went there and pleaded that they were not guilty. Finally they were released.

Since November 1999, the situation has worsened with increasing porter demands and threats. Many innocent people have been arrested and tortured, accused of being KNU members or having communication with them. We were almost always on the run to hide in the jungle for fear of being arrested or killed. We can't survive in such a way without stability and a way to earn a living.

In December, 1999, all village headmen from Htee Tablu tract were ordered to attend a meeting by the SPDC. In the meeting the village headmen were told that the SPDC troops did not want to see anyone in the southeastern part of Htee Tablu. That meant anyone found in the area would be shot dead without any questions. And they declared that

all former KNU soldiers would be exposed and persecuted. I'd had a tattoo on my body since I was a kid. SPDC soldiers assumed that anyone who had a tattoo was a KNU soldier. So I was afraid I would be assumed to be a KNU soldiers and face persecution. I did not want to live in this situation any longer. So I decided to leave. It took me five days to reach the border. My children got sick on the way.

Interview: 41: Detention, torture, extra-judicial killing (2 infants), forced portering

Name:	Phar Not Mu
Sex:	Male
Age:	38
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Baptist Christian
Marital Status:	Married with one child
Address:	Htoo Doe Ne village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	December 23, 1999
Place of Interview:	No Pho refugee camp, Umphang district, Thailand
Source:	HRDU

Recently the SPDC declared that they would execute all former KNU soldiers in the region whether or not they still involve in the KNU activities. I joined the KNU in 1988 but defected in 1993. Since then I have not been involved in any activities of the KNU. However, this news made me scared. But I did not decide to leave until December when I was tortured.

On December 1, Wednesday, I went to Plaw Htoo Kee village, close to my village. I did not know troops were inside the village so I went into the village. I was caught by the troops and taken to the place where they were stationed. There were about 300 SPDC troops and 30 Peace force (former KNU but defected to the SPDC and joined them). The Peace Force was led by its leader, Tha Mu Hel. At first the SPDC troops did not know I was a former KNU soldier. They only asked me if I was a KNU soldier and I denied it. But the Peace Forced arrived, and they knew I was. They tied my hands behind my back and started beating me. They demanded that I give a gun or die. They kicked my entire body with their boots and beat me with their guns. One SPDC soldier and one Peace Force soldier beat me until I became unconscious. When I regained consciousness, the soldiers took me to the place where some people were being detained. I found two men and ten women with three infants from Plaw Htoo Kee village. Two women were pregnant. I also found Tar Kwar (a) Kalar Kho, aged 40, from Wa Lu village, Win Ye township. I knew him before. He got arrested like me while he was visiting this village without knowing the news of the soldier presence. He was severely tortured for the same reason as me. In the evening, all us male detainees were tied together with one rope. We were forced to carry a pack containing goods on our back while women had to carry the ammunition. I think the women had to carry not less than 15 kilograms. We were taken to Kalu Ma Tee village. On the way, when the infants cried, the soldiers screwed the throats of two crying infants until they were

dead. They just dumped the dead bodies on the roadside. They were only 2 months and five months old. We could not do anything, but it was so sad to see what happened. In the Kalu Ma Tee village, the troops arrested another ten women and released the previous ten women. They women were taken to Pa De Pa Kaw village together with us.When we arrived Pa De Pa Kaw village, we were tortured again. Tar Kwar received worse. The soldiers slashed his body with a knife. I was so scared I might face the same fate like him. Fortunately, they just beat me up. I was able to escape at night. I untied the rope binding my hands and ran away. I ran and ran the whole night and arrived back to my village at 9 am on the next day. In the evening, I received a letter from Peace force. It said you could not run away from us, if we catch you we will kill you and if we catch your wife, we will kill her. It was signed by Tha Mu Hel himself. I did not dare to stay at home any longer. So all my family fled. We were joined by other villagers from other villages and came here together.

Interview: 42: forced portering, torture, extra-judicial killing

Name:	Chauk Pe
Sex:	Male
Age:	42
Ethnicity:	Karen
Occupation:	Farmer
Religion:	Baptist Christian
Marital Status:	Married with two children
Address:	Htee Tablu village, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi township, Karen State
Date of Interview:	December 24, 1999
Place of Interview:	No Pho refugee camp, Umphang district, Thailand
Source:	HRDU

The situation has been worse since November. The newly-transferred SPDC troops, Division 88, are notorious for abuses. Many former KNU soldiers were exposed and killed. When they did not get the former soldiers, they arrested their families and tortured them. Then they threatened the men to come back or they would kill the family, When the men came back, they tortured and killed them. This action aimed to exterminate the KNU activities in the region. They committed these atrocities as the warning to threaten the civilians to stop giving support to the KNU. More arrest, more demand for porters and more killings have been taking place since the new troops arrived.

I went to porter in August 1999. The village headman requested five villagers including me to go along with the troops. I did not want to go, but if I failed I had to pay a fine so I decided to go as requested. The troops were from LIB. 102. I was ordered to carry nine 81 mm rocket shells the whole way. They were heavy and I fell down several times. I was afraid of that the shells would explode when I fell down. When I fell down several times, the soldiers punched me. I got a cut in my face and it swelled.

Although my village headman said it would be only short period, I worked with them for a month. Not only me, but I saw other porters from other villages. I found five from Htee Tablu, five from rat Kala, five from Haw Kel, five from Htee Wah Doe, five from Phaw Naw Mu and others. There were about 150 porters together with the column. During that

time, I saw one porter from Phaw Naw Mu beaten to death with bamboo stick. He was sick and could not walk properly. He was beaten on his navel by three soldiers. When he fell down, they kept beating his bodies. The other porters were ordered to bury his body after his death.

The troops looted the belongings of the people at Taung Kalay village in Win Ye township, They burnt three houses and took rice from every house. They also arrested three villagers and tied them with rope. The villagers were interrogated about whether they had any connection with the KNU. They were accused of failing to report the activities of the KNU to the SPDC. These villagers were severely beaten and tortured. They were released on the next day.

No medicine was given. A little food was provided - only plain rice and salt. After one month, the soldiers released two porters at a time. They did not provide any food or medicine when we returned back to our village after serving one month free.

Interview: 43: Torture

Name:	"Naing Htun Lin"
Sex:	Male
Age:	50
Nationality	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married
Address:	Kyauk Htayan village, Ye Phyu Township
Interview date:	29 December 1999
Source:	THRF

Q: Did your family come along with you?
A: No, I came alone.

Q: Could you please tell us why you fled to the refugee camp?
A: Because of some people who did not like me, gave the army false report and I had to run away so as not to be arrested by the army.

Q: What is the false report they gave to the army?
A: A man who did not like me went to LIB 273 troops and told them that I have connection with Naing Lay who is a leader of one of the Mon revolutionaries group. I have a gun and an I.com machine (walkie-talkie) given by this group. So Capt. Maung Maung Lay and ten soldiers from company 2 of LIB 273 came to arrest me on 6th September 1999. It was in the night. After arres*tin*g me they took me into the Kyauk Htayan village. In the center of the village they put me into a house. Capt. Maung Maung Lay himself interrogated me in that house.

Q: What did Capt. Maung Maung Lay and his company ask you and how did they interrogate you?
A: First, they tied my hands at my back when they arrested me. At the house in the center

of the village, they demanded the family who lived there to get out of the house. Then they started asking me questions. They asked me where those Mon arm forces were? How many members were there? Where I hid the gun and I.com machine. I answered that I had no connection with any arm forces and I did not know how many members and where. Also I didn't have any gun and I.com machine too.

They said I was lying and kicked my face with the boot. So I fell backward. Then they covered my face with a peace of cloth and poured water on my face. Asked questions again. I answered the same but the soldiers didn't believe me. Kicked me on my face again. Then I fell backward again. Two soldiers sat on each side of my laps and poured water on my face again. This going on for nearly the whole night but they didn't get any information from me so they changed the tactic. The new tactic was to touch my body with burning cheroot. They touched all over my body including my manhood. Here are the injuries you can see. They tortured me like this until in the morning.

Q: So in the morning light did they continue torturing you?
A: Because of the villagers who were going out in morning they stopped torturing me.

Q: Could you explain to us how you got out of these cruel hands of the soldiers?
A: As the night was drawing near, the young soldiers were talking to each other about me. I heard "This man keep us very busy so we better kill him." Then I became so scared. I tried to untie myself in the house. Later I was freed from the binding ropes. At once I jumped down from the house and started running through the soldiers even though I knew I could die.

Q: Did the soldiers know that you run away? Didn't they shoot you?
A: They knew. But they have no chance to shoot me because all the soldiers were surrounding outside the house. If they shoot me, they were going to hut each other. Instead of shoo*tin*g me they shot into air.

Q: What do you think the army official will do to your family who were left in the village?
A: I think they will arrest my family.

Interview: 44: Force labor

Name:	"U Tha Warn"
Sex:	Male
Age:	72
Nationality	Burman
Religion:	Buddhist
Marital status:	Married
Address:	Zay Yar Quarter, Ye Township
Interview date:	16 January 2000
Source:	THRF

Q: Did you bring your family with you when you flee here?
A: I only brought my wife Daw Ngwe Kyi, age 59.

Q: Why did you flee here? Could you tell us?
A: Well, if I have to talk about this it will take the whole day. Firstly, I'll tell you about 10 quarters in Ye Township. These are (1) Zay Yar, (2) Nanda, (3) Aung Thu Kha, (4) Yan Gyi Aung, (5) Pyidaw Thar, (6) Marlar, (7) Khay Mar, (8) Aung Thong Aung, (9) Yan Myo Aung, (10) Annawa. There's three battalions called IB 306/343/61. These troops call us always as force labor and porter.

We did force labor mostly for the army such as mowing the grass, cut*tin*g woods, digging ditches and cleaning in the army official's houses. All these kind of work had to be done for three battalions by the people from all ten quarters. If you can't go to take part in that force laboring work you have to pay for 500 *kyat* per day to the military officials. When the army call for labor work, elderly grandma, grandpa, women and even children have to go to avoid paying 500 *kyat* per day with their own food packs. As you know in Burma the *Lock Aha Pay* (force to work) has to do with our own food packs. Don't expect a *pya* (100 *pya* = 1 *kyat*) from those military officials. And if you do something wrong while working they will insult you with obscene words.

I remember one incident. In August 1999, during the rainy season, in the middle of the Ye Township, there's a big lake. This lake has been there since a long time. A lot of hyacinth and water lilies are growing in that lake. The army called all the people in Ye Township to get rid of all the water lilies and hyacinth.

For this work they demanded only the men to do leaving the women and children. I asked a soldier "Why do you want to get rid of water lilies and hyacinth? These make the lake more beautiful." The soldier answered "It is closing near (9999). Radios announced rumors, the Government (SPDC) has a superstition that if the *Kyar* (water lilies) coming near the *Kann* (bank of the lake) they have to give up the *Nun* (throne of power), so we have to clean up the Kyar." I laughed at it.

Q: What about the porter?
A: Every day they ask porters from 10 quarters in Ye, if there's an operation or not, they arrest the people as porters. We pay 200 *kyat* for porter fee and 100 *kyat* for night security fee per household monthly. Even then they are arresting the people to use as porters. Sometime they arrest people as special porters. When they arrest for special porters the village head has to go along with the soldiers. Once a porter was arrested by the soldiers we have to bail him out with 3,000 *kyat*, if you can not pay you have to stay in the army camp for seven or five days. Before you are released you have to do all the hard work they asked you to do.

In October 1999, I myself was arrested as a special porter. I begged them not to do so, as I am very old now. They won't listen. Dragged me to the IB 106. In the morning they released me as my wife bailed me out with 3,000 *kyat*.

Q: Could you please tell us about what the military officials do under their control when you came out?
A: The military is leading the business of buying summer paddy. The leading battalions are

IB 61, IB 106 and IB 343. The military decide which field is good yielding or poor yielding. Eight *tin* of paddy from a poor field and twelve *tin* of paddy from a good field have to be sent to the paddy purchasing sites opened by the army. The army buys at the rate of 400 *kyat* per *tin*, while outside price is at least 800 *kyat*/*tin*. If you can not sell the amount of paddy as the army decide they will arrest you and confiscate your paddy fields.

At my Zay Yar quarter the farmers whose paddy fields occupied by the army are:

1. U Htun Yin, age 65 32 acre
2. U Aung Min, age 70 34 acre
3. U Ba Eit, age 70 26 acre and
4. Other 15 farmers was more than 100 acre

The army grows summer paddy on those fields that they have confiscated. But it is only the name sake, that they called army's fields, for farmers including the people in the town have to do all the work in the fields from plowing to harvest*in*g. Since the beginning of the summer paddy project, fifty labors from each quarter are ordered to work in the fields everyday.

The army collects the rubber products also. They demand 1 lb of rubber from 100 rubber trees. The actual price of rubber 1 lb is 65 *kyat* but the army paid 25 *kyat* only. The army charges the tax for everything. We have to support the army or police with the things they need including charcoal every month without get*tin*g any money.

Q: The army is expanding the town according to the increase of population. Is the army doing these things in your town?
A: Yes, they do. In the beginning of 1999, near the Aung Thukha quarter they called for 1,000 households to work for the expansion of the town. They confiscated a lot of land from the owners without giving any compensation. They just gave each land owner a piece of land of length 60 X width 40 ft. And those pieces of land are far away from the main streets and markets. If you want a plot near the main streets or markets you have to pay extra money 5,000 *kyat* to 6,000 *kyat* and if you want a plot in a street you have to pay extra money 3,000 *kyat* to 4,000 *kyat* to the army officials. Even though the military government is expanding the new cities and towns, the main important thing, electricity, is often cut off. We have lamp post in every streets and roads in our town. But only the main road, army camps and office buildings have electricity and the rest of the streets have no electricity for most of the day. One thing is, whenever some top army officers come, the whole town is lighted up with electricity. So you must understand that the top army officers are in town when the town is lighted. But we have to pay 35 *kyat* regularly for the electricity every month.

Q: Do you see any difference when staying in this refugee camp?
A: I find a lot of difference here. Living and accommodation is difficult but there's no porter, no forced labor. I can live here peacefully. I don't have to worry about being arrested for porter anymore.

Interview: 45: Livelihood, Detention

Name: Nai Pyo

Sex:	Male
Age:	72 years
Ethnicity:	Mon
Religion:	Buddhist
Occupation:	Farmer
Interview Date:	January 12,2000
Source:	HURFOM

Q: Where is your native place and what is the major occupation of your villagers?
A: My native village is Kaw-mi village, Kaw-bein village tract of Kawkareik Township. In my village, there are about 350 households and all the villagers are Mons. Most of them are paddy growing farmers like me and only a small number of families, who have no land, have to fish. Most own about 10 acres of land and work as paddy growing farmers.

Q: How is your crop situation this year?
A: I lost nearly half of my total crop because of flood this year. Around my farm, there are about 250 acres of paddy-growing farmland owned by our villagers. When the floodwater (in October) was high, it is estimated that about 200 acres of that land went under water during the 2-week flood, which killed most of the paddy plants.

Q: In the normal situation, if there is no flood, how many baskets of paddy can you get from your farms?
A: In a normal situation, if we have enough of fertilizer, one acre of land can produce about 50 baskets of paddy. However, as my farm is close to the river (Gyaing river), I face floods every year. If the flood lasts many days, we lose more paddy. If not, we are lucky.

Q: Does the government provide you with fertilizer and if not, how do you get fertilizer to your farm?
A: The government does not give fertilizer, but as we can not get the required amount of paddy without the fertilizer, we have to buy factory made fertilizer every year. In my farm, I have to give four sack of fertilizer for one acre of land, and we have to put three types of fertilizer. Those fertilizers are quite expensive. The three types of fertilizer are at prices about 2,600 *kyat*, 4,000 *kyat* and 2,000 *kyat* respectively.

