

## 5. Forced Relocation and Internally Displaced Persons

### 5.1. Background

Forced relocation has been used as a strategy of the Burmese military for decades, however, the scale of SLORC's forced relocation orders, especially in ethnic areas, increased dramatically during 1996 and continues unabated. SLORC uses forced relocation as a tool in two primary ways: 1) the relocated villagers are used as unpaid laborers on its development projects or are relocated as a result of development projects and 2) villagers are relocated as part of its counter-insurgency operations to deprive the ethnic opposition of its support. In 1996, tens of thousands of people, mostly peasants, including members of Karen, Karenni, Shan, Mon, and Tavoyan people, were relocated. The ill-treatment of villagers by SLORC at the relocation sites and the conditions at those sites have propelled a large number of people to flee the sites or avoid the relocation order entirely and flee directly to the forest or the border. Indeed, the massive relocation being undertaken in the ethnic areas has resulted in a renewed influx of refugees into neighboring Thailand.

These mass relocations have often been accompanied with other forms of human rights abuses. Using a strategy known as "the four cuts," SLORC attempts to "cut" links of intelligence, food, money, and recruits between armed opposition groups and local civilians. After relocation orders have been issued and people have been expelled from their homes, SLORC has declared expansive areas as "free-fire zones"-- anyone who tries to remain in their homes can be shot on sight. Villagers are told that they will not be permitted to go home until the opposition groups have capitulated; SLORC calls this policy, "draining the ocean so no fish can swim."

SLORC issues written orders addressed to village headmen; the orders specify the date by which the entire village must be relocated to a designated site. Relocated persons are not compensated for their homes nor are they given enough time to collect all of their belongings. Nearly all of the villagers must leave behind the majority of their belongings, including their livestock. Often people must also leave behind elderly and sick relatives. Once they leave their village, SLORC troops pillage the villagers' homes and burn them to the ground.

Even though they have just been forced to leave their homes and their belongings, people must purchase new plots of land from the SLORC at the relocation sites, a luxury most cannot afford. As a result, they are forced to live

wherever they can cheaply: in monasteries, abandoned huts, make-shift shelters, or under other people's houses. Furthermore, the designated sites are not prepared for the arrival of large numbers of people; the ground is not clear and there are inadequate water supplies. SLORC does not provide the people with food nor with land to farm. Disease is rampant at the sites; those who want medical help must purchase their own medicine. At some sites, people must even purchase a "clinic ticket" before they are permitted to see a nurse. Relocation communities are subject to strict curfews and other restrictions. For example, in many cases, a written pass must be obtained before leaving the relocation site.

## **5.2. Forced Relocation and SLORC Development Projects**

In some cases, communities are relocated for the sole purpose of providing "free labor" on one of SLORC's development projects like the Yadana gas pipeline project or on a road project to encourage tourism. In other cases, ethnic communities are relocated as a result of SLORC's opposition strategy and then also used to work on nearby labor projects or on projects to aid in military movement.

The following section outlines the major development projects that use relocated villagers as a major source of labor.

### **5.2.1. Yadana Gas Pipeline Project in Tenasserim Division**

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

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At the end of March 1996, local villagers from Eindayaza village in Yebyu township, Tenasserim division were ordered to relocate. The order was issued by Brigadier-General Zaw Tun, after TOTAL's field office was attacked on February 8, 1996 near Kanbawk village, Yebyu township by an unknown armed group. The mostly Karen village of Eindayaza is seven miles from the TOTAL office. SLORC's relocation order required villagers to move to the "54-mile" on Ye-Tavoy road, three miles away from their homes. The order, an apparent retaliation for the attack, required that villagers bring only the most basic of their belongings.

On February 12, 1996, just four days after the attack on TOTAL's office, 11 Karen civilians, including the village headman from Eindayaza, were arrested by SLORC's LIB 273 troops. The villagers were tortured for allegedly having contact with the attackers. On the day of the attack, 12 villagers from Eindayaza were found on their way to their hill-side cultivation plots on Phya Gone hill; SLORC maintains that a 107 rocket launcher, used in the attack, was fired from the same hill, five furlongs from TOTAL's office.

In addition to the relocation order, LIB 273 troops ordered 10 villagers, mostly women, from each village in the Kanbawk group to provide security for the TOTAL office. Each day, over one hundred people were forced to act as security guards between Kanbawk and Eindayaza from early morning until evening.

SLORC's LIB 273 has conscripted 20 villagers from every village in Kanbawk village group to work on the construction of the three-mile-long Kanbawk-Pyin-Gyin road between the TOTAL office and the seaport. The road will be used for transportation of construction materials for the pipeline. While local people are being forced to work on the road construction without pay, TOTAL is paying each soldier 50 kyats per day to supervise the forced laborers.

In February 1997, SLORC's LIB 273 relocated five villages in Kywe Thone Nyi Ma village tract, Ye Pyu township, Tenasserim division including Mae Taw, Cha Bone, Chaung Phyar, Mae Yaung, and Mae Than Taung villages. These villages lie just ten to fifteen km. north of the Yadana gas pipeline. The American oil company, Texaco, is also beginning work on the Yetagun pipeline in the area. (*Source: ABSDF*)

The pipeline will run just south of the Heinze Basin, a large inlet on the coast of the Andaman Sea. The five villages lie near the coast just north of the mouth of the Heinze Basin; the pipeline is to come ashore near Hpaungdaw, just south of the mouth of the Heinze Basin. SLORC's official explanation for the relocations was that there is a dacoit or bandit group operating along the

coast between the five villages and Hpaungdaw. SLORC's relocation orders came after they stormed Mae Taw village, ostensibly to seek out this bandit group and its stash of loot, instead, SLORC soldiers tied up and tortured the village leaders, disrobed, abused and robbed a monk, and kept everyone in the village tied up at the monastery for four days while they searched and looted every house. The soldiers then burned four houses and ordered every villager in the region to move to a village which has an army camp. The soldiers continued to the other four villages to continue their villainous deeds. By the time they arrived at the other villages, however, many people had already fled after hearing about the events in Mae Taw village. The five villages now lie abandoned, the villagers having scattered to the large village of Kywe Thone Nyi Ma, located on an island in the Heinze Basin with an LIB 273 camp, or northward to Ye or Thanbyuzayat villages. (*Source: KHRG*)

### **5.2.2. Forced Relocation between the Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung Road and Tenasserim River**

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

The villagers have been ordered to move along the roadside of the Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung road and the Boke-Ka Pyaw-Kyay Nan Daing road or to Burman villages on the lower Tenasserim River. SLORC does not compensate the relocated villagers for their losses; they receive no land, building materials, or any other assistance.

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In October 1996 alone, SLORC ordered approximately 30 villages on the inland part of the coastal plain, between Tavoy and Mergui, to relocate to army-controlled sites along the Tavoy-Mergui road. The reconstruction and maintenance of this road requires extensive forced labor every year. Relocated villages include Mazaw (40 km. southeast of Mergui), Pyi Cha (80 km. north of Mergui, near Palauk), and Pala (40 km. northeast of Mergui, near Palaw).

Rather than face dire conditions at the relocation sites, many people fled eastward across the hills to KNU-controlled areas along the Tenasserim River near the Thai border. At least 400 or more refugees from these towns alone have arrived in three areas along the river.

SLORC is also constructing new car roads, including a branch of the north-south road running through Boke, Ka Pyaw, Aleh Chaung, Mazaw and Kyay Nan Daing (at least 40 km.) and a road from Tagu to Ta Po Hta and Ta Po Kee (estimated 30-40 km.). Forced labor construction on these roads began in November/December 1996. Villagers are being forced to move to these roadsides and work every day along with villagers who already live there, many of whose houses have been destroyed without compensation to make way for the roads. People from over 50 km. away from these roads are also being forced to walk two days to work on rotating 10-day shifts hauling dirt, building embankments, breaking rocks, and digging ditches. Children as young as 12 and people over 60 years of age are being forced to work. In many villages and relocation sites, one person per household must be provided at all times without exception. No money, food, shelter, or medical care is provided. Soldiers are often present but only to guard over forced laborers, never to work. In fact, they often beat the villagers for resting.

Hundreds of villagers are then used every day as forced laborers on various roads. As soon as one road is finished, they are assigned to another road; if there is any break in between working on the roads, they are required to work on building and maintaining army camps in the area. (*Source: KHRG*)

### **5.2.3. Karen Villages in Tenasserim Division**

In October 1996, SLORC ordered all the Karen villages in southern Tenasserim Division area to move to SLORC-controlled relocation sites around the Burman village of Le Nya, where SLORC planned to use villagers as forced laborer to rebuild the Boke Pyin-Le Nya road. Then in mid-November 1996 troops from SLORC's LIB 358 troops looted and burned completely the Karen villages of Nan Ka Prao, Waw Pa Doh, Ler Pa Doh, and Kyet Der, all of which

had been relocated. In late December 1996 or early January 1997, LIB 358 troops also burned part of Meh Naw Roh village. The Karen villages of Ze Daeng and Kaw Bawt were also relocated but escaped destruction by the troops. In every case, SLORC told the villagers they would kill on sight anyone caught in the area after their relocation deadline; some villagers have been executed as a result. By November 23, 1996, LIB 358 troops were already beginning to establish a military base on the burned remains of Nan Ka Prao village. (*Source: KHRG*)

### **5.3. Relocation as a Military Tool against the Armed Opposition in 1996**

In 1996, SLORC instituted the unprecedented and systematic relocation of tens of thousands of villagers as a result of ethnic fighting. The large-scale relocations began in Papun district, Karen State in late December 1995 and January 1996, when at least 100 Karen villages were ordered to relocate within a week or the villagers would risk being shot on sight. In March 1996, SLORC began its forced relocation campaign in central and southern Shan State. At least 400 to 500 villages were included in the relocation orders, a total of between 60,000 and 80,000 people. Throughout June and July 1996, SLORC conducted a mass relocation campaign covering more than half of the geographic area of Karenni State (aka Kayah State), affecting at least 183 villages with an estimated population of 25 to 30,000. Altogether, over 5,200 families from 79 villages in Tenasserim, Boke Pyin, and Kyunsuu townships in Tenasserim division in the southern coastal region of Burma have been relocated since June 1996. Moreover, almost every village between the Tavoy-Mergui-Kawthaung road in the west and the Tenasserim River in the east, from Palauk in the north to Tenasserim town in the south, was ordered to move one or more times between September 1996 and January 1997. This particular area measures about 120 km. from north to south and 30 km. from east to west; at least 35 to 40, ranging in size from 20 to 150 households each, have been affected.

