

STATE INDUCED VIOLENCE
and
POVERTY in BURMA

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Geneva
June, 2004

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Conceptual Approach

We are guided in our research by a human rights approach to poverty (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, September 2002), defined as an 'extreme form of deprivation'. Poverty is the denial of resources, economic, social and political power that keeps the people of Burma in poverty. Our research aims to investigate increasing poverty and study the reasons for unsustainable livelihoods in Burma. We argue systemic long-term violations of farmer rights and acts of State violence on citizens perpetuate poverty. Low levels of social capital, widespread military conflict and public sector corruption create and sustain poverty.

The objective of this research paper is to describe specific ways in which the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) deprives the people of Burma of their land and livelihood. Confiscation of land, labour, crops and capital; destruction of person and property; forced labour; looting and expropriation of food and possessions; forced sale of crops to the military; extortion of money through official and unofficial taxes and levies; forced relocation and other abuses by the State.

Burma has been ruled for more than 40 years by successive military regimes. The military sees itself as the central institution of the State dedicated to safeguarding the unity and integrity of the nation. This un-elected, illegitimate role as national saviour is stated in the army's three national causes: Non-disintegration of the union; Non-disintegration of national solidarity; Consolidation of national solidarity. The army maintains a tight grip on cultural, social, religious and economic affairs in Burma. Culture, religion, and nationalism are exploited by the State military elites who act to suppress wages and workers.

Military rule has resulted in widespread poverty (The Burma Fund, 2003: 24). A United Nations (1997) survey found that 70% of household expenditure was on food, an indicator of the extreme vulnerability of people in Burma. It is estimated that this vulnerability has increased during the past years. The majority of the population remains poor, the land is increasingly impoverished, and most people simply try to survive living in fear of the military. This poverty, more acute in the non-Burmese ethnically dominated border areas, is a direct result of violations by the military regimes of the freedoms of citizens of Burma (Hudson-Rodd & Myo Nyunt, 2000; 2001; Myo Nyunt & Hudson-Rodd, 2002). The state army commits a range of human rights violations in the context of counter-insurgency activities in these ethnic areas. Land is the ultimate resource, for without it people cannot sustain their lives. The majority of people in Burma depend on the land for their livelihood. Farmers in the rural villages of ethnic areas are denied their means of subsistence by the military which commits acts of systemic violence against the people.

Amartya Sen argues (1999: 11) that freedoms of different kinds strengthen one another. Political freedoms in the form of free speech and elections promote

economic security. Social opportunities in the form of education and health care facilitate economic participation. Economic facilities in the form of opportunities for participation in trade and production help to generate personal abundance and public resources.

According to Articles 3, 5, 17 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*:

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person;

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;

No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property

The military regime dictates policy and prevents people from freely pursuing their lives in peace. People are denied political and civil liberties. Restrictions are imposed on their individual and group freedoms denying participation in the social, economic and political life of their country. The military state violates these rights of individuals and families forcing people off their farms and land, confiscating property, crops and labour, destroying villages. People are unable to live and prevented from supporting families at subsistence levels.

According to: Article 8 *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*:

No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour.

Article 20 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*:

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

No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Poverty is created by the military regime as the SPDC exploit the rhetoric of nationalism to mask oppression of workers for state 'development'. The SPDC force men, women, and children to labour as porters for the army, to clear landmines, construct infrastructure (dams, roads, bridges), work in army fields and factories (ICFTU, 2002; US Department of State, 2003). People are forced to give 'donations', extra 'taxes', 'gifts' of food, crops, time, labour, to the army. This rent-seeking behaviour is widespread in the context of Burma with no civil society and a total disregard for the rule of law and human rights. In our research we adopt the economic perspective of corruption and define corrupt activities, or rent-seeking, as unearned increments of income extracted by powerful and influential interest groups, who can exploit their connections for personal gain through bribes, 'donations', and other forms of payment. Army officials in the SPDC, local village members of the SPDC exploit their connections for personal gain through bribes, 'donations', taxes and other forms of payments over and above their salaries for public service. Therefore, these rents augment salaries and fringe benefits of the office holder. They represent "excess return for status and influence. As such, rents contrast sharply with labor's productivity derived from skill or technical knowledge". Rent-seeking is the "act of subordinating public interest for private gain" (Mehmet, 2001). Rents are unearned income, a bonus due to bureaucratic decision-making process to influence the economic outcomes in favour of special interest groups.

The World Bank (2000/2001: 103) shows that the burden of corruption falls disproportionately on the poor. This is evident in Burma where rent-seeking practices are widespread. Corruption works on secrecy. With membership in workers' unions banned, people have no freedom to discuss publicly these violations

of rights. Forced labour practices and child labour represent extreme forms of exploitation. In this process, the systemic violation of workers rights perpetuates poverty by constantly reproducing generations of poor. The military elite extract rents strengthening their position on top. Human rights are undermined further because corruption needs secrecy and suppression of worker rights, such as no freedom of association and forced labour. Rent-seeking prevents the emergence of civil society and good governance (Mehmet, 2001). In 2000, the International Labour Organization (the ILO) established that the regime had not taken action to deal with the widespread and systematic use of forced labour in Burma.

We are guided by rent-seeking analysis to explain the ways and extent of State induced poverty through violation of human rights. Through analysis of official government reports, scholarly papers, and unpublished research findings we investigate the ways in which people are systematically denied subsistence livelihood by the military regime ruling Burma since 1988. This research paper is divided into the following main sections: research findings Karen State; an overview of agriculture, economy, and rural livelihoods; an analysis of implications of military agrarian policy; militarization of the landscape forcing people to labour in new infrastructure developments (such as road building, gas pipeline construction, military depots). Rent-seeking exists at all levels of society including extortion of money through official and unofficial tax levies, confiscation of crops, destruction of property, looting, and the creation of capital intensive agri-businesses.

A significant contribution of this research lies in the case study of military violence in Karen State demonstrating the implications of military rule on the lives of citizens. A detailed survey was conducted by the Free Trade Union of Burma (FTUB) continuously during the past three years (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003). In seven districts of Karen (Kayin) and Mon States, the SPDC army and its branch the Democratic Kayin Buddhist Army (DKBA) have been engaged in defeating the Karen National Union. A network of individuals interviewed households in Karen State to detail the experiences of families and villages caught in the middle between the struggle by the Burmese army against the Karen National Union (KNU). Hand written documents and photographs were couriered in a clandestine manner across the Burma/Thailand border and received by Members of the Free Trade Unions of Burma. From analysis of these documents a picture of the harsh day to day rural realities of individuals, households, and villages living under the military regime emerges. A pattern of extreme violence against people shows how the SPDC systematically denies families their right to subsistence.

1. Part A: RESEARCH FINDINGS IN SEVEN DISTRICTS OF KAREN/MON STATES¹

Articles 3, 5, 17 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*:
Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person;

¹ Survey conducted by the KNU, FTUK & FTUB

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;

Table 1

Districts	Executed	Wounded	Seized and Tortured	Raped
Tha-ton				
2000	26 villagers		29 villagers	1 woman
2002	8 villagers		44 villagers	
2003	4	1	14	
Taungoo				
2000	24 villagers		53	
2002	9 villagers	8 shot /9 landmines	46	
2003	2	2	83	
Nyaunglaybin				
2000	36			
2002	11	1 landmines /2 killed	33	2 women
2003	1	5		
Mergui-Tavoy				
2000	6		3	
2002	24		45	4 women
2003	2		5	
Pa-pun				
2000	19		55	1 women
2002	8		18	
2003	7	1	11	
Dooplaya				
2000	13		54	4 women
2002	30		168	
2003	1	3	5	1
Pa-an				
2000	7		14/3 missing	
2002	2		21	
2003	1	3	1	1

Article 17 the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*:

No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 11 *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*

Everyone has a right to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing, housing.

Table 2.1
Confiscation by Force and/or Destroyed by SPDC
Tha-ton District

Year	Food	Work animals	Household Possessions	Building materials	Farms/Villages/ Burned/destroyed	
2000	27 pigs		1,550,600K cash	7,6000 roof thatches	8 tons timber	
	55 Viss pork		600,000K property		6 houses	
	137 chickens				3 rice barns	
	11 ducks				30 baskets pad	
	6 goats				10 baskets rice	
	120 cows					
	25,762 baskets paddy					
	20.5 baskets rice					
	32 pigs	38 bullock carts	2,788,600K cash	3,848bamboo	11 hill farms	
2002	48 Viss pork	2 elephants	1,134,900K property	28 logs	1 farm hut	
	321 chickens		2 watches	46 tons sawn timber	3 houses	
	28 ducks		1 gold ring	10 timber planks		
	5 buffaloes			475 leaf roof thatch pieces		
	4 cows			71 Viss nails		
	37 goats					
	2 dogs					
	10 eggs					
	74.73 baskets rice					
	30 coconuts					
	30 gourds					
	15 pumpkins					
	77 stone pumpkins					
	111 chickens	26 bullock carts	2,334,000 kyat	Logs 118 tons	1 saw mill	
	19 ducks		24,500 kyat	Timber planks 16 tons		
	2003	8 goats		13 cooking pots	Timber poles 128 poles	
		22 pigs		15 spoons	Roofing thatches 31,065 pieces	
		144.5 viss of pork		16 plates	Bamboo poles 2,888 poles	
5200 baskets of paddy			4 machetes			
40.5 baskets rice			1 sling bag			

	1 Pyi sticky rice		34 pieces clothes		
	3 baskets waxy gourds		4 pieces blankets		
	3 baskets beans		5 Viss fish plate		
	30 nos. gourds		6 sets Dry cell batteries		
	1.5 viss sugar		1 cradle		
	5 coffee creamer packages		1 gold ring		
	1.5 Viss tapioca grains		3 packets Cheroots		
	8 Viss Onion				
	7 Viss Chilli				
	8 Viss Sesame Oil				
	5 Viss Fish paste				

Table 2.2
Confiscation by Force and/or Destroyed by SPDC
Taungoo District

Year	Food	Work animals	Household Possessions	Building materials	Farms/Villages/ Burned/destroyed
2000	4 pigs	9 trucks	2,820,314K cash		11 houses
	590 Viss pork		1,316,100K property		1 village
	36 chickens				1 rice barn
	10 Viss beef				25 baskets paddy
	2 cows				
	3 ducks				
	1,000 Viss beetle nut				
	55 Viss par-bar spice seed				
	25 baskets paddy				
2002	15 pigs	19 trucks	1,593,960K cash		5 villages
	80 Viss pork		695,900K property		
	18 chickens		7 watches, 1 camera		
	109 Viss meat		1 cassette tape		
	9 ducks		13 liquor bottles		
	9 dogs		1 gold ring, 8 dried fish		

2003	45.8 baskets rice		6 bottles syrup		
	7 chickens	60 trucks	396,100 kyat	10 roofing thatches	
	16 Viss meat		115,120 kyat	1,6540 poles	
	1 duck		1 gold ring		
	2 pigs		1 meal carrier		
	20 Viss pork		10 watches		
	90.3 baskets rice		1 cassette tape player		
			1 video deck		
			1 portable electrical power generator		
			1 stove tripods		
			1 air rifle		
			2 clothes		
			2 cooking pots		
			3 Machetes		
			13 bottles liquor		
		6 bottles concentrated juice			
		500 cheroots			
			9 Viss fish paste/dried fish		
			18 packages cookies		
			1 bottle cooking oil		
			2 Viss sugar cane cake		

**Table 2.3 Confiscation by Force and/or Destroyed by SPDC
Nyaunglaybin**

Year	Food	Work animals	Household Possessions	Building materials	Farms/Villages/ Burned/destroyed
2000	282 pigs	60 bullock carts	1,090,200K	20 tons timber	87 hill rice fields
	12 cows		1,000 Baht cash		155 chickens