We always hear from the radio that the government will provide fertilizers at low costs. We also knew that the officials in Kawkareik town also brought many thousands sacks of fertilizer from Moulmein. Those fertilizers were for the farmers. However, when we asked the price of fertilizer, the price was similar to the price at the market. When we asked the officials why the government fertilizer price was quite high, they complained that the government did not provide for the transportation of the fertilizer, so they had to and add calculate the transportation costs to the actual fertilizer prices. However, even at the higher prices, the government could not provide sufficient amounts of fertilizer. The officials could provide only a half sack of fertilizer for one acre of land. So all the farmers depend on fertilizers from the shops. We can get fertilizer anytime we need from the shops. Normally, the government officials sell fertilizers to private shops and the farmers have to buy from those shops.

Q: Did the government authorities ask you to sell the set amount of paddy to the government?
A: Yes, they asked. In our township, they asked 8 baskets of paddy per acre to sell to the government paddy-buying center. For our village, we have to sell the paddy in Kaw-bein paddy-buying center. Before the authorities send orders to farmers to sell paddy, they also lend money to the farmers. When the authorities came to our village, they forced the farmers to take their money and asked them to sign a promise letter that we would sell the paddy to paddy-buying center. The deadline for all farmers to complete the selling of the paddy was before the end of October 1999. The price of the paddy that government bought from us is 350 *kyat* per basket, which is three times less than the market price.

Q: How did you manage to sell the paddy to the government to fulfill your duty?
A: I have to give a total of about 80 baskets of paddy. From my farm I received only 260 baskets of paddy.

Q: Did you have to hire labourers to work with you or did you work alone?
A: No. I have to hire one labourer for the whole year, because I am too old to work alone at my farm. Thus, I have to give about 100 baskets of paddy to that labourer alone. Additionally, during the period when I grew the small paddy plants and reap the crops, I also have to hire some day labourers at 300 *Kyat* per day. Thus, I have to spend another 40,000 *Kyat* for that labour cost. Additionally, I also have to buy fertilizers at the cost of 100,000 *Kyat* every year to provide for my 10 acres. At the end I have nothing left after giving paddy to the government.

Q: And how you can survive?
A: Soon after I gave paddy tax to government, I had to sell two acres of lands and received 150,000 *kyat* from that. But this was not the end of the story. I had to sell another half acre of my land.

Q: Why?
A: On January 9,2000, the army officers from Kawkareik town came and called a meeting with all the farmers from our village. In the meeting, one army officer explained that besides the paddy sold to the government, the army also required an additional 2 baskets of paddy from each acre. The meeting was held in the house of the village chairman.

Q: Then what happened to the farmers?
A: I was the eldest farmer in the group, and told the army commander that we already sold the paddy to the government paddy-buying center at 8 baskets per acre. I also explained to him about the flood conditions of the last rainy season. The commander became angry with me and asked my name. He shouted at me and said that "all land is owned by the government and not owned by farmers." Then, the commander and two soldiers brought all the farmers including the women to Kawbein police station and forced them to give the additional 2 baskets of paddy per acre. They released the farmers who promised them to sell the paddy. They detained me for one night because I did not give them this promise. The next day, my wife sold another half acre of land and bought 20 baskets of paddy from other rich farmers and it them to the paddy-buying center for the army. Then they released me.

Interview: 46: Life as Illegal Migrant Worker, Forced Labor, Extra-judicial Killing

Name:	"Sai On"
Sex:	Male
Age:	24
Ethnicity:	Shan
Occupation:	Farmer
Marital status:	Married, no children, but looking after younger siblings, ages 5 and 8.
Address:	Mai Sili, Kenglom tract, Kunhing Township, Shan State
Date of Interview:	January 2, 2000
Place of interview:	Fang district, Northern Chiang Mai province
Source:	SHRF

In February 1997, my village was relocated to Kunhing. We moved to the village of Na Sae, which is about seven kilometers east of Kunhing on the main road to Kali. I stayed there for one month. I was made to do forced labour there by the Burmese military. I was not allowed back to my old village to farm, and I could not earn enough to support my wife and my younger brother and sister, so we all came to Thailand. We came in a group of 10 people.

I spent over two years working in the Fang area. We moved around from place to place, working in different fields. We just lived from hand to mouth. Then in November, when the police started cracking down on the Shans, we had to go and sleep in hiding. We were afraid the police would come and arrest us at night.

I was working near the village of Mon Bin at the time. I was preparing the onion-beds in the fields. Instead of staying in our field-hut, during the crackdown we would go and sleep away from the village under some trees by a stream. All the family went together. We would put some sacks on the ground and sleep on them. There were about 16 other people too sleeping nearby in the same way.

We were very scared of arrest, so finally, we decided to go back to Kunhing to see if we could survive there. In fact we did not want to go back to Kunhing. Just before we went back, we heard the news that my wife's brother had been shot by the SPDC troops. His name was Khee Min, aged 35. He was married with three children. The oldest was 17, the youngest was 5. He came from the village of Ho Yarn (also relocated to Kunhing in 1997). He had been living in the relocation site of Na Sae, but had sneaked back to his old village in November to get one of his cattle to sell. He had gone with six other people. They had been sitting talking in the fields near Ho Yarn when a patrol of about 70-80 Burmese troops from LIB 546 found them. They all ran away, but my brother tripped and fell in the water (of the Nam Pang river). He was shot and killed. We knew he was dead because the people who had gone with him went back later and found his body and buried it.

After we travelled back to Kunhing in December, I tried to help my old parents-in-law. It was hard for them after my brother-in-law had died. I helped them in their hill fields near the relocation site, but the Burmese troops at Kunhing forced all the relocated villagers in Ta Sae to work for them. There are about 60 households in Ta Sae, and every 5 days, one person from every household had to go and work for the Burmese military. I had to go and

work for them too. I was made to work on their peanut and corn fields. These were fields which had been confiscated from the local people. The crops were sold to make money for the army. We were not given any food or water when we went to work. There were also children as young as eight years old forced to work. There were soldiers keeping guard. They beat people if they did not work hard enough.

It was hard for people in the relocation site to survive. Some of them would sneak back to plant their old fields, but if they were caught, they were shot, like my brother-in-law.

So I only stayed a few weeks in Kunhing. There was no way I could support my family. I came back with my wife and my younger brother and sister again. It cost us 30,000 *kyat* to travel there and back. I only got back to Thailand five days ago. I haven't managed to find work yet. I don't know what I will do.

I worry for the future of my younger brother and sister. I cannot afford to send them to school in Thailand. The older boy, who is eight years old, is disabled in one leg. It happened after we had been relocated to near Kunhing. He got sick one day and my wife took him to a quack doctor, who injected him in his leg. His leg got infected and swollen, and since then he can't bend his foot properly. If there was a refugee camp for Shans, I would go and stay there.

Interview: 47: Extra-judicial Killing, Torture, Life as illegal migrant worker

Name:	"Sai Jan"
Sex:	Male
Age:	27
Ethnicity:	Shan
Occupation:	Farmer
Marital status:	Married, 1 child aged 1 year
Address:	Nong Pha, Nong Hee tract, Kengtong Township, Shan State
Date of interview:	January 2, 2000
Place of interview:	Fang district, Northern Chiang Mai province, Thailand
Source:	SHRF

My village was forcibly relocated by the Burmese troops to Wiang Kao, near Kengtong, in March 1996. I stayed there over three years. We weren't allowed back to our old fields, but I managed to plant some new fields near Tong Long.

I came to Thailand on November 10, 1999. I came because of the Burmese troops. They killed my brother and my father. My brother was taken to be a porter in November 1998. He was called Ing Ta, aged 32. He was married with one seven-year-old child. He was taken by SPDC IB 65 from Murng Nai. He was taken to Kho Lam. We heard from some relatives that he had been too tired to carry on walking and was beaten to death.

My father died just a few months ago. He was 62 years old. His name was Loong Or. He had gone to catch fish in the Nam Teng river near our old village when he was caught by Burmese troops. They took him to their camp and beat him all over. He was all bruised and swollen. When he came back to our home he became very ill, and finally he died.

After this, I decided to come to Thailand. I thought I too would die if I did not come. I came

with my wife and child, and also my old mother. When we came to Thailand it was right at the time when the police were arresting everybody. I found work in an onion field at Mon Pin, but we did not dare stay at the field. We went to sleep in a lychee orchard about 2 kilometres away. We just put up a plastic sheet and slept under it. We were very afraid of the police.

My wife also worked. She carried the baby with her. But even so, we could not afford to support my mother. We had to send her to stay with some of our other relatives in the Fang area.

Now, I am still working in an onion field. On the days I work I can get 70 *baht* a day. I have managed to pay the 200 *baht* protection fee, so now I don't have to hide anymore at night. But I still don't dare go out in the road. Also I don't have enough money to support my mother, so I can't bring her to stay with us.

Some days I have to spray herbicide on the onion fields. I wear a mask, but now I'm feeling quite sick. If there was a refugee camp for Shans, I would go and stay there.

Interview: 48: Forced Labor, Forced Porters, Life as illegal migrant worker

Name:	"Loong Mart"
Sex:	Male
Age:	56
Ethnicity:	Shan
Occupation:	Farmer
Marital status:	Married, two children aged 7 and 5 years old
Address:	Nam Wan, Nar Boi tract, Laikha Township, Shan State
Date of interview:	January 2, 2000
Place of interview:	Fang district, Northern Chiang Mai province, Thailand
Source:	SHRF

Our village was relocated to Kho Lam relocation site in 1997. I spent one year in Kho Lam but we weren't allowed back to our old fields and we were forced to work for the Burmese military, building their new camp, so I moved with my family to the village of Na Kong Moo (inside Shan State near the Thai border, opposite Fang). I stayed there for two years, working as a labourer on other people's fields. But in 1999 more Burmese troops began moving into the area, and they forced people to build their new camp. Every household had to provide one person every ten days, either to work on their camp or to be a porter. I was taken many times. I could not bear it, so finally I decided to move to Thailand.

During November I was working in an onion field near Mon Bin Ner. We used to stay in a lychee orchard near the field, but we didn't dare stay there in case we were arrested, so we had to go and sleep in some fields far from the road. It took us about half an hour to walk there.

Now I have paid 200 *baht* as a "protection fee" so we dare sleep where we used to. But we are still scared. It's normal. Even though I've paid 200 *baht* I know I can still be arrested. I haven't got a card or anything. And I can't speak Thai properly, so I can't explain things if I get arrested. If there was a refugee camp for Shans, I would go and stay there.

Interview: 49: Relocation, concentration camp, Forced labour, Torture, Livlihood

Name:	Sae Rei
Sex:	Male
Age:	56
Ethnicity:	Karenni
Religion:	Christian, Baptist
Occupation:	Farmer
Martial Status	married with seven children
Address:	Bae Ngaw concentration camp, Loikaw township, Karenni
Date of interview:	March 14, 2000
Place of interview:	Karenni Camp (2), Thailand
Source:	HRDU

I was originally from Dri Dah in Shadaw Township. My village was relocated last year to Bae Ngaw camp, which is 20 miles from Loikaw. I moved to the camp because I thought I would be able to survive. Villagers from Daw Tahaw, Daw Say, Daw Kalaw, Daw Mu Lae and Dri Dah moved to Bae Ngaw at the same time.

I left my village (the relocation camp) on March 9, 2000 because I could no longer face the hardship created by the military. We were like the prisoners in detention. The troops monitoring us did not allow us to go and work on the farms we had outside of the camp. When the troops found someone outside the camp or on the way to their farm, they were rounded up and detained at the military barracks. An outpost from IB 54 was responsible for security and monitoring the movement of the people in the camp. They also deployed many informers in the village so that we felt like we were watched 24 hours in a day. Those who got arrested by the troops were severely interrogated and detained at the military bases in Loikaw. No one was allowed to pay a visit during the detention unless they paid a big amount of money.

There were regular demands in the concentration camp of forced labor for the military. People, mostly men, living in the village are subjected to unpaid labor for the military battalions nearby and even those in Loikaw. Whenever the military required the civilians for forced labor, they sent out an order to the headman and ordered him to provide the required number of people on the specific time and date. However, sometimes the troops came by surprise and rounded up people randomly to porter. In December 1999, three villagers: Tho Rei, Day Rei and Khu Rei, all over 30 years old, were taken as porters by troops from IB 54. During their time labouring as porters, they were accused of being supporters of the KNPP, then tortured and put into stocks at IB 54 base in Likaw. At of the time I left, none of them had been released. I heard Ku Rei died due to the severe torture by the soldiers.

I have done forced labor several times for the military outpost of IB 54 in Daw Ta Hae village. Our village in the camp had to provide labour at least ten times every month. I had to go at least once a month. If I was not available, my wife or my children had to go instead. Some children were as young as 10 years old. Most work was for one day at the military outpost. I was able to go early morning and return by night. Then in mid 1999 the outpost was moved to Htee Sakhan village, which was longer distance from my village. It

took three hours to get there. Work included digging trenches, repairing barracks, cutting trees, and collecting firewood. I did not have any experience of being beaten by the troops personally. But the soldiers always verbally abused us. They called us "Doggie-Kayah" and told that we were lazy so they were teaching us a lesson about hard work. We had to bring our own food. Only one hour at mid-day was allowed for taking a break.

KNPP troops attacked the SPDC military column on February 6, 2000 near Lae Phon village. On the next day, February 7, the troops from IB 54 came into Bae Ngaw village where people were gathering for a funeral. They troops attempted to arrest all men they found, but people ran away. Some unfortunate men were rounded up. They were Soe Rei, aged 33, Say Pae, aged 30, Par Rei aged 30, Nga Rei aged 32 who was a pastor, Sar Rei aged 20 and Har Rei aged 35. All were beaten upon their arrest and then taken to the military base of IB 54 in Loikaw. They were tied up with ropes and then beaten on their backs the entire way. The troops accused them of having connection with the KNPP troops that attacked the SPDC troops.

After this arrest, the villagers began fleeing from the village. I also thought of moving because I did not have time to work for my family due to the constant forced labor demands by the authorities. We had to sell our cattle in order to make money for living. We had nothing left and knew we would end up in detention one day if we stayed in the village any longer. We discussed this with our friends and finally decided to leave at night. About 20 households came together. No house was left behind when we finally moved out at the beginning of March.

We could not walk straight to the border. We went hiding in the forest in the daytime to avoid the SPDC troops. Some were very sick due to the malnutrition. We took some rice but it was not enough. I know four people who died on the way. They were Bu Mei (female, aged 43), Lee Mai (single female, aged over 20) Pae Mo (female, aged 6) and Ru Mai (female, aged 3) from my village. They died of malaria. My children were sick but they are all right now. I have no idea what I am going to do next.

Interview: 50: relocation camp, arrest, forced labour

Name:	Mae Rei
Sex:	Male
Age:	38
Ethnicity:	Karenni
Religion:	Christian, Animist
Occupation:	Farmer
Martial status:	married
Address:	Bae Ngaw concentration camp, Loikaw township, Karenni
Date of interview:	March 14, 2000
Place of interview:	Karenni Camp (2), Thailand
Source:	HRDU

I was originally from Bae Ngaw. Four years ago, many new people moved to my village near Loikaw. It has become crowded since then. The number of households reached 170 after they arrived. When they first came, they stayed with their friends or relatives and

then they built their own houses. The military did not provide anything for these relocated people. They had to collect the things required for building houses by them-selves. No food supplies were given. After a while, the new people were allowed to work on farms, provided they were not far from the camp. Recently though, before we came here, the troops did not even allow us to go to the farms close to the camp. The soldiers told us that they would arrest and imprison anyone found outside of the camp.

There was no SPDC military outpost near my village until the new people moved in. Then troops set up an outpost in Daw Ta Hek village not far from my village, and the demand for forced labor started when the military moved in. The people were ordered to build new bunkers, barracks and buildings in the new camp. The soldiers only had to send a letter with orders to the headman and then he had to collect the number of people mentioned in the letter.