SLORC's massive relocations in these areas represent a significant shift in military policy, away from the pretext of negotiated cease-fires which aimed for forced surrender of the opposition in every case. Now, while SLORC is declaring that it has brought peace in ethnic minority areas by signing military cease-fire agreements with 17 ethnic armed groups since 1989, these forced relocations are being undertaken in areas where armed opposition by ethnic forces still exists.

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### 5.3.1. Massive Forced Relocation in Karen State

Since December 1995, SLORC has stepped up its campaign to clear out the entire rural population from Papun district, establishing a “free-fire” zone in an attempt to cut KNLA supply lines and to block the flow of refugees to Thailand. Orders have been issued to every rural village under SLORC control (more than 100) from Kyauk Nyat in the north to Ka Dtaing Dtee in the south, from the Salween River (the Thai border) in the east to at least 10 km. west of Papun (an area 50 to 60 km. north to south and 30 km. east to west). This area is marked by rugged hills and dotted with small villages averaging 10 to 50 households each, a population of 50 to 300 per village. Villagers are required to move either to nearby SLORC army camps at Papun, Kaw Boke, or Par Haik, or to DKBA headquarters in the south at Khaw Taw (Myaing Gyi Ngu) in Pa-an district. All of the relocation sites are used as forced labor camps as well.

Villagers have confirmed that DKBA soldiers are working with SLORC soldiers on these relocation orders. Generally DKBA soldiers appear in small groups as part of SLORC columns when issuing the orders. SLORC units involved in this large-scale operation include LIBs 340, 341, 434, and IB 5. Villagers had until January 13 and 81, 1996, to move to their assigned sites. SLORC and DKBA threats of shooting villagers who remained in villages were taken to heart; thousands of villagers fled long before their relocation deadline. Close to one thousand villagers fled to Thailand. Others remain in hiding in the jungle; some people have tried to remain in their village but flee to the forest when soldiers are nearby.

Villagers who fled to Thailand reported that their journey was harrowing. They could only travel at night for fear they would be caught and executed. They reported that crossing the Papun-Par Haik road is impossible due to the extensive SLORC presence. On their way to the border, all the villages they passed were completely abandoned. (*Source: KHRG*)

There is no apparent logic as to which villages have been ordered to Papun and which to Khaw Taw; some villages located a long distance from Khaw Taw have been ordered to move there, while some much closer to Khaw Taw have been ordered to move to Papun. In fact, the majority of villages are being ordered to move to Papun area where SLORC has allocated them sites near military camps.

Villagers are told to take all their food with them because SLORC will not provide any, although SLORC has made a disingenuous promise to allow

villagers to continue to farm their home fields.

Most villagers relocated to the Papun site work as forced laborers on the construction of the Papun-Par Haik-Kyauk Nyat road which is intended to give the military easy access to the border area and on making an all-season road out of the 100-km. Papun-Belin road, giving the military rainy season capability. Previously, the road was washed out each monsoon season; SLORC forced villagers to rebuild it every year.

The roadwork on these two roads alone requires thousands of men, women, and children to work each day. Moreover, other detained villagers are regularly used by SLORC as porters, army camp laborers, and as forced laborers farming for the military.

SLORC moved villagers to Khaw Taw, primarily because the DKBA needed a source of new recruits. Villagers in both Papun and Pa-an districts, where DKBA is the strongest, confirm that no one is voluntarily joining DKBA anymore because DKBA abuses villagers and because it is now obviously under the control of SLORC.

### **5.3.2. Forced Relocation in Shan State**

In January 1996, the leader of the primary armed opposition group, drug warlord Khun Sa, surrendered to the SLORC in Shan State. However, an estimated 2,000 members of his Shan Mong Tai Army (MTA) refused to surrender and have joined with other Shan nationalist groups, including the Shan State Army and the Shan State National Army. These ex-MTA troops regrouped and formed a new army called the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA), led by Major Yord Serk, in the areas of central and southern Shan State; it is in these areas that SLORC's massive relocation orders have taken place.

In early March 1996, the SLORC reacted to the continued Shan resistance by forcibly relocating over twenty thousand villagers in an attempt to sever any civilian links or support for these armed opposition groups, thereby forcing the Shan resistance to surrender. At least 604 villages have been ordered to move on threat of death. SLORC troops ordered villages in eight townships, including Larng Kher, Murng Nai, Nam Zarng, Lai Kha, Murng Kerng, Kun Hing, Ke See, and Murng Su to move into depopulated "free-fire zones." SLORC soldiers committed countless human rights abuses during the relocation process. SLORC battalions conducting the relocations include IBs and LIBs 55,

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64, 66, 99, 246, 247, 248, 249, 515, 518, 520, 524, 525, and 551; each battalion has bases at several locations in the area.

Almost every village has been relocated in the areas from the Salween River and 120 kilometers westward to Lai Kha and Mong Kung, from Lang Kha and Mong Nai (just 60 km. north of the Thai border) northward for 180 km. to Kay See Man Sam and the areas west of the Mong Hsu ruby mines. Even areas where cease-fire groups operate, such as SSA-led areas west of Mong Hsu and PNA-led areas south of Nam Saung, have been affected by forced relocations, in attempt by SLORC to weaken these groups.

In most cases, villagers were given only three to five days to move; they were threatened with being shot if they did not comply with the orders. Even if they were following SLORC's orders, some villagers were subject to the random violence of the soldiers. During the relocation, villagers were beaten, burned alive, and shot dead. Some people had their house set on fire while they were still inside and, in several cases, were burned to death in their houses. Others were shot for returning to their villages to retrieve belongings or food after the relocation deadline. Some villagers with ox-carts could carry supplies with them, but the majority of villagers who were on foot could carry almost nothing with them - relocation sites were often at least a days walk away. Nearly all farmers were forced to leave behind their crops and most of their livestock, most of which were immediately stolen by SLORC troops.

The relocation sites were simply empty areas along the sides of roads; absolutely nothing was provided for the villagers at the sites. Living conditions are crude and unsanitary. Many have died of malnourishment and disease. Most villagers are not permitted to farm their old fields. In some areas, villagers may obtain a five-day pass to leave the relocation site; however, only one person per family can leave.

In some areas in Shan State, even though the primary purpose for relocation is a military strategy, SLORC troops still use the detained population as forced laborers. Villagers must stand guard and clear trees and bushes along the roads to prevent Shan armed opposition groups from hiding there. Villagers are also required to work at SLORC military camps and on road construction projects in the area.

At least 15,000 people have already fled the relocation sites to Thailand and they continue to flood across the border. Since there is no refugee camp for Shan people, most often they disappear as cheap laborers in the Thai lichee orchards, at construction sites, factory sweatshops, and bonded-labor brothels

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in Chiang Mai and in Bangkok.

### 5.3.2.1. List of Villages Forcibly Relocated by SLORC in Shan State:

Township	No. of villages relocated	No. of households relocated
Larng Kher	21	822
Murng Nai	56	2,965
Nam Zarng	68	2,704
Lai Kha	80	3,043
Murng Kerng	24	1,230
Kun Hing	95	3,407
Ke See	232	7,112
Marng Su	28	697
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>604</b>	<b>21,980</b>

#### Larng Kher township

In March 1996, 822 households from 21 villages in Larng Kher township, situated in the fertile lower plain of the Nam Teng basin, were relocated. SLORC's IB 99, stationed at Larng Kher, and IB 55, from Murng Pan issued the relocation order. The villagers were given between three and six days to move to Nong Long, east of Larng Kher. They were told that they would be killed if they did not comply the order. (See Appendix 1.1. for more information)

#### Murng Nai township

SLORC IB 247 and IB 516 ordered 2,965 households in Murng Nai township to move to Tong Hoong, where the SLORC military camp is stationed, within three days or they would be shot. Five villagers from Goong Sar village were killed by SLORC IB 99 soldiers when they returned to their village to collect their rice. The villagers' rice was taken from them by SLORC soldiers and then rationed back to them for five days at a time. One person per family is permitted to return to farm the fields for five days at a time. Forced laborers from the relocation sites are being used to guard the town perimeter; two villagers must accompany each SLORC soldier. The detained villagers were also

required to build guardhouses nearby for the military. (See Appendix 1.2. for more information).

### **Nam Zarung township**

In March 1996, 2,704 households from 68 villages in Nam Zarng township, Shan State were ordered to relocate to ten different relocation sites; five village tracts were affected by this SLORC order. Villagers in Nong Hee village tracts were required by LIB 247 to move from Nam Zarng and Murng Nai to the Nam Zarng and Hai Neng area. Villagers from Nar Poi were ordered to move to four different sites and villagers from Ton Hoong Ha Lai were relocated to two different places. Villagers from Loi La tract were relocated in April 1996 by SLORC IB 55 troops from Murng Pan to Wan Nong Koong Mong. Villagers from Ho Norng were relocated to Kho Lam.

The village headman from Nam Wo village, Nong He, was severely beaten when he pleaded with SLORC troops not to relocate the village. All 56 villages in Palaung village were burned down between April 4, and 14, 1996 by SLORC LIB 524 troops led by Major Myint Thein. People have suffered many diseases in the newly-relocated sites. At the Kho Lam site, as many as 40 people died of illness in the first month. Moreover, people are subjected to forced labor requirements for the army. Villagers at the Kho Lam site were forced by LIB 510 troops to clear the forest and grow beans for them. (See Appendix 1.3. for more information).

### **Lai Kha township**

On March 5, 1996, in Lai Kha township, villagers were ordered to relocate to four different sites within eight days. The village tract leaders, village headmen, and some senior monks appealed to higher SLORC authorities to remain in their villages. One day later, SLORC LIB 524 at Kun Hing sent a message stating that the relocation order had come from the Eastern Commander himself, therefore it would stand. The village leaders were told that they could return to their village when the 90-man-strong MTA rebels in the area surrendered.

Many villagers were killed by SLORC soldiers for being in the "free-fire zone" after the deadline. At the relocation site, many villagers, mostly children, died due to lack of medical care. Within the first few months at Wan Sang site, ten children under the age of 12 died from Nam Wo village alone. Moreover,

villagers relocated along the Lai Kha-Murng Nawng road were forced to work on the road itself. Each village tract was assigned three to four kms. of road to construct. Villagers at the Tard Mork relocation site were forced to construct a road to the nearby SLORC military camp. (See Appendix 1.4. for more information).

