

'I STILL REMEMBER':

DESIRES FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND JUSTICE FOR PAST AND ONGOING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN MON AREAS OF SOUTHERN BURMA



A REPORT BY

THE HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION OF MONLAND (HURFOM)

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Contact Address:	P.O Box 35
	Sangkhlaburi post office
	Kanchanaburi 71240, Thailand

Website address: http://www.rehmonnya.org

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Table of Contents

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS
FOREWORD FROM THE DIRECTOR
KEY FINDINGS
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION9
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY
Field Research
Analysis
RESEARCH AREAS
CHALLENGES
Limitations
Security
Trauma
CHAPTER 3: BACKGROUND 16
WHAT IS TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE?
Truth Seeking
Criminal Prosecutions
Reparations
Institutional Reform
IMPEDIMENTS TO JUSTICE
Impunity
Lack of transparency
INSET 1: MISSED OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRUST BUILDING IN MON STATE
CHAPTER 4: PATTERNS OF ABUSE
Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, and Torture
Extrajudicial Killings and Forced Disappearances
RAPE AND OTHER FORMS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE
Land, Property, and Housing Rights Violations
CHAPTER 5: VILLAGER DEMANDS FOR JUSTICE
Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, and Torture
Extrajudicial Killings and Forced Disappearances
Rape and other forms of Sexual Violence

Land, Property, and Housing Rights Violations	. 52
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	. 56
CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS	. 57
MAP OF LOCATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DOCUMENTED IN THIS REPORT	. 59
Appendix 1: Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, and Torture	. 60
Appendix 2: Extrajudicial Killings and Forced Disappearances	. 69
APPENDIX 3: RAPE AND OTHER FORMS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE	. 73

Acronyms and Abbreviations

CBOs	Community-Based Organizations
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
EAOs	Ethnic Armed Organizations
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
HURFOM	Human Rights Foundation of Monland
IB	Infantry Battalion
ІСТЈ	International Center for Transitional Justice
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
KNLA	Karen National Liberation Army
KNU	Karen National Union
LIB	Light Infantry Battalion
LPH	Land, Property, and Housing
MOGE	Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise
NLD	National League for Democracy
NMSP	New Mon State Party
UN	United Nations
USDP	Union Solidarity and Development Party

Foreword From The Director

The Human Rights Foundation of Monland (HURFOM) has been monitoring and documenting the human rights situation in southeast Burma since 1995. We don't need to question whether human rights violations by the Burma Army and EAOs is widespread and systematic. This question has been repeatedly answered in the positive since 1990 by HURFOM and the many other organizations monitoring human rights in the country.

The Burma government actively discourages truth seeking and advocacy pertaining to past human rights violations and the legislative body refuses to adopt policies or approve laws in order to take accountability for the past and ongoing violations. In addition, the constitution effectively blocks dealing with past human rights abuses through amnesty clauses for past members of the government administration and military.

Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) must continue to promote and protect the rights of civilians while the government is unwilling to do so. There must be freedom of expression in order to reveal the truth about past abuses in Burma. After that, we can reach justice and reparations.

But it is not only the Burma government and military who must acknowledge responsibility for past and ongoing human rights violations. EAOs in Mon State, Karen State, and Tenasserim Division are equally accountable. It is unacceptable that some small armed groups have manipulated the peace process for their own benefit. They have been responsible for land confiscation, killing, torture, and other human rights abuses for nearly two decades and civilians have suffered because of them. The New Mon State Party (NMSP) is also to blame for neglecting past human rights violations and failing to protect their civilians.

I hope that we can adopt short - and long-term plans in order to bring truth and justice for victims of human rights abuses and that our voices will be heard in the national reconciliation process.

Executive Director, The Human Rights Foundation of Monland December 10, 2017

Key Findings

- Between 1995 and 2017, the Human Rights Foundation of Monland (HURFOM) has documented the widespread and systematic violation of human rights by the Burma Army and Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma. The majority of the perpetrators of these abuses have been able to act with impunity and have not been held accountable for their actions.
- 2. During the reporting period, HURFOM has documented a minimum of 108 incidents of arbitrary arrest, detention, or torture by Burma Army soldiers and EAOs, affecting well over 3,300 individuals. Over 30 Burma Army battalions were implicated in these abuses, the majority of which occurred in Ye Township, Mon State and Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division.
- 3. From 1995 until 2017, HURFOM has documented over 57 incidents of extrajudicial killings by the Burma Army and EAOs, for a minimum of 190 deaths of villagers. While the majority of victims were male, HURFOM also documented the killing of women as well as children, some as young as ten months old. Over 27 different Burma Army battalions have been implicated in these abuses.
- 4. Since 1995, HURFOM has documented over 67 separate incidents of sexual violence committed by the Burma Army, affecting over 106 women, children, and men. These incidents ranged from rape, gang rape, sexual slavery, and forced participation in beauty shows and over 27 Burma Army battalions were implicated as participating in some form of sexual violence.
- 5. HURFOM has documented the confiscation of over 100,000 acres of land by the Burma government and the Burma Army, often directly related to militarization and major economic projects in these areas.
- 6. Villagers in Burma expressed an inability to forget the violence inflicted upon them, and voiced desires for justice, including prosecutions, return of land, monetary compensation, community development, demilitarization, guarantees of non-repetition, apologies, and peace.

Chapter 1: Introduction

"The victims of the past, those who can't shatter the shackles of the past, have caused a lot of hindrances in the democratic transition."

Aung San Suu Kyi, August 2017¹

Since Burma's transition from a military government to a nominally civilian-led one beginning in 2010, 'national reconciliation' has become a ubiquitous concept amongst politicians and those advocating for peace in Burma after more than 60 years of civil war. With the National League for Democracy's (NLD) historic electoral win in 2015, hope was further renewed for rebuilding Burma into a genuine democracy and uniting its fragmented society.

Yet, for all its usage by those in power, the rhetoric of 'national reconciliation' increasingly rings hollow. As press freedoms are curtailed and armed conflict and human rights violations continue unabated in northern Rakhine, Kachin, and Shan states, too little has changed in the intervening years since Burma embarked on its democratic transition. Rather than acknowledging Burma's history of vast human rights violations, the current administration in Burma seems unwilling or unable to address its violent past, instead resorting to victim blaming when individuals are unable to forget the violence inflicted upon them.

The testimony gathered for this report shows that the majority of villagers interviewed in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma not only are unable to forget the past, but do desire some form of justice for abuses endured over the past decades. In addition to providing evidence of the widespread and systematic violation of human rights by the Burma Army and Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) since 1995, this report aims to present the voices of villagers and their desires for justice. In doing so, it counters the Burma government's narrative that national reconciliation is possible without confronting its violent past and shows that the implementation of transitional justice mechanisms, particularly reparations, are necessary for the country to heal.

¹ See, "<u>At Political Forum, State Counselor Urges Break With the Past</u>," *The Irrawaddy*, 11 August 2017.

This report is divided into seven main sections. After the Introduction (Chapter 1) and Methodology (Chapter 2), a brief overview of transitional justice is provided (Chapter 3). Next, Patterns of Abuse (Chapter 4) are explored, presenting evidence of the widespread and systematic violation of human rights by the Burma Army and EAOs through the analysis of 22 years of documentation by the Human Rights Foundation of Monland (HURFOM). These abuses are divided into four main categories: 1) arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture; 2) extrajudicial killings and forced disappearances; 3) rape and other forms of sexual violence; and 4) land, property, and housing (LPH) rights violations. Villager Demands for Justice (Chapter 5) provides the analysis of oral testimony by villagers in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma, attesting to their inability to forget their painful past and their desires for justice. Finally, after the Conclusion (Chapter 6), Recommendations (Chapter 7) for the Burma government, Burma parliament, EAOs, and the International Community are presented.



Chapter 2: Methodology

Since 1995, HURFOM has been documenting the voices of Mon villagers in Burma using a methodology developed over 22 years of experience. In doing so, it has documented systematic and widespread human rights violations against ethnic communities committed by the Burma Army and EAOs in Mon and Karen states, and Tenasserim Division in southeast Burma.

Field Research

Field research for this report was conducted between July and September 2017. HURFOM employed seven community-based Field Researchers to gather information, conducting both interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) in communities where large-scale human rights violations by the Burma Army and EAOs have been documented. This team of Field Researchers consisted of five full-time researchers visiting nearby communities, as well as two freelance researchers employed to visit and gather information in more remote communities.

HURFOM's Field Researcher Team conducted FGDs and semi-structured interviews with community members in Ye and Mudon townships in Mon State, as well as Yebyu Township in Tenasserim Division. However, the vast majority of data was gathered in northern Tenasserim



Division, Yebyu Township and southern Mon State, Ye Township. These areas identified were and targeted through issue mapping analyses of records in our database conducted over three days in June 2017 to identify locations with high volumes of recorded incidents of the four main of abuses categories analyzed in this report: 1) arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture; 2) extrajudicial killings and forced disappearances; 3) rape and other forms of sexual violence; and 4) LPH rights violations.

This report is a follow-up to '<u>In Pursuit of Justice</u>' published in 2014 which explored transitional justice mechanisms and their potential use in national reconciliation efforts in Burma. Many of the geographical areas chosen for study in this report were previously featured in '<u>In Pursuit</u> <u>of Justice</u>.' Where possible, the Field Researcher Team was asked to conduct follow-up interviews and FGDs with individuals and communities featured in '<u>In Pursuit of Justice</u>,' allowing HURFOM to explore community perspectives on justice and national reconciliation in areas where large-scale and systematic violence by the Burma Army and EAOs has already been documented.

In addition, prior to data collection, HURFOM Staff and two Field Researchers attended a fiveday workshop on transitional justice in Moulmein, helping to strengthen HURFOM's conceptual understanding of transitional justice and its component parts and processes.

Analysis

This report analyzes field information gathered from Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma between July and September 2017. The HURFOM Field Researcher Team conducted 36 interviews with individuals affected by human rights abuses, and another 38 individuals through four issue-based FGDs. As data from the field was received, HURFOM staff translated documents into English from either Mon or Burmese. The information was then coded into various themes regarding national reconciliation and types of justice desired by individuals interviewed.

In addition to analyzing data gathered from the field between July and September 2017, HURFOM also analyzed all information submitted by Field Researchers from 1995 until 2017 in order to understand the breadth and scope of human rights abuses committed by the Burma Army and EAOs since HURFOM began documenting human rights violations in 1995. In doing so, the Research Team at HURFOM went through thousands of reports, now collated in over 176 published Mon Forum Issues,² identifying and recording each individual instance of

² The full archive of Mon Forum issues spanning over 20 years is available at the <u>Online Burma/Myanmar</u> <u>Library</u>.

arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture; extrajudicial killing and forced disappearance; and rape and other forms of sexual violence committed by the Burma Army and EAO soldiers.³

Research Areas

Geographically, this report documents and analyzes incidents of human rights



abuses and oral testimonies from community members in Mon State, as well as Mon populated areas of southeast Burma. This includes Burma government defined areas of Mon State, with its two districts and ten townships. However, HURFOM's research areas also extend beyond government demarcated boundaries to include areas with significant Mon populations, such as New Mon State Party (NMSP) controlled areas and villages in Karen State, and contested areas of control, such as Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division.

While this report focuses on Mon State and Mon areas, it is not limited to reporting on incidents and issues affecting only those of Mon ethnicity. Instead, this report encompasses all incidents and oral testimony regarding human rights violations by the Burma Army and EAOs gathered by HURFOM regardless of ethnicity or religion, which occurred in these areas.

Challenges

As with '<u>In Pursuit of Justice</u>,' HURFOM Field Researchers faced a multiplicity of challenges in obtaining information on past human rights violations and villager perspectives on national reconciliation and transitional justice in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma.

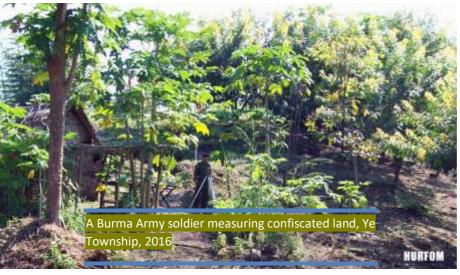
³ For more detailed information on each documented instance of the above categories disaggregated by date, location, perpetrator, and source, see, appendices 1, 2, and 3.

Limitations

HURFOM faced a number of factors that limited its ability to thoroughly document the breadth and scope of human rights abuses in Mon State and the desires of Mon people for justice. First, government-controlled areas meant that accessing oral testimonies from residents within these areas was difficult due to security considerations. Second, some survivors of abuses committed by the Burma Army did not want to share and relive their painful past, and thus turned down our requests for an interview. In addition, some interviewees expressed *narrator fatigue*, commenting on the number of times they have told their stories to different organizations without seeing any benefit or change in their situation and communities. Another limitation was respondents' lack of understanding of western dominated concepts such as transitional justice and reparations. In these cases, Field Researchers would explain the concepts in either Mon or Burmese language to facilitate the conversation.

Security

HURFOM is an unregistered human rights organization, and as such, it creates many security issues for our Field Researchers in Burma. HURFOM must work illegally, underground, with no security for its Field Researchers who work in Burma. This creates challenges in finding safe spaces for individuals to speak openly about issues affecting their communities, especially



when being critical about past and current administrations at all levels of government.

Beyond the issue of security for HURFOM's Field Researchers, there exists security issues for those who report abuses or share information with HURFOM. Unless given express permission to publish the name and organization of interviewees, HURFOM censors the name of those who provide information to us, and in some cases the name of the village as well to protect the identity of the victim. This is done not only to protect informants and individuals from retribution, but also to maintain confidentiality for those who have suffered the indignity of human rights abuses.

While conducting field research for this report, serious security concerns resulted in the suspension of all fact-finding activities for an extended period of time. Prior to engaging in any form of data gathering, HURFOM analyzes threats to Field Researcher safety through risk assessments. In order to resume data gathering for this report, HURFOM reassessed potential risks and employed extra safety precautions that minimized the chance of harmful repercussions.

HURFOM takes the safety of its researchers and informants seriously and operates with a 'do no harm' policy. HURFOM's first priority is to protect sources and to gain permission from informers at every level of the data gathering process. HURFOM Field Researchers are trained to be aware of their situation and to constantly be assessing potential risks and planning for

immediate evacuation if threats materialize.

Trauma

HURFOM is conscious of the trauma victims of violence live with resulting from abuses endured. As much as possible, Field Researchers refrain from exacerbating existing trauma when revisiting painful memories with individuals who have experienced abuse, as well as with their families. Generally, when speaking with a victim and members of their community, a series of interviews are conducted to build trust and remain sensitive to the informer's level of comfort at any given time. Interviewees are encouraged to provide as much or as little detail as they feel comfortable with and are not pushed to provide any details which may cause them discomfort.



Chapter 3: Background

"Transitional justice refers to the ways countries emerging from periods of conflict and repression address large-scale or systematic human rights violations so numerous and so serious that the normal justice system will not be able to provide an adequate response."

International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ)⁴

In July 2014, HURFOM published '<u>In Pursuit of Justice: Reflections on the past and hopes for</u> <u>the future of Burma</u>.' The aim of this report was to serve as a guide for the Burmese government in implementing mechanisms of transitional justice in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma. Communities in these areas have suffered decades of grave human rights



⁴ "What is Transitional Justice?" *International Center for Transitional Justice*, 2017, <u>www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice</u>. [Accessed 22 November 2017].



violations committed by the Burma Army and EAOs. By analyzing the history of these patterns of abuse, opportunities and processes to repair relationships were identified to bolster trust building and national reconciliation in a transitional Burma.