Beginning in 1997, I spent most of my time on my farm rather than living in the village because the demand for forced labor and porters had become more frequent. My farm was far from the village and remote, and I felt safer staying on the farm than in the village. Only when there were no troops near the village, I would sneak into the village and stay with my family. Many male villagers lived like me. Near my farm, there were seven men including me who stayed and worked. We moved from place to place every year according to our traditional farming method and more importantly for security. I heard many of my friends who had stayed in the village had been arrested and detained by the soldiers without any specific reason. Others lived in fear of harassment and arrest. Thus, I decided to stay on my farm. When I did return, I did not have any chance to spend more than one week. I would run away when I heard the military was coming to my village. I sent paddy to my family so that they had something to eat.

The atrocities increased in 1999. More troops were assigned to monitor the movement of the civilians in the area. The troops arrested anyone found outside the camp and detained them, alleging they were supporters of the armed group. Sometimes the troops came together with a Naga group (a splinter group from the KNPP now joined with the SPDC) and arrested the people whom the Naga reported were supporters of the KNPP. They came with the list of people to be arrested from the village.

After an arrest of villagers on February 6, 2000, people started to move from the village because they were afraid of being arrested with a charge of supporting the KNPP. No one knew who was on the list of suspected people. All the men went to hide in the forest after the first arrest. More men, including me, were arrested in the month of February at a wedding ceremony in Daw Sae village. We all were taken as porters and forced to carry goods to Nam Swan Pwint village which was a one hour walk from the village. Then we were taken to their outpost and photos were taken of each of us. I did not know the reason. The next day, the troops released us. The troops from IB 54 came back again near the end of February, and when they did not find any men in the village, they got angry and forced the women to gather in the middle of the village. All women including elderly and children were forced to sit under the scorching sun for a whole day. The troops also made a body search of the women. When they were satisfied the troops returned.

Some of my villagers moved to Lwelin and some moved to the Shan-Karenni border. First I tried to hide in the Shan-Karenni border. But the troops from IB 54 and the Naga group even came to that area and arrested Sae Rei and Thi Rei from my village who were

also hiding in the same area with me. They were accused of being part of the group of people arrested on February 7 at my village. I continued hiding in the area another ten days but decided to leave for a safer place.

At first there were only three households from my villages who moved away. While we were on the way, we found a big group of people from different places. I found some other villagers from my village in the group, so we joined with them. We walked to the Thai border and met the KNPP people on the border. They provided food and medicine. We did not have enough food on the way. It took at least a week to get here after we met the group of people.

Interview: 51: forced labour, theft, torture

Name:	Dae Rei
Sex:	Male
Age:	30
Ethnicity:	Karenni
Religion:	Christian, Roman Catholic
Occupation:	Farmer
Martial status:	Single
Address:	Daw Pa Pa village, Loikaw township, Karenni
Date of interview:	March 14, 2000
Place of interview:	Karenni Camp (2), Thailand
Source:	HRDU

Forced labor was very common in my village. The villagers had to frequently go and work in the military outpost. In 1999, the demand for forced labor increased. I had no time to work for my family and for myself. We were always on demand for free labor at the military outpost at Htee Sakhan village where an outpost of IB 54 was situated. My family was assigned to provide unpaid labor at least five times a month during 1999. It was a three-hour walk from my village. Each time, we had to go early in the morning and come back in late evening after all the work was done. Between 20-30 people went per time and brought their own food and material for work. Some women had to go as well because their husbands were not available and they could not afford to hire a substitute. The duties were various from digging trenches to building houses for the soldiers. Not only did we have to work free for the military, also the soldiers regularly took away our chicken and pigs without asking permission.

I came here before all the villagers in my village had left due to the recent arrests in February, 2000. Two days after an attack on the SPDC column at Lae Phon on February 6, over 150 troops of IB 54, LIB 250, 261, 423 and Naga groups led by Bo Ho Rei came to our village. The group was led by Captain Mya Myint from LIB 250. As soon as we heard they were coming, all the male villagers went out and hid in the jungle. The troops went from house to house and forced the people they found to gather in the school in the middle of village. Most were women but six were men from 15-55 years old. They were Ei Rei aged 34, Bu Rei aged 25, Ko Rei aged 18, Shar Rei 25, Nga Rei aged 20 and Ngee Rei, a Christian pastor aged 25. The men were separated from the rest of women. Their hands

were tied behind their backs, and then they were beaten with large wood sticks. They were also burned with the flame of a cigarette lighter. Then the male villagers were taken to Loi Lin by military truck. They were later sent to Loikaw and separately detained in the military bases in town.

Interview: 52: Forced labour, Extortion, Forced Portering, Torture, Arrest

Name:	Nae Rei
Sex:	Male
Age:	35
Ethnicity:	Karenni
Religion:	Animist
Occupation:	Farmer
Martial status:	Married with two children
Address:	Pae Law concentration camp, Loikaw township, Karenni
Date of interview:	March 14, 2000
Place of interview:	Karenni Camp (2), Thailand
Source:	HRDU

I was originally from Pae Law near Loikaw. Four years ago, about 100 households from Daw Karaw Ku, Daw Tayoke and Daw Sae moved to my village because of a relocation order by the SPDC. The number of households reached 200, but now only 50 are left. People have been moving out of the village due to the increasing military control and hardship upon them.

After the villagers from other villages moved in, the military troops from IB 72 came and set up their outpost in my village. There were always about 30 soldiers in that outpost. They were just stationed there and we were responsible for everything they needed. Various forms of forced demands and suppression followed after that. Order for forced labor at the military outpost was very frequent after the troops moved in. They demanded the villagers to collect bamboo for the construction of new buildings. We had to work for the construction of the new camp for a month. Then the building of fences followed. The troops ordered the villagers to build three fences around the camp. The soldiers were also notorious for stealing and killing animals raised by the villagers. During the summer, they ordered us to fetch water for their use in the outpost. They did not care whether we had cows or not to carry water from the stream outside of the village. They just ordered it. So we had to carry water by ourselves to the outpost. It was very tiresome.

We were also ordered to go with the troops and work as porters. Monthly my village had to provide two porters for the regular assignment. But when there was an emergency, the troops asked more people or rounded them up randomly. I myself went to porter in November 1999 with three other villagers. It was my last time. The soldiers ordered us to carry motar shells and rations for the troops to another village. It took five days because they moved around the area instead of going straight to the village. The last time, in March 1999, it took one month for me to go as a porter to another village. The troops took villagers from other villages as well. Altogether, 12 porters from various villages were ordered

to gather at the outpost of IB 72. Beating was common during the service and food was not given sufficiently. Rice with chilies and salt was only given two times per day. I had to carry ammunition and food along with the soldiers in the column. The soldiers kicked us from behind when we were not carrying well, particularly as we were climbing mountains. They also beat us with rifle butts.

People could go and work in their farm if it was not far from the village. Those who had farms far from the village were at risk to go there because the military has threatened that they would kill anyone found in the jungle. There were many landmines planted south of the motor road near my village in order to prevent an approach by the KNPP troops. No one dared to do anything in that area. Some villagers were killed last year because they stepped on landmines planted by the SPDC troops.

People were also ordered to contribute rice for the military every year. Each household was required to provide 2-3 baskets of rice per year, depending on the size of farm. Last year, we faced a big problem of shortage of rice because there had been a drought the previous year. We had hardly enough to eat for ourselves.

Interview: 53: Arrest, torture, forced portering

Name:	Har Rei
Sex:	Male
Age:	35
Ethnicity:	Karenni
Religion:	Christian, Roman Catholic
Occupation:	Farmer
Martial status:	Married with five children
Address:	Bae Ngaw concentration site, Loikaw township, Karenni
Date of interview:	March 14, 2000
Place of interview:	Karenni Camp (2), Thailand
Source:	HRDU

After fighting between the SPDC and KNPP troops near Lae Phon village on February 6, 2000, I was arrested by a combined troops of LIB 250, 261, IB 54 and Naga group in the forest while I was collecting firewood for my family. The troops arrested me because they suspected me of being a informer of the KNPP. They tied my hands with rope behind my back and interrogated me as to where the KNPP troops were, how many of them there were, and what weapons they had, etc. etc. I did not know anything about them so I sincerely answered that I did not know. I said I only heard about the fighting like them. They did not believe and started to beat me. Three soldiers and one officer beat my head with rifle butts, and punched my face. I got a cut on my head and blood was running down from my nose. When I fell down, they kicked my head with military boots. My hearing is still bad due to this. Then they tied my hands with rope behind my back and forced me to go along with him. I was not given any food or water until we arrived Bae Ngaw. When we got there in the evening, I was put in one house and given water. At night, the troops arrested more people. They were Par Rei, Thi Pae, Kho Rei and Nga Rei, all from Bae Ngaw, my village. They were arrested because the Naga group told the SPDC that these people were

supporters of the KNPP. We all were taken to the military base of IB 54 in Loikaw, then I was taken to Loilin. The rest were left at IB 54. I spent one night in Loilin with continuous torture the whole night. They forced me to confess that I was a member of the KNPP and involved in the recent fighting. They told me that they never believe in the villagers from Bae Ngaw and accused us to being sympathizers of the KNPP. A handful of rice was given and no medicine was provided even when my body was swelled and bleeding.

On the next day, I was taken with the military column. I was surprised when they did not order me to carry thing like other porters. There were 20-30 porters with the column. Then I realized that they took me as a guide to the KNPP hideouts in the region. The column moved around the area and forced me to show the hideouts of the KNPP that I really did not know. The troops moved around the Htee Lon village tract for seven days and I had to go along with them. Everyday I was beaten up by the troops, sometime very harshly. The soldiers beat me with the sticks and threatened to stab me with knives. Among the porters with the column, Karenni porters were treated worse than Burmese porters. and were always subjected to torture. The soldiers said we deserved that kind of bad treatment because the Karenni armed group had attacked them. When the troops found men on the way, they rounded them up and transferred them to other columns to be used later as porters.

During my time with them, I was tied with a rope that was attached to the belt of soldier in front of me. This was to prevent me from escaping. On the seventh day, the soldier responsible for me went to use the toilet. He untied my rope and ordered me to follow another soldier. I realized the soldier was carrying artillery, and assumed that he could not follow me if I ran away so I decided to run away. When I ran away, the soldiers tried to follow after me but I was able to escape. I did not go back straight to my village and hid in the jungle one night. When I went back, my family told me that the soldiers had come to my village. My family was fortunately they were not there at the time. One woman, who was my relative, was slashed on her face because she was not able to answer the questions of the soldiers. She was Par Mei, aged 22 and mother of two.

I immediately took my wife and children and hid in the jungle. Other villagers also moved out from the village. Some went to the Karenni-Shan border. After hiding in the jungle for about two weeks, I decided to move to a better place. No one was left in the village. It took us ten days to reach the border and then come here. One the way my youngest son and my wife got ill. Both are now in hospital and still vomiting. I don't know what I should do next. If the Thai authorities do not allow us to take refuge, I will be in big trouble. I don't dare go back home.

Interview: 54: Arrest, torture, forced portering

Name:	Oo Rei
Sex:	Male
Age:	26
Ethnicity:	Karenni
Religion:	Christian, Roman Catholic
Occupation:	Farmer
Martial status:	Married with two children

Address:	Bae Ngaw concentration site, Loikaw township, Karenni
Date of interview:	March 14, 2000
Place of interview:	Karenni Camp (2), Thailand
Source:	HRDU

When the military came into my village on February 8, I was sick and could not get up. I did not know which battalion they belonged to.

First the soldiers asked my female friend to bring me and I was not able to come. They sent for me three times and finally I had to go and see the officer in the middle of the village. I was so sick that time and I could not even drink water. I was left behind when most males went out hiding as the troops arrived. I found all women were sitting together under the sun as well as some men in a separate place. They were Soe Rei aged 50, Hla Pe aged 30, Raw Dei aged 30, Plu Rei aged 20, Law Rei, one Shan boy, one unidentified man from another village and Khee Mai, a woman from my village. They were tied with rope and I was ordered to join them. The soldiers then also tied me up with rope. The soldiers did not ask us any questions about our background. They asked the village headman, whose face was slashed when his answers did not satisfy the troops. Then we were taken to Loilin and arrived in the afternoon. The military took us then to Loikaw by truck. People were put in separate places. Soe Rei, Hla Pe, Pla Rei and myself were put in to a cell at the military base of IB 54. There were four cells in one building full of men. In my room, there were eight men including the four of us. I did not know who they were and why they got arrested. The room was only good enough for four persons and it was so crowded because eight persons were put in one room. There was a toilet pot in one room and the soldiers allowed one time per day to go out to clean the toilet pot. When we were out, we found other prisoners in three other rooms.

The day after our arrival, we were singled out one by one and took into another room for interrogation. We were taken with our hands tied. Four soldiers started beating, punching and kicking as soon as I was in the room. They all were in plain clothes and asked my involvement in the KNPP and the place where KNPP was hiding. I actually did not know anything so I sincerely said I did not know. They accused me of organizing to buy weapons for the KNPP, which I actually did not do. They tortured me daily from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m in various forms. My other friends told me that they were given electric shock, but I was not. I think I was younger than the others. But I do not know exactly. The cruel treatment continued for three days. I was in so much pain and my face was swollen. I could not sleep due to the injuries I received. I spent two weeks there. Not a single bath was allowed. One plate of rice was given per meal and three meals per day. As the room was so crowed, we could not sleep comfortably. Space was only enough to sit down. The others spoke a different Karenni language so we could not communicate with each other.

After two weeks, we were transferred to a police station in Loikaw. The police did not provide any food for the inmates in the police station. But we were allowed to see visitors so they could send food. The police asked 18,000 *kyat* for each to be released. My relatives gave money for my release. When I arrived back, I found one 60-year-old elder left in the village. The village was like a ghost village. All the villagers had left because they were afraid of being arrested. So I followed after the villagers who left before me. I met my family on the way and it took two weeks to get here.

I don't want to go back because my life will be in great danger.

Interview: 55: Trafficking of women and children, persuasion to work in a brothel

Names:	Hnin Hnin, Moe Moe Aye
Sex:	Female
Ages:	15, 14
Ethnicity:	Mon
Occupation of parents:	Fisherman
Marital Status:	Single
Address:	Ohn Pin Su village, Kawkareik District, Karen State,
Education:	Hnin Hnin has been to 2nd grade primary shool, and Moe Moe Aye has never been to school.
Date of Interview:	April 20, 2000
Place of Interview:	A monastery, Mae Sot, Tak, Thailand.
Source:	KIC

Q: How did both of you arrive here?
A: We are friends and living in the same village. Our parents are fishermen. It is hard to survive. Sometimes, we didn't have enough food. Hnin Hnin has three brothes and sisters and Moe Moe Aye has four. Hnin Hnin is the eldest She has a brother and a sister. Moe Moe Aye has an elder sister and a younger brother and a sister . We used to go fishing with our fathers in the village and catch fish, prawns and lobsters and sell those at the market; and then buy rice, oil and some food for the whole family. Some days, it was O.K; but some days it wasn't. All the people in the village are fishermen. When Hnin Hnin turned ten years of age, her mother ran away from their family after arguing with her father. One of her younger brothers left with her mother, and Hnin Hnin remained with her father. When the time came when it was hard to survive in the village, one of the old men of the village told us that if we would like to go to Mae Sod with him, then he would find a job for us. We wanted to go, so we had to find 5,000 *kyat* for the cost of traveling. My father allowed me to sell my earrings and go with that old man. Before we arrived in Mae Sod , we stayed in Myawady about seven days. We had to stay inside all the time and got only one meal per day, because the old man complained that the money we had given him for travelling was not enough.

