ADrift in Troubled Times

Recent Accounts of Human Rights Abuse in the Shan State (Burma)

June 1987

PROJECT MAJ-B
14 Dartmouth Rd.
Cranford, N.J. 07016 U.S.A.
INTRODUCTION

The human rights abuse recounted in this report has taken place in the context of the ongoing war of attrition between the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma and numerous ethnic minority insurgents and political resistance groups. This conflict has been fought in the frontier areas since Burma's Independence (1948). The Shan State is the largest state in Burma's union, located in the northeast of the country, bordering Thailand, Laos, and China. In the Shan State various factions have fought the Burmese government and each other since the 1950's. These groups include ethnic separatists, communists, Chinese nationalists, and narcotics trade armies.

In the Shan State, insurgents finance their efforts by taxing, protecting and escorting black market smuggling activities. Commodities smuggled into Burma on insurgent controlled routes include consumer goods such as clothing, medicine, machinery, textiles. Commodities smuggled out include rice, livestock, forest products, gems and minerals, and opium/heroin. Lack of development and socialist constraints on production and trade have resulted in the black market being the dominant economic system in the Shan State.

The Burmese Army has sought to suppress the insurgency by discouraging civilian support for the rebels. Military efforts in this regard have been so heavy-handed as to often result in civilians turning to insurgent groups for protection from the Burmese Army. Burmese government programs such as the establishment of "strategic hamlets" (in which entire villages are relocated in confined areas to deprive insurgents of their support), and conscription of civilians for service as porters for the Army, have resulted in large scale displacement of population in the Shan State. Many inhabitants of the Shan State are hill tribes, who are traditionally semi-nomadic, and when confronted with warfare and abuse, they have become refugees. Also, Shan and Chinese villagers have fled their permanent villages, many as far as Thailand. These displaced persons are not welcome in Thailand, and many have been harassed and exploited. They are not officially recognized as refugees, and do not receive international relief aid.

Burmese military abuse of civilians in the Shan State matches a pattern of abuse prevalent throughout the frontier war zone. The military tactics — forced labor, strategic hamlets, torture, destruction of villages — occur in all the frontier areas. This appears to be institutionalized abuse aimed at either bringing the ethnic minorities under complete government control or causing them to leave Burma. Such abuse is particularly prevalent in the "gray areas" that are under neither firm government control nor firm insurgent jurisdiction. The "gray areas" are sporadically contested by the Burmese Army and various insurgent factions. Civilians caught between the sides in these areas, generally impoverished hill tribe farmers, are frequent targets.
of abusive Burmese government programs. Insurgent groups are also guilty of abuse of civilians, such as forced labor and conscription, although on a smaller scale and in a less institutionalized form than the Burmese government. Human rights abuse by insurgent groups has been limited somewhat by the fact that they are indigenous groups (for the most part) dependent on the good will of the local people for support; while the Burmese military forces are outsiders with different strategic considerations.

In recent years, the Burmese government has been able to justify campaigns in the Shan State and win outside aid for them by portraying their efforts as narcotics eradication campaigns. The United States government has donated 2,4-D herbicide (an Agent Orange ingredient) and spraying aircraft to Burma for narcotics eradication. The 2,4-D spraying program has been conducted in two "gray areas" of the Shan State, Kengtung (south of Kengtung town, north of Mong Htat) and Kutkai (east of Lashio, west of Salween River), during December 1985—February 1986 and December 1986—February 1987.

Major opium growing areas such as Kokang and Wa have not been sprayed as they are protected by insurgent anti-aircraft capabilities. Other opium growing areas are protected by deals with and payoffs to Burmese military forces. The 2,4-D spraying program has had very little effect on the Shan State's opium production level. It has, however, devastated numerous hill tribe, Shan and Chinese villages in the affected "gray areas". Opium has been grown in the Shan State for over 100 years. Growers depend on their opium fields to provide the minimum trade income necessary for survival. Opium is bartered for necessities such as clothing and medicine, and often used to obtain cash necessary to pay Burmese government taxes and quotas. At present there are few alternative trade crops. To eliminate opium production in the Shan State, alternative crops must be provided, with the means to market them. This would require the development of trade networks, transportation, and other commercial infrastructure. At present, commercial infrastructure of this sort exists only for one crop: opium. Destroying the opium fields without providing alternative crops results only in the destitute villagers fleeing to areas where they can grow opium under insurgent protection, or to Laos (where they can grow opium without government harassment), or to Thailand where they are barely tolerated refugees.

The 2,4-D spraying program appears to be carried out in a manner that endangers civilians in the sprayed areas. The herbicide and spray drift have ruined and contaminated food crops as well as opium crops. Spraying has been done in inhabited areas. Illnesses and deaths due to ingestion of sprayed food, contact with spray and inhalation of spray, have been reported. Both humans and livestock have been reported affected by the herbicide. Such effects, and rumored/perceived effects of the spraying program have contributed to displacement migration in the Shan State.
ADrift in Troubled Times

Recent Accounts of Human Rights Abuse
in the Shan State (Burma)

June 1987

PROJECT MAJE
14 Dartmouth Rd.
Cranford, N.J. 07016 U.S.A.
- Areas where 2,4-D was sprayed
  (December 1985 - March 1989)
INTRODUCTION

The human rights abuse recounted in this report has taken place in the context of the ongoing war of attrition between the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma and numerous ethnic minority insurgents and political resistance groups. This conflict has been fought in the frontier areas since Burma's Independence (1948). The Shan State is the largest state in Burma's union, located in the northeast of the country, bordering Thailand, Laos, and China. In the Shan State various factions have fought the Burmese government and each other since the 1950's. These groups include ethnic separatists, communists, Chinese nationalists, and narcotics trade armies.

In the Shan State, insurgents finance their efforts by taxing, protecting and escorting black market smuggling activities. Commodities smuggled into Burma on insurgent controlled routes include consumer goods such as clothing, medicine, machinery, textiles. Commodities smuggled out include rice, livestock, forest products, gems and minerals, and opium/heroin. Lack of development and socialist constraints on production and trade have resulted in the black market being the dominant economic system in the Shan State.

The Burmese Army has sought to suppress the insurgency by discouraging civilian support for the rebels. Military efforts in this regard have been so heavy-handed as to often result in civilians turning to insurgent groups for protection from the Burmese Army. Burmese government programs such as the establishment of "strategic hamlets" (in which entire villages are relocated in confined areas to deprive insurgents of their support), and conscription of civilians for service as porters for the Army, have resulted in large scale displacement of population in the Shan State. Many inhabitants of the Shan State are hill tribes, who are traditionally semi-nomadic, and when confronted with warfare and abuse, they have become refugees. Also, Shan and Chinese villagers have fled their permanent villages, many as far as Thailand. These displaced persons are not welcome in Thailand, and many have been harassed and exploited. They are not officially recognized as refugees, and do not receive international relief aid.

Burmese military abuse of civilians in the Shan State matches a pattern of abuse prevalent throughout the frontier war zone. The military tactics -- forced labor, strategic hamlets, torture, destruction of villages -- occur in all the frontier areas. This appears to be institutionalized abuse aimed at either bringing the ethnic minorities under complete government control or causing them to leave Burma. Such abuse is particularly prevalent in the "gray areas" that are under neither firm government control nor firm insurgent jurisdiction. The "gray areas" are sporadically contested by the Burmese Army and various insurgent factions. Civilians caught between the sides in these areas, generally impoverished hill tribe farmers, are frequent targets.
of abusive Burmese government programs. Insurgent groups are also guilty of abuse of civilians, such as forced labor and conscription, although on a smaller scale and in a less institutionalized form than the Burmese government. Human rights abuse by insurgent groups has been limited somewhat by the fact that they are indigenous groups (for the most part) dependent on the good will of the local people for support; while the Burmese military forces are outsiders with different strategic considerations.

