

A STUDY OF THE VILLAGES OF MARKRAWSHE, HSOLYARKU,
DAW HSO SHAY AND DAW MUKLAH

MILITARY CONFISCATION OF KARENNI ANCESTRAL LAND IN KARENNI STATE, BURMA



June 2016

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PHOTOGRAPH: NO. 14 MILITARY ADVANCED TRAINING SCHOOL, MARKRAWSHE, FEBRUARY 18, 2015.

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DAW HSOSHAY AND DAW MUKLAH

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Methodology

This report is based on direct testimony provided through interviews with 40 villagers between February 16 and March 28, 2015. The villagers come from four villages in Karenni State: MarkrawShe, HsolyarKu, Daw HsoShay and Daw MuKlah. Interviews were conducted in the Karenni language and in the Burmese language by two graduates of the Karenni Social Development Center, researchers Aung and Myint,¹ and later translated into Burmese and English by one of the researchers and foreign volunteers. All photographs that are used in this study were taken by the two researchers during the same period of time.

The historical information about Karenni State is taken from a variety of secondary sources in order to provide a picture of the complex history of conflict in the region. At the time of writing Burma has recently transitioned to a new government. The outgoing government (led by President Thein Sein) was replaced by the National League for Democracy (NLD) government following elections in November 2015. President Htin Kyaw was sworn in as the new President at the end of March 2016.

The general conclusions in this report are based on the information provided by the villagers in their interviews and the observations of the researchers. Every effort has been made to objectively transcribe and translate the testimony of the villagers. Due to time, budget and security limitations, the study only focuses on four villages in Karenni State, and does not comment on land confiscation that has occurred in other areas within the region. Due to the lack of published qualitative and quantitative data documenting land confiscation in Karenni State, as well as resource constraints, the main body of this report does not include references to secondary sources analysing the problem.

Research Objectives

- To provide assistance and hope to the Karenni people who have lost their ancestral land.

¹ Names of researchers have been changed for safety and security reasons.

- To improve the human rights situation in Karenni State by providing the villagers with information and knowledge about citizens' rights.
- To document the process of land confiscation and the related problems that the Karenni villagers are facing in order to bring awareness to the international community and to hold the government accountable.
- To provide political leaders with specific action-based recommendations to support effective solutions to the land confiscation problem.

Executive Summary

In Karenni State, the people and their ancestors have traditionally depended on agricultural land for their livelihood. The traditional way of life of the Karenni people has been complicated by the unlawful confiscation of villagers' ancestral lands by the Burmese military which intensified after the leaders of the different ethnic groups in Burma signed ceasefire agreements with the Burmese government between 2011 and 2013. Some of the interviewed villagers see the confiscations as a continuation of the Burmese military's aggression in the area after the ceasefire. Decades of conflict have made the local people fear the Burmese military.

While a study of the situation across the entire state is beyond the scope of this project, the research presented in this report hopes to provide a picture of a larger trend across the region. The main focus of this study is on four farming villages in Karenni State. These villages are MarkrawShe (in MarkrawShe village tract), HsolyarKu (an urban area), Daw HsoShay (in Law Pi Ta village tract), and Daw MuKlah (in Chit Kel village tract). The ancestors of the villagers in these four villages have used their lands for generations, following a traditional way of farming known as shifting cultivation agriculture. This way of life has been complicated by the unlawful confiscation of local lands by the Burmese military, claiming that land used for shifting agriculture is vacant, abandoned land. The military has referred to a 2012 enacted "land law," which says that uncultivated land belongs to the state,² to justify the military's confiscation of villagers' traditional land.

The confiscation of traditional farming land has caused problems for the local people who are unable to plant and harvest food. As a result, local people do not have enough food to eat or enough income to provide for their basic needs. They are unable to pay for their children to attend school. They are unable to pay for hospital fees. People whose land has been confiscated are suffering from stress and health problems. Many villagers are in conflict with the military because they do not want to lose their ancestors' land.

The military has claimed it is developing the areas by bringing roads and electricity to the villagers. In reality, villagers have explained that the roads are built to replace older roads that crossed the areas where a military compound was built on confiscated lands. The roads are poorly made dirt roads that do not contribute to the development of the areas. The villagers have been told by the military to build electric poles and have been promised a share of the electricity that goes through their villages, but in fact, the electricity is solely used by the military compound. The military has offered some compensation to some villagers for the land that has been confiscated, but it has not been satisfactory to the villagers, as the compensation has been below market value and does

² In March 2012, Burma's Parliament passed the *Vacant, Fallow and Virgin Lands Management Law*, Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, No. 10, 2012 and *Farmland Law*, Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, No. 11, 2012. These laws codify a broad government right to expropriate land.

not allow the villagers to continue their traditional way of life by depending on agriculture.

It is difficult to provide an exact estimate of the size of the land that has been confiscated, as there is no formal written documentation system of land ownership in these four villages. By villagers' accounts, it is approximately 10,300 acres across the four villages.

Land confiscated from villagers in MarkrawShe is being used as a military training ground. The Burmese military has cleared large portions of the land of vegetation and levelled large portions of the ground for this purpose. They have used cement, steel, and other permanent building materials to build a military base, as well as landing pads for helicopters. The military base is large and intimidating to the villagers.

In HsolyarKu, Daw HsoShay, and Daw MuKlah, the military simply controls the land. Villagers report that the military does not use the land but they have not returned it to the villagers.

According to villager testimony, just prior to the villager interviews in HsolyarKu, five farmers were arrested by the Burmese military for working on their farms. In Daw HsoShay 10 people were arrested in the same way. They were taken to court and put on trial for trespassing on land in the military-occupied area. Some of the farmers who were prosecuted had no education and no knowledge of the law. The trials used up a lot of the farmers' time, preventing them from being able to work and earn money. Villagers reported that many of the farmers involved became poorer because of this process and the worry, fear, and anxiety that they have felt has affected their health.

People whose land has been confiscated have started organizing demonstrations in MarkrawShe. The villagers from all four villages have sent letters to local administrators as well as state officials and continue to work together against the military. Despite all of this, they are beginning to feel hopeless. They no longer believe that they will get back their land.

Introduction

The people of Karenni State have depended on their land for their agricultural livelihood for many generations. They use their land following traditional methods of farming, depending on three main crops: rice, beans, and corn. When the rainy season starts in May, farmers in Karenni State begin to prepare their farm and plant their crops. After they harvest the crops, the land is left fallow for a period of time. This is known as shifting cultivation agriculture.³

The traditional way of life of the Karenni people has been complicated by the unlawful confiscation of villagers' ancestral lands by the Burmese military. While land confiscation has occurred since the 1990s, the practice of the military seizing local land has intensified since the signing of the ceasefire agreement between the Burmese government and the leaders of the different ethnic groups between 2011 and 2013. While a look at the situation across the entire state is beyond the scope of this report, this study hopes to provide a picture of a larger trend across the region. This report focuses on four villages in Karenni State: MarkrawShe (in MarkrawShe village tract), HsolyarKu (an urban area), Daw HsoShay (in Law Pi Ta village tract) and Daw MuKlah (in Chit Kel village tract). It draws from direct testimony of local farmers to explain how villagers' lives have been disrupted by the confiscation of their ancestral lands, and the problems that they have encountered following the loss of their land.

History of Karenni State

Karenni State is the smallest state in Burma, both geographically as well as in population size, with a total population of approximately 287,000.⁴ Shan State is to the north. Karen State is to the south. Thailand is to the east. There are many diverse ethnic groups living in Karenni State. Some examples are PeKu, Kayah, Kayan, Kayaw, YinThaLe, and ManuManaw.

Long ago, Karenni State was an independent state ruled by the Karenni kings. On 21 June 1875, the British government representative, Sir Douglas Forsyth, and the Burman minister of foreign affairs, King Wounmingui, signed an agreement recognising Karenni State as an independent state.⁵ After the British annexed Burma in 1885, they started to

³ Shifting cultivation agriculture preserves soil fertility by field rotation. An area of land is cleared and cultivated for a short period of time, then it is left to return to its natural vegetation for a longer period of time, while the cultivator moves to another area. See: definition of "shifting agriculture," 2016 Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., online: <http://www.britannica.com/topic/shifting-agriculture>.

⁴ UNDP Myanmar, *The State of Local Governance: Trends in Kayah*, 2014 at p.1, online: <http://www.mm.undp.org/content/myanmar/en/home/library/poverty/TheStateofLocalGovernanceChin/the-state-of-local-governance-in-kayah-state.html>.

⁵ Karenni Independence Through Education, "The Karenni: About the Karenni," online: http://www.karenni.org/about_the_karenni.php.

bring provinces and areas ruled by sovereigns under British administration. In 1889 the Karenni ruler was put under the influence of the British Superintendent of the Shan State and thus Karennis became subjects of the British empire.⁶

Along with other ethnic minority groups, the Karenni fought alongside the British forces in World War II. While the British gave their word to protect the Karenni in the future, this was a promise that was not honoured. In February 1947, General Aung San and some of the leaders of the Frontier Area signed the Panglong Agreement, accepting the accession of their states to Burma with the intention of forming an independent Union of Burma; however the Karenni leaders refused to sign, as they wanted to safeguard the independence and self-determination of Karenni State.⁷

Karenni State's area is defined by borders determined during British rule. After Burma gained independence from the British government on 4 January 1948, the Burmese government annexed all of the ethnic areas by force, and Karenni State became a constituent state of the Union of Burma. At the time, the Burmese government controlled and recognised all of the ethnic areas as Burmese territory, without the ethnic peoples' consent.⁸

Since independence more than 60 years of violent conflict have taken place in Karenni State. Conflict has ensued between various parties representing the ethnic groups and the Burmese government, with particularly heavy fighting between 1994 and 2000 when thousands of Karenni were internally displaced in the state, or fled to Thailand to one of the refugee camps along the border.⁹

Karenni National Progressive Party

The Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) was established on 2 May 1957, led by the Karenni leader, Htaw Plo. The original KNPP vision was to gain Karenni State's independence and to reconstruct the nation.

However, as a result of changing political currents in the world, in 2001 the KNPP changed its vision from independence to a genuine federal state (within a federal union) for Karenni State within Burma.

The aims and objectives of the organization are:

- to allow all people to fully enjoy national equality and internal self-determination within a federal union;

⁶ Extract from a recorded file of A.H. Hildebrand, Superintendent of the Shan State, 1889.

⁷ Burma Link, "Karenni," online: <http://www.burmalink.org/background/burma/ethnic-groups/karenni/>.

⁸ Karenni Independence Through Education, "The Karenni: About the Karenni," online: http://www.karenni.org/about_the_karenni.php.

⁹ Burma Link, "Karenni," online: <http://www.burmalink.org/background/burma/ethnic-groups/karenni/>.

- to establish a genuine federal union with other ethnic groups;
- to negotiate a sustainable ceasefire and then a genuine peace in the country; and
- to unite all ethnic groups in the country.

Other ethnic armed groups are also demanding that the Burmese government set up a genuine federal union with democracy, fairness, justice and self-determination in Burma. However, these demands have previously been refused by successive governments.

Peace Process

In 2011 the KNPP entered into ceasefire talks with the newly formed Burmese government which acceded to power in March 2011, led by President Thein Sein. It was hoped that the talks would be the first step towards paving the way to a political settlement to improve the standing of Burma from being one of the least developed countries in the world to one moving towards democracy and social and economic development. On 7 March 2012, a State-level talk was held in Loikaw and a preliminary ceasefire agreement was signed between the KNPP and the government's peace delegates. Twenty points proposed by the KNPP were also discussed. On 9 June 2012, the first Union-level talk was held in Loikaw and both parties once again principally agreed to and signed a 14-point preliminary agreement out of the 20-points originally proposed by the KNPP. On 19 to 20 June 2013, the KNPP met again with the government for a second Union-level talk. At this second round of Union-level negotiations, the two parties agreed to an eight-point agreement for implementation of a sustainable ceasefire, and a development process within Karenni State. As a result of the preliminary talks, the Burmese government agreed that the KNPP could conduct consultations and awareness training inside Karenni State, without area restrictions. The KNPP has conducted trainings about democracy, human rights and the Constitution.

After the first Union-level talk, the KNPP began establishing three liaison offices in Karenni State. These are located in Loikaw, Shadaw and Phasaung. The main office is located in Loikaw; the other two are branch offices. There are plans to establish another office in Bawlekhe. As the ceasefire talks have continued, the KNPP has been working to build relationships and trust between all of the stakeholders actively involved in the political situation within Karenni State. The KNPP is trying to sustain the bilateral ceasefire agreements and bring about political dialogue.

In 2013 the Burmese government shifted its focus to a Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA), to pave the way to a national political dialogue phase to begin addressing the political grievances underlying the ethnic conflict. Its hope was for the NCA to be signed at a high-profile ceremony with prominent international observers.¹⁰ After several rounds of formal negotiations, a final draft of the NCA text was agreed to by the Burmese

¹⁰ International Crisis Group, Asia Briefing N° 146, *Myanmar's Peace Process: A Nationwide Ceasefire Remains Elusive*, 16 September 2015 at p.3.

government and the negotiators for the ethnic armed groups on 31 March 2015.¹¹ However due to fighting continuing in northern Shan State and the fact that the three armed groups involved in the fighting were not permitted by the government to sign, leaders of many of the armed ethnic groups took the position that unless all the armed groups were permitted to sign, none would.¹² The KNPP was one of the armed ethnic groups that did not sign the NCA at the signing ceremony on 15 October, 2015. Only eight of the 17 armed ethnic groups signed the agreement with the Burmese government.