Q: How many people came with you and how long did it take?
A: There were some elder girls from nearby villages that came with us. They were three and we were two; all-together five of us. The trip didn't take long, but only staying in Myawady. We only knew each other after we met on the truck. Their ages were 18,20,22. They were also trying to find some jobs like us. We all had never been to Mae Sod before. When we arrived Myawady, the old man kept us at one of the houses that he knew, didn't allow us to go out, and fed us only one meal per day. Every day, he left in the very early morning and came back in the late evening, saying that he was trying to find jobs that we need. We got the meal only when he returned home, complaining how difficult it is to find work.

Q: Before you left the village, did the old man tell you what kind of jobs that you would be able to get here?
A: We were told that we would get work washing clothes, dishes, cleaning the house, and looking after babies, something like that . Once, we were at one of the houses, but the owner-woman only accepted the elder girl, age 20, from the five of us. She is pretty and the only one who got a job among us. The old man told us that he would try to find some jobs here in Mae Sod for both of us, and asked the elder two girls about going to Bangkok. They said they would go if they could get the jobs at the same house and not have to stay separately. He scolded them that they would not stay separately, and then sent them back to Myawady because both of them were afraid to stay separately. He continued to keep us at that house and told us that he would try to find some household jobs for us. One day, one woman came and looked at us, but she didn't like us. Then one day, he took us to the market and told us to wait for him near one of the shops while he went to buy some cigarettes. We waited and waited about 2 hours, then we knew he had left us. We didn't know the place. We did not learn anyone. We just walked past person after person.

Q: What happened then?
A: We didn't know where we were . And we both were very hungry too. We were talking in our Mon language. Then a girl much older then us came to us and spoke in Mon . She's also Mon . She asked us where we lived , and if we wanted to get jobs, make a lot of money, and stay with her. We asked what kind of job it was and where it was. She told us it was at one of the brothels. We told her we didn't want to do that. She still insisted that we go with her. We ran away from her and didn't know where to go. We didn't know how to get back to Myawady. We also heard policemen were arresting migrant workers from Burma. We were afraid, and just cried and cried. Then we met one young man. He is also Mon. We told him about our situation, and he took us to the monastery where he worked as a construction worker. He told the abbot about us, and abbot allowed us to stay at the monastery for a while until we had the chance to go back home.

Q: Do you still want to work here in Mae Sod or go back to your village?
A: We want to go back to our village, we will try to find some work there. We don't want to work here. Hnin Hnin was separated from her mother since she was young , so she wants to see her mother. She's heard that her mother is living in the town next to here. But people say there are some policemen watching and arresting people on the way there, so we don't dare to go there. Now, we will go back to our village. We can fish, plough, and plant.

Q: How will you go back without money?
A: We don't know. we don't have any money. We were starving, but we didn't dare to ask anybody for food. We just drank water to soothe our hunger. Now, here, we get enough food, and more than that sometimes we get some snacks, too. The abbot told us to go back home; that if we didn't we would experience trouble. We assured him that we are going back home. We will do what ever we are able to do in our village.

SLECTED SLORC/SPDC 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 Chairman and Secretaries of Village Peace and Development Council (Village PDC) and from the Township Peace and Development Council (Township PDC). These are local levels of SPDC administration. A "village tract" includes all the villages in sub-area of the township. While the Township PDC consists of SPDC officials under direct military control, the Village PDC members are appointed, often against their will, by the local military. They are responsible for providing forced labors, money, materials, intelligence, etc. as demanded by the military and the Township PDC, and they are the first to be arrested and tortured if they fail to do so. These orders show the systematic, widespread, and constistent nature of SLORC abuse 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 'xxx' or 'yyy'.

Order # 1

Date: January 2, 1999

To Chairman
xxx village

A porter from your village left without our knowledge so bring him back tomorrow early morning.

[sd.]
Camp commander
Phar Pya camp

Order # 2

To
xxx village headman

Send ten male villagers with tools for renovation of the army camp at early morning on January 22, 1999. Without fail.

[sd.]
Captain Aung Htun Oo
IB 310

Order #3

Stamp:
LIB 310
Division (2)
Date: January 29, 1999

To

Village headman
xxxxxx village track

Ref: Invitation to meeting

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, you must attend the meeting at 10 a.m. at Phar Pya village on January 31. This meeting will discuss the military operation and regional security.

Note: Bring leaders of your wards and quarters.

[sd.]
For
Division Commander
Tin Maung Win
Division (2)

Order # 4

Date: February 3, 99

No (1) Training Camp
Phaya Phyu
Sakakha (7)

Village headman
xxxx village

Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, you are invited to attend the meeting on behalf of your village at 8 A.M on February 5, 99 for the preparation of Union Day celebration on the February 12.

Note: Bring a fund for the sports competition together with you.

[sd.]

(for) Camp commander
Training Camp

Order # 5

Stamp:
LIB 310
Intelligence
Date: February 4, 1999

To,
Chairman
xxxx village

Be informed that you must provide five 4" x 2" x 10 " logs of hardwood not later than February 7, 1999 to our military column.

[sd.]
Intelligence office
LIB 310
Taung Dee

Order # 6

LIB 284
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi
Letter 284/7/Oo 3
Date: February 6, 1999

Stamp:
LIB 284
Supply Department

To
Chairman/ village headman
Xxxx village
Kyar-ein village tract

Subject: selling of quota paddy on time and lists of those who have failed to sell

(1) According to the program of purchasing 30,000 baskets of paddy from Kyar-ein-seik-kyi township, we have been assigned quota paddy to each village tracts respectively. However, some villages have yet to sell their quota even after they have been repeatedly informed to comply. As of February 3, only the following amount of paddy have been purchased.

	Quota amount	purchased amount	remaining to sell
(a) Kyar-ein-seik-gyi	1680	394.5	1285.5
(b) Thone Tai	780	37	743
(c) Ta Gay	450	51.5	398.5
(d) Shwe Doe	1593	140	1453
(e) Pa-an gone	276	77	199
(f) Shwe Lin	780	132.5	649.5
(g) U Chun Gone	375	66	309

(2) Thus, be informed to sell the quota paddy immediately and those who have yet to sell the quota paddy must send their remaining amount of quota to LIB 284 camp not later then February 10, 1999. And if you fail, it is your village's responsibility.

[sd.]
(for) Battalion Commander

cc.
No. (2) Military Strategy Command (Kyar-ein-seik-kyi based)
Township PDC (Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town)

Order # 7

Date: February 24, 99

Stamped:
No (1) Training Camp
Phaya Phyu
Sakakha (7)

Ref: Traveling of villagers

(1) Villagers from the villagers under our camp are required to bring the permission of the village chairmen together with their ID cards while traveling outside for cutting woods and going to their farms.
(2) These requirements also implied to those who stay over-night in other villages. Those who is not able to show these documents will be taken an action by the authorities.
(3) Village headmen are ordered to allow visitors to stay in village only after they are able to show these documents. Never allow the visitors those who fails to show these documents to stay in the village. If this is discover, you will be held responsible for the further consequence.

[sd.]
(for Training in-charge)
No. (7) Operation Control Headquarters

Order # 8

Stamp:
LIB 284
Intelligence Department
Date: February 26, 1999, LIB 284

To Chairman
xxxxx

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

You are invited to attend the meeting without fail at the headquarters of LIB 284 at 10 a.m. on February 28, 1999.
Note: You will be responsible for failure to attend.

[sd.]
Battalion Commander
For

Order # 9

Stamp:
LIB 546
Column (1)

To,
xxxxxxx
xxxxxxx village

Ref: Come and see me at our column

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, you must inquire where the column is and come to see me. Bring 20 viss of pork. If you can't get the pork, leave cash for it at woman villagehead of xxxx village. If possible come and see me in person.

[sd.]
Intelligence officer
LIB 546

Order # 10

Stamp:
LIB 283
Date: March 1, 1999

To,
Ward (1/2/3/4/5/6) xxxx village
From,
LIB 283

(1) For an emergency need, collect and send 20 frontline laborers and 4 bullock-carts at 2 p.m. on March 1.

(a) Ward (1/2/3/6)	three persons each
(b) Ward (4/5)	four persons each
(c) xxx village	four bullock-carts

(2) Be informed to send before the deadline.

IMPORTANT

[sd.]
Chief commander (support)
Date: March 1, 1999

Order # 11

Burmese Agricultural Product Trading
Kyar-Ein-Seik-Kyi township Paddy Purchasing Center
Kyar-Ein-Seik-Kyi township

Letter No. 62/Paddy center/ 99
Date: March 22, 1999

To
Chairman
xxxxxx village
xxxxx village track

Subject: Paddy purchasing program in expression of support for the 54th Armed Forces Day

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, we learnt that you have only sold 105 baskets of rice to the Myoma Paddy Purchasing Center in Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town, out of your quota of 450 baskets as of March 22, 1999.

Your are, therefore to sell ten baskets from the remaining 345 baskets in expression of support for the 54th Armed Forces Day before March 35, as ordered by the superior.

If you have any difficulty for transportation of paddy from your village, came and discuss with the leader of paddy purchasing team (or) chief of the paddy center.

After selling your quota paddy, we will inform you of the next quota for your village. If your fail to sell the quota paddy, we will take a action assigned upon us by the superior.

As ordered,

[sd.]
Chief of Center
Myoma Paddy Purchasing Center
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi

cc.
(1) Leader of paddy purchasing group, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi
(2)Township manager, Burmese Agricultural Product Trading
(1) receipt

Order # 12

Stamped:
No (1) Training Camp
Phaya Phyu
Sakakha (7)

Date: April 3, 99

To
Village headman
xxxx village

Ref: Summon to come to the camp

Regarding the above-mention matter, you are informed to come to Daw Tahay military camp at 7 A.m on April 4, 99.

If you fail to show up, you are informed that strict legal action will be taken.

[sd.]
(for) Camp Commander
Daw Tahay camp

Order # 13

Stamp:
IB 284
Column (2) Headquarters

Date: April 17, 1999

To Chairman

Subject: Summon to come and see us

As soon as you receive this, come and see me at the camp immediately. You are entirely responsible for all consequences if you fail to come.

[sd.}
Second Lt. Kyi Win
IB 284, Column (2)

Order # 14

Stamp:

IB 231
Military Commander Department

To
Village headman
xxxx village

This is a last warning. Bring four porters today as soon as you get this message.
Date: April 25, 1999
Place: Dan Shay village

[sd.]
Column office
IB. 231

Order # 15

To

Village headman
xxxxx village

Date: April 27, 1999

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

In order to discuss the renovation of the camp and to meet the new commander of the camp, come without fail to Ta Mile Gone camp at 12 on April 29, 1999.

[sd.]
Camp Commander
Ta Mile Gone camp
IB 231

Order # 16

Stamp:
IB 231
Military Commander Department

To
Village headman
xxxx village

This is the last warning. Send four porter today (April 27, 1999) without fail. You will be entirely responsible for the consequences if you fail.

Date: April 27, 1999
Place: Dan Shay village

[sd.]
Column office
IB 231

Order # 17

Date: May 4, 1999

To
Chairman
xxxx village

Send ten porters with their own knives and report to us at 7 a.m. tomorrow .

[sd.]
Captain Kyi Toe
Phar Pya
LIB 310

Order # 18

Stamp:
Karen Peace Troop
Letter No.
Date.
Haung Tharaw Special Region

Date
May 5, 1999

To,
Chairman
Xxxx village
We are writing to inform you to send 100 viss of charcoal immediately.

Captain Kyaw Dah
Division Commander
Karen PEace group
Haung Tharaw Special Region
Thanpara village

Order # 21

Date: May 19, 1999

To Chairman
xxxxx village

Subject: Changing porter

Being replacements for two porters from your village today at Taung Wai village.

[sd.]
Column Commander
For
LIB 202

Order # 20

Date: May 19, 1999

To
Chairwoman
xxxx village

Mother, I am writing to inform you that you should behave yourselves. When will you send the porters from your village. I can't tolerate anymore. I informed you with a messenger from your villager to change the porters. But you did not pay attention. I have written three letters and this letter will be the last one. This is the second reminds to change your porter at Taung Wai village to day without fail.

Note: Chairwoman or member must come along.

Column commander
LIB 202
Taung Wai

Order # 21

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town

Township PDC
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town
Letter No. 5/43-2/ Oo 1
Date: May 26, 1999

To
Village headman
Xxxxx village PDC
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town

Subject: Providing labor for Kyar-ein-seik-kyi and Chaung Hnakwa road and around Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town

We have already assigned the number of people who have to provide labor for Kyar-ein-seik-kyi and Chaung Hnakwa road and around Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town.

Hence, 10 persons from your township/village tracts must come to the LIB 283 camp at 7 a.m. on June 1, 99 (Tuesday) with their own knives, shovels and other tools for the work, as well as food for four days.

[sd.]
Chairman
(for)
Saw Ei Not, Secretary)

cc-
Military Strategy group, based in Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town
LIB 32, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town
Office copy
Circulation

Order # 22

Stamp:
Karen Peace Force
Haung Tharaw Special Region

To
Chairman

xxxx village
I am writing to request you to provide one bottle of cooking oil, one pocket of charoots, one pack of seasoning powder, half viss of onion and four tins of rice with this messenger.

With thank,

Captain Than Htun
Division (2) Commander
Central Security Column

Order # 23

Stamp:
LIB 546
Column (1)
Date: June 7, 1999

To,
xxxxx
Chairman
xxxxxx village

Ref: Come and see me at military column
Regarding the above-mentioned matter, come and see me at our column as soon as possible. Though you had informed us that you were in hospital but we have leant that you were at home. If you are not in good health, send one representative and one porter with food for three days without fail.

[sd]

Order # 24

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town

Stamp:
LIB 283
Battalion Office
LIB 283
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town
Letter No. 100/1/oo 1
Date: June 9, 1999

To Chairman
PDC
xxxx village

Subject: Sending Loke-are-pay (laborers)
Without failure, send ten males from your village to LIB 283 for above-mentioned purpose not later than 7 a.m. on June 10, 1999.

[sd.]
Battalion Commander
(for)

Order # 25

Stamp: LIB 546
Column (1)
Date: June 15, 1999

To
xxxx
xxxx village
Ref: Assist with pepper plants
Regarding the above-mentioned matter, bring some pepper plant for a cultivation project in our battalion and some durian fruits for gist. Send what is requested with messenger today. You don't have to send bananas anymore.

[sd.]
Intelligence Officer
LIB 546

Order # 26

Township Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi
Laterr No. 5/43-2/ Oo-1
Date: June 16, 1999

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi

To
Chairman/ village headman
xxxxx village
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi township

Subject: contributing labor to clear both side of Kyar-ein-seik-kyi and Chaung Nha Kwa motor road and around Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town

(1) Quota for the number of people to contribute labor for clearing both side of Kyar-ein-seik-kyi and Chaung Nha Kwa motor road and around Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town have been allocated.
(2)Therefore, send 15 people from your ward/village with instruments and foods for four days to LIB. 284 bases, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi at 7 a.m. on June 18, 1999.

[sd.]
Chairman
For
Saw Ei Naw, secretary

cc-
Military Strategy Department (based), Kyar-ein-seik-kyi
LIB 284, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi
Office copy

Order # 27

Date: June 20, 99

To
Village headman
xxx village
Htee Sae Kha village tract

In order to replace the ruining electric poles around the military compounds in Kayah State, your village is ordered to provide three 23ft long wood to Loilin Lay Police Station not later than June 25 , 1999.

Stamped:
Myanmar Police Force

Loilin Lay Police Station, Loikaw township.

[sd.]
Station Officer
Loilin Lay Police Station

Order # 28

To
Village headman
xxxx village

Date: June 22, 99

You are requested to provide two 40 ft x 18 ft for the construction of military bunkers at the Loilin Lay outpost of the IB 54. You must send this quota by June 28, 99.

Sincerely,
[sd.]
Captain Aung Kyi
Kyi. 28947
Camp commander
Loilin Lay camp
IB. 54 Frontline

Order # 29

Stamp:
Peace and development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi village

Date: 9-7-99

To
Chairman
Xxxxx village
Subject: participation in the competition for Township PDC's Chairman's Cup

Regarding the above-mentioned subject, you are hereby informed to send one soccer team from your village tract, without fail. Fines will be charged if you fail to send it. Also we inform villagers from your xxxx village to support 3,000 kyat for fund as well.