### **Murng Kerng township**

In April 1996, 1,230 households from 24 villages in Murng Kerng township were forced to relocate to the main road north of Murng Kerng. Once at the sites north of Murng Kerng, relocated villagers had to work on repairing the Murng Kerng-Hsibaw road. Each week, half of the households had to provide one person for one-week shifts on a rotating basis. Villagers were allowed to return to farm their fields for several days at a time with permission from the SLORC.

In September 1996, following the surrender of SSNA troops in the area, some villages were allowed to return home. However, in mid-November, following continued resistance by the SURA in the area, the SLORC once again ordered the villagers back to the relocation sites. SLORC has forbidden the transportation of rice along the road north of Murn Kerng. No one is allowed to purchase more than one pyi (a tin) of rice at a time, to prevent people from supplying the Shan resistance with food. (See Appendix 1.5. for more information)

### **Kun Hing township**

Between March and May 1996, 3,407 households from 95 villages were ordered to move to seven different relocation sites including Keng Lom, Wan Lao, Wan Tong, Wan Phai, Son Sarng Won Long, Sai Khao, and Keng Kham. Most of the villages in the area southeast of Kun Hing between the Nam Pang and Salween Rivers were forced to relocate in March 1996. The villages around Sai Khao were ordered to relocate to the main road by May 15. The Lahu villagers of Loi Khio village tract evaded the relocation orders; they made rafts and crossed to the eastern side of the Salween River, where they were reported to have joined Lahu communities in the Mong Bu Long area.

SLORC IB 518 troops guarded the Wan Lao relocation site and forced villagers to build a camp for them and to stand guard over the shelters. The soldiers also gathered a list of all of the names of the villagers in case they want to recruit them for a People's Militia. Villagers at the Keng Lom relocation site

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were initially permitted to return to their fields to farm them but have been banned from doing so since October 1996 when SURA soldiers in the area killed six SLORC soldiers in Nam Men village in retaliation for the rape of a local village girl. (See Appendix 1.6. for more information).

### **Ke See township**

Ke See township has been tremendously affected by SLORC's forced relocation operations. The relocation began in March 1996, but new relocation orders were still being sent to some villages in July 1996, requiring they move within five days. In all, 7,112 households from 232 villages were ordered to move to five different sites.

SLORC troops killed many people during the relocation process and most of the 300 houses in Wan Parng and Nam Hoo villages were burned to the ground. Two village elders were burned to death in their houses in Murng Nang while trying to remove their ancient copper statues of Lord Buddha. At the Murng Nang relocation site (later relocated again to Murng Nawng), SLORC soldiers ordered people to build fences for their army camp, to clear the roadsides, to construct roads for the army, and to stand on sentry duty along the road.

Villagers were also forced to build fences around the relocation site at Parng Phone to prevent Shan armed opposition troops from having access to the villagers there. SLORC soldiers had become suspicious of collusion between the Shan troops and some former MTA soldiers who had surrendered and were living in the relocation site. On June 28, 1996, SLORC's LIB 514, newly stationed at Wan Ter Tard, Nam Morng Nai, Wan Zing tract, arrested eight former MTA soldiers, killing seven of them immediately. Next, they killed a woman who was guarding the road; SLORC troops suspected the woman of being an informant for SURA on a recent ambush in which SLORC troops suffered heavy casualties. (See Appendix 1.7. for more information).

### **Marng Su township**

In May 1996, villages from Marng Su township were ordered by SLORC troops from Kun Hing and Murng Suu to relocate. In all, 697 households from 28 villages were relocated to seven different relocation sites.

The relocated villagers at Murng Zarng were permitted to return to work on their fields five days a week, but had to return to Murng Zarng for the

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remaining two days in the week. Every few days they also had to regularly present themselves to the military authorities to have their names checked. Similarly, villagers relocated to Murg Ord were allowed to work on their fields if they obtained a pass from the local military camp. (See Appendix 1.8. for more information). (*Sources for above section: SHRF, KHRG, ABSDF*)

### 5.3.3. Massive Relocation in Karenni State

The SLORC-imposed relocations in the area of Karenni State represent almost every inch of land area where the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) has ever operated. The KNPP has been fighting Burmese occupation for over 45 years. On March 21, 1995, in Loikaw, the KNPP signed a cease-fire agreement with the SLORC, making it the fourth and final armed group in Karenni State to do so. But on June 28, 1995, SLORC broke the terms of the agreement by sending 2,000 troops into KNPP territory to take porters from the area. Two days later, fighting erupted after SLORC launched an attack on the KNPP headquarters near the Thai border. SLORC claimed the offensive was launched to chase away illegal Thai loggers and to secure a route through KNPP territory to that of drug warlord Khun Sa. In later public statements, SLORC even claimed that it had positioned so many troops in the area near the Thai border due to the possibility of threats to national security as a result of general elections in Thailand. Despite all of its talk to the contrary, by the end of March 1996, SLORC had taken all of the main KNPP bases near the Thai-Burma border. The KNPP reacted by reorganizing its guerrilla columns to prepare for other attacks.

With its policy of forced relocation, SLORC is removing the entire civilian population in the area so the KNPP columns will have no means of support and to terrorize civilians into convincing the KNPP to surrender. The Karenni Public Relations and Information Department estimates that as many as 75,000 people have been affected by SLORC's mass relocation orders in the Karenni state where the total relocated population is between 200,000 and 300,000. Currently, the only areas that remain unaffected by the relocation orders are in southern and central Karenni, where the Karenni Nationalities People's Liberation Front (KNPLF) operates; the KNPLF signed a cease-fire agreement with SLORC in 1994 which is still holding.

SLORC has moved over 30 battalions of 300 to 400 soldiers each to try to eliminate the Karenni armed opposition since the beginning of 1996. There were 27 battalions already in place in the area in March 1996, then another ten were added. These troops were moved immediately following the surrender of

Khun Sa's MTA troops in Shan State. Indeed, SLORC IBs 54, 72, 102, 249, and 250, and LIBs 109, 315, 306, 336, 337, 421, 427, 428, 429, 430, and 530 were sent to the Karenni area during the offensive. Various forms of human rights violations such as extrajudicial killings, rapes, torching villages, forced relocation, forced labor, and forced portering were carried out by the SLORC troops along with its offensive operation.

SLORC issued its first relocation orders in April 1996 in the Baw La Keh (often spelled Bawlake) area on the Pon River. (*See SLORC's order 55*) However, the biggest wave of relocations began on June 1, when an order was issued to all 98 villages between the Pon and Salween Rivers, an area 120 km. (north to south) by 15 km. (east to west), to move to relocation sites next to SLORC army camps at Shadaw and Ywathit. The order clearly stated that after June 7, anyone seen in or around any of these villages would be "considered as enemy," i.e., shot on sight, with no questions asked.

After the first massive relocation order, they just kept coming. To the south, villages in Pah Saung township were ordered to move to a relocation site near Pah Saung by June 20. Villages surrounding Mawchi and to the north and west all through the Too River watershed area, a total of at least 52 villages, were ordered to move to Mawchi, Bu Ko, and Kwa Chi by June 20. At least 26 villages east of Pruso and Deemawso were ordered to move by June 25, and seven to ten villages in the Daw Tama area, east of the Salween River, were forced to move to Daw Tama by the same deadline. Even just to the northeast of Loikaw, the capital, at least 29 villages have been forced to sign papers stating that they will be relocated if any shots are fired in their area.

At the end of April 1996, SLORC Minister of Tourism, Lieutenant General Kyaw Ba, made a public comment which defied SLORC's highly publicized efforts to encourage remaining ethnic groups to return to the legal fold and to join hands in a peaceful, democratic, and modern union. Instead, Lieutenant General Kyaw Ba, while commenting on the recent exoneration of opium warlord Khun Sa, said that SLORC could forgive Khun Sa following his surrender, as was the Burmese way, but the KNPP, who remained "recalcitrant" would not be granted any clemency. He continued, "we will smash them." In a statement issued on May 11, 1996, the KNPP reported several successful ambushes of SLORC troops in the area between the Pon and Salween rivers. Following the ambushes, SLORC killed some villagers living nearby in retaliation.

Most of the villagers affected by SLORC's relocation orders are ethnically Kayah, and there are also many Shans in some areas (no connection to events

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in Shan State). Even in areas where people have not been ordered to move, east of the Salween River, most people are hiding in the forest. They fear SLORC troops will take them as porters or forcibly relocate them at gunpoint.

Due to the short notice given by the SLORC authorities, most villagers could only manage to carry limited supplies on their backs; most of their food, livestock, and other property had to be left behind. In some cases even the sick, the elderly, and the disabled had to be left behind to fend for themselves in the abandoned villages because they could not manage the walk through the mountains and their relatives could not carry them. Crippled villagers and sick children were later found by returning villagers or KNPP columns, hiding alone in villages already burned and destroyed by the SLORC. In Daw Ei Hla village, a 60-year-old blind woman was left alone in her house with a little food. Her decomposed remains were later found where she had fallen in her house and died slowly of starvation.

After villagers have relocated, SLORC troops raid the abandoned villages. The soldiers kill the livestock and destroy crops and property, often razing entire villages. They steal everything. In Daw Leh Ku village alone, 22 houses, 300,000 baskets of paddy, and about 10 cattle and buffaloes were all stolen or destroyed by troops. In Ka Ya Kee village, it was reported that all the bibles in the Roman Catholic church there were burned.

On June 15, according to some refugees, one hundred houses in Daw Tama and Daw Bo Leh villages as well as the local schools and churches were burned down by the SLORC. In that village alone, soldiers looted more than 10,000 silver coins. One of the villagers reported that he had left 6,000 silver coins behind. Later, many villagers reported that they saw SLORC soldiers using and selling silver coins in Shadaw.

Although SLORC promises a supply of food at the relocation sites, the people are not provided anything, let alone food. It is important to note that these relocations occurred during the rice planting and growing season -- more than half of Karenni people had no rice harvest in 1996. During June, at Shadaw and Ywathit sites, SLORC permitted some villagers one last chance to return to their homes for seven to ten days to bring back some food. People at Shadaw were told to return by June 27 or be shot on sight. Villagers near Baw La Keh were told that in July 1996 all roads would be blockaded and cross-river ferry service stopped.