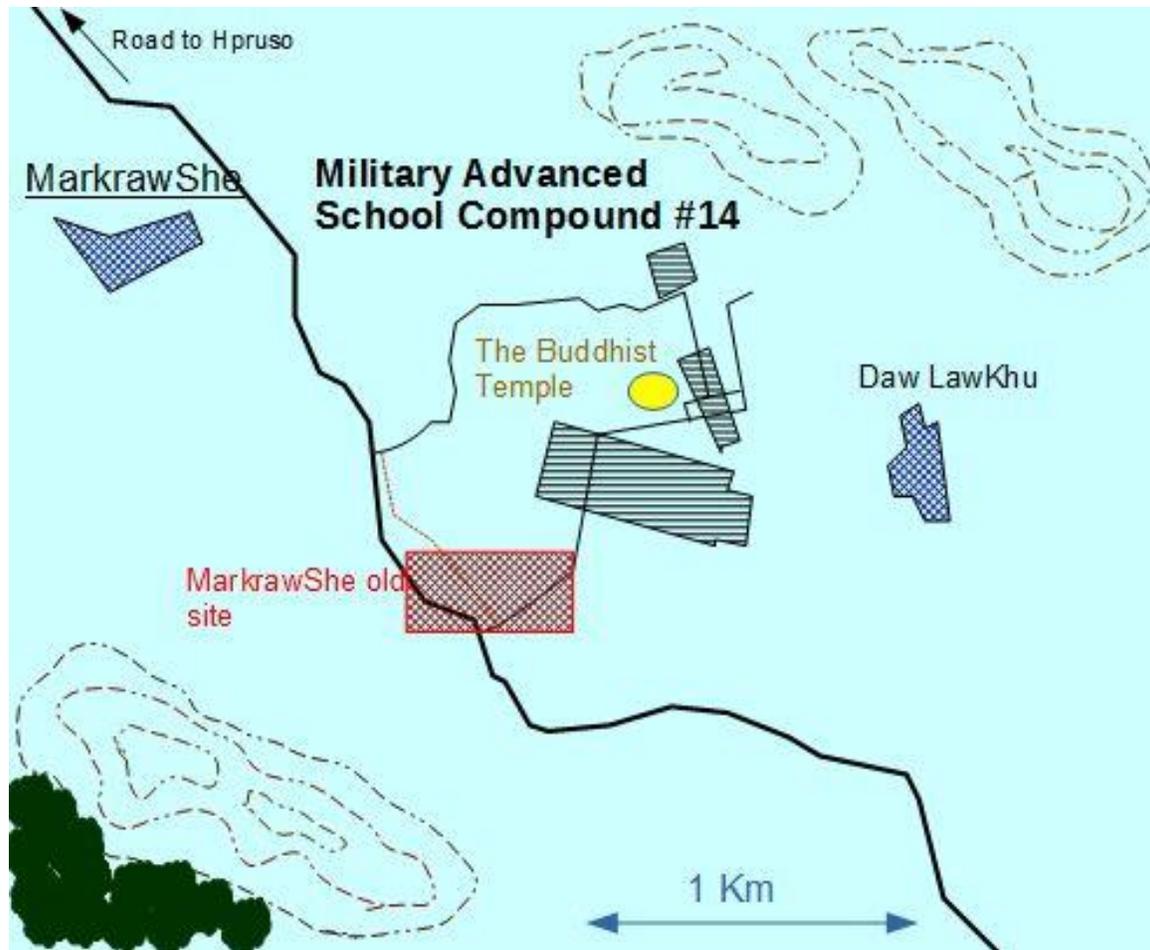
The KNPP continues to take the position that the NCA needs to be an all-inclusive agreement in order to have an effect on the future peace process of the country.¹³ While the 2012 bilateral ceasefire agreement remains in force between the KNPP and the Burmese government, due to the absence of a political process and signed NCA with all of the armed ethnic groups (including the KNPP), and the transition to a new government following the majority win by the National League for Democracy (NLD) in November 2015, it is unclear how the future peace process will unravel.

¹¹ International Crisis Group, Asia Briefing N° 146, *Myanmar's Peace Process: A Nationwide Ceasefire Remains Elusive*, 16 September 2015 at p.6.

¹² International Crisis Group, Asia Briefing N° 146, *Myanmar's Peace Process: A Nationwide Ceasefire Remains Elusive*, 16 September 2015 at pp.7-8.

¹³ Myanmar Times, "Nationwide ceasefire accord collapses," 30 September 2015, online: <http://www.mmmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/16746-nationwide-ceasefire-accord-collapses.html>.

MarkrawShe



Map of MarkrawShe village

History of MarkrawShe

The village of MarkrawShe was created over 100 years ago before the Japanese colonisation of the town of Hpruso in Karenni State during World War II. MarkrawShe village has a mountain called Maw Kraw Shay. The village is named after this mountain.

The ancestors of the people of MarkrawShe practiced shifting cultivation agriculture. They farmed rice, soy beans, and peanuts. On this land grew trees and bamboo. They had cows and buffalo and sometimes exchanged their buffalo for land. This land was then

passed on from one generation to another. This has been the tradition of the people of MarkrawShe. They strongly believe in following their traditions.

The villagers of MarkrawShe had to carry water from a spring called Htyae Ra Khu,¹⁴ 13 km from the village. From 1974 to 1975 the people from MarkrawShe village moved closer to the main road, in order to be closer to the communal well that was built by the government. The first pipes did not provide a sufficient amount of water so the government installed more pipes to bring more water to the village.

Land Confiscation and Related Problems

After the ceasefire in 2011, the villagers started to learn about the land confiscation in Hpruso Township. According to villagers, the Burmese military have confiscated about 3,200 acres of land. But during the bilateral ceasefire talks between the KNPP and the Burmese government, the military said that they had only occupied 2,800 acres in MarkrawShe. The military have been using the confiscated land to train their soldiers and have built a military compound called the No. 14 Military Advanced Training School. It is located over 1.5 km southeast of Hpruso Township in the middle of MarkrawShe and Kay Lyar village tracts. The KNPP has demanded that the government give back this land to the villagers or change the purpose of using the land from a military training course to a school serving civil society, such as an agricultural training school. But the government has refused this demand.

On 25 February 2011, military battalions 428 and 531 began to measure more land without informing the local farmers. Afterwards the villagers heard rumours about the military's plans to build more training camps.

The villagers explained that in May 2011, the military prepared a contract that confirmed their ownership of the villagers' traditional land. The military forced the head of the village to sign this agreement about the land. The military did not want any of the villagers to know about it. However, the villagers did not agree to this document. In response, on 25 May 2011, four villagers sent a letter to local and state officials asking for help to get their land back. Both levels of government ignored their letter and did not reply.

In July 2011 the military, by using threats, forced the villagers to sign an agreement to give them compensation for their land. Before the military would pay the villagers any compensation, they called the head of the village and the religious leader to try and create

¹⁴ Htyae Ra Khu is a natural well filled with water from the mountain spring. The local community protected and preserved the land, so people were not allowed to cut down the trees and bamboo. Once a year the animist villagers would hold a festival, where they would bring offerings to the creator god and ask for a favourable climate for the coming year. They would celebrate with singing, dancing and Karenni instruments, such as drums, gongs, flutes, and cymbals.

an alliance. The Burmese military's compensation was only 50,000 kyat (\$44) per one acre of land. The villagers did not agree to this small amount of money. The military then pressured them, remarking that whether or not they took the money, their land was already lost. On 20 and 21 July 2011, the military came to give the villagers compensation for their land. Some of the villagers were scared and unhappily took the money from the Burmese military, while others did not take the compensation.

Villagers recalled that the Burmese military promised them that they would not take the villager's trees and bamboo without proper compensation when they built their military training camp. The military however cut the trees and bamboo – including their roots – without giving the villagers any compensation.

In August 2011 the military began plans to build their compound and invited Burmese construction workers to help with the building plans. During this time, the political situation in Burma was not stable. Military battalions 428 and 531 called their soldiers to provide security for the builders.

On 12 August 2011, military battalion 428 secured the area on the mountain between Khorakhu village and Daw Tahtaw village. This mountain area has a lot of trees belonging to both villages. According to villagers, the military illegally cut down 100 trees in the area without asking the local people. The villagers knew what the military was doing and reported the problem to the government, but the military did not stop. They only cut down fewer trees after this point.

The villagers raised concerns with the military limiting their freedom of movement and said that the military often blocked the farmers from farming their confiscated land that was located inside the military-controlled area. On 15 September 2011, they were told that the military needed to secure the area under military control. To control the movements of the villagers, the military forced the villagers to make and carry a "security card." The villagers did not like this system. The military did not want the villagers to go to their farms inside the military-controlled area, and arrested children who were looking after their cows and buffalo. The military often forced the farmers to go home for reasons of "military security."

According to villagers, the military often called them and the head of the village to enter the compound with the intent to threaten them. In October 2011, the military invited the villagers to enter their compound to tell them that they were good and kind people and not there to cause trouble. The villagers were reminded that if something were to happen to the military compound, the villagers would need to take responsibility for the problem.

The villagers recalled that in November 2011, the Karenni rebel soldiers and the Burmese military fought three times. During this time, the Burmese military called all the villagers to enter the military compound to tell them that if fighting starts again, they would use bigger weapons to fight the rebel army.

On 7 January 2012, the military advised the heads of the villages that lived near the compound that the military would promise the villagers peace of mind, freedom of movement, and the right to work on their farms. However, the villagers now feel that they have fewer rights to work on their farms than before this promise was made. Not all of the military-controlled land is occupied but the military does not allow farmers to work there. The villagers are aware that the military has given the land to their own families to use for agricultural purposes.

In March 2012, villagers recalled that the military shot and killed animals that crossed into the military-controlled land. Their meat was sold by the military for money. When the villagers enquired about their animals, they were told that the animals died of natural causes.

The villagers explained that many of the Burmese military officials have urged them to agree that a military presence near the villages results in better economic conditions for the villagers. However according to local farmers, the reality “is as different as the sky and the land.” The villagers do not agree with the Burmese military’s confiscation of their land, but because of the political situation and lack of democracy in the country, there is no transparency or accountability of the government.

In May 2012, the villagers sent a report documenting their land confiscation to the president of Burma to ask for help and for pity. The President’s reply stated that research on the situation was required and would be undertaken. The President sent two organisations - one from the town and one from the state – to conduct research on the issue of land confiscation.

On 16 June 2012, the villagers of MarkrawShe and Law Jar met with the two organisations that the President sent to study the issue. The organisations wanted to know the names of the people who lost their land. After the meeting with the villagers, the two organisations created a report to send to the President. The villagers suggested that the organisations should include information about the local people’s opinion on the topic. However, the villagers felt that the two organisations ignored their comments. The military told the organizations that they controlled about 2,700 acres of local land, which is 500 acres smaller than the villagers’ estimates. After the report was completed, the villagers said that nothing happened. The military still controlled the land and continued to expand their compound.

According to several villager accounts, on 15 July 2012 a soldier from military battalion 428, who was securing the area, raped a female villager. The woman who was raped was given a compensation package of approximately 10,000 kyat (\$8.80 U.S.) by the military. As a result of this incident, the villagers constantly worry that this will happen again and fear for the women and girls in their family.

Villagers reported that in August 2012, a soldier and a construction worker stole some goats, crops, trees, and bamboo from them in order to build the military compound. Around the village, sand and rocks have been taken without the villagers’ permission.

Losing their land prevents the villagers from providing enough food for their families. Losing these other items prevents them from building their homes and improving their community.

Since the villagers are not allowed to work on their farms, they are finding it difficult to provide food for their families. Many try to create little shops to make money. To do this, they often have to borrow money to create their shops. Many villagers are now in debt.

The villagers want to spread information about their land confiscation so they have talked to many organisations about the problem. They want to do this until a peace process is made and until there is democracy in Burma.

The No.14 Advanced Military Training School, which is on their confiscated land, left construction waste and shells and waste from exploded ordnance that have spread metal pollution from the grenades. This is dangerous for the livelihood of the villagers' animals. The villagers have experienced so many problems with the situation and are afraid that it will continue.

I'm angry about the military confiscation of our ancestral land because 9 villages lost their land to confiscations. In MarkrawShe village, there are 98 houses, 475 people and 103 families. We heard the military confiscated about 2,700 acres of land. But in reality the military control 3,250 acres of land. In 2011 the military took control of our land. There were two military battalions, the 531 and 428 when military first took control. There was an argument between villages and the military. So the military just abandoned about 199.86 acre of land. When the military first took control of our land, they ordered their soldiers to come and build their compounds there. Their commander is [...].

Twenty families from MarkrawShe's had land confiscated by the military. The military said we will give you compensation. Then they told us (villagers) to go the offices and then force us to sign a contract for them.

We also suggested the military for give us some new land elsewhere but the military sent us somewhere too far away from the village. So we didn't agree with this. We asked them to give us good farm land but they rejected this request. The MarkrawShe villagers didn't take compensation from the military but some of villagers from other villages were forced to take the military's compensation and they were so sad about this. We mostly use our ancestral land for farming, we have done this for a long time. We all depend on the land to use shifting cultivation every year (rotating land to give it a rest), and farming.

Now we face serious problems between with other villages because of land confiscation. We never had problems like this before. This created difficulty for our students and made things difficult and especially dangerous for women. Mostly some student from other villages go to school at the MarkrawShe village. If they go to school, they have to go through military compounds. To avoid this some student came to live in the church dormitory. So they have to pay monthly for food costs.

We didn't know about the 2012 Land Law. We just use our land like we always did before.

Interviewee # 8 from MarkrawShe

Villager Resistance

Several villagers expressed the view that they do not want to be passive and want to fight back against the unfair treatment they are facing. In 2011 three villagers created an organisation called Kay Kayah Khu Li So Shay to challenge the military. Their objective was to stop the military from controlling their land.

On 9 August 2012, Kay Kayah Khu Li So Shay was officially formed. On 26 August the villagers created the structure and procedure for their organisation. They then changed their organisation's name to Khu Li So Farmer Committee.

Khu Li So Farmer Committee has created the following organisational structure:

Regulations for the organisation:

- Follow the organisational rules
- Be flexible to change within the organisation
- Try hard for this organisation
- Be responsible and review your work

Objectives:

- Protect villagers through voluntary support without compensation
- Save villagers' natural environment with knowledge of the law
- Connect to NGOs that build capacity for villagers
- Look after human rights

Ambition: The farmers' capacity to represent the organisation should be strong and accurate.

Goal: For all farmers, of all religions and ethnicities, to stand together to regain their rights.

The Current Situation for the Villagers

Our land was used by our ancestors for a long time. I went to ask a military commander, "Why do you claim that the land is abandoned land?"

He said, "Any land that is uncultivated, vacant, and fallow is abandoned land."

I cannot say anything to them. The military breach our rights.

Interviewee #1 from MarkrawShe

According to villagers, on 7 January 2015 in MarkrawShe, the military returned 199.68 acres of previously confiscated land which were uncultivated, vacant, and fallow. For

returning the land, the villagers said they were required by “Land Law of 2012”¹⁵ to pay 3,000 kyat (2.60 \$U.S.) per acre of land. This money would be deposited in the Burmese Land Bank in Loikaw.