Remark: The opening day of soccer competition is July 15, 1999.

[sd.]
Chairman
Village Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein village

Order # 30

Stamp
IB 210
Military Commanding Department
Date: July 10, 1999

To
Chairman
xxxxx village

All villages except your village have provided the quota porters required for military column (1) of frontline LIB 210. We did not summon the porter to your village because your village is a small one. In return for our kindness, bring four pyi of rice and other foods as much as you can to the battalion not later than 3 p.m. today.

[sd.]
Intelligence officer
Frontline IB 210

Order # 31

Stamped:
Village PDC
Htee Lon village

Date: June 19, 99

Ref:

Collect 15 Kyats per each household in Htee Lone village track and bring it to the chairman by 20.

[sd.]
Chairman
Village PDC
Htee Lon village, Loikaw township

Order # 32

Stamped:
Village PDC
Htee Sae Kha

Date: July 17, 99

To
Village haedman

Ref: Digging pits in the village

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, each household in the village is ordered to dig 4 x 4 x 4 pit for making natural fertilizer not later than July 30, 99. The authorities will inspect later and punishment will be taken place for those to fail to do so.

[sd.]
Secretary
Village PDC
Htee Sae Kha village, Loikaw township

Order # 33

Stamp:
IB 230
Column (2)

Date: July 29, 1999

To Village headman
xxxxx village

As soon as you receive this message come and see me at Ain Pha Kyi village, Htee Wah Su village track together with one porter.

[sd.]
Commander
IB 230

Order # 34

Stamp:
LIB 238
Division (2)

To
Grandpa Village headman
xxxxxx

Date: August 2, 1999

In order to discuss porter matters come and see me at Ywa Tan Shay village as soon as you get this message.

Sincerely,
[sd.]
Captain Tin Ngwe

Order # 35

Stamp:
IB 230
Division (2)

Date: August 3, 1999

To
Grandpa village headman
xxxxx village

You did not come as told in the letter. So this time come and see me at Ywa Tan Shay village at once. I need to talk about porter matters. Tell the village headman from xxxx to come to see me today.

[sd.]

Order # 36

Stamp:
LIB 205
Military Commander Department

Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: summon for meeting

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, we have invited you (chairman) or your representative to attend a meeting at Kyar Ein village on August 4 for future activities. However, none of you showed. Therefore, you are ordered to come and meet me today. If you fail to come again, severe action will be taken against your village.

[sd.]
Intelligence officer
LIB 205

Order # 37

Stamp:
LIB 211
Column (1)
Date: August 8, 1999
Place: Mae Taket village

To
Chairman
xxxx village
Subject: Second time warning to provide porter

Ten porters from your two villages were requested for use in the wiping-out operation in the region by the front-line LIB 210, but you failed to provide them. This is the second and last warning to comply with the demand as soon as possible.

[sd.]
Intelligence Officer
LIB 210

Order # 38

Date: August 8, 99

To
village headman
xxxx village

Ref: Demanding bamboo
Send 200 bamboo for the emergency use of the camp not later than August 10. You will be held responsible if you fail to do so.

sincerely,

Htee Sae Kha camp
August 8, 99

Order # 39

Township Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi
Laterr No. 5/41-20/ Oo-6
Date: August 9, 1999

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi

To
Chairman/ village headman
xxxxx village
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi township

Subject: Invitation to the regular monthly meeting

(1) Monthly regular meetings are being held at Zami Hall since July 1999 for discussion between the military strategic commander and the township chairmen, village headmen and officials from township level.
(2) You are, therefore invited to attend without fail the meeting at 1 p.m. on August 31, at Zami Hall as well as to the regular meeting that is held on 30/31 every month.

[sd.]
Chairman
For
Saw Ei Naw, Secretary
cc-
- Military Strategy Department (based), Kyar-ein-seik-kyi
- officials from different departments, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi
- office receipt

Order # 40

Stamp:
IB 230
Column (2)
Frontline IB 230
Temporarily at Ain Pa Gyi village

Letter No. 230/005/ Oo 1
Date: August 10, 1999

To,

Village headman
xxxxxxx village
Subject: Informing the closure of raod between Aung Hlaing and Ain Pa Kyi villages

(1) Be informed that no one from your village is to go to Ka Dote Hta village.
(2) Stop traveling and tending animals on the road between Aung Hlaing and Ain Pha Kyi as it was planted with landmines.
(3) Use the road to Nan Shwe Bon if you want to go the Kawkereik.
(4) We will inform you of the reopening date of road again.

[sd.]
Column commander
Frontline IB 230

Order # 41

Date: August 13, 99

To
village headman
xxxx village

(1) Bring 20 laborers with you at 7 A.M. on August 14, 99 together with shovels, knifes, ropes and rice.
(2) if you fail to do, you will be held responsible .
(3) Bring only male.

[sd.]
Commander
Htee Sae Kha camp

Order # 42

Stamp:
IB 284
Intelligence Department

To
Chairman

xxxxxx village

Date: August 21, 1999

The chairmen of the villages in this area failed to report the activities of the KUN, though you had information. You told us only when we asked you. Therefore, as soon as you receive this message, you are to report at 8 a.m. daily to the office of IB 284 whether or not you have new information. Be informed that severe action will be taken if you fail to do so.

[sd.]
Battalion Commander
For
IB 284 IB

Order # 43

Stamp:
LIB 283
Battalion Office

To,
Chairman
Xxxx village

Date: September 1, 1999

Subject: Asking laborers

Be informed to bring three laborers from your village for the LIB 283 at 9 a.m. on September 2, 1999.

[sd.]
Intelligence Officer
Captain Aung Naing Htay
Kyi-29082

Order # 44

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town

No. of letter: 5/42-27/ Oo-6
Date: September 1, 1999
To

Chairman
xxxxx village track
Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town

Subject: Collecting fund for traditional Burmese boxing competition

Ref: Ma Ya Ka (Karen)'s letter no. 5/3-105/Ye -2/ 1758 dated August 13, 1999

(1) Regarding the above-mentioned matter, a traditional Burmese boxing championship competition for the seven townships in Karen State organized by the Chairman of the Karen State PDC and selection of boxers to represent Karen State will be held on September 21, 1999 at State Stadium of the Karen State.
(2) In order to celebrate this event, Kyar-ein-seik-kyi township has been assigned to contribute fund. Therefore, Your village xxxxxxxx has been allocated 1000 *kyat* for contribution and you must give the quota to the office not later than September 10, 1999 without fail.

[sd.]
Chairman
For
Saw Ei Naw, Secretary

cc- office

Order # 45

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town

No. of letter: 5/42-28/ Oo-6
Date: September 3, 1999

To,
Chairman
xxxxx village track
Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town

Subject: Contribution to the expense of team for the paddy-plantation competition

Ref: Letter No. 5/41-28/Oo 6 issued by this office

(2) Though in the previous letter we have ordered the villages to contribute to the fund for the expense of the team for paddy-plantation competition in Pa-an town, it is learnt that

some villages have not given their contribution yet.

(3) Therefore, a contribution of 900 to the fund for this matter must be made to the Township SPDC office on September 15, 1999 (without) fail.

[sd.]
Chairman
For
Saw Ei Naw, Secretary

cc.
Office

Order # 46

(4)
Stamped:
Village PDC
Tee Sae Khar village

To
Village headman
xxxx village

Date: September 5, 99

Ref: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, to are invited to attend the meeting (without failure) as below to discuss the regional development matters.

Program
Date: September 6, 99
Time: 9:30 A.M
Place: Htee Sae Kha village school

Note: Bring the sentry fees with you.

[sd.]
Chairman
Village PDC
Htee Sae Kha village, Loikaw township

Order # 47

Stamp:
LIB 284
Division (2)

Date: September 14, 1999

To
Chairman
xxx village

Subject: Asking explanation
Regarding the above-mentioned matter, we are awaiting for your explanation for your absence at a meting on September 14, 1999. Come and give your explanation. You don't have to come if you are able not to communicate with us in Chaung Hna Kwa in the future.

[sd.]
Division Commander
Division (2)

Order # 48

Stamp:
LIB 283
Battalion Office

To,
Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: Asking for laborers

For important tasks at the LIB 283, you are informed to bring two laborers with you to the battalion at 1 p.m. on September 24, 1999.

[sd.]
Battalion Commander
(for)
Interim battalion commander
LIB 283

Letter No. 100/10/ Oo 1
Date: September 23, 1999

Order # 49

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
Kyar-ein-seik-kyi town
Instead of wireless message form

Date: 7 a.m., October 21, 1999

(1) In accordance with the wireless message received, you are informed to comply with the order to provide total of (40) bullock-carts from the areas mentioned on the list below.

(a) Ward (1)	3 carts
(b) Ward (2)	3
(c) Ward (3)	3
(d) Ward (4 & 5)	3
(e) Ward (6)	3
(f) Kya Khet Chaung	10
(g) Chaung Wa	5
(h) Thone Tai	2
(i) Shwe Doe	3
(j) Kyar-ein-gyi	5
total	40

(2) Carts from Wards as well as Kya-khet Chaung and Chaung Wa villages must be sent to Township Police Station at 4 p.m. on October 21, 99. And carts from Kyar-ein-gyi, Shwe Doe and Thone Tai villages must be sent to Kyar-ein-gyi at the same time mentioned above.
(3) Military columns are ordered to collect the carts from the villages.

[sd]
Chairman
(for)
Saw Ei Not, Secretary

IMPORTANT

Order # 50

Date: October 30, 1999

To,
Chairman
xxxx village

Subject: Inviting for a meeting

Regarding the above-mentioned matter, you are ordered to come by October 31 to attend a meeting at the LIB 283. You have failed several time even you are told to come repeatedly. If we have to come and bring you for this meeting, you will be subject to take action.

[sd.]
Interim Battalion Commander

Order # 51

Stamp:
LIB 283
Battalion Office

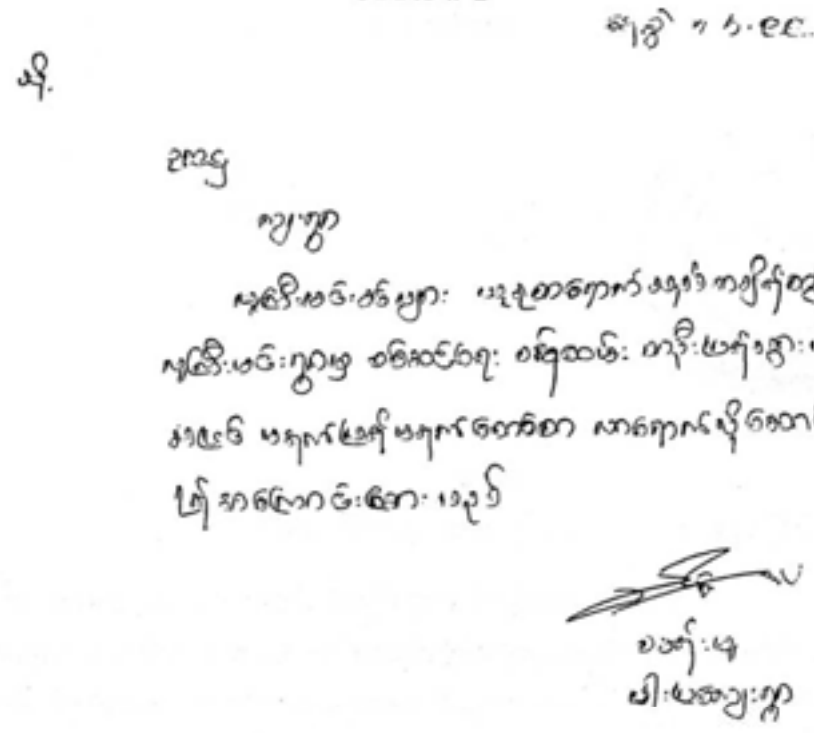
Date: November 2, 1999

To,
xxxx village chairman

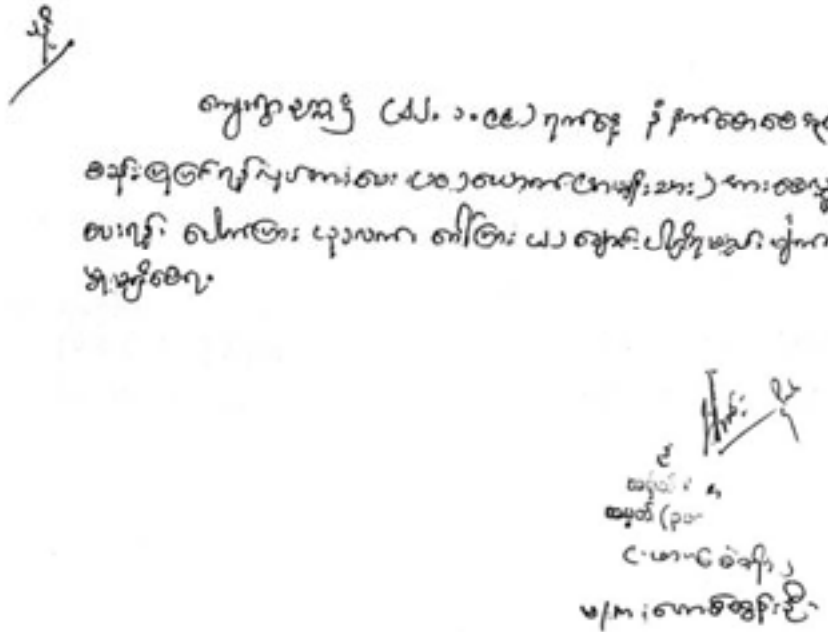
Subject:
You are informed to bring 50 wooden posts and 200 bamboo in person for the reconstruction of Kyar-ein camp in the morning of November 3, without failure.