In recent years, the Burmese government has been able to justify campaigns in the Shan State and win outside aid for them by portraying their efforts as narcotics eradication campaigns. The United States government has donated 2,4-D herbicide (an Agent Orange ingredient) and spraying aircraft to Burma for narcotics eradication. The 2,4-D spraying program has been conducted in two "gray areas" of the Shan State, Kengtung (south of Kengtung town, north of Mong Hsat) and Kutkai (east of Lashio, west of Salween River), during December 1985-February 1986 and December 1986-February 1987.

Major opium growing areas such as Kokang and Wa have not been sprayed as they are protected by insurgent anti-aircraft capabilities. Other opium growing areas are protected by deals with and payoffs to Burmese military forces. The 2,4-D spraying program has had very little effect on the Shan State’s opium production level. It has, however, devastated numerous hill tribe, Shan and Chinese villages in the affected "gray areas". Opium has been grown in the Shan State for over 100 years. Growers depend on their opium fields to provide the minimum trade income necessary for survival. Opium is bartered for necessities such as clothing and medicine, and often used to obtain cash necessary to pay Burmese government taxes and quotas. At present there are few alternative trade crops. To eliminate opium production in the Shan State, alternative crops must be provided, with the means to market them. This would require the development of trade networks, transportation, and other commercial infrastructure. At present, commercial infrastructure of this sort exists only for one crop: opium. Destroying the opium fields without providing alternative crops results only in the destitute villagers fleeing to areas where they can grow opium under insurgent protection, or to Laos (where they can grow opium without government harassment), or to Thailand where they are barely tolerated refugees.

The 2,4-D spraying program appears to be carried out in a manner that endangers civilians in the sprayed areas. The herbicide and spray drift have ruined and contaminated food crops as well as opium crops. Spraying has been done in inhabited areas. Illnesses and deaths due to ingestion of sprayed food, contact with spray, and inhalation of spray, have been reported. Both humans and livestock have been reported affected by the herbicide. Such effects, and rumored/perceived effects of the spraying program have contributed to displacement migration in the Shan State.
The information in this report was obtained by Project Meje during the period January-April 1987. It includes nine interviews conducted with civilians from the Shan State, who recounted personal experiences such as forced labor, and offered eyewitness accounts of 2,4-D spraying and other Burmese government programs. The information in this report was obtained with the help of two organizations whose stated aims are in opposition to the Burmese government: the Ta'ang Revolutionary Council and the Kachin Independence Organization. These organizations are both active in the Shan State (the K.I.O. is headquartered in the Kachin State), and they are politically at odds with each other. They are willing to help in human rights research because they wish to be perceived as having the best interests of the ethnic minority people at heart. As some insurgent groups profit from the opium trade, they may also have a stake in discouraging attempts at narcotics eradication. They may also oppose the 2,4-D program because it has resulted in resentful villagers joining the Burma Communist Party, a rival insurgent group.

The T.R.C.'s and K.I.O.'s motives in aiding human rights investigations do not appear to Project Meje to affect the credibility of the information contained in this report. The civilians' accounts of abuse concur with a pattern widespread in Burma and confirmed by reports by Amnesty International and the United States Department of State. The reports of 2,4-D effects tend for the most part to concur with current scientific data on the subject. The interviewees spoke spontaneously from personal experience, and did not appear to be under any pressure to do so. They did not seem to be following any political "party line". The Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma has not allowed international human rights organizations to investigate human rights abuse in the Shan State, so information such as that contained in this report must at present be sought with the help of opposition groups.

As the pattern of human rights abuse recounted in this report is produced by the ongoing war, stopping the war is the only way to end this abuse. The title of this report is taken from a poem by the Chinese poet Po Chu-Yi (772-846 AD). Although he wrote of strife and suffering in T'ang Dynasty China, his words serve to summarize this report on the situation in the Shan State in 1987:

To My Brothers and Sisters Adrift in Troubled Times,
This Poem of the Moon
Po Chu-Yi

My heritage lost through disorder and famine,
My brothers and sisters flung eastward and westward,
My fields and gardens wrecked by the war,
My own flesh and blood become scum of the street,
I moan to my shadow like a lone-wandering wildgoose,
I am torn from my root like a water-plant in autumn:
I gaze at the moon, and my tears run down
For hearts, in five places, all sick with one wish.

* trans. Witter Bynner, The Jade Mountain,
Vintage Books, 1972
RECOMMENDATIONS

There are three main courses of action to follow once one is aware of the ongoing human rights abuse situation in the Shan State:

1. Keep informed about Burma and investigate the situation further. Investigatory missions may be refused entry by the Burmese government, but significant investigations can be conducted in border areas where refugees and traders from Burma enter neighboring countries. The Far Eastern Economic Review provides in-depth coverage of Burma's political, economic and human rights situation. Project Majestic can provide background information and planning advice for investigatory missions.

2. The pattern of human rights abuse by the Burmese government and military must be condemned and protested by the international community. Every effort should be made to expose the fact that seemingly peaceful Burma has been waging a brutal war against its own minority groups. Pressure must be brought to bear on the Burmese government to safeguard the civilians in the war zone, rather than victimizing them. Military aid and anti-narcotics aid that can be used militarily (such as the 2,4-D herbicide spraying program) should be withheld. Development and relief aid, and anti-narcotics crop substitution programs should be extended to the frontier war zone. International relief organizations such as UNICEF, UNHCR and the International Red Cross must demand to enter the frontier war zone. Human rights organizations must demand to be allowed to enter Burma to monitor and substantiate accounts of human rights abuse.

3. Encourage a solution to the conflict in Burma. This war has gone on for three generations, killed thousands, displaced tens of thousands, and brought with it poverty, disease, and a massive trade in narcotics. Past attempts to negotiate a settlement have failed due to bad faith on the part of the Burmese government, and severe factionalism on the part of the opposition. In recent years there has been a marked consolidation of the opposition factions, placing them in a position where negotiation is practical, and to many, desirable. To ensure safety and good faith, negotiations should be held under international aegis, sponsored by the U.N. or an interested country such as China, Singapore, Malaysia, Great Britain, or Japan. A satisfactory solution may be found through a cease-fire, troop withdrawal, and a return to the autonomy granted the frontier areas in the Independence (1948) Constitution. With peace, all of Burma can develop and thrive, and the Burmese and other ethnic groups can learn to coexist -- as neighbors or as compatriots. In the long run, this is the only way to stop this Southeast Asian tragedy, to ensure that no more victims are enslaved or tortured, that no more children disappear, that no more villages are burned to the ground.
Q: What is your name and age?
A: My name is Puk Htoo Mong. I live in village. My nationality is Palaung.

Q: Have you heard about Burmese helicopters or airplanes flying over villages in your area?
A: Last month, three helicopters came. Two made the spraying and one was for covering the other two helicopters. They asked them to leave the fields — their fields — but they refused to leave the fields. And the ground troops came. And the ground troops came and asked them also to leave the fields. But they didn't leave. So they shot. And then planes sprayed again.

Q: Names of the two who were killed?
A: One girl from Huai Hong village. I don't know her name. Oh — three girls from Huai Hong.

Q: Exactly what village did the spraying take place at?
A: At this Huai Hong village.

Q: What crops, what fields were sprayed?
A: There was in this poppy field they also planted cabbages, lettuce, cauliflowers.

Q: How close was the fields to the people's houses in the village?
A: About one hour's journey, three miles.

Q: People who were in the fields when the Army came — how many people were there and what were they doing?
A: At that time there were only three of the girls, they were looking after the vegetables.

Q: Why did they refuse to leave the field when all these people told them to go?
A: Because they don't want to leave, because they've got to work. They've got to work on the fields.

Q: They weren't afraid of the people telling them to leave?
A: They weren't afraid.

Q: What about animals? Were there any animals in that area?
A: There were no animals in the field.

Q: What was the spray that came from the helicopters? What was it like? What color was it, was it thick or thin, what did it smell like?
A: It was green color. Smells bad. If you breathe it, get dizzy. And if you take the plant that has been affected, then he gets stomach trouble, gets stomach swelling.