2002	346 baskets paddy		7 gold rings		28 rice fields
	45 baskets rice		7 gold chains		16 orchards
	10.5 baskets sticky rice		6 pairs earrings		2 villages
					579 baskets rice
					20Viss beetle
	39.5 baskets rice	20 bullock carts	79,500K cash		108 houses
	1,600 beetle nuts	2 boats confiscated	19 households looted		27 coconut trees
	1 viss beetle nuts	68 boats destroyed	129 dinner plates		45 hill farms
	500 beetle nut trees		10 gold rings		1 farm hut
	1 basket & 1 viss chilli		5 viss fish paste		1 farm hut paddy
2003	708 chickens		2 gold chains, 76 pots		
	73 pigs		86 machetes		
	2 buffalo				
	291 chickens		Cash 221,500 kyat		1 farm hut
	30 Viss of pork		Items worth of 273,800 kyat		10 houses
	168 baskets paddy		2 silver chain		1 church building
	4 baskets rice		35 blankets		
			28 yarn bobbins		
			57 clothes		
			1 pair sandals		
			1 muzzle loader gun		
			47 trays		
			92 cooking pots		
			47 machetes		
		87 dinner plates			
		45 spoons			
		6 fishing nets			
		3 honey bottles			

**Table 2.4 Confiscation by Force and/or Destroyed by SPDC
Mergui-Tavoy**

Year	Food	Work animals	Household Possessions	Building materials	Farms/Villages/ Burned/destroyed
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2000	5 chickens		38,600K cash		10 houses
					235 baskets paddy
2002	1,155,000 beetle nuts	57 boats	515,000K cash	4,000 bamboos	5,000 acres
	2,000 pepper plants	4 elephants	30,000K property	1,200 flattened bamboo	
		1o buffalo	739,370K & 1,500B worth looted items	40 logs	
2003			7 silver coins	50 baskets granite chips	
	2 chickens	106 bullock carts	760,400 Kyats	3,200 pieces roofing thatches	1 house
	7 ducks	118 boats	5,000 acres rice fields	2,000 bamboo	
	43 cattle		155,500 seed beetle nuts	1,200 split bamboo	
	1,725 baskets rice		18 gallons diesel oil	17 tons timber	
			73 Viss Dried beetle nuts	40 logs	
			1 Gold chain		

Table 2.5 Confiscation by Force and/or Destroyed by SPDC Pa-pun

Year	Food	Work animals	Household Possessions	Building materials	Farms/Villages/ Burned/destroyed
2000	646 chickens	5 bullock carts	2,044,280 K cash	2,900 roof thach	19 houses
	28 pigs	3 elephants	30,700Bt cash		3.1 hill farms
	5 goats		1 gold chain		1 rice field
	12 ducks		2 gold chains		5 rice barns
	67 baskets paddy		3 pairs earrings		197 baskets paddy
	2 buffalo		6 silver chains		
			2 silver bangles		
2002	2,897 chickens		3,198,287K cash	292 bamboo	29 hill farms
	10 viss chicken		82 pots, 21 machets		
	283 pigs		24 sickles, 2 axes		

2003	9 ducks		41 dinner plates		
	145.6 baskets rice		16 shirts, 12 blankets		
	655.5 baskets paddy		12 sarongs, 8 pair slippers		
	63 viss chilli, 63 viss salt		10 bags/30 packages cheerots		
	7 tins cooking oil		26 gold chains, 2 silve chains		
	37 packages food preservative		6 silver caskets, 751 silver coins		
			13 gold bangles		
	240 baskets paddy		28,000 Kyat in cash	350 timber poles	5 houses
	26 chickens and 24 Viss		80,000 Kyat worth items	6,550 bamboo poles	3 rice barns
	2 pigs		1 packet cheroot	8,400 pieces of thatches	
	1 duck		1 flashlight		
	1 goat		2 machetes		
	12 bottles honey				

**Table 2.5 Confiscation by Force and/or Destroyed by SPDC
Dooplaya**

Year	Food	Work animals	Household Possessions	Building materials	Farms/Villages/ Burned/destroyed
2000	25 cows	4 bullock carts	300,600K property		9 houses
	8 pigs		9 gold chains		
	2 goats		3 gold chains		
	3 ducks		5 pairs earrings		
	115 chickens		32 grams gold		
	103 baskets of paddy		32 grams gold		
	54 baskets rice				
2002	555chickens		2,279,100K & 6,100 Bt, cash	4,050 bamboo	122 houses, 1 orchard seized
	100 ducks		19 pots, 7 bags	200 logs	

2003	10 buffalo		6 umbrellas, 3 mats		
	34 cows		16 plates, 21 spoons		
	20 pigs		5 trousers, 6 matches		
	15 Viss pork		6 pairs slippers		
	32 chicken eggs		7 package batteries		
	987 baskets rice				
	27,815 baskets paddy				
	10 package noodles				
	10 cans sardines				
	2,590 baskets paddy		169,000 Kyat 4,000 Baht	3,250 bamboo	
	6.6 baskets paddy rice		255,000 Kyat worth of items	230 timber planks	
	50 chickens		1 gold chain	1,700 pieces of roofing thatches	
	32 eggs		1 pair gold earrings	8 land tillers	
	21 ducks		1 gold ring		
	4 pigs		2 silver coins		
	30 Viss of pork		1 fishing net		
	6 buffaloes		2 flashlights		
	2 oxen		6 sets dry cell batteries		
			2 machetes		
			1 blanket		
			2 clothes		
		1 cradle			
		2 bags			
		2 pots			
		1 watch			

**Table 2.6 Confiscation by Force and/or Destroyed by SPDC
Pa-an**

Year	Food	Work animals	Household Possessions	Building materials	Farms/Villages/ Burned/destroyed
2000	56 chickens		650,000K cash		7 houses
	26 baskets rice		1 gold ring		7 orchards
2002			1 pair gold earring		
	151 chickens		253,000K&106,500B		161 houses
	2 viss meat		5 machettes		2 villages
	21 ducks		5 cases batteries		

2003	7 pigs		25 viss beetle nut		
	23 goats				
	66.2 baskets rice				
	1.4 baskets chilli				
	2.5 viss beans		1,678,000 Kyat cash		
	5 baskets paddy		20,700 Kyat worth items		1 house
	8.6 baskets paddy rice		200 acres land		8 huts
	2 pigs		1 package MSG		10 pens
	93 chickens		25 Viss Chili		5 piles
	32 Viss meat		5 package cheroots		
	1 oxen		30 large packages cookies		
	5 goats		30 dinner plates		
	1 duck		23 packages coffee creamer		
			2 bottles liquor		
			3 pairs sandals		

Article 8 *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*:

No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour.

Table 3.1 Tha-ton District

Year	Villagers Forced Labour/Portage	Villagers Forced Money/Goods	Forced Labour Bridge/Road
2000	143	1,000K per month, per house in 9 Villages-	1 person per household 14 villages
		Win Yin, ,	Shway-yaung-bya
		Cha-thuang-seik,	Tee-nya-baw,
		Laraung-geh,	Cha-ta- Da-mort-dort,
		Shway-yaung-bya,	Da-rweh-kee
		Ka-law-geh,	No-aw-lar, Ju-kee
		Da-mort-tort	No-law-plaw, E-heh
		Ma-yan-gon,	Ha-da-reh, Pwa-hgaw
		Maw-ke Cha- tw-raw	Ler-a-zer, No-nor-wa
			Pa-reh-kaw, Bu-pa-reh
2002	1,346	1 village 100 bamboo per household	1 person per household
	1 village daily forced labour	6 villages 300K per household for motor road construction/ repair	23 villages
		5 villages pay 350K per household	
		6 villages give 15 roof thatches per household	
2003	1,428 people		

**Table 3.2
Taungoo District**

Year	Villagers Forced Labour/Portage	Villagers Forced Money/Goods	Forced Labour Bridge/Road
2000	2,050 people	4 villages	
	4 villages	Ha-mu-doe	
	Deh-doh	Ler-kla-doe	
	Baw-ga-li	Kehdeh-ra	
	Ber-gor-doe	Mu-ro	
	Maw-ko-doe	5,000K per village, per month	
	whole population forced	2 villages	
		(Ler-hgaw-ko, Doe-kar)	
2002		paid 10,000K & 100 dry cell batteries per village/ per month	
	2,190 people, 4 cows wounded by landmines	7 villages to pay 6,2000K cash/ per month	4 villages forced to clear road of landmines
2003	6 people used as landmine Detectors		
	2,544 people	10 landmines planted against villagers	

**Table 3.3
Nyaunglaybin**

Year	Villagers Forced Labour/Portage	Villagers Forced Money/Goods	Forced Labour Bridge/Road
2000	335 villagers	Mar-lar-daw village to pay 20,000K every 3 days	
		Each household in each village tract of Tan-da-bin Township to pay 200K per month	
		Each household in village tracts of Kyauk-kyi Township to pay 450K per month	
		Each household to pay 800K per month in Myaung Village 2 villages, Hsaw-mee-lu & Koe-pu to pay 1,000K per village, per month	
2002	33 people		
2003	1,000 people		

Table 3.4
Mergui-Tavoy

Year	Villagers Forced Labour/Portage	Villagers Forced Money/Goods	Forced Labour Bridge/Road
2000	3 villages, Me-tar, Hsee-ku Hsar-mu-tor, to give 10 people Per village, forced labour	5 motor boats commandeered by SPDC	
2002	1,1891 persons	57 boats, 4 elephants, 102 buffalo commandeered	
2003	356 people		

Table 3.5
Pa-pun

Year	Villagers Forced Labour/Portage	Villagers Forced Money/Goods	Forced Labour Bridge/Road
2000	946 villagers	5 buffalo carts commandeered	
2002		2 villages, Narko-kee & Lay-kor-tic, to pay monthly porter fees of 80,000K to SPDC troops.	
	938 people; 28 people went into hiding	51 people had possessions looted	
2003	567 people		

Table 3.6
Dooplaya (Kawkareik)

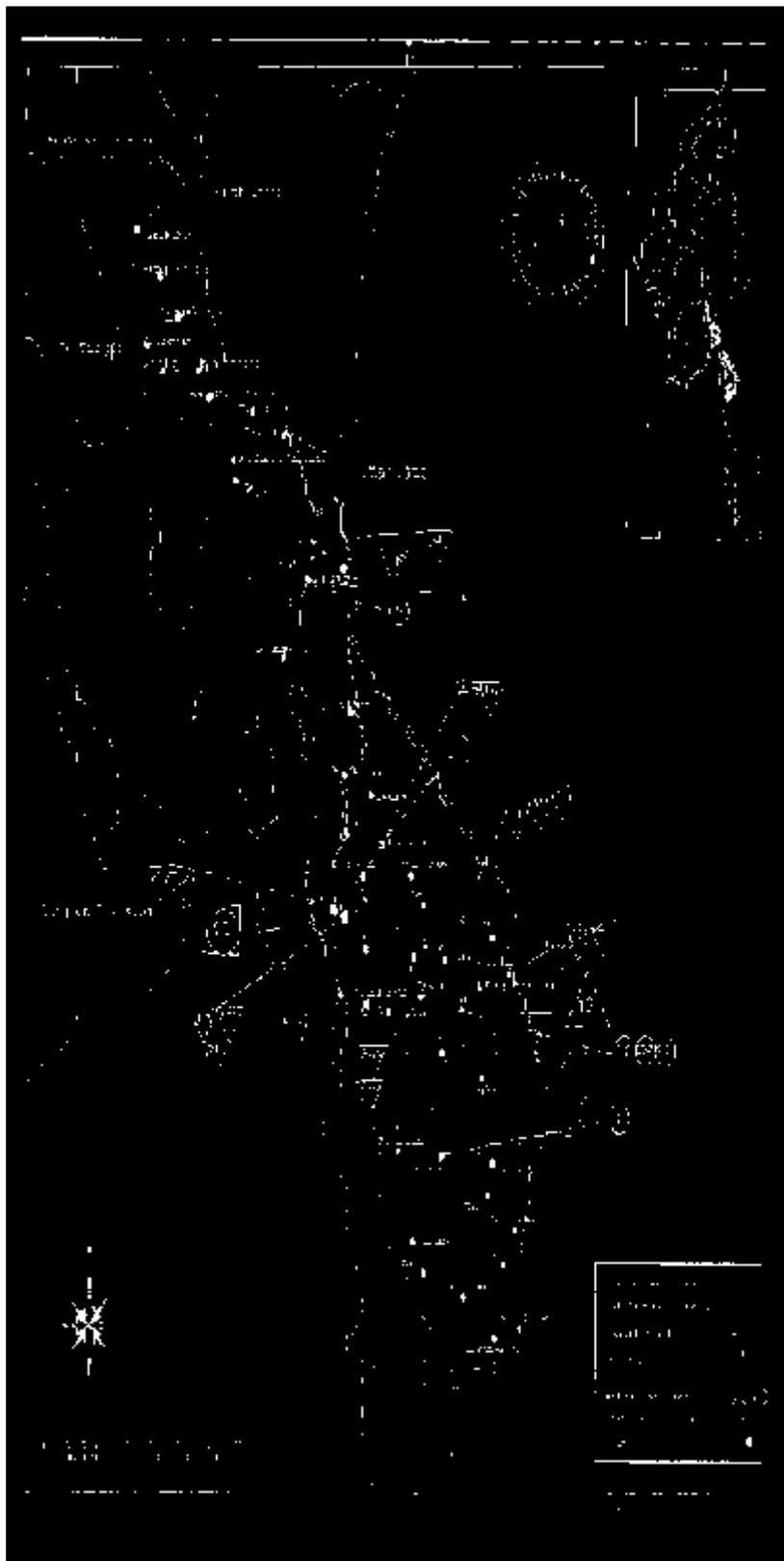
Year	Villagers Forced Labour/Portage	Villagers Forced Money/Goods	Forced Labour Bridge/Road
2000	126 villagers	4 bullock carts	
		Troops extorted 2,144,000K & 27,150 Baht cash	
2002	457 persons	149 persons looted of possessions worth 1,182,350K	
		13 villages to supply firewood to army troops	
		5 villages to give 500K per household for salary fund of teachers	
2003	105 people		

