HUMANITARIAN AID RELIEF TRUST
VISIT
Thai-Burma Borderlands
Kachin, Shan and Karen/Karenni Peoples
February 13-25th 2013

Lady collecting water in an IDP camp in Kachin State
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Itinerary: 3 days in Chiang Mai and 6 days in Kachin State, Burma, mainly based in Laiza.

1.2 Terminology Except where the name Myanmar is used in official titles, the name Burma has been used throughout the report, as preferred by the peoples of Burma with whom HART works.

1.3 Quotations Where possible all quotations used in the report have been placed in italics. Some names have been changed to protect identity.

2. OBJECTIVES

2.1 To obtain up-to-date information and evidence regarding: human rights violations in Burma, particularly in Kachin, Shan, Karenni and Karen States; the political situation in Burma; the humanitarian situation, especially following the breakdown of 17 years of ceasefire in Kachin State.

2.2 To visit victims of recent fighting and human rights violations in Kachin State.

2.3 To develop HART’s strategy for work in these regions.

2.4 To monitor projects supported by HART in Shan and Karen/Karenni States.

2.5 To meet representatives of Government and Non-Governmental Organisations in order to strengthen existing and potential networks of support for HART partners.
3. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- While the international community, including the British government, celebrates recent reforms in Burma, including the freedom for the pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kii to participate in the nation’s political process and to travel abroad and the release of several hundred political prisoners, the Burmese Government is responsible for escalating problems in many of the ethnic national States, including those of the Kachin, Shan, Karen and Karenni peoples.

- This report is based on meetings with representatives of the Shan, Karenni and Kachin people in Chiang Mai; with leaders of the Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO) and Kachin Independence Army (KIA) in Laiza in Kachin State; Kachin NGOs and representatives of the Baptist, Roman Catholic and Anglican churches in Laiza.

- The ethnic national peoples comprise at least 40% of the population of Burma and 60% of resource-rich lands.

- In Kachin State, a 17-year ceasefire was broken by the Burmese Government in June 2011, followed by intense fighting and the displacement of 70,000 civilians to camps for Internally Displaced People (IDPs) inside Kachin State.

- The Karen and Karenni peoples have signed cease-fire agreements ending many years of armed resistance. However, the ceasefire has brought many problems in its wake.

- The Shan people signed cease-fire agreements which have subsequently been violated and fighting has been renewed in parts of Shan State. As a result of years of fighting, hundreds of thousands of Shan civilians have had to flee from their homes to live as Internally Displaced People (IDPs) in camps in Shan State, as refugees in camps in Thailand, or to try to eke out a living as migrant workers in Thailand. HART has been supporting SWAN (Shan Women’s Action Network) since 2007 with humanitarian programmes inside Shan State and in Thailand (see 2012 HART report on visit to Shan IDPs inside Shan State and in Thailand and an update later in this report).

Kachin State

- On June 9th 2011, the Burmese Army broke a 17-year ceasefire causing massive displacement of civilians; the fighting intensified and the KIO states there are now 156 Burmese Army battalions in Kachin State.

- The fighting became most intense in December 2012, beginning to escalate on December 13th. In December 2012 and January 2013, including aerial bombardment of civilians and shelling directly onto the town of Laiza, causing further displacement of civilians. The Burmese Army has used cluster bombs, phosphorous bombs and helicopter gunships to attack civilians.

- The KIO claims to have requested many meetings with the Burmese leadership, seeking a political settlement and international monitors but the Burmese Government has rejected the proposals, telling the international community that it was the KIO which was refusing to sign a ceasefire agreement.
• There are numerous reports of atrocities perpetrated by the Burmese Army against civilians in Kachin State (typical of those which have been recorded in other ethnic national States during the decades of military rule). They include extrajudicial killings, rape, abduction and torture.

• There are now 75,000 Kachin civilians living as IDPs in Kachin State. Many had fled for their lives as soon as their homes were attacked, leaving all their possessions, including clothes, food, utensils and livestock, behind – arriving with nothing in places which were to become IDP camps.

• Civilians live in such terror of the Burmese that they are too afraid to return to their villages and remain in the IDP camps, with all the inherent problems and deprivations.

• There are reports of civilians who have tried to return to their villages who have been killed by Burmese Army soldiers or injured by landmines.

• 4000 civilians who fled into China were forcibly returned to the border and are living in IDP camps in Kachin State.

• KIO leadership is demonstrating commendable efficiency in the administration and quality of arrangements for the people in the areas controlled by the KIO – for example, the IDP camps appear very well-organised and the people feel more secure from the violations of human rights which cause such terror for Kachin civilians living in locations controlled by the Burmese Army.

North Karen and South Karenni States: Problems following the Ceasefire

The cessation of fighting and the associated killings, injuries and terror are welcomed, the ceasefire has introduced new problems:

• The Burmese Army is increasing its presence, with more and larger camps along the Salween River and many military supplies pouring in to support its troops.

• The displaced people are reluctant to return to villages after 10-15 years because they are worried by the Burmese Army presence.

• Their crops and paddy fields have ‘gone to ruin’ because they are too afraid to return to tend them. The dry farming in the new areas is less productive.

• The Burmese Government is using the ceasefire to exploit or destroy natural resources, such as logging and contaminating rivers through mining.

• The companies investing in these areas often destroy the livelihoods of local people, with no compensation.

Recent Developments and Concerns in Shan State.

• Communities attending recent public meetings across Shan State vented frustration at ongoing abuses despite the fact that the new peace process has been underway for over a year.
• Human Rights Violations by the Burmese Army, especially sexual violence against women continue with impunity.

• Land confiscation and environmental degradation from investment projects: many villagers spoke out against China’s laying of oil and gas pipelines through their lands in northern Shan State.

• ‘People in Shan State are asking what sort of peace this is, when they are losing more and more of their lands and livelihoods’.

• Shan community groups are gravely concerned about imminent forced repatriation of over 500 refugees from a camp on the northern Thai border into an area of active conflict: ‘Don’t push refugees back into active war zones’.

  Concerns Shared by Ethnic National Peoples

• The urgent need to end militarization in ethnic areas, so that people can participate freely in the peace process.

• Current Ceasefires are not genuine but only means whereby the Burmese Government and military can further their economic and military objectives.