To begin the process of giving back the land to the villagers, the military created a certificate system. The villagers were given a certificate called “model three,” which they could use as a pass to enter their land and farm the vacant and fallow plots. Seventy-eight farmers received this certificate. Villagers noted however that upon entering the land, the farmers saw that the military had put up a sign saying that the land was owned by the military. This made the villagers worried and prevented them from going further and working on their land.

The No.14 Advanced Military Training School has recently provided 30,000 Kyat (\$26 U.S.) per acre as compensation to the villagers of Law Kyat, Daw Lhaw Ku, and Law Kay Ku. MarkrawShe was not initially included until the villagers complained. The villagers from the different villages did not agree to the small amount of compensation being given and protested. The military increased the amount of the compensation to 50,000 kyat (\$44 U.S.) per acre. Ninety-six villagers, including some from MarkrawShe, did not receive any compensation for 386 acres of land.

Villagers have reported that if they do not get back their land, they will continue to protest and hold demonstrations by returning to their farms with or without the military’s consent. The villagers have said that if one of their fellow villagers, who is currently on trial, is taken to jail, then they will all join him in support at the jail.

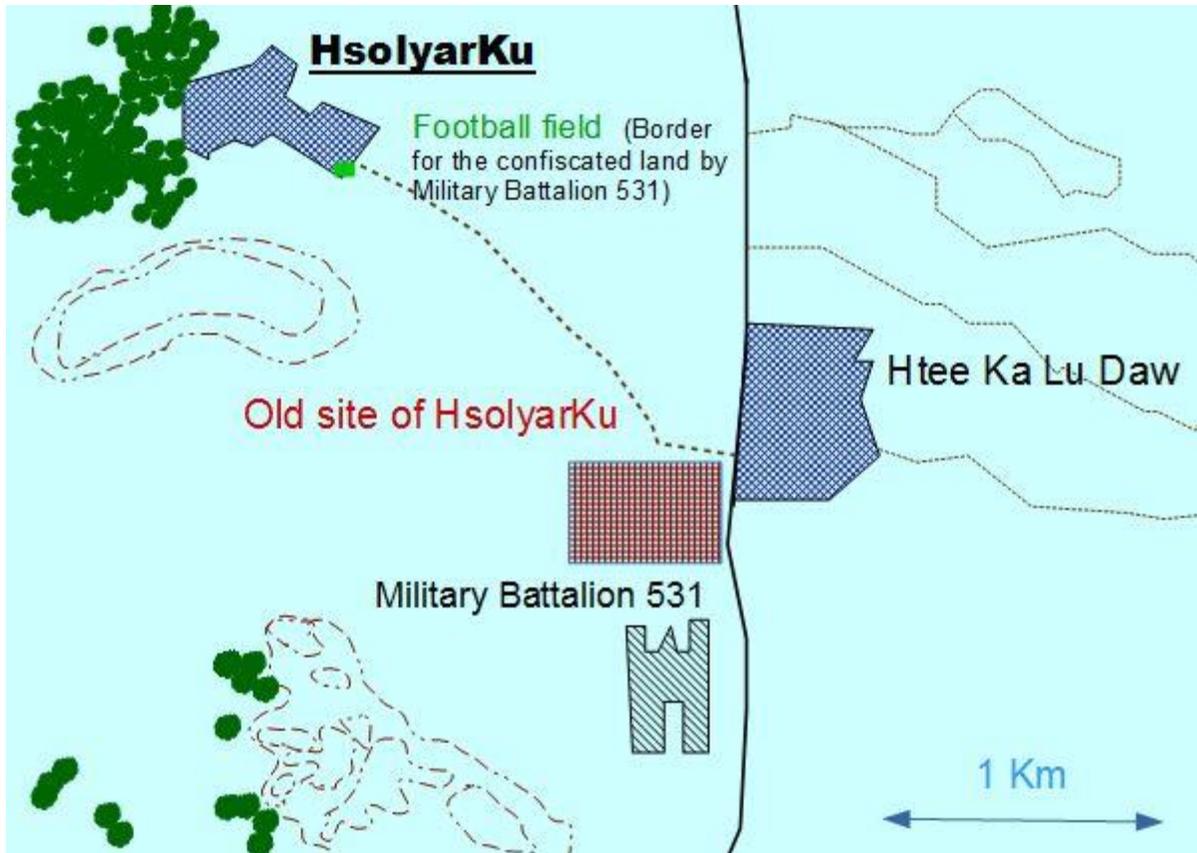
The villagers, especially farmers, are facing serious problems as a result of their ancestral land being confiscated by the military. In addition to the loss of their livelihood and the inability to pay for their basic needs, the villagers raised the following concerns:

- The local population is increasing and needs more land to build homes but confiscation of land by the military makes this difficult.
- Farmers do not know what to do because they do not have their land to work on. They cannot find alternative employment because they do not have a high level of education. This situation makes it difficult for them to survive. They feel as if they do not have freedom.
- Villagers between the ages of 18 to 30 years old do not have work in the village. They often go to the town of Mawchi to find work. They often have problems finding employment and cannot make ends meet.

¹⁵ In March 2012, Burma’s Parliament passed the *Vacant, Fallow and Virgin Lands Management Law*, Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, No. 10, 2012 and *Farmland Law*, Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, No. 11, 2012. These laws codify a broad government right to expropriate land.

- The villagers are worried that the military will continue to control their land or will sell the land to a company.

HsolyarKu



Map of HsolyarKu village

History of HsolyarKu

The village of HsolyarKu is located in Hpruso Township, Karenni State. HsolyarKu was created 500 years ago.

Since the time of their ancestry, the villagers have used their land for growing rice, beans, and other crops that they can sell and trade. They are highly dependent on these crops to create and participate in the economy.

The people of HsolyarKu traditionally followed animism. Now, they also practice Roman Catholicism. People who live in HsolyarKu have depended on their ancestors' land for generations. They depend on agriculture and livestock for their livelihood.

Land Confiscation and Related Problems

Our village was created 500 years ago by our ancestors. We relied on a combination of farming and shifting cultivation agriculture. We have done this until now.

In 2013 the military hired a person to measure our land. The military did not tell us anything about it. They suddenly took control of our land. If we go to our farm by ourselves they threaten and force us to go back and not come to the farm again. So we decided that we, all villagers, would assemble to go to the farm together. When we arrived, the military said, "You are in our land."

We resisted them. I asked the commander of the military to give back our land. He said "It is not me. This depends on the government." The military are fighting the villagers. They want to prosecute us.

Our land is our survival. If the military give compensation, we cannot accept it. Since the military confiscated our land, I do not have enough land to grow food for my family. I am so sad because I cannot support my family. I worry for losing our land because if we don't have land, what can we eat? We have nothing to eat.

Interviewee # 17 from HsolyarKu

According to villagers, in 1993 military battalion 531 started a compound near HsolyarKu's old village. From 1996 to 2011, the military took illegal control of about 25 acres of the villagers' ancestral land for their battalion. Farmers from the village of HsolyarKu were able to use the land as tenant farmers provided that they asked the military for permission and paid a "tax" to the military. The tax the military assessed the villagers with for the use of their land was approximately two bags of rice or 4,000 kyat (\$3.50 U.S.) per acre.

In 2013 the villagers estimated that the military now controlled about 1,289 acres of their ancestors' land. Military battalion 531 used 300 acres of land for their military compound. Approximately 980 acres were not being used. In 2013, military battalion 531 built a fence and measured the land. The villagers opposed the building of the fence and in retaliation they caused damage to some areas of it. In response, the military dug a canal to act as a barrier.

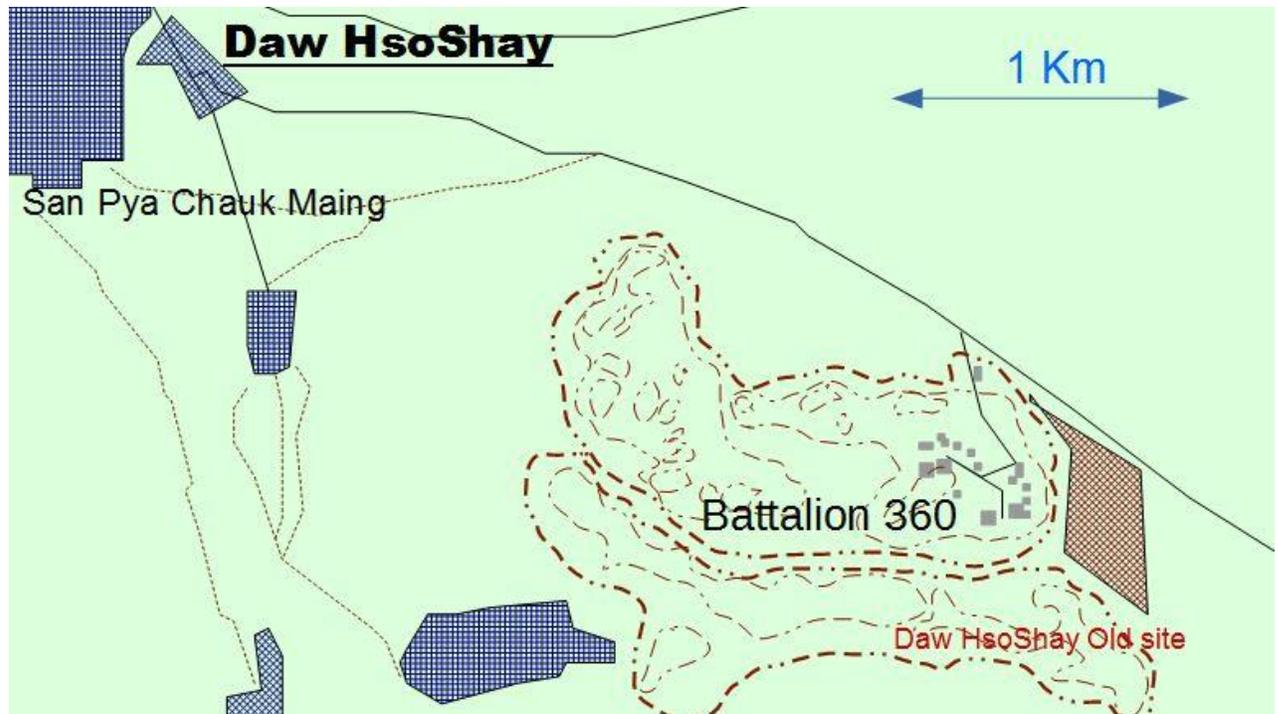
Villagers recalled that the military forced them to sign an agreement saying that the land was not theirs, and that the land now belonged to the military. No compensation was offered to the villagers. The villagers did not want to sign the agreement with the military because they did not have additional land to use to farm.

On 27 and 28 May 2014, 190 villagers went to farm their ancestral land within the military compound to protest the military's illegal confiscation of their land. When the villagers used the land, the military interrogated the villagers but there were too many for the military to arrest. Some of the farmers from HsolyarKu and a farmer from Law Jar were told by the military that they were trespassing on military land and they were brought to court. The villagers said that because they are Karenni minority people they

do not speak Burmese well, as their language is different. Speaking to the military and understanding the law is very difficult for them.

The villagers of HsolyarKu have expressed that they are worried about their future. If they cannot use their land, they cannot support their children. The military has cut down the trees, bamboo and grass from their land. They are afraid that in the future it will just be empty land.

Daw HsoShay



Map of Daw HsoShay village

History of Daw HsoShay

The village of Daw HsoShay is part of the Law Pi Ta village tract, Loikaw Township. From 1988 to 1989, the village was forced to move due to the military fighting in the area. The military fought against those who believed in the traditional animist culture. The people of Daw HsoShay were forced to move northwest of their original village, closer to Chaw Mei village. Those who refused were threatened by the military. Before they moved, the people of Daw HsoShay depended on their ancestral land, using shifting cultivation agriculture for their livelihood.

In the new area the villagers didn't have food or land to grow their own food. They had to depend on the village of Chaw Mei's agricultural production. The people of Chaw Mei shared their land with the people of Daw HsoShay. After ten years, in 2000, the people of Daw HsoShay returned to their old land. They practiced shifting cultivation agriculture and planted rice, beans, and other crops.

Land Confiscation and Related Problems

We have to pay tax before we can work on our farm besides the military compound.

In 2014, before the military arrested the farmers of Daw HsoShay, they shot two shots in the air. Then they came to arrest the farmers. After the military did like this, the military forced us to stop our farm and threaten us. I am too scared. If I don't go to work on my farm, I have nothing to eat. So I must go to the farm. If they kill me, I am not scared to die.

The military told us that our land does not belong to our ancestors. We only have a small portion of land for growing food. We do not have any income. I do not have enough food for my family because of I lost my land and I do not have any other land to use for growing food.

My daughter's health is also bad. I want to send my daughter to the hospital so I borrow money from other people. If I cannot afford to pay my debt, my debt will increase. I am very worried. So I left my village to find a job to get money. If I receive some money from a job, I have to pay my debt. I face many problems in this village.

I am very worried because if the military sells our ancestor's land, we will not be able to use it and we will not be able to grow our food. So we will not be able to survive.

Interviewee #25 in Daw HsoShay

According to villagers, in 1993 or 1995, military battalion 360 started building their military compound. It is located in Daw HsoShay's cemetery. When military battalion 360 created their camp, the military did not put up any signs to tell the villagers that this was now a military camp. They also did not tell the villagers that they were going to build the camp. At the time, the government was a dictatorship. The villagers were scared to argue with the military. They felt that if they argued, they would be killed. The villagers' ancestors traditionally owned the land being used by the military.

Now whenever the villagers want to use the land, they are told that they are trespassing. After the military came, if the villagers needed to work on their farm, they were made to pay a land-use "tax" to the military. The tax was three bags of rice per one acre.

In 2013, military battalion 360 forced those villagers who refused to pay the land-use tax to sign a paper stating that they have not paid the tax.

The Commander from battalion 360 told the villagers that they would give them electricity if they built the electric posts for the electrical wires that the military was installing for electricity to the military compound. He also told them that if they wanted to use their farm in the confiscated area, that they would need to write a letter to the government. The villagers noted that the local and state officials did not reply to their letter.