Table 3.7
Pa-an

Year	Villagers Forced Labour/Portage	Villagers Forced Money/Goods	Forced Labour Bridge/Road
2000	300 villagers		
2002	154 persons	landmines planted in 8 villages	
		1 person wounded by landmine	
2003	79 people	1 person wounded by landmine	

Word & Abbreviation: KNU = Karen National Union (Political wing of the Karen resistance); SPDC = State Peace and Development Council (Military dictatorship of Burma); DKBA = Democratic Kayin Buddhist Army (A puppet army of the SPDC); Baht = Name of Thai currency; Kyat = Name of Burmese currency; Viss = 1.6 Kg; A Pyi of rice =2 Kg; A Tin of rice = 16 Kg or 4 gallons in volume; A Basket of rice = 32 Kg or 8 gallons in volume

There are systematic acts of violence committed by the military on the people in Karen State. People are denied their right to a living. At the same time people are required to labour and support an increasing military structure. Research conducted at the household and village level reveals the pattern of dispossession and rent-seeking which systematically deprives people of their subsistence. Findings reveal the extreme conditions in which people are forced to live in increasing their vulnerability.



2. Part B: Overview of Agriculture, Economy, and Rural Livelihoods

Land is a major source of wealth and power. Control of land has therefore been the focus of successive ruling bodies in Burma from the British colonial rulers (1931-1948), to the independent/ democratic government (1948-1962), to the various guises of military regimes: the Revolutionary Council (1962-1974), the Burma Socialist Programme Party (1974-1988), the State Law and Order Restoration Council (1988-1997) and the State Peace and Development Council (1997-present). Through successive forms of governing bodies, there has been a process by the State of taking land thought to be useful for commercial or infrastructure projects, ignoring the customary system of land use and the rights of individual citizens. Rice is the staple crop, staple food and staple export production. Just as in pre-colonial times, governments in Burma have procured rice to provision the army and to sell at discount price to civil servants and quota rice is also sold on the international market. Since 1988 there has been a renewed emphasis on agricultural production for export and the people of Burma are forced to support the ever-increasing military presence. The most significant land problems in Burma remain those associated with landlessness, State induced poverty, inequality of access to resources, and a military regime that denies citizen rights and is determined to rule by force and not by law.

Burma is an agrarian society and farming, more than simply an occupation, is a way of life. While the agricultural sector continues to dominate the Burmese economy, an estimated 68% of the work force are employed in agriculture; the agricultural share of the economy has declined from 49.5 per cent in 1970 to 42 per cent in 1999 (little difference from 48% in 1938). Agriculture, important for its overall contribution to the Burmese economy can generate foreign exchange and many agricultural products become inputs for processing industries. Rice exports decreased from nearly 2 million tons in 1962 to only 35, 000 tons in 1996 (Khin Maung Kyi et al., 2000) Growth of the agricultural sector, could stimulate rural demand for manufactured products, providing a firm demand base to expand manufacturing and exports. In Burma, the problem is that agricultural development schemes and policies are formulated by the military rulers who seek to recruit, feed and equip a huge army. The demands of the army severely strain the rural economy and impose hardships on the people.

Rural poverty and lack of access to means of agriculture are closely linked in Burma. Three quarters of the population of Burma lives in rural areas: the majority of whom depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. 70 percent of Burma's poor live in rural households engaged in some form of agricultural production. For most farmers, the methods and structures of production have remained largely unchanged over the years. However, the numbers of people who are landless and who cultivate marginal, non-viable farms of less than two acres are increasing. Rural and agricultural incomes must be raised and become more stable if progress is to be made in reducing poverty.

2.1. Spatial Distribution of Poverty

The largest concentrations of poor households live in Sagaing, Bago, Magwe, Irrawaddy, and Mandalay Divisions, comprising the country's more populous rice-growing region,

and the Dry Zone region. Each of these states or divisions contains more than 10 percent of the country's total rural poor. Chin State has the highest rural poverty rate with 47 percent of the state's rural households in poverty, more than double the national average.

The lack of assets such as land or livestock is a strong indicator of rural poverty. The 1997 Human Development Index Baseline Survey (HDIBS) of 20,000 rural households found that one-third of rural households owned no land, 40 percent owned no livestock and 25% owned neither land nor livestock. Many families who do have land are also poor. Over 60 percent, or over 2.8 million of land-holding households have less than five acres, roughly the minimum sized holding needed for subsistence farming, at current levels of technology and input use. The size of a plot needed for subsistence farming varies, depends upon agro-climatic conditions. In the upper dry zone, a farm of three acres, with multi-cropping, can be sufficient. A farm of three acres is inadequate in the single-crop rice-growing areas.

Analysis of the findings of the Human Development Index Baseline Survey (HDIBS) suggests that 77 percent of rural household heads are engaged in primary production as their predominant economic activity. The share drops to 56 percent for poor rural households. The 1993 Agricultural Census found that larger farms (average 8 acres in size) tend to employ wage labor. Agricultural wages are low (between 100-150 Kyats a day in 1998, 400 Kyats a day in 2002, 450-500 Kyats a day in 2003), and farm employment is available only a few months during the year. Many landless rural poor must therefore supplement their income with a variety of off-farm activities. For almost 40 percent of poor rural households, the predominant economic activity is in non-primary production (e.g. service activities).

The rural poor are engaged in a variety of off-farm, economic activities (Shaffer, 1999) depending on the local environment within distinct climatic and geographical regions of Burma: the Upland Area; Dry Zone; the Irrawaddy Delta. Common activities along the coastal areas are fishing and crabbing. Villagers with access to the necessary assets engage in raising prawn, breeding pigs, chickens, and goats. Other non-farm occupations include trading, weaving baskets and mats, and making jewellery. The landless rely on common property resources from which they gather firewood and fish. In all areas there is deterioration in ecological and social well-being of the majority of people.

1. The Upland Area ranges in altitude from 1,000 to 2,300 meters stretches along the eastern, northern, and western states of Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Shan, Mon and Rakhine. Ethnic minorities who live in small and remote hamlets inhabit the area. Villagers are very poor and suffer from food deficits. Most farms practice some form of shifting cultivation, where a few acres of hilly, forested area are slashed and burned every year and planted with various crops. Declining soil fertility and crop yields are serious problems. With land becoming scarce, poor farmers are clearing steeper, more rugged hills, but sustained cultivation is virtually impossible due to water run-off and severe erosion. In some remote areas, poppy growing for opium has become one of the few economically viable cash crops. Some farmers who live

along small, flat valley floors grow rain-fed paddy; where possible they grow a second crop of legumes or garlic. In Northern Rakhine State, non-farming villagers engage in casual labour including land clearing, digging embankments, and paddy transplanting or harvesting. In the upland areas, the poor gather leaves, barks and roots used in traditional medicine or cut wood for sale. Others become traders and sell produce in other towns; men also find work in gem mines in Shan State.

2. **The Dry Zone** spans a large, semi-arid area of central Burma and includes the populous divisions of Mandalay, Sagaing and Magwe. The majority of the Dry Zone farmers are commercial rather than subsistence farmers. They grow cash crops such as sesame and pulses and beans for exports. Cotton is commonly grown in the northern area and seasonal vegetables such as onions, potatoes, and tomatoes are often grown on alluvial soils. In areas where water is available year round, small farms with five acres or less may be able to support a decent standard of living. However, analysis conducted in 1995 estimated that at least 7 to 10 acres were required to sustain a minimum standard of living, or 15 to 20 acres for farms with poor quality land (Cools, 1995). Many small farmers and the landless supplement their incomes by cutting fuel wood. During the slack-farming season, household members may migrate to find work in Rangoon, Mandalay or the border areas. In the Dry Zone, the landless are commonly engaged in raising goats and sheep and jaggery production. Other common off-farm jobs in the Dry Zone are gypsum mining and dam or road construction.
3. **In the Irrawaddy Delta area**, of southern Burma, the environment is deteriorating. Sources of freshwater are becoming scarce and there is an increasing scarcity of crabs, fish, firewood, and even vegetables for the landless and land-poor households (UNDP, 1998). Households cope with income shortfalls by migrating in search of new sources of fuel wood, crabs, and fish. In the Delta townships of Laputta, Bogalay and Mawlamyaingyun, more than half of the population is estimated to be landless. One 1998 study estimated that agricultural labourers, with no land to cultivate and no prospects of inheriting land constituted 33% of those employed a doubling of the number of people working as labourers in 1974-75 (Myat Thein & Maung Maung Soe, 1998). Many marginal farmers engage in fishing or crabbing. Those who fish, usually do not own their fishing gear or boats depending on fish traders for such resources. Some households raise pigs, chickens, or ducks. Others cope during the slack farming season by borrowing from better-off farmers: loans being paid back in kind through labour, or through a portion of the paddy crop. The effective interest rate charged by fish traders, rice traders and others in these loan arrangements typically amounts to 10 percent a month.
4. **A Geographic Pattern of Food Insecurity and Vulnerability** (FIVIMS, 2002) was conducted in Burma using three criteria based the notion of agro-economic vulnerability in terms of availability and access, in economic and physical terms to food. Three questions asked were: Is local food production sufficient to satisfy requirements? Is the area adequately connected to allow sufficient local food imports? Is the local population resilient enough to cope with periodic food

shortages? Data limitations prevent a thorough analysis of vulnerability in Burma, but the vulnerable townships were those at the borders.

3. Part C: Implications of Military Agrarian Policy

The State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) adopted all agrarian policies issued by the Burmese Socialist Programme Party (1974-1988). Based on the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma 1974, the State is the ultimate owner of all natural resources and land. There is no freedom for farmers to grow crops in a sustainable manner or to improve the economic and social well-being of the community. Rent-seeking by officials at local, state and national levels reduces the freedom of the farmer.

The compulsory delivery system, implemented in 1974, as a forced procurement system, set a quota of paddy, which had to be sold at a fixed price to the government depot. Each farmer must sell a designated amount of paddy, according to the size of his holding for paddy, the yield per acre, his family size, and the amount of paddy to be paid for hired labour. The remaining paddy could be sold within the township. The farmer would lose his land if he did not: sow the designated crop on the allotted land; produce optimum results as dictated by SPDC; sell the full quota at the stipulated price during a determined period (*Notification No. 4/78*, 18 September 1978). Under the current SPDC rule, village and township administrators use this 1978 power to extract crop or money from cultivators forced to obey with no means of protest.