While many things have changed in Burma since '<u>In Pursuit of Justice</u> 'was published, too much remains the same. The NLD, once a

beleaguered pro-democracy group under Burma's military government is now the governing party.⁵ This historic event renewed hopes for rebuilding Burma into a genuine democracy and embarking on a course of national reconciliation to heal Burma's fragmented society after more than 60 years of civil war.⁶ Yet the ongoing rhetoric of 'national reconciliation' by Burma's top politicians⁷ increasingly rings hollow, as conflict in northern Rakhine state has recently pushed over half a million refugees into Bangladesh and war in northern Kachin and Shan states rages on with civilians caught in the middle.

In addition to ongoing mass human rights violations, the new leadership in Burma's government continues to exhibit strategies for denying its dark past: from the exercise of defamation laws such as Section 66(d) to arrest, detain, and imprison individuals critical of the NLD or military, ⁸ to the recent arrest of journalists under 17(1) of the Unlawful Associations Act,⁹ to Aung San Suu Kyi's farcical statements that Burma has never been "soft"

⁵ While the NLD is the governing party, the constitution of Burma reserves 25% of seats in both the upper and lower houses of parliament for the military, thus ensuring a measure of control over state affairs by the security establishment. See, Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar (2008), Section #109 and Section #141.

⁶ For more information on the complexity of politics in Burma's diverse states and regions, see, "<u>The</u> <u>Contested Areas of Myanmar: Subnational conflict, aid, and development</u>," The Asia Foundation, 2017.

⁷ For example, see, "<u>Daw Aung San Suu Kyi invites military, president to 'national reconciliation talks</u>," *The Myanmar Times*, 11 November 2015; and "<u>NLD Reaffirms Priorities of Peace and Reconciliation</u>," *The Irrawaddy*, 27 September 2017.

⁸ See, "<u>Section 66(d), the newest threat to freedom of expression in Myanmar</u>," *The Myanmar Times,* 23 November 2016.

⁹ See, "<u>Myanmar: Detained journalists to be charged under colonial-era law</u>," *The Guardian*, 28 June 2017.

on human rights during her disappointing televised address in September 2017.¹⁰ All this reveals an administration unwilling or unable to address its violent past.

While some have questioned whether 'national reconciliation' carries any meaning at all for those politicians who espouse it as Burma's "prevailing narrative,"¹¹ entreaties to forget the past by those such as Aung San Suu Kyi¹² show a careless disregard for those who have suffered at the hands of the Burma Army and EAOs and resorts to blaming victims for the lack of progress, rather than addressing root causes for grievances and acknowledging and addressing past wrongs.

In addition, much of the current administration's rhetoric surrounding 'national reconciliation'



has been criticized as referring only to healing the hostile relationship between the NLD and the Burma Army, rather than between the military, government, and civilian populations, and offers little in the way of substantive policy.¹³

What is lost in all this rhetoric is that individuals and communities in Burma do desire justice for past and ongoing human rights violations that they have endured. From remembrances of the anniversary of the Saffron Revolution,¹⁴ to calls for memorials for the fallen during the 1988 crackdown, ¹⁵ to

increasing demands for justice by individuals and communities who have experienced violence

¹¹ See, "Many in Myanmar need deeper understanding of 'reconciliation'," The Myanmar Times, 27 April 2017.

¹⁰ For a full text of Aung San Suu Kyi's speech, see, "<u>Aung San Suu Kyi calls on world community in helping find</u> <u>peace for Myanmar</u>," *Mizzima*, 19 September 2017.

¹² "The victims of the past, those who can t shatter the shackles of the past, have caused a lot of hindrances in the democratic transition." See, "<u>At Political Forum, State Counselor Urges Break With the Past</u>," The Irrawaddy, 11 August 2017.

¹³ See, Thomson, Aileen, "<u>Prospects for Justice in Myanmar: Does the new political reality offer opportunities</u> for addressing human rights violations," ICTJ, November 2016.

¹⁴ See, Thomson, Aileen, "<u>Memory of Sacrifice: Memory, Justice, and the Saffron Revolution</u>," *The Irrawaddy*,
22 September 2017.

¹⁵ See, "<u>Why the past can't be put to rest</u>," *The Irrawaddy*, 5 August 2017.

at the hands of the Burma Army,¹⁶ all point to the small but growing number of voices calling for the acknowledgement and redress of past violations.

What is Transitional Justice?

At its core, transitional justice is the acknowledgement of past wrongs and the responsibility of perpetrators to address those wrongs. The concept of transitional justice is widely understood as systematic justice that aims to end the culture of impunity and establish rule of law within the context of democracy, which will ensure accountability and prevent future violations from taking place again.¹⁷

There are four main mechanisms of transitional justice:

Truth Seeking

This mechanism involves the use of non-judicial truth or fact-finding commissions to determine the facts behind widespread and large-scale human rights abuses. These inquiries often focus on the testimony of survivors of atrocities, leading to the acknowledgment of past human rights violations and the recognition of the suffering of individuals and communities. Truth seeking processes can serve to inform other mechanisms of transitional justice, such as criminal prosecutions and reparations.

Criminal Prosecutions

This mechanism involves holding perpetrators of large-scale and systematic human rights violations accountable for their actions. Through the investigation and prosecution of powerful political and military figures involved in the planning and organization of crimes, rule of law is strengthened and justice is provided for victims of these violations.

¹⁶ For example, see, "<u>Magyi Khon Nang Wants Justice</u>," *The Irrawaddy*, 18 October 2017; "<u>One year after</u> <u>Kachin teachers' death, justice still elusive</u>," *The Myanmar Times*, 19 January 2016; and "<u>How one father's</u> <u>letters to the government got him convicted</u>," *The Irrawaddy*, 7 April 2015.

¹⁷ For more information on transitional justice, see, "<u>What is Transitional Justice?</u>" *International Center for Transitional Justice*, 2017. For more information on transitional justice and its application in Burma, see, "<u>In</u> <u>Pursuit of Justice: Reflections on the past and hopes for the future of Burma</u>," HURFOM, July 2014; and "<u>To</u> <u>Recognize and Repair: Unofficial truth projects and the need for justice in Burma</u>, "ND-Burma, June 2015.

Reparations

States, groups, and individuals have a legal obligation to repair the wrongs visited upon individuals and communities as a consequence of human rights violations.¹⁸ As outlined in the United Nations (UN) Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to Remedy and Reparation, there are five major forms of reparation available to victims of gross human rights violations:

- 1. *Restitution*: whenever possible, restoring the victim to the original situation prior to the violation of rights, including, but not limited to, the return of land, property, place of residence, employment, and identity.
- 2. *Compensation*: monetary payment for damages incurred resulting from human rights violations.
- 3. *Rehabilitation*: the provision of assistance, including physical and mental health, legal, and employment services.
- 4. *Satisfaction*: symbolic forms of compensation, including acknowledgment of past abuses, apologies, commemorations, and verification of facts.
- 5. *Guarantees of non-repetition*: all actions aimed at preventing future occurrences of human rights violations, including strengthening the judiciary.

The provision of reparations can be applied to individual victims or their families, however, they can also be provided at the community level, through development of health, education, transportation, and communication services.

Institutional Reform

This mechanism refers to the restructuring of state institutions, such as the police, military, and judiciary, so that human rights are respected through new legal frameworks, rule of law is observed, and public servants are held accountable for their actions.

¹⁸ See, UN General Assembly, <u>Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for</u> <u>Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International</u> <u>Humanitarian Law</u>, 16 December 2005, United Nations, Resolution 60/147.

Impediments to Justice

Many of the challenges to true democratic transition and justice for past human rights violations documented '<u>In Pursuit of Justice</u>' remain.

Impunity

By far one of the biggest challenges Burma faces in acknowledging and addressing past human rights violations in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma is the entrenched culture of impunity benefitting members of past regimes and the military. This culture of impunity is so pervasive in Burma that amnesty for past actions by such actors is enshrined in the constitution:

"...No proceeding shall be instituted against the said Councils or any member thereof or any member of the Government, in respect of any act done in the execution of their respective duties."¹⁹

While impunity remains so fixed, Burma cannot achieve advances in terms of truth telling, justice, victim's rights, or national reconciliation. Constitutional reform and accountability mechanisms are crucial for the genuine achievement of justice for victims of past violations.

Lack of transparency

Burma's past and current regimes have repeatedly been accused of lack of transparency in its operations.²⁰ From negotiations with neighboring countries over lucrative business projects, to criminal proceedings for those arrested under oppressive laws, the lack of transparency and communication has increased tensions in ethnic communities, working against any goals of national reconciliation. The Burma government must treat its citizens with respect and implement transparent mechanisms of communication with its people.

¹⁹ Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar (2008), Section #445.

²⁰ For example, see, <u>"Transparency lacking in massive civil servant housing project</u>," *Frontier Myanmar*, 31 October 2017; <u>"Trial of three Myanmar journalists marred by lack of access, transparency</u>," *VOA*, 24 July 2017; <u>"Last-minute orders and a lack of transparency</u>," *The Myanmar Times*, 11 November 2015; and <u>"President, Daw Suu under fire for lack of transparency</u>," *The Myanmar Times*, 4 March 2015.

Inset 1: Missed opportunities for trust building in Mon State

As previously noted, reparations can take a variety of forms beyond the provision of monetary compensation or access to development for individuals and communities affected by large-scale human rights abuses. Symbolic reparations, such as commemorations, can be just as meaningful as material ones. As with all trustbuilding exercises in post-conflict regions and states, listening to the voices of communities affected is an essential component of any activities aimed at national reconciliation.

The 2017 opening of the General Aung San Bridge in Mon State is an excellent example of the unwillingness or inability of the current NLD-led administration to acknowledge the voice of ethnic populations in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast of Burma.

Spanning the Salween River, the bridge connects Mon State's capital, Moulmein, with Chaungzone Township on Bilu Island. Local inhabitants of both areas were upset when they learned that the bridge was to be named after Burma's independence hero General Aung San, rather than popularly nominated names of Rehmonnya (meaning Mon State in Mon language) or Salween (Thanlwin) Bridge.

The decision to name the bridge after General Aung San despite local opposition sparked several large protests, one including 30,000 Mon civilians and monks, as well as ethnic Karen and Pa-O participants. The NLD would ultimately lose their Chaungzone Township seat in parliament to the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) in the by-elections following the opening of the bridge.

By simply acknowledging the voices and concerns of Mon populations over the naming of the bridge, the NLD-led government missed an opportunity to engender trust and embark on a process of national reconciliation with Mon communities, instead of further alienating ethnic groups and fomenting anger and distrust.

Chapter 4: Patterns of Abuse

"I thought that we were human, just the same as them [Burma Army], so why were we being abused by them? If we talk about abuse or torture, I have so many stories to tell."

Saw A---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division (Interviewed September 2017)²¹

This chapter looks at four major categories of abuse committed by the Burma Army and EAOs that have been documented by HURFOM over the last several decades, including arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture; extrajudicial killings and forced disappearances; rape and other forms of sexual violence; and LPH rights violations. In doing so it shows the widespread and systematic abuse of human rights in Mon State and Mon areas of Burma from 1995 until the present.

Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, and Torture

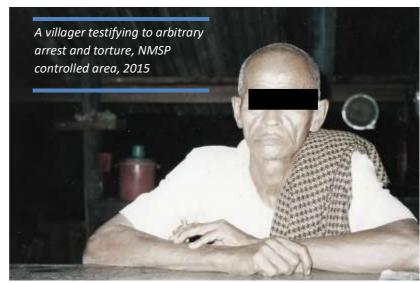
One of the most documented abuses involved the arbitrary arrest, arbitrary detention, and torture of individuals in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma. This often went hand in hand with other types of abuse, such as extrajudicial killings, rape and other forms of sexual violence, forced disappearances, forced labor, forced relocation, and land confiscation. Victims of these abuses often have had little to no recourse for justice, and perpetrators have been able to carry out these abuses with impunity.

Overview of Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, and Torture

Since it began documenting human rights abuses in 1995, HURFOM has recorded a minimum of 108 incidents of arbitrary arrest, detention, or torture by Burma Army soldiers and EAOs,

²¹ Unpublished Interview with Saw A---, HURFOM, 7 September 2017, (ID# 17_I11).

affecting well over 3,300 individuals.²² Cases of arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture often overlap, making it difficult to separate the different types of abuses documented from each individual incident. But it is important to note that not every case of arbitrary arrest or detention reported torture, nor did all incidents of torture report arbitrary arrest or detention. For the purposes of this report, however, it is



enough to know that the large number of incidents and individuals involved, as well as the temporal and geographical spread of these abuses point to the widespread and systematic physical and psychological abuse of villagers at the hands of the Burma Army and EAOs.

Furthermore, these incidents reported involved the conduct of over 30 different Burma Army battalions and units, again indicating the systematic and widespread use of arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture as tactics used by the Burma Army.²³ Light Infantry Battalions (LIB) #586 and #273 were particularly overrepresented in the data has having been involved in the detention and torture of individuals in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma affecting approximately 450 individuals.²⁴

The overwhelming majority of cases occurred in southern Ye Township, Mon State and Yebyu Township in northern Tenasserim Division, both areas of Mon EAO activity and Burma Government-affiliated development projects. Of the 79 incidents documented in Mon State, 95% of them occurred in southern Ye Township, with the remaining cases occurring in

²² For more detailed information on each documented instance disaggregated by date, location, perpetrator, and source, see, Appendix 1.

²³ The list of Burma Army battalions implicated in the arbitrary arrest, arbitrary detention, and torture of men, women, and children in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma include: Infantry Battalion (IB) #104; IB #31; IB #32; IB #61; IB #62; IB #97; LIB #106; LIB #120; LIB #121; LIB #122; LIB #123; LIB #230; LIB #273; LIB #278; LIB #282; LIB #285; LIB #299; LIB #315; LIB #343; LIB #403; LIB #406; LIB #407; LIB #408; LIB #409; LIB #410; LIB #528; LIB #583; LIB #586; Light Infantry Division (LID) #22; Navy Unit #43; No 3. Tactical Command; Strategic Command.

²⁴ Both LIB #586 and #273 are involved in 32 reported incidents of arbitrary arrest, arbitrary detention, and/or torture, affecting over 447 individuals, see, Appendix 1.

Thanbyuzayat and Kyaikmayaw townships. All documented cases in Tenasserim Division were located in Yebyu Township. In addition, HURFOM documented incidents of arbitrary arrest, arbitrary detention, and torture in Kawkareik and Kyar Inn Seik Kyi areas of Karen State.

Villagers subject to incidents of arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture at the hands of these battalions report a wide variety of inhumane and degrading tactics used to gain information and break their spirit. In many cases, individuals did not survive their arrest or interrogation²⁵ and those who did reported having to dig their own graves,²⁶ dig themselves into holes, filling it so only their heads were exposed in the hot sun without water for hours while being kicked and cut,²⁷ forcing entire villages to stand in the hot sun at gunpoint for over six hours without rest or water,²⁸ kicking with boots and beating with butts of guns,²⁹ waterboarding,³⁰ rape of women and children,³¹ sometimes in front of parents,³² gang rape,³³ cutting body parts, such as breasts³⁴ or ears,³⁵ intentional exposure to excessive ant bites,³⁶ maiming victims by pouring hot water over faces and other body parts,³⁷ electrical shocks,³⁸ rubbing salt into fresh wounds,³⁹ men forced to watch pornography and perform sex acts on each other in front of soldiers,⁴⁰ and having genitals burnt,⁴¹ among a host of other reported forms of torture.