• There is fear that the 2008 Constitution, which does not recognise the rights of ethnic national peoples or allow for the development of a Federal Union, will become the accepted political ‘road map’ for Burma, with the marginalisation ethnic national peoples and relegation to quasi-‘rebel’ status.

• The failure to recognise the ethnic nationals in the constitution demonstrates the lack of will on the part of the Burmese Government to live with all the peoples of Burma.

• The concern that ethnic national peoples who retain their armies - to protect their people from Burmese military aggression and violations of human rights – will become seen by the international community as ‘rebel groups’ with ‘rebel armies’.

• There is fear that the increasing credibility of the Burmese Government in the eyes of the international community will result in increasing investment in the resource-rich lands of the ethnic national peoples, with exploitation without compensation, and further displacement of civilians from their land. What is needed is development for the benefit of the people.

  ‘They are playing a game like Chess: take one piece at a time. While they sign a ceasefire with the Karen they launch major offensives in Kachin State. They wear a beautiful mask, but the original face, which is brutal, is hidden’.

  4. RECOMMENDATIONS

The international community to make strong representations to the Burmese Government:

1. To desist immediately from military offensives against civilian in Kachin and Shan States;
2. To call the Burmese Army to provide increased humanitarian assistance to displaced people in Kachin, Shan and Rakhine States.

3. account for violations of human rights including extrajudicial killings, unlawful arrests, torture and rape;

4. To ensure that concessions granted to the Burmese Government in recognition of recent reforms do not extend to encouragement of exploitative investment of the resource-rich lands of ethnic national people’s with no compensation or further displacement of civilians;

5. to allow the ethnic national people to participate in discussions and agreements with regard to concessions for investment in extraction of resources in their lands;

6. To reconsider the 2008 Constitution to include recognition of the rights of all ethnic national peoples to equality, autonomy and justice;

7. To respect the legitimate aspirations of the ethnic national peoples to full participation in dialogue and discussion concerning the future of Burma and their own lands;

8. To allow unhindered access to all parts of the country for international humanitarian and human rights organisations

DFID, the European Union and other donors:
1. To provide funding and technical assistance for capacity building for local organisations engaged in providing humanitarian assistance on the China-Burma border as well as through delivery mechanisms in Burma.

2. To provide increased humanitarian assistance to displaced people in Kachin, Shan and Rakhine States.

5. MEETINGS

5.1. KACHIN STATE

Meetings were held with General Gun Maw; Gawlu La Aung and other representatives of KIO organisations, including NGOs; leaders of the Baptist, Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches in Laiza.

Briefings on the Kachin Political Situation

- When the KIO talks of ‘Independence’ today, we mean independence and liberation from oppression; and not being treated as unequal and 2nd class.

- In political terms, we now seek Federal Status and not full Independence.

- The solution must be political and not military. There must be a calling together of all ethnic groups in Burma – and then a road map for the development of a Constitution, recognising a Federal Union of States.

- Ceasefire agreements are not the solution. Ceasefires have been repeatedly broken; they are also used to further the Burmese Government’s military and economic
interests. If we have just a ceasefire, what will come next? We had a ceasefire for 17 years. Then fighting broke out again. We don't want a ceasefire that is merely a preparation for the next war.

- A comprehensive political agreement is essential.
- The 2008 Constitution contains no reference to the rights of the ethnic nationals or suggestions from our talks with the Rangoon Government.
- This shows that the Rangoon Government does not WANT to live with all the Peoples of Burma, or to recognise our rights.
- We want the involvement of the international community to monitor the political process and not just to monitor a ceasefire between armies. However, there is a need for monitoring the dividing line between the two armies.
- We need the International Community to understand our needs, our rights and our distrust of Rangoon.

* N.B. Appendix 1 gives a fuller text of the Briefing by General Gun Maw.

**IDP camp near Laiza**

**Briefings on the Humanitarian and Human Rights Situation in Kachin State**

The Burmese Army has targeted civilian villages resulting in continuous displacement since June 2011. Human rights abuse reports are widespread and many villages told us that they were too frightened to return to their homes because they may be “arrested and tortured by the Burmese Army” on the way. IDPs told stories of indiscriminate shelling of civilians, targeting of civilian villages, destruction of churches, homes, and property, arbitrary arrests and extra judicial killings. The Kachin Woman’s Associate (KWA) said that there have been many incidences of rape, but talking of rape is very culturally sensitive and difficult to document. The Women’s League of Burma also reports that “rape is committed as a
systematic and calculated war tactic, rather than random acts of violence.” We were given reports of chemical weapons being used against military targets close to civilian villages.

The stories we were told are supported by a Human Rights Watch and Christian Solidarity Worldwide (CSW) reports in 2012 that also documented indiscriminate attacks on civilians, destruction of property, landmines, forced labour, the use of human shields, killing of unarmed civilians and torture.

An estimated 75,000 have been displaced in KIO areas of Kachin State here they are living in camps along the China-Burma border. The number of displaced people has steadily grown since June 2011 and new IDPs continue to arrive at the border. Humanitarian aid in KIO areas is provided almost exclusively by local actors. These include the IRRC (IDP and Refugee Relief Committee – the humanitarian wing of the KIO) Burmese NGOs including the Shalom Foundation and the Metta Foundation, and local organizations such as the Kachin Woman’s Association.

The Government of Burma has allowed very limited humanitarian access to these areas and placed prohibitive restrictions on international NGOs.

According to an extensive Humanitarian Needs Assessment by The Gage in October 2012, the lack of international access and support means that minimum standards in relation to water supply, sanitation, hygiene, food security, nutrition, health and protection are not being met.

Given that access for international NGOs is prevented, these organizations and their donors need to be more flexible in providing increased funding, technical assistance and capacity building to local groups who are providing assistance with very little support.

### Numbers and locations of IDPs

- There are an estimated 75,000 IDPs in KIO held areas of Kachin State. Approximately 50,000 of these IDPs are living in 17 camps along the China-Burma border. The remainder are hiding in the mountains and jungle, with some able to move backwards and forwards to their villages.
- There are 30-40,000 IDPs in make-shift camps in Government held areas of Kachin State. Some of these are in churches and monasteries. When fighting escalated in January, groups of civilians in Government areas are thought to have fled into the jungle.
- There is a single camp of approximately 600 people in China, on the northern end of the Burma-China border. Until August 2012, there were also an estimated 4,000 living in make-shift camps around Ruili. In August, the Chinese Government hired buses and forcibly drove them back to the border post, stating that:
  - (a) There was no more fighting in Kachin State;
  - (b) They were concerned about the spread of infectious diseases in the camps;
  - (c) They were worried about incidences of human trafficking.