[sd.]
Camp Commander
Kyar-ein camp

Order # 1

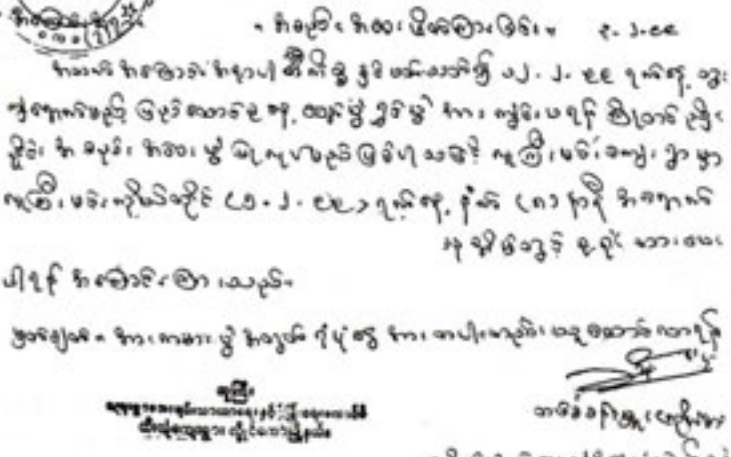


Order # 2

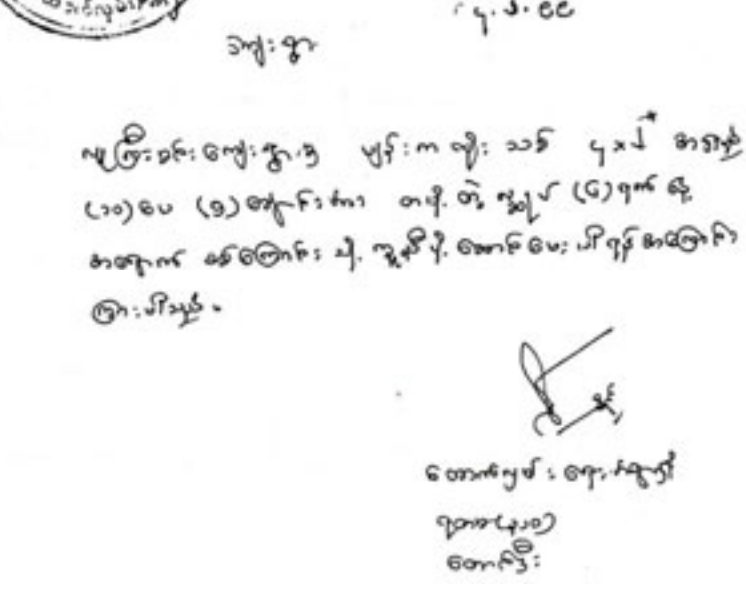


Order # 3

Order # 4



Order # 5



Order # 6

ဒုတိယတန်းမြို့နယ်တရားသူကြီးရုံး

ကြာဇမီးမြို့ ဖွင့်ရန်

အကြောင်းအရာ ။ ကာဝန်ကျေပွန်ရန် ရောင်းချရေးနှင့် ရောင်းချ ရန်ကုန်တိုင်းဒေသကြီးရောင်းချရေးခေါင်းဆောင်များ ပေးပို့ရေး

၁။ ကြာဇမီးမြို့နယ်အဖွဲ့ (၁၀၀၀၀) တင်းသီယူရန်လွှဲပြောင်းရမည့် ရန်ကုန်သီးနှံများ ရောင်းချရန်စီမံသည်ကို မှတ်ပြုသီယူရန် ရောင်းချရေးအဖွဲ့ များ ပေးပို့ရသည်ဖြစ်ရာ ရောင်း ရောင်းချရမည့်နေရာသို့ ရောက် ရောင်းချရမည့်ကုန်ပစ္စည်းများကို ရောင်းချရေးအဖွဲ့ များ ကာဝင်ဆောင်ရွက်ပေးပြီးမြောက်ရမည့်အပြင် ရောင်းချရမည့်ကုန်ပစ္စည်းများ ရောင်းချပြီးသည်နှင့် ရောင်းချရေးအဖွဲ့ များ ပြန်လာ ရောက်၊ ရောင်းချရမည့်ကုန်ပစ္စည်းများကို ကြာဇမီးမြို့နယ်ရှိ ရောင်းချရေးအဖွဲ့ သို့ ပေးပို့ရန် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

	သတ်မှတ်စံနှုန်း (တင်း)	ရောင်းချပြီး ဖြစ်ပြီး (တင်း)	ရောင်းချရန် ကျန်ရှိသည် (တင်း)
(က) ကြာဇမီးမြို့	၁၆၀၀	၃၆၄.၅	၁၂၀၅.၅
(ခ) ဆိုး ကိုင်	၆၀၀	၃၄	၅၆၆
(ဂ) တလေး	၄၅၀	၅၁.၅	၃၉၈.၅
(ဃ) ရွှေဘိုး	၀၅၆၃	၀၄၀	၀၄၅၃
(င) ဘားအိုးဆုံး	၂၄၆	၆၆	၀၆၆
(စ) ရွှေလီး	၆၀၀	၀၃၂.၅	၆၄၇.၅
(ဆ) ဦးပြန်ကုန်း	၃၄၅	၆၆	၃၀၆

၂။ ယခုပြင်ဆင် ရောင်းချရန်ကုန်ပစ္စည်းစာရင်းများအားလုံးနှင့် ရောင်းချပြီး ကုန်ပစ္စည်းများကို ရောင်းချရမည့်ကုန်ပစ္စည်း ကာဝင်သုတ်သင်ပေးသွားရန်ဦးဆောင်သူကို ရောင်းချရမည့်စာရင်း များကိုယူဆောင်(၂၀၄) လျှောင်ကားတစ်စင်းဖြင့် ၁၀၆၆၆ ကုန်ပစ္စည်း၊ ဝေလေးတင်လုံး (၁၀) ထည် ဖြင့် ယခု ရောက် ပေးပို့ရန်နှင့်ရှုတ်ကွက်ပါ။ ပုတ်ကွက်သည့် ကားပေါ်တွင်ကာဝန်ကျမည့် ဖြစ် ကြောင်းသတိ ပေးအပ် ကြောင်းကြားလိုပါသည်။

တစ်ရင်းမှ (ကွယ်)

မိတ္တူ-

ဆရာကြီး( ) စင်္ကာသာမဲ့(ဆ လျှော့) (ကြာဇမီးမြို့နယ်) ဖြို့ဇမီ ကားပေါ်သယ်ဆောင် ရောင်းချနိုင်ရန် ရောက်ကာဝင်ဆင်(ကြာဇမီးမြို့နယ်)

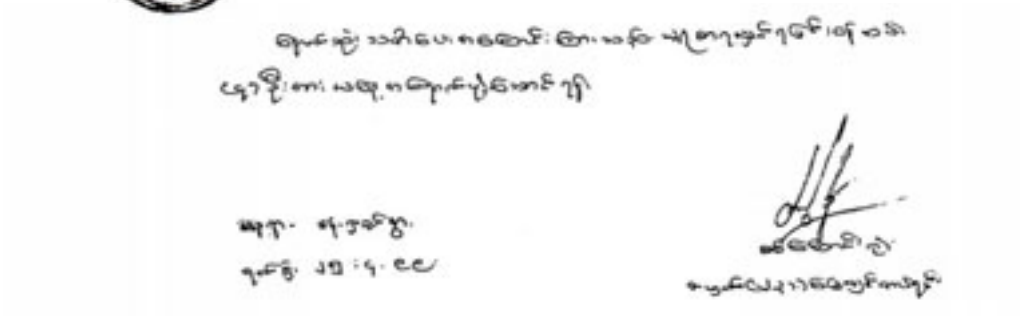
Order # 7

Order # 8

Order # 9

Order # 10

Order # 14



မြန်မာ့လယ်ယာသက်တန်ပန္နဲ့ရေးဝင်းဝယ်ရေး
ကြေးဇင်း၊ အိတ်ကြီး မြို့မဝပိုး အဝယ်ခိုင်
ကြေးဇင်း အိတ်ကြီး မြို့

Order # 11

ဝေးမှတ်၊ ရွှေ/စိပ်ကြွေ/၁၉၉
ရက် ဒဲ့ ဝဒ္ဒဂုဏရုန်ဂုဏ်၊ မတ်လ ၂၂ ရက်

သို့

ဦးဆွေ

---- ကျေး ရွာ

---- ကျေး ရွာအုပ်ချုပ်ရေး

ကြေးဇင်း အိတ်ကြီး မြို့နယ်

ဖဲ့ ကြေးဇင်း အရာရှိ။ (၁၄)ကြိမ် မြောက်အဟိမ ကောင်စီရွေးကြောက်ပွဲ ဆောင်ရွက်ခဲ့သော အခါ
မြို့ဝပိုး ရေးဝင်း ချုပ်ရန်ကိစ္စ

အထက်ဆိုပါ ကြေးဇင်း အရာရှိများ ကိုယ်စားပြုသည့် ဌာန၊ ကြေးဇင်း အိတ်ကြီး မြို့မဝပိုး ခိုင်မြဲဝယ်ယူရန်လျှောက်ထား သော်ဝပိုး မှလွဲကြီး ဦး ကျေး ရွာဆင်နွှဲခဲ့ကြောင်းထား သော်ဝပိုး ၂၅၅၀ တင်း အတွက်(၂၂ - ၃ - ၁၉၉၉) ရက် နေ့အထိ ဝပိုး တင်း ၁၀၉၅ ကိုသာ ရောင်းချထား ကြောင်း တွေ့ရှိရပါသည်။

သို့ပါ၍ ရေးဝင်း ချုပ်ရန်ကျန်ဝပိုး တင်း ၅၄၅ အတွက်ဝပိုး တင်း ၁၄၀ ကို(၁၄)ကြိမ် မြောက်တဟိမ ကောင်စီရွေးကြောက်ပွဲ ဆောင်ရွက်ခဲ့သော နေ့ရက်အထိ ရေးဝင်း ချုပ်ရန် အဖွဲ့ဝင်အသိမှတ်ပြုထား ပါသဖြင့်(၂၅) ရက် နေ့မတိုင်မီ ရေးဝင်း ချုပ်ရန် ကြေးဇင်း ကြေး ပါသည်။

ယုတ်ပြီး မင်း ကျေး ရွာမှဝပိုး များ သယ်ယူချုပ်ရန်အတွက်အခွင့်အလင်းရရှိ ရေးအတွက် ပါဝင်ကူညီဆောင်ရွက်ပေးရန် ဝယ်ယူ ရေး အဖွဲ့ဝင်များ ဒေသခံ(သို့မဟုတ်)ဝပိုး ခိုင်မြဲသူ ဒုတိယ ရေးဝင်း ရေးဝင်းများ ကိုယ်ကျွေးမွေးရန် ဝိုင်းဝန်းပါသည်။

သတ်မှတ်ဝပိုး ရေးဝင်း ချုပ်ပြီး ပါက ကျေး ရွာထဲဝင်ရောက်(တဝင်ရောက်)သတ်မှတ်ပေး ပါမည်။ ဆက်လက် ရေးဝင်း ချုပ်မှုပြီးပါက အဖွဲ့မှသတ်မှတ် သောတဝင်ရောက်ခင်းရပ် ကို မလွဲမသွေဖြေး ရမည်ဖြစ် ကြောင်း အသိပေး ဆ ကြေးဇင်း ကြေး ပါသည်။

ဆ မိန် ဆ ရ

(ခိုင်မြဲ)
မြို့မဝပိုး ဝယ်ယူခိုင်
ကြေးဇင်း အိတ်ကြီး မြို့

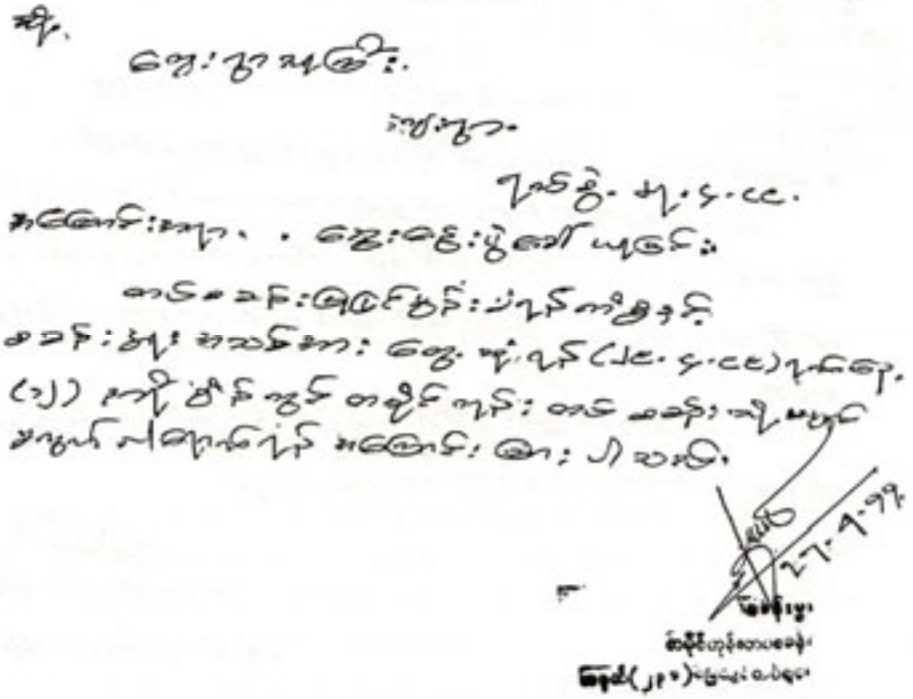
မိတ္တူကို

(၁) ဝပိုး ဝယ်ယူ ရေး အဖွဲ့ဝင်များ ဒေသခံ၊ ကြေးဇင်း အိတ်ကြီး မြို့၊
(၂) မြို့နယ်မန်ဂျာ၊ မြန်မာ့လယ်ယာသက်တန်ပန္နဲ့ရေးဝင်း ဝယ်ရေး ကြေးဇင်း အိတ်ကြီး မြို့၊
(၃) လက်ခံ။