Many villagers used their chance to return to their farms as an opportunity to escape into the jungle or flee to Thailand. In July, about one month after the

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June relocation deadlines, SLORC troops launched an operation to burn and destroy all remaining villages. A similar operation was mounted in January 1997. Some villages were completely annihilated. Between the Pon and Salween Rivers, of the 98 villages ordered to relocate, 60 to 70 have reportedly been completely razed. In other villages, SLORC soldiers destroyed the best houses and the rice barns and killed all the villagers' livestock and cattle. Some villages were not destroyed but the soldiers laid landmines; some men and women were killed by the mines in Baw Ghu Der township, when they tried to return to their village.

Thousands of villagers are now living at SLORC-designated relocation sites at Shadaw, Ywathit, Daw Tama, Baw La Keh, Daw Tama Gyi, Tee Po Kloh, Kay Lia, Mar Kraw She, Maw Chi, Pah Saung, and Nwa La Bo. At Shadaw, some barracks are being built beside the military camp to house some of the people. However, at most sites, SLORC troops simply allocate an area of scrubland and tell the villagers to clear it. At Wan Mai, near Baw La Keh, the troops have confiscated farmland, marked it out with stakes and are forcing the relocated villagers to buy plots from the battalion to build their houses. At the Shadaw site, after the villagers had cleared the ground for their shelter, the troops decided that the area would be good for growing beans for the army and ordered the people to clear another place to settle. Most villagers are not able to build a house since bamboo and roofing leaves are difficult to obtain, especially during the rainy season. Six months after their relocation, most villagers were still living in make-shift shelters.

Upon arrival at most of the relocation camps, villagers had to hand over whatever rice they had to SLORC troops; the rice was then rationed back to them each week. For example, at Maw Chi, villagers received 8 milk tins per person per week (only half the amount required to feed an average-sized adult). The rations only lasted the first one or two months. At some of the camps, the Catholic Church has tried to help the villagers by providing rice, medicine, and blankets. In almost every case the SLORC has tried to confiscate or block the aid. The soldiers demand that all rice and supplies be handed over to them for distribution, then they take most of it for the army. The SLORC has also tried to stop churches from being set up in the relocation camps and has gone so far as to separate priests from their congregations, ordering them to move to Loikaw instead of the relocation camps. (A large proportion of Kayah people are Roman Catholic, and the Catholic Church is quite prevalent throughout Karenni State.). At Nwa La Bo camp, the township LORC officials ordered each relocated family to grow 3 acres of beans, harvest them, and gather them in the camp to be distributed among the villagers. As soon as the beans were gathered, the army loaded them on trucks and took them away.

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Water supplies are inadequate and unsanitary at many of the sites and disease is rampant. People seeking medical assistance must purchase their own medicine. At Shadaw, people must buy a "clinic ticket" before they can see a nurse. Many people are dying of disease at all of the relocation sites. In Shadaw, an estimated 300 villagers have died; in Mawchi, at least 100 have died from disease. Every day as many as 3 or 4 people, mostly children, die from malaria, dysentery, and respiratory diseases.

In most sites, people must perform forced labor for the soldiers. They are required to cut bamboo and wooden posts to build barracks and fences, to dig ditches, and to stand on sentry duty. In Shadaw, Daw Tama Gyi, and Tee Po Kloh sites, people are forced to do road construction work.

In order to ensure that more people do not flee the camps and that opposition groups do not raid them, SLORC has laid landmines around the relocation camps. Military defenses are especially prevalent at Shadaw, Maw Chi, and Ywathit sites, where SLORC is most wary of the KNPP forces. SLORC has built military posts inside the relocation sites and has arrested people inside, usually for suspicion of having contact with opposition groups. In Tee Po Kloh site in August 1996, 12 villagers were arrested for allegedly having contact with the KNPP; the 12 were severely beaten and tortured for their association. Five of the twelve villagers died while being tortured. The survivors were detained indefinitely without charge or trial at army camps. As of January 1997, at a batallion 530 camp alone, 64 Karenni villagers were still being detained for contact with the KNPP, including the seven survivors from Tee Po Kloh. Their fate is not known, nor are the numbers of villagers being held at other camps.

Many villagers who obtain passes to reach their villages go into hiding, constructing small shelters in the forest instead of returning to the camps. They collect food in their village or in the forest to survive. Most people are almost out of rice and will face critical circumstances very soon. Hundreds of people fled Shadaw, a large relocation site holding several thousand people, to KNPLF territory near the Shan border and have been sheltered in various villages. Some have fled across the border of Shan State and have been staying in SNPLO areas but they are now reportedly returning to their home areas. Some people fled the Shadaw relocation site to Loikaw (capital of Karenni), but SLORC didn't allow them to stay in the town, instead they put them in Nwa La Bo concentration camp, along the road north of Loikaw. About 700 people are presently at that site; they are reportedly receiving some rationed rice but the medical clinic is closed and there are no medical supplies.

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At least 3,000 people fleeing the relocation sites have arrived at Karenni refugee camps in Thailand, despite the difficulty and danger of the four to seven day walk through the jungle and over mountains in the monsoon rains and mud, with little or nothing to eat, and the all-too-real possibility of encountering SLORC troops along the way. A large proportion of people arrive at the refugee camps suffering from malaria, respiratory infections, fever, vomiting, diarrhea, dysentery, skin diseases, malnutrition, and exhaustion. Many children have died shortly after arriving at the camps. In the first week of July 1996, one observer estimated that one child was dying each day. Overseas aid organizations helping the refugees are treating as many people as possible with the limited resources available. SLORC officers make it difficult, they have already demanded that the Thai army return all of the refugees. (*See SLORC letter for travel to Karenni people in "Selected SLORC Orders"*)

At 2 a.m. on January 3, 1997, a force of between 20 and 50 armed men crossed into Thailand and attacked refugee camp 2, firing assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, M79 grenades, 60 mm. mortars and 2-inch mortars. One man and one woman were killed and at least nine refugees were wounded. The dead and wounded ranged in age from 14 to 60 years of age.

A written statement and uniform left behind after the attack indicated that it had been carried out by the Karenni National Democratic Army (KNDA), an armed wing of the Karenni National Democratic Party (KNDP). This "splinter" organization was formed on November 5, 1996; it allied itself with SLORC to fight against the KNPP. While the group claims to be independent, it is widely believed that the group was initiated by SLORC to divide the KNPP and to use as a front-group for attacking refugee camps in Thailand, just as SLORC has used the DKBA to attack Karen refugee camps further south. Some refugees and KNPP officials believe that the attackers were actually SLORC soldiers simply using the name of KNDA and KNDP, based near Deemawso, quite far from the area of camp 2. The refugees continue to be extremely afraid for their safety, as camp 2 is only a 20-minute walk from a SLORC camp across the border in Burma and the Thai authorities are clearly not willing to expend many resources defending the refugees or Thai territory.

### **5.3.3.1. List of Villages Forcibly Relocated in Karenni State**

The following villages are known to have been forcibly relocated in Karenni State. This list has been provided courtesy of the Karenni Information Ministry; it is not an exhaustive list. Numbers on the lists correspond to the numbered dots on the map showing village locations. Some village names are quite

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common and repeat themselves, such as Daw Kraw Aw, Daw Tama, and Daw Mu Say.

### Villages Between Pon River and Salween River

On June 1, 1996, the following 98 villages were sent a written order (see example copy in this report -- Order 55) to move to Shadaw or Ywathit relocation site by June 7, with most moving to Shadaw. The villages encompass an area measuring about 120 km. (from north to south) by 15 km. (from east to west).

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
1	Daw Kadweet	30	Pana Leh
2	Daw Taku	31	Tee Tho Ku
3	Daw Eida	32	Tin Loi
4	Daw Naw Klu	33	Daw Leh Ku
5	Tee Tarku	34	Daw Law Bu
6	Tee Leh	35	Nam Loi Yin
7	Naw Plu	36	Daw Ei Taw
8	Daw Tanaw	37	Shadaw (North)
9	Leh Dukaw	38	(name not given)
10	Daw Mu Say	39	Tee Ku Leh
11	Leh Du	40	Shadaw (West)
12	Thaw Thwee Leh	41	Shadaw (South)
13	Daw Mu Leh	42	Pa Lai Lai
14	Nam Aw Lay	43	Daw So Sah
15	Klaw Leh	44	Daw Pu Ei
16	Tee Ka Bo Leh	45	Bu Law Ku
17	Su Leh	46	Si Ko Leh
18	Daw Wai Raw	47	Daw Ta Ma
19	Thirida (East)	48	Daw Ta Maw
20	Thirida (West)	49	Daw Klaw Leh Du
21	Daw The Phu	50	Daw Thaw Bu
22	Daw Noh Ku	51	Daw Ei Lah
23	Daw Klaw Leh	52	Daw The
24	Daw Klo Ku	53	Nga Ma Loh Soe
25	Daw Mumar	54	Daw Klaw Leh Phu
26	Daw The	55	Daw Mi Ku
27	Daw So Klai	56	Daw Ei Sa
28	Daw Soe	57	Daw Klo Ku
29	Daw Kraw Aw	58	Daw Ta Tho

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
59	Daw Klai The	79	Manai Ku
60	Daw Klo Ku	80	Daw Leh Ku
61	Daw So Kyar	81	Tee Tho Ku
62	Tee Kay Leh	82	Daw Kulee
63	Daw Klaw Duh	83	Wan Loi
64	Dee Leh	84	Pa Ku Dah
65	Daw Soh Doh	85	Wan Pi Lu
66	Daw Klo Ku	86	Nam Lin
67	Daw Thaw Ku	87	Leh Way
68	Daw Tama	88	Mine Lam
69	Daw Tamwi	89	Wan Pha Gyi
70	Daw Bo Loh	90	Wan Pla
71	Daw Mu Say	91	Nan Chai
72	Daw Kraw Aw	92	Nan Noh
73	Daw Leh Da	93	Ji Kwe
74	Su Leh	94	Sa Laung
75	Daw Sar Si	95	Wan Aw 1
76	Daw Lar Leh	96	Wan Aw 2
77	Daw He So	97	Saw Lon
78	Nam Phe Ku	98	Tee Ke Leh

### Villages in the Pah Saung and Maw Chi area

In June 1996, the following 52 villages (there are possibly more) were ordered to move to relocation sites by June 20, 1996. Villages in Pah Saung township were forced to move to a site near Pah Saung, villages north and south of Maw Chi had to move to sites near Maw Chi, and a few villages, about 30 km. northwest of Maw Chi near the source of the Too River, were forced to move to Bu Ko and Kwa Chi villages. The entire area encompasses about an 80-km long swath going northwest from the Karen State border in the south up to the southern tip of Shan State.