Some of those who were returned have gone into IDP camps, others have moved to churches and monasteries in Government held areas. Some are thought to have returned to their villages or to be living in the jungle in other areas.
• Other IDPs have fled into China, where many have relatives.

IDP camps in KIO held areas

HART conducted meetings with the camp committees in three camps located along the China-Burma border. In each of the camps, IDPs came from at least 30 different villages.

• In all locations, we were told that most people walked for a day to reach the camps. They fled suddenly and arrived empty handed.

• The IDP camps in KIO areas are along the borderline in the “safest place.” There are Burma Army positions very close to the border. At an IDP camps near Laiza we saw the IDPs had dug holes in the ground in case of shelling of the camps. There is severe concern that if fighting moves closer to the border there is no-where for the IDPs to go, except into China.

• Some of the men in the IDP camps have been able to find daily work in plantations and farms along the border.

• Most IDPs in KIO held areas have come from Government controlled areas. The IDPs do not feel able to return if the fighting stops because there are Burma Army troops stationed in their villages. There are also Burmese troops in areas around the border and along the roads.

• The Burma Army is now positioned only a few kilometers from Laiza, capital of KIO held areas. Civilians living there are no longer able to access their farmland or even to collect firewood. The thousands of IDPs in camps close to Laiza are very vulnerable. The Government reportedly considers those living near to Laiza as KIO members and their families.
Humanitarian Provisions

- There is overcrowding in many of the camps, with two or three families in small tents and bamboo huts.
- The UN agencies have brought a few convoys of humanitarian aid to IDP camps in KIO held areas, with the most recent convoys in July 2012. According to the UN reports, food was provided for 40,000 although representatives of agencies in the camps estimated the number to be significantly smaller. Oil and rice were provided and some camps received hygiene packs and kitchen kits.
- The UN was only given permission to visit the largest camps around Laiza on one occasion, although roads did not close until December 2012. The Burmese Government have not granted permission for aid convoys to any KIO held areas since July 2012, now 8 months ago. In total, the following provisions were received:
  - Tum Pung, Nhkawng Pa camp, Mai Jai Yang area – non-food items + food for 3 months
  - Lana Zup Ja, Bum Tsit Pa – non-food items + food for 2 months
  - Nam Lim Pa, Borderpost 6 and Borderpost 8 camps – non-food items + food for 1 month.
- All other support for IDP camps in KIO held areas has been provided by the IRRC (IDP and Refugee Relief Committee) as well as national NGOs and locals community based groups. The humanitarian work is co-ordinated by RANIR (Relief Action Network for IDP and Refugees).
- Local humanitarian groups have only been able to provide rice and salt (without oil or pulses) since the start of the conflict. RANIR have helped develop some small kitchen gardens around the camps to help improve nutrition. They report that up to a third of children in the IDP camps suffer from malnutrition.
- All camps were providing education up to Grade 8 as well as early childcare centres. Many of the teachers are IDPs themselves, with some volunteer teachers and others from the KIO education department. Local NGOs are providing educational materials. There was a small hospital and clinic in one of the camps.
The number of IDPs is increasing

Number
0 10000 20000 30000 40000 50000 60000 70000 80000
30-Jun-11 31-Jul-11 31-Aug-11 31-Sep-11 30-Oct-11 30-Nov-11 31-Dec-11 31-Jan-12 29-Feb-12 31-Mar-12 30-Apr-12 30-May-12 30-Jun-12 31-Jul-12 31-Aug-12 31-Sep-12

(53) IDP Camps at Present

Displaced Villages in Kachin State and Northern Shan State

RANIR: Supporting Local Organizations

RANIR is a network set up by 13 civil society groups in July 2011, shortly after the fighting started. They are co-coordinating the work of local NGOs in KIO held areas of Kachin State, undertaking humanitarian needs profiling and mapping IDP and refugee locations. They also provide training for local relief workers.
The values of RANIR are: Impartiality, Compassion, Accountability and Transparency.

- RANIR are encouraging donors to invest in capacity building for community based groups and local NGOs. A local relief worker told us: “Our local organizations know the needs of the displaced communities. They are able to work effectively in the camps and know how to work with the authorities. They can be transparent and accountable. The International NGOs will come and go. If the capacity of local organizations is built, we will be able to continue to help ourselves in the future.”

- Through Trocaire, DFID is investing in local organizations and the Kachin we met want to encourage other donors to work in the same way. “We want to see greater involvement of the local people”.

- RANIR was invited to UN OCHA for the humanitarian co-ordination meeting in February 2012. However, the majority of the humanitarian provisions have been sent to Government held areas. UN OCHA has said it will not provide grants to local organizations.

  A local relief worker said: “For this reason, the UN agencies are very political. We are careful to avoid politics but the UN appear to us like an agency of the Burmese Government. They just follow what the Government says.”

**Kachin Women’s Association**

We were able to meet the Secretary of the KWA plus a volunteer most particularly involved in publications and media for the organization, formerly a government official. The Secretary was formerly a solder; then became a training officer for the KIO, but has now worked for the Women’s organization for the six years.

The KWA was established on the 19th of August 1987 to give assistance during the difficult years before the 17 year ceasefire, although women were involved and busy in a variety of ways before that date.

At present their main activities are in the following areas:

1) Childcare
2) Trafficking of women
3) Relief to IDP Camps
4) Tailoring

**Childcare**

They have established 105 Childcare Centres amongst 16 IDP Camps and in other areas, although some of these are already non-operational as their villages are abandoned due to the Burmese military offensive of 2011-2013. The present centres involving 1,315 children and 91 teachers and carers. The children are predominantly aged between 3 – 5. Finding the necessary funding is their main difficulty, which comes mainly from individual generous Kachin businessmen.

**Trafficking of women**
There is much trafficking of young women especially to China. The Chinese authorities are helpful in the combatting of this. With the latter’s assistance many of the women are found and identified. Some choose not to return home as they have actually established a life. Others they are able to bring home. These they assist with income generation as they usually will not find it easy to make a marriage back home due to the fact of their abduction being known. The fear of this rejection back home is another reason why some women choose not to return.