Q: In general, did anything unusual happen after the spraying, after they came over?
A: They don't dare to eat or use any of the affected plants. The swelling of the stomach, he has to bear about 15 days and then he dies.
Q: About the field itself, how did the spraying affect the plants that were in the field? What happened to the plants?
A: The plant gets faded, it becomes discolored yellow. And then it dries up.
Q: What about any other plants that were nearby that weren't in the field, like the trees and the bushes? Did something happen to them?
A: All the trees get defoliated and then dry up.
Q: Exactly how did the spraying affect the water around the area? Was there a taste or a smell to the water?
A: The spraying was done only this year, so the effect upon the drinking water we don't know as yet. Now they don't have any effect.
Q: There weren't any animals in the fields, but did any of the animals in the area have a problem, even the wild animals or the birds or something like that?
A: The spraying was done only this year and it was done just recently, so I don't know what later effects there will be.
Q: What about effects on people? Were there any illnesses at that time? Who did it happen to, the stomach swelling?
A: The one who ate the vegetables.
Q: Somebody died from this? How many people died?
A: Up till the time I came here, there was only one.
Q: What was the name?
Q: The people in the village, after this happened -- did they touch sprayed things?
A: Well, they told all of them not to touch the plants. They saw the death of this man. So they just left the fields like that.
Q: How did the spraying that happened affect the village? I know it's only a short term effect because it's recent, but will they lose income because of the spraying?
A: Well, they have no other alternative, no extra income. At least they have rice to eat. The Palaung people in the village, they depend upon this extra income by planting the poppy fields -- opium. For buying the clothes and various essentials. But now they have no other way to find any extra income.
Q: Will the people in the village stay there, or move away from the place that was sprayed?
A: They won't change their village, they've been living there for over 15 years.
Q: Will they plant that same field again? Will they try to grow things there?
A: I don't know, as yet.
Q: Was there any fighting between any army, any troops?
A: We hear that once the spraying is done on a field, you just can't grow it again. The ground is just dead. No, there wasn't (any fighting).
Q: Was there any problem with the government people at that time, with that village?

A: Well, the spraying is done only where they have the ground troops, taken position for security.

Q: What battalion, which regiment were the Burmese troops?

A: Mong Haet battalion. I don't know because when we hear the Burmese troops are coming, we flee into the forest.

Q: You come from Pak Htoo Mong village -- and the spraying was also on the fields in your village?

A: It was about one hour's journey from his village. (Interpreter)

Q: But you mentioned three girls were shot from another village.

A: Three girls were shot who were working on the fields. (Interpreter)

Q: But when I asked the names of the girls, you said they were from a village called Huai Hong.

A: That place was called Huai Hong, it's not a village.

Q: Were the girls from Huai Hong or not? Where were they from?

A: The three girls were Akha girls from Huai Hong village. And the man who got the stomach swelling, that's a Palaung from San Kan village.

Q: After the spraying happened, did anyone offer to help the villagers?

A: There wasn't any organization that came to their help. And I was coming here (T.R.C. camp) I haven't applied to the T.R.C. for help yet.

Q: You've told us about the three girls, and another man. These villages are all in the same vicinity as yours?

A: They are all. Separated by a mountain ridge.
Q: What is your name and age?
A: My name is From Mong Kok, Mong Hsat. Shan.

Q: Have you heard or seen Burmese helicopters or airplanes flying over the village? And could you describe what happened?
A: December 10th, they came. It was fixed-wing planes, three of them. Two did the spraying, and one covering. The spraying was done at Doi Chan, it's the name of the place. There's a village also at this place.

Q: How many times did they spray?
A: From 10:00 in the morning until 3:00 in the afternoon, without stopping.

Q: What crops were sprayed at that time?
A: During the spraying three people got affected while working in the fields. Three girls and four men died while working in the fields. Well, two after the spraying -- the Burmese troops came, the ground to open, and they ate the sprayed vegetables and two of the Burmese soldiers died, one sergeant and one private.

Q: What kind of vegetables and what other plants were in the fields?
A: Cabbages, potatoes, beans. Also the forest.

Q: Can you describe how the two Burmese showed they were dying? The way that they looked?
A: When the two soldiers ate those affected vegetables, their bowels were flowing 24 hours. And then they died.

Q: Did they have any outside affect, the way they looked?
A: They became very white. Like dehydration.

Q: How long after eating the vegetables did they die?
A: Within 24 hours.

Q: And how about the villagers who died after the spraying? How long after?
A: Well, the seven who got sprayed in the fields, well, they got dizzy and then they fell unconscious. It smelled something like some bug sprays. And when you get the smell, your throat gets dried up.

Q: What color was the spray and was it thick or thin?
A: Smoke colored, gray color. Just like a smoke.

Q: Thick spray or thin spray -- like liquid or bug spray?
A: Just like dew.

Q: Do you know the names of the seven who died?
A: They were Humer tribespeople, the seven.

Q: Had you heard about this or had you seen the bodies?
A: I saw the bodies.
Q: Had you seen the spraying?
A: Yes, I saw it.

Q: How far away from the spraying were you?
A: About that far. (Indicating a hill less than a kilometer away)

Q: On the flat or on the mountain?
A: It was on the mountain, but I was on a flat field. It's in the valley, I'm right here. The plane goes through the valley.

Q: How close was the sprayed place to the village?
A: About one hour.

Q: Were there any other houses or people living closer to the field?
A: There were five villages around the area where the spraying took place. One village's name is Si Ko Fah, a Muser village. A Muser village also: Kyu Mong, Nam Pya, Akha village. Bang Hoa, Muser. Nan Kwong, Muser.

Q: How close was the closest village to the field?
A: It was right beside the field. And the spraying also affected those villages.

Q: So an hour's journey away is what, the Shan village where you live?
A: Yes.

Q: The Muser and the Akha villages -- did any of the spray get on the houses or did it stay on the field only?
A: Sometimes the spraying touches the houses, but sometimes they don't. Because their aiming must have been very good, I think.

Q: Does the spray have any effect on domestic animals, on wild animals, birds, fish?
A: Well, the chickens, when they get affected by the spray, they died instantly. But the cattle and the pigs, their saliva comes out. What I saw was two horses died, three cows. Seven buffaloes.

Q: How long after the spraying did the big animals die?
A: In about a week's time. No medication. Some died in the forest.

Q: After the spraying, did the villagers touch the things in the fields?
A: Well, after the two Burmese soldiers died, the villagers didn't dare to touch or use any of these vegetables.

Q: What about the water in that area -- was it affected, smell or taste?
A: Before they did the spraying, the Burmese soldiers told the villagers; within seven days not to touch the rivers or streams in the area that was to be sprayed. But after seven days it will be drinkable, they said.

Q: The Burmese told them that how many days before they sprayed?
A: Well, the ground security forces come first to the villages, and tell them beforehand. Tell them the area that will be sprayed and tell them not to use the drinking water in those areas. One day ahead.
Q: Did they tell them any other things, besides about drinking the water?
A: No.

Q: Was there opium grown in these fields?
A: Yes, they're poppy fields.

Q: In that area, was there fighting with any of the army forces in that area?
A: No fighting, at the time when they came to spray.

Q: Had they had any trouble with the Government at that time?
A: No, they were quite civilized. They were Government troops, they were quite gentle to the people.

Q: But the villagers in that area -- the Shan village and the Muser and the Akha -- had they had any problem with the Government? Were they considered Burmese-governed villages? In the past, before the spraying happened, were they perhaps insurgent villages, or were they Burmese-controlled villages with their government and schools and so on?
A: Well, they were still under the Government control. They just got a new school last year, a primary school.

Q: How did the spraying affect the villagers around there -- will they lose any income because of the spraying, or not?
A: Yes, it affects them very much, financially. In this Mong Hsat district, the spraying was done about 5,000 acres.

Q: Will the people around the sprayed areas stay there, or move to another place because of it?
A: Well, they are thinking of moving, because they don't have paddy fields. They depend only on their income from the sale of opium, to buy rice. These hill tribes, including the Shan villages.

Q: If they move, how far away will they go?
A: They are thinking of moving, up to now they haven't. If they just can't grow opium, they have to find some other place, where they can do it in safety.