Often individuals being interrogated or tortured were detained for months at a time and in the majority of cases were only allowed to leave once family and friends had gathered enough money to pay the extortion amount demanded by the battalion commander. For example, in

²⁵ For more information, see, Chapter 4: Extrajudicial Killings and Forced Disappearances.

²⁶ For example, see, "The Mon Forum: Issue No. 1/2004," HURFOM, 31 January 2004.

²⁷ For example, see, "<u>The Mon Forum: Issue No. 8/1998</u>," HURFOM, 31 November 1998.

²⁸ For example, see, "<u>Laid Waste: Human rights along the Kanbauk to Myaing Kalay gas pipeline</u>," HURFOM, May 2009; and "<u>The Mon Forum: Issue No. 4/1996</u>," HURFOM, 15 August 1996.

²⁹ For example, see, "<u>The Mon Forum: Issue No. 5/1998</u>," HURFOM, 31 July 1998.

³⁰ For example, see, "<u>The Mon Forum: Issue No. 8/2007</u>," HURFOM, 31 August 2007.

³¹ For more detailed information on each instance of sexual violence documented by HURFOM and disaggregated by date, location, perpetrator, and source, see, Appendix 3.

³² For example, see, "<u>Burma's Women and Children: The Suffering and Survival</u>," HURFOM, March 2002.

³³ For more detailed information on each instance of sexual violence documented by HURFOM and disaggregated by date, location, perpetrator, and source, see, Appendix 3.

³⁴ For example, see, "<u>Burma's Women and Children: The Suffering and Survival</u>," HURFOM, March 2002.

³⁵ For example, see, "<u>The Mon Forum: Issue No. 12/1999</u>," HURFOM, 31 December 1999.

³⁶ For example, see, "<u>The Mon Forum: Issue No. 5/1998</u>," HURFOM, 31 July 1998.

³⁷ For example, see, "<u>The Mon Forum: Issue No. 8/1998</u>," HURFOM, 31 November 1998.

³⁸ Unpublished Interview with U M---, HURFOM, 18 September 2017, (ID# 17_I17).

³⁹ For example, see, "<u>The Mon Forum: Issue No. 12/1999</u>," HURFOM, 31 December 1999.

⁴⁰ Unpublished Interview with U M---, HURFOM, 18 September 2017, (ID# 17_I17).

⁴¹ Ibid.

November 2005, LIB #282 arrested and tortured Nai T--- and two other villagers on suspicion of supporting Mon breakaway groups:

"After we arrived at their battalion they tied our hands behind our backs and dunked our heads into a tub full of water and interrogated us. They beat us with bamboo sticks unceasingly. We experienced horrible pain and screamed so loud. Then they put our heads under water and we couldn't breathe. We couldn't answer their questions as we couldn't breathe under water, so they beat our backs with bamboo sticks again. We experienced incredible pain and couldn't speak and breathe during that time...My wife spent around 400,000 kyat (US \$293.00)⁴² [for my release]."

Nai T---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)⁴³

The majority of the abuses documented in this section occurred over an 11-year period from 1998 until 2009. Based on HURFOM's documentation, during this period an estimated 3,100 individuals were arbitrarily arrested, arbitrarily detained, and/or tortured on suspicion of being Mon EAO supporters or members, as well as on suspicion of being Karen National Union (KNU) or Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) supporters or members. In addition, civilians were arbitrarily arrested or tortured for simply being in black zone areas where the Burma Army sought to eliminate Mon EAO group activity. Often civilians were caught between both groups, experiencing extortion and torture from both sides. For example:

"I was accused of giving money to rebels [EAOs] even though in reality I didn't pay any money to the rebels. Then the army detained me in the army camp for ten days. They asked me: 'Did you pay money to the rebels?' We didn't want to pay any money to the rebels. I didn't pay any money. Other people paid money to the rebels. I answered that we were so afraid of the rebel's long knife. I couldn't sleep at night because I could hear the screaming voices of villagers who were tortured during interrogations."

⁴² All currency conversions in this report are based on the November 24, 2017 market rate of 1,364.91 Burmese kyat to the US \$1 as per www.xe.com.

⁴³ Unpublished Interview with Nai T---, HURFOM, 6 September 2017, (ID# 17_I10).

Daw H---, female, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed February 2017)⁴⁴

The physical and psychological trauma experienced by these individuals is incalculable. Many of the survivors HURFOM has spoken to have reported feelings of depression, anxiety, and physical health problems associated with their experience. Many express living in continual fear of the Burma Army. In one instance, a woman who was detained and tortured reported being afraid of hearing the Burmese language,⁴⁵ while another woman pressured her sister to divorce her Bamar⁴⁶ husband after experiencing torture at the hands of the Burma Army.⁴⁷

"After I was released, I heard there were about ten villagers who were arrested by LIB #403. They brought those villagers to Pyin Kyi village, Yebyu Township. If someone was arrested by LIB #403 they would definitely be tortured by them. I had already had those experiences [torture]...[After], I left my family for three years and needed treatment for my fear. The others thought I had a mental illness. Actually I was not [crazy]; I just felt fear all the time and couldn't sleep at night."

U K---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)⁴⁸



⁴⁴ Unpublished Interview with Daw H---, HURFOM, 7 February 2017, (ID# 17_FGD4).

⁴⁷ Unpublished Interview with Daw H---, HURFOM, 7 February 2017, (ID# 17_FGD4).

⁴⁵ Unpublished Interview with Daw Y--- (as retold by daughter), HURFOM, 2 February 2017, (ID# 17_FGD4).

⁴⁶ Bamar refers to the largest and dominant ethnic group in Burma.

⁴⁸ Unpublished Interview with U K---, HURFOM, 2 September 2017, (ID# 17_I9).

Extrajudicial Killings and Forced Disappearances

HURFOM has documented the widespread use of extrajudicial killings and forced disappearances of civilians by the Burma Army and EAOs in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma over the last 22 years. These summary executions were often committed concurrently with other human rights abuses. HURFOM as documented the killing of civilians in tandem with arbitrary arrest, arbitrary detention, rape and other forms of sexual violence, forced labor, forced relocation, and land confiscation. In many cases, the forced disappearance of individuals by the Burma Army have led family and friends to conclude that their loved ones had been killed. Just as with incidents of arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture, perpetrators of these extrajudicial killings have operated almost entirely with impunity.

Overview of Extrajudicial Killings and Forced Disappearances

From 1995 until 2017, HURFOM has documented over 57 incidents of extrajudicial killings by the Burma Army and EAOs, for a minimum of 190 deaths of villagers in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma.⁴⁹ While the majority of victims were male, HURFOM also documented the killing of women as well as children, some as young as ten months old.⁵⁰

The vast majority of documented extrajudicial killings included in this report were perpetrated by members of the Burma Army, while in only a few cases were extrajudicial killings by EAOs documented.⁵¹ HURFOM has recorded the involvement of more than 27 different Burma Army battalions in killings of men, women, and children, attesting to the wide spread and systematic nature of extrajudicial killings.⁵² However, some of the most egregious incidents of extrajudicial killings were carried out by several battalions, particularly LIB #273, Infantry

⁴⁹ For more detailed information on each documented instance disaggregated by date, location, perpetrator, and source, see, Appendix 2. The figures presented in this report refer to the number cases documented by HURFOM Field Reporters and it is likely that the number of actual extrajudicial killings of civilians between 1995 and 2017 by the Burma Army and EAOs is much higher.

⁵⁰ For example, see, "The Mon Forum: Issue No. 8/1998," HURFOM, 31 November 1998.

⁵¹ For example, see, "The Mon Forum: Issue No. 4/2009," HURFOM, 30 April 2009.

⁵² The list of Burma Army battalions implicated in the extrajudicial killings and forced disappearances of villagers in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma include: IB #25; IB #31; IB #48; IB #61; IB #62; IB #77; LIB #106; LIB #107; LIB #120; LIB #230; LIB #272; LIB #273; LIB #285; LIB #285; LIB #343; LIB #407; LIB #408; LIB #409; LIB #410; LIB #416; LIB #432; LIB #583; LIB #586; LIB #587; LIB #588; Navy Unit #43; and No. 3 Tactical Command.

Battalion (IB) #61, and LIB #432. Both LIB #273 and IB #61 have been documented as being involved in the killing of 38 civilians each.

Burma Army battalions continue to act with impunity when committing extrajudicial killings. For example, in August 2017, Navy Unit #43 arrested and tortured six fishermen, killing one:

"At 4 pm on August 12th our leader U Y--- was dead. We were not tortured after his death. They fed us and gave us water. They let us sleep well. If [our leader had] not [died], we would not have been allowed to drink even a drop of water. After the death of our leader, I and one of the soldiers from the navy unit went to the Mae Tan Taung village administrator's house and made a report that U Y--- had been drunk and fell into the water and drowned to death. I did not dare tell the truth. They forced us to tell a lie."

U M---, male, Ye Township, Mon State (Interviewed September 2017)⁵³

The vast majority of these incidents spanned from southern Ye Township, Mon State to Yebyu Township, northern Tenasserim Division. In addition to being an area with lucrative Burma Government-led development projects, this geographical spread was considered a black zone — an area with high levels of EAO activity — leading Burma Army soldiers to exercise a shoot-on-sight policy. While 73% of all documented killings by the Burma Army and EAOs took place within this area, HURFOM also documented extrajudicial killings



in Thanbyuzayat and Mudon townships in Mon State, and Dooplaya District, Karen State, including in Kyar Inn Seik Kyi and Three Pagoda Pass.

⁵³ Unpublished Interview with U M---, HURFOM, 18 September 2017, (ID# 17_I17).

The majority of incidents documented by HURFOM occurred between 1998 and 2004, with a total of 49 incidents involving extrajudicial killings and total of 164 deaths. Many of these deaths are linked to development projects implemented after the ceasefire with the NMSP, in particular, the Kanbauk to Myaing Kalay pipeline,⁵⁴ as well as military offensives against the KNU/KNLA and Mon break away groups. For example, in October 2004, IB #31 arrested and killed U Soe Win on suspicion of supporting a Mon breakaway group:

"Soldiers beat and tortured my husband during the interrogation. I could hear his screaming voice from my home. My daughter cried out loud and went to the army. My daughter requested to see her father in the detention camp...My husband's face and body were swollen. We couldn't recognize him. My husband could not speak because of the brutal torture. He was disappeared after 15 days of interrogation. Captain Lin Oo told us that my husband ran away from the detention room. My husband was killed during the investigation. We never received the dead body of my husband."

Daw A---, female, Ye Township, Mon State, (Interviewed February 2017)⁵⁵

In another example, in May 1995, Naw P---'s husband was arrested along with seven others by LIB #403 on suspicion of association with the KNLA in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division:

"It was in the evening. The Burmese soldiers had questioned all villagers and tortured them. I saw that they beat them with sticks and butts of guns. My husband Saw R---, (35), was arrested after having his hands tied behind his back. It was the last time I saw him since May 1995. He and seven of his friends have never come back. But I still hope he will come back alive. I still expect my husband's return. But when does my dream come true? He disappeared a long time ago."

⁵⁴ For more information on human rights abuses along the pipeline, see, "<u>Laid Waste: Human rights abuses</u> along the Kanbauk to Myaing Kalay gas pipeline," HURFOM, May 2009.

⁵⁵ Unpublished Interview with Daw A---, HURFOM, 2 February 2017, (ID# 17_I13).

Naw P---, female, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division (Interviewed September 2017)⁵⁶

Families of victims of extrajudicial killings reported experiencing many challenges when losing a family member. Many spoke of difficulties in meeting livelihood needs, as well as anxiety, depression, and substance abuse issues following the incident. This is often exacerbated by the unresolved nature of the death of a family member due to forced disappearances:

"I didn't hear any information about my husband and could not see his dead body. I felt crazy with my daughter when he was detained. I walked in the streets like a crazy person. Without my husband, it's really difficult to solve our daily survival [needs]. It's really bad for daily wage workers like me."

Daw A---, female, Ye Township, Mon State, (Interviewed February 2017)⁵⁷



Rape and Other Forms of Sexual Violence

HURFOM has extensively documented the use of rape and other forms of sexual violence as a weapon of war used by the Burma Army in Mon State and Mon areas over the last several decades.⁵⁸ In addition to documenting such violence, HURFOM has also documented the challenges victims of sexual violence face when trying to access justice for crimes of a sexual nature. In the vast majority of cases documented by HURFOM, perpetrators of sexual violence have operated with impunity. However, despite intimidation and threats by battalion commanders, in some cases survivors of sexual violence have lodged complaints with battalion headquarters via village administrators which were either ignored or settled through compensation.

Like many of the human rights abuses documented in this report, sexual violence was often committed concurrently with other types of abuse. HURFOM has documented sexual violence in tandem with arbitrary arrest, arbitrary detention, torture, forced labor, forced relocation, and extrajudicial killings.

Overview of Rape and Other Forms of Sexual violence

Since 1995, HURFOM has documented over 67 separate incidents of sexual violence committed by Burma Army soldiers in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma, affecting over 106 women, children, and men.⁵⁹ However, due to the shame and stigma associated with crimes of a sexual nature, as well as fear of reprisals and/or intimidation by Burma Army soldiers, the number of women and young girls who have experienced sexual violence is believed to be much higher. Victims ranged in age from as young as ten years old to 50 years of age. HURFOM has documented three incidents of attempted rape; 46 separate incidents of rape involving 61 women and children; 16 separate incidents of gang rape, involving 26

⁵⁸ See: "<u>Cracks in the Silence: Sexual violence against children in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast</u> <u>Burma</u>," HURFOM, March 2017; "<u>Laid Waste: Human rights along the Kanbauk to Myaing Kalay gas pipeline</u>," HURFOM, May 2009; "<u>Nowhere Else To Go: An examination of sexual trafficking and related human rights</u> <u>abuses in Southern Burma</u>," HURFOM, August 2009; "<u>From the Catwalk to the Barracks: Conscription of</u> <u>women for sexual slavery and other practices of sexual violence by troops of the Burmese military regime in</u> <u>Mon areas</u>," HURFOM, July 2005; and "<u>Burma's Women and Children: The Suffering and Survival</u>," HURFOM, March 2002.

⁵⁹ For more detailed information on each documented instance disaggregated by date, location, perpetrator, and source, see, Appendix 3. The figures presented in this report refer to the number cases documented by HURFOM Field Reporters and it is likely that the actual number of incidents of rape and sexual violence between 1995 and 2017 perpetrated by the Burma Army and EAOs is much higher.

women; as well as forced sexual slavery and forced participation in 'beauty shows' by Burma Army soldiers.

While almost all cases of sexual violence documented involved women or children, HURFOM documented one instance of sexual violence against six men involving the Burma Army. In August 2017, six fishermen were arbitrarily arrested and tortured by Navy Unit #43:

"The [next] morning, they ordered us to take off our pants and burnt our pubic hair. Our skin was damaged and it was painful. They removed our hands [covering our pubic area] and burnt the hair again. They said if our expression looked as if we felt pain, they wouldn't stop, so we had to pretend that we didn't hurt. After that they showed us gay porn movies and forced us to do the same things in the video clips. We had to do everything they ordered."