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
99	Peh Ko Kee	104	Baw Tar
100	Ko Baw Doh	105	Bu Law Po
101	Ku Tru	106	Har Thedo
102	Lay Law Tee	107	Kaw Tu Doh
103	Tu Doh Lay Ko	108	Sho Daw Ko

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
109	Plo Ti	130	Ka Tho Kee
110	Ma Tu Peh	131	Pweh Li Ko
111	Yeh Mu Peh	132	Thi Bo
112	Pan Put	133	Hu Mu Kla
113	Nam Kut	134	Ra Raw Bo
114	Pa Haw Ko	135	Lar Wa
115	Yaw Di Ka	136	Thaw Thi Lu
116	Po Bu Ku	137	Par Put
117	Sho Ka Seh (1)	138	Tu Ka Thu
118	Sho Ka Seh (2)	139	Thaw Thi Po
119	Geh Lo (lower)	140	La Par Ti
120	Ka Bweh Doh	141	Doh Po
121	Plah Kee	142	Pain Chit
122	Bwa Doh	143	Kaw Kee
123	La Bweh Po	144	Doh Mo Kaw
124	Ho Sak	145	Sonlel
125	Ka Baw Nga	146	Yu Lay Ko
126	Bu Ko	147	Ko Leh
127	Kwa Chi	148	Bweh Do Tha
128	Sho Lo	149	Keh Kaw
129	Lel Po	150	Par Weh

### **Villages in the Dee Maw So, Pruso and Baw La Keh area**

The following 26 villages east of the Baw La Keh-Pruso-Dee Maw So road were forced to move to relocation sites at Tee Po Klo, Kay Lia, Daw Tama Gyi, and Baw La Keh by the June 25, 1996. The area measures about 40 km. north to south and 15 km. east to west.

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
151	Daw Ku Li	159	Daw Bya Ku
152	Daw Lyah Ku	160	Daw Ta Kleh
153	La Li Leh	161	Daw Law Ku
154	Daw Law Ku	162	Kay Bi Soe
155	Bu Lyar	163	Daw Pet
156	Ta Po	164	Daw Preh Tu
157	Daw Tanaw	165	Daw So Ku
158	Daw Put	166	Tee The Ku

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
167	Daw Takya	172	Daw Par
168	Daw Kyli	173	Daw Tama Gyi
169	Daw Mo Sheh	174	Daw Klet
170	Bu Ku	175	Daw So Pya
171	Daw Kaw	176	Daw Nyeh Ku

### **Daw Tama area**

The following 7 villages in the Daw Tama area, east of the Salween River near the Thai border, were forced to move to a relocation site near Daw Tama by June 25, 1996.

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
177	Thaw Thwi Leh	181	Myeh Leh
178	Tee Kaw Leh	182	Daw Peh
179	Daw Plaw Du	183	Daw Ta Tho
180	Daw Tama		

### **Loikaw area**

Elders in the following 29 villages northeast of Loikaw have been forced to sign papers guaranteeing that they will relocate if any shots are fired in the region. The area, about a 25 km. square area, is located between the Loikaw-Taunggyi road and the Pon River, from Loikaw northward to the Shan border.

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
184	Pa Da Nyeh	194	Nam Ma Hu
185	Pa Kyeh Thit	195	Daw The
186	Pa Temah	196	Daw Par Pa
187	Daw Mu Kla	197	Mai Mya
188	Lar Boi (lower)	198	Tha Wa
189	Lar Boi (upper)	199	Wah
190	Sam Pya	200	Paya Pyu
191	Daw Kraw Ku	201	Ye Kan
192	Daw The	202	Kon Nah (lower)
193	Lay Aim Su	203	Kone Paw

No.	Village Name	No.	Village Name
204	Wan Kar	209	Tee Lon
205	Kon Mako	210	Nam Sonkuay
206	Koy Ton	211	Wa Ngaw (west)
207	Nam Koy	212	Wa Ngaw (east)
208	Mae Huso		

(Sources for Sections 5.3.3. - 5.3.3.1: KHRG, SHRF, GN-32, & ABSDF)

### 5.3.4. Forced Relocation in Tenasserim Division

Altogether 25,000 civilians from over 5,200 families and 79 villages in Tenasserim, Boke Pyin, and Kyunsuu townships in the southern coastal region of Burma have been affected by forced relocation orders.

In early 1996, the SLORC established a new Coastal Region Military Command office in Tenasserim division; over 15 local battalions operate from the Command center. According to local sources, SLORC created this new regional command headquarters for the following reasons: to divide the armed revolutionary forces; to build up military power to control the local population; to develop Tenasserim division as an economic region; to ensure all resistance to the Ye-Tavoy railway and gas pipeline construction during the 1997 dry season will be countered; and to stabilize the military power in the region. Since the formation of this new Regional Command office, local people in the coastal region of Tenasserim Division have suffered a new wave of human rights abuses. These abuses have been carried out under the command of Brigadier-General Thiha Thura Sit Maung, a decorated military officer, known for his military campaigns against the Shan communists in 1977 and for the recent SLORC occupation of the Three pagodas Pass region.

In the relocation order, the SLORC authorities accuse the local people of failing to obey previous orders to report the activities of ethnic armed forces and ABSDF students. Under the forced relocation orders, families were to move out from their villages within a very short period of time, they had to leave behind all their belongings. SLORC threatened that anyone found in their village after the deadline would be killed on the spot. SLORC battalions charged with the relocation operations in the region are as follows: IBs 25 and 17, based in Mergui and LIBs 224, 358, 431, and 432 through 440.

Commander Sit Maung developed a harsh strategy to end the ethnic armed opposition in the Tenasserim Division. On June 6, 1996, in Theyet Chaung

township, he outlined his strategy in some detail. The major tactics he announced were: 1) if the insurgents fire a gun in any of the villages, this village is to be relocated within seven days, 2) if an insurgent group attacks inside SLORC territory, all the villages that the insurgent groups came through will have to move, 3) if any SLORC soldiers die during the fighting, the village that is nearest the fighting will have to pay compensation amounting to 50,000 kyats for each dead body, 4) if the insurgents take military equipment or food, the nearest village will have to pay the full cost, 5) if any SLORC arms are lost, the nearest village will have to pay compensation amounting to 15,000 kyats, and 6) the village where any battle takes place or any insurgent supporters exposed will be burned to the ground.

Since the cease-fire talks between the KNU and the SLORC did not look promising, the SLORC launched an offensive against the KNU bases in the Tenasserim region. Before launching its military offensive against the KNU, the SLORC had already begun forcibly relocating the villagers formerly under the semi-control of KNU in May 1996.

Moreover, the negotiations of the continued cease-fire agreement between the MNSP and SLORC has taken a turn for the worse recently. According to the cease-fire signed in June 1995, the NMLA was to give the SLORC the area under control of the most southern military command at the end of 1996. After several rounds of discussion with SLORC, the MNSP leaders agreed to withdraw MNSP troops from the area they had been controlling for several years. However, many low rank Mon soldiers and ordinary soldiers, dissatisfied with the agreement drawn by the MNSP leaders, split from the MNSP and formed the Mon Army, Mergui District (MAMD). The MAMD vowed to resume fighting with the SLORC. Soon after the formation of the MAMD and its declaration to continue fighting, the SLORC launched a military offensive against the MAMD bases in November 1996. (*Source: ABSDF*)

After the relocation deadline, several villagers have been killed by the SLORC troops while they launched patrol or military offensives to rebel bases. The two villagers named U Pho Khwe (52 years old) and his son named Lu Taw (13 years old) from Phar Ma village of Tenasserim Division were shot and killed by the SLORC troops of LIB 358 in the last week of October, 1996, while trying to get to the forest from a rice-farm.

Besides the execution of some villagers, several villagers disappeared from where relocation orders were issued. In the Ye Khan Chang area alone, about 40 villagers disappeared. Most of the disappearances were men; it is speculated that they have been arrested and killed or brought along with SLORC troops as

porters or forced laborers. (*Source: MIS/BKK*)

#### 5.4. Cemeteries Relocated for Hotel Project

In yet another demonstration of its lack of respect for other religions, SLORC has ordered the relocation of Christian cemeteries. In March 1997, families were given extremely short notice in which to collect the remains of their loved ones; SLORC warned that any graves unaccounted for would be bulldozed.

Some months prior to the other cemetery relocations, SLORC officials announced that the Christian cemetery next to the Rangoon Zoological Garden would be moved. Families moved remains from that cemetery to a larger cemetery located at Nat-nat-taw. Recently, SLORC announced its plans for a hotel project at the site of Kyandaw cemetery, the largest cemetery in Rangoon. Kyandaw cemetery is home to the remains of many late great leaders of Burma, including former presidents and prime ministers as well as the tombed remains of the "thirty comrades."

In fact, SLORC has plans to use the sites of both Na-nat-taw and Kyandaw cemeteries for hotel projects. The projects are reportedly to be financed by Japanese interests and the drug kingpin, Khun Sa, who is being given royal treatment by the Generals. The United States has indicted Khun Sa on drug charges, but the SLORC refuses to extradite him. Once again, Christian families have collected the remains of their loved ones from Nat-nat-taw cemetery and reburied them at Ye Wei cemetery near Shwe Nyaungbin on Rangoon-Pegu road.