Q: Are they thinking about replanting the fields, or have they replanted since the spraying?
A: They tried to replant some of the plants, but it wasn't good.

Q: Did anyone try to help out the people affected there?
A: No compensation.

Q: When's the last time the T.R.C. soldiers were in the area?
A: Last month.

Q: How many ground troops, Burmese soldiers, were there? And what kind of weapons did they bring?
A: About 300. Not so heavy weapons. Recoilless rifle, and .57 launchers, and .75 launchers, .81 mortars.

Q: How high was the plane over the field when you saw the spraying?
A: About 20 to 30 feet, when they do the spraying you can feel the wind.
Q: Name and age?
A: [Illegible] Shen. I'm from Tangyang, Leshio district.

Q: Have you heard about Burmese helicopters or airplanes that fly over villages?
A: Two fixed-wing white planes.

Q: When did that happen?
A: Well, at the time when the poppy plants are just flowering. About January. (1986)

Q: And what happened when the planes came over the village?
A: They came as low as the treetops.

Q: Then what did they do?
A: They start spraying, arriving about 9:00 in the morning. Until 3:00 in the afternoon.

Q: And what did the planes do when they flew over?
A: They're just spraying, starting from 9:00 until 3:00.

Q: What was the spray like? What did it look like, smell like? Thick, thin?
A: Just like dew, frost, fog. Foggy color. Something like the smell of DDT, a strong smell. We don't dare to go too close, but when we look at it, it's a foggy color, white.

Q: Did you see the spraying happen, and if you did, where did you see it from?
A: Yes, I saw it myself. And I didn't dare go too close, and the Burmese didn't allow me to go close.

Q: How close were you? How far away?
A: About from here to that mountain. (Approximately one kilometer)

Q: Did the spraying happen at your village or at another village?
A: Wan Nam Lin.

Q: And who lives in that village?
A: Palaung. There was one old Palaung lady, who ran to her field when the spraying was done, because she wanted to save her field. When she breathed the spray, she fell down and died.

Q: How long did it take for her to die after she breathed it?
A: When she fell down, they brought her back. About half an hour, she died.

Q: What was her name?
A: I don't know. 65 years old.

Q: Did you see her body?
A: Yes, I saw it. Well, the body seemed to have got dehydrated. Yellowish, the skin became yellowish. It seemed as if the blood has dried up.
Q: What crops were in the fields that were sprayed?
A: Cabbage, peas, beans.
Q: Poppies?
A: Poppies, of course. (Interpreter)
Q: What happened to the plants themselves? What did they look like after the spray happened?
A: The grasses dried up. And trees also dried up.
Q: If some of the plants that were growing there died, how did they die?
A: Well, the leaves get dried:
Q: What about animals that were in the area?
A: The animals, when they get affected by the spraying, they fell, they became something like epilepsy.
Q: Fits?
A: Something like some kind of fits, then they die.
Q: How long would it take for a big animal to die?
A: If it's a large animal, if it's a horse or cattle, it takes about one hour.
Q: And what about small animals, like a chicken or a small wild animal?
A: The small animals, it just takes a few minutes.
Q: What about the wild animals like the birds in the forest -- did they die?
A: We don't see wild animals around.
Q: About the water -- did the water smell bad or taste bad or anything like that?
A: They don't dare touch the waters that have been affected.
Q: After the spraying, did anything happen to the people who were in that area?
A: It makes their life hard to make a living, because the soil was useless to grow anything.
Q: What about the people who were right around the place when the spraying happened?
A: The people were afraid to use the vegetables which came into contact with this chemical, so I haven't heard anything happened to them.
Q: Did the people touch the things that were sprayed?
A: Most of them that came in contact with it were livestock, who were most affected by it. They went dizzy at first contact, after about an hour, they fell dead.
Q: When the spraying happened, were there any people in the fields who got underneath the spray?

A: The Burmese forbade anyone to go to that area. The one who was killed went there in spite of the order.

Q: What happened to that one?

A: The one from Nam Lin I told you about.

Q: How did the Burmese forbid them? Was this by letter, or by announcement, or by soldiers?

A: There were Burmese troops around the area.

Q: Special troops or usual troops?

A: They were special troops, just for the campaign.

Q: What else did they tell you about the spraying before it happened?

A: They were forced labor. Aside from that, there was nothing to talk about.

Q: Did they tell you anything about what would happen after the spraying? They told you not to go to the area, but did they tell you anything else about what was going to happen?

A: They explained very carefully, if you go there, you will be killed.

Q: Since the spraying happened, did it have any affect on the village? On the income of the village?

A: They suffered much. Most of the products from the rice field were also bought by the compulsory buying, they were bought by the Burmese. They suffered much. Now it is even worse, because they give only enough for them to eat for one year, and the rest they took away.

Q: Will they, or have they, try to plant again the same fields that were sprayed?

A: They have to use fertilizers, and if fertilizers aren't available, then animal manure. And most of the animals are dead already now. And they haven't the money to buy fertilizers.

Q: How about seeds -- the crops that were sprayed, can their seeds be used to plant next year?

A: They have to bring in from somewhere else.

Q: How soon after the spraying did people try to plant things?

A: Most of them, they won't use the soil for over a year. They have to wait for another rain.

Q: Have any of the people who lived in that area gone to another place?

A: There were many. Mostly they moved nearer to towns. And some, those who were bitter enough, they became soldiers in the Burma Communist Party.
Q: The people who moved away, were they Shan, or Huser, Akha? What type of people left their village?
A: Shans, Akhas, Palaungs. And there were many Chinese too.
Q: How far away did they move?
A: Some moved over east of the Salween River. And some, like me, to Thailand.
Q: About how many do you think, like you, came all the way to Thailand?
A: The Chinese were more than the Shans. At least one hundred people.
Q: Around when the spraying happened, was there fighting between any kind of armed groups in the area?
A: There weren't any.
Q: Did the villages where the spraying happened have any problems with the Burmese government?
A: They haven't had any trouble from the Burmese. They were afraid of the Burmese government, that's all.
Q: In that area, were there Burmese schools?
A: Just schools operated by the Shans. Shan people in the village, local people.
Q: After the spraying, did anyone come to help the villagers whose fields were sprayed?
A: This year there are some fighting with the Burma Communist Party on account of the spraying. Those who went over to the side of the B.C.P. were so bitter that they joined the campaign led by the B.C.P. at Muse, this year, in November and December.
Q: Before they sprayed, the Burmese told everyone not to go in the area. After they sprayed, what did the Burmese do?
A: They stayed about three days, and then they went back.
Q: Because the people who got sprayed might have lost some things, did anybody offer to give them something, some help?
A: No, nothing.
Interview 1 -- LOCATION B

1. Q: Which kinds of people live in your village? 
   A: In my village, Yang Kan, there are all kinds of people: 
      Tai Lu, Tai Phun and Tai.

2. Q: What work do the villagers do? 
   A: They're farmers.

3. Q: Are there any Burmese government officials staying in your 
   village, and are there Burmese schools? 
   A: The Burmese haven't built anything for us, no schools, nothing.

4. Q: Do the Burmese collect taxes in your village? 
   A: Yes, they do. They come and take our buffalo, eat our buffalo 
      and pigs, eat everything. It's the same every year.

5. Q: Do any other groups come and collect tax in your village? 
   A: No, only the Burmese government.

6. Q: Is there any fighting in your village, between different groups? 
   A: In '84 Burmese troops moved in to conduct an operation in our 
      village. They suspected a group of growing opium there, but in fact 
      there was nothing. That was four years ago.

7. Q: When exactly did they come to your village? 
   A: They came in '84. They've been oppressing us for four years. 
      In '84 they killed 12 buffalo, 25 pigs and countless chickens. 
      In '85 they killed 5 buffalo, 12 pigs and countless chickens. 
      In '86 they burned down the whole village, even the storehouses 
      and animal-stalls. There was nothing left.

8. Q: Did you have troubles when the Burmese came to your village? 
   A: All kinds of problems. They oppressed the villagers. The villagers 
      suffered terribly. They burned down the village, so that we had 
      no houses to live in, and everything that wasn't destroyed by 
      fire was knocked to the ground - all the storehouses, everything.