U M---, male, Ye Township, Mon State, (Interviewed September 2017)⁶⁰

All documented cases of sexual violence included in this report were perpetrated by members of the Burma Army. HURFOM has recorded the involvement of over 27 different battalions in the rape, gang rape, attempted rape, and forced sexual slavery of women and children, attesting to the widespread and systematic nature of the use of sexual violence by the Burma Army. ⁶¹ However, several Burma Army battalions were overrepresented in the data, particularly IB #61, where HURFOM has documented eight incidents of rape, gang rape, and torture of 18 women, mostly from Ye Township, Mon State.

Like most human rights abuses documented in this report, the majority – 90% – of incidents occurred in the black zone areas of northern Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division and southern Ye Township, Mon State. However, HURFOM also documented incidents of sexual violence in Hpa-an, Kawkareik, Kyar Inn Seik Kyi, Nyaunglebin, and Three Pagoda Pass areas of Karen State.

⁶⁰ Unpublished Interview with U M---, HURFOM, 18 September 2017, (ID# 17_I17).

⁶¹ The list of Burma Army battalions implicated in the use of sexual violence against men, women, and children in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma include: Artillery Regiment (AR) #315; AR #318; IB #25; IB #31; IB #34; IB #61; IB #62; IB #77; LIB #207; LIB #273; LIB #274; LIB #282; LIB #285; LIB #299; LIB #343; LIB #403; LIB #406; LIB #407; LIB #409; LIB #586; LIB #587; LIB #851; Navy Unit #43; No 3. Tactical Command.

Victims of sexual violence at the hands of these battalions reported experiencing a wide variety of abuses during their experience. While some did not survive their ordeal and were intentionally or unintentionally killed during the incident,⁶² many reported being raped or gang raped during interrogation;⁶³ being raped in front of their parents as revenge for attacks by EAOs or to intimidate and prevent parents from supporting such groups;⁶⁴ being taken as 'comfort women' for troops for extended periods of time lasting months and being released only when family members had gathered enough money to pay extortion fees;⁶⁵ tortured by having breasts cut⁶⁶ or intentionally maiming women by throwing boiling water on them to 'spoil' their looks;⁶⁷ and being forced to participate in beauty pageants put on by Burma Army soldiers,⁶⁸ among a host of other forms of reported sexual violence.

The majority of these cases occurred between 1998 and 2005 during the construction of the Kanbauk to Myaing Kalay pipeline.⁶⁹ In addition, offensives against EAOs and rampant forced labor by the Burma Army made women particularly susceptible to sexual violence due to the increased presence of Burma Army battalions and soldiers in Mon areas. For example, in October 1999, LIB #120 arrested two women aged 16 and 17 years old in Ye Township, Mon State on suspicion of supporting KNLA soldiers:

"First, after beating them during interrogation about the activities of their husbands, the soldiers raped these two women repeatedly. As the women refused to denounce their husbands as soldiers, the soldiers cut Naw B---'s breasts with a knife. The soldiers poured hot water into Naw K---'s nose. Her whole face was burnt with hot water and the skin on her face was spoiled."

 ⁶² For more detailed information on each documented instance of intentional or unintentional killing during sexual violence disaggregated by date, location, perpetrator, and source, see, Appendix 3.
 ⁶³ See Appendix 3.

⁶⁴ For example, see, "Burma's Women and Children: The Suffering and Survival," HURFOM, March 2002.

⁶⁵ For more information, see, "<u>From the Catwalk to the Barracks: Conscription of women for sexual slavery</u> <u>and other practices of sexual violence by troops of the Burmese military regime in Mon areas</u>," HURFOM, July 2005.

 ⁶⁶ For example, see, "<u>Burma's Women and Children: The Suffering and Survival</u>," HURFOM, March 2002.
 ⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ For more information, see, "<u>From the Catwalk to the Barracks: Conscription of women for sexual slavery</u> and other practices of sexual violence by troops of the Burmese military regime in Mon areas," HURFOM, July 2005

⁶⁹ For more information on human rights abuses along the pipeline, see, "<u>Laid Waste: Human rights abuses</u> along the Kanbauk to Myaing Kalay gas pipeline," HURFOM, May 2009.

Incident Report submitted by HURFOM Field Reporter⁷⁰

In an earlier example in 1996, Naw M--- and her husband were arrested and interrogated after KNLA soldiers had ambushed a car carrying supplies owned by the Total Company which was involved in the construction of the Yadana gas pipeline:⁷¹

"My husband was stabbed many times. When he couldn't move [any part of his body], he was shot to death. My hands were tied at my back and they kicked me with military boots. They punched me and beat me three times with a stick. Private Soldier Thein Zaw raped me. I was brutally treated. At that time, I was a mother of six. The eldest one was 13 years old and the youngest one was nine months old. When I reached home, nothing was left. There was no husband and no food."

Naw M---, female, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division (as retold by her daughter), (interviewed September 2017)⁷²

Survivors of sexual violence have reported a number of challenges following their ordeal. including physical ailments, depression, and anxiety. In one case, a survivor who challenged the battalion commander of a soldier who raped her experienced threats and intimidation which eventually pushed her to move to neighboring Thailand to escape the attention.



⁷⁰ See, "Burma's Women and Children: The Suffering and Survival," HURFOM, March 2002.

⁷¹ The Yadana and Yetagun gas pipelines deliver offshore reserves to Thailand. The onshore portion of the pipeline is approximately 60 kms long and runs through Mon villages and areas. The pipeline has been linked to widespread human rights violations at the hands of the Burma Army who provided security for the project. For more information, see, "<u>Total Denial Continues</u>," Earth Rights International, Second Edition, December 2003.

⁷² Unpublished Interview with Naw M---, HURFOM, 3 September 2017, (ID# 17_I4).

In December 2013, a 13-year-old girl was raped by a soldier from IB #31 in Ye Township, Mon State.⁷³ Upon learning of the incident, the village administrator went to the IB #31 base. Mi R--- was urged not to press charges and offered 500,000 kyat (US \$366.32) as compensation by the captain of the base. Mi R--- refused the settlement and asked her parents not to accept anything the military offered to settle the case. The military threatened the victim and told her family to leave the village if they still had tension with the battalion.

"...I fear for her security in the future. I just want her to be safe...We don't need compensation; we just want security for our daughter. We have to work daily for our food and can't look after her all the time."

Mother of Mi R---, Ye Township, Mon State⁷⁴



⁷³ See, "<u>Rape of local girl at the hands of infantry battalion No. 31</u>," HURFOM, 9 January 2014.

⁷⁴ See, "<u>Cracks in the Silence: Sexual violence against children in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast</u> <u>Burma</u>," HURFOM, March 2017.

Land, Property, and Housing Rights Violations

HURFOM has extensively documented violations of Land, Property, and Housing (LPH) rights committed by the Burma Army and EAOs since 1995.⁷⁵ In fact, LPH violations are one of the most pervasive forms of abuse occurring in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma, which continue today.⁷⁶ These abuses often go hand in hand with other types of abuse, such as extrajudicial killings, rape and other forms of sexual violence, forced disappearances, forced labor, and forced relocation.

In addition to these abuses, HURFOM has documented the various village agency strategies locals have employed to protest the confiscation of their land. Farmers in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma have been vocal in their calls for justice for LPH violations and have voiced their demands, sent letters of appeal, defied orders to pay annual taxes on confiscated lands, refused unfair compensation offers, and organized protests in response.



⁷⁵ "<u>Yearning to Be Heard: Mon farmers' continued struggle for acknowledgement and protection of their rights</u>," HURFOM, February 2015; "<u>Disputed Territory: Mon farmers' fight against unjust land acquisition and barriers to their progress</u>," HURFOM, October 2013; "<u>Burma's Navy Attacks Civilians' Livelihood: An account of land confiscation and human rights violations on Kywe Thone Nvi Ma Island, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division</u>," HURFOM, June – July 2011; "<u>Laid Waste: Human rights abuses along the Kanbauk to Myaing Kalay gas pipeline</u>," HURFOM, May 2009; and "No Land to Farm: A comprehensive report on land, real estate and properties confiscation in Mon areas, Burma (1998-2002)," HURFOM, October 2003, print.

⁷⁶ For example, see, "<u>Farmers upset as Burma Army destroys rubber plantations on previously confiscated</u> <u>lands</u>," HURFOM, 15 September 2017.

Overview of Land, Property, and Housing Rights Violations

Since 1995, the seizure of civilian farmland, housing, and plantations by Burma Army soldiers and EAOs has been prolific. HURFOM has documented the confiscation of a minimum of 100,000 acres of farmland, wild land, and plantations by Burma Army soldiers. The 1995 ceasefire between the NMSP and Burma Army forced many areas in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma into government-controlled administration.⁷⁷ As NMSP troops withdrew from these areas, at least 20 Burma Army battalions moved in over the next decade to exert control and to counter the emergence of EAOs. Exacerbating the demand for land for Burma Army battalions deployed to newly accessible areas was the 1997 'self-reliance' policy for funding of the Burma Army, in which battalions and soldiers were largely in charge of funding their own costs, leading to the rampant confiscation of land and property.

Much of this confiscation can be tied to lucrative development projects in the region, which required security provision by the Burma Army. At a minimum, HURFOM has documented the

appropriation of 4,000 acres of land for the onshore portions of the Yetagun and Yadana pipelines, which connects Thailand with offshore reserves of natural gas in the Andaman Sea. ⁷⁸ Several years later, HURFOM documented the confiscation of more than 12,000 acres of land by Burma Army battalions, in order to build barracks, housing, and agricultural projects for soldiers and their families during the construction of the Kanbauk to Myaing Kalay gas pipeline.⁷⁹ In addition, another 2,400 acres were confiscated in order to



clear a path for the project, which spanned the length of Yebyu Township and Mon State,

⁷⁷ For more information, see, South, Ashley, *The Golden Sheldrake: Mon nationalism and civil war in Burma*, (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁷⁸ For more information on the Yetagun and Yadana gas fields and the associated human rights abuses, see, "<u>Total Denial Continues</u>," Earth Rights International, Second Edition, December 2003.

⁷⁹ See, "<u>Laid Waste: Human rights abuses along the Kanbauk to Myaing Kalay gas pipeline</u>," HURFOM, May 2009.

allowing the government-owned Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE) access to their cut of the Yadana gas project.⁸⁰

While it is beyond the scope of this report to break down each individual instance of LPH violations, it is enough to know that the large quantity of land seized, as well as the geographical and temporal spread of these violations point to the systematic and widespread nature of land and property confiscation employed by the Burma Army.

One of the hardest hit areas was Ye Township, Mon State, where large-scale land confiscations for development projects and Burma Army battalions occurred leaving farmers and civilians without access to land to meet their daily livelihood needs. In many cases, villagers were forced to accept compensation well below the market value for their land.

For example, in May 2009, Mi C--- reports that Captain Nyo Hmine of LIB #343 in Ye Township, Mon State repeatedly intimidated her after she refused to give up her land, eventually forcing her to sign over her land for a meagre 500 kyat (\$0.36) per acre:

"I invested everything in my plantation. All my money, labor, and time had been invested in the plantation as I wanted to make a carefree life for the future. But my life finally hit rock bottom and my family had to be far apart. Our problems have not emerged for no reason. They happened due to the abuses and violations of a bad government."

Mi C---, female, Ye Township, Mon State (Interviewed July 2017)⁸¹

In 2011, HURFOM reported on the ongoing confiscation of land by Burma Army Navy Unit #43 on Kywe Thone Nyi Ma Island in Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division.⁸² At the time of the report, 1,000 acres of land had already been seized, however a communication from Secretary Myo Aung Htay on behalf of the President in August 2011 detailed that over 81,196 acres of land in the area had been transferred to the navy unit.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Unpublished Interview with Mi C---, HURFOM, 15 July 2017, (ID# 17_I3).

⁸² See, "<u>Burma's Navy Attacks Civilians' Livelihood: An account of land confiscation and human rights</u> violations on Kywe Thone Nyi Ma Island, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division," HURFOM, June – July 2011.

For example, in August 2007, Navy Unit #43 informed U Th--- to stop working on his plantation as it was now within military-owned boundaries and was threatened with arrest if he failed to follow orders:

"We had to remove our house from the land. We had to break our house down and stay at my relative's house. I had to struggle a lot to continue my life. I have felt inferior as I didn't have my own house. I have been threatened by Major Aung Thet Nyne of the Myawaddy Navy Unit very often. I can't make my livelihood peacefully. I have to worry about possible abuse from the Navy Unit."

U Th---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)⁸³

In addition to confiscating farmlands and plantations, many villagers were forced to pay an annual tax to military bases to continue to use their land after it had been appropriated.

"The military confiscated my rubber plantation when it was ready to be tapped and I had to pay an annual fee of 500 kyat per plant to use our own plants. Our family has struggled for our livelihood."

Daw K---, female, Mudon Township, Mon State, (Interviewed August 2017)⁸⁴

Villagers who have had their land confiscated report being suddenly deprived of employment and unable to meet livelihood needs, debt ridden, subject to displacement, forced to send family members abroad for work, and increasingly subject to worsening security conditions with the arrival of new Burma Army battalions in their areas.⁸⁵

"[Since the confiscation of our land] my family has had financial problems. I have been struggling to get my plantation back so I have to abandon my work. I can't take care of my children. I have a son who is studying at the 10th Standard [Grade 11]. I can't look after him as I am busy with getting my land back. I can't cook for them. I am in debt of 1.5 million kyat (US

⁸³ Unpublished Interview with U Th---, HURFOM, 7 September 2017, (ID# 17_I8).

⁸⁴ Unpublished Interview with Daw K---, HURFOM, August 2017, (ID# 17_FGD3).

⁸⁵ See, "No Land to Farm: A comprehensive report on land, real estate and properties confiscation in Mon areas, Burma (1998-2002)," HURFOM, October 2003, print.

\$1,096.53). I have had to pay a monthly interest rate for nearly six years. I can't pay off my debt."

Daw E---, female, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed August 2017)⁸⁶

"I have two daughters and they have migrated to Thailand to earn an income even though we are worried for them. I have depression when trying to be normal. My husband has died. The situation in my family is not like before. We may need a lot of money to invest in something in the current situation."

Daw K---, female, Mudon Township, Mon State, (Interviewed August 2017)⁸⁷

"I had to make my living as a daily worker. My husband had been depressed and started drinking alcohol. My husband had to go to Malaysia for work and sent back the money for our children's education. If our plantation was not seized, our life would not reach rock bottom. When thinking about it, we're always unhappy."

Mi C---, female, Ye Township, Mon State (Interviewed July 2017)⁸⁸



- ⁸⁶ Unpublished Interview with Daw E---, HURFOM, 14-15 August 2017, (ID# 17_I1).
- ⁸⁷ Unpublished Interview with Daw K---, HURFOM, August 2017, (ID# 17_FGD3).
- ⁸⁸ Unpublished Interview with Mi C---, HURFOM, 15 July 2017, (ID# 17_I3).

Chapter 5: Villager Demands for Justice

"We don't want to be rich, we just want to be normal as before."