The Myanmar Agricultural Produce Trading (MAPT), a State agency, is responsible for designating paddy land and for collecting a fixed quota based on land area. These targets have meant increased pressure on the farmers to sell a percentage of their rice crop to the government at reduced prices as part of this paddy procurement system implemented by the MAPT. This quota rose from 1988 to 1995 to 12 baskets per acre, for which the government paid 1/3rd to 1/5th of the going market price for rice purchased under the scheme. The World Bank estimates that in 1994-5, rice farmers lost at least 25% of their gross income because of the MAPT procurement (World Bank, 1995). Farmers who work poor land or for other reasons are unable to produce the crop are not exempt from their quota. Households unable to fill the quota face arrests, beatings and or confiscation of paddy land for re-distribution to other farmers. Farmers may be threatened, scolded, publicly abused by government rice procurers or sent to labour camps to work off their debt. In the Irrawaddy Division, local military officials have ordered all milling of harvested rice for consumption or sale stopped until whole villages have filled their quotas.

The SLORC/SPDC military regime 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.

An inherent flaw in this system is the government quota calculation based on arable land area rather than amount of rice actually planted or harvested. Farmers who worked poor land, or for other reasons produce an imperfect crop, are not exempt from the quota. They fulfil 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 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 household's 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 labour camps to work off their debt. Majority of 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, being hit by landmines, lack of proper nutrition and medical care

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 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 labour 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. Because of lack of adequate food and safe living environment cultivators suffer 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. In some localities the cultivators who could not weather crop had to make payment at the rate of 300 Kyats

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 face many difficulties.

For example, over 100 men and women cultivators from Syriam 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 300 Kyats to 500 Kyats 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 3,000 to Kyat 6,000.

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.

Farmers must yield harvests to the full capacity of the field according to yields set by the State (SLORC, 31 December, 1988). Under SLORC, all land within Burma-fields, forests, mountains, and reserved lands-belonged to the State and were controlled by the State. All land set-aside for paddy fields must grow paddy only, and there was no programme to redistribute land to the poor. Only after paddy season was over and the set quota sold to the government were other income-earning agricultural products or cash crops permitted to be grown (SLORC Publications Sub-Committee, 1991). Under this decree **farmers are forced to grow paddy as the dominant crop**. Growing other cash crops or fruits and vegetables for market sale were severely restricted. This reduced the variety of food available for household consumption and increased vulnerability to malnutrition. SLORC used the land as a means to earn foreign currency by forcing some farmers to grow triple crops without any consultation. Farmers often were forced to grow crops not suited to the local soil, water, and site conditions. **More Land Controlled by SLORC** with (1990) directives stating all land required for fruit orchards, brick production, rice mills, salt production, and other purposes (SLORC, 1991).

SPDC Village and township administrators in 2003 abuse agricultural land regulations, directives, laws selectively to ensure their personal profit. Farmers are denied a right to livelihood and suffer acts of violence. Farm workers accused of growing crops other than paddy or not producing the designated amount of paddy are arrested, jailed, forced to stand under the scorching sun, denied their rights to work the land. Land record officials in collaboration with village and township administrators change the 'official' designation of land from grazing to agricultural use.

Existing laws specify the traditional communal right of grazing grounds near villages as pastureland for cattle. Officials either sell the cultivation rights or work the land themselves. As a result of this illegal activity, there is no communal pastureland available for local farmers' cattle. This has created great difficulties for cultivators. Every year about 3,000 to 5,000 acres of land are farmed in river areas. There are rules and regulations concerning how such land should be allocated. However, it is understood that the village and township administrators ignored these regulations and allocated such land to relatives, people who offered bribes, veterans, or members of the administrative bodies. Some obtain over 50 acres, which they then sell at elevated prices to others. The real farmers are unable to do anything and silenced under threat of jail.

3.1. Agricultural Development Programmes: Farmers Further Oppressed

The summer paddy program had severe implications for farmers. 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 were required. These tactics created new burdens for farmers:

1. Farmers must labour to build roads, small dams, and irrigation ditches. State-directed, uncompensated labour, a common practice in Burma.
2. Farmers who work on these development projects have less time to tend their crops or other subsistence activities.
3. The fertilizers, pesticides needed for summer rice are not distributed free to farmers, but are sold to them.
4. Farmers who cannot buy the necessary materials to farm their land cannot participate in the program.
5. This 'unproductive land' officially designated for double cropping, is then reassigned to a more able household. The poor farmer loses his right to farm the land.
6. Farmers who could not meet the required quota had to pay the market price in cash for the shortfall to the authorities.

Physical problems occur as land was un-farmed for a variety of reasons. In some places flood or insufficient water prevented cultivation, certain types of soil are not appropriate for rice. There were some areas where crops failed all the three times they were cultivated. Hundreds of cultivators not only wasted their efforts and suffered losses but also because of their inability to fulfil their quota were arrested.

According to the *World Bank Report* September 1, 1999, in recent years, growth has not benefited the poor, an acute currency shortage has emerged, and private capital flows have collapsed. This is not just because of the East Asian crisis whose impact is contained by the fact that Burma is weakly integrated in the regional economy. A more important reason is that second-generation economic reforms addressing structural rigidity in the macro-economic framework, in agriculture, in private sector development and in shifting the government's role in the economy, has not been implemented. Instead, the authorities are responding to the economic difficulties with ad hoc measures that are further distorting incentives and impeding poverty reduction and human development.

Rural poverty and agriculture are linked in Burma: for over half of poor rural households, agricultural production is the primary economic activity. And yet, agricultural growth has stagnated since the mid 1990's. The rate of growth has fallen to 2.5 percent in 1998/99 from an impressive 6.7 percent in 1995/96 (following price and domestic trade liberalization in the late 1980's). The decline is even more dramatic in growth per capita, which, in the same period, fell from about 5 percent. This lends support to the claim that recent overall GDP growth has not been sufficient nor has it benefited the poor. Also, it underscores the need for a second generation of structural reforms to rejuvenate agriculture.

According to official data, 115,291 acres of land have been reclaimed throughout the union and are being cultivated in holdings of 3000 to 5000 acres on 30 year leases. Inputs (fertilizer, fuel, irrigation, telephone lines and credit) are provided to the farmers at subsidized rates, and they can import farm machinery duty free.

It is recommended that these schemes not be expanded pending a thorough review of several concerns. The first, of course, is that these schemes are claiming scarce public resources that are better utilized in improving the efficiency of existing farm land. Secondly, the large size of holding will permanently distort farm tenure in Burma and will increase income inequality. Thirdly, by increasing the exposure of financial institutions to such schemes, the government is building up contingent liabilities that may lead to financial sector problems similar to those experienced by ASEAN economies in the last two years. Fourthly, and most importantly, the schemes potentially have serious environmental implications associated with clearing of forests; drainage of wetlands and construction of dams that merit detail evaluation.

Moreover, taxes are collected in unconventional ways in Burma, as evidenced by the procurement system in agriculture, which mimics a land tax. As a result, the ratio of tax to GDP understates the actual extent of taxation. At the same time, generous tax exemptions were offered to investors in large-scale agricultural projects. Efforts to improve agricultural performance could concentrate on improving productivity on land already cultivated, or developing new lands for cultivation. The junta has adopted a policy that stresses the second option.

Under a land reclamation program that began in late 1998, the junta has decided to develop large tracts of land to be farmed by private entrepreneurs. A large portion of the country's 22 million acres of currently vacant cultivable land is considered potentially eligible. The land includes wetlands, coastal land, and dry zone land not under cultivation. To date, around 1.1 million acres have been allocated to some 80 business groups. Most holdings are around 3,000 to 5,000 acres, though a few are much larger. The junta provides assistance for these projects in a number of ways.

- * Land is made available in a 30-year lease, free of charge, under the condition that the land be developed for agricultural production within three years;
- * The public works required for flood control, drainage, and irrigation are provided free of charge;

- * Government agencies assist in supplying the heavy earth-machinery used to level the fields for paddy production, at subsidized rates;
- * The Government provides technical assistance in developing the project, free of charge;
- * Local private banks are encouraged to provide loans to the projects on a preferential basis;
- * Fuel required for project construction and land preparation is provided at the government price of 160 Kyats per gallon, half the current market rate;
- * Project investors may export half the rice they produce and are exempted from the rice procurement system, MAPT;
- * Telephone services, including cellular phones and land-based phone lines, are provided on a preferential basis;
- * Security services to protect project staff and equipment are provided free of charge; and
- * Equipment, including water pumps, tractors, bulldozers, and excavators may be imported duty free and in unlimited quantities without the need to demonstrate foreign exchange earnings, as other importers must do.

Agricultural Development Programmes further oppress farmers. By 1995, the three main targets of the Agricultural Ministry were to have a surplus in paddy crop production, be self-sufficient in edible oil, and increase the production and export of various pulses, beans, and industrial crops.

After taking power in 1997, the SPDC continued the same land and agricultural policies of the SLORC. New approaches were implemented to ensure more extensive agriculture and the land was under effective control of ‘comrades’ and supporters of the military. One significant SPDC effort to develop Burma’s agricultural sector, was to invite national entrepreneurs to take-part in large-scale farming, in “vast areas of untamed land”.

In January 1999, the SPDC announced that 200,000 acres of paddy land in Irrawaddy, Rangoon, and

Table 1. Comparison of agricultural land use rights between individual cultivators and agricultural "entrepreneurs," 1999		
	Individual cultivators	Agricultural entrepreneurs
Access to inputs	No permission to purchase fertilizers. No loans available.	Exempt from taxes and duties for imported machinery, insecticides, fertilizers. Loans guaranteed.
Size of land	Approximately 3-5 acres	5,000 plus acres
System of access	Rent on yearly basis. Thi-sa-cha.	30-year lease
Ability to sell produce	Forced to sell 12-14 baskets to government civil servants, charity and defense forces at prices below 50% current market price.	Permitted to export 50% of crop and sell the remaining 50% within Burma at current market price.
State infrastructure	No infrastructure development.	Builds roads, bridges, telegraphic communication, and digs wells at no cost to entrepreneurs.
Responsibility to state	Forced to "volunteer" service to authorities, and to clear, plough, and cultivate land owed by Defense	No responsibility to state or common goal
Sources: Committee Representing People's Parliament 1999; Kyaw Nyunt 1998; Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development 1997.		

Magwe Divisions had been transferred to nine unnamed entrepreneurs licensed by the SPDC to reclaim "wetlands and vacant, fallow and virgin lands." A comparison of benefits to these entrepreneurs shows the further restrictions on rights of farmers to sustainable livelihoods (Table 1 Hudson-Rodd & Myo Nyunt, 2001).

The reclamation policy appears to have been put together too quickly, without proper and separate consideration of economic, environmental, and other costs and benefits in each region of the country. For example, a land reclamation scheme of the Myanmar Billion Group (MBG), which involves draining a wetlands area, describes the social costs of the project exceed its social value, as local communities lose access to the wetlands being drained. The social and environmental consequences of these large, capital-intensive agricultural enterprises could be more costly than the purely economic considerations.

Land reclamation schemes are also under way in upland and coastal areas. Conditions are very different in each of these areas, which does not seem to be reflected in the reclamation policy in each area. The local business groups given access to the land are required to "develop" land degradation brought on by such hasty development is a serious concern. The threat of creating lasting social conflict between the local groups now denied access to these lands and the business groups being established on large agricultural estates is also considerable.

3.2. Farmers Denied Right to Farm Sustainably

For years from 1962 to 1988, the military regime managed the agricultural sector of the command economy of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma by institutionalizing "the advanced purchase of paddy system" with a state monopoly on rice export. By advancing loans to farmers, the government established a system of quotas for farmers to sell their harvested paddy at predetermined prices to the state buying depots. After the military coup of 1988, the military regime renamed the former state buying agency the Myanmar Agricultural Trading Produce (MATP) and began to offer higher procurement prices of paddy to farmers. Former buying depots and quota system of delivery to the state were reinstated. A farmer who cannot meet the quotas is subject to arrest and seizure of his farm by the authorities. The junta's purchase prices at the state buying depots or farm-gates well below the free market price offered by the private traders.