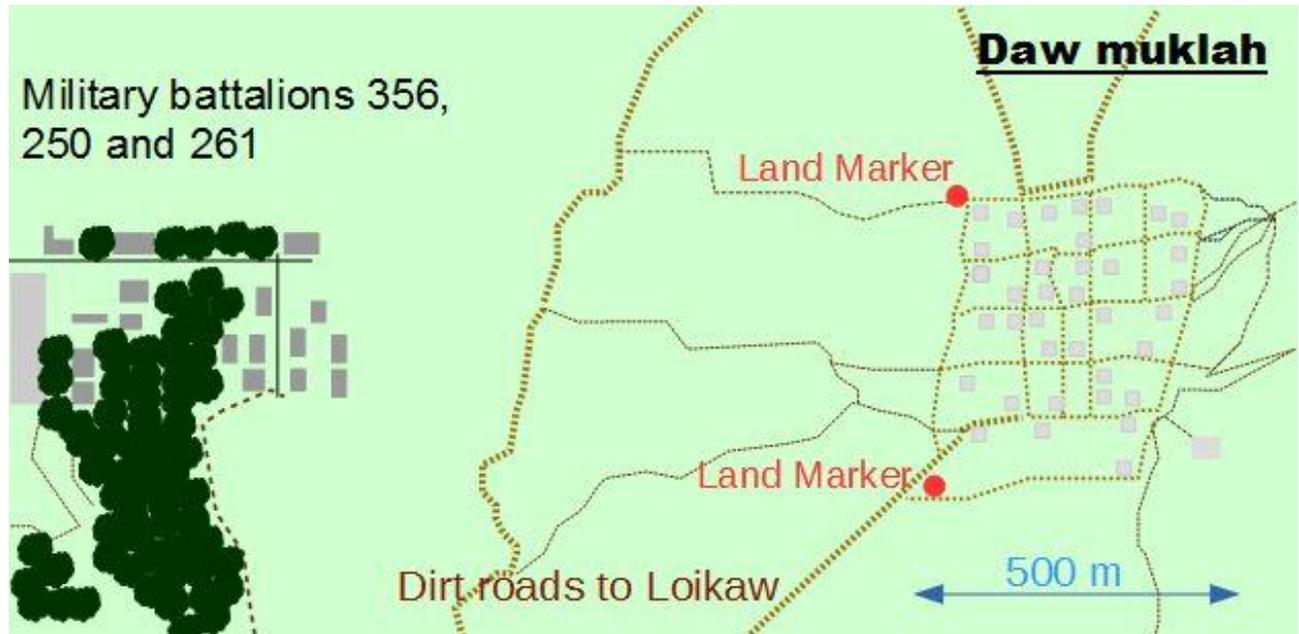
In 2014, the military forced the villagers to stop going to their farms. The villagers could not clear their farms so their crops and their harvest spoiled. The villagers started to understand the vastness and depth of the military's control on their land. The villagers

estimated that the military had confiscated about 5,000 acres of their ancestral land without any compensation.

On 24 July 2014 the military fired two warning shots to inform the villagers that they would be arresting them for working on their farms. The military arrested seven farmers and three machine operators for using their land. The military then brought these ten people to the military jail to await trial. These ten people were put in the jail of the military compound for several hours. After they were released, the ten people were forced to go to court and stand trial. In court, the military stated that they had already abandoned the confiscated land in order to create a good reputation with the villagers. In reality, this was not the case.

The villagers of Daw HsoShay have expressed that they are worried about their future and their survival. If they cannot use their land, they cannot pay for their basic needs and support their families.

Daw MuKlah



Map of Daw MuKlah village

History of Daw MuKlah

The village of Daw MuKlah, in the Chit Kel village tract, Loikaw Township, was created in 1978. Members of some families from the village of Pakyeh and members of some families from the town of Hpruso worked together to create Daw MuKlah. Seven families from Pakyeh found the land. Once the village was created, people from the town of Hpruso moved to Daw MuKlah. The village population grew bigger. Now there are 89 houses. They follow the animist religion.

The soil in Daw MuKlah is red. The villagers farm their land using shifting cultivation agriculture. They plant rice, beans, and other crops. They have practiced this agricultural tradition since the creation of their village. This is their main source of income. They use this money in order to provide for their children's education, to pay hospital bills, and for their daily sustenance.

In Daw MuKlah there is no school, no healthcare, no running water and no electricity.

Land Confiscation and Related Problems

We did not know about the military confiscation of our land. The military did not tell us and did not give us compensation. Then, from the military's confiscation of our land, we have been faced with many problems. We had to move one kitchen and one rice storeroom because of the confiscation. Since the military confiscated the land, if we want to farm our land, we need to ask the military permission. We also have to sign before we go to use our land. If we do not ask them, the military never allow us to work on our farms. Then the military also said that if the farmers of Daw Mu Ka Lar do not go to the farm early, the farmers cannot use the land. The military also threaten us in many ways. If something affects the military, the military said they would use their big weapons for fighting the village. We are sad and scared.

Interviewee # 36 in Daw MuKlah

In 1991 military battalions 356, 250, and 261 started building a military compound to the west of the village. When the military started their compound, they only used a small amount of land.

Later in 1991, the military expanded the amount of land that they used for their military compound by taking the lands farmed by the villagers. When the military confiscated the land, they did not tell the villagers and they did not give any compensation. After the military confiscated the land, they dictated when to grow crops. Often, the times that they laid out were not the right times in the season. Many arguments ensued between the military and the villagers.

Villagers recalled that the military required them to pay a land-use "tax" and sign a document stating that they were only renting the land before allowing them to use their land. From then on, in May of every year, before the villagers could farm their land, they had to go to the military compound to renew the signature on documents stating that "this land is in the control of the military, and not theirs nor their ancestors'."

The villagers explained that the military often threatens them and the village leader, saying that they will use big weapons to fight. In 2013 the villagers estimated that the military controlled about 800 acres of their land.

Other Problems Encountered by the Villagers from Losing their Land

Education

I worry for education of our children and food. It is very difficult for my family. I cannot support my family so I am very sad. My daughter's and son's education depends on the land. If they go to a public school, we have to pay money. I cannot support their school material. They control our land but don't produce anything. The military should give back us our land. It would be better for our children's education and economy. All the villagers of HsolyarKu lost their land. The military sees the land as military land so they control it. In the future there is no land for our son or daughter so there will face many problems. The land becomes narrow.

If the government will become like before, how can we live?

Interviewee # 15 in HsolyarKu

In Karenni State, people who have had their land confiscated continue to face problems with accessing education. Of the villagers who were interviewed for this report who provided their education level, over half had only a primary school education. Although President Thein Sein had declared free primary schooling in Burma, primary schooling was not available in the four villages described in this study. Students in the villages still face problems accessing education, as schools are far from their villages.

The village of MarkrawShe has a high school. It is far for students who live in different villages to attend this school. Most cannot afford to stay in the boarding house. Those that walk from home often have to pass through dangerous military security.

The village of HsolyarKu does not have a high school. When the village students finish primary school, they must attend high school in the town. The town is too far for them to walk.

The village of Daw MuKlah is near the town of Loikaw. All the village students study in Loikaw because there is no school in Daw MuKlah. After they finish school, they often cannot find work. Many graduates return back to their villages and get married.

In addition, families who live far from the school have difficulties supporting their children's education. Students in these situations worry about their parent's capacity to support them and often voluntarily leave school to lessen the financial stress on their parents.

Health

There are some health problems in the areas around the confiscated land in the four villages. The villagers have suffered from flu and coughing in situations where the confiscated land is being used as a training camp, as the waste from exploded ordnance creates pollution to the air in the area. The villagers worry that their family will become ill. They do not want to face any serious health problems.

Food and Livelihood

Before the military confiscated the land in Karenni State, people had enough food for their families. They also had enough food to sell and trees to use to develop their village. Now that the military controls the farmers' land, growing enough food is becoming very difficult.

The population in many of the villages is growing. They need to build more houses and use more land to grow food. Since the confiscation of their land by the military, they do not have enough food nor enough work. They have to find other work to provide for their families, but with little education, finding alternative work is very difficult.

The villagers are very upset at the Burmese military for confiscating their land. Now, even if the military does not give them back their land, they say they will protest by going to their land and working their farms. Villagers have recently begun organizing such protests. They say they no longer care about the military threatening to kill them. For example, on 4 May, 2015, over 350 villagers across Karenni State came together to demonstrate in Karenni State's capital city, Loikaw, in front of the courthouse, to protest the sentencing of farmers who continued to farm their land after confiscation by the military, and to draw attention to other land confiscations across Karenni State.¹⁶ At the end of December 2015 the NLD government announced that it was making a list of confiscated land inside Karenni State. The Karenni State Farmers Union is collecting data for the list of confiscated farmland to send to the NLD government.¹⁷

Conclusion

Karenni State has a long and complex history. At one time it was an independent State that was ruled by Karenni kings. In 1948, after Burma gained independence, the Burmese

¹⁶ Myanmar Times, "Kayah farmers unite to fight convictions, land confiscations," May 7, 2015, available at: <http://www.mmmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/14324-kayah-farmers-unite-to-fight-convictions-land-confiscations.html>.

¹⁷ Mizzima, "NLD to compile land grabbing list for Karenni State," 7 January 2016, available at: <http://mizzima.com/news-domestic/nld-compile-land-grabbing-list-karenni-state>.

military started to invade Karenni State. Since independence more than 60 years of violent conflict have taken place in Karenni State.

For many Karenni people, working on the farm is the main motivation for life. Karenni villagers have owned their land since the time of their ancestors. They have practiced shifting cultivation agriculture and farming for many generations. They have depended on their farm for food and for their livelihood. They have worked on their farms on a daily basis.

Villagers from all four villages (MarkrawShe, HsolyarKu, Daw HsoShay, and Daw MuKlah) reported that they are worried that their ethnicity and religion will be destroyed because their way of life has been interrupted, due to the fact that their land has been confiscated and because they are close to the military compound. They are unhappy because they do not have freedom of movement. They cannot come and go easily. If the military continues to confiscate land and disrupt life in the village, their way of life will be lost. They say that they will become nothing.

Recommendations

Recommendations to the new NLD government:

- Immediately act to stop further land confiscation of ancestral farmland in Karenni State.
- Respect systems of shifting cultivation agriculture as sustainable farming.
- Develop a comprehensive Land Law for Burma that respects the traditional uses of ancestral land by villagers in Karenni State.
- Provide adequate safeguards to ensure that land conflicts do not increase in the future.
- Move the existing military compounds and training grounds away from the villages, and stop all further expansion of military compounds.
- During the ceasefire, observe and respect the human rights of the Karenni people.
- Develop a process for local people to resolve land conflict disputes with the Burmese military in a fair, timely and respectful manner, including the development of a system to fairly compensate victims of land confiscation and other abuses by the military.

Recommendations to the KNPP:

- Work with local villagers to regain the ownership of their land.

Recommendations to NGOs:

- Advocate on behalf of local villagers to resolve land conflict disputes and to regain the ownership of their confiscated land.
- Train villagers to understand their rights to their land, the legal framework related to land in Burma, and the protections provided by international law.
- Bring the issue of confiscation of ancestral farmland in Karenni State to the attention of the international community.

Appendices

Appendix A: Maps of Karenni State, Burma

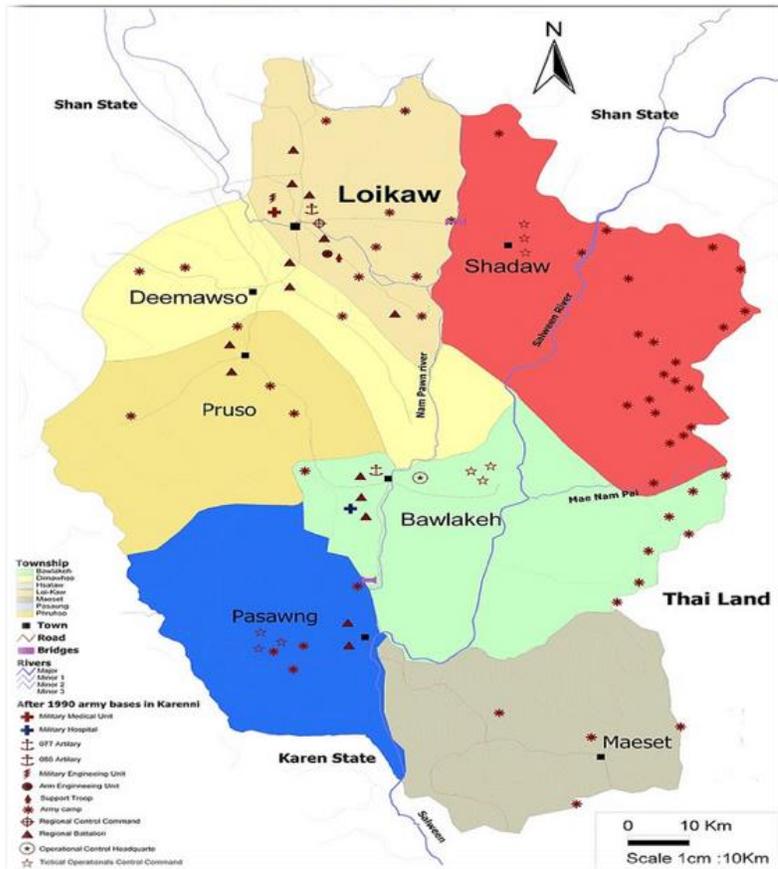
Appendix B: Photographs

Appendix C: Transcripts of 40 villager testimonies translated into English

Appendix A – Maps of Karenni State, Burma



Map of Karenni country
(Free Independence Of Karenni State)



Appendix B – Photographs



Views of No. 14 Military Advanced Training School, near MarkrawShe (photographs taken 18 February 2015).



Top row: Buddhist temple in No. 14 Military compound; "Styrofoam 24 March 2013" (date building was constructed).

Bottom row: Views of No. 14 Military Advanced Training School (photographs taken 18 February 2015).



Top row: Shrine inside No. 14 Military compound (with building date: "3-10-2014"); sign indicating the name of the military family who built the shrine.

Bottom row: Deforested area within No. 14 Military compound; Military checkpoint for No. 14 Military compound (looking inside the compound) (photographs taken 18 February 2015).



Land marker indicating No. 14 Military compound ownership of the land; Rocks around the land marker are parts of a previous land marker that was destroyed by villagers (photographs taken 18 February 2015).