The KWA also monitors sexual violence within the community and seeks its prevention.

**Relief to IDP Camps**
At present this is the steady on-going work of sharing in the provision and delivery of food, and the limited supplies of medicines and clothing.

However, the KWA carried out amazing work when the most recent unannounced war by the Burmese military commenced in June 2011. Large numbers of fleeing civilians, driven out and in terror from the violence and rape, bringing nothing with them as the Burmese offensive against the Kachin People was totally without warning: these overwhelmed the more secure areas of Kachin State. Many families were without husbands and fathers who had of necessity been left behind to resist the Burmese offensive. With no chance of preparation the KWA, working with the Church leaders, organized from nothing some assistance, especially for mothers and children. There was nowhere for the refugees to sleep other than on the bare floor. But some shelter, food and additional clothing was gradually supplied. Encouragement and emotional support was needed. Expectant mothers and mothers of newly born had nothing. The KWA helped in the provision of clothing for the expected child. Mothers delivering might be able to receive hospital care for 2 or 3 days; ten forced to return to the overcrowded camps, sleeping on the floors. The KWA rented a building where mothers and child could stay for one month to receive support and better nutrition, as well as blankets and clothing. As stated above this phase is now past and the assistance to IDPs and the camps is a steady task though still lacking in resources.

**Tailoring**
They are involved in the production of many clothing garments.

Since the Burmese military have been deploying chemical warfare they have also been making thousands of masks, simply of material, in an attempt to provide some limited protection.

**Funding**
The main funders for their work are the various Churches and individual businessmen. In the case of individual funders one may, for example, pay for a teacher in the childcare centres for 1 or 2 months. They admit that they are in great need of funding for the coming year of March 2013 – March 2014.

The staff of the KWA, at present numbering nine, have been notable for their steadfast work during the most difficult circumstances. When the war was at its most intense they stood by the refugees as well as providing food for soldiers returning exhausted and underfed from the battle line. While many fled, they could not. They also visited soldiers and others in hospitals, especially those having no family nearby, and likewise carried out the sad but
important duty of attending the funerals of those without families; for those with families they comforted the widows.

**Religious Leaders**

**Father Joseph Nboi Naw (Roman Catholic)**

The first Roman Catholic missionary, Father Gilot, arrived in 1856. Before the 17-year cease-fire, the President was claiming that Burma’s religion must be Buddhist and every person must be a Buddhist. Since 1864, persecution and discrimination intensified. For example, it became very difficult for students who were not Burmese to excel in examinations or to attain promotion. Some of those who demonstrated against this oppression were killed and some priests have been killed.

Christian literature, including hymn books and catechisms were regularly burnt. There was freedom to believe any religion – but not to practice it! The Church lost any right to own property or to build new churches; now the Burmese Government does not allow us to build or repair churches and they have destroyed some. Church property, lands and schools were nationalised; teaching the Christian faith and use of the Kachin language in schools were forbidden. The church began to use Sundays and summer holidays to teach the Christian faith and the Kachin language.

‘They call us uncivilised people – but it is the Burmese soldiers who go round persecuting the people and burning their homes. They call us Communist sympathisers - and we are certainly friendly with China – but how can we be Communists when we are Christians?’ Whenever the KIA carries out acts of resistance, the Burmese Army carries out reprisals in Government-controlled areas.

‘I was captured by the Burmese Army, during the ceasefire and I was kept in their interrogation camp all day; they kept me in one place, not allowing me to move or to have anything to eat or drink. In the evening they interrogated me – but as I had had all day in which to pray, I could give wise answers! They asked me who I had met, where the KIA was located – and so on…’

He came to Laiza about 12 years ago, beginning a new parish on April 5th 2009, because Laiza and Myitkyina. People coming to church in the Government-controlled area were arrested and the village has been burnt down since the 2011 offensive began.

‘Even during the ceasefire, the Burmese Army had license to kill, burn, rape and destroy. They even killed babies and old people – in the ‘White Areas’ [controlled by the Burmese Army].’

‘On July 20th 2011 in the village of Prang Hkudung, the Burmese Army blew up the church, the convent, the school, clergy house and the cross. As the people fled, the Army was firing at them all the time, even using artillery to shell them. In recent months the attacks have intensified with aerial bombardment and artillery, only stopping on January 26th 2013 – but we know that they are now bringing in more ammunition. The Burmese are carrying out both ethnic and religious cleansing (Christian) – but most areas are controlled by the KIO.’

Father Joseph’s message to the church abroad and the international community:
‘Come and study our situation here. After obtaining the truth – then speak for us. And please get the world to come and help us solve our problems. Come to help and heal us: we are very much wounded.’

**Anglican Church**

HART met the Anglican Lay Preacher and the Verger of the Church. They spoke of their experience and their hopes for the future:

*We need to keep on fighting and struggling because we believe that the Will of God for the Peoples of Burma is not yet done. We pray to keep strong, to be patient and to persevere. God is in charge of history and we must persevere. We believe that God continues with us to look after our People so we must be strong.*

*When the IDPs first arrived many were looked after in the Church compound here. They were totally dependent on us. Now they have moved to the organized Camps and we share with others in looking after them. The Anglican Church, which is only the 3rd largest of the Christian denominations (after the Baptist and then the Roman Catholic) used to be very small in Laiza, so small that there was no Church building. The new Anglican church has been built since the recent war began because of the large numbers of IDPs that poured in, many were Anglicans.*

*The future needs to be a Peace that is monitored by the International Community; with an equal status for all the People.*

*Burma is independent but its people are still not free.*

The verger spoke of his more than 60 years of his life: *Under Burmese rule things have never got better. We want only one goal: to look after our land ourselves, and we prefer to do that in a United Burma. But we are no longer able to trust those in power in Burma that they have the will to live with others. That is why we are forced to keep holding our arms.*

When asked if they knew of any Anglican churches that had been destroyed they replied that they knew of many Baptist places of worship destroyed, for the Baptist denomination is the largest amongst the Kachin, but they themselves knew of only one Anglican church destroyed.