#### 5.5. Other Incidents of Forced Relocation

- On January 12, 1996, IB 55 Column Commander Tint Nyaing ordered Play Sah Lo village in Taungoo district to relocate to Tha Pyay Nyunt army camp by January 15, 1996. (*Source: KHRG*)
  - On January 22, 1996, Kyo Kee, Oo Ber, and Tee Sha Ber villages in Taungoo district were ordered to move to Kler Lah village; they were told that IB 55 troops would shoot all villagers who tried to remain in their villages. (*Source: KHRG*)
  - On February 2, 1996, Brigadier General Kyi Aung and Strategic Commander Myo Hla ordered IB 55 Battalion Commander Lieutenant
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Colonel Khin Maung Win to relocate Play Sah Lo village, in Taungoo district to Baya Na Thi. At noon the same day, Khin Maung Win and his troops reached Play Sah Lo and captured 40 people, including teachers and schoolchildren, who were having a meeting. The soldiers forced the group to cut bamboo, clear roads, and perform hard labor in Baya Na Thi. The soldiers told the group they would continue abusing them until they convinced all of their relatives in Play Sah Lo to move to Baya Na Thi. To help convince the villagers to move, the SLORC troops went to Play Sah Lo village and looted the village houses and stole money worth about 30,000 kyats. The same troops have ordered Zee Pyu Gone, Taw Ku, and Yay Sha villages to move to Sah Zee Bone village. (*Source: KHRG*)

- On February 6, 1996, IB 20 and LIB 535 formed a combined column of 200 soldiers. They marched into Chin Baung Taung village in Taungoo district burned three field huts and ricefields, destroyed and looted villager's belongings and stole livestock. They forced the villagers in Mein Lah Taung, Sin At Taung, Mi Ee Taung, Seik Pu Taung, and Kywe Kyat villages to move to a site at Bo Tay Gone. They also forced Ah Mya Taung, Shwe Lone Taung, Chin Baung Taung, and Tee Day villages to move to a site at Shan Lay Pyay. Some villagers have relocated as ordered, but many have gone into hiding or fled northward to the hills east of Pyinmana since it is quite difficult to reach the Thai border. (*Source: KHRG*)
- In mid-February 1996, Taw Ma Aye village in Tantabin township was ordered to dismantle all 150 of their homes and rebuild at Aung Myay Yan Za Pya village. Soldiers are forcing people to work at the relocation site, constructing roads, cutting bamboo, and making fences for the army. (*Source: KHRG*)
- On February 13, 1996, following a KNLA attack on two military camps of SLORC's IB 39 and LIB 434, SLORC ordered nine villages in Nyaunglaybin district to relocate. The villages are as follows: Pa Reh Si, Noh Taw Hta, Toh Kain Ko, Karen Yin Leh, K'Mo Meh, Thein Ghay Loh, Aye Pin Su, Oh Chit Ko, and Yin Twin Ko villages. Pa Reh Si village, the closest to the February 13 attacks, was forced to move upon receipt of the order, in just one afternoon. Villagers with larger houses did not have enough time to move everything; in the evening SLORC troops burned all the houses. Shortly thereafter, IB 60 troops led by Bo Aung Kyaw Htoo arrested a man and woman from Pa Reh Si village. Thein Ghay Lo villager bribed SLORC troops with 400,000

kyats in order to avoid relocation. (*Source: KHRG*)

- A total of 30,000 people from Kyun Hla township and nearby villages in Shwe Bo district, Sagaing division were ordered to vacate their native villages by March 1996. They were ordered to relocate to make way for the construction of the Thaphan Seik dam, now underway. In all, 1,084 houses, 40 government offices and monasteries from Kyun Hla township and 5506 houses in nearby villages were forced to move. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- In March 1996, four villages, seven miles east of Taungoo, Karen State, were ordered by SLORC to relocate in order to build a new army training center. The villages forced to move were Lon Bu, Tha Htay Gone, Kya Sakan, and Saw Lo. Despite villagers protestations that the land was covered with their betelnut and coffee plantations, the SLORC forced them to move without compensation. All of the houses and churches in all four villages were demolished. (*Source: KHRG*)
- On May 2, 1996, Strategic Commander Colonel Aung Naing Htun and LIB 344 officer Tin Tun Zaw (both from Western Command) ordered Day Lo village and other villages west of Thauk Ye Kat stream to move to a “combined relocation village” at Su Zee near Than Daung by May 9, 1996. (*Source: KHRG*)
- On May 20, 1996, the same column of IB 234 troops invaded Tee Loh and K’Ser Doh villages in Taungoo district, arrested villagers and forced them to Baya Na Thi relocation site. (*Source: KHRG*)
- On September 3, 1996, villages in Palaw township, Tenassarim division were ordered to relocate to Nandaw and Kyauk Taung villages, under the control of IB 101 by the end of September 1996. The villages were as follows: Pyi Char, Nga Tat, Maw Kamar, Ye Pu, Hti Lu, and Nagar Ai. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- During this forced relocation, brutal massacres have also been taking place in the area by the military. In June, 1996, 87 people were killed in Kyunsuu township on Don Island, and in May another 36 people were killed in the island’s Eastern Mergui township. One eyewitness said all of the victims were innocent people working on the island and had no connection with the armed groups in the region. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- In May 1996, seven family members, including an infant were brutally

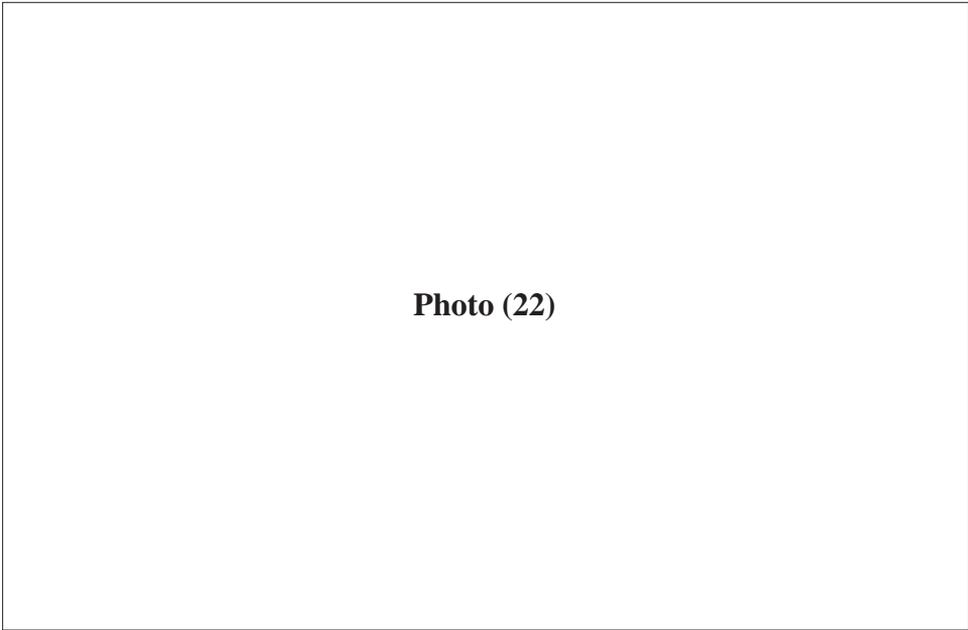
shot and killed by LIB 358 in Bokeyyin township in Kyein-me Taung. Six civilians were also killed by a military column led by Major Htun Hla from LIB 17 in Tenasserim Township in Pawa Chaungwa. (*Source: ABSDF*)

- SLORC's LIB232, led by Commander Major Ohn Myint and deputy Commander Major Kyi Myint ordered people from village groups of Shinmataung, Minlanchaung, and Kothittaung, on the east bank of Sittaung river in Thandaung district, Karen State to relocate to Thitpokepin village, SLORC's so-called "concentration village" by the end of September 1996. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- Locals in Moemauk town, Bamaw District, near the Sino-Burma border, reported that the SLORC had pressured the KIO to relocate villagers in the area to areas under military control. One of designated areas is Nalone village. The primary school the SLORC had established has since been closed because the village only contains about ten households. The locals also reported that the military is pressuring the KIO to allow an army outpost, police, and customs and immigration office to be stationed at Loizar village on the border. However, they say due to the small size of the village, this may not be practical. The locals believe these demands by the military are just the beginning of the demands that it will make on armed ethnic groups after it agrees to a cease-fire with them. (*Source: ABSDF/North*)
- Local SLORC troops ordered villagers to relocate by 10:00 am May 26, 1996; villages that refused to move would be burned down. The relocation operation was carried out by LIBs 443, 265, 267, IB 17, and naval unit 38. So far, Le Thit, Ban Da Ne, Myaing Tha, Kyun Tha, Kan Tha, Than Pya, and Kyauk Tan Nge villages have all been totally destroyed by SLORC troops. Pe Tai, Sit Pu, Bang Taung, Thin Poona Kyun, Kye Ka Yan, Thin Kan Chaung, Phaya Htwet, Ya Mon, Kyauk Kon, Kyauk Pate, and Shaw Taw Maw villages have been relocated. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- In November 1996, SLORC troops from Longko-based SLORC LIB 99, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Khin Soe ordered the villagers in Kenglom district, Shan State to relocate to Kenglom village. On November 9, 1996, a military column led by Major Kyaw Thu forced the villagers from Wan Pai village. The soldiers later burned down four houses in the village. The SLORC troops also looted the houses in the village and confiscated cattle, chickens, pigs and household goods, according

to a Shan United Revolutionary Army source. (*Source: ABSDF*)

- In December 1996, SLORC ordered 14 Karen villages in Tavoy, Tenasserim, near the Thai-Burma border, to relocate to an industrial estate. The SLORC, along with some Thai investors, plans to build a 2 billion baht "Tavoy Deep Seaport" along with a 1,000-rai industrial estate that will be linked with Thailand's Western Seaboard project by a "land bridge" from Tavoy to Kanchanaburi in Thailand. The Tavoy industrial estate will include plants for processing agricultural goods, manufacturing wood furniture, and producing energy. (*Source: ABSDF*)
- On December 14, 1996, SLORC IB 64 Commander Khine Than Aye ordered headman Pu Haeng La of Hai Phak village tract, Murng Nai township, Shan State to move all the villagers from four of the villages in Hai Phak tract. The four villages were as follows: Hai Sen (37 houses/190 people), Nawng Kham Mon (30 houses/140 people), Nawng Khem (26 houses/ 130 people), Mong Kham (45 houses/230 people). (*Source: SHRF*)
- On January 20, 1997, 150 SLORC troops led by Major Aung Zaw Tun of IB. 44 from Kun Hing accused villagers from Wan Nam Oi of supporting Shan resistance groups and ordered them to move immediately to Hai Pa village tract. The village headman, Loong Zai Long, asked Major Aung Zaw Thun to give them 3 days to move; his request was denied. In all, 297 people (137 males and 160 females) relocated in one day. At 3 p.m. the following day, Major Aung Zaw Thun sent his second in command Major Thun Tin along with 60 troops back to Wan Nam Oi to burn down the village and steal all of the livestock. (*Source: SHRF*)
- In February 1997, SLORC local battalions ordered six villages, along the Kami stream, to relocate to the west side of the stream by February 25, 1997. Many villagers chose to flee to the Thai-Burma border rather than adhere to SLORC's orders. The following villages were affected by the relocation order: 1) Kyauk Ai village -- 50 households; 2) Kalat Kyi village -- 40 households; 3) Kadaung Ni village -- 150 households; 4) Gaung Say Chaung village -- over 60 households; Kyaunt Talon village -- over 30 households; and Kami village -- over 60 households. (*Source: FTUB*)