In 1994/95, the private purchase price of paddy was 7,668 Kyats per ton which was more than double the government purchase price of 3,833 Kyats per ton. This unfair procurement and pricing system with state monopoly on paddy and rice export has been largely responsible for the continuing economic plight of Burmese farmers. In 1994/95, the spread between the export parity price of 12,030 Kyats per ton received by the government and the average farmgate price of 10,000 after procurement received by farmers was 2,030 Kyats per ton to underscore the fleecing of farmers by the state for the purpose of export to earn foreign exchange. According to the World Bank's estimate, the total income loss of farmers due to implicit taxation and export ban by the

government was over 14 billion for traditional paddy output with loss due to export ban accounting for over 70 percent of the total income loss of farmers in 1995².

The paddy output per acre ranges from 60 to 70 baskets, most farmers cannot meet their quota due to the limited supply of inputs for farming such as fertilizers and insecticides sold by the junta at low official prices, the amount undercut by the state procurement agents and the forced payment of paddy to the army. The shortage of inputs sold by the state forces farmers to purchase them in the black market at high prices. This process of paddy and rice distribution seething with corruption and state officials swindling the farmers at the village buying depots across the country explains how and why there has been a widespread shortage of rice for domestic consumption and escalating price of rice in major urban centers of Burma.

Burma's system of socialist agricultural policies from 1962 to 1987/88 was repressive. Farmers could not freely choose which crops to grow, nor could they process and sell them. Government procurement prices for paddy were fixed and lagged well behind market prices. Private exports of agricultural produce were not permitted. By 1982/83, the market price for paddy was 4.2 times the official price (Myat Thein and Maung Maung Soe, 1995). In 1985/86, the share of agriculture in GDP was only 40 percent. Growth rates were negative in 1987/88 (-6.4 percent) and 1988/89 (-13.2 percent).

Significant reforms were introduced in the late 1980s, including the decontrol of prices and domestic trade in rice and other crops and some recognition of border trade. After 1988, the junta liberalized the cultivation and export of certain crops such as beans and pulses, reduced fertilizer subsidies, and partially privatized fertilizer provision. Farmers are now relatively free to make their own cropping choices, though the junta has recently embarked on an intensive campaign to encourage large-scale production of the "four pillar crops" of the economy: paddy, beans and pulses, cotton and sugarcane.

In many ways, however, the policy environment for agriculture has become more distorted, including sustained export bans on rice and certain other crops and continued forced quota deliveries of rice. The junta has also become involved in the occasional procurement of other crops exported by the private sector such as pulses and beans. Intermittent local closing and opening of the border trade for various agricultural products have become more common. The junta is vigorously pushing nationwide expansion of cultivated lands, giving high priority to large-scale farming ventures by private entrepreneurs. Production targets for farmers and townships have been set for the four pillar crops.

3.3. Forced Procurement

Two types of implicit taxes are levied on rice production, both of which reduce incentives to produce rice. The first is an implicit tax on land used for rice cultivation, which arises from the difference between market prices and procurement price at which Myanmar Agricultural Procurement Trading (MAPT) compulsorily acquires rice from

² Dr Mya Maung, *The State of Burmese Economy under Military Management*, 1995

farmers. The second is an implicit rice export tax, which arises from the difference between domestic rice prices and f.o.b. export prices. MAPT procures paddy from farmers according to compulsory procurement quotas that are fixed per acre and reflect land quality.

The government's procurement system practiced since 1973 to be abolished by the end of 2003 when the harvest season starts, according to the government announcement. However, it is not clear whether farmers will benefit from its measure due to its ambiguity and complexity. These rice procurements are used for export and to supply civil servants and other fixed-income groups with rice at subsidized prices [*Approximate disbursement of the 1.2 million metric tons of milled rice equivalent (2 million tons of paddy) procured in 1998/99 was: subsidized distribution, 0.7 million tons; export; 0.1 million tons; additional to stocks. 0.2 million tons, and commercial domestic sales, 0.2 million tons*].

The procurement price in 1998/99 averaged 320 Kyats per basket of paddy - the same as the previous year. It will be retained for the following crop year as well [*Performing the above calculation for delivery to the port, this rice costs MAPT around US \$ 88 delivered at the port. At f.o.b. US \$ 200, the implicit rate of export tax on this rice is 56 percent*].

At farmgate prices of 500 Kyats per basket, the procurement price is equivalent to a 36 percent tax on the market farmgate price [*At a farmgate price of 600 Kyats the implicit tax is 47 percent*]. Since the procurement quotas at these below-market prices are fixed per unit of paddy land, the system is also equivalent to/ a land tax. *Farmers required to deliver 12 baskets per acre, the equivalent tax is 2,160 Kyats per acre, assuming a market price of 500 Kyats and a market price of 600 Kyats the equivalent tax is 3,360 Kyats per acre. [At the moment-current year 2003, a market price of 3,000 Kyats the equivalent tax is 32,160 Kyats (5,360 US \$ per acre at official rate & 35.73 US \$ per acre at market rate)]*.

The impact of this tax on farm incomes depends on the quantities procured at these prices. Overall, around 10 percent of the total crop is procured in this manner, ranging to a high of 20 percent of output in highly fertile areas. Implicit transfers are being made from low income agricultural producers to civil servants and the military. The system has a perverse effect on the quality of rice available for export and for distribution to civil servants. Because the procurement price is so low, farmers have an obvious incentive to supply their worst rice to the procurement agency, subject to meeting minimum quality requirements. Because MAPT is the sole exporter, this rice becomes the stock available for export, with obvious consequences for the prices subsequently received from foreign purchasers and the international reputation of Burma's rice.

The degree of taxation of rice exports implicit in the rice export monopoly can be calculated by comparing f.o.b. prices with domestic prices of rice of similar quality. In 1998/99, domestic farmgate prices of export-quality rice currently average around 500 Kyats per basket of paddy. Around 80 baskets of paddy produce 1 metric ton of milled rice, so this farmgate price is equivalent to 40,000 Kyats per metric ton. MAPT reports

that transport, milling, and handling costs for delivery to port of 4,400 Kyats per metric ton, bringing the domestic price, landed at the port and comparable to the f.o.b. prices cited above, of 44,400 Kyats per metric ton. At the current market exchange rate, this converts to f.o.b. prices of US\$ 130.60 per metric ton. The implicit export tax is thus 35 percent for a US\$ 200 a ton, [Recalling that MAPT procures rice at Kyats per basket, the above calculations imply a cost, delivered to the port, of US\$ 88] 38 percent at US\$ 210, and 41 percent at US\$ 220.

Table: 2 Burma's Implicit Rice Export Tax

	Kyat/Basket of Paddy	Kyat/Metric Ton of Milled Rice	US\$/Metric Ton of Milled Rice
Farm-gate price	500	40,000	
Transport, milling and handling		4,400	
Total cost at port		44,400	
FOB export rice			136.60
Implicit export tax			210
			(210-130.60)/210=38%
Farm-gate price (for 2002/03)*	1,000	100,000	
Transport, milling and handling		4,400	
Total cost at port		104,400	
FOB export rice			130.5
Implicit export tax			210
			(210-130.5)/210=37.86%

Note: * for 2002/03, calculated by the authors

Source: Myanmar: An Economic and Social Assessment, September 1, 1999, The World Bank

Other crops: Government agencies also have a monopoly on exports of cotton, rubber, jute, and sugar. The effect is to depress domestic prices relative to export prices. For several other commodities, domestic prices are controlled through intermittent export bans. Oil seed exports, including sesame, groundnuts and Niger beans are frequently banned without prior notice, sometimes even after shipments have already been loaded.

4. Part D: Militarization of the Landscape

In 1997 over 1,000 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 and the villagers of these areas to cultivate for them. 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 village tract spends approximately 300,000 Kyats every year for hiring people and other expenses³.

In early 1999, SPDC troops of IB 245 confiscated 60 acres of rice fields from the Shan villagers of Wan Pawm, Tin Thaat and Waeng Sun villages in Kaeng Taung, 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 Kyats per acre per year or for one harvest. (Source: SHRF)

4.1. Mon farmer Tortured

It is reported that a 78-year-old farmer of Kawthut village, Kyeikmaraw Township in Mon State was arrested and tortured on March 7, 2003 for not able to sell rice quota to the government. He had to be hospitalized for a week at Kyaikmaraw hospital. [U Lar possesses 14 acres of wetland paddy fields and he was accused of failing to sell the allotted 168 tins (bags) of rice to the government. He was taken to Nyaungpin Seik police Station and beaten up by station administrator, Maung Toe. Other three farmers were also arrested with him and released after they promised to sell the full quota to the government. Another police administrator from the near by police station and local authorities including U Maung Shin, Township Manager of MAPT were said to be involved in the arrests. The chairman of the local authority told U Lar that if the farmer gives them 550,000 kyats, he would be released but he was arrested because he gave them 250,000 kyats and 100 tins (bags) of rice. The farmer was beaten and kicked the whole night by the police and he had to be treated in Kyeikmaraw hospital the next day and after a week he was discharged from the hospital on the 15th of March. The wounds and pains from beatings and kicking are so severe that he is said to be still suffering.

(See: case 177) (Source: FTUB, Mon region)

4.2. Forced Relocation and Disparity of Income and Wealth

The SLORC declared the year 1996 as “The Visit Myanmar Year” to capture foreign exchange from the tourists. Since 1989, the military junta has been launching the beautification program of Rangoon and other cities across Burma by forcefully relocating and inducing voluntary relocation to new satellite towns. There are ten satellite towns around Rangoon alone to which almost half a million population has been relocated. Similarly, satellite towns were created around the famous ancient city of Mandalay in Upper Burma, forcefully relocating the residents to attract and accommodate Chinese and other foreign investors as well as tourists. The junta claimed that most of the evicted were squatters and fire victims who were not allowed to re-acquire their old plots of land. However, the Burmese nationals reported that among the forcefully evicted were regular homeowners. The forcefully their homes were well below their market values. They were also asked to pay for the new plots of land in satellite towns. If they could not pay, they were moved further away and forced to settle in shabbier satellite towns outside Rangoon division.

³ Source: HRDU

Villagers and residents living at ancient tourist sites, such as Mandalay, Pagan, and Amarapura in Upper Burma, were forcefully relocated for the purpose of renovating these sites for tourist attraction. The central feature of the satellite towns created across Burma is that modern homes of military commanders and high ranking government officials are built along the main highways and railway tracks with access to electricity, telephone, and water supply. On the other hand, the homes of forcefully relocated people are built with traditional bamboo and thatches that are located far away from the main roads with no electricity and water supply. Military elites and high ranking officials secured low-interest mortgage loans from state banks and building materials at subsidized prices to build two to three homes in the best sections of these satellite towns. They would either sell these homes to make abnormal profit or maintain absentee ownership of unoccupied homes or rent them out to foreign businessmen and diplomats to earn foreign exchange.

The policy of SLORC/SPDC, confronted with any form of armed resistance, has amounted to "drain the ocean so the fish cannot swim"; in other words, to undermine the opposition and attack the civilian population until it can no longer support any opposition (especially, Karen, Karenni and many Shan areas). In the early 1970s 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' crop, food supplies, livestock, cash and valuables; forced labour 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 labourers for portering and building military access roads into their home areas; (d) moving in more army units and using the villagers for forced labour 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 labour farming for the army. 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. 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 labour 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 labour 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, pottering 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 labour 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.

In March 1996, the military of SPDC delineated a huge area of central Shan State and order 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 Shan State Army (SSA) South has 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 (1,800 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 villagers in this are have been homeless since the operation began, and the displacement is taking a fatal toll.

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 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 labour for all of the different military camps in the area that they can no longer grow their own crops or earn their own living. They also have to pay miscellaneous fees of 500 - 1000 Kyats 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 percent of market price; if the crop fails they must buy the food in the market to pay the quota or face arrest and confiscation of their land.

4.2.1. Forced Labor by SPDC troops on road construction from Pa-pun to Kamamaung in 2003

The motor road from Pa-pun to Kamamaung in Karen State has been constructed by the SPDC troops for many years, and the construction is still continuing. The villagers staying along the road have always been forced to do the construction work by the SPDC troops. Currently, the villagers have been asked to construct a nine miles long Pa-pun-Kamamaung road since 16-11-02.