Top row: Villagers harvesting peanuts from confiscated land; Road leading from MarkrawShe village to No. 14 Military compound;
Bottom row: Electrical wires going to No. 14 Military compound; Electrical poles run through a local village without providing electricity to the village (photographs taken 18 February 2015).



Panorama of MarkrawShe village (photographs taken 19 February 2015).



Daw HsoShay villagers farming on confiscated land who are required to give a share (i.e. "tax") to the military (photographs taken 25 February 2015).



Electrical hubs outside Military Battalion 360 (Daw HsoShay) (photographs taken 25 February 2015).



Mine placed beside an electrical pole by the Burmese military (to protect the pole) outside Military Battalion 360 (Daw HsoShay), on confiscated land; Area where Daw HsoShay's old village was located which was burned by the Burmese military in 1988-89 (photographs taken 25 February 2015).



Military Battalion 531 – located on confiscated land near HsolyarKu's old village (photograph taken 21 February 2015).

Appendix C: Transcripts of 40 villager testimonies translated into English

Interviewee #1

Age: 42

Sex: Female

Education: 6th Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Single

Village: MarkrawShe

Interview Date: 16 February 2015

Our land was used by our ancestors for a long time. I went to ask a military commander, “Why do you claim that the land is abandoned land?”

He said, “Any land that is uncultivated, vacant, and fallow is abandoned land.”

I cannot say anything to them. The military breach our rights.

Interviewee #2

Age: 59

Sex: Female

Education: No information

Occupation: Farmer

Ethnicity: Kayah

Religion: Catholic

Marital Status: Married

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 17 February 2015

These land was mandate by generation ancestry. If we sell our land, our child cannot have enough food. If we have get back our land, we achieve 50 thousand kyat from our farm for every year. Right now we cannot provide our children so I am depressed and sad. I don't have land for growing food. I worry everyday if I have enough to eat. For many years it was safe to visit other villages and farms but now I am scared to go alone, if I want to go to the farm, I have to go with my friends. I also don't have land for farm.

This land has been our land for many generations. In the past we bought the land with buffalos and coins. I have inherited this land from my grandparents. If we don't have land, how can we eat every day? The military used weapons to threaten us because we

were arguing with the military over the ownership of the land. For three years (2011-2014) the military threatened us for night and day. If the military starts an operation, we would be the first ones to die because the military training their soldiers in this area.

The military compensates 1 acre for 50,000 kyats. They give small amount of money, how can people live with this amount of money? Some people take less compensation because they are afraid of the military. In MarkrawShe some villagers never receive even little compensation because we want get back our land. I feel that we were beaten, tortured and ported in the past and the things that military does today are as cruel. I'm worried because we argued with the military, they will start killing us again. The military don't care about using their weapons because they are training their soldiers and they are shooting all day.

Interviewee #3

Age: 32

Sex: Male

Occupation: Farmer

Education: 10th Grade

Marital Status: Married

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 17 February 2015

I worked on my farm every year, it is my only job. I grow rice, peanut and crops. I used to earn 100,000 kyat every year from farming. Before the military confiscation I had 5 acres of land. After the military took control, it became difficult for me to farm on the land. They make it very difficult for me. If I go to the farm, I must take my register or support letter. If I forget my register at home, the military force me to go back.

This makes it very difficult for us to get food and affects our safety. We worry for our wives and children when they go somewhere.

I am worried that our religion and language will disappear in the future. And now our family income is lower than before.

Interviewee #4**Age:** 49**Sex:** Male**Education:** 5th standard**Occupation:** Farmer**Ethnicity:** Kayah**Religion:** Catholic**Marital Status:** Married**Village:** MarkrawShe**Date:** 18 February 2015

When the people who measured the land they did not tell the local villagers. After the military built the compound, I knew that my land is inside the military compound #14. I don't know how to argue with them because if I knew, everything would be finished. The Burmese military should not do like this because my land is my life. I feel very sad. Where the military confiscated the land, the area has ore that we can use to make cement to build our houses. We don't have ore for developing our village.

Before the ceasefire the MarkrawShe ancestors saved their forests but the military cut the forests. Some of it they used for building, some of it they sold. They also cut down trees from graveyard areas. After the ceasefire the time was more comfortable for us but there was still the land problem. I want to get better land but I don't know how to request help from organizations. I went to complain to organizations but I did not know what to say.

Interviewee #5**Age:** 60**Sex:** Male**Education:** 3rd Grade**Occupation:** Farmer**Village:** MarkrawShe**Marital Status:** Married**Date:** 18 February 2015

It is very painful for me to talk about land confiscations. When the military started to confiscation our land, they ordered us to collect all our crops, rice and peanut. And gave us only two days to do this. If we couldn't collect our crops in this time, we would lose all of it.

If we go to our farm we have to go with our register or need to tell the military first. When I went to collect my crops, I fell down off a crop house broke my leg in front of the military. The soldiers didn't help me, they laughed at me. I had to go to hospital and this cost me about 500,000 kyat. After that I returned home. I cannot walk. I also cannot work. And so I cannot support my family or provide food. I also cannot pay for my children's school. I am very worried. I grew some crops, rice and peanut before. I now cannot work on my farm. I have become a disabled person. So how can I support my family?

Interviewee #6

Age: 55

Sex: Female

Education: No Information

Occupation: Farmer

Religion: Catholic

Marital Status: Married

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 18 February 2015

The military have to return land because we don't have enough land for growing food. The military returned a small amount of land about 199.86 acres of land and they said this land is abandoned land. A villager asked the military commander: "Why do you abandon this land? The land was not owned by anyone." Commander responded that it was abandoned land. We had to get a certificate from a government office in order to work in the land. The officials demanded villagers to pay 3000 kyats for one acre of abandoned land. The military can break our right for our land because our land became officially abandoned land.

The military have confiscated 2700 acres of land. Now they return land such as the abandoned is not enough. So we have to work on farm every year. We cannot stop for using land. If we leave out our farm for one year, the military will say these land vacant land or mid-land. We can only use outside of the military land. If we want to own land

we have to get a certificate from the government because they say that it is the law. We have to wait for two years to get the certificate.

Now I get less crops than before so I have less food to eat. I want to move to another place but the land nearby is not good for farming. I worry every day if my family can eat every day.

Interviewee #7

Age: 38

Sex: Female

Education: 8th Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Married

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 18 February 2015

We did not know the military had confiscated our land, they did not inform us. This is our ancestral land which we use for agriculture. We have used the land for farming for a long time. And currently, we actively use the land to plant many crops and rice. If we do not use our land for a year, the military will say this land is vacant land. We dispute the military's claim that the land was vacant. The military has confiscated and has controlled the land for about 4 years (since 2011). The first year, we faced many problem from the military, they threaten a lot to us and one villager's leg was broken.

When the military conducts exercises for their soldiers, they use big weapons, like artillery (mortars) as well as heavy machine guns. They also march through villages. This can affect to our health and daily lives as the explosions from mortar exercises severely affect the elderly, young children and babies. The military is using confiscated land to build military compounds and a helicopter base.

Before the ceasefire, the situation was bad and we felt worried and constantly under threat. After the ceasefire the military did not return the land they took from us in 2011. We have to resist to the military. I will be very worried if the situation becomes bad again and the military hurt us again.

If the military don't return the land, now we have to use any way to get back our ancestral land because we depend on our land for growing crops, rice and our livelihoods. Without our land, we won't have food to eat. Our land is mostly used by the military to build compounds, so we cannot use it or do anything.

Interviewee #8

Age: 47

Gender: Male

Education: 10th Standard

Occupation: Villager leader

Marital Status: Married

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 16 February 2015

I'm angry about the military confiscation of our ancestral land because 9 villages lost their land to confiscations. In MarkrawShe village, there are 98 houses, 475 people and 103 families. We heard the military confiscated about 2,700 acres of land. But in reality the military control 3,250 acres of land. In 2011 the military took control of our land. There were two military battalions, the 531 and 428 when military first took control. There was an argument between villages and the military. So the military just abandoned about 199.86 acre of land. When the military first took control of our land, they ordered their soldiers to come and build their compounds there. Their commander is [...].

Twenty families from MarkrawShe's had land confiscated by the military. The military said we will give you compensation. Then they told us (villagers) to go the offices and then force us to sign a contract for them.

We also suggested the military for give us some new land elsewhere but the military sent us somewhere too far away from the village. So we didn't agree with this. We asked them to give us good farm land but they rejected this request. The MarkrawShe villagers didn't take compensation from the military but some of villagers from other villages were forced to take the military's compensation and they were so sad about this. We mostly use

our ancestral land for farming, we have done this for a long time. We all depend on the land to use shifting cultivation every year (rotating land to give it a rest), and farming.

Now we face serious problems between with other villages because of land confiscation. We never had problems like this before. This created difficulty for our students and made things difficult and especially dangerous for women. Mostly some student from other villages go to school at the MarkrawShe village. If they go to school, they have to go through military compounds. To avoid this some student came to live in the church dormitory. So they have to pay monthly for food costs.

We didn't know about the 2012 Land Law. We just use our land like we always did before.

Interviewee #9

Age: 46

Sex: Female

Education: No information

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Married

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 18 February 2015

The military breaks our rights. They also said our land is not owned by anyone. Before the military have confiscated land, local villages have grew peanut, rice and anther crop because these land have good soil and a good production crop. These other land have mountain. Mostly we have use these land too much. I have enough food for my family before, recently I cannot get enough food from my farm because my land was confiscated by the military. I can use the land from the military's abandoned land. Then the military ask us to pay some land tax for the usage. I spent a lot time, I cannot work. During the two year the military force us to stop to go to farm. We depend on our farm. When we receive a food from farm, we make money to provide our children to be able to study at school. But right now we lost our land so how can we support our children and our family? We cannot do it. Our children left school as we can't afford it.

In 2011 I started to know about the military land confiscation because the military started to tell the villagers about land control. We are afraid to go to our farms because the military might do something to us.

The military training camp is located in the MarkrawShe, Dawlawku, Lawkiku and Lawkyut boundary.

Interviewee #10

Age: 44

Sex: Female

Education: No information

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Married

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 18 February 2015

The military compound 14 is in the border area of MarkrawShe, Lawkhye and Dawlawku villages. This land was owned by our ancestry. In this place some area include Dawtatwou village. The military confiscated our land, we don't have land anymore. When we go to the farm, we are afraid and can't go to work. In our farm, we have to take care that animals don't eat the rice crops. Some of the animals come and eat our rice.

In our abandoned land we have to pay money for using it. This money is guarantee for the land. I paid 7,000 kyats for my land. We had to go to the land office to buy the land. The office saves the money in a bank. Officials said that they put the money to a bank for making interest. This is shit. Really they punish us by a fine and giving us abandoned land. I already owned this land for a long time. The official said that if we sign a contract, they would give us money. We had to show our passport to them, so they recorded our information.

We want to get back our land. We rely on our land. They should give it back to us. I think they are preparing to fight us because they are training their soldiers every day and preparing their compound. They came to the area for training. Many soldiers came. If the situation is good we don't want to see the soldiers.

They give compensation to Dawlawku and Lawkhye villagers, not to MarkrawShe villagers. We want to fight back the military, because our land is from our ancestors. I'm afraid to fight because they might shoot us first with their weapons. In the past Burmese military beat us, ported and tortured us so I suffered. I don't want to see the military anymore. I want them to go away. They should leave here. When they are training their soldiers they are using very loud weapons. I am now older so I feel bad. If they are training they drive to the village.

I think that the military buildings should be used as a public hospitals or schools.

Interviewee #11

Age: 41

Sex: Male

Education: 10th Standard

Occupation: R.C teacher

Marital Status: Single

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 19 February 2015

I do not want military No. 14 compound to be on villagers' ancestral land, because the military camps should be far from village. I would not argue with or oppose the military's training camp in Karenni State. But military exercises and compounds should not be close to villages. The military take about two or three thousand acres of land, this has created serious problems for villagers. Because the villagers do not have any work. They use agriculture, and farm the land for their livelihood.

We feel sad about our confiscated land. We are poor villagers, we worry about the future of our children and the next generation. This is very important for life and our future. If we worry about the situation becoming bad again then then we cannot support our children's education. And cannot pay for our children's school? I worry.

The military has confiscated the land and they built their camps and compounds for military training and exercises. The local village did not allow and did not agree to this. The military took it for themselves. This land belongs to MarkrawShe, Lawkyar,

Dawlawkhu and Lawkekhu. The land belonged to our ancestor, it belonged to us for generations. The local villagers always farmed the land.

We try fight back and to get our land back from the military but we are weak, because the military made an agreement with the Lawkekhu village. It is difficult for the future. We made a demonstration and sent a complaint and plaintive letter to the government. The first demonstration was led by Khuleeshosay group from the village. There are [...] and other villagers are joined. Then now the Karenni State Farm Union was constructed led by [...]. We hope there is change and there is democracy, so one day we can get back our land. Before the ceasefire, we could not do anything. So the condition in the village is very bad.

We also remind our children to remember these confiscated lands so when there is democracy we can get our land back. If the country is still controlled by the military, we cannot do anything. We are so sad. Then we cannot earn a living because we get our income from our land. We need it for our livelihood so we can pay for our children's health and to go to school. If we cannot support our children's education then students will mostly leave school. We worry about girls' safety and freedom of movement because the military is close to the village.

From the first year the military mostly practiced with the big weapons, (mortar) for this they need a lot of space and a long distance. So they moved the military exercise to Dawtamagyi village. Dawtamagyi village protested about this to the military.

After this the military forced the villagers to sign a contract about what the military say is vacant land; the contract says that these lands didn't belong to our ancestor. They also forced the villagers to accept a little financial compensation. Some of villagers are too afraid and accepted this small compensation. After that the military said they control these lands and they also put signs that said the land belonged to and is controlled by the military.

We want to ask why the military do this, and why they built compounds and helicopter landing pad.

After the military started to live there, the village started to face many problems between villages. We never had problems between villages before now. Now we don't have enough food and the villages have big land problems between each other. The Khurakhu village and Dawtatown argue with each other about the land that was not confiscated, about who owns this land. We mostly grow crops, corn, rice and peanut. Because of the military confiscation we can see many other problems for the future, so we decided to demonstrate about this. We purposed to march to Loikaw township but we could not reach our destination. However we held a demonstration in the church of the MarkrawShe village. Then from around the MarkrawShe village, we also organize with other villagers to pray to get back our land. Then the village created a farmers' union. We decided our name will be Khulisoshay Committee but the military did not agree to this.