9. Q: How do the Burmese soldiers behave towards the villagers? 
   A: This year, '87, our village suffered badly. For example, one old 
      woman was beaten to death; she was 84. Then in the village of 
      Ho Bung everything was burned down. In the village of Thalang the 
      soldiers took 26 buffalo, and countless pigs - altogether about 
      62 animals, including buffalo, cows, goats and pigs.

10. Q: Do the soldiers force the villagers to become porters? 
    A: Yes, they wanted me to be one, because I was living near them. 
        They came and asked for buffalo and pigs from me; I had to give 
        them what they wanted, because I was scared. They told me that 
        if I saved up money and bought a horse for them, I would not
have to be their porter. When the time came, I ran away; if I hadn't, they would have caught me. If they catch you, you have to carry things for them - even if you're ill. If you don't, they kill you.

11. Q: Have the Burmese grouped people from different villages together in your area? If so, where?

A: Yes, they forced us to stay in the village of Satung. I also had to go. Then they told us to go back to Mung Kan, but we didn't - we were scared. We didn't want to go and stay in Thalang either. They kept telling us to go back. The villagers had nothing to do, they just had to sit waiting in Satung.

12. Q: What kinds of people did the Burmese force to stay together in the same village, and when was it?

A: They were all Tai. It was on the 15th of the 3rd month.

13. Q: What do the villagers do when they are forced to stay in another village?

A: I don't know if the Burmese have retreated from the area yet.

14. Q: Do the Burmese allow them to leave the village?

A: No, and if any news comes in, they try and keep it secret from the villagers. They also ask for buffalo and pigs constantly.

15. Q: Why did you leave your village?

A: Because of the government. Because of their operation in our area. We were staying out in the hills, so they suspected us of breaking the law. They thought we were growing opium. They moved in and searched, but found nothing. They just caused suffering for all of us. They've been in our area for four years.

16. Q: Do you want to go back to your village?

A: I have suffered a lot in Thailand, I have been here for one month and three days. I'd really like to go back, but I daren't. I've gone and come back several times, so I'm scared the government troops will catch me. If they catch me, they'll torture me.

17. Q: Have you ever seen Burmese aircraft coming and spraying chemicals on opium fields?

A: Yes. Out in the hills, where Muser were staying. I actually saw aircraft spraying. It fell on vegetables and grass as well. When people ate the vegetables, they died. Five people died. This was out in the hills. It was terrible; I feel so sorry for these people. They were growing opium. There were also other people who bought the sprayed vegetables and suffered. Where the spraying took place, there's nothing left now.
Some of the villagers cried.
They sprayed in every area: in Ho Mung, in Mung Kok, in Mung Long.
(subject changed back to porters) The Burmese tie people
together in twos, so that they can't escape. They have to sleep
together; it's awful. They even have to defecate and urinate
together. Then they can't walk, they are beaten; they are
forced to carry on. If they really can't go on, then they are
killed.

... I'm Tai, from Mung Kan
LOCATION B: INTERVIEW 2  (Akha refugee)

I don't do anything now. I used to have lots of things, but I've lost everything. I was caught to be a porter. They wouldn't let me go. They wouldn't feed me properly. The things were so heavy. They beat people to death who wouldn't carry things. If they took you to be a porter, they don't let you go, so I ran away. Everything in my house, my pigs, my chickens, the Burmese took it all. So I ran away. I couldn't bear it, so I came to Thailand.

LOCATION B: INTERVIEW 2  (Lahu refugee)

Four years ago the Burmese came to our village and took our things. They burned down our houses. It was terrible. We couldn't bear it, so we ran away to Thailand. They took people to be porters. They tied them up and beat them with sticks. They took all our animals.

Then again this year, over a month ago, they burned down our village, so there was nothing left. They did this to our Huser brothers, and to the Lahu, to all of us. We planted opium, and the government came to look for it, but they couldn't find it, so they burned down our houses. We had nowhere to live, so we came to Thailand. Some of us have starved to death.

Huser, Lahu, Palaung, Tai, we are all treated the same. We are taken to be porters. They beat us to death. They take both men and women. 50 women have died from being porters. They took 30 Palaung people, and 10 of their horses.

Whatever we grow, they take. They burn our houses. That is why we have run away. I came here 35 days ago. I want to go back, but I can't. They would beat me. We will be happy if the authorities here will let us stay.
Interview 1: LOCATION C

Question: What's your name, and how old are you?
Answer: [Name redacted]

Q: What ethnic group are you?
A: I'm Tai Khun. I come from the village of Sathung.

Q: What do you do?
A: I'm a farmer.

Q: What ethnic groups live in your village?
A: Tai and Tai Khun.

Q: What do the villagers do?
A: They are farmers. We grow our own rice and vegetables because there is no market.

Q: Are there Burmese schools, or is there a hospital in the village? And do Burmese government officials come and stay in the village?
A: There are no schools and no hospitals. The Burmese come to the village about once or twice a year.

Q: Do the Burmese collect taxes in the village?
A: The Burmese take animals from the village to eat. They take horses to carry things. They take rice.

Q: Do any other groups come and collect taxes?
A: No, only the Burmese.

Q: Has there been any fighting in the village?
A: Not now. There was several years ago.

Q: When was the last time the Burmese Army came to the village?
A: In the fourth month.

Q: What did they do when they came?
A: When they arrived, they took rice without paying; they took cows, buffalo, chicken and pigs; they took household goods and other valuables that the villagers had hidden away. They took everything.

Q: Did the Burmese force villagers to be porters?
A: Yes. They took 11 people for five days. They were made to carry rice supplies; each person had to carry 2 baskets. They were only fed once a day. They were forced to walk continuously; they weren't allowed to rest. They were tied together. After 5 days they couldn't bear it any longer and they ran away.
Interview 1: LOCATION C

Question: What's your name, and how old are you?

Answer: [Redacted]

Q: What ethnic group are you?
A: I'm Tai Khun. I come from the village of Sathung.

Q: What do you do?
A: I'm a farmer.

Q: What ethnic groups live in your village?
A: Tai and Tai Khun.

Q: What do the villagers do?
A: They are farmers. We grow our own rice and vegetables because there is no market.

Q: Are there Burmese schools, or is there a hospital in the village? And do Burmese government officials come and stay in the village?
A: There are no schools and no hospitals. The Burmese come to the village about once or twice a year.

Q: Do the Burmese collect taxes in the village?
A: The Burmese take animals from the village to eat. They take horses to carry things. They take rice.

Q: Do any other groups come and collect taxes?
A: No, only the Burmese.

Q: Has there been any fighting in the village?
A: Not now. There was several years ago.

Q: When was the last time the Burmese Army came to the village?
A: In the fourth month.

Q: What did they do when they came?
A: When they arrived, they took rice without paying; they took cows, buffalo, chicken and pigs; they took household goods and other valuables that the villagers had hidden away. They took everything.

Q: Did the Burmese force villagers to be porters?
A: Yes. They took 11 people for five days. They were made to carry rice supplies; each person had to carry 2 baskets. They were only fed once a day. They were forced to walk continuously; they weren't allowed to rest. They were tied together. After 5 days they couldn't bear it any longer and they ran away.
Q: How did the Burmese treat the villagers?
A: They oppressed them. They took whatever they wanted: chickens, pigs, rice from the storehouses, household goods. They didn't ask or pay for anything. Then they destroyed and burned down the houses. There was nothing left. That's why I ran away. I couldn't bear it. I had no choice.

Q: Did the Burmese soldiers make the villagers work for them?
A: This last time they couldn't, because so many villagers had fled from Mung Ton and Mung Han and my village.

Q: Do the Burmese force villagers to stay together in 'new villages'?
A: No, they couldn't, because the villagers all fled after the Burmese began operating on the 7th of the third month.