**Baptist Church**

The Baptist denomination is the largest amongst the Kachin. HART met with the Senior Baptist Pastor and several other leaders. They spoke of the following:

*The Burmese practice hatred against whole nations. They do not want to treat others as equals. They breed hatred. The Church and its leaders try to deal with this hatred and to decrease the tension and bitterness. Otherwise Burma may explode as a result of the hatred manufactured by the Burmese Government.*

*When I was in Norway, speaking, I tried to explain this because I am afraid that the International Community believes the Burmese Government when they talk about democratisation. The military are still too much in control for it to be democracy. 25% of parliamentary members are still in uniform. Most of the government is military. It is a ‘false democracy’.*
In the West you seek to treat people with respect. But, it is not so here. The Burmese in power always lie. You do not understand. If you lived with them you would understand. For them there are two classes of people. Within the borders of Burma we are several separate nations. We were never together within the same state until the time of British Rule. We have tried to maintain the federal system for a long time but the Burmese government has not cooperated and it is they who will destroy it. Originally we all worked together for an independent Burma. They have created so much bitterness that it leads to people talking of independence. Unless we can remove the military control over the government we cannot have peace and democracy. And without that we cannot live together. Yet the International Community, even the U.S., is talking of “the Peace Process” in Burma.”

Asked of how well they felt Aung San Suu Kyi spoke on behalf of the Ethnic Nationals they replied, “We keep watching Aung San Suu Kyi with big eyes.” They finished with the statement, “Without our fighting to defend ourselves I do not think that the International Community would have heard of our needs and our troubles.”

Interviews in Kachin State

Lady, age 35, from Dingja village

“There was a loud explosion near to the house. We left everything and fled the village. I just carried what I could – a blanket, a change of clothes and a kilogram of rice to eat along the way. It was 14 June 2011.

Later on, we returned back home but the house had been burnt down. Everything was burnt down.”
Since then, I have been here in the camp. I lost everything. I have to rely on assistance from the camp now.

I am married with three children; a ten year old girl, a nine year old son and a seven year old son. My husband is away fighting.

It is a one day walk from here to my village. It is not safe for us to return because all the roads are closed and no one is able to move. We are afraid of being arrested and tortured. The whole village is now deserted”.

Lady, age 65 and man, age 43 from Dingja village

“We heard a loud explosion in the night time. The explosion was some kind of bomb and it was followed by shelling. We were terrified and frightened. We fled with the rest of the village and arrived here together. We couldn't bring anything with us, and we haven’t gone back.

My house was burnt down. The army went into the village and intentionally burnt it down.

There is still fighting and the Burma Army is in that area. If we return home they may arrest and torture us on the way.

We have been struggling hard and we do not know who to tell our stories. Please tell people that we are really in trouble and suffering; we need help”.

Man at an Anglican Church

“Our Roman Catholic and Baptist churches are being destroyed by the Army. Any buildings that they suspect of being used by the KIO they will destroy.

My brother in law was transporting grain near the frontline. There had been a recent ambush on the KIO on the road by the Burma Army. On that day, the Burma Army couldn’t find any KIA to shoot so they shot down any living thing that they saw, even the cattle.

They shot down my brother in law point blank. They even burnt his tricycle and all the grain that was on it.

We want a peaceful future. We want to be in a country where we are seen as equal to the Burmese people.”

Man from Bhamo Town

“The conflict started in my area.

One day, there was an explosion in the Church at Bhamo. The Burma Army had tried to discretely place an explosive at the back of the building so that they could accuse the KIO of attacking civilians. Two people were injured.

They are using many big weapons against the Kachin people. It is like a man fighting against a child.”

Man, age 35, in Laiza

“A father and his son and daughter-in-law were living in S__ village not far from the border. The village is in a valley and the Burma Army are stationed at the top of the nearest hill.
The daughter-in-law was about twenty and she had a one year old daughter. One day, they went to their fields to try to collect some food and while they were there the Burma Army appeared and arrested them saying that they must bring the food they had gathered to the Army base. The men carried the food but the girl was tied with her hands behind her back. When they saw the girl had been tied up, they realised something was wrong so they agreed that on the father’s word they would run to escape.

When the father shouted, the two men ran and managed to escape but the wife was captured. For three days, the girl’s husband, father-in-law and others in the village could see her tied to a post outside the Army camp at the top of the hill. They could see that she was being mocked and laughed at. Every so often they would untie her and take her into one of the huts and rape her.

After three days she disappeared.

They have never found her body and they do not know what has happened to her. Not long afterwards, the whole village fled to an IDP camp where they now live. The daughter is now two and is looked after by the family. The whole village has been deserted.”

Thomas, IDP camp on the China-Burma border

“I am a Catholic preacher in the IDP camp and a member for the camp religious sub-committee.

Even before the conflict started, people from Kachin already understood the behaviour of the military. When I was a boy, I was arrested and beaten with a handgun on my head for no reason. The headmaster of my school was informed and I was released.

Many people were intimidated in similar ways. So we were already afraid.

We were near the place where the war first started. When the war started everyone in my village fled as soon as they heard the Burma Army was coming because they already knew how the Burma Army would behave and how it would treat the people.

We heard gunfire and an explosion and all the women and the children instantly ran. When the people ran, they left everything. We had to leave without any belongings.

I stayed in the village to care for the domestic animals. I managed to sell my buffalo to the KIO so that I didn’t lose anything to the Burma Army. But I couldn’t harvest my crops so I have lost my income.

I can get back to my village but the Burma Army have a position overlooking the village so we don’t feel safe. The Burma Army have entered into surrounding villages. They kill the domestic animals and destroy all of the crop barns.

Some people in the village sneak back in to get their animals and take the animals to another place. I have been able to move one buffalo to another village.

There are three men who went back to our village to get their belongings but we don’t know where they are now. We don’t know if they are dead or alive.

We are afraid to return to our village because we don’t know if landmines have been planted in the area. We need the land to be demined before we can live there. The youth leader in my Church stepped on a mine when he went back to his village and he has lost a leg. We can’t trust the Burma Army. We don’t dare to go back.
Now our food is from donations – people are helping so that we don’t have to worry about food. But we worry about getting extra income in case of health problems. We also want to be able to provide an education for our children.”

5.2. NORTH KAREN AND SOUTH KARENNI STATES

Although the cessation of fighting and the associated killings, injuries and terror are welcomed, the ceasefire has not alleviated many difficulties and has introduced new problems.

Use of Ceasefire to Expand the Burmese Army’s Presence.
Since the Cease-fire, the Burmese Army is increasing its presence, with more and larger camps along the Salween River and many military supplies pouring in to support its troops.