We didn't all remember the dates and times when the military practiced with their big weapons (mortar). The fact the villages mostly protested and argued with the military. Before the military arrived we never had problems like this. Now we doubt the military more and more. Mostly because the presence of the military means women and girls are not safe to move around and to go to their farms and other villages.

From the beginning we didn't agree with the military confiscation of our land but military forced us to sign the contract which gave the military control of our land. We didn't know this would happen, we didn't understand the contract they forced us to sign. We need to learn more about this.

The military give material donation to the church in the MarkrawShe village. But we made a promise to each other. We said that the military cannot close our mouths.

We are afraid for girls because a rape has happened. A girl from Hpruso town ship was raped by soliders. She is a student. We reported this and complained to the military, but

they said this is not us. This is a threat for women. We want to solve this case but we are poor and nobody helps us.

My opinion is that the military buildings should be used for village health department or education. There should not be a military compound there because we have lost a lot of land. We want to get back it. So we will try to get it back.

Interviewee #12

Age: 36

Sex: Male

Education: 8th Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Married

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 19 February 2015

We local villagers did not know that military wanted to control our land. A lot of the military came here and took a place here for them. I asked the military commander about what are they doing there, but he did not respond to me. No one of villagers can come to the area taken by the military. I was a MarkrawShe leader. I asked the military some questions. They said “we do not control MarkrawShe land.” In 2011 farmers from MarkrawShe, we go to their farm, the military threaten us for going back home. Then the military said to us “you have to leave your farm within two days. If you don't leave, you will lose your crop.” So within two days we all were told to collect our crops. During the two days we worked very fast and because of that a man in the village broke his leg. The soldiers were looking at us while we worked. When he fell down the soldiers laughed at him and did not help him.

After that if we would go to the farm, we had to keep with register to the farm. We had to show our passports and made inspections. Women had to go with three or four other people as it was not safe for them to the farms alone. The military saw women in the farm they came to harass them. The soldiers were practicing every day. They practiced with

heavy weapons. So the military said “ the heavy weapons' effect on you that is not our responsibility.”

The military said they confiscated 2,700 acres of land. The KNPP came to check how much the military controls and noticed that it was over 3,000 acres. The military was cheating us. They control our land widely. The military compound also placed land markers here.

In the past when I grew peanuts I used to get 190 to 200 packs every year but now I can't because I don't have animals or land. We have had to share our land between my family because the military restricts us to use our land. We have less land that we had before. The population has grown but we have less land. We can't produce more so we are becoming more and more poor. I don't want the military to come here, I want them to leave our land. If they stay here, our culture and region will disappear.

Interviewee #13

Age: 35

Sex: Male

Education: 7th Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Married

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 20 February 2015

I lost my land and I feel I have lost my pride. I really need my land. I worry for my son and my daughter as we don't have much to eat. In the past we had 200 packs of peanuts per year or 100,000 kyats revenue per year. After the military confiscated the land I don't get as much because I relied on my land. There is no space to farm because all of the land is already being farmed by someone else. I inherited my land from my grandfather. Now that I don't have land, I don't know how to walk or live.

If I had known, I had fought with the military, but now we are late to know, we can't fight them anymore. The first people who measured that the land is MarkrawShe land say that

we are not on MarkrawShe land. In the last village, the villagers knew that their land was measured by an official so villagers argued with the officials and asked them “what are you doing with our land?” They did not respond to the villagers.

In 2011 there was no ceasefire in Karenni State, so if some problem came, they blamed MarkrawShe villagers. The military said if they found weapons from the village they would destroy it. I was afraid because I argued with the military and they threatened me.

My land belonged to my father and mother. There is 30 acres of land. Now the land is inside military compound No. 14. Some of the land is marked by land markers. I think the military placed the land markers to mean that they own this land.

Before we grew rice, peanuts and soy beans which we sold to buy rice to eat. More people are growing peanuts because the price is good. We have changed farming location to grow more peanuts. The military came to disturb us so we face many problems. Now we have divided our land to use it together. We cannot estimate how much harvest do we get. We don't have enough food anymore. We cannot grow as much rice, peanuts and soy beans as before. Some people are looking for jobs outside of the village because they don't have anymore work. I want the military to go back to their country because the military is close to our village. Women are not free or safe to go to the farms and our animals can be stolen.

The military has given some compensation, one acre for 50,000 kyats. They have given it only to the people who use the land. People who work in different lands, don't get any compensation. People who give compensation, are corrupt. People who have lost their land don't get any compensation but people from another village get the compensation sign. During the compensation time, MarkrawShe village elder went to ask for compensation from the military, but the military said that MarkrawShe have lost its land and sent him back.

I don't like 2012 law because the law has no justice. The military came in to confiscate our land in 2011 and new land law came into force in 2012. I don't know anything about the 2012 land law but it affects me.

I'm worried for my life's safety. I worry about food and my family.

Interviewee #14

Age: 48

Sex: Male

Education: 5th Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Married

Village: MarkrawShe

Date: 20 February 2015

We haven't been using our lands for only years. But we have used them for a long, long time. Before, our land could produce 100 sacks of rice every year. Now we cannot get rice like that before. The military controls too much land so we cannot farm. Now we have too little land to farm so we cannot grow any rice. We used the land for over 300 years.

The military should not take us to court. It is difficult for us to go to court, because the court is very far from our village. Nobody helps us.

The court case with the military started in 2014. We are lucky because we have a lawyer who helped us with our case. The court case with the military is about Constitution article 447. We are worried that if we give the wrong answer or if we lose the case then we'll have to go to the jail. The military control the land. The future is bad for our children, they will be hungry and become poorer. We don't know what the military use our ancestral land for.

The military said we controlled the land from 1996 but we (local villagers) didn't know. The military said to us if you want to use your land, you have to sign a contract. But we didn't sign for them. In May, 2014 there was an argument between the military camp 531 and us (local villages). If we don't have enough food for our families, then we can face serious problems to the future. This affects education and healthcare. This also affects our livelihood, it means that there is no food for our cows and buffalos. Now the military control about 1,289 acres of land that they use for nothing. The military only use about 500 acres of land for their compounds.

Interviewee #15

Age: 57

Sex: Male

Education: 2nd Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Married

Village: HsolyarKu

Date: 20 February 2015

We don't know the first time they came to measure the land. They do not inform us. They just came and did it. They came with the military to measure the land in 2013 and 2014. We usually farm soybean, rice, peanuts and corn. We do not have other place to grow food, only this place. First they came to our farm to threaten us but we did not agree or accept what they demanded. They were forced to go back. There is no justice, we are honest farm workers. They came and found us guilty. I am a peace delegate so the military accused me of breaking article #447 from 2008 Constitution. They said to me that I am in their land. This is not justice because I am not in their compound, I am in my farm. They should not do like this, they are the government's military. They should give back our land.

We said to the military commander: "your control over our land causes difficulties for us. Give it back to us." He replied "This is not my responsibility, it is an order from the higher officials." We don't have any place to work. In the surrounding area the land is rocky and bad for farming. In the area controlled by the military the land is good for

farming. We face many problems. If we compare the past to the present, we had more land than now to provide us food to eat. We suggested to the upper officials to help us but they don't reply to us. We have no conversation with the military.

I worry for education of our children and food. It is very difficult for my family. I cannot support my family so I am very sad. My daughter's and son's education depends on the land. If they go to a public school, we have to pay money. I cannot support their school material. They control our land but don't produce anything. The military should give back us our land. It would be better for our children's education and economy. All the villagers of HsolyarKu lost their land. The military sees the land as military land so they control it. In the future there is no land for our son or daughter so there will face many problems. The land becomes narrow.

If the government will become like before, how can we live?

Interviewee #16

Age: 48

Sex: Male

Education: 2nd Standard

Occupation: Village leader

Marital Status: Married

Village: HsolyarKu

Date: 20 February 2015

The military say they controlled our land from 1993/94. I dispute this. The military started controlling our land in 2014. We didn't know about it. The military didn't tell us. They took control of land that is close our village playground. They should not do this. I lost about six acres of the land to military confiscation. Now I want to get back my land because it is really important for our survival. Our land cannot be broken up. We grow crops, rice and peanut every year. We earn about 300,000 kyat from our farm every year. After the military confiscated the land, we only get about 100,000 kyat.

The military also want us to sign a contract saying that the land belongs to the military. But none of us (local villagers) signed. So we went to the farm to work.

The military called us to go to the court. They didn't call all of us because there are too many. So they just called 5 farmers to go to court. These 5 people are: [...]. When they went to court, we (all villagers) followed them and also attended court.

The military said they use this land to house soldiers' families or it will be sold to companies. We (local villagers) don't agree with this. If we go to work on our farms, the military threaten us and force us to go back. So now we are creating Karenni State Farmer Union because we need to get our ancestral land back. We (HsolyarKu) have all lost our land. There are 90 houses. And there are 150 students in HsolyarKu village. We depend on our land to survive. If they don't return our land, we will have to use any way to get it back.

Interviewee #17

Age: 30

Sex: Male

Education: 8th Standard

Occupation: Religious Leader

Marital Status: Married

Village: HsolyarKu

Date: 20 February 2015

Our village was created 500 years ago by our ancestors. We relied on a combination of farming and shifting cultivation agriculture. We have done this until now.

In 2013 the military hired a person to measure our land. The military did not tell us anything about it. They suddenly took control of our land. If we go to our farm by ourselves they threaten and force us to go back and not come to the farm again. So we decided that we, all villagers, would assemble to go to the farm together. When we arrived, the military said, "You are in our land."

We resisted them. I asked the commander of the military to give back our land. He said "It is not me. This depends on the government." The military are fighting the villagers. They want to prosecute us.

Our land is our survival. If the military give compensation, we cannot accept it. Since the military confiscated our land, I do not have enough land to grow food for my family. I am so sad because I cannot support my family. I worry for losing our land because if we don't have land, what can we eat? We have nothing to eat.

Interviewee #18

Age: 45

Sex: Male

Education: 1st Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Ethnicity: Kayah

Religion: Catholic

Marital Status: Married

Village: HsolyarKu

Date: 20 February 2015

We lost much land beside the village. I cannot support my family to grow. If we get back our land we would be comfortable. If people don't have land they will be poorer and argue with each other about food. They might steal food from other villages. We are poor and we depend on our land. Until now I have depended on my land. After the military came we don't have enough food. The military called us to come to the compound to ask us about why do we use this land. They said that if we wanted to use the land we would have to sign a contract but we didn't. After they didn't come again.

After the villagers went to their farm the military came and dug a ditch in the middle of our farmland. It destroyed our farm. Crops of some families was destroyed because of it. Why does the military come and do this to us? This is for the military or who wants to know. The military said that was an order by their commander to do it. I want my children to eat enough food. Now the military comes and does this so my family does not have enough to eat. If the military continues to do this the children have not enough to grow up. Now we have a big problem. We cannot say that this does not affect other villages. This land is our ancestral land so we have to use it. We haven't seen any problems like this before. Now we cannot help each other because other families have

also shortages of food. If we compare this to the situation before, today's situation is worse. Families with a son are worried about their children because they don't have land to give to their sons. If the military destroys our land we cannot have enough food for a year. It's not safe for my wife or my children to go to the farm. In the village there are 100 houses.

Interviewee #19

Age: 33

Sex: Female

Education: 4th Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Ethnicity: Kayah

Religion: Catholic

Marital Status: Single

Village: HsolyarKu

Date: 21 February 2015

I want to get my land back fast. The military controls our land. How can we eat and grow? We cannot see any soy beans. Life is very difficult. How can our children live and eat? In the village the population is growing. Also all the villagers have their own land. We spend time to go to the military compound and go to the court to argue about land ownership. We were not aware that the military controls the land. If they control all of our land we don't have food to grow and we get poorer. We don't have other land to grow our food, we only have a little in the area controlled by the military. We rely on the land. Our family population is bigger so some people work to find a job outside of the village because they know that they can't work. In my mind I want to fight back until we get back our land. If we don't get back our land we will have more problems in the future.

This land is our ancestral land that we have used for a long time before the military came. The military has stayed there for only 18 years. I don't want to give our land to the military. If they control it I cannot agree with them. The military says that this land is state-owned land but they don't give us any food or any rights. The military owns the state-owned land. We don't get compensation for the land that we have lost. The military says this land is state land and then they come and measure it. I want to argue about it

because this land is not state land. The military said that that they started to measure the land in 1993-1996 but I don't know about it. We started to know about military controlled land when they accused five villagers for being in their land without permission. They threaten us and don't allow us to go to our farms or us to go back home. It's not safe for us to go to our farms. I'm afraid.

This has caused that women are not safe to go to the farms. If I go to the farm I feel that they will do something to me. The military can be violent if they don't want us into the farms. I feel disgraced. We started to know in 2014 about the military control. In 2013 at the end of May they started to come to our land to control our farms. They said that the military owns the land. During the time I was very afraid. If we go to our farms, the military is waiting there and sends us away. In 2014 April a villager went to the farm and was sent back by the military. The military threatened the villager with violence. All the villagers felt threatened and turned back to their homes. Some of our animals have been stolen. The villagers come at the same time to their farms because they are afraid that they might be detained. The military couldn't do anything, so they only accused 5 villagers to go to the court. I have a feeling that we are not guilty because the military is guilty. We work honestly in our farms. I don't agree with the military. If we don't get back our land, life will be very difficult for all the people in the village. Also our children can't go to school. We cannot afford the hospital costs. Parents of the village go the farm and if they have crops they sell it for money. If the military continues to control our land we don't have land and our people have to go elsewhere to find money.

Interviewee #20**Age:** 33**Sex:** Male**Education:** 5th Standard**Occupation:** Farmer**Ethnicity:** No information**Religion:** Catholic**Marital Status:** Married**Village:** HsolyarKu**Date:** 21 February 2015

I'm a farmer. The military control of our land has affected our livelihood, our education and our economy. People in the village depend on their land. They don't have any other livelihood. We grow rice, soy bean and corn. This is our economy. The military controls our land and they also control us. Everyone is afraid to speak about this. In 2014 the military came to make their land signs to mark their territory. It is not legal for us. Because of this we have lost our livelihood. I'm sad about this. We spend a lot of time to go to the court so we can't work anymore. This has been our ancestral land for a long time. We have inherited this land. Now the military have controlled our land easily.