Q: Why did you leave your village?
A: Because of the unjustified behaviour of the Burmese, their oppression of the villagers. They ate our cows, buffalo and chickens. They raided our vegetable fields. I couldn't bear it. Then they came to our village, they collected us all together and spoke to us through an interpreter, a Shan interpreter, ordering us to give them the food and things they wanted. If we didn't give it to them, we would be beaten.

Q: Would you like to go back to your village, or would you like to stay in Thailand?
A: I can't go back. If they caught me, they'd kill me.

Q: Have you ever seen the Burmese spraying chemicals on poppy fields?
A: Not in our village, but I know they've been spraying villages to the north. They sprayed the vegetable fields, so that people died after eating the vegetables. Lots of cattle and buffalo have also died. Our village is near the Thai border, so they haven't dared spray there.

In Mung Toom, at Wan Pak Koot, the Burmese came and took away 2 Daaw girls, sisters; they raped them, then stabbed them to death. They lived together with their old grandmother; it was she who found their bodies - she followed them after they had been abducted. Now there's no-one left in Mung Toom or Wan Pak Koot; they've all run away.
Interview no. 2  LOCATION 0

Q: What's your name, how old are you, and what do you do?
A: [Name redacted], I'm Tai. I come from Bang Long, and I'm a farmer.

Q: What ethnic groups are there in your village?
A: Tai and Tai Khun, and there are hill-tribes nearby: Hmaw, Lunor and Palaung.

Q: What work do the villagers do?
A: They're farmers.

Q: Have the Burmese built any schools or hospitals in the village? Do Burmese government officials come and stay in the village?
A: They have built no schools or hospitals. There is only our Tai temple school.

Q: Do the Burmese collect taxes?
A: They come and take horses, rice and meat.

Q: Do any other groups collect taxes?
A: No.

Q: Has there been fighting in your village?
A: Yes, there is now, but I'd already left by the time it started. I don't know who the fighting is between. Our group (Shan) and the White Chinese (KMT) are always coming and going, so I don't know who it is this time.

Q: When did the Burmese Army last come to your village?
A: About a month and a half ago.

Q: What happened when they came?
A: There were terrible problems: they burned down our houses, our storehouses; they took all our animals; they took everything.

Q: How did they treat the villagers?
A: I always tried to avoid the soldiers. They used to catch people and force them to become porters - both old and young. They would tie them together in twos and threes; if they resisted, they were beaten. I ran away before they had a chance to force me to work for them. If I hadn't, they would certainly have caught me and forced me to become a porter.

Q: Have the Burmese been forcing villagers to stay together in 'new villages'?
A: No, not at the moment.

Q: Why did you leave your village?
A: I was scared of being forced to become a porter for the Burmese. I didn't want them to take my animals and goods from me.

Q: Do you want to go back to your village, or do you want to stay in Thailand?

A: I'd like to go back, because my fields are there, and I still have some belongings left there, which the Burmese didn't manage to find.

Q: Have you seen or heard about the Burmese spraying chemicals on poppy fields?

A: Not in my village, because there are no poppy fields there, but to the north, at Mung In, I've heard they have been spraying not only the poppy fields, but also the vegetables fields. People and animals have died after breathing in the chemical; they have fallen ill and died. Also people who have eaten the sprayed vegetables have died.

**Group discussion: Interviewees B/1, C/1, and C/2**

Q: About how many refugees from Kengtung have come to this area?

A: About two or three thousand families. The Burmese have been rounding up people from different villages to stay in one place. This happened in Mung Toom, Mung Sat, Kengtung, Mung Kan. After collecting together the villagers, they allowed them to keep 15 'tang' (1 'tang' is about 1 basket) of rice each per family; apart from that they confiscate everything. If the villagers run out of rice, they have to buy it back from the Burmese. In my area, people from altogether 7 or 8 villages have run away and gone to live in different places.

Q: For how long have people been fleeing?

A: For the last 3 or 4 years.

Q: Which ethnic groups have come over the border?

A: Tai, Muser, Palaung, Tai Khun, Tai Lü, Ekaw, Yao.

Q: Are they men or women, old people or young?

A: They come as families, or in whole villages - old and young alike.

Q: When they come to Thailand, what do they need?

A: We need everything. We brought nothing with us. We have no rice, no clothes.

Q: Do the refugees from Kengtung mostly want to go back?

A: Yes, they do - if the conditions improve. But if things then get bad again, they'll flee again, because they can't bear the Burmese oppression. If the Burmese carry on like this, forcing people to be porters, forcibly grouping villages together, then in 3 or 4 years the whole of Kengtung will become deserted.

Q: Why did most of the refugees come?

A: Because of the Burmese oppression. The Burmese force both men and women to be porters. If they resist, they are beaten or shot.
Interview no. 3 LOCATION C

Q: What's your name, how old are you, and where are you from?
A: My name is [name illegible]. I'm Tai. I'm a farmer from Heng Toom.

Q: Where did you go on your last trip to Burma?
A: Heng Hst.

Q: What were you doing?
A: Trading.

Q: How do the people of Heng Hst support themselves?
A: However much rice the villagers produce, the government allows each person to keep only 3 'lang' per year (1 'lang' = 4 'tang' or baskets). This means they don't have enough to eat, and that's why they often run away from their villages. All the rest of their rice must be sold to the government at a fixed price of 2.5 kyats per 'bong' (basket). This rice is then collected together, and if the villagers need more rice, they must buy it back.

Q: What about traders?
A: Regardless of whether they have a shop or not, they are taxed 15,000 kyats a year. The rice-millers also have to pay taxes. Most people can't possibly pay that amount.

When people have to buy rice back from the government, they have to pay 150 kyats for 1 'bong', whereas they only got 2.5 kyats when they sold it.

Anyone owning an ox-cart has to register it with the authorities.

Then when the authorities want to use it, they will come and use it. They don't pay anything.

Likewise with people who have motor-vehicles: the authorities use them when they want, and the owners even have to pay the petrol costs.

Q: What about the villagers being forced to work as porters?
A: Some people are forced to work for three months, then only 3 days after coming back home, they're taken away to work again.

If you don't want to be a porter, then you have to hire another person in your place for 2,500 kyats. Either that or you can hire a horse to go instead of you. In our village, for example, there are 40 houses, and 3 horses. The villagers bought the horses collectively and then anyone who wants to hire the horse can do so. Money that is earned by hiring the horse will go towards buying a new one.

If people just refuse to go and be porters, then they are beaten to death.

Recently, in Heng Hst, they cut the throats of 3 people at Loi Lai Jang, at Lak Ma and at Heng Bu. They were all Shan. It was because they refused to carry goods. One person had broken his leg, so they cut off his leg, then cut his throat. Another had broken his elbow, so they cut off his arm, then killed him.
Q: Do the Burmese force people of all ages and both sexes to be reporters?
A: They take everyone, including women. The men are taken for about 3 months, the women for about 25 days. Even women who’ve just given birth are taken - some of them have to squeeze milk from their breasts along the way, because they have been separated from their babies.

Q: Has there been any fighting in Hlang Hsat?
A: Yes, it happened at 11 o’clock one night when I was there. I learned about it from some traders who had just come back to town. They said it wasn’t safe to leave the town, because the Burmese Army were rounding up villagers and shooting them, accusing them of housing and feeding SSA soldiers. They said the villagers had led the SSA soldiers to kill Burmese soldiers. They shot people in about 5 or 6 villages: Kong Moo Tan, Sai Khaw, Wan Sai, Bang Hai, Khart Ra. They set fire to the houses and beat and shot villagers, altogether about 32 people, including children. At the same time they raided the people’s houses, forcing villagers to carry the things they looted, from Mung Toom and Mung Kan. They took everything: engines, bicycles, TVs, motorbikes, electric saws, crowbars, bowls. People had to carry the goods tied to sticks, one person at each end.

Q: Do other groups collect taxes apart from the Burmese?
A: No.

Q: Do the villagers plant a lot of opium?
A: Yes, they planted a lot, but the Burmese came and destroyed it by cutting it down. They didn’t pay any compensation. They even forced the farmers to cut down the crops themselves.