Civilians’ Fear of the Army and Reluctance to return to Villages
The displaced people are reluctant to return to villages after 10-15 years because they are worried by the Burmese Army presence. They have hidden many belongings such as blankets and cooking utensils and are frightened to take them back to their homes as the Army has so often broken promises and destroyed everything. There are now so many Army camps and they are so close to many of the villages that local people can hear their bamboo bells ringing – just a kilometre away. Therefore while the Burmese Army remains, people will not return to their villages, although some do return to towns.

Damage to Livelihoods
The paddy fields in their original villages have ‘gone to ruin’. As the local people have been unable to tend them for so many years, trees have grown in them and destroyed all their previous hard work. Also, many are now near the Army camps so the villagers are afraid to go to them and can only see them from a distance.

In their new locations, villagers are allowed to farm land – but it is ‘dry’ land, requiring ‘slash and burn’ farming instead of ‘wet’ flat lands rice farming with paddy fields. ‘Slash and burn’ is much harder work with less return (4-7 acres of dry land may obtain 250 tins of rice compared with same amount with only 2 acres in the paddy fields, with much less hard work).

Changing tactic of the Burmese Government: exploitation of local people’s natural resources
The Government’s policy has moved from military offensives to encouraging investment which exploits rich resources. For example, several logging companies have been given permission to cut trees, including mega-businesses such as Htoo Company (owned by Tay Zar who also owns Air Pagan) which now has monopoly.

As one Karenni man said: ‘The Burmese Government has changed tactics not its heart. They fear that there will be an overthrow of their regime, like what happened in Libya. So they are gaining international recognition from US, UK – but internally, they are destroying the survival of ethnic nationals by stealing our resources. When they sell our resources to foreign firms, we receive nothing. Everyone wants development, with bridges, roads etc., but we
only want sustainable development. It is as though the Ethnic Nationals must run a marathon – but we have already run 60 miles, so we just have to keep running; although exhausted, we have to keep running…. and we are no nearer a political settlement.’

Many companies are ready to exploit diverse resources - gold and tin mining and logging. ‘There is massive investment in logging; we see mountains of logs by the roads waiting to be transported – and more logging continues and continues’.

**Harmful effects of logging include:**

Contamination of rivers and drinking water;
Loss of livelihoods. ‘For example, villagers used to earn their living from the leaves of trees, selling them; they also use the leaves to build roofs for their homes – but the trees are now being destroyed. Therefore the people have to travel far to find leaves. The loggers don’t only cut the teak trees but they destroy all trees, even those near the villages - although they could work further into jungle, leaving areas around the villages intact, as they have big trucks. Also, they don’t replant – they only take’.
‘We need good roads, clinics, schools – but we don’t see them’.
‘What is “development”? They only destroy, they don’t develop. I love the environment, with clean water, trees – all are now being destroyed.’

### 5.3 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND CONCERNS IN SHAN STATE.

During meetings with representatives of SWAN (Shan Women’s Action Network), HART’s partner in Shan State, issues raised included causes for concern which had been expressed by wide-ranging representation of Shan people at Conferences and meetings convened by SWAN. Excerpts from reports of the meetings and the associated Press Release form the basis of this section of our Report

‘Communities across Shan State vent frustration at ongoing abuses during peace process’.

19 December 2012

After co-hosting the “Trust Building for Peace Conference” in Rangoon from 26-28 November, initiated by the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) and organized by Shan civil society groups, SWAN members travelled for nearly three weeks to meet communities in Taunggyi, Nongkhio, Kyaukme, Hsipaw, Lashio, Kesee, Hsenwi, Kutkai, Namkham, Muse and Kengtung,

Despite being closely monitored by military authorities, hundreds of people joined the public meetings, hosted by members of the SNLD, the Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (SNDP) and Shan Literature and Culture Associations.

Communities attending recent public meetings across Shan State vented frustration at ongoing abuses despite the fact that the new peace process has been underway for over a year.

**Human Rights Violations by the Burmese Army, especially sexual violence against women**

Women urged SWAN to continue speaking out about military impunity for sexual violence. “The rapes reported by SWAN are just the tip of the iceberg. There are many more cases which are untold. We want to work with SWAN to bring justice for our people,” said a woman in Kyaukme.
Land confiscation and environmental degradation from investment projects,
Villagers raised concerns about land confiscation and environmental degradation from investment projects. Many villagers spoke out against China’s laying of oil and gas pipelines through their lands in northern Shan State. Women desperate to support their families described secretly trying to cultivate their confiscated fields.
SWAN joined over 300 farmers, monks and MPs in a prayer ceremony in Bawgyo, Hsipaw, on December 5th, to protest the safety threat posed by the pipelines in this salt farming area. Locals, who have to renovate the bases of their houses due to salt corrosion each year, fear that the pipelines may rupture and explode.
“People in Shan State are asking what sort of peace this is, when they losing more and more of their lands and livelihoods,”

The urgent need to end militarization in ethnic areas, so that people can participate freely in the peace process. Many also echoed the calls of the “Trust Building for Peace Conference” to establish a federal union to bring genuine equality and peace to Burma.

‘Don’t push refugees back into active war zones’.
Shan community groups are gravely concerned about imminent repatriation of over 500 refugees from a camp on the northern Thai border into an area of active conflict.
Today, the Norwegian Refugee Council, contracted under the Norwegian-led “Myanmar Peace Support Initiative,” will begin house-to-house surveys of refugees in Koung Jor camp, northern Chiang Mai province, about their willingness to return to Mong Hta, about 20 kms. across the border. This almost deserted village has been designated as a resettlement site for refugees during ceasefire negotiations between the Shan State Army-South (SSA-S) and the Burmese government.
Since the SSA-S signed a ceasefire in December 2011, there have been ongoing skirmishes, including in Mong Hta, between Shan troops and the Burma Army, which has not pulled back from conflict areas and has reneged on territorial agreements. Burmese Railway Minister Aung Min had promised the sub-townships of Ho Mong and Mong Hta, bordering Mae Hong Son and Chiang Mai provinces, to the SSA-S, but there are still over 40 Burmese military camps in these areas.
The refugees in Koung Jor told Norwegian representatives in July they did not want to go back to Mong Hta due to fear of the Burma Army and other pro-government militias in the area, which is littered with land-mines. Most of the refugees are not from Mong Hta, but from Central Shan State.
The survey starting today in the camp is spreading panic among the refugees, who fear they will shortly be pushed back. The Norwegian Refugee Council has programs inside Burma, but has never before worked with Shan refugees.
“The refugees must not be used as guinea-pigs to test out the peace process, Instead of putting pressure on the refugees, international donors should pressure the Burmese government to negotiate a just and lasting peace.”