U Au---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed March 2017)⁸⁹

In addition to providing evidence of the widespread and systematic violation of human rights by the Burma Army and EAOs in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma over the last several decades, this report aims to present the voices of villagers and their desires for justice. In doing so, it counters the Burma government's narrative that national reconciliation is possible without confronting its violent past and shows that transitional justice is a necessary step for the country to build trust and heal.

The testimony provided in this chapter shows that the majority of villagers interviewed cannot forget their past and do desire some form of justice for abuses endured over the past decades. Survivors of arbitrary arrest, detention and torture; families of victims of extrajudicial killings; survivors of sexual violence; and those who have experienced LPH violations clearly expressed



a desire for justice, national reconciliation, and peace.

While only a handful called for prosecutions of perpetrators, villagers predominantly called for reparations in the form of development, community monetary compensation, guarantees of non-repetition, and in many cases apologies. addition, In villagers expressed a desire to live in peace and to see the demilitarization of their townships.

⁸⁹ Unpublished Interview with U Au---, HURFOM, 13 December 2016, (ID# 17_I15).

Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, and Torture

In speaking with individuals and communities affected by arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture at the hands of the Burma Army and EAOs, the majority of interviewees expressed the desire for some form of justice. Only a small handful felt that they no longer wanted to talk about their experiences, however, many expressed an inability to forget what they had endured.

"The situation now is better than before in terms of being abused or having to pay an annual tax to the military. Even though the military has not acknowledged their mistake [in falsely accusing and torturing me], I have never forgotten about it as I was tortured by them. I remember what they did to me whenever I see soldiers."

Nai T---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)⁹⁰

"They brutally treated me. But I got nothing in return...There were organizations who came to interview me. I don't want reveal my past anymore. I already told a lot so I don't want to open up anymore. There is nothing new in my mind, but I always think [about my past]."

Naw M---, female, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)⁹¹

The majority of individuals interviewed expressed a desire that the Burma Army acknowledge the wrong done to them and provide compensation in response. While monetary compensation was mentioned, most individuals expressed a desire for compensation in the form of community development, such as roads, electricity, hospitals, and schools.

⁹⁰ Unpublished Interview with Nai T---, HURFOM, 6 September 2017, (ID# 17_I10).

⁹¹ Unpublished Interview with Naw M---, HURFOM, 3 September 2017, (ID# 17_I4).

"It is good if the government provides for roads, bridges, health, and education in our area. The government could do that kind of development in our village instead of paying compensation, as they were the ones who committed wrongs against the local people."

Saw A---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)⁹²

"I was tortured for doing nothing wrong...Our village is in the black [zone] area. We don't have hospitals or high schools; if we get sick we have to go Tavoy for treatment and high school students need to go and join a school in another village. Even though the roads are better than before, they are not as good as in other places. If the government is willing to do something, there are a lot of things needed."

Nai T---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)⁹³

The second most requested form of justice expressed by survivors of arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture was acknowledgement of wrongs committed by the Burma Army and apologies. Public apologies can serve as a symbolic form reparations and in tandem with compensation can be a powerful start in addressing past wrongs and a first step in the healing process for countries affected by widespread human rights violations.⁹⁴

"If we look back on my case, I was tortured by the military for doing nothing wrong...they tortured me without any connection with [Mon] splinter groups. That is their wrong and they should apologize for what they have done to us."

Nai T---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)⁹⁵

⁹² Unpublished Interview with Saw A---, HURFOM, 7 September 2017, (ID# 17_I11).

⁹³ Unpublished Interview with Nai T---, HURFOM, 6 September 2017, (ID# 17_I10).

⁹⁴ For more information, see: "<u>More Than Words: Apologies as a form of reparation</u>," ICTJ, December 2015.

⁹⁵ Unpublished Interview with Nai T---, HURFOM, 6 September 2017, (ID# 17_I10).

"I want to hear that one day the perpetrators will apologize for what they did. We have ordinary heroes who defended people against the oppressive regime around Ye Township. Some died, some have mental and physical problems due to torture, some Mon women were raped, had their land grabbed, family members were separated in order to survive. For those who are suffering, government initiatives should encourage the perpetrators to apologize and acknowledge the responsibility perpetrators hold."

U A---, male, Ye Township, Mon State, (Interviewed December 2016)⁹⁶

In addition to public apologies and reparations, survivors of arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture, expressed a desire to live in peace, including the demilitarization of their areas and guarantees of non-repetition by the Burma Army. Reparations should not be looked at in terms of only compensation, but should also contain trust-building processes, including guarantees of non-repetition.⁹⁷ Desires for guarantees of non-repetition usually came in the form of calling on the government to ensure that they or no one else has to experience what they endured.

"Our village has too many needs. We want roads, electricity, and telecommunications. We want to be away from the authoritarian regime. We want peace in the future. We don't want anyone to experience what we had to face in the past."

Naw S---, female, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)⁹⁸

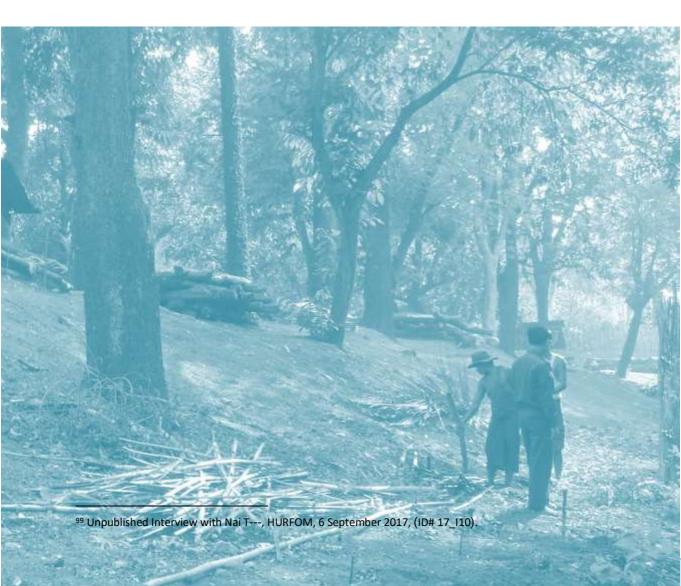
However, apologies and recognition of past wrongs did not only apply to the Burma Army. Some felt that EAOs were also at fault for abuses endured by Mon civilians.

⁹⁶ Unpublished Interview with U A---, HURFOM, 23 December 2016, (ID# 17_I14).

 ⁹⁷ "<u>Reparations and Transitional Justice</u>" International Center for Transitional Justice, 2017, https://www.ictj.org/our-work/transitional-justice-issues/reparations. [Accessed 22 November 2017].
 ⁹⁸ Unpublished Interview with Naw S---, HURFOM, 1 September 2017, (ID# 17_15).

"They [Burma Army] shouldn t abuse the villagers anymore...That is also the wrong of the [Mon] splinter groups too. The military couldn t control the [Mon] splinter groups and they got angry at the villagers and abused us. The military and the armed groups should not be here anymore. We would like to live a peaceful and invulnerable life."

Nai T---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)⁹⁹



Extrajudicial Killings and Forced Disappearances

For families and friends of individuals killed by the Burma Army or EAOs, many called for justice in the form of prosecutions and an end to impunity for those who committed extrajudicial killings in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma.

For example, Daw A---, whose husband was arbitrarily arrested, tortured, and forcibly disappeared by IB #31 in October 2004, calls for truth and prosecutions:

"I want to see the perpetrator punished for what he did to my late husband. Even though it's his karma in a religious view,¹⁰⁰ at the same time, it's a crime in the legal sense. So the perpetrator must be punished for what he has done."

Daw A---, female, Ye Township, Mon State (Interviewed February 2017)¹⁰¹

U M---, too, calls for rule of law and prosecutions after he and five other fishermen were arbitrarily arrested and tortured by Navy Unit #43 in August 2017 leading to the death of one of his co-workers:

"We are poor so we don't have the power to face a trial. I don't want that crimes committed against the poor can't get justice. The criminals must be punished in accordance with the laws. We don't have money or power so even though we have filed a lawsuit, [the authorities] haven't followed up with us for an investigation. Will the case disappear like this [without an investigation]? Even if it ends without justice, we can do nothing. I don't want to bear any grudge against them. I want to live peacefully. [But] if possible, I will have satisfaction when the perpetrators are punished."

U M---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ The majority of Mon people are practicing Buddhists. Their belief in karma recognizes the idea that a victim did something wrong in a past life, for which they are now being punished. Similarly, karma will punish in the next life those who bring harm to others in this life. Individuals with such beliefs may be more inclined to forgive a person who wronged them, believing that they will get their due punishment in the next life. ¹⁰¹ Unpublished Interview with Daw A---, HURFOM, 2 February 2017, (ID# 17_113).

¹⁰² Unpublished Interview with U M---, HURFOM, 18 September 2017, (ID# 17_I17).

In contrast to survivors of arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture, family and friends of those who were summarily executed by the Burma Army and EAOs were more likely to state that compensation was an inadequate form of justice, as it could never return the situation to what it was before.

"Any compensation can't bring back the original situation. So the government can't satisfy people's desire. The Burmese government have done as they like in the ethnic regions for a long time. The military has a mindset that they can do anything [in the ethnic areas]. Even though the government can lead rural development, they should apologize for what they have done to the villagers. They should officially tell where the missing persons are. They are the responsible ones."

Saw L---, male, Ye Township, Mon State (Interviewed September 2017)¹⁰³

"Their families face many difficulties, as do the other villagers in other villages too...Nobody can rebuild their life as before if their suffering has been so great. That's why the victims who do not want to accept compensation from the perpetrators can't easily forget these incidents. As for me, the matter is finished. I accept that I'm one of the lucky ones who weren't killed as the others were."

Nai O---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed December 2016)¹⁰⁴

For families of victims of forced disappearance, truth about what happened to family members was a common theme emerging from the interviews. These expressions were often followed-up with calls for guarantees of non-repetition, demilitarization, and peace in their areas.

¹⁰³ Unpublished Interview with Saw L---, HURFOM, 7 September 2017, (ID# 17_I6).

¹⁰⁴ Unpublished Interview with Nai O---, HURFOM, 21 December 2016, (ID# 17_I12).

"What I can guarantee is that they all were innocent. I knew them very well as we lived in the same village. It was unfair that the army brutally killed them just because of a small doubt [about whether they supported EAOs]. When asking the victims' families, they all wanted their husbands to come home. I can forgive as I was just beaten. I think if there is no army, there will be no armed abuse. I want to request the government to withdraw the troops. I already know that this area is a very peaceful one as we have lived here generation by generation."

Saw L---, male, Ye Township, Mon State (Interviewed December 2016)¹⁰⁵

"The main thing is that we respect and treat each other as humans, not destroy other lives like this. Now we should ensure guarantees of non-reoccurrence and then we'll get peace."

U S---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed December 2016)¹⁰⁶

"I will be satisfied when villagers no longer face confiscation of their property, land grabbing, forced labor, and extrajudicial killings in these areas in the future. The government has to give its guarantee. We are working and living honestly and peacefully and I am certain there are no rebels [EAOs] in this area. Only the military threatens the villagers with guns. If they do not commit these things again, the region will be peaceful. This totally depends on them [Burma Army].

U Ng---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed December 2016)¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Unpublished Interview with Saw L---, HURFOM, 7 September 2017, (ID# 17_I6).

 $^{^{106}}$ Unpublished Interview with U S---, HURFOM, 21 December 2016, (ID# 17_I12).

 $^{^{107}}$ Unpublished Interview with U Ng---, HURFOM, 21 December 2016, (ID# 17_I12).

Rape and other forms of Sexual Violence

In speaking with survivors of sexual violence and their communities, HURFOM has documented not only the various ways in which individuals in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma have sought justice for sexual violence committed by the Burma Army, but also collective efforts to seek justice on behalf of a victim and communities. These actions are a direct challenge to the impunity with which perpetrators of sexual violence act and are a clear statement that the Burma government must address past violations.

For example, in July 1998, after soldiers in IB #61 gang raped two women aged 21 and 26 years old near Three Pagoda Pass, Karen State, in retaliation for a KNLA attack, the village headman complained to the soldiers' commander - Colonel Than Win. However, the complaint was ignored and the village headman was beaten for his efforts.¹⁰⁸

While the majority of complaints to either the NMSP or Burma Army battalions by survivors of sexual violence documented by HURFOM were either ignored or settled discreetly through compensation, in several cases survivors have continued to demand justice despite repeated attempts by military officials to intimidate them. For example, in December 2013, a 13-year-old girl was raped by a soldier from IB #31 in Ye Township, Mon State:

"If she were to refuse this settlement, the military personnel threatened that Mi R--- and her family would be expelled from living in the village. Mi R--refused this settlement and personally requested that her parents not accept anything the military would offer to settle the case easily. The military threatened the victim and her family to leave the village if they still had tension with the battalion. However, the girl kept saying that Than Win did assault her. The military has also [pressured] village administrators to settle the case."

Incident Report submitted by HURFOM Field Reporter¹⁰⁹

In speaking with survivors of sexual violence and their families, they were much more likely to call for prosecutions of perpetrators and legal redress for their actions. For example, in August

¹⁰⁸ See, "<u>Burma's Women and Children: The Suffering and Survival</u>," HURFOM, March 2002.

¹⁰⁹ See, "<u>Rape of local girl at the hands of Infantry Battalion No. 31</u>," HURFOM, 9 January 2014. Due to issues of standardization for this report, the above quote may differ slightly in formatting from the original.

2017, six fishermen were arbitrarily arrested and tortured, including being forced to watch pornography and perform degrading sex acts in front of Navy Unit #43 soldiers.

"The criminals must be punished in accordance with the laws. We don't have money and power so even though we have filed a lawsuit, [the authorities] haven't followed up with us for an investigation...I don't want to bear any grudge against them. I want to live peacefully. [But] if possible, I will have satisfaction when the perpetrators are punished."

U M---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)¹¹⁰

In addition, Mi R---'s mother continued to reject monetary compensation in lieu of punishment, instead calling for jail time for the perpetrator.

"I want authorities to investigate the case quickly and get to the truth...I fear for her security in the future. I just want her to be safe. They should punish the man responsible for his crime. We don't need compensation; we just want security for our daughter."

Mother of Mi R---, Ye Township, Mon State¹¹¹



¹¹⁰ Unpublished Interview with U M---, HURFOM, 18 September 2017, (ID# 17_I17).
¹¹¹ See, "<u>Cracks in the Silence: Sexual violence against children in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma</u>," HURFOM, March 2017.

Land, Property, and Housing Rights Violations

Since the establishment of the nominally civilian government and enaction of reforms by President Thein Sein in 2011, HURFOM has documented a surge of civil action by farmers in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma taking a stand against unjust land acquisition by demanding restitution for past confiscations, calling for fair treatment in on-going land disputes, and moving to secure rights over their land in the future.¹¹² Villagers have clearly demonstrated an inability to forget the confiscation of their lands and vocally desire justice for appropriations of their land at the hands of the Burma Army. This issue is a primary component of transitional justice, especially as calls for the return of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) continually grow louder.

In speaking with individuals and communities affected by LPH violations, the vast majority of interviewees expressed a desire for the return of their confiscated land.