Q: Have you heard about the chemical spraying of poppy fields?
A: Yes, of course. They sprayed it in the area of Chay Sang, at Ho Ta Lam, Mung Ko and Mung Maw. They sprayed it on all the fields, even the vegetable fields. 2 people died from eating the sprayed vegetables, including one Htaw named See Htay. So people don’t dare eat the vegetables. Then they sprayed, they didn’t warn the villagers. The chemical they sprayed was black.

Q: Have you heard of the Burmese collecting people together in ‘new villages’?
A: Yes, in Mung Sen and Mung Bu On. They force the villagers to stay together, and then if anyone wants to go out and tend their fields, they have to ask for permission. In Mung Sen they fenced in the village with 3 rows of fencing. People who wanted to go and collect vegetables were allowed out in groups of 5; each person had to be given written authorisation. If they weren’t in by 4 o’clock, they would be punished. Because of this, the villagers
stopped tending their fields. They had to eat what they had stored. If a man leaves the village for three or more days, then comes back, he is really in trouble; he will be interrogated and asked exactly where he's been and what he's been doing. If he has gone to Kengtung, for example, then he must prove this with a piece of paper from the authorities; he's not allowed to take a detour to any other places. Now most of the villagers from HONG Mu Tan do not dare to go back to their houses; they're living out in the fields, in the forests. They are scared of the Burmese coming and harassing them and taking their animals; they shoot the buffalo and cows in the fields. In HONG HSAT they shoot the villagers' livestock, then two or three days later they'll tell the owners it was because the animals strayed onto the airstrip.

Q: What ethnic groups live in HONG HSAT?
A: T'ai, Muser, Esho, Lisor, Chinese.

Q: This 'new village' at HONG San, is it in a valley or on a hill?
A: In a valley.

Q: Have many Burmese come and settled in Kengtung?
A: No, only the soldiers.

Q: Have the people's lives changed much over recent years?
A: Yes. In the past people were very industrious in their fields, but now, since there has been fighting, people don't want to plant or build anything any more; if they have houses, then they want to sell them and move out. Even their rice they try and sell at 10 or 20 kyats per 'bong!', but people don't want to buy it, because they are afraid of the Burmese coming. In my village the Burmese come and force people to deliver letters for them. There was one man, he came from Sai Khaw, he had to deliver a letter to Bang Hai, but on the way he went to visit someone. When the Burmese found out, they beat him. I saw it with my own eyes.

Q: Is it true that the Burmese take everything they can from the villagers?
A: Yes, they take everything, every scrap they can find. People try and hide their things; even their chickens, they have to keep them upstairs in their houses. It's worse out in the remote villages. Like in my village, HONG Toom, the Burmese called all of the elders of the village together and then beat them, because they suspected them of helping the Shan insurgents by reporting Burmese troop movements to them. Then another time there was a man, Lakkata Kanbas, who was tortured to death with electric shocks; he was tortured for two days. His body has never been recovered. He hadn't done anything wrong, but he'd let a trader stay at his house. The Burmese arrived and thought he was housing a Shan insurgent, so they surrounded his house and asked him to open his door. Everyone was terrified, and the trader who was staying
at the house managed to run away; the Burmese tried to shoot him, but couldn’t, so they caught the house-owner instead and took him as a hostage — they said they’d free him if the trader returned. But the trader never came back, so they tortured him to death.

The Burmese insist that anybody visiting any village must have a letter of authorization. The letter costs 100 kyats per person. Really, though, it doesn’t make any difference if you have the paper or not — if they feel like it, they’ll come and ask you for more money. The people who give the paper are the Party officials in the village, but if the police come to the village, they too will ask for money, whether you have the paper or not.

Mang Saat is in a shambles now. So many people have fled — to places like Bung Be and Mork Jam. People have also fled from Heng Toom and Mae Kham. All the young men are taken to be porters; they go and then as soon as they come back, they are called out again.
Report from Machin Independence Organization, December 28, 1986

From this year, January 29 to February 3, they spray Heng Si (northeast Kutkai area). And a grandmother, about 60 years old, and her four-year-old grandson took some food from their crop. The old grandmother died on February 3. The grandson did not die but was very seriously sick.

And a second place is Eastern Kutkai, Hing Hun village. Some villagers took food from their crop and one woman died and another was very seriously sick. Some people got sickness nearly two weeks. And many animals ate grass and some were sick and some died. And many, their corn farm crop is destroyed.

And another one is Hien Jum village and Lilau Jai village: 18 houses. 28 acres of farm were destroyed. And another village is Sin Jai, there are ten houses, 10 farms were destroyed. And another: Thang De Gu villages, they have 32 houses, and 35 farms were destroyed. And another is Pa Sang Sin village, they have six houses and six farms were destroyed. And Man Pying village, there are three houses, three farms destroyed. Pa Zi Jai, this is a Chinese village, they have ten houses and they destroyed ten farms. They are all Machin and longtime Chinese villages in this area, no Shan. Ten Hting village, they have six houses and six farms destroyed. In that area, one house; one farm. And Bao Zin village: 36 houses; 36 farms have been destroyed. Shang Sa Gu village has 25 houses and 43 farms have been destroyed. And Nong Leng village, they have 20 houses, and 20 farms were destroyed. Corn, potatoes, and many crops, over 300 acres have been destroyed.

In the northeast of Kutkai, from January 29 to February 5, 1986, they sprayed. They use from their base in Lashio and they go and spray. Villagers pay off the Burmese Army, and can continue to grow opium right within sight of the Army post. Close to the post they grow a lot. They only strafe the area east of Lashio, near Lashio and Hsenwi, the Loi Taw Range area. They don't in Wa State -- they're afraid of anti-aircraft. They came in two airplanes to reconnoiter our K.I.O. headquarters area, but they didn't spray.

In Kutkai they grow corn, potato, mustard, fruit like apples, and grass for grazing horse, sheep, cow. They grow opium because the land is not good for rice, so they buy rice.
HERBICIDE SPRAYED IN KIO ADMINISTRATIVE AREA

1. Burmese government sprayed herbicide in Kutkai District, southern division of KIO administrative area consecutively January 29 to February 3, 1986 by helicopters.

2. Mostly, the destruction was caused in Huing Ji township and Huing Wun township. The names of the villages were, Li Leu Jai, Sin Jai, Thang De Gu, Ha Sang Sin, Man Pyin, Pa Zi Jai, Den Hting, Bau Zin, Naying Leng, Shang Sa Gu and Ta Shi Zin comprising of 166 houses and destroyed 197 farms.

3. Two women, namely, Wang Hkong Di, age 60 and Yang Gyang, age 50 were died after eaten herbicide affected vegetables. Young people lost consciousness and were recovered after given vigorous medical treatments for several days. Some people who hit directly by herbicide spray were suffered from dizziness, vomit and half unconsciousness for about one week. Both wild and domestic animals died after eaten herbicide affected grass and plants.
1. Nam Ing Ward, Myitkyina Province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Han Long</th>
<th>Ah Ma Toe</th>
<th>Nam Ong</th>
<th>Mak Larng</th>
<th>Kae-wa</th>
<th>Nam ngoo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td>Muser</td>
<td>Muser</td>
<td>Muser</td>
<td>Muser</td>
<td>Muser</td>
<td>Muser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acres destroyed</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons killed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Nahti</td>
<td>Jakae</td>
<td>Jaxui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animals killed:
- Cow: 2
- Buffalo: 3
- Horse: 2

Spraying by two fixed-wing aircraft beginning December 18, 1986, with another airplane for security, followed by 200 ground troops from 55th Division and 100 paramilitary troops.
T.R.C. information

2. Nam Sang Ward, Kengtung Province

Villages: Kiai Wiat Wan Kien Wan Long Tarng Ko Na Ou Nam Hien Parng Hae Harng Nam Kharn