There are the other three roads that the villagers have been forced to build. They are (1) Ka-daing-ti to Pwe-hta, (2) Pa-pun to Ku-seik and (3) Pa-pun to Ta-gone-daing. There are about 80 to 100 civilians involved in each road construction project every day. In the road construction project, the SPDC has been widely practicing forced labor, therefore the villagers have no time to do their own work such as building and repairing their houses and organizing slash and burned cultivation. If the villagers fail to fulfill their tasks or absent in their work requested by SPDC officials, the village leaders are severely punished, tortured or fined. The village leaders have to fulfill the demands and send number of workers as requested every day. Not only men and women are being forced to engage in the road construction, but also old people and children. The villagers do not receive any wages or pay for their work, instead, they have to bring their own food and tools needed for the construction.

Even though General Khin Nyunt gave order to stop requesting any form of forced labor on the villagers, their officers in the rural areas, especially in ethnic areas, are still widely practicing forced labor and using porters for their military service. Tactical commander Khin Kyu from Southeastern command is responsible for supervising road constructions. Khin Kyu gave responsibility to Major Mint Win Aung to look after the road construction and the workers. Khin Kyu receives a large amount of financial assistance- approximately 500 million kyats for the road construction project.

In December 2002, Southeastern command, Commander General Tin Aye came to inspect the construction of Kamamaung -Pa-pun road. He met with Major Mint Win Aung and his troops who took responsibility of the road construction. At that time, there were 70 army personals present at the construction site, but only few village workers appeared at work. Major Mint Win Aung had asked the other village workers to hide in the forest during the visit of General Tin Aye.

General Tin Aye had a discussion with Major Mint Win Aung about the road construction and said he would arrange more soldiers for the construction if Major Mint Win Aung needed more workers. More over, he asked Major Mint Win Aung about how much the wages were paid to the village workers. Major Mint Win Aung said that a worker was paid 50 Kyats per day. Actually, the village workers received no money from Mint win Aung, in fact, they had to bring their own food and equipment. The village workers said that they believed Col Khin Kyu and Maj Mint Win Aung took all the money supposed to be paid to the workers for the road construction project.

There were about 5943 villagers forced to work on the road construction site in Pa-Pun area during 16-11-02 to 28-2-03.

4.2.2. List of workers who have been forced on road construction between Pa-pun and Ku-seik

No	Village	Village Track	Start from	End to	People per day	leave for rest	Workers		Total	Description
							female	Male		
1	Klor Hta	Mae Nyu	1-1-03	28-2-03	6 pers	5	199	131	330	clear road, laying gravel
2	No Lor Su	Mae Klor	27-12-02	28-2-03	4 pers	9	205	119	324	road construction
3	Klor Lo Klo Hta	=	18-11-02	28-2-03	6 pers	12	173	183	354	dig drain, lay gravel
4	Htee Ber Hka Hta	=	18-11-02	28-2-03	10 pers	7	375	265	640	dig drain, lay gravel
5	Day Law Pu	=	16-11-02	28-2-03	12 pers	11	592	364	756	dig drain, lay gravel
6	Klaw Hta	=	25-12-02	28-2-03	2 pers	15	47	53	100	dig drain, lay gravel
7	Oo Ree Hkee	Ma Taung	16-11-02	28-2-03	10 pers	7	220	450	670	dig drain, lay gravel
8	Boo Baw Hko	=	18-11-02	28-2-03	4 pers	5	108	152	260	dig drain, lay gravel
9	Ta Dwee Hko	=	18-11-02	28-2-03	4 pers	3	120	156	276	dig drain, lay gravel
10	Wai Mo Wai Hsar	=	16-11-02	28-2-03	10 pers	10	325	315	640	dig drain, lay gravel
11	Kut Seint	=	27-12-02	28-2-03	5 pers	10	105	160	265	dig drain, lay gravel
12	Nya Eain Su	=	16-11-02	28-2-03	5 pers	7	127	208	335	dig drain, lay gravel
13	Baut Hta	Mae Klor	16-11-02	Dig drain for both side of road – 900 yds			30	42	72	road-10ft wide, drain 3 ft deep, 3ft wide
14	Klor Day	=	16-11-02	Dig drain – 800 yds			31	34	65	cut bamboo, wood
15	Kler Hko	=	16-11-02	Dig drain – 1000 yds			37	53	90	cut bamboo, wood
16	Kyaunt Kleet lo	=	16-11-02	Dig drain – 600 yds			21	34	55	
17	Nay Pu Ka	=	16-11-02	Dig drain – 600 yds			33	25	58	
18	Ta Ku Htan	=	16-11-02	Dig drain – 1200 yds			62	40	102	
19	Pa-pun	=	16-11-02	Dig drain – 2000 yds			116	99	215	
20	Mae Ta Row/ Baut Hta/ Klor Day	=	15-12-02	15-2-03	6 pers		-	336	336	
Total							2726	3217	5943	

4.2.3. List of human rights abuses on the villagers committed by the SPDC troops in Pa-pun area in 2002 - 2003

- (1). Using forced labor on villagers in Kamamaung -Pa-pun motor road construction.
- (2). Forcing the villagers for portage for DKBA and SPDC troops
- (3). Whenever the demands of the SPDC troops remain unfulfilled, the village leaders are tortured or fined in terms of money or domestic animals.
- (4). The villagers are forced to provide bamboo, wood, thatch and food for the army for free.
- (5). The villagers have to provide domestic meat such as chicken, duck, pork or beef for SPDC soldiers every month, and sometimes the food items remain unpaid.
- (6). The villagers are forced to go in front of the soldiers to clear the road where the troop suspects that land mines are being laid.
- (7). The villagers are forced to go and work in the plantation run by the army through out the time. The work includes making fence, cutting bamboo and wood, making bamboo ropes and serving the officers and soldiers in the army headquarters.
- (8). The people from all the villages are forced to provide peanut seeds for the army.
- (9). Some villages are forcibly relocated because of the skirmish occurrence between SPDC and the KNU troops.
- (10). The villagers have no time to do their own business because they have to work for the army on full time basis.
- (11). They face difficulties earning their living to do slash and burn cultivation because their farms have been confiscated by SPDC troops.
- (12). The internally displaced people who dare not confront the SPDC troops face a lot of difficulties and had to work very hard for their survival in the jungle.
- (13). There are many widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers were killed by SPDC troops. These people are very poor and had to work hard to survive.
- (14). There are many children in the rural areas of Papun, but few primary schools are available for them.
- (15). People in the villages have to pay porter fees every month to the DKBA.
- (16). Villagers are fined by SPDC troops if the soldiers are injured by the land mines or died in the fighting or if the military trucks are damaged by the landmines.

4.2.4. The Confiscation of farm lands by SPDC troops in Pa-pun area

LIB - 434 Bn, South Eastern Command,
Headquarter-Way Moe village, Pa-pun district. (location-see map)
Bn commander –Myo Hlaing
Bn 2ed in command -Myo Min Hlaing
I O -Aung Shwe.

1. Farm lands confiscated by SPDC troops LIB 434Bn.

To set up LIB 434 battalion headquarter, the SPDC troops forcibly confiscated the farm owned by the villagers. The farmers do not receive any compensation from the troop.

List of the owners and acres of land that were confiscated by SPDC troops LIB 434 Bn

No	Name	Acres of land	Village	Village track
1	Pah la pa	4 acres	Kyauk Kli lo	Mae Kyaw
2	Pah Kay Lay	4 acres	Kyauk Kli Lo	Mae Kyaw
3	Pah Kyaw Way	3.5 acres	Kyauk Kli Lo	Mae Kyaw
4	Pah Pow Yu	5 acres	Kyauk Kli Lo	Mae Kyaw
5	Saw Wah Gay	9 acres	To-Nyo	Kaw Pu
6	Pah Tha To	4 acres	Kler Kho	Mae Kyaw
7	Pah Hto Day	4 acres	Kler Kho	Mae Kyaw
8	Pah Pweh Hi	5 acres	Kler Kho	Mae Kyaw
9	Naw Ku	4 acres	Kler Kho	Mae Kyaw
10	Pah Thu	5 acres	Kler Kho	Mae Kyaw
11	Ma Nin Khin	3.5 acres	Kler Kho	Mae Kyaw
12	Maung Tin Hla	4 acres	Kler Kho	Mae Kyaw
13	U Pa Tin	4 acres	Way Moe	Mae Kyaw
14	Uhla	5 acres	Way Moe	Mae Kyaw
15	U Pah Sein	4 acres	Way Moe	Mae Kyaw
16	Wee Paw La	4 acres	Way Hsa	Mae Kyaw

LIB 434 forcibly confiscated not only farm from the villagers but also rubber plantation and coconut plantation.

No	Plantation	Plants	Location	Owner
1	Coconut	50Plants	Between Way Moe motor road and farm	Hla Kyaing
2	Rubber	3000 Plants	Por Wah Lo(Htee Tha Day)	Maung Si

There is no compensation paid by the SPDC troops to the owners of the plantations.

The farms that were forcibly confiscated by the SPDC troops are used for military plantations. The farmers are responsible to pay back ten basket of paddy out of the product for one acre to the SPDC troops as land revenue.

SPDC troops from LB 19, LIB 340, LIB 341 and LIB 434 have their own military

plantation but they always forced the villagers to work in the plantation with out any kind of support. LIB 434 Bn owned 10 acres of farm and always forced the villagers to work in their farm. The villagers that have been forced for laborer were Way Moe, Way Sa, Day Lor Pu, Tareet Per Koe and Htee Ber Ka Hta.

2. Farmlands confiscated by the SPDC Troops LIB 340, 341

No	Name	Acres Of Land	Village	Village Track
1	Pah Wah Moo	5 acres	Ta Ku Der	Bwa Der
2	Thar Kyaw	4 acres	Mae Yae Khee	Kaw Pu
3	Kyaw Moo Weh	4 acres	Mae Yae Khee	Kaw Pu
4	Kyaw Moo Weh	4 acres	Mae Yae Khee	Kaw Pu
5	Gay De	3 acres	Baunt Ta	Mae Klor
6	Napudar	3.5 acres	Baunt Ta	Mae Klor
7	Pah Hhey Pweh	4 acres	Ta Ku Der	Bwah Der

The farm that was confiscated by the SPDC troops IB-19, LIB 340, LIB 341 and LIB 434 in Pa-pun area since 1992 up to now in 2003, totally 2500 acres of land .

The farms of the following villages were forcibly confiscated by the SPDC troops.

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| (1)Kler Kho | (5) Day Law Pu | (9)Toe Nyoe |
| (2)Kyaut Kleet Lo | (6) Baunt Hta | (10)Ta Khu Der |
| (3)Ta Reet Per Kho | (7) Way Mo | (11)Mae Yeah Khee |
| (4)Klor Day | (8)Way Sa | |

As a result of the various forms of forced labour and human right abuses committed by SPDC soldiers, the villages face shortage of food and hardships due to their full-time service for the army, deterioration of health due to very little rest and very limited in come in the family. These conditions make the people very poor and finally make them leave their places and go to refugee camps along the Thai-Burma border

3. Another form of suffering of the farmers at Mae Klaw village tract in 2003

Among the major food items provided to SPDC soldiers, cooking oil is one of the most important items. Previously, cooking oil was a part of the military ration provided by the military headquarters. Due to shortage of food supplies and limited food resource, top military officials are currently instructing the battalion commanders to organize their own food supplies, specifically, rice and cooking oil from their local areas. Therefore villagers in Mae-klaw village track, Bu-thow township is facing difficulty meeting the need of locating and selling certain amount of peanuts demanded by local battalion officials. The 4 battalions stationed in Pa Pun areas, specifically, No LIB19 battalion, No LIB 340, LIB No LIB 341 and No LIB 434 set up their own peanut trading centers in their respective areas.