They don't give any compensation to us, I don't want to lose our land anymore. We villagers suggest to get back our land. If the military don't give our land away we will demonstrate. We don't have anyone who could solve our land problem. In 1993 they took 26% of our land to their compound. But now they control more widely than then. In the past they took the land to training purposes, now they are want to control the land. They threaten us everywhere. If we are in their land, they will punish or arrest us. If a villager wants to work in their farm they have to register their land and show the officials their passport. I don't agree with them and have not signed a contract.

When all the 190 villagers went to their farms, the military was staying there and arrested 5 people not all the villagers. There was too many to take to the compound. Before the villagers went to their farms, they notified the police first. And then they came to work. Then the military accused the 5 people of being in a state-owned land illegally and arrested them. There is no justice because they control the land. They use their military

power. I worry that the military controls our land and does nothing with it. Will they sell it? We lost a lot of our land. Our population growing in the village. We cannot estimate the future. There will start to be problems between the villagers. We are worrying about food every day. We don't have work or food. Every day the crops growth is delayed. It is very difficult for our family's economy. People who can't find the money will suffer more. If the military don't give back our land people will start steal and kill to get food. The first time the military threatened with sending soldiers to control their land.

Interviewee #21

Age: 28

Sex: Female

Education: 8th Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Ethnicity: Kayah

Religion: Catholic

Marital Status: Married

Village: HsolyarKu

Date: 21 February 2015

I lost 8 acres of land. I want to get it back. If I don't get it back I don't have food to eat. It affects our family's economy. I usually grow rice, peanuts and soy beans. Now I don't have land so I can't grow it anymore. If we receive crops from farm and I could support my brother and sister to go to school. The military controlling the land affects our whole life. Our economic situation is very difficult and this house cannot be a good house. Now family is not able to provide food for the family. We are fighting to get back our land from the military. If the military comes and kills us, I would be ready to die because our land is very important. The military says that we don't fight you with guns but with violence and rape. If we don't get back our land I want to complain to an organization so that they can help us.

We don't get compensation for the land. The military goes to the farms to demand the villagers to sign a contract. Some people are afraid so they sign. The military didn't tell about the contract's content, but demanded the villagers to sign. It is very difficult for us, I don't have any other work, our animals don't have any food. I worry about the future.

Our farms are our livelihood. If we are sick it is not good because then we need money to go to hospital. The money depends on our land. The military built a fence on the farmland so that the villagers couldn't go to their land. Then the villagers destroyed the fence. After that the military dug a ditch on the same place.

The military controls our land and they do nothing with it. Why do they control our land? Do they want to sell our land? My father said that when he went to work to his land the military demanded 10,000 kyats for an acre from him. We have paid the tax before, but we hadn't paid the tax for five years. Our old land is near the military compound.

Interviewee #22

Age: 45

Sex: Female

Education: No information

Occupation: Farmer

Ethnicity: Kayah

Religion: Catholic

Marital Status: Married

Village: HsolyarKu

Date: 21 February 2015

I have 5 acres of land. After the military confiscated my land, I have only a little left. If I don't have land, how can I get food, how can I provide my family? I only use the land, I don't have any other work. If we don't have anymore land how can we eat? We get one harvest per year so we have to save food for the coming year.

The government should support us with food but they don't give us anything. I want to get back my land because the land is my family's livelihood. I have many children, my children don't have a father. I cannot do any work but I have to work so that we can eat. I worry that I don't have any land and that my family don't have any food to eat. I'm very sad and I want to forget about food. I'm alone in my family with my children. My husband died a long time ago and now the military comes to control our land and this means they want us to die. If I go to work the military says that I cannot work there. I'm not able to work. In my mind I want to get back my land. I'm not able do anything. If we

cannot get back our land, we cannot survive. Now I only have a little bit of land left and my family does not have enough food to eat. If I see the military I'm afraid. I can't go the field alone because they might rape or kill me. I usually go with my friend in a group of more than two people. I have done this work for over ten years. Because I don't have a husband I have to do everything for my family.

I think what the military does is not legal. Because I don't have food so I don't have the energy to argue with the military. The military called the villagers to come to the compound. They said "the military have a lot of land so you can't work in the military land." We are afraid and we can't complain about anything. We are afraid to go to the area but if we don't go to the area to work, we don't have any food to eat so we must go. When the villagers go to work in their farms five people from the village were accused by the military about going to their land. The five people went to the court. If they are punished then all of the village will also be punished because I have also lost my land. We work together, eat together, walk together, live together. I think like this. Many villagers talk like this. If all of the five villagers go to the court also the whole village goes to the court because we have don't have any guilt. We have used the land for generations. We have moved the village closer to water wells, more far away from the farms. We go back to our old land to farm. The military compound is on our old land.

Interviewee #23:

Age: 45

Sex: Female

Occupation: Farmer

Education: No information

Marital Status: Married

Village: HsolyarKu

Date: 21 February 2015

I used my land like my ancestors did before, and I still use my ancestors' land. I grow crops, corn, peanut and rice. Now the government soldiers came to control our land, so how I can work and eat? They didn't give or provide us with anything. I didn't understand anything. I don't have education so I don't know how much of my land I lost.

In 2013 if we went to our farm and worked, the military forced us to go away and threatened us every time. This means we cannot use our farm. So we can't use our land, we are poor, we have no food to eat and no work.

We don't know what the military is doing with the land. We see that they use nothing. They control a huge amount of our land and they put up some of signs close to our village playground. They also make us to go to the court to complain about the confiscation. So I really cannot understand what is going on. I want to hear from the court but I have no education so I don't go to listen in court. My children and husband to listen to what happened in court. Now I cannot go to my farm. I stay at home and look after women who are pregnant. I always think about my children and worry about their future.

Interviewee #24

Age: 17

Sex: Male

Education: 10th standard

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Single

Village: Daw HsoShay

Date: 21 February 2015

There is no school in my village so it is difficult to go to school. They have to go to another village. It is far for us to go there. If I go to school I need money for books, school material and food. I am in 10th grade. We have 4 teachers and 4 classes. We are taught 6 subjects. I have to go to school by walking for half an hour. For my school I need material so my family cannot support me and it's very difficult. I feel sad. Why has my life become like this?

I can't do homework and the teacher beat me and said that I have to stand up and sit down over and over again.

Interviewee #25**Age:** 35**Sex:** Male**Education:** Kindergarten**Occupation:** Farmer**Village:** Daw HsoShay**Date:** 25 February 2015

We have to pay tax before we can work on our farm beside the military compound.

In 2014, before the military arrested the farmers of Daw HsoShay, they shot two shots in the air. Then they came to arrest the farmers. After the military did like this, the military forced us to stop our farm and threaten us. I am too scared. If I don't go to work on my farm, I have nothing to eat. So I must go to the farm. If they kill me, I am not scared to die.

The military told us that our land does not belong to our ancestors. We only have a small portion of land for growing food. We do not have any income. I do not have enough food for my family because I lost my land and I do not have any other land to use for growing food.

My daughter's health is also bad. I want to send my daughter to the hospital so I borrow money from other people. If I cannot afford to pay my debt, my debt will increase. I am very worried. So I left my village to find a job to get money. If I receive some money from a job, I have to pay my debt. I face many problems in this village.

I am very worried because if the military sells our ancestor's land, we will not be able to use it and we will not be able to grow our food. So we will not be able to survive.

Interviewee #26**Age:** 34**Sex:** Male**Education:** 5th Standard**Occupation:** Farmer**Ethnicity:** Kayah**Religion:** Catholic**Marital Status:** Married**Village:** Daw HsoShay**Date:** 25 February 2015

I have 10 people in my family, so it is very difficult because I don't have any land and can't provide my family. The military controls our land. We don't have any money or income, we don't know how to find work. The military says that we should find our own food. The area is our own, not owned by the military. We came here a long time ago. The military came later. This land is our own land, our own territory so we have to use our land. If the military wants arrest me, they can do it. If I don't have anything. I don't want to be a beggar. I am ready to die for my land. If I stay nothing happens, it is better to take the risk of going to the farm. If I die that way, it is better than dying of hunger. The military do not support our rights and has caused many problems with us. In the military battalion 360 the area is graveyard of old Daw HsoShay village. When the military arrested 5 people we were very afraid. But now if we are afraid, we cannot eat. In the village many people don't have education. They don't know how they could get back their land. If we don't get back our land the village will all go to the farms and demonstrate to the military. We never saw land problems like this before.

Interviewee #27**Age:** 53**Sex:** Male**Education:** No information**Occupation:** Farmer**Ethnicity:** Kayah**Religion:** Catholic**Marital Status:** Married**Village:** Daw HsoShay**Date:** 25 February 2015

I lost my land so it is difficult to get food. It has affected our health and economy. In the village we don't have good drinking water. So we don't have any other ways to find money. We don't have clinic in the village. If something happens we have to go to Shaw Mai Clinic which is far for us to go. If the climate changes in the summer or rainy season, there will be famine in the village. In the village children can't go to school. Many people in the village get tokwa-disease but they cannot go the hospital so they die. They don't have money to pay to the hospital. Nobody in the village knows anything about healthcare. We also suggested the government to build a clinic to our village, but they did not reply because they said that in the village there is not enough people. The government claims that if there is more than 30 houses, they would provide healthcare and education. We can't afford to go to hospital. Now that we don't have our land, we have to buy our rice to eat. We have to buy two sacks of rice because my family is big.

Sometimes I don't have money, sometimes I can't find any money and it's very difficult. This year the rainy season is not good so we can't produce rice. In the village we have firewood that we sell to buy rice. We go to Moshey to find money. We receive 60,000 kyats per month. When we come back we buy food to support my family. Now our main problem is the land. The military says that we can't claim that it is our ancestral land. They also say that they use the land and training grounds and painting. When we went to the court, we asked the military why are they using the land and they replied that they are not using the land. The military just wants to control the land.

Interviewee #28**Age:** 23**Sex:** Male**Education:** No Information**Occupation:** Farmer**Ethnicity:** Kayah**Religion:** Catholic**Marital Status:** Single**Village:** Daw HsoShay**Date:** 25 February 2015

My old village is our land. Before we moved to another place we chose to farm in our own village. But now some villagers go to farm at places that are not their own. The military said that we abandoned our land, but really it is not Daw HsoShay land. The abandoned land is another village's land. The military abandoned 301 acres of land. It was not Daw HsoShay's own land. In that area the Burmese military fought with KNPP. The KNPP came to the village so the Burmese military forced the village to move to another place. They started to move the village in 1988-1989. The Burmese military accused the village of giving KNPP troops food, so they forced the village to move. The village moved near Shaw Mai village in the east and asked them to give our village some land to grow food. In a few years our villagers would give the land back to Shaw Mai village. During the time we didn't have enough food. In 2000 we went back to our own land to grow food. When we went the military said "you cannot do anything to eat". The military threatened us, but we still came because we did not have any other land to use. The military said that we could use the land, but not own it.

In 2004 we used machines in our farms. The military told us to not use our land. We said to them that if don't come here, we don't have any work or anything to eat. The military told us to show a document to them also if we wanted to use the land. After that the villagers came to use the land so the military came to arrest them. Before we arrived they shot two times in the air and after that they came to arrest us. The military arrested 10 people on 27 July 2004. After the villagers went to back to the farm and the military told them to go back. The villagers were very worried as they had nothing eat. We are very

worried if we can't go to our farms. I'm worried if military sold the land to other people because we would not have anything to eat. We also worry for our children's future.

Many people grow rice, soy beans and corn. There is no justice because the military arrested our people and made our people go to the court. Between us and the military, the military did not tell us about everything.

Interviewee #29

Age: 35

Sex: Female

Education: No information

Occupation: Farmer

Ethnicity: Kayah

Religion: Catholic

Marital Status: Married

Village: Daw HsoShay

Date: 25 February 2015

The military said “you cannot use this land”. But I said that this our ancestral land, so I must use the land. The military claimed that if I wanted to use the land I had to send a letter to them. We didn't send and we cultivated the land. The military forced us to turn back from the field. We didn't listen to the military and kept using our land. When we were uprooting our rice fields the military ordered us to leave our farms for one week. We couldn't uproot the weeds from our farms so we couldn't support a good rice growth. We can't get a good crops. The military called us to go to their compound to a meeting. After that we can't go the farm freely. If we go we feel unsafe. If we go, they might arrest us or do something worse to us.

I worry that if I don't go I don't have food to eat so I must go there. I have gone to the court many times. In the court they asked the military did they know about the accusations and they replied that they don't know about where is the military area and where the old Daw HsoShay village is located. The military accused me of breaking article #447 of the 2008 Constitution. I don't know about the law, I never studied it. When the military took me to court, I had many difficulties. I spend a lot to go there, I

have no time to go to my farm. If we go the court we have to spend money for traveling. I don't have money.

If I can't find money, I can't buy rice. Going to court means nothing if I don't get back my land. We already lost our land, we don't have time to find money. I don't know what to do, so I'm saving. We don't get compensation for this. The military said that they abandoned the land for us, about 301 acres. But it is land of another village, it is not our land. If I don't get back our land, I am very sad and have many problems. If the military continues this I cannot support my family anymore and I worry for my family.

That area is good for growing rice, peanuts and soybeans. If we don't get back our land, we will be more and more poor. I don't know how to live, I don't have education. I don't know how to complain about this. I want to get back my land. I really need my land.

When we go to the court we have a lawyer who helps me. But we don't know can I get back my land. If we don't get it back, I will be unhappy. I'm a farmer, so I work in the farm to eat from one year to the next. The military controls the land and does nothing, so I do not see what they are doing with the land.

Interviewee #30

Age: 33

Sex: Female

Education: No information

Occupation: Farmer

Ethnicity: Kayah

Religion: Catholic

Marital Status: Married

Village: Daw HsoShay

Date: 25 February 2015

I have 5 acres of land. I grow rice and soy beans. If I grow the farm I have to spend one sack of rice. If there is no rain, we cannot have a good harvest. The military denies us access to our farms so we cannot work. I rely on people giving us food because I have to feed my children. We don't have enough to support my children to go to school. I'm poor, I only have the land. The military controls our land, so I have nothing. I want my child to

be able to school. In our village we don't have a pre-school or primary school. The military controlling our land is not fair for me. I really need the support for medicine and paper for education.