Ethnic group: Muser Akha Akha Akha Muser Muser Muser

Acres destroyed: 100 200 300 150 100 150 350

Persons killed: 1

name: Nala
age: 50
sex: F

Animals killed:

cow: 3
buffalo: 2
horse: 1

Metal

Villages: 8

Acres destroyed: 1,500

Persons killed: 2

Animals killed: 6 cows, 2 buffaloes, 1 horse

Spraying data same as Nam Ing.
### T.R.C. information

#### 3. Hurg Loong Ward, Kengtung Province

**Village:** Huy Hoong, San Karng, Nan Holang, Nam Kham Kui, Pa Khorn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Akha</th>
<th>Akha</th>
<th>Akha</th>
<th>Akha</th>
<th>Akha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acres destroyed</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons killed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Hika</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals killed</td>
<td>cow:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buffalo:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>horse:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Village:** Kard Nam Khan, Narn Khan Kao, Nam Kham Mai, Nam Ngern, Nam Narng Khae

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Muser</th>
<th>Muser</th>
<th>Akha</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acres destroyed</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons killed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Ah Hawla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals killed</td>
<td>cow:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buffalo:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>horse:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**

- Villages: 10
- Acres destroyed: 1,270
- Persons killed: 2
- Animals killed: 3

Three airplanes, two spraying and the security. Beginning December 28, 1936, followed by 12th Battalg, 35th Division (200 troops) and 100 paramilitary troops.
T.R.C. information

4. Hurng Kok Ward, Kengtung Province

Village: Wun Korng, Parng Mu, Htai Kui, Ho-na, Kiao Mong

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Muser</th>
<th>Muser</th>
<th>Muser</th>
<th>Muser</th>
<th>Muser</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ad rms destroyed</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons killed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>Na Seang</td>
<td>Na-Htaw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ja-Hper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animals killed:

- cow: 1 1 3 -
- buffalo: - - 2 -
- horse: - - - 1

Village: Kho Tae, Le-Kha, Pa Sieng, Poong Zoi, Mek Lern

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Muser</th>
<th>Muser</th>
<th>Muser</th>
<th>Muser</th>
<th>Muser</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ad rms destroyed</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons killed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>Ja-la</td>
<td>An-hpa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animals killed:

- cow: - - - -
- buffalo: 1 - - -
- horse: 2 1 - 1

Data for Hurng Kok continued on next page.
T.R.C. information

(4. Naung Kok, continued)

| Villages: Nam Lura, Mak Mong, Kuey Boong, Huay Liang, Khae Mae |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|

**Ethnic group:**
- Akha

**Acres destroyed:**
- 70
- 30
- 250
- 40
- 30

**Persons killed:**
- 1

**Name:** Ah-hpoo

**Age:** 20

**Sex:** M

**Animals killed:**
- Cows: 1
- Buffaloes: 1
- Horses: 1

| Villages: Puu Kh, Nam Rieng, Lai Len, Wan Poong, Naung Poom |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|

**Ethnic group:**
- Akha
- Akha
- Akha
- Shan
- Shan

**Acres destroyed:**
- 130
- 150
- 90
- 90
- 110

**Persons killed:**
- 1

**Name:** Ah-ser-

**Age:** 40

**Sex:** M

**Animals killed:**
- Cows:
- Buffaloes: 2
- Horses: 1

**Total Villages:** 20
**Acres destroyed:** 2,250
**Persons killed:** 7
**Animals killed:** 6 cows, 5 buffaloes, 9 horses

Spraying took place during three days, starting December 13, 1980.

Three planes, one for security and two spraying. Followed by

45th Battalion, 55th Division (200 troops) and 100 paramilitary troops.
5. **Murng Hai Ward, Kengtung Province**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Villages:</th>
<th>Nam Mui Kay, Mae Aw Long, Poong Hop,Nam Myan Khae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic group:</td>
<td>Akha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acres destroyed:</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons killed:</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals killed:</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow:</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buffalo:</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse:</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** Villages: 4. Acres destroyed: 570. Animals killed: 2 cows, 1 horse.

Spraying took place on December 18, 1986. Three planes, two spraying and one for security. Followed by 12th Battalion, 55th Division (200 troops), and 100 paramilitary troops.

**Kengtung Province: TOTAL**

- Wards affected: 5
- Villages: 48 (Nuser 23, Akha 20, Chinese 3, Shan 2)
- Acres destroyed: 6,490
- Persons killed: 14 (5 female, 9 male)
- Animals killed: 15 cows, 12 buffaloes, 19 horses
Vegetable and opium fields sprayed with 2,4-D herbicide by Burmese government. Signs say village is Nong Tao.
Fields sprayed with 2,4-D herbicide by Burmese Government.

Hpa Pering village.

Hpa Pering village.
Villagers in fields sprayed with 2,4-D herbicide by Burmese government. Signs say the village is Hpa Peraing.
RESEARCH METHOD

The interviews in this report were conducted during the period January-April, 1987. The nine interviewees were all males, from the Shan State. Their ethnic groups were: Shan - 5, Tai Khun - 1, Akha - 1, Lahu - 1, Palaung - 1. Their ages ranged from 24 to 61.

Location A: Interviews were conducted in the Shan State at a Tailand Revolutionary Council military camp, with civilians who had travelled to that area to attend a T.R.C. sponsored festival. The interviews were arranged on short notice. The Project Director (Edith T. Mirante) or Project Mate asked questions, which were interpreted into Palaung and Shan by T.R.C. officers. Instances where the interpreter rather than the interviewee answered questions are noted in the transcripts. The interviewees' answers were interpreted into English by the T.R.C. interpreters. The interviews were taped, and the tapes were transcribed by the Project Director. Journalists present at the interviews asked some additional questions.

Location B: Interviews were conducted with refugees from the Shan State, in an area of the Burma-Thailand border. The Project Director arrived in the area and conducted the interviews without advance notice. Questions had been prepared by the Project Director and translated into written Shan by a person affiliated with the T.R.C. The written questions were read to interviewee 1 by a Shan village. Interviewees 2 and 3 were asked a general question about how they had become refugees, and they then spoke without further questions. The interviews were taped, and the tapes were transcribed and translated by an independent translator (not affiliated with T.R.C.).

Location C: Interviews were conducted in a village near Burma-Thailand border. Meetings with two refugees and one cross-border trader were arranged on short notice. The Project Director's questions were interpreted into Shan by a person affiliated with T.R.C. The interviews were taped and the interviewees' answers were translated and transcribed by an independent translator (not affiliated with T.R.C.).

K.I.O. Information: An officer of the Kachin Independence Organization translated a K.I.O. information memorandum, and provided additional verbal comments. Also provided by K.I.O. was an additional information memo, in English, covering the same subject matter.


Photographs: Photographs supplied by Tailand Revolutionary Council.

GLOSSARY

Akha (alternative spelling, Ekaw): a Southeast Asian hill tribe.
Bong (or tang): a unit of measure -- one basket of dry rice.
B.C.P.: Burma Communist Party, a group opposed to the Burmese government, headquartered in northern Shan State.
Kengtung Province: a province in eastern Shan State, bordering Laos, Thailand and China.
K.M.T.: remnants of Chinese Nationalist forces (Kuomintang) settled in Shan State since late 1950's (also referred to as White Chinese).
Kutkai: area of northern Shan State, west of Salween River.
Kyat: Burmese unit of currency, official rate 6.45 kyat to the dollar, black market rate 40 kyat to the dollar.
Lang: unit of measure -- equals four baskets of dry rice.
Lisoe (alternative spelling, Lisau): a Southeast Asian hill tribe.
Nuger, Lahu: a Southeast Asian hill tribe.
Palaung: a Southeast Asian hill tribe.
Shan, Tai, Tai Lu, Tai Khun: the Shan (also called Tai) are an ethnic group related to the Thai of Thailand and the Lao of Laos. The Tai Lu and Tai Khun are related ethnic subgroups.
S.A.A.: the Shan State Army, name of the military force of the T.R.C. Also the name of the military force of the Shan State Progress Party, a resistance organization opposed to the Burmese government and T.R.C.
T.R.C.: Tailand Revolutionary Council, an organization opposed to the Burmese government.
2,4-D: 2,4-dichlorophenoxy acetic acid, a broad-leaf weedkiller.
Yaq: a Southeast Asian hill tribe.