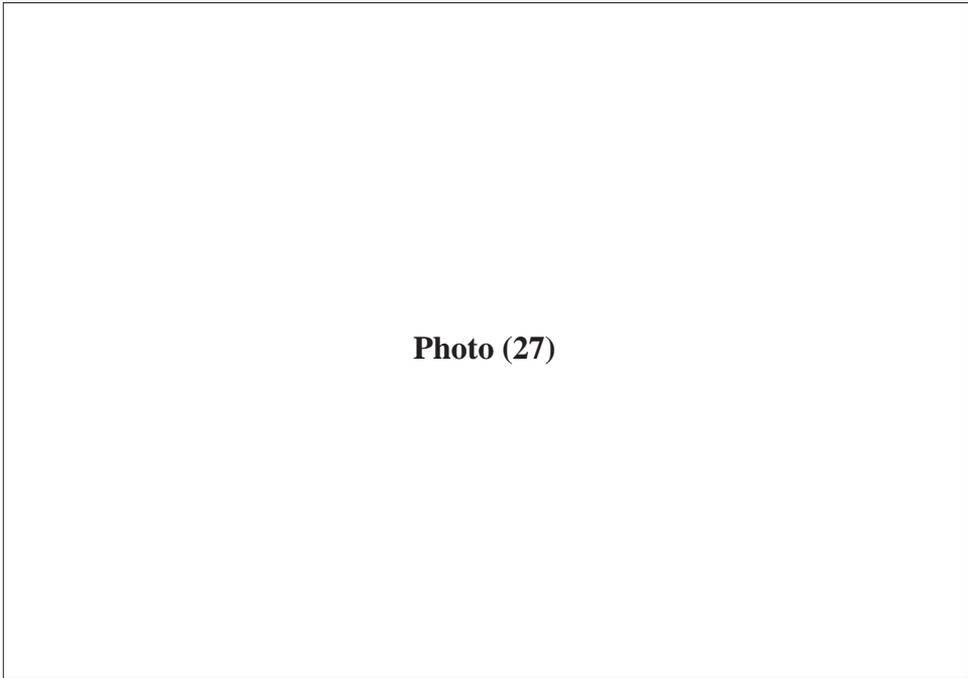
(See also under "Personal Accounts," interviews 15, 52, 53, 56-67, 70-75, 77, 78, 79, and 89-91)



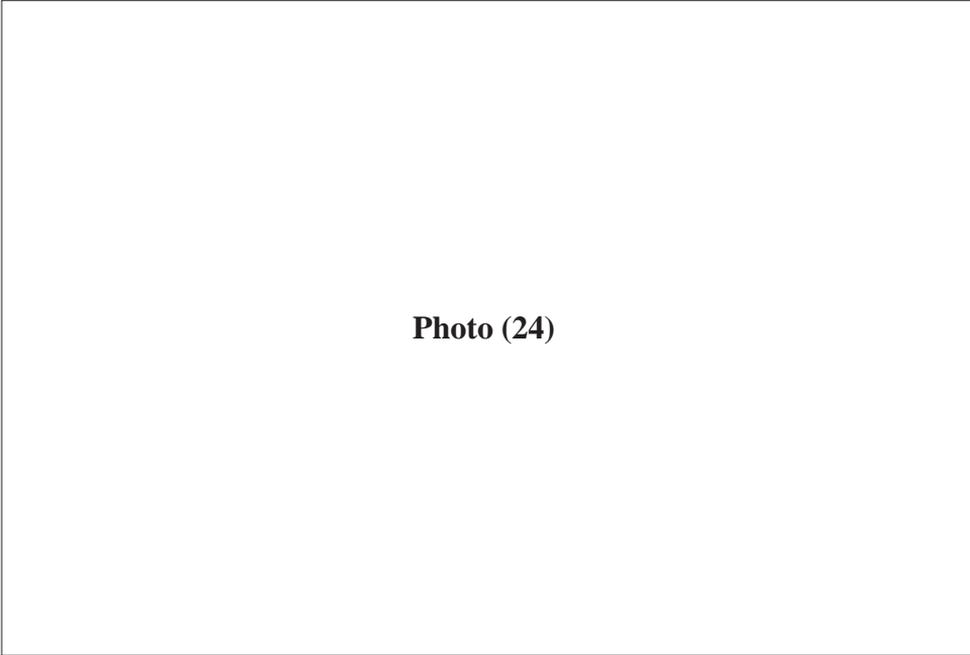
**Photo (22)**

**Yadanabon Myothit, a new relocation site in Mandalay. (Photo by HRDU)**

**People are fleeing to Thailand to escape the forced relocation order in Tenasserim Division. (Photo by PLF)**



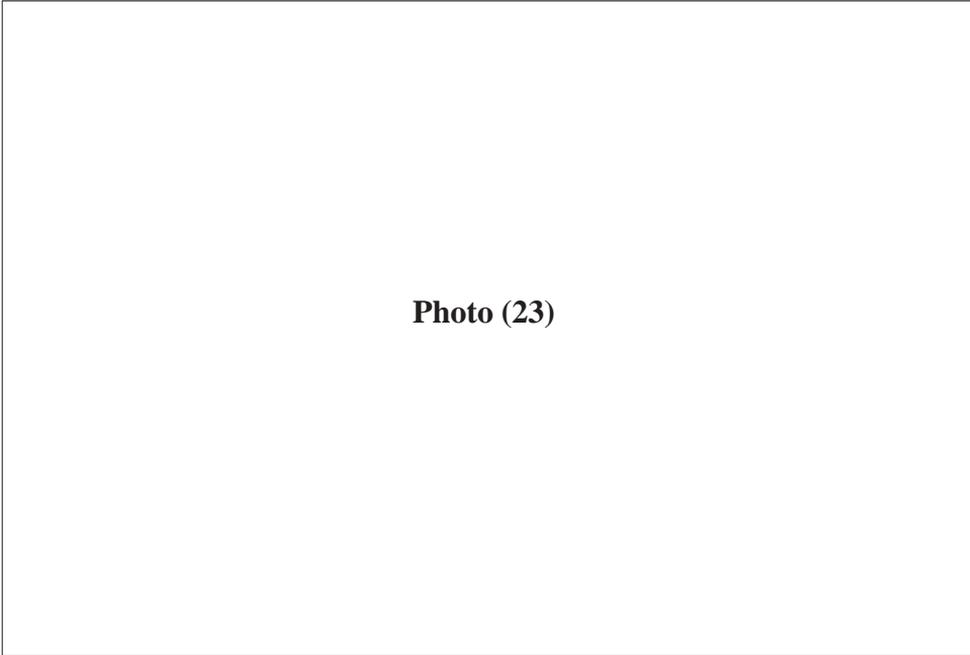
**Photo (27)**



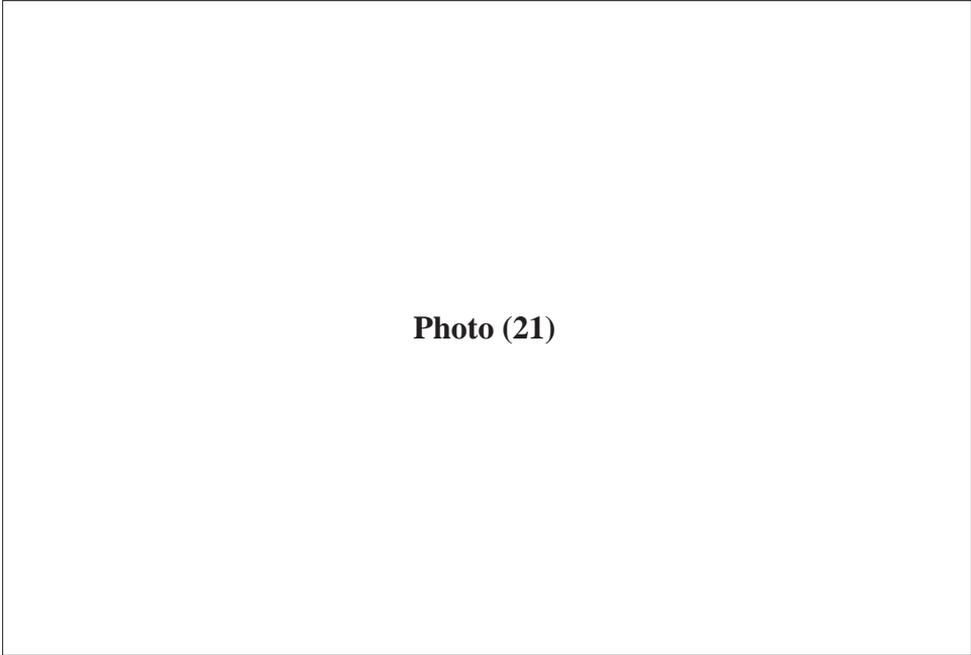
**Photo (24)**

**Newly relocated site for civilians in Kalay, Sagaing Division.  
(Photo by Tarzan Htun)**

**Houses in Aung Thitsa ward, Kalay, Sagaing Division were destroyed under  
the SLORC relocation order. (Photo by Tarzan Htun)**