"We have to say that we are alive just because of our karma [good deeds from a previous life]. Today we still want to get back our lands. It doesn't mean we are greedy. Everybody wants to get their property back when they don't have any job to work on for their family. Although we can't get back all of it, we need to continue to [try] as long as we are alive. My family wants to get back the land we lost and this is our demand anytime we get the chance. We have requested this in many ways, including by letter and application to the people who work on land issues, but nothing has happened yet."

Daw T---, female, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed August 2017)¹¹³

"I just think about karma talk and try to get peace in my mind. However, we are living in this village so we see our farm every day and feel very sad. The military confiscated our land in November 2003. Even though it was a long time ago I still think about it as we have worked in our farm generation by

¹¹² See, "Yearning to Be Heard: Mon farmers' continued struggle for acknowledgement and protection of their rights," HURFOM, February 2015; and "Disputed Territory: Mon farmers' fight against unjust land acquisition and barriers to their progress," HURFOM, October 2013.

¹¹³ Unpublished Interview with Daw T---, HURFOM, 3 August 2017, (ID# 17_FGD1).

generation. Sometimes people from Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) who work for land issues come to our village to collect data and I always explain to them. I would like to request all to help me getting my land back."

Daw O---, female, Mudon Township, Mon State (Interviewed August 2017)¹¹⁴

"This is what we all have been suffering all our lives. I don't want to talk about landless life again. You might also know that. We are just struggling with our forces and energy to continue our life and not be starving. Aren't we? If we have to say what we have in our mind everyone wants to get back their land. We would feel satisfied if we could get back even half of our land. If the government gave us [new land] instead of our old land, we would still accept it. We just wanted to keep it for our children."

U G---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed August 2017)¹¹⁵

Villagers in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma have a strong connection to their land which has been handed down generation by generation. Villagers repeatedly spoke of their desire to regain access to their ancestral lands to pass it on to their children.

"I want to stay together with my relatives on the land that is my family's legacy. Now my desire is not fulfilled due to the authorities. We got the order [from the Burma Army] that forced us to demolish our home. In the past, land and farms owned by our parents were confiscated by the military. Now our house and shops for survival were destroyed. We are oppressed. If we receive compensation to rebuild our situation as before we will be satisfied. We don't want to be rich, we just want to be normal as before."

U Au---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed March 2017)¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Unpublished Interview with Daw O---, HURFOM, August 2017, (ID# 17_FGD3).

¹¹⁵ Unpublished Interview with U G---, HURFOM, 3 August 2017, (ID# 17_FGD1).

¹¹⁶ Unpublished Interview with U Au---, HURFOM, 13 December 2016, (ID# 17_I15).

"We are getting old now so we want to get our plantation back. I have many children so I want them to inherit my properties. I want to get what I own. Even if I can't get my original plantation, I will accept anything [for compensation]. We are the poor.... If they don't give us the land, we can accept anything they give back to us...Even though we [used to] own a plantation, our children have to work abroad. They have to work so hard there. If we still had the plantation, I wouldn't let them go."

U Z---, male, Ye Township, Mon State, (Interviewed September 2017)¹¹⁷

Although the majority expressed the desire for the return of their land, many felt that monetary compensation would be acceptable, as purchasing new land to work would lift them out of poverty and the daily struggle to meet their livelihood needs.

"I feel unhappy about the confiscation. If they want my plantation, they can get it but they should pay compensation of about 500,000 (US \$366.33) or 600,000 kyat (US \$439.60). [If we got compensation], we could replace our plantation. But they gave nothing."

U Z---, male, Ye Township, Mon State, (Interviewed September 2017)¹¹⁸

As with survivors of arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture, victims of sexual violence, and families and friends of victims of extrajudicial killings, individuals and communities subject to LPH violations repeatedly called for rule of law and guarantees of non-repetition.

"Other people should learn a lesson from our loss. Please discuss with and help each other. There was no one to share their experience with us, so we could do nothing for our loss. If you don't have a [land] certificate or receipt,

¹¹⁷ Unpublished Interview with U Z---, HURFOM, 21 September 2017, (ID# 17_I18).

¹¹⁸ Unpublished Interview with U Z---, HURFOM, 21 September 2017, (ID# 17_I18).

please apply for it. Please create a network to avoid the loss. Please make an attempt to stop the loss in other places."

Mi C---, female, Ye Township, Mon State, (Interviewed July 2017)¹¹⁹

"We have lived here since the era of our ancestors. I was born here. I want to continue a peaceful family life here. We want to escape from the fear that our plantation and properties can be seized anytime. We want to live peacefully and securely. We want a system that can protect the civilians."

U Th---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)¹²⁰



¹¹⁹ Unpublished Interview with Mi C---, HURFOM, 15 July 2017, (ID# 17_I3).

 120 Unpublished Interview with U Th---, HURFOM, 7 September 2017, (ID# 17_I8).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The testimony presented in this report shows that the majority of villagers interviewed in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma are unable to forget their past and do desire justice for the widespread and systematic violation of human rights experienced over the past decades. Central to the desires for justice were key components of transitional justice, particularly truth seeking, criminal prosecutions, and reparations. Some of the most prevalent calls for justice were in the form of reparations, including monetary compensation, community development, access to land, guarantees of non-repetition, and public apologies.

The Burma government has a responsibility to protect the rights of its citizens, and thus it must publicly acknowledge and apologize for their role in violating the rights of villagers in these areas. It is incumbent upon the Burma government to develop and implement a reparations policy, which can immediately benefit individuals and communities in Mon State and Mon areas of Burma. One of the most urgent needs of survivors of human rights abuses in Burma is the need to alleviate poverty. In particular, land confiscations have ripped many ethnic communities from their source of livelihoods, plunging them into debt, poverty, and displacement. Any reparations policy implemented by the Burma government must address issues of land confiscation, particularly for IDP and refugee communities. The institution of a reparations policy can help to build trust in a deeply divided society.

But it is not just the Burma government which must acknowledge its responsibility in past and ongoing violations. EAOs in Mon State, Karen State, and Tenasserim Division also have the responsibility to acknowledge and apologize for their role in past and ongoing abuses and must collaborate with the Burma government in instituting a reparations policy.

Any narrative concerning national reconciliation by the Burma government that does not address its violent past is unsustainable. The Burma government must acknowledge the voices of villagers in Burma and this report makes it abundantly clear that villagers are unable to forget the violence inflicted upon them and desire justice for past and ongoing violations.

Chapter 7: Recommendations

HURFOM recommends the Burma government to:

- Immediately cease all human rights violations by government and military bodies.
- Publicly acknowledge and apologize for their role in past and ongoing human rights violations, encouraging trust building between communities and perpetrators through guarantees of non-repetition.
- Implement independent and non-judicial truth-seeking commissions with the aim of documenting and verifying facts relating to widespread and systematic violations of human rights in Mon State and Mon areas of southeast Burma.
- Develop and implement an adequate reparations policy to restore, compensate, and rehabilitate victims of past and ongoing human rights violations.
- Eliminate impunity for the military and past regimes, ensuring all perpetrators of human rights violations, regardless of rank, are held retroactively accountable for their actions.
- Implement poverty reduction programs and community development programs in consultation with local communities.
- Facilitate the safe, voluntary return of IDPs and refugees.
- Ensure space for civil society and survivors of human rights abuses in the peace process.
- Ensure any and all peace accords with EAOs reject impunity for past violations and hold individuals accountable for their actions.
- Eliminate all forms of corruption in administrative and judicial systems and ensure adherence to rule of law.
- Reduce the number of military battalions and bases in southeast Burma to engender trust and adherence to rule of law.

HURFOM recommends the Burma parliament to:

- Abolish provisions in the 2008 constitution which allow amnesty for past actions by members of the military and government.
- Abolish oppressive laws such as 66(d) of the Telecommunications Law and 17(1) of the Unlawful Associations Act used to condemn and persecute critics of the current administration and military.

HURFOM recommends the Myanmar Human Rights Commission to:

• Operate in accordance with international standards as set out in the Paris Principles and relevant human rights treaties in order to effectively address past and ongoing human rights violations.

HURFOM recommends EAOs to:

- Publicly acknowledge responsibility and publicly apologize for participation in past human rights violations.
- Eliminate impunity, ensuring all perpetrators of human rights violations, regardless of rank, are held accountable for their actions.
- Allow CSOs/CBOs to operate independently in their controlled areas.
- Facilitate the safe, voluntary return of IDPs and refugees.

HURFOM recommends the International Community to:

- Continue to pressure the Burma government to acknowledge and address past human rights violations and cease all ongoing human rights violations.
- Pressure the Burma government to enact truth seeking processes and reparation policies.
- Continue to support IDP and refugee communities until they voluntarily repatriate.

Map of Locations of Human Rights Violations Documented In This Report



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Source	Human Rights Publication 2/95	Human Rights Publication 2/95	Human Rights Publication 2/95	Human Rights Publication 1/96	Human Rights Publication 3/96	Mon Forum Issue 4/96	Mon Forum 3/99	Burma's Women and Children	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 8/98
Projects	Ye-Tavoy Railway	Ye-Tavoy Railway	Ye-Tavoy Railway	Ye-Tavoy Railway	Security operations	Offensive against KNU	Yadana/Off ensive KNU KNU	1997 Offensive	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against KNU	Offensive against KNU
No. of victims	7	-	en en	÷	en en	21	16, (9 of which were killed, rest detaine d for a year)		Ker S	m	a
Reason	Suspicion of NMSP support	Suspicion of NMSP support	Suspicion of NMSP support	Couldn't work anymore	Interrogated, raped 2 women	Suspicion of KNLA contact	Detention/Rape /killing	Suspicion of KNLA contact	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of KNLA contact	Suspicion of KNLA contact
Type of abuse	Torture/Detention	Torture/Detention	Torture/Detention	Torture	Detention/Rape	Detention/Torture	Tenasserim	Torture	Torture	Torture	Torture
State/Regi on	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Yebyu	Mon	Mon	Karen	Karen
Township	Yebyu	Yebyu	Yebyu	Yebyu	Yebyu	Yebyu	Eindayaza	Ye	Ye	Kyar Inn Seik Kyi	Kyar Inn Seik Kyi
Village/ Town	Ah Mae	Ah Mae	Ah Mae	Sin Ku	Ya Bu	Law Thaing		Natkyi	Mi Htaw Hla Kalay	Mae Tabu	Apalon
Battali on	LIB 410	LIB 408	LIB 408	LIB 409	Unkno wn	IB 104	LIB 407/LB 403	LIB 273	LIB 106	LIB 230	LIB 230
Date	1995- 03-15	1995- 03-30	1995- 04-24	1995- 08-01	1995- 12-03	1995- 12-12	1996- 02-02	1997- 08-27	1998- 05-01	1998- 06-01	1998- 06-01
No.	-	2	e S	4	5	9	2	00	0	10	11

Appendix 1: Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, and Torture

Appendix 1: Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, and Torture

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Burma's Women and Children	Mon Forum 5/98	Mon Forum 5/98	Mon Forum 5/98	Mon Forum 5/98	Mon Forum Issue 7/98	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 4/99	Mon Forum 8/98
Suspected of being rebel supporter	Suspected of being rebel supporter	Suspected of being rebel supporter	Suspected of being rebel supporter	Suspected of being rebel supporter	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against KNU	Offensive against KNU	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against KNU	Offensive against EAOs	Couldn't do forced labor
4	20	14			Ω	ო	Ω.	5	Q		5
	Revenge for EAOs attack	Revenge for EAOs attack	Revenge for EAOs attack	Revenge for EAOs attack	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of KNLA contact	Suspicion of KNLA contact	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	1 killed, 4 so severely
Torture/Gang Rape	Detention/Rape/T orture	Torture/Rape	Torture	Torture	Torture/Detention	Torture	Torture	Torture	Torture/Detention/ killing	Torture/Detention	Detention/Killing
Mon	Non	Tenasserim	Mon	Mon	Mon	Karen	Karen	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon
ke	Ye	Yebyu	Ye	Ye	Ye	Kyar Inn Seik Kyi	Unknown	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye
Bayon	Kyonka nya/Kha wza	Ba Roung	Kawhlai ng	TawBau ng	Kaw Hlaing	Mae Tabu	Paungk haw	Mi Htaw Hla Kalay	Komile	Khawza r	Komile
IB 61	LIB 273	IB 61	1B 61	LIB 273	IB 61	IB 62	IB 62	LIB 273	IB 61	IB 61	1B 61
1998- 06-06	1998- 06-06	1998- 06-06	1998- 06-06	1998- 06-07	1998- 07-07	1998- 07-26	1998- 07-27	1998- 07-30	1998- 08-01	1998- 08-01	1998- 08-01
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	8	23	24
	1998- IB 61 Bayon Ye Mon Torture/Gang 4 Suspected 06-06 06-06 Rape Rape rebel rebel supporter	1998- IB 61 Bayon Ye Mon Torture/Gang 4 Suspected 06-06 06-06 Pape Rape Perel Perel 1998- LIB Kyonka Ye Mon Detention/Rape/T Revenge for 29 Suspected 1998- LIB Kyonka Ye Mon Detention/Rape/T Revenge for 29 Suspected 06-06 273 nya/Kha venure Detention/Rape/T Revenge for 29 Suspected 06-06 273 nya/Kha venure EAOs attack rebel rebel	1998. IB 61 Bayon Ye Mon Torture/Gang 4 Suspected 06-06 06-06 LIB Kyonka Ye Mon Detention/Rape/T Revenge for 29 Suspected 1998. LIB Kyonka Ye Mon Detention/Rape/T Revenge for 29 Suspected 06-06 273 nya/Kha onture onture EAOs attack 29 Suspected 06-06 273 nya/Kha onture EAOs attack Tebel Suspected 06-06 1998. IB 61 Ba Vebyu Tenasserim Torture/Rape Revenge for 14 Suspected 06-06 Roung Yebyu Tenasserim Torture/Rape Revenge for 14 Suspected 06-06 Roung Roung Fotos attack rebel Suspected Suspected 06-06 Roung Roung Fotos attack Revenge for 14 Suspected 06-06 Roung Roung Fotos attack Revenge for 14 Suspected	1998-IB 61BayonYeMonTorture/Gang4Suspected06-0606-06273kyonkaYeMonDetention/Rape/TRevenge for29Suspected1998-LIBKyonkaYeMonDetention/Rape/TRevenge for29Suspected06-06273nya/KhaVeMonDetention/Rape/TRevenge for29Suspected1998-IB 61BaYebyuTenasserimTorture/RapeRevenge for14Suspected1998-IB 61BaYebyuTenasserimTorture/RapeRevenge for14Suspected1998-IB 61RoungYebyuTenasserimTorture/RapeRevenge for14Suspected06-061998-IB 61KawhlaiYeMonTorture/RapeEAOs attackrebel1998-IB 61KawhlaiYeMonTortureRevenge for14Suspected1998-IB 61KawhlaiYeMonTortureRevenge for6-06Suspected1998-IB 61KawhlaiYeMonTortureRevenge for6-06Suspected1998-IB 61KawhlaiYeMonTortureRevenge for6-06Suspected1998-IB 61KawhlaiYeMonTortureRevenge for6-06Suspected1998-IB 61KawhlaiYeMonTortureRevenge for6-06Suspected <t< td=""><td>1998-IB 61BayonYeMonTorture/Gang4Suspected06-0606-062/3HBKyonkaYeMonDetention/Rape/TRevenge for29Suspected1998-LIBKyonkaYeMonDetention/Rape/TRevenge for29Suspected06-062/3nya/khaVeMonDetention/Rape/TRevenge for29Suspected1998-IB 61BaaVebyuTenasserimTorture/RapeRevenge for14Suspected1998-IB 61BaaVebyuTenasserimTorture/RapeRevenge for14Suspected06-060606MonTortureTortureRevenge for14Suspected1998-IB 61KawhiaiYeMonTortureRevenge for14Suspected06-0606198IB 61MonTortureRevenge for14Suspected1998-LIBTawBauYeMonTortureRevenge for14Suspected06-06198IB 61RoMonTortureRevenge for14Suspected1998-LIBTawBauYeMonTortureRevenge for14Suspected06-06198LIBTawBauYeMonTortureRevenge for1Suspected06-07273ngYeMonTortureRevenge for1Suspected06-07273<td< td=""><td>1998.IB 61BayonYeMonTorture/Gang4Suspected06-06273nya/KnaYeMonRapeSusporter29Susporter1998.LLBKyonkaYeMonDetention/Rape/TRevenge for29Susporter1998.IB 61BaaYebyuTenassetimTorture/RapeRevenge for14Susporter1998.IB 61BaaYebyuTenassetimTorture/RapeRevenge for14Susporter1998.IB 61RamhaiYeMonTorture/RapeRevenge for14Susporter06-06NongKawhaiYeMonTorture/RapeRevenge for14Susporter1998.IB 61KawhaiYeMonTorture/RapeRevenge for14Susporter06-06NongTorture/RapeRevenge for14SusporterNongorter1998.IB 61KawhaiYeMonTorture/RapeRevenge for14Susporter06-06NongorterNongorterTorture/RapeRevenge for14SusporterNongorter1998.IB 61KawhaiYeMonTorture/RapeRevenge for14Suspected06-06NongorterYeMonTorture/RapeRevenge for14Suspected06-07NogorterYeMonTorture/RapeRevenge for14Suspected1998.IB 61KawYeMon<</td><td>1998. 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B61 Kawnai Ye Mon Torture/Deternton Suspected Suspected 05-05 B1806. Kawnai Ye Mon