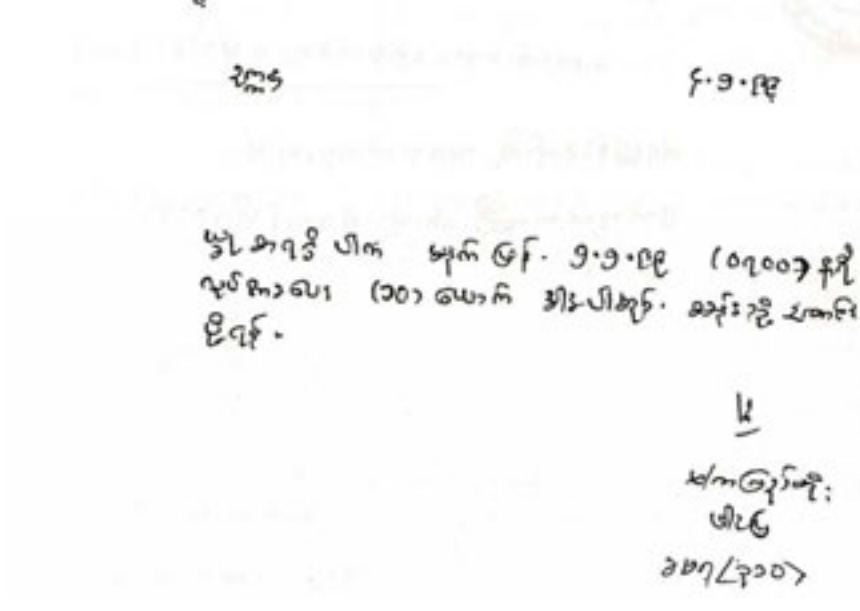
Order # 12

Order # 13

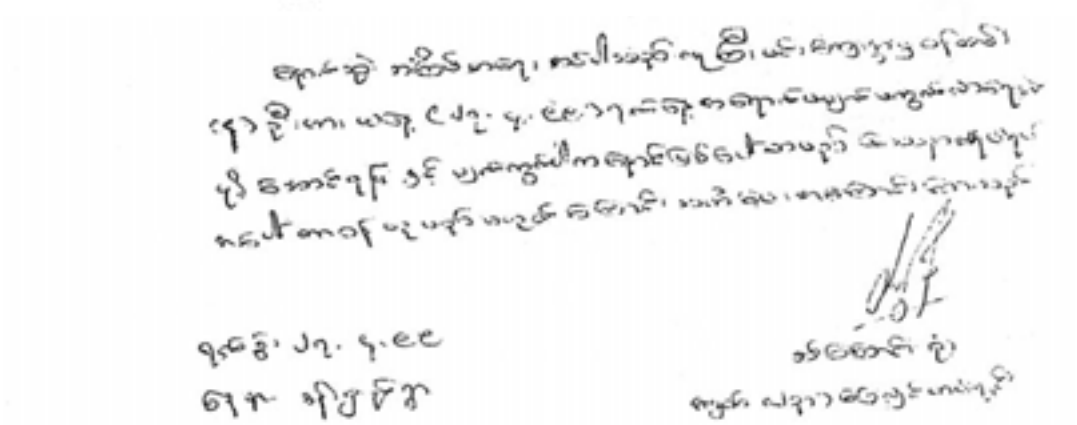
Order # 15



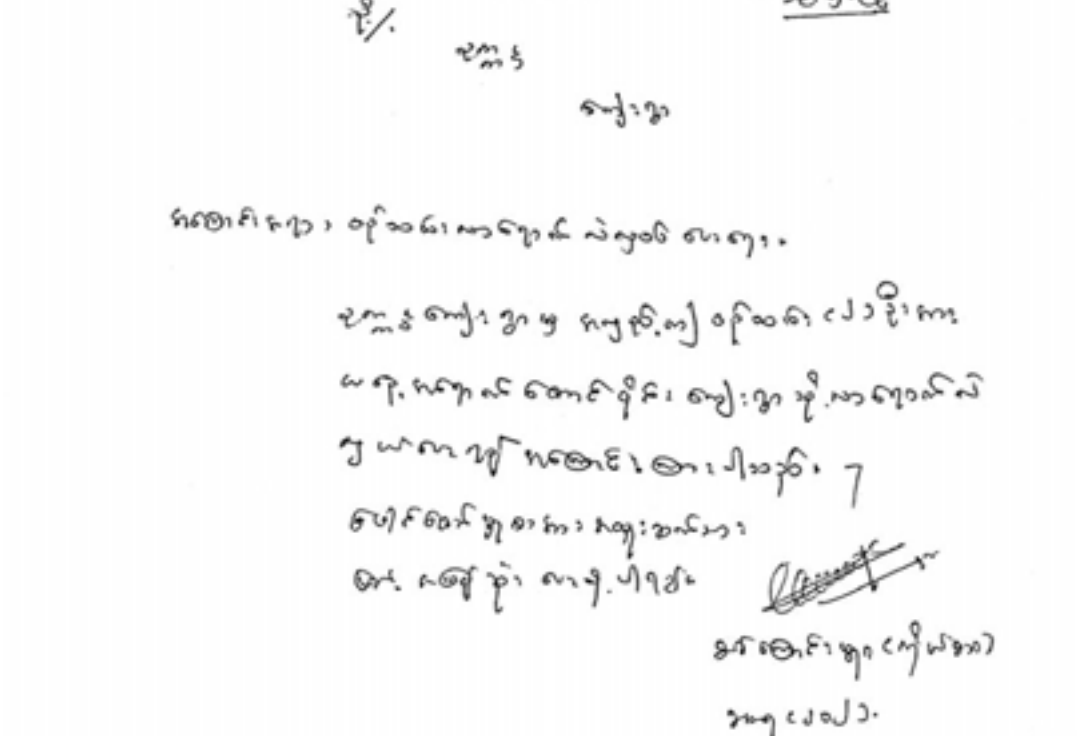
Order # 17



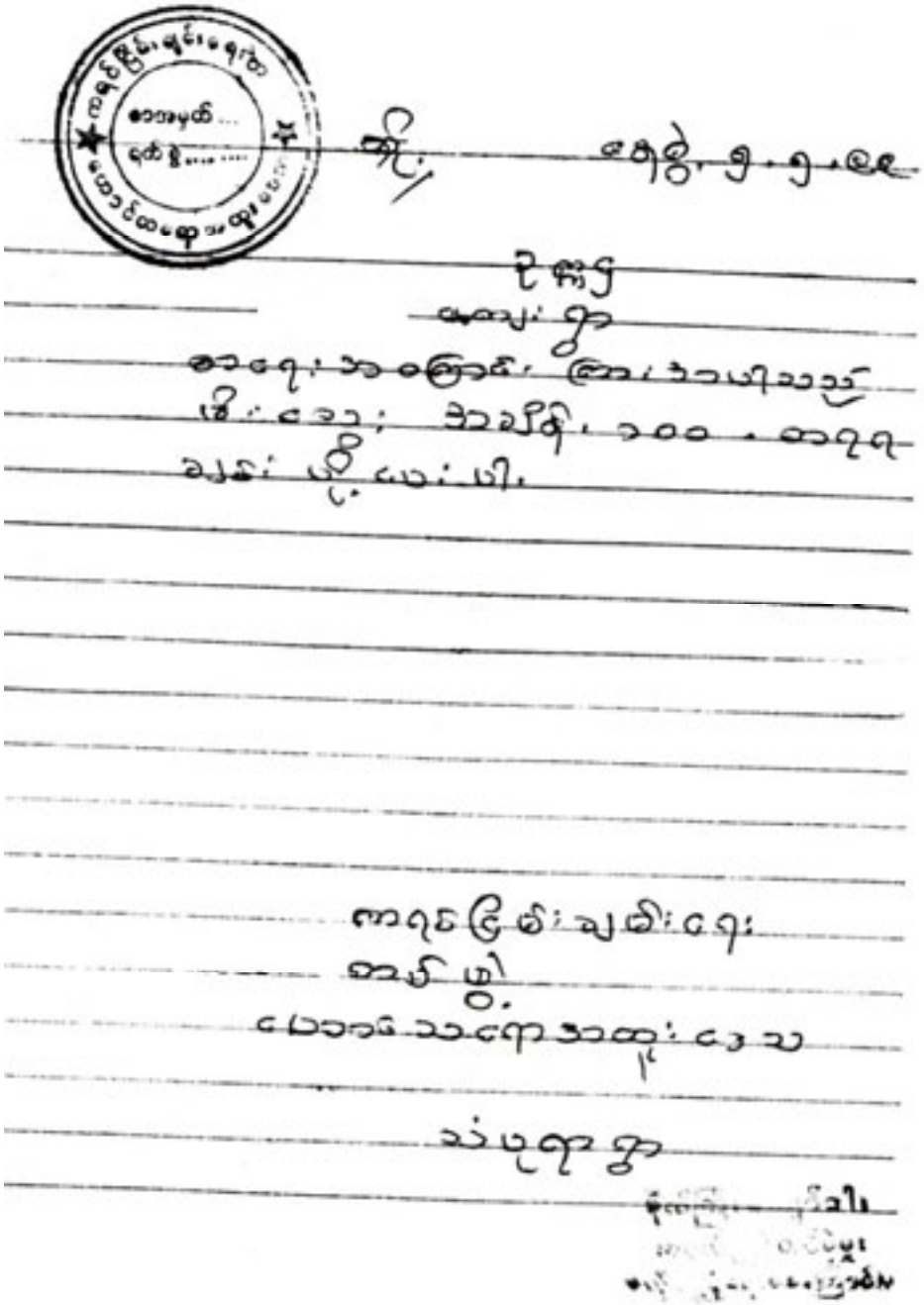
Order # 16



Order # 19



Order # 18



Order # 20

Order # 21

ပြို့နယ် တော်ရုံးသမိုင်ရေးနှင့်မြို့ပြရေးရုံး တော်လှန်ရေး
ကောင်စီး ကိစ္စကြီး ပြု
ဝင်ဘာတွင်း ၅ / ၄၃- ၂ / ခြံး ဝ
ရက် ဖွဲ့ ၊ ၁၉၉၉ ခုနှစ် ဖေ လ ၂၄ ရက်

ဒေသအုပ် / ကျေး ရွာလုပ်ကိုး

_____ ခရိုင်အုပ် / ကျေး ရွာအုပ်ဝင် အော်း ရုံး သမိုင်ရေး
နှင့်မြို့ပြ ရေး ကောင်စီ
ကောင်စီး ကိစ္စကြီး ပြု

အကြောင်း အရာ။ ကောင်စီး ကိစ္စကြီး ပြုပြင်ဝင်ခြင်း အတွက်ခွင့် ကောင်စီး ကိစ္စကြီး
ရောင်း ခွင့်ပြုလွှဲ အော်း ဝိယာ တောဝတိုလုပ်ကောင်းများ
ရန်ကိုင်

၁။ ကောင်စီး ကိစ္စကြီး ပြုပြင်ဝင်ခြင်း အတွက်ခွင့်ကောင်စီး ကိစ္စကြီး ရောင်းခွင့်ပြု
လွှဲခြင်း အော်း ဝိယာများ ဘုရင်ပြုနေထိုင်ရာ ခွင့်ပြုလွှဲခြင်း လည်း ရန်ကုန်တိုင်းဒေသကြီး/ ကျေး ရွာ
အုပ်ချုပ် / အော်း ရွာအလိုက်လုပ်ကိုင်ပေး ရပ်ကွက်လူဦး ရေများ သက်ဆိုင်လျှောကား ပြီးမြောက်
ပါသည်။

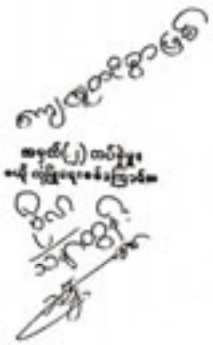
၂။ ယခုကြေးပါရှိသည့်ပြင်ဝင်ခြင်းအတွက် / ကျေး ရွာအုပ်ချုပ်ရေး ရွာနေအုပ်ထောကား ၁၀၀
ဦး သည်ပြီးနေထိုင်ရာ ရန်ကုန် / မော်တော်ကား / လိုက်ပါသည့်ပစ္စည်းများ များ ၊ ရိယာ (၄)ခုတွင်
ဝေနှင်းဆောင်ရွက်ခဲ့ ပေး တောင်ငူတိုင်းရန်အတွက် (ခရီး-၂၂၉ အကြိမ်အတွက်) ထွက်ခွာ
၁၀၀ အသိုင် အတွက်ပါဝင်ခြင်းဖြင့် ဖြစ်
သွား ရောက်ပါရန်အတွက်ခွင့်ပြုပေးပါသည်။

(ဒေါ်ခင်ဝေး)
ဒေသအုပ်ချုပ်ရေး-အတွင်း ရေး မှူး

ဝိ ဖြူ ကို-

ဝင်ဘာတောင်ခွဲ (အတွင်း) ၊ ကောင်စီး ကိစ္စကြီး ပြု
အတွက် (၁၂) ရွာလုပ်ကောင်ရုံး ၊ ကောင်စီး ကိစ္စကြီး ပြု
ခုံး လက်ခံ
ပျော

Order # 22



Order # 23

Order # 24

Order # 25

Order # 29

Date ၉.၇.၉၉

ဘဲ့

ညီကြီး.

ကျေးဇူး.

အကြောင်းအရာ.

မြို့နယ်အေးချမ်းသာယာရေးနှင့်ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးကောင်စီ ညီကြီးမှ ဖလားကော်လုံးပြင်ဆွဲအသင်းမှာ ဝင်ရောက်ယှဉ်ပြိုင်ရေးကိစ္စ.

အဆက်ပါကိစ္စနှင့်ပတ်သက်၍ကြာအင်းကြီးကုပ်စုအရေးဖွဲ့ကော်လုံးအသင်းအသင်းမှာဝင်ရောက်ပါဝင်ယှဉ်ပြိုင်ရမည်ဖြစ်ကြောင်း အကြောင်းကြားအပ်ပါသည်. ကော်လုံးအသင်းမဆွက်ခိုင်ပါကဒါဂိတ်ငွေဆောင်ရပါမည်. ထို့အတွက် ကျေးဇူးအရေဖြင့် ၅၀၀၀/- သုံးဆောင်ကျပ်ကုန်ကျမည်ကော်၊ ထို့အကြောင်းကြားအပ်ပါသည်.

မှတ်ချက်.

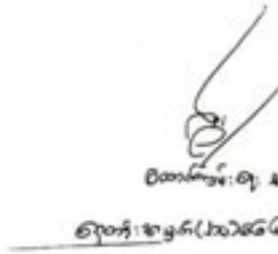
ကွင်းဖွင့်ပွဲ. ၁၅.၇.၉၉. ၇က်သွေ.