A basket of peanut in Mae Klaw area costs 4000 Kyats, the villagers have to sell the required amount of peanuts to battalion trading center for 1800 Kyats a basket. As instructed by battalion officials, the villagers are asked to fulfill their quotas selling

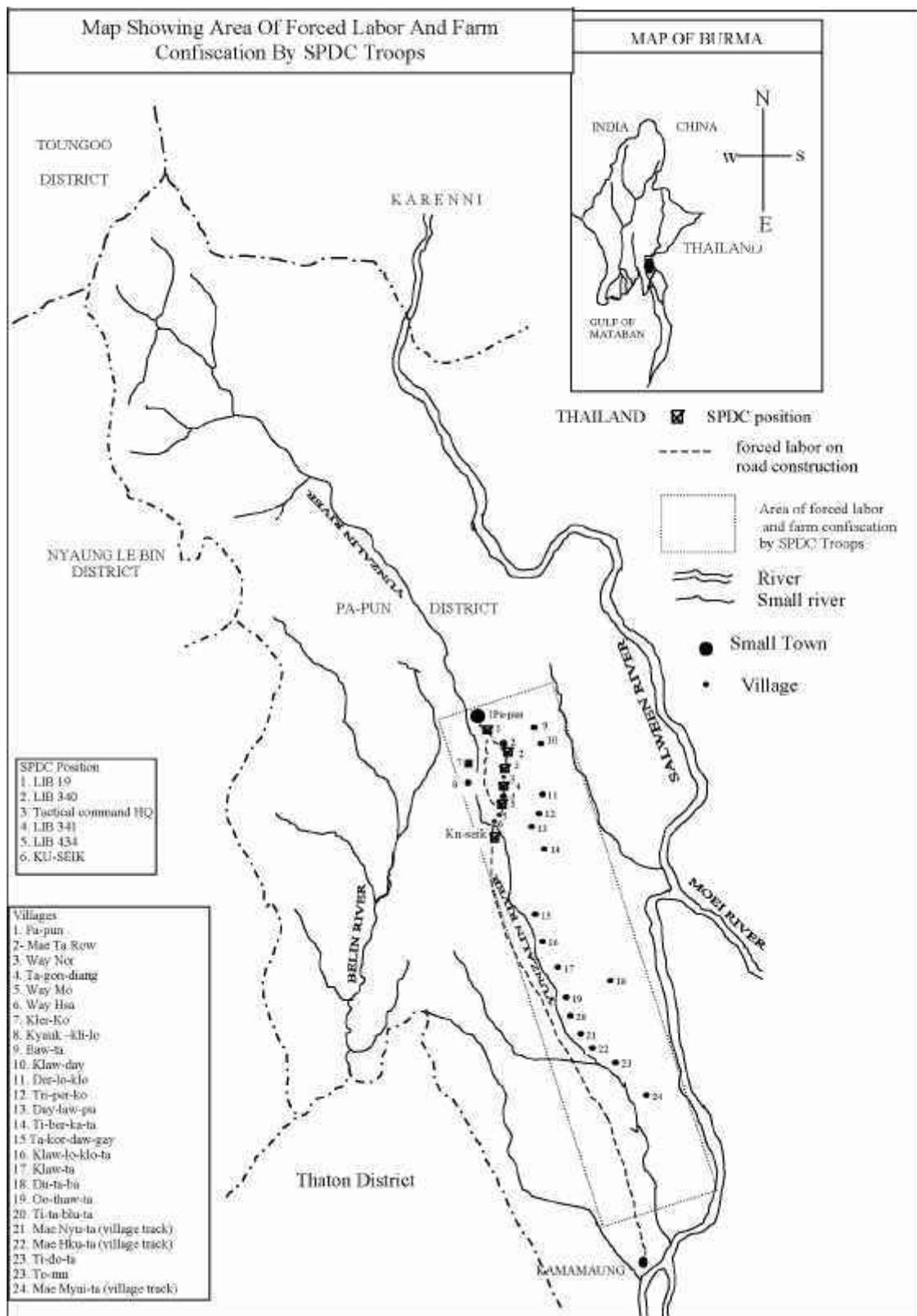
the peanuts to the battalion and wait until the process of making cooking oil is complete. The order given to the villagers is that from 10 baskets of unpeeled peanuts, 8 tins of peanut seeds must be obtained. If the peanuts do not produce certain amount of required cooking oil, the villagers have to fulfill the remaining amount of cooking oil for the battalion. Normally in Mae Klaw area, only 6 tins of peanut seeds can be obtained from 10 baskets of unpeeled peanut. The villagers from Mae Klaw village tract provided the following facts and information. The order comes from the No.434 LIB stationed at the place called Ta Gun Daing.

The Instructions of SPDC troops to the villagers of Mae Klaw village track to send peanut were as follows;

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1. Noe Lor Hsu | - 30 basket | 7. Klor Kli Lo | - 30 basket |
| 2. Htee Bu Ka Hta | - 20 basket | 8. Nay Pu Gan | - 30 basket |
| 3. Ngah Aing Zu | - 100 basket | 9. Way Moe | - 100 basket |
| 4. Klaw Lo Klo Hta | - 20 basket | 10. Way Sa | - 30 basket |
| 5. Nah Ku Nah | - 30 basket | 11. Bwe Klah | - 50 basket |
| 6. Kler Kho | - 50 basket | 12. Ta Gun Daing | - 50 basket |

Maps in next page -

MAP OF MUTRAW (PAPUN) DISTRICT



5. Conclusion

This report uncovers the systematic denial of rights of labour and farmers to sustain their livelihood. Systematic State violence against the citizens of Burma continues. The military rulers continue to impose high social costs and unnecessary human suffering and economic hardships on most people in Burma. People are forced to labour on projects for the military. People are seized, tortured, their property taken for failure to obey orders. Women are raped. This violent act aims at destroying person as well as the community. Low levels of social capital, widespread military conflict and violence and widespread public sector corruption create and sustain poverty. Rural farmers and families are denied their rights to subsistence. With no recognition of rule of law and freedoms of expression to resist, the violence continues to further suppress people preventing the emergence of civil society and humane governance in Burma.

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Appendix 1. Survey Questionnaires (Village/ward and Households- in Burmese)

၁။ စစ်တမ်းနှင့် အပေါင်းပါးတို့၏ ပြည်သူများကို (Land, Labor, Capital, Crops & Life) သဘောလုပ်ဆောင်မှုများ ကြောင့်ခံရမှု နှစ်မှာပူ များ (၁၉၈၈ မှ ယနေ့ အထိ (ရက်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာ အနှစ်ချုပ်စာရင်း))

ရက်ကွက်/ရွာအမည် ----- ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု-----

မြို့နယ် -----

ပြည်နယ်/တိုင်း -----

စာရင်းကောက်သည့် နေ့စွဲ -----

အမှတ်စဉ်	အိမ်ထောင်စုအမည်	မိသားစု	အိမ်ပျက်စီး/ရိပ်သာ	မြေ သီးနှံ လုပ်အားစွမ်းဆောင်ရည်/ လက်ခံရရှိသော နှစ်မှာ ခံရမှုများ [★တည်ဆောက်မြေပြင်လုပ်ငန်းများအတွက် စွမ်းဆောင်ရည်လုပ်အားစွမ်းဆောင်ရည်များအပါအဝင်]						တန်ဖိုး	မှတ်ချက် (ဖြစ်စဉ်ကာလအလိုက်ဖော်ပြပါ)	
				သစ်တော/လယ်/ယာမြေ	သီးနှံ	★လုပ်အားစွမ်းဆောင်ရည်နှင့် အခြားစွမ်းဆောင်ရည်များ			သိမ်းယူသူ/အဖွဲ့အမည်			နေ့စွဲ
						ဧက	တန်ဖိုး	အမည်				
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၁၅												
	စုစုပေါင်း											

မှတ်ချက်။ | ★ တည်ဆောက်မြေပြင်လုပ်ငန်းများ (လမ်း၊ တံတား၊ ရွှေ့ဆည်ပေးကမ်း၊ မီး/ကင်း၊ စသည် လုပ်အားစွမ်းဆောင်ရည်များ လက်ခံရမှု) အတွက် စွမ်းဆောင်ရည်ကောက်ခံမှု များကို အပိုအစား ပြုလုပ်သူ၊ ရက်စွဲအသေးစိတ်ဖော်ပြပါ။

၂။ စစ်တပ် နှင့်အပေါင်းပါ (အာဏာပိုင်/ဦးပိုင်/ကြံ့ဖွံ့/မီးသတ် စသည်) တို့၏ ပုဂ္ဂလိကပိုင် မြေ၊ လုပ်အား၊ ဥစ္စာဓနများကိုအမွေသိမ်းယူ၍ ပြည်သူများ၏ စီးပွားရေး၊ လူမှုရေးဆုံးရှုံးနစ်နာမှုများ (ဘုရား မှ ယနေ့အထိ) အိမ်ထောင်စုမေးခွန်းလွှာ။
 (နှစ်အလိုက်အသေးစိတ်မရနိုင်ပါက စုစုပေါင်းတန်ဖိုး/ကျပ် -ပေါ်ပြပေးပါ)

- အမှတ်စဉ် ----- နေ့စွဲ -----
- ရပ်ကွက်/ကျေးရွာ ----- ကျေးရွာအုပ်စု -----
- မြို့နယ် ----- ပြည်နယ်/တိုင်း -----
- အိမ်ထောင်ဦးစီးအမည် ----- အဘအမည် ----- အသက် -----
- လူမျိုး/ဘာသာ ----- မိသားစုဝင်ဦးရေ ----- အလုပ်အကိုင် -----

I. မြေယာ နှင့် သီးနှံ ဆုံးရှုံးနစ်နာမှု

၁။ က) သိမ်းယူသော မြေ
 (လယ်/ယာ/ဥယျာဉ်/စားကျက်မြေ/အိမ်) ----- အကျယ်အဝန်း (ဧက/ဧ) -----
 ကာလတန်ဖိုး -----

- သိမ်းယူသောအဖွဲ့/တာဝန်ရှိသူ အမည် နှင့်နေ့စွဲ -----
- မည်သည့်အတွက်သိမ်းယူသည် -----
- မြေ လျော်ကြေး ပေး/မပေး ----- (ပေးပါက) တန်ဖိုး -----
- မြေမသိမ်းယူပိုင်ဆိုင်လုပ်ကိုင်ရပါက ရရှိမည့်တန်ဖိုး ခန့်မှန်းပျမ်းမျှဝင်ငွေ -----
- မြေသိမ်းယူပြီး ပြန်ငှားခြင်း / ရောင်းချခြင်း ရှိ / မရှိ
- ရှိပါက(လက်ခံသူအမည်/ဈေးနှုန်း/တန်ဖိုး) -----

- ခ) သီးနှံသိမ်းယူမှု (နောက်ဆုံးပေးခဲ့ရသောနှစ်) သွင်းရသော နေ့စွဲ -----
- ဒိုင်/တပ်သို့သွင်းရသောသီးနှံအမည် -----
- သွင်းရသည့်အကြောင်းရင်း -----
- စိုက်ဧက ----- အထွက်(တင်း/တန်/ပိဿာ) -----
- တရားဝင်သတ်မှတ်သည့် တဧကနှုန်း ----- အပိုဆောင်း တဧက နှုန်း -----
- စုစုပေါင်းပေးသွင်းရသော တဧက နှုန်း -----
- စုစုပေါင်းသွင်းရသောပမာဏ -----
- ဒိုင်/တပ်မှ ပေးသည့်ဈေးနှုန်း ----- သီးနှံပြင်ပ ပေါက်ဈေးနှုန်း -----
- သိမ်းယူသောအဖွဲ့အစည်း/ဒိုင်အမည် -----
- တာဝန်ရှိသူ/ဒိုင်မှူး အမည် -----

- သီးနှံရောင်းရငွေမှဖြတ်တောက်ငွေများ
- အမတော်ကြေးရငွေ ----- အမတော်ကြေးအတိုးပေးရငွေ -----
- သီးနှံတဧကအတွက်အလှူငွေအမည် နှင့် တန်ဖိုး -----
- အခြားဖြတ်တောက်ငွေများ ----- စုစုပေါင်းအပိုတည့်ဝင်ရငွေပေါင်း -----
- ကိုတာပြည့်ရန်သီးနှံပြင်ပမှဝယ်သွင်းရမှု ရှိ/မရှိ။