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	Mon Forum 8/98	Man Forum 2/99	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 4/99	Mon Forum 3/99	Mon Forum 4/99	Mon Forum 4/99	Mon Forum 4/99	Mon Forum 7/99	Mon Forum 9/99	Mon Forum 5/99	Mon Forum 12/99	Mon Forum 12/99
	Offensive against EAOs	Ye-Tavoy Motorway	Offensive against EAOs	No good reason	Offensive against KNU	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Paddy taxation	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against KNU	Offensive against KNU
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beaten not allowed to leave for one months	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Inability to provide porters	Inability to provide porters	Extortion/ranso m	Suspicion of KNLA contact	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Extorted money	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Extortion	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of KNLA contact	Suspicion of KNLA contact
	Torture	Torture	Torture	Arbitrary Arrests/Detention	Torture/killing/rap e	Torture/Detention	Arbitrary Arrests/Detention	Torture/Detention	Arbitrary Arrests/Detention	Torture/Detention	Torture	Torture/Gang Rape	Torture/Miling
	Mon	Unknown	Mon	Mon	Karen	Mon	Mon	Man	Karen	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon
	Ye	Unknown	Ye	Ye	Kawkareik	Ye	Ye	Ye	Kawkareik	Ye	Kyaikmay aw	Ye	Ye
	Mi Htaw Hla Kalay	Kyakhat aw	TawBau ng	Khawza	Thanyin	Khawza r	Khawza	Khawza r	Unknow n	Komile	Tarana	Kyones ein	Kyones ein
	LIB 273	LIB 408	LIB 273	LIB 106	LIB 285	LIB 273	LIB 273	LIB 273	Unkno wn	LIB 343	LID 22	LIB 122	LIB 123
	1998- 08-10	1998-01	1998- 09-02	1998- 10-22	1998- 11-19	1998- 12-24	1998- 12-25	1999- 01-01	1999- 01-28	1999- 01-31	1999- 04-30	10-01	1999- 10-01
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Burma's Women and Children	Mon Forum 12/99	Mon Forum 12/99	Mon Forum 6/00	Mon Forum 6/00	Burma's Women and Children	Laid Waste	Burma's Women and Children	Burma's Women and Children	inst EAOs	Burma's Women and Children	Burma's Women and Children	Mon Forum 5B/03
Suspected of being rebel supporter	Offensive against KNU	Offensive against KNU	0 8 10	Offensive against EAOs	Suspected of being rebel supporter	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs
5	2	2	.	2	x-s	x =0	Ŧ	5	200	800	ო	ო
	Suspicion of KNLA contact	Suspicion of KNLA contact	released after 1 month of torture, Mon supporter	Suspicion of EAOs Support		Suspicion of EAOs Support			Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support		Suspicion of EAOs Support
Torture/Gang rape		Torture/Killing	Arbitrary Arrests/Detention	Torture/Detention	Torture/Gang Rape	Torture	Arbitrary Arrests/Detention	Arbitrary Arrests/Detention	Torture	Torture	Arbitrary Arrests/Detention	Arbitrary/Torture
Mon	Mon	Unknown	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Karen	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon
Ye	Ye	Unknown	Yebyu	Yebyu	Kyar Inn Seik Kyi	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye
Kyones ein	Kyones ein	PalawT oki	Mayan	Sinswe	Unknow n	Kaw Zar	Kyonka nya	KyonKa Nya	Magyi	Mi Htaw Hla Kalay	Unknow	Kyone Kanya
120 120	LIB 121	LIB 120	Strate gic Comm and	LIB 273	IB 31	IB 32	LIB 343	LIB 343	LIB 528	LIB 278	LIB 343	LIB 273
1999- 10-03	1999- 10-03	1999- 10-25	2000- 05-26	2000- 05-30	2000- 08-01	2000- 12-25	2001- 03-01	2001- 04-14	2001-16	2001- 11-02	2001- 11-03	2002- 03-13
	ଛ	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48		50

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'I STILL REMEMBER': DESIRES FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND JUSTICE FOR PAST AND ONGOING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOL

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Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 1/04	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 1/04	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 01/04	Laid Waste
Offensive against EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Offensive against EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Offensive against EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing					
ц	2	5	.	v	Ŧ	*	е Б	200	2	7
74 C.	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Ransom	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Torture Suspicion of Mon EAO supporter	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support
Arbitrary Arrests/Detention	Torture	Arbitrary/Torture	Torture	Torture	Torture	Torture	Arbitrary/Detentio n/Torture	Mon	Arbitrary/Detentio n/Torture	Torture
Tenasserim	Mon	Tenasserim	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Ye	Mon	Mon
Yebyu	ke Ke	Yebyu	ý.	Ye	Ye	Ye	é	Kyone Kanya	é	Ye
Tachau ng	Kaw Zar	Nat-Kyi- Zin	Mintaw hlalay	Kaw Zar	Kaw Zar	Kaw Zar	Khawza r		Kaw Zar	Kyone Kanya
LIB 409	IB 31	LIB 282	IB 31	1B 61	IB 31	1B 61	No. Tactica Comm and	LIB 273/IB 97	No. 3 Tactica I Comm and	LIB 586
2002- 06-01	2002- 07-22	2003- 11-20	2003- 12-01	2003- 12-01	2003- 12-10	2003- 12-10	2003- 12-10	2003- 12-13	2003- 12-13	2003- 12-14
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	8	20	00 00	61

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	Laid Waste	6	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 1/04	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 1/04	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 1/04	Laid Waste	Laid Waste
Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline		Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Offensive against EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Offensive against EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Offensive against EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline
	2	5	÷		x =	100	-	n	2	2J	14
	Information gathering		Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support
	Torture/Detention	Detention/torture	Torture	Torture	Arbitrary/Torture	Torture	Torture	Torture	Arbitrary/Torture	Torture	Torture/Detention
	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon
	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye.	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	e e
	Kyone Kanya	Kyone Kanya	Toe Thet Ywa This	Toe Thet Ywa This	Khawza r	Toe Thet Ywa This	Mi Htaw Hla Kalay	Toe Thet Ywa This	Toe Thet This	Kyone Kanya	Kabya
	586 586	LIB 586	LIB 586	LIB 586	IB 32	LIB 586	LIB 273	IB 31	586 586	LIB 586	LIB 586
	2003- 12-14	2003- 12-14	2003- 12-17	2003- 12-25	2003- 12-25	2003- 12-26	2003- 12-26	2003- 12-27	2003- 12-27	2004- 01-26	2004- 02-02
	62	63	64	65	99	67	89	69	02	71	72

	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 8/05	Mon Forum 11/06	Laid Waste	Laid Waste					
	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline					
14	2	ო	с С	5	2	13	x	100	10	2
	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	killed, couldn't pay extortion	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of being Mon Rebel	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of inolvemnt in pipeline attack	Suspicion of EAOs Support
Detention/torture	Torture	Torture	Detention/killing	Torture	Torture	Torture	Torture/Detention/ killing	Arbitrary/Detentio n/Torture	Arbitrary Arrests/Detention	Torture
Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Tenasserim	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Tenasserim
Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Yebyu	Ye	Ye	Ye	Thanbyuz ayat	Yebyu
Kabya	Kyone Kanya	Kaw Zar	Hangan	Magyi	Kwetho nyima	Mi Htaw Hla Kalay	Wingpo p	Kaw Zar	Kwanhi a	Paukpin Kwin
LIB 586	LIB 586	IB 61	LIB 106	LIB 273	LIB 406	LIB 586	No. 3 Tactica I comm and	IB 31	1B 62	LIB 299
2004- 02-02	2004- 02-04	2004- 03-01	2004- 06-02	2004- 07-11	2004- 08-12	2004- 08-29	2005- 06-01	2005- 12-04	2006- 03-05	2006- 04-02
73	74	75	76	11	78	62	8	81	8	8

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Mon Forum 9/06	Mon Forum 10/06	Mon Forum 11/06	Mon Forum 11/06	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 8/07	Mon Forum 8/07	Laid Waste				
Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline				
10	N	4	2		ო	2	÷	÷	5	5	÷
Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspected of supporting Mon Rebel	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support				
Torture	Torture	Detained/Torture	Tortured	Torture/Detention	Torture	Torture	Torture/Killing	Detention/killing	Torture	Torture	Torture/Detention
Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Man
Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Thanbyuz ayat	Ye	Ye
Kyone Kanya	Kwan Tamaun g	Kaw Zar	Yin Yae	Toe Thet Ywa This	Komile	Komile	Toe Thet Ywa This	Toe Thet Ywa This	Kwanhl a	Yindein	Toe Thet Ywa This
IB 31	IB 31	IB 31	IB 31	LIB 586	LIB 591	591 591	LIB 583	LIB 586	591 591	LIB 586	LIB 586
2006- 09-06	2006- 10-02	2006- 11-09	2006- 11-15	2007- 01-01	2007- 07-01	2007- 07-01	2007- 07-03	2007- 07-03	2007- 08-01	2007- 08-23	2007- 08-24
84	8	8	87	88	8	6	91	32	8	94	95 6

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Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 11/08	Mon Forum 11/08	Mon Forum 8/08	Mon Forum 11/08		Mon Forum 11/2009		Mon Forum 01/11	http://rehmonnya.org/archive s/3025	http://rehmonnya.org/archive s/4384	
Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against EAOs	Offensive against DKBA	Land Confiscatio n	Unknown	
20	ო	Q	4	Ø	800	4	2	37	-	0	<mark>5</mark> 0	9	3239
Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of being Mon Rebel	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Paid Ransom to EAOs	Suspicion of EAOs Support	Suspicion of DKBA Support	Forced to sign land grants	Suspicious activity	Total
Torture	Torture	Torture	Detained/Torture	Tortured	Detained/Torture	Detained/Torture	Detained/Torture	Arbitrary Arrest/Detention	Torture	Arbitrary Arrest/Detention	Arbitrary Arrest/Detention	Torture/Killed	0
Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Mon	Mon	Mon	Karen	Mon	Tenasserim	0
Ye.	Ye	Ye	Ye	Yebyu	Yebyu	Yebyu	Ye	Ye	Ye	Kyar Inn Seik Kyi	Thanbyuz ayat	Yebyu	8
Kaw Zar	Yinye	Yindein	Kaw Zar	Alae Sakhan	Kwe Thalin	Thabyut - Chaung	Andin	Kaw Zar	Magyi	Tha Dein	Waekal e	Mae Tan Taung	
LIB 299	IB 31	LIB 273	IB 31	LIB 282	LIB 282		IB 61	IB 31	IB 31	LIB 406	LIB 315	Navy Unit 43	
2008- 01-01	2008- 05-29	2008- 06-01	2008- 07-01	2008- 08-01	2008- 08-16	2008- 10-09	2008- 10-11	2009- 11-10	2009- 12-10	2011- 01-01	2013- 12-10	2017- 08-12	
8	<u> 27</u>	8	ଝ	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	

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Source	Mon Forum 3/99	Mon Forum 06/00	Burma's Women and Children	Burma's Women and Children	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 7/99	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 8/98	Mon Forum 3/99	Burma's Women and Children	Burma's Women and Children
Projects	Yedana/Offensiv e against KNU	Military offensives EAOs	Military offensives against KNLA	Military offensives EAOs	Offensive against KNU/KNLA	Offensive against KNU/KNLA	Offensive against KNU/KNLA	Military offensives EAOs	Military offensives EAOs	Detained and angered sergeant	Military offensives EAOs	Offensive against KNU/KNLA	Military offensives against KNLA	Military offensives EAOs
No. of victims	o	Ø	S	T	2	N.	E.	2	5 70	N .	2	0	9	F
Type of abuse	Killed/det ention/ra pe	Killed	Killed	Killed	Killed	Killed	Killed	Killed	Killed	Killed/det ention	Killed	Killed/Tor tured/rap e	Killed	Killed
State/Regio n	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Unknown	Tenasserim	Karen	Karen	Karen	Mon	Mon	Mon	Tenasserim	Karen	Tenasserim	Tenasserim
Township	Yebyu	Yebyu	Unknown	Yebyu	Kya Inn Seik Kyi	Kya Inn Seik Kyi	Kya Inn Seik Kyi	Ye	Ye	Ye	Yebyu	Kawkareik	Bokepyin	Yebyu
Village/To wn	Eindayaza	Mayan		Mi Htaw La Kalay	Mae Zalee	Pawa	Apalon	KroneKany a	Mi Htaw La Kalay	Komile	Thaungkhu n	Kyauk Kadin Alaesakhan	Pawa	Pangar
Battali on	LIB 407	LIB 273		LIB 408	LIB 230	LIB 432	LIB 230	LIB 408	LIB 408	IB 61	IB 61	LIB 285	LIB 432	LIB 432
Date	Feb-96	Oct-97	May-98	May-98	May-98	May-98	96-unr	08-Jun- 98	-nn00 98	Aug-98	15-Aug- 98	19-Nov- 98	Dec-98	Dec-98