Interviewee #31

Age: 50

Sex: Male

Education: Kindergarten

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Married

Village: Daw HsoShay

Date: 25 February 2015

I have used my land for a long time. This is our ancestral land. I grow soy beans and rice. I only have 6 acres to grow soy beans. That is not enough for me so I'm very sad. I don't have anymore cows or other animals. I don't have enough food, so I have borrowed from my neighbour's house so I am in debt. I cannot pay back my debt. After the military confiscated the land I couldn't go to my farm freely. I have many problems with my land. The military should give back our land. I really need my land. Even if I use the land, I don't own the land which makes me sad and unhappy. I cannot get enough food, like in the past.

Interviewee #32**Age:** 40**Sex:** Male**Education:** 3rd Standard**Occupation:** Village Leader**Ethnicity:** Kayah**Religion:** Catholic**Marital Status:** Married**Village:** Daw MuKlah**Date:** 19 February 2015

I relied on my land. I could get 100% of my food from the land. After military came to control the land, I'm only able to obtain 35% of my food from the land. How can I support my family? Working in another place would be no good. Many people in village go to other villages to find money. We depend on our rice and peanuts. The place controlled by the military is good land for farming. Other places are difficult for farming. We cannot use buffaloes to turn the fields in other areas because the soil is full of tree trunks and stones.

The Burmese military called the village to come to their office. They called everyone by their names and ID number to offer compensation, but all the ID numbers were wrong as they had been changed by the military. One acre cost 50,000 kyats. The villagers noticed that the ID numbers were wrong so they were scared to receive the compensation money from the soldiers. The military said if you don't receive this you have already lost your land. The military forced to give the compensation because the villagers were too scared to argue with them. When I was offered the compensation, I felt that I did not want to take it because the land is more important to me than money.

The military came here in 2011 August. They have a lot of soldiers. In 2012-2014 they were building the military compound. During the first year the commander [...] said "the weapons had no eyes" (meant that the villagers were threatened). The villagers couldn't go to their farms. During harvest time the soldiers came to disturb us and threaten us and did not let us go to our farms. They had to cut down the vegetation from the area with machines. We couldn't finish our harvests. In 2012 we were not allowed to go to our

farms. Before the military came, we were not afraid but now we are more worried and afraid. We worry for the women of the village. If we had to buy something like vegetables or fruit, we had to cross the military owned area. The military made us a path to use to go to another village. The military started to check our ID numbers. In the middle of the military controlled area there was a bridge that connected Dawlaku and Hpruso that was built by us villagers before the military came. The military destroyed that bridge. The commander [...] said that “if we destroy your bamboo or trees, we will give you compensation.” But we never received the compensation.

The military came to village and drank and argued with the villagers. They were here from afternoon until midnight. A soldier started to visit a woman's house who had one son. He came many times and then took the woman away from the village. How did they mold our land like this, why are they doing this? I always see the soldiers running to the village when they are training. I lost much of my land about 60 to 70 acres. This land was inherited from my grandfather. I don't have land so I cannot have any food. The military practice with their big weapons. The weapons are very loud and remind us from the civil war. The babies wake up to the loud noise from the weapons. Dawlaku village has lost 300 acres. Many people in the village depend on the land. They don't have any other economy. I worry about women of the village as well as for my daughter and my wife. We have had many problems about the land. I really need my land. I want to spread the information what is happening here, I want other people to know.

Interviewee #33

Age: 44

Sex: Male

Education: 5th Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Ethnicity: Kayah

Religion: Catholic

Village: Daw MuKlah

Date: 20 February 2015

The first time we didn't know about the military controlling our land. In the past we always grew rice, peanuts and corn. In the area soil is good for the crops. We don't use fertilizers. Traditionally people grow rice in the area. The military said that we are KNPP

supporters and threatened us. Before the ceasefire in 2011, when the military first came, they used the water from the village. They came to the village, drank alcohol and argued with the villagers.

I don't agree with the military controlling our land. It is illegal. In their control area they are growing nothing. The military says that our land is uncultivated and vacant land and that it is controlled by them. The land is state-owned land. We see it our ancestral land. I don't need the military living in the area. The villagers argued with the military, the military claimed that the villagers don't have a legitimate claim for the land, that we don't have any history. Our village was founded over 400 years ago. In the past the military had power, they could take anything they wanted. They threatened us because they saw us as KNPP people. Usually the military does like this, they do not respect us. We fear them. They should not do like this. The military cut all the bamboo inside the controlled area. If you would calculate with money the amount would be more than 500,000 kyats. We have used this land for many years. I don't agree with the military that this is an uncultivated, vacant land, a fallow land. Our land cannot be like this. The military thinks as that we are not human. They see us as dogs.

In 2011 in the summer many Burmese soldiers came and left the area. They called us for meeting but they said about the world support ration center coming here. Really this was shit. They also recorded our ID numbers. After that they called us to go to the office. They called the military. They called our names and ID numbers in order to give compensation. Because the numbers were wrong, no one dared to take the compensation. The next day the military called us to come to the office to receive the compensation. During the time we were afraid because the military had taken the power. I worried that if we would not take the compensation, they would have arrested us. We were forced to take it. Two women and two men from the village were crossing the military controlled area and the military arrested the women. The villagers went to complain to the KNPP. After when the women came back, the military ... and returned their complaints.

The first time the military came, they destroyed our land. We lost many crops and peanuts. Our land was cultivated, but the military said that it was vacant and abandoned land. The military made a new road across the compound. During the rainy season it is

very muddy and difficult to drive. I'm very sad about my land. It is very difficult for my family's food. The military made their big compound and the soldiers are very arrogant. They made a fence around the area. I worry about my people because the Burmese military cannot kill us with weapons, they try to suffocate us with taking our land. The soldiers came to the village, drank alcohol and stayed here until midnight.

Interviewee #34

Age: 35

Sex: Male

Education: 10th Standard

Occupation: Leader of KSFU

Marital Status: Single

Village: Lawkhye

Date: 20 February 2015

I often sent a letter to government congress. I did this eight times. The military didn't tell the villagers anything. Military and staff of the land office came and measured as they liked. They didn't inform local villagers of anything. In May 2011 they came and measured our ancestral land and started confiscation. So we sent a letter about this issue the 8th of August, 2011. The military didn't tell us how much land they took.

When the military first arrived the villagers thought the military presence was for security. But we didn't know that they came to put down their compound and camp. We also didn't know how much the confiscation of land would impact us. When we saw the military stay and start to build we started to realize that it is really serious and would affect us. Now we don't have enough food after the confiscation.

Interviewee #35**Age:** 29**Sex:** Male**Education:** University (BSc)**Occupation:** Member of KSFU**Marital Status:** Single**Village:** HsolyarKu**Date:** 25 March 2015

The land problem affects the peace process. In the past, before the civil war, we never had the land problem. But now we have a ceasefire with the government but at the same time the military want to control our land. The military accuses the villagers for going to the court concerning the land problem. This limits the peace process. In the peace process the government should bring humanitarian aid to the local people that questions the government action. The government should also solve the land problem. I think the government ignored the land problem that affects the local people. The villagers see the government as bad as they are violated by the military. The military cannot use the land, they only control it although it is crucial for the villagers to use the land every day. They should not do like this. It's not good for the dignity of the state as the villagers can't farm their lands. People with power should think about these things. They come and cause problems with us and force us to go to court. If they punish me by putting me in jail the problem becomes bigger.

In the Karenni State the military accuse Daw HsoShay and Daw MuKlah about the usage of land. In court the judge made a decision by himself or by looking at the face of the military and listening to the orders of the higher officials. This is not good between Karenni-Burmese Governments affairs. The land problem during the ceasefire is not good to hear or see.

In Hpruso township HsolyarKu is the biggest village. In 1996 the military started to come to the area. During this year HsolyarKu was 100 years old. Our village was founded by our ancestry a long time ago, so the military cursed us when they came here. It should have not been like this. Why do they like this with us? They use their laws? Do they hate us? They use their powers to violate us. I don't like this. HsolyarKu is a big village, the

population is big. If we look at the HsolyarKu geography, the western part is unfarmable, so we have to go to the eastern side. The military controls the land beside our land but does not use it. The military claims that they have a legal right from the 1982 land law to confiscate our land. The law says that if the land is not used for three years, they should give it back to us. If they don't give back our land, then there are many reasons for problems to happen. Even though we don't have any land, our village is growing bigger and bigger. People argue with each other about small stacks of land. This is caused by the military. If the military controls our land, we cannot have any work. If the villagers go to the farms one by one, they are forced to turn back. The military said that the land is their commander's land. So the villagers started to go to the farm all together. The military should protect the state, not to argue with villagers. They should know their responsibility.

In 1993 the Burmese military came. In 1996 they established their compound. During the time we did not know how much they owned the land. I think they owned the land in their compound. In the past the HsolyarKu and Htee Ka Lu Daw had build the military compound fence. We had to carry bamboo for making the fence. After 18 years in 2013 the military started to claim that the land surrounding the compound is owned by them. They also call people to measure the land for them. They measured until the football ground of the village. The villagers did not agree with them. The villagers argued with them so the military commander said that they owned the land that they claimed. In 2013 the villagers did not know about the control of the military over their land, they started to know in 2014. Later we complained to the parliament, but they did not reply to us. The military also said that we cannot walk in their area. They would turn individual villagers back, so we started to come all at the same time. After that the military arrested 5 people. Why do they force us to go to the court?

This is not good for the dignity of the state. They are not changing the 2008 Constitution. Now the military says to the villagers that they are in the military land and it is not fair. I think they continue the military power.

Interviewee #36**Age:** 47**Sex:** Male**Education:** 10th Standard**Occupation:** Farmer**Marital Status:** Married**Village:** Daw MuKlah**Date:** 28 February 2015

We did not know about the military confiscation of our land. The military did not tell us and did not give us compensation. Then, from the military's confiscation of our land, we have been faced with many problems. We had to move one kitchen and one rice storeroom because of the confiscation. Since the military confiscated the land, if we want to farm our land, we need to ask the military permission. We also have to sign before we go to use our land. If we do not ask them, the military never allow us to work on our farms. Then the military also said that if the farmers of Daw MuKlar do not go to the farm early, the farmers cannot use the land. The military also threaten us in many ways. If something affects the military, the military said they would use their big weapons for fighting the village. We are sad and scared.

Interviewee #37**Age:** 44**Sex:** Male**Education:** 10th Standard**Occupation:** Farmer**Marital Status:** Married**Village:** Daw MuKlah**Date:** 28 February 2015

I relied on my land on growing food. I could support my family's well-being, my daughter's education and my family's economy. We cannot do another economy, I only rely on my land. I don't have any education so I only know how to work on a farm. I really need my land. In the future the population of the village will grow bigger and

bigger. The land will be narrower. The military controls much of our land. We have lost our land and our livelihood. We have been here for very long, the military has only come recently here. The military expanded their compound area and claimed that this land is theirs.

If I go to work on my farm, I have to tell the military first. If I don't go there they don't allow me to go to my farm. They are thinking that they support us like a father would. I have worked in my farm for many years. They should not control our land like this. We don't have enough food. I have had to buy a bicycle for my daughter because she has to go to school in Loikaw which is far away. Also our son has to use candles when he is reading. If we go to our farm, we have to pay a tax. Our village was found in 1978. In the past military threatened us repeatedly. Now we don't believe the military because they are so close to our village. In the village we don't have water. We had to carry it from far away.

Interviewee #38

Age: 50

Sex: Male

Education: 4th Standard

Occupation: Farmer

Marital Status: Married

Village: Daw MuKlah

Date: 28 February 2015

We usually grow rice, peanuts, soy beans and corn. Our soil is good for growing these crops. We have used our land for a long time. I only depend on my farm. Year after year I could get 80% of my food from my farms. But now I cannot, I have to pay a tax. The military started to build their compound in 1991, 1992 or 1993. The military battalions 356, 250 and 260 built their compound. The military compound is west from Daw MuKlah. We don't agree with them coming here. When the military found their compound, they started to control our land. They say that their land “only” until here or there. After they placed their land markers to the area. We don't get any compensation from the land so we don't know about this. We don't see the military using our land.

After the military started to control our land we have had many difficulties. We are not able to support our families. We don't have any food to eat. The military claims that we have to move our rice stalls and kitchens from the military controlled area. If we go to work to our farm, we have to sign an agreement with the military. We are forced to sign, because we don't have any other choice. I worry for our future. We cannot do any other work. Without my land, how can I support my son and daughter. If the military do not give back our land, we cannot develop our economy or education. They will be decreasing.

Interviewee #39

Age: 37

Sex: Male

Education: 8th Standard

Occupation: Villager leader

Marital Status: Married

Village: Daw MuKlah

Date: 28 February 2015

The military camp location is to the west of our Daw MuKlah village. The kitchen in our home and rice storage was part of the confiscated land so we had to move it. We (the villagers) face with many problems. In our village, there is no school, no healthcare, no running water or electricity. So we have no education and we also face health problems.

The military forced us to sign a contract before they allowed us to farm our land. If we didn't sign it, we cannot use our ancestral land. We had to go to military camp No. 356 to sign the contract. We have to re-sign every year. After the military confiscated the land, we (villagers) faced serious problems. Problems that affect education, society, economy and agriculture. This land is very important for farmers in the village. The military should not confiscate our land like this, everyone should know about its impact on us.

Government officials, army officers, the Prime Minister, the military and all citizens. The military should respect the villagers, every one should be equal. This land cannot be bought with money. I want to say that we can survive on our land. But if we don't have land we cannot live.

Interviewee #40**Age:** 36**Sex:** Male**Education:** 6th Standard**Occupation:** Farmer**Marital Status:** Married**Village:** Daw MuKlah**Date:** 28 February 2015

I rely on my farm for growing food. I am a farmer. I can get food from my land. If I have much food I can sell it to support my family. I don't have another job to work. The military controls our land, I don't have anymore land. I have less and less. The military says this land is owned by the military. Every year we go to work to the military controlled area to sign a contract. We are far from our town. It is difficult to communicate. We grow soy beans and rice. Now we have the land problem so I don't know how to do. This land has been used by our people for a long time. I don't know why do they control our land and how they use it. I worry for my child, they cannot have food in the future anymore. I want to get back my land. We are fighting the military to get back our land, but we can't.