ဖြစ်ကြောင်း

ဦးဘန်းအောင်

Order # 26

Order # 30

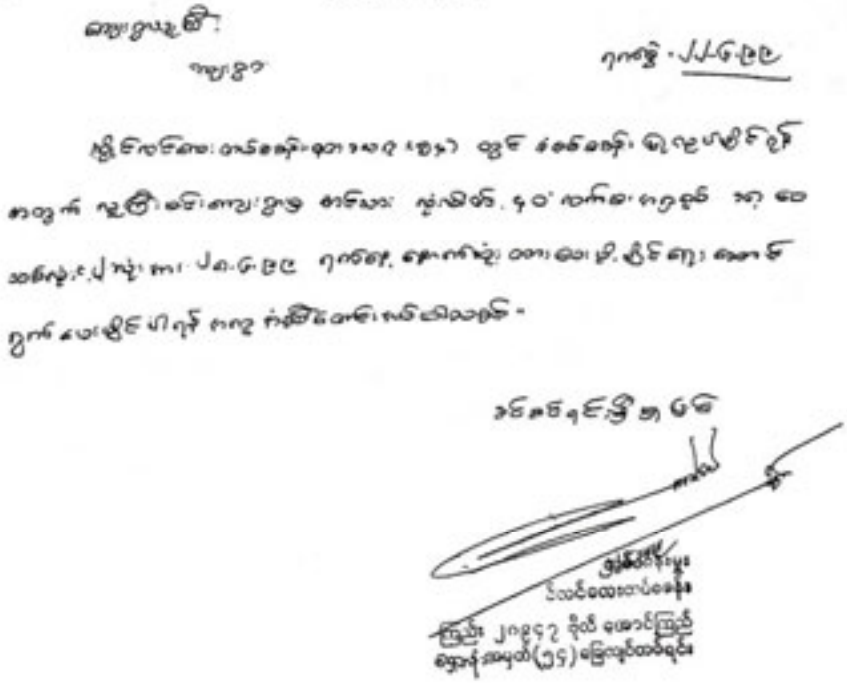


Order # 32

Order # 27

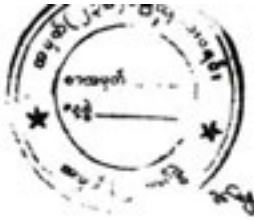
Order # 31

Order # 28



Order # 33

Order # 35



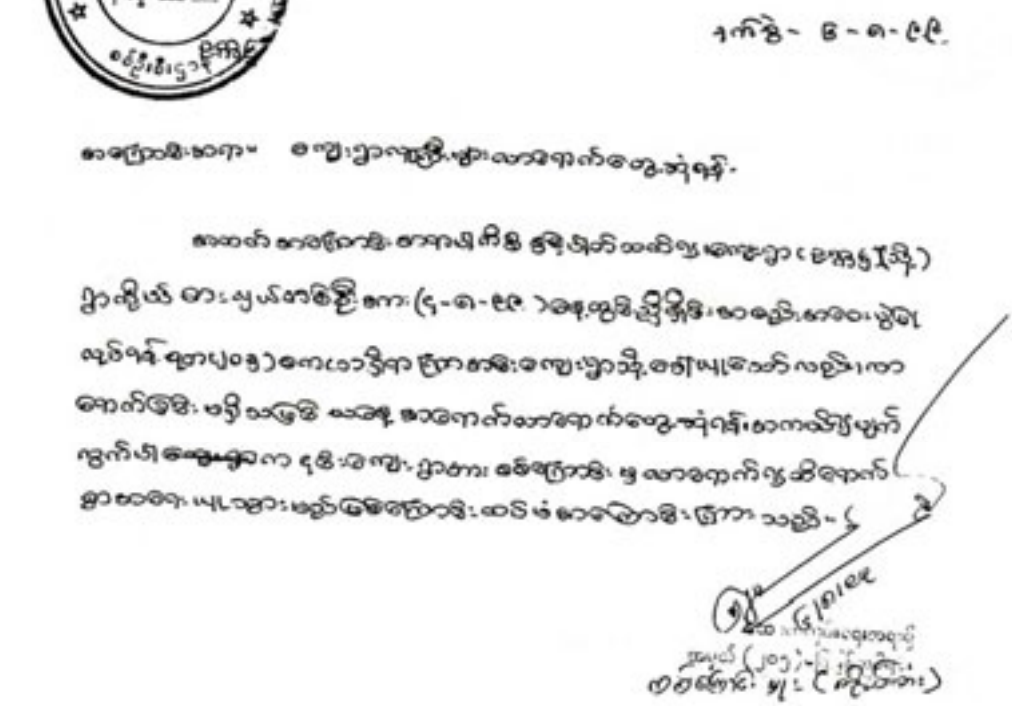
Order # 37

Order # 34

Order # 38

Order # 39

Order # 36

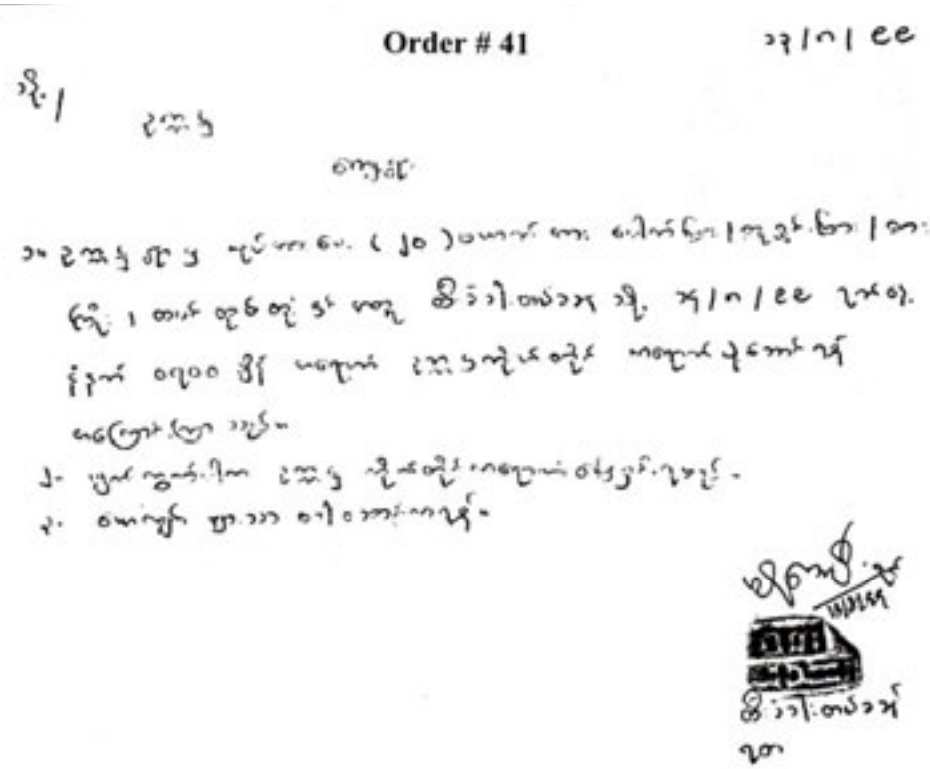


Order # 42

Order # 40

Order # 46

Order # 41



Order # 43

Order # 44

ပြန်ကြားရေးဌာနချုပ်ရုံးမှ ဒုတိယဗိုလ်မှူးကြီး ကိုစိန်လွင်
ဌာနဆိုင်ရာ ဆောင်ရွက်ပါရန်။
စာအမှတ်၊ ၁/၄၂-၂၃/ဦး ၆
ရက်စွဲ၊ ၁၉၉၉ခုနှစ်၊ စက်တင်ဘာလ- ၇ -ရက်

သို့/-

ဗိုလ်မှူးကြီး/ကျော် ဦးအုန်းမြင့်
ဌာနဆိုင်ရာ ဆောင်ရွက်ပါရန်။

အကြောင်းအရာ ။ ။ပုန်ကန်သူများ ရာသက်ရွေးခိုင်ခဲ့ရန်ပိုင်နက်များ သွားရောက်ခြင်း ။

ရည်ညွှန်း ။ ။ပထမ(တရင်း)စစ(၁၄-၀-၉၉)ရက်စွဲပါစာအမှတ်
၁/၃-၁၀၅/၉၉/ရေး-၂/၁၉၁၈

၁။ ။ကြီးပွားရေးနှင့်ပြည်သူ့ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်ရေးအဖွဲ့ချုပ်ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ ဗိုလ်မှူးကြီးခင်ညွန့်ဦး ဦးဆောင်သော ပြည်ထောင်စုကြီးပွားရေးနှင့်ပြည်သူ့ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်ရေးအဖွဲ့ချုပ်(ပြည်ထောင်စုအဖွဲ့ချုပ်)မှ ဒုတိယဗိုလ်မှူးမောင်မြင့်ဦး ဦးဆောင်သော ရာသက်ရွေးခိုင်ခဲ့ရန် ကျေးရွာ ၁၀ ရွာ ရွေးချယ်ခြင်းခံရပြီး ဒုတိယဗိုလ်မှူးမောင်မြင့်ဦးတို့ ကျေးရွာ ၁၀ ရွာအနက် ၅ ရွာကို ရွေးချယ်ခဲ့ကြောင်း သိရှိရပါသည်။

၂။ ။ဆိုပါပြီးခင်ဗျားတို့ဦးဆောင်သော ပြည်ထောင်စုကြီးပွားရေးနှင့်ပြည်သူ့ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်ရေးအဖွဲ့ချုပ်(ပြည်ထောင်စုအဖွဲ့ချုပ်)မှ ဒုတိယဗိုလ်မှူးမောင်မြင့်ဦးတို့ ကျေးရွာ ၅ ရွာအနက် ဗိုလ်မှူးကြီး/ကျော် ဦးအုန်းမြင့်

Order # 45

ပြည်နယ် ကားရပ်ဝါယိရေး နှင်မှုပြုရေး ကောင်စီ
ဥက္ကဋ္ဌချုပ် အမိန့်ကြီး ဖြစ်
စဉ်အမှတ်၊ ၅ / ၄၂-၂၀ / ခုံး - ၉
ရက်စွဲ၊ ၁၉၉၉ခုနှစ် ဝက်တင်ဘာလ ရက်

ခုံး ၉

နယ်မြေ / ကားရပ်ရုံ
ကားရပ်ဝါယိရေး နှင်မှုပြုရေး အဖွဲ့ချုပ်
ဥက္ကဋ္ဌချုပ် အမိန့်ကြီး ဖြစ်

အကြောင်းအရာ။ ။ ကားရပ်ရုံတိုင်းတွင် ရောက်ပမာဏကောက်ခွဲကိုသတ်မှတ်ခြင်း
အကြောင်းကြားရေးခွင့်ပြုချက်အမိန့်ချမှတ်ခြင်း

ရည်ညွှန်းချက် ။ ။ ဤရုံး၏ ၁၁-၁-၉၉ ရက်စွဲပါ စဉ်အမှတ်၊ ၅/၄၁-၂၀/
ခုံး ၉

၁။ အားဆေးပြုလုပ်သည့်ကောက်ခွဲကိစ္စပြီး ရည်ပြုပြီးဖြစ်သွားသော ရောက်
ဖျန်းပြီးသည့်ကောက်ခွဲတ်သတ်မှတ်ချက်အတိုင်း(၃၀-၁-၉၉)ရက်နေ့
အရောက်ရွေးများ လာရောက်ပေးသွင်းရန်ရည်ရွယ်ချက်ဖြင့် အ -
ကြောင်းကြား ဝိရောဒအခွံကား ရွာအုပ်ဌာနများ ပွဲရွေးများ လာရောက်ပေး သွင်း
ပြီး အခြို့ ကား ရွာအုပ်ဌာနများ မှာယနေ့တိုင်လာရောက်ရွေးသွင်း ဝဲငံး ပရွိသေး -
ကြောင်း ထွေရွှိရပါသည်။

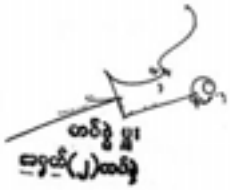
၂။ ယိုမြစ်ပါတီပြီး ကား / ကား ရွာအုပ်ဌာနမှအသည်ဝင်ရပည့်ရွေ့ ၉၀၀၀/-
(ကျပ် ငါးသောင်းတိတိ) အား (၁၅-၉-၉၉) ရက်နေ့ အ
ရောက်ဂိုယိုမြစ်ပါတီ ကား ရပ်ရုံ ဝါယိရေး နှင်မှုပြုရေး ကောင်စီသို့ပမှတ်ပတ်လာ
ရောက်ပေး သွင်း ပါရန်အစီအစဉ်ကြောင်း ကြား ပါသည်။

ခုံး ။ (ကိုယ်တိုး)
(ကောင်စီနေ့-အတွင်းရေး ဖွဲ့)

မိ ဌာ ကို-

ဝုံး လက်ခံ
ပေါ့

Order # 47



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Order # 49

ကြီး ဝဲကြီး နှံး ပုံစံအစား

ရုံးချုပ်/အနီး

ဝဝ အောက်ကျခဝဂ္ဂာ

ဗဟိုအဖွဲ့ (အထက)

၁။ ရုဖက(ဝ/၂/ဝ/ဂ/ဂ/ဝ)-အထက/ပဲ့ဘဝဲး ကြီး / ဝဲဖွဲး / ဆိုး ခိုံး ရုဝခံးရုဘဝဲး / ရုဘဝဲး ဇ

၂။ ဇဝဝ(၂)(ဘ ပဲ့ဝဲရ)-အထက/ပဲ့ ခရု(အထက

ဝဖြဲး ဝ၊ယ။ ဆုဝဝ(၂)ခ်ဘ ပဲ့ဝဲရ)-အဆက်ဖြစ်သူ အောက်ခံ၂၂ဝဝရုံးချုပ် ရဲ့ ခိုံဒဲ့ခိုံတဘား ပျော်ကြား နှံး ဘရ

ဝ။ ရွှဲ့ဖွဲ့ဒဲး ဖိုဝဘား ဇဲ့ဝ ကြား နှံး ဘရဝွေဘခိုံး ဝံးဆင် လေး ပုံပ်ဘား ဒွဲပိဖွဲ့ဒဲး အဝဲး (၄ဝ)ဘား အောဂိဖိဘဂိုဝဲး ပွဲလော်ဝဲ လေး ရုံးဘ ကြားဝဲး ဘဲ့ဘား အပြဲ-

(ဆ)	ရုဖက(ဝ)	(၃)ဝဲး
(ခ)	ဆုဖဝ(၂)	(၃)ဝဲး
(ဂ)	ရုဖက(၃)	(၃)ဝဲး
(ဃ)	ရုဖက(၄+၅)	(၉)ဝဲး
(င)	ရုဖဖ(၆)	(၃)ဝဲး
(စ)	ဖု-ဒီ-ဖု-ဒီ	(၁၀)ဝဲး
(ဇ)	ဝဲဖွဲး ဇ	(၁)ခဲး
(ဈ)	ခိုံး ဂိုဒီ	(၂)ဝဲး
(ဉ)	ဝဲဖွဲး	(၃)ဝဲး
(ည)	ဘဲ့ဘဘဝဲး ကြီး	(၁)ဝဲး

ပေါ်ဝဲး (၄ဝ)ဝဲး

၂။ ရုဖကဖုဘး ခွဲ့ပိုဖွဲ့ဇဲ့ဝဲရဝဲး ၊ ဝဲရဝဲး ဝ ဇဲ့ဖုး ဖွဲ့ဘဖုဘး ဘုလုံး ပုဘးအဖြဲ့ (၂၃-၁၀-၉၉) ရက်ရွှေ့ ဇ၄(ဝ၆း ၄ဝ) ခဘဲ့ဘ ဝဲရဝဲးအိုဖွဲ့ဖဲ့ဒဲးပဲ့ဖွဲ့ ဝဝခံး ခွဲ့ဖွဲ့လေဝဲ့ ပေ ပုံခံခွဲ့ဘဲ့ဘဝဲး ကြီး ၊ ဝဲဖွဲး ၊ ဆုဖ ခွဲ့ဝဲ ဖုဘဖုဘး ဖုဘး ဘဲ့ဘဲ့ဒဲး ဝဲရုဘိဘခွဲ့ခံဘဲ့ဘဝဲး ကြီး ဖွဲ့ဘ ဝဲရဝဲး ခွဲ့ဖွဲ့ လေဝဲ့ဝဲ့ လေး ပုံခံဘ ဘဲ့ဘဝဲး ဘဲ့ဘား အပြဲ(ဇ)

၃။ ခဇဝ(ဘ ပဲ့ဝဲရ)-အဆက်ဖြစ်သူ ဘဖုး ဖွဲ့ဘဖုဘး ဖုဘး ဆဘ ခိုံး ဇပဲ့ဝဲရဝခဲ့ ဘဲ့ဘဝဲး ဖွဲ့ဘဇဲ့ခွဲ့ဝဲ့ လေး ခွဲ့ဒီ ဖိုဝရခံးဝဲ့ဘဲ့ဘဝဲ့(ခိုံး)

အတိုင်းသိရှိရန်နှံး ဖြစ်ရဲ့

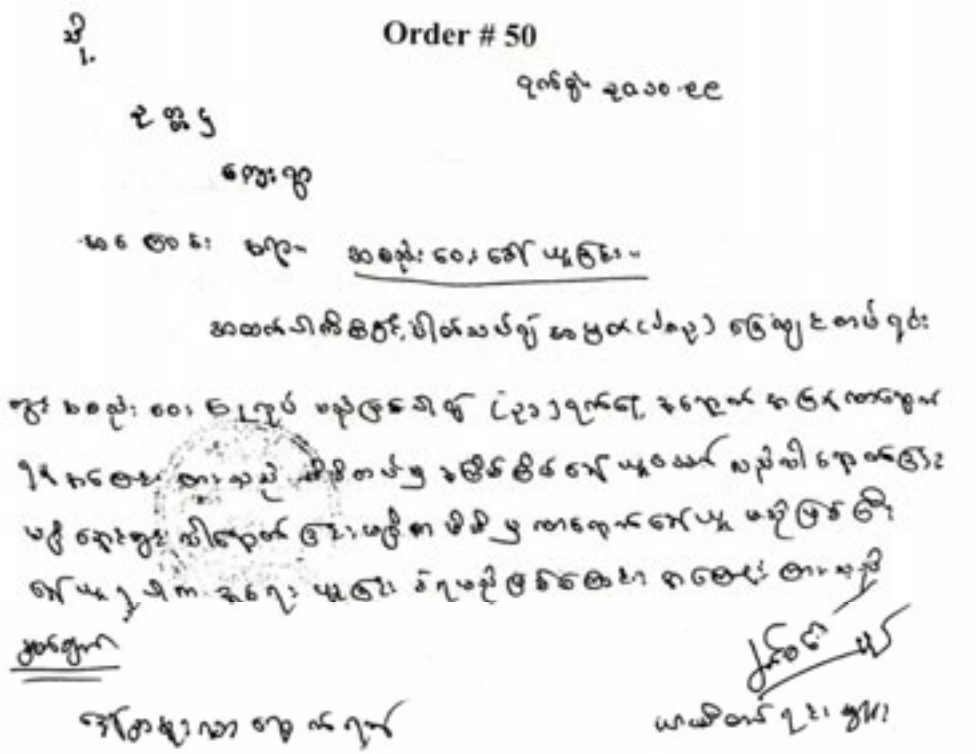
အတိုင်းသိရှိ

(ဒိုယီဝဘး)

ဇ ဖ ဖွဲ့ (ဒိုယီဝဘး)

ဇ ဇဝဒီ ဇဲ့ခွဲ့-အဖွဲ့ခံး လေး ဖွဲ့)

Order # 50



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Front Cover Photo

New refugee child is having a meal upon her arrival to the Karenni refugee camp in mid 1999 with her family. Thousands of IDPs in Burma are still hiding in jungle in order to escape the various atrocities by the SPDC. Some fortunate were able to make their way to Thai-Burma border during 1999. Their future is uncertain and mainly relies on the Thai Government's policy.
(Photo by Aung Myo Min, HRDU)

Back Cover Photo

Karen refugees from Kway Kaloke refugee camp are waiting for their transportation to new site in mid 1999. The are moved to deeper inside Thailand after they camp was burnt down by the DKBA and SPDC troops several times.
(Photo by KIC)

Site of the Internally Displaced Persons inside Burma. Their life is unstable and insecure everyday. They all live in fear of attack and all forms of violations by the SPDC troops. When will the peaceful time take place for them?
(Photo by Aung Myo Min, HRDU)

Life of thousands of Internally Displaced Persons in Burma

ISBN 974-87762-0-4