During a meeting with SWAN on February 14th, continuing concern over the proposal to relocate the IDPs was emphasised. The Myanmar Peace Support Initiative (MPSI), supported by Norwegian Refugee Council, is recommending the settlement pilot project inside
Ceasefire area, Moung Hta. But the IDPs are reluctant to resettle in a cease-fire area because Burmese and Wa Armies still have camps there. It is believed that they have approached DFID for support to build homes in this resettlement area. If this is the case, local people urge DFID not to fund this initiative, because it is not a good solution as it is so unsafe for the people.

In more general terms, the Shan community is concerned that the current ‘peace’ is not genuine – it is only a ceasefire; how it is entirely inappropriate to proceed with population relocation without a genuine political agreement; trying to rush through, after the Railway Minister visited Norway. MPSI formed with Norwegian support who hired consultants. It seems as though Charles Petrie (former United Nations in-country coordinator in Burma) who leads MPSI is trying to rush this programme through, against the wishes of the people concerned.

The point was made that people came from own areas to escape forced relocation in 1996-8, when over 400,000 were forced to leave their homes at gunpoint under SLORC’S 4 Cuts Campaign. They now want to return to own localities, not to the area designated by MPSI. They feel that they are being used as a ‘political solution’. This seems to be another ‘forced relocation’!
6. HART PROJECTS

6:1 SWAN (Shan)

For the past four years HART has been supporting two of the seven programmes of SWAN (the Shan Women’s Action Network): namely the Maternal and Child Healthcare Programme (WHP), HART supplying 90% of the funding, and the Women’s Crisis Support Programme (WCSP), HART totally funding this. In the latter half of 2012 SWAN decided to combine these two programmes and from them to form two new programmes, differentiated not by theme but by geographical area. This is because the two areas of work, in practice, overlap and intertwine to such a great extent. Of the two, one will now concentrate upon Shan displaced people in Thailand and the other upon those still within Shan State. They will both continue to concentrate upon women and children although both have considerable impact in improving the lives of male family and community members. Across the border within Shan State the Health Programme has been managing, through great perseverance, to extend its work in to areas more directly affected by the war. This had proved impossible in the previous year. Now they have been able to take the training of health workers, and educational work in maternal and child care, to these areas. HART continues its support for the two new programmes and has at present committed itself to a sum approaching two thirds of the amalgamated funding. It has agreed to seek the interest of other potential funders.

6:2 DOH SAY (Karenni and Karen)

See Appendices (iv) and (v).

7. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank all of those who enabled our visit to take place.
We thank those who gave so much of their time to meet with us.
8. APPENDICES

Appendix 1: ITINERARY:
February 13-15 Chaing Mai, Thailand
February 18-23 Laiza in Kachin State, Burma

Appendix 2: Meeting with General Gun Maw
February 19th 2013

The Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO)
The use of the word ‘Independence’ refers to our commitment to Freedom from Oppression and Inequality.
We need an ‘Organisation’ because we have to struggle for this freedom.
The KIO consists of several different departments: the Army and the legislature are separate ‘Departments’, similar to the UK political system – although there are some differences.
By contrast, the Burmese Government always gives priority to the Army. This was reflected in their displeasure when the General himself did not attend a recent meeting with the Burmese Government: they complained, because they give priority to the military representatives.

Aspects of the History of the Kachin People
There is evidence to prove that Kachin were present in China in 550BC; that they migrated to their present location for various reasons and settled. They were friends of Burmese kings; allies but not in the same kingdom. They signed the Panglong Agreement, seeking joint Independence.
Now, the Burmese leadership dismisses the Panglong Agreement as outdated. Other countries have also dismissed the Agreement as ‘too old’ and asked them not to talk about it anymore.
The KIO are no longer seeking Independence but are now striving to achieve freedom on the basis of Equality within a Union of Burmese Federal States.
KIO has repeatedly tried to reach a political solution through negotiation but the Burmese Government will not agree to such a way forward.
In 1994, the Kachin leadership signed a Ceasefire Agreement with the then Burmese military junta – SLORC (State Peace and Reconciliation Council). But the Burmese ruling regime announced to the international community that this was a ‘Peace Treaty’. During the Ceasefire the KIO tried to co-operate to develop a new Constitution for Burma and in 2004 the Kachin sent 5 delegates (including General Gun Maw) to the National Convention, to
work with other Ethnic National representatives to establish a just political system. When the 2008 Constitution was announced, it contained none of their requirements. After the 1994 Ceasefire Agreement, the Burmese Government said they were not an elected government, only a ‘de facto’ government. They said that the KIO should wait for an elected Burmese Government before beginning political talks. When the Kachin people tried to celebrate the tenth Anniversary of the Ceasefire, the Burmese Government prohibited this, requiring the KIO to acknowledge it as a ‘Peace Treaty.’

On February 5th 2009, the KIO issued an official statement putting on the record that the Constitution failed to provide for any Rights for the Ethnic Nationals but that they would not do anything to jeopardise the process of democratisation reflected in the forthcoming Referendum and Elections.

Since April 28th 2009, the Burmese Government has pressured the KIO and the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) to change their role into becoming a ‘Border Guard Force’.

Recent Renewal of Fighting
On June 9th 2011, fighting broke out when a Burmese Army battalion invaded a KIO territory and began shooting.

On June 14th, 2011, the KIO ordered the KIA to start fighting in order to defend their land. On June 14th, & subsequently, the KIO sent 3 letters to the Chinese authorities. On October 28th we requested a meeting with 5 KIO members & Central Committee members because the fighting was bordering on their country, but they refused.

On August 1st and 2nd, there were more meetings in an attempt to achieve a nation-wide ceasefire and political dialogue together with a 3rd Party to monitor the ceasefire. The
Burmese Government refused to accept monitors and told the international community that it was the KIO which was refusing to sign a ceasefire agreement.

As the fighting escalated, the KIO leadership has repeated meetings with the Burmese Government, trying to achieve a negotiated settlement, unsuccessfully.