Appendix 2: Extrajudicial Killings and Forced Disappearances

Mon Forum 7/99	Mon Forum 7/99	Burma's Women and Children	Mon Forum 05/00	Burma's Women and Children	Mon Forum 12/99	From the Catwalk to the Barracks	Mon Forum 12/99	Mon Forum 05/00	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 5B/03	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Laid Waste
Offensive against KNU/KNLA	Offensive against KNU/KNLA	Military offensives	Yedana/Offensiv e against KNU	Military offensives	Offensive against KNU/KNLA	Military offensives	Offensive against KNU/KNLA	Offensive against KNU/KNLA	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Military offensives EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline
4	10	<u>.</u>	2	5 0	en	T	e	-		2	2	2	No.	-
Killed	Killed/La nd	Attempte d Rape/killi ng	Killing	Raped/kil led	Killing/tor ture	Killing/G BV	Killed/tort ured	Killing	Killed	Killed	Killing	Killed	Raped/kil led	Killed
Karen	Karen	Tenasserim	Tenasserim		Mon	Karen	Unknown	Karen	Tenasserim	Mon	Karen	Tenasserim	Mon	Mon
Kya Inn Seik Kyi	Kya Inn Seik Kyi	Yebyu	Yebyu	Bago	Ye	Toungoo	Unkown	Kya Inn Seik Kyi	Yebyu	Ye	Kya Inn Seik Kyi	Yebyu	Thanbyuza yat	Ye
Pawa	Pawa	Mawkhani	Zeya		Kyonesein	Pegu	Palawtoki	Waithalee	Taungpyin	Sonnatha	Thaungbau k	Tachaung	Kaleinpada w	Mawkanin
LIB 432	LIB 432	IB 25	LIB 410	IB 77	LIB 120	IB 77	LIB 120	LIB 416	LIB 587	LIB 343	IB 77	LIB 409	IB 62	LIB 588
Dec-98	Mar-99	66-unr	Sep-99	Oct-99	Oct-99	15-Od- 99	25-Od- 99	06-Apr- 00	01-Jan- 02	15-Apr- 02	12-May- 02	01-Jun- 02	22-Jul- 02	25-0d- 02
15	16	17	18	19	20				24			27	28	39

Laid Waste	Mon Forum 12/03	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 04/01	Laid Waste								
Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Military offensives EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Military offensives EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline								
28	-	<u>و</u>	<u>5</u>	∽	2	<u></u>	en .	N	15	रूप	ø	2	Ø
Killed	Killing	Killed	Killed	Killing	Killed								
Mon	Tenasserim	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Mon
Ye	Yebyu	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Yebyu	Yebyu	Yebyu	Ye
	Nat-kyi-zin	Kaw Zar	Hangan	Hangan	Kaw Zar	Kaw Zar	Hangan	Mihtawhlag yi	Magyi		Magyi	Kyauk Kadin Alaesakhan	Mi Htaw La Kalay
IB 61	LIB 273	IB 61	IB 31	IB 31	LIB 586	LIB 586	LIB 106	LIB 273	LIB 272	LIB 273	LIB 273	LIB 273	LIB 273
12-Jan- 03	08-Nov- 03	01-Dec- 03	18-Dec- 03	18-Dec- 03	25-Dec- 03	25-Dec- 03	02-Jun- 04	01-Jul- 04	01-Jul- 04	11-Jul- 04	02-Aug- 04	27-Aug- 04	27-Aug- 04
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	68 So	40	41	42	43

Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 6/05	Mon Forum 8/05	Laid Waste	Mon Forum 4/09	Mon Forum 12/09	http://rehmonnya.org/archives/4016	http://rehmonnya.org/archives/4384					
Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Military offensives EAOs	Military offensives EAOs	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Military offensives EAOs	Military offensives against KNLA	No Reason	No reason					
÷	Ŧ	2		5.		÷	<u>.</u>	5 0	4	2	с С	2	-	190
Killed	Killed	Killed	Killing	Killing/tor ture	Killed/det ention	Killed/tort ured	Killed	Killed	Killed	Killing	Killed	Killed	Killed/Tor ture	Total
Tenasserim	Mon	Mon	Karen	Mon	Mon	Mon	Tenasserim	Mon	Man	Tenasserim	Toungoo	Mon	Tenasserim	
Yebyu	Ye	Ye	Three Pagoda	Ye	Ye	Ye	Yebyu	Ye	Ye	Yebyu	Htantabin	Ye	Yebyu	
Pauakpink win	Hangan	Hangan	Anagwin	WingPop	Toe Thet Ywa This	Toe Thet Ywa This	Amae	Yinye	Dani Kya	Pauakpink win	Pegu	Magyi Chaung Wa	Maw Tan Taung	
LIB 273	IB 61	IB 31		No. 3 Tactica I Comm and	LIB 586	LIB 583	LIB 273	IB 31	LIB 273	LIB 107	IB 48	LIB 280	Navy Unit 43	
27-Aug- 04	01-Dec- 04	20-Dec- 04	01-Mar- 05	27-Jul- 05	03-Jul- 07	03-Jul- 07	Mar-08	31-Mar- 08	Jun-08	02-Apr- 09	05-Nov- 09	08-Mar- 16	12-Aug- 17	
44	45	46	47	48	49	ß	51	52	ß	54	55	20	57	

Appendix 3: Rape and other Forms of Sexual Violence

	Human Rights Report 3/96	um 3/99	From the Catwalk to the Barracks	Burma's Women and Children	Burma's Women and Children	Burma's Women and Children	um 5/98	um 5/98	Burma's Women and Children	um 3/99	Burma's Women and Children	Burma's Women and Children	Burma's Women and Children	um 12/99
Source	Human F	Mon Forum 3/99	From the	Burma's	Burma's	Burma's	Mon Forum 5/98	Mon Forum 5/98	Burma's	Mon Forum 3/99	Burma's	Burma's	Burma's	Mon Forum 12/99
Projects	Security operation	Y adana Pipeline/KNU offensive	Military offensives	1997 KNLA offensive	1997 KNLA Offensive	Suspected of being rebel supporter	Revenge for attack by Mon EAO	Revenge for attack by Mon EAO	Military offensives	Suspected of being KNLA supporter	Military offensives	Military offensives	Military offensives	Suspected KNLA supporter
Age	17, 54	20	27	19	29				21, 26		25	16	24	16, 17
No. of victims	1	-	-	٠	2	4	m	v	5		x =0	*	،	2
Type of abuse	Rape	Gang rape	Raped/kille d	Rape	Rape	Gang rape	Rape/Dete ntion	Rape/Tortu re	Gang rape	Gang rape/tortur ed/killed	Attempted Rape/killin g	Gang rape	Raped/kille d	Gang rape/tortur
State/Regi on	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Karen	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Tenasserim	Karen	Karen	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Karen	Mon
Township	Yebyu	Yebyu	Kyar Inn Seik Kyi	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Yebyu	Three Pagoda	Kawkareik	Yebyu	Yebyu	Nyaunglebi n	Ye
Village/Town	Ya Bu	Eindayaza	Thaungbauk	Natkyi	Natkyi	Bayoun	Kyonkanya/K hawza	Ba Roung (bayon?)	War Ta	Thanyin	Mawkhani	War Ta		Kyonesein
Battali on	LIB 407	LIB 403/407	LIB 403/407	LIB 273	LIB 274	IB 61	LIB 273	IB 61		LIB 285	IB 25	IB 103	18 <i>77</i>	Unknow
Date	1995- 12-03	1996- 02-01	1997- 06-15	1997- 08-27	1997- 08-28	1998- 06-06	1998- 06-06	1998- 06-06	1998- 07-26	1998- 11-19	1999- 06-01	1999- 09-01	1999- 10-01	1999- 10-01
#	-	2	en	4	2	9	7	œ	o	10	£	12	13	14

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Appendix 3: Rape and other Forms of Sexual Violence

'I STILL REMEMBER': DESIRES FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND JUSTICE FOR PAST AND ONGOING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN MON AREAS OF SOUTHERN BURMA

Burma's Women and Children	From the Catwalk to the Barracks	From the Catwalk to the Barracks	Laid Waste	Burma's Women and Children	Laid Waste	Burma's Women and Children	Laid Waste	Burma's Women and Children	Laid Waste	From the Catwalk to the Barracks	Mon Forum 5/03	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Laid Waste
Suspected of being Mon EAO supporter	Military Offensives	Forced labor	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Suspected of being rebel supporter	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Forced agricultural labor, Yadana Gas Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Forced agricultural labor, area protection	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Military offensives	Military offensives	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline
16, 17	24		8	20	58	58	8	30	30	30	27	18	16	17
2	÷	ষ	~	 8	÷	x-	£	۴	۲	1	1	÷	~	1
Gang rape	Rape/Kille d	Gang Rape	Rape	Gang rape	Rape	Rape	Rape	Rape	Attempted Rape	Rape	Rape	Gang rape	Rape/killed	Rape
Mon	Karen	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Karen	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Mon	Mon	Tenasserim	Karen	Karen	Mon	Mon	Mon
Ye	Nyaunglebi n	Yebyu	Yebyu	Kyar Inn Seik Kyi	Yebyu	Yebyu	Ye	Ye	Yebyu	Hpaan	Kyar Inn Seik Kyi	Ye	Thanbyuza yat	Ye
Kyonesein			Sinswe		Kyauktalin	Kwe Than Lwin	Sonnatha	Son htit htar	Palingmoh		Pharpya	Kundu	Kaleinpadaw	Kyauktan
LIB 120	IB 77	LIB 403	LIB 273	IB 31	LIB 282	LIB 282	IB 61	IB 61	LIB 343	LIB 851	IB 34	LIB 587	IB 62	LIB 587
1999- 10-03	1999- 10-15	2000- 04-01	2000- 06-01	2000- 08-01	2000- 09-23	2000- 09-23	2001- 07-23	2001- 10-08	2002- 01-02	2002- 01-17	2002- 06-07	2002- 07-22	2002- 07-22	2003- 02-26
15	16	17	9	19		21	33	33	24	25	<u>2</u> 8	27	<mark>5</mark> 8	29

Mon Forum 11/03	Laid Waste	From the Catwalk to the Barracks	From the Catwalk to the Barracks	Laid Waste	From the Catwalk to the Barracks	Laid Waste								
Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Military offensives	Military offensives	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Military offensives	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline									
34	53	20	æ	15 23	17	53		27	3	25	17	21	20, 20,	16 18
~	÷	-	~	7	 -		2	~	٢	1	۲	÷	2	e
Attempted Rape	Rape	Gang rape	Gang rape	Forced Fashion Show	Rape	Rape	Gang rape	Rape	Rape	Gang Rape	Rape	Rape	Rape	Rape
Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Tenasserim									
Thanbyuza yat	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Thanbyuza yat	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye	Yebyu
Waekarat	Toe Thet Ywa Thit	Kawhlaing	Kyone Kanya	Khaw Zar	Kyonekadat	Kaw Zar	Sonnatha	Palingkee	Yinyae			Kwanhla		
LIB 355	LIB 299	LIB 586	LIB 586	IB 31	No. 3 tactical Comma nd	LIB 299	LIB 586	1B 61	LIB 586	LIB 586	LIB 586	LIB 586	LIB 586	LIB273
2003- 04-04	2003- 12-01	2003- 12-03	2004- 01-03	2004- 01-04	2004- 01-12	2004- 01-12	2004- 01-15	2004- 01-17	2004- 01-19	2004- 02-14	2004- 02-17	2004- 05-01	2004- 05-11	2004- 07-01
30	31	32	8 S	-	35	98	37	8	ଞ୍ଚ <mark></mark>	40	41	42	43	44

Laid Waste	Laid Waste/Mon Forum 6/05	Laid Waste	From the Catwalk to the Barracks	Laid Waste/From the Catwalk to the Barracks	Mon Forum 08/05	Mon Forum 0/05	Mon Forum 08/05	Laid Waste	Laid Waste					
Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Military offensives	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Ye-Tavoy Motor Road	Military offensives	Military offensives	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline							
33	18	18	24	18,2 4	34	24	14	14	16- 22	17	18,2	13	17- 23	13
.	÷	-	~	2	•	~	~	~	4	T	-	.	ო	T
Rape	Rape	Rape	Gang Raped	Gang Rape	Rape, repeatedly	Rape, repeatedly	Rape							
Mon	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Mon	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Mon	Tenasserim	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon
Ye	Yebyu	Yebyu	Ye	Yebyu	Yebyu	Yebyu	Ye	Yebyu	Ye	¥e	Ye	Ye	Ye	Ye
Mihtawhlalay	Kwethonyima	Kwethonyima	Mihtawhlalay	Kyauk Kadin	Kyauk Kadin	Paukpinkwin	Toe Thet Ywa Thit		Bayoun	Toe Thet Ywa Tht		Kaw Zar		
LIB 273	LIB 406	LIB 406	LIB 273	LIB 282	LIB 282	LIB 282	LIB 401	LIB 409	1B 61	IB 61/Joint Operati ons 31	LIB 587	LIB 587	IB 31	LIB 587
2004- 08-01	2004- 08-10	2004- 08-10	2004- 08-31	2004- 09-01	2004- 09-01	2004- 09-14	2004- 09-15	2004- 09-19	2004- 10-23	2005- 05-20	2005- 05-30	2005- 06-01	2005- 06-02	2005- 06-05
45	46	47	48	49	20	51	52	ß	54	रू १	26	57	28 28	<u>5</u> 0

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Laid Waste		Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	Laid Waste	http://rehmonnya.org/archives/303 0	http://rehmonnya.org/archives/310 1		
Kaunbauk - Mvaind Kalav	Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Kaunbauk - Myaing Kalay Pipeline	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
		20	20	17	10	13	43		
÷		÷	.	~		 .		9	103
Rape		Rape	Rape	Rape	Rape	Rape	Rape	Forced sex acts	Total
Mon		Mon	Tenasserim	Tenasserim	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon State	
Thanbyuza	yaı	Ye	Yebyu	Yebyu	Ye	Ye	Thanbyuza yat	Ye	
Zehnapin	1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 - 1000 -	Kwanhla		Amae	Hangan	Kaw Zar	Wae Ka Lee		
AR 318		LIB 586	LIB 282	LIB 207	LIB 586	IB 31	AR 315	Navy Unit 43	
2005-07-07	20-10	2007- 02-05	2008- 08-13	2008-	2008- 12-14		2014- 01-27	2017- 09	
60		61	62	8	64	65	99	67	

"I want to hear that one day the perpetrators will apologize for what they did. We have ordinary heroes who defended people against the oppressive regime around Ye Township, Some died, some have mental and physical problems due to torture, some Mon women were raped, had their land grabbed, family members were separated in order to survive. For those who are suffering, government initiatives should encourage the perpetrators to apologize and acknowledge the responsibility perpetrators hold."

U A---, male, Ye Township, Mon. State, (Interviewed December 2016)

"It is good if the government provides for roads, bridges, health, and education in our area. The government could do that kind of development in our village instead of paying compensation, as they were the ones who committed wrongs against the local people."

Saw A---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed September 2017)

The main thing is that we respect and treat each other as humans, not destroy other lives like this. Now we should ensure guarantees of non-reoccurrence and then we'll get peace."

U S---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division. (Interviewed December 2016)

'I STILL REMEMBER':

Desires for acknowledgment and justice for past and ongoing

Auman rights violations in Non areas of southern Burma

"Their families face many difficulties, as do the other villagers in other villages too...Nobody can rebuild their life as before if their suffering has been so great. That's why the victims who do not want to accept compensation from the perpetrators can't easily forget these incidents. As for me, the matter is finished, I accept that I'm one of the lucky ones who weren't killed as the others were."

Nai O---, male, Yebyu Township, Tenasserim Division, (Interviewed December 2016)

A REPORT BY URFOM THE HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION OF MONLAND DECEMBER 2017