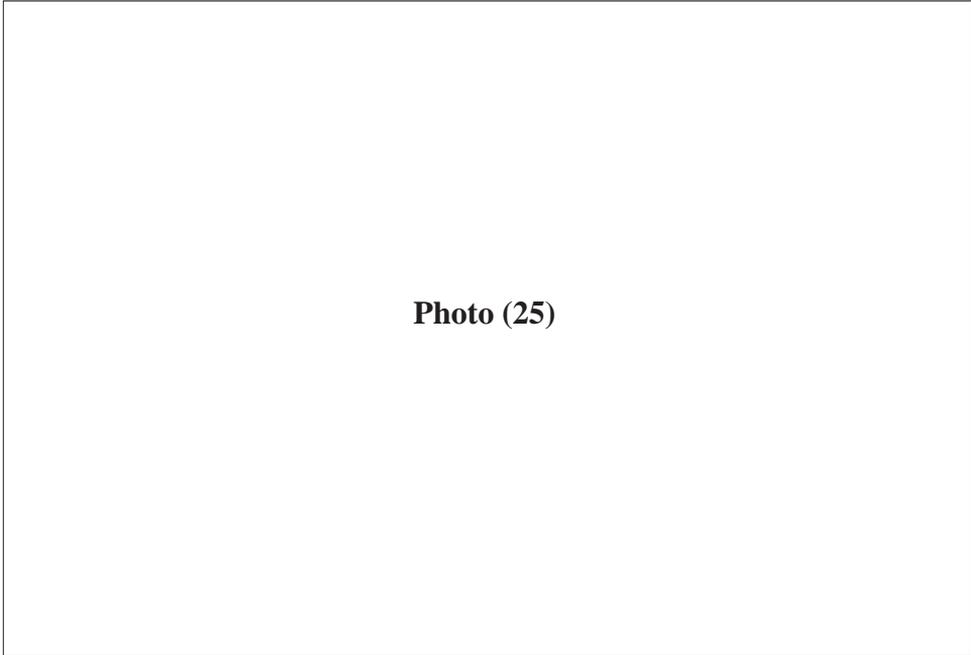
**Photo (23)**



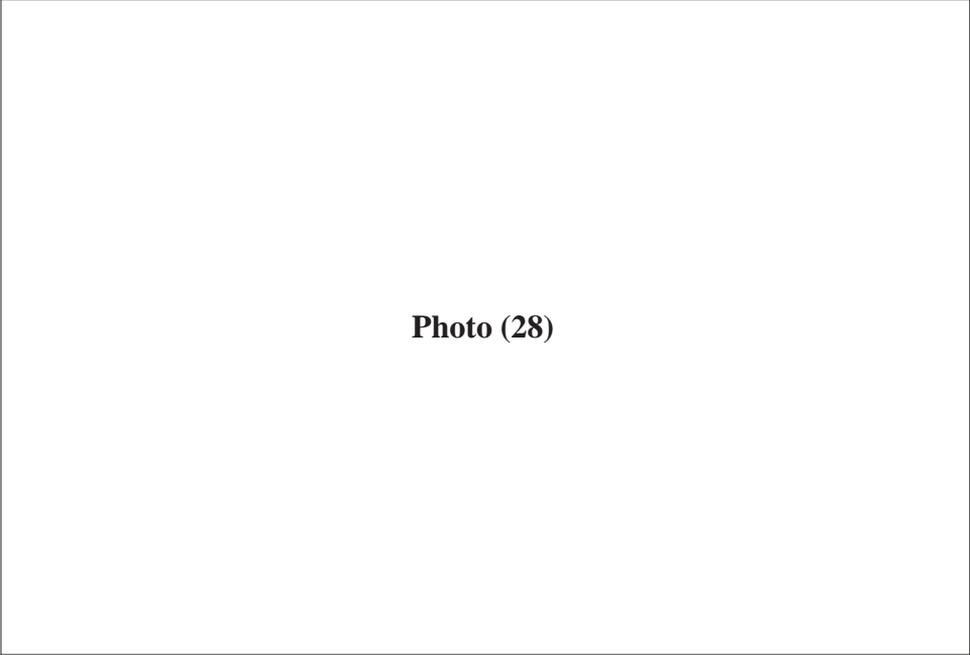
**Photo (21)**

**People from outside Mandalay were forcibly relocated to a new place during 1996. (Photo by SAIN)**

**Houses are left abandoned in a village in Karenni State, as refugees flee SLORC's relocation orders. (Photo by KNPP Information Department)**



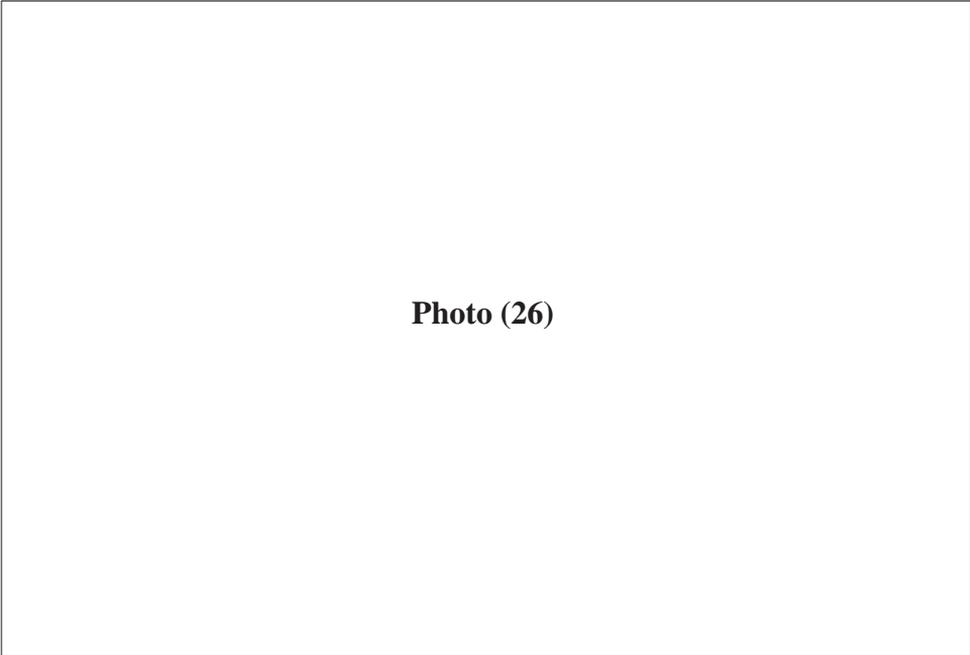
**Photo (25)**



**Photo (28)**

**(“Rest in Pieces”). Kyandaw Cemetary in Rangoon where the historic leaders of Burma were tombed also faced relocation orders for a hotel project.**

**Remains of a 60-year-old blind woman in Daw Ei Hla village, Shadaw township, Karenni State. She stayed behind in the village when the villagers fled after the relocation order. She fell down in her house and starved to death. Her remains were found 1 to 2 months after villagers fled. (Photo by Karenni Sources)**



**Photo (26)**

**5.6. Maps of Relocated Villages in Shan State**

**FORCED RELOCATION IN LARNG KHER TOWNSHIP**

**P (1)**

**FORCED RELOCATION IN MURNG NAI TOWNSHIP**

**P (2)**

## FORCED RELOCATION IN NAM ZARN TOWNSHIP

P (3)

## FORCED RELOCATION IN LAI KHA TOWNSHIP

**P (4)**

## FORCED RELOCATION IN MURNG KERNG TOWNSHIP

P (5)

**FORCED RELOCATION IN KUN HING TOWNSHIP**

**P (6)**

## FORCED RELOCATION IN NORTHERN KE SEE TOWNSHIP

P (7)

## FORCED RELOCATION IN SOUTHERN KE SEE TOWNSHIP

P (8)

## FORCED RELOCATION IN MARNG SU TOWNSHIP

**P (9)**

## MAP OF VILLAGES IN SHA DAW TOWNSHIP FORCED TO RELOCATE BY SLORC IN KARENNI STATE

- |                     |                 |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Daw Kadeel       | 65. Daw Sodo    |
| 2. Daw Taku         | 66. Daw Kloku   |
| 3. Daw Eida         | 67. Daw Thaw Ku |
| 4. Daw Nawklu       | 68. Daw Tama    |
| 5. Tee Taraku       | 69. Daw Tamwi   |
| 6. Tee Leh          | 70. Daw Bolo    |
| 7. Naw Plu          | 71. Daw Musay   |
| 8. Daw Tanaw        | 72. Daw Kraw Aw |
| 9. Leh Dukaw        | 73. Daw Lehda   |
| 10. Daw Musay       | 74. Su Leh      |
| 11. Leh Du          | 75. Daw Sar Si  |
| 12. Thaw Thwi Leh   | 76. Daw Lar Leh |
| 13. Daw Mulch       | 77. Daw He So   |
| 14. Nam Aw Lay      | 78. Nam Phe Ku  |
| 15. Klaw Leh        | 79. Manai Ku    |
| 16. Tee Kabolch     | 80. Daw Leh Ku  |
| 17. Su Leh          | 81. Tee Tho Ku  |
| 18. Daw Wal Raw     | 82. Daw Kulee   |
| 19. Thirida(East)   | 83. Wam Loi     |
| 20. Thirida(West)   | 84. Paku Da     |
| 21. Daw The' Phu    | 85. Wam Pillu   |
| 22. Daw Noh Ku      | 86. Nam Lm      |
| 23. Daw Klaw Leh    | 87. Leh Way     |
| 24. Daw Kloku       | 88. Mine Lam    |
| 25. Daw Munnar      | 89. Wam Pha Gyi |
| 26. Daw The'        | 90. Wam Pla     |
| 27. Daw So Klai     | 91. Wam Chai    |
| 28. Daw Soe         | 92. Nan Noli    |
| 29. Daw Kraw Aw     | 93. Ji Kwa      |
| 30. Pana Leh        | 94. Sa Laung    |
| 31. Tee Thoku       | 95. Wam Aw 1    |
| 32. Tin Loi         | 96. Wam Aw 2    |
| 33. Daw Leh Ku      |                 |
| 34. Daw Law Bu      |                 |
| 35. Nam Loi Yin     |                 |
| 36. Daw Ei Taw      |                 |
| 37. Shadaw(North)   |                 |
| 38.                 |                 |
| 39. Tee Kulch       |                 |
| 40. Shadaw(West)    |                 |
| 41. Shadaw(South)   |                 |
| 42. Pa Lai Lai      |                 |
| 43. Daw Sosa        |                 |
| 44. Daw Pu Ei       |                 |
| 45. Bu Law Ku       |                 |
| 46. Si Kolch        |                 |
| 47. Daw Tama        |                 |
| 48. DawTamaw        |                 |
| 49. Daw Klawlch Du  |                 |
| 50. Daw Thaw Bu     |                 |
| 51. Daw Ei Lah      |                 |
| 52. Daw The         |                 |
| 53. Nga Maloh Soe   |                 |
| 54. Daw Klawleh Phu |                 |
| 55. Daw Miku        |                 |
| 56. Daw Ei Sa       |                 |
| 57. Daw Kloku       |                 |
| 58. Daw Ta Tho      |                 |
| 59. Daw Klai The    |                 |
| 60. Daw Kloku       |                 |
| 61. Daw So Kyar     |                 |
| 62. Tee Kay Leh     |                 |
| 63. Daw Klaw Du     |                 |
| 64. Doe Leh         |                 |