On January 18th and 19th 2012, a further meeting proposed a 3-stage process:

a) A negotiated agreement with clear demarcation between the two Armies, as they were so close that clashes could easily erupt;

b) Political dialogue, including the involvement of civil society groups; a Consultation with the international community; monitors to ensure no reneging on agreements;

c) Implementation by stages of an Agreement ready for signing. But the Burmese Government merely remained committed to their ‘Road Map’ and elections according to the 2008 Constitution, which gave no rights to the Ethnic Nationals.

The KIO require amendments to the Constitution giving equality to all national groups under a Federal System.

The Burmese Government has not agreed to any negotiation according to these principles and only talks about a ‘Ceasefire’. But the Kachin had a Ceasefire which lasted 17 years and was broken by renewed fighting in June 2011. They do not want the duration of a Ceasefire only as an opportunity for the Burmese Government to prepare for the next round of fighting. On June 20th 2012, the KIO has already emphasised this to the leader of the Burmese Peace negotiators, former General Aung Min and now a Minister in the Presidential Office. The fighting became most intense in December 2012, beginning to escalate on December 13th. The KIO leadership was invited to meet a Burmese delegation on December 14th requesting more Peace Talks but the next morning the fighting continued together with air strikes (December 14th).

The shelling intensified and included some cross-border shelling into China, together with violation of Chinese air space by Burmese fighter aircraft – but the Chinese remained silent. The Burmese Army has used cluster bombs, phosphorous bombs and helicopter gunships to attack civilians.

On January 1st 2013, KIO sent an official letter to the British Ambassador.

Also on January 1st 2013, the KIO requested the international community, including China, the USA and the UK (remembering Britain’s historical ties with Burma) to help as observers.

More recently, in mid-February, KIO sent a letter to the UN. On February 3rd & 4th, the Chinese Government informed the KIO that they would mediate a peace negotiation between the KIO & the Burmese Government & therefore they have said it is not necessary to seek international intervention. But the KIO replied to the Chinese Government, saying that we had already despatched letters to the international community requesting assistance in the Peace Process. We advised the Chinese Government that, because we share a border line with China & we have Kachin communities in both countries, we would like the Chinese to be involved in this process wherever and whenever we have meetings on the Peace process until they reach their conclusion.
Continuing initiatives

a) Requests for international monitors from international community, including UK, US, China;
b) KIO to see historical documentation and records;
c) Jonathan Powell, who was involved in brokering the ‘Good Friday Agreement’ in Northern Ireland, has offered to share his experience and we have accepted his offer.

Appendix 3: Map
Appendix 4: Report from Doh Say

October 27, 2012

Dear Caroline Cox and Rev. David Thomas,

I am writing to report you on the project. Firstly I want to thank God for being with all of us including all the health workers who are working in the field. Secondly I would like thank the HART through you for your financial support which plays major role in this project.

I have been in many places of Karenni, Karen, Shan states where there is no clinics. Every time I am in those places, I am scared because I can die from a treatable injuries or illnesses. Last year I saw a villager, who was badly wounded by a land mine and he was imputed in clinic in northern Karen State. Imagine that this person was surely going to die if there were no health workers and clinic. Transporting a patient like him to the nearest hospital under the Burma army controlled areas, takes at least three days and will not make it most of the time due to many kinds of difficulty. It is also extremely expensive to get treatment in BA’s hospitals.

That’s why I am very thankful to all the health workers and for the clinics. Please look at a little more details of numbers of the patients and diseases that have been treated.

The two clinics naming Boe Hoe and Ka Thoe Kee. Boe Hoe clinic is located 1st township and Ko Thoe Kee clinic is in 3rd township of the district (2) of Karenni State. The two clinics are about 40 mile away from each other. They have been useful to the community. The health condition of the community is improving a lot since the establishment of the two clinics. They have saved many lives.

On this trip I have been requested by a district leader if it is possible to set up another mobile clinic in 4th township. I told them I will check with you all.

Although there have been some changing in Burma, It does not mean anything to the improvement of the health care and education of the people in the IDP areas. Every time I am there, I am asked to find support for the health care and education. Every time I am there I am told by many villagers that it is very expensive to get a medical treatment in towns or in cities. It is very expensive to send our children to school in towns. If the members of the SPDC had a good will for the people, they should have prioritized the basic needs of the people first. On this trip, all I heard and witnessed are that many business men have come to take out natural resources like gold mining, tin mining and logging etc.

The two existing clinic are running with simple equipments. Most of the money you sent was spent on the purchase of the medicines. There are no high tech equipments in the clinics. Of course I want to have the best but I have to be practical in solving the difficulties out there.
That’s why I believe that we can save lives or slow down the worse situation if there are health workers and medicines.

The 260,000 baht you sent were spent on:

I bought the medicines two times: first time in May and second time in September. Each time cost 108,459.00 baht.

1. Medicines = 216,918 baht (c. £4,800)
2. Staff allowances = 23,000 baht (c. £511)
3. Items like cooking pots etc. for the clinic = 10,000 baht (c. £222)
4. Headlights and watches = 4,000 baht (c. £88)
5. Transportation of medicines = 10,000 baht (c. £222)
6. Traveling expensive = 10,000 baht (c. £222)
7. Phone Card = 500 baht (c. £11)

Total = 274,418.00 baht (c. £6,076)

I am also sending some photos and list of the medicines that I bought from High Grimm International in Bangkok as attachments. I am sorry that the quality of the photos are not so good.

Thank you very much for your offer to request more financial help in your last e-mail. The needs are always great. I will do it in my next.

Finally I would like to thank you all from the deepest part of my heart for your love, kindness and support.

Please pray that God sends many good leaders to our country who will serve the people.

Doh Say
### Appendix 5: Example of Caseload from Doh Say

#### Clinic Caseload Report Form

**Area:** Karenni  
**Region:** Pasaung  
**Clinic – Boe Hoe**

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<th>Diagnosis, Condition</th>
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<th>&gt;5 years</th>
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<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>1a.</td>
<td>Malaria Confirmed (with - RDT)</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1b.</td>
<td>Malaria Presumptive</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2b.</td>
<td>Lower Respiratory Tract Infection</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Common Diarrhoea</td>
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<td>Dysentry</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>5a.</td>
<td>Gun-Short</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b.</td>
<td>Mine-InJury</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5c.</td>
<td>Other Injury</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>total</strong></td>
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