- ရှိပါက ပမာဏနှင့်တန်ဖိုး -----
- ပြင်ပမှသီးနှံဝယ်ရန် ကျွဲ၊ နွား၊ ပစ္စည်းရောင်းချခြင်း ရှိ / မရှိ
- ရှိပါကတန်ဖိုး -----
- ပြင်ပမှသီးနှံဝယ်ရန်ကြွေးတင်မှုရှိပါက ပမာဏ -----
- သီးနှံတာဝန်မကျေ၍လယ်ယာမြေသိမ်းယူခြင်းခံရပါက / ဧက ----- လယ်မြေတန်ဖိုး -----
- လယ်မြေသိမ်းယူပြီး ပြန်ငှားခြင်း / ရောင်းချခြင်း ရှိ / မရှိ
- ရှိပါက(လက်ခံသူအမည်/ဈေးနှုန်း/တန်ဖိုး) -----
- ၁၉၈၈ မှ ယနေ့အထိစုစုပေါင်း၍ဖော်ပြပေးပါ
- အပိုဆောင်းသွင်းခဲ့ရသောသီးနှံပမာဏပေါင်း ----- တန်ဖိုးစုစုပေါင်း -----
- စုစုပေါင်း ပေးသွင်းခဲ့ရသောသီးနှံပမာဏပေါင်း ----- တန်ဖိုးစုစုပေါင်း -----
- အမတော်ကြေးငွေပေါင်း ----- အမတော်ကြေးအတိုးငွေပေါင်း -----
- အခြားဖြတ်တောက်ငွေပေါင်း -----
- ကိုတာမပြည့်၍ပြင်ပမှဝယ်သွင်းရသောသီးနှံပမာဏပေါင်း ----- တန်ဖိုး -----
- ပြင်ပမှသီးနှံဝယ်သွင်းရ၍အကြွေးတင်သည့် ငွေပေါင်း -----
- ၂။ ယခင်လုပ်ကိုင်ခဲ့သောလယ်ယာမြေ နှင့်သီးနှံအထွက် များ(တနှစ်ပျမ်းမျှ)
- လယ်ယာမြေ-သီးနှံ----- စိုက်ဧက -----
- အထွက် တန်/တင်း ----- တန်ဖိုး -----
- ဥယျာဉ်၊ ခြံ - သီးနှံ ----- စိုက်ဧက -----
- အထွက် တန်/တင်း ----- တန်ဖိုး -----
- ၃။ မြေယာ စွန့်လွှတ် ခဲ့ပါက စွန့်ခဲ့ရသောခုနှစ် -----
- ၄။ ယခုလက်ရှိစိုက်ပျိုးရေးအခြေအနေ (လယ်/ကိုင်းဥယျာဉ်ခြံ)
- * မိမိရွာတွင်တောင်ယာဆက်လုပ်သည် (သို့) အခြား-----မိုင်ဝေးသော-----ဒေသတွင်လုပ်ကိုင်သည်
- * တောင်ယာမခုတ်ဘူးသော-----ဒေသတွင် တောင်ယာခုတ်ရသည်
- * တောင်ယာမလုပ်နိုင်တော့ဘဲ ဒုက္ခသည်စခန်း/အခြား----- တွင်သွားနေရသည်
- * အခြေအနေပြန်ကောင်းလျှင်လုပ်ခွင့်ရရှိနိုင်/မရနိုင်ခဲ့သော် အဘယ်ကြောင့်-----

II. လုပ်အားနှင့်ငွေကြေး ဆုံးရှုံးနစ်နာမှု (၁၉၈၈မှ ယနေ့အထိ စုစုပေါင်း၍ ဖော်ပြပါ)

က) တည်ဆောက်ပြု ပြင်လုပ်ငန်းများအတွက် အမွေကောက်ခံမှုများ အမျိုးအစား ကောက်ယူသူ / အဖွဲ့ အမည် နေ့စွဲ နှုန်း တန်ဖိုး မြို့ရွာဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအတွက် (ဈေး၊ လမ်းဖောက်၊ တံတား၊ ဆည်ဖို့၊ သစ်ပင်စိုက်၊ ဘုရား၊ ကျောင်းစသည်)

- လုပ်အားပေး -----
- (လုပ်အားပေးတွင် လမ်း၊ ရေနုတ်မြောင်း၊ ရထားလမ်း၊ ဓါတ်အားပေးတိုင်စောင့်၊ ကားယာဉ်ချော)
- ကျောက် -----
- ကတ္တရာ -----
- သဲ/မြေသား -----
- အခြား(ဘက်စုံဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးကြေး)-----

ခ) ရပ်ကွက်ကျေးရွာအတွင်း အမွေကောက်ခံမှုများ

- ပေါ်တားကြေး -----

လူလုပ်အားလိုက်ပါက(ရက်ပေါင်း) -----

- ဧည့်စာရင်းတိုင်ခြင်း -----

- မီး/ကင်း၊ ရပ်ရွာသန်ရှင်းရေး -----

- ရတနာ/ ရွှေ သတ္တုခိုင်းဒေသ -----

(မြို့ဝင် ဂိတ်ကြေး၊ ရပ်ကွက်တွင်းနေထိုင်ခွင့်)

- အခြားငွေကောက်ယူခြင်းများ-----

(ထောက်ခံစာ၊ သီးနှံရောင်းသည့်ငွေမှဖြတ်ယူငွေ၊ မယက/တပ်အတွက်အလကားပေးရ ငွေ/သီးနှံ၊
ရေလုပ်ငန်းအခွန်၊ ပြည်သူ့ စစ်ကြေး၊ အလှူဒါနများ၊ ဌာနဆိုင်ရာရုံးပုံငွေ၊ စသည်)
စုစုပေါင်း (၁၉၈၈ မှ ယနေ့အထိ) -----

III. ပစ္စည်းဥစ္စာဓန အရင်းအနှီး ဆုံးရှုံးနစ်နာမှု

က) ဥစ္စာပစ္စည်းဆုံးရှုံးမှု မဆလခေတ် နဝတ/နအပခေတ် တန်ဘိုးစုစုပေါင်း

(သိမ်းယူသူအမည်၊ အဖွဲ့၊ ရက်စွဲ စသည် ဖော်ပြပါ)

- အိမ်မီးရှို့/ဖျက်ဆီး ----- ၂

- ကျွဲ/နွား -----

- စက်ပစ္စည်း/ယာဉ် -----

- ရွှေ ငွေအိမ်တွင်းပစ္စည်း -----

- အစားအစာ (ဆန်၊သီ၊ ဝက်၊ကြက်စသည်)-----

- အခြား -----

တန်ဘိုးစုစုပေါင်း -----

ခ) စစ်အုပ်စုမှ မိသားစုဝင်များအားညှင်းပမ်းနှိပ်စက်မှု၊ သတ်ဖြတ်မှု၊ သားမယားပြုကျင့်မှုများ

စဉ် ခံရသူအမည် ပြုလုပ်ပုံ ပြုလုပ်သူ/အဖွဲ့အမည် နေရာ ရက်/လ/ခုနှစ်

၁ -----

၂ -----

၃ -----

၄ -----

IV. မြေ/အိမ်အမွေပြောင်းရွှေ့ ခံရ၍နစ်နာဆုံးရှုံးမှုများ

(က) စီးပွားရေးဆုံးရှုံးမှု၊ မြေ/အိမ် ရွှေ့ ပြောင်းရသောနေရာအမည် -----

မူလနေရာမှအကွာအဝေး ----- မြေ/အိမ် ရွှေ့ ပြောင်းရသော စားရိတ် -----

အိမ်ဆောက်စားရိတ် -----

အပြင်လုပ်ငန်းလုပ်ကိုင်ရပါက (အလုပ်နှင့်ယခုအိမ်အကွာအဝေး) -----

မူလအိမ်မှအလုပ်သို့ တနေခရီးစားရိတ် -----

ယခု အိမ်မှ အလုပ်သို့ တနေခရီးစားရိတ် -----

အလုပ်သစ်ပြောင်းရ၍ ငွေကြေးအရနစ်နာမှု တန်ဖိုး -----

အခြားနစ်နာမှု တန်ဖိုး -----

မိသားစု အလုပ်အကိုင်/လုပ်ငန်း ဆုံးရှုံးမှု တန်ဖိုးစုစုပေါင်း -----

(ခ) လူမှုရေး ဆုံးရှုံးမှု

ယခင် ဆေးရုံ / ဆေးခန်း ကုသခြင်း ရှိ/ မရှိ ----- မရှိက အကြောင်းရင်း-----

ယခင် အိမ်မှဆေးရုံ/ ဆေးခန်း အကွာအဝေး ----- တခေါက်ခရီးစားရိတ် -----

ယခု ဆေးရုံ / ဆေးခန်း ကုသခြင်း ရှိ/ မရှိ ----- မရှိက အကြောင်းရင်း-----

ယခု အိမ်မှ ဆေးရုံ / ဆေးခန်း အကွာအဝေး ----- တခေါက်ခရီးစားရိတ် -----

အခြားကျန်းမာရေး / လူမှုရေး အခြေအနေများ -----

မိသားစုဆေးကုသမှုစားရိတ်ယခင်ထက်ပိုမိုကုန်ကျငွေ(တနှစ်) -----

ပညာရေး - ယခင် အိမ်မှကျောင်း အကွာအဝေး ----- တခေါက်ခရီးစားရိတ် -----

ယခု အိမ်မှ ကျောင်း အကွာအဝေး ----- တခေါက်ခရီးစားရိတ် -----

က၊ ကျောင်းတက်နှိုင်းဆဲ ရှိ / မရှိ မရှိက အကြောင်းရင်း -----

ခ၊ တနှစ် ကျောင်းပျက်ရက်မည်မျှ ----- ကျောင်းပျက်ရခြင်းအကြောင်းရင်း -----

ဂ၊ စာမေးပွဲဖြေဆိုနိုင်ခြင်း ရှိ / မရှိ မရှိက အကြောင်းရင်း -----

ဃ၊ အခြားပညာရေး ဆုံးရှုံးမှုများ -----

မိသားစု ပညာရေးစားရိတ်ယခင်ထက်ပိုမိုကုန်ကျငွေ(တနှစ်) -----

ယခင် အိမ်မှဈေး အကွာအဝေး ----- ခရီးစားရိတ် -----

ယခု အိမ်မှဈေး အကွာအဝေး ----- ခရီးစားရိတ် -----

ထောက်သုံးရေစားရိတ်ယခင်ထက် ပိုမိုကုန်ကျငွေ(တနှစ်) -----

- မိသားစု၏အိမ်ထောင်စုအသုံးစားရိတ် များ

စုစုပေါင်း ယခင်ထက် ပိုမိုကုန်ကျငွေ(တနှစ်) -----

(ပညာရေး၊ ကျန်းမာရေး၊ ခရီးစားရိတ် စသည့် စုစုပေါင်း)

(ဂ) ဘာသာရေး/ယဉ်ကျေးမှု အရနစ်နာမှု

(ဘုန်းကြီးကျောင်း/ဘုရားရှိခိုးကျောင်း/တိုင်းရင်းသားစာပေသင်ကြားမှု)

ငွေကြေးအရ -----

အခြား -----

(ဃ) ဥပဒေ / နိုင်ငံရေး အရ ဆုံးရှုံးမှု

အဖမ်းခံရမှု ရှိ / မရှိ

အလုပ်ဖြုတ်ခံရမှု ရှိ / မရှိ

အခြား -----

V. အဓမ္မမှုများ (Land, Labor, Capital & Life) မှ ကာကွယ်ရန် လာဒီငွေပေးရမှုများ
လက်ခံသူ/အဖွဲ့ မည်သည့်အတွက် နေ့စွဲ တန်ဖိုး

တနင်္ဂနွေနေ့ပေါင်း

အခြားဖော်ပြလိုသောအခြေအနေများ
(ကာလအလိုက်ဖြစ်စဉ်များကိုသီးခြားဖော်ပြပေးပါ)
အထက်ပါ ပြောဆိုချက်များမှန်ကန်နိုင်လုံပါသည်။

လက်မှတ် လက်မှတ်

အိမ်ထောင်ဦးစီး/ မိသားစုဝင်အမည်-----

စာရင်းကောက်သူအမည် -----