

DROWNING THE GREEN GHOSTS OF KAYANLAND



IMPACTS OF THE UPPER PAUNGLAUNG DAM IN BURMA

Drowning the Green Ghosts of Kayanland- Impacts of the Upper Paunglaung Dam in Burma

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About the Kayan Women's Union

The Kayan Women's Union was set up in April 2003, with the aim of protecting Kayan women from oppression, gaining equal rights between men and women, and promoting the participation of Kayan women in the movement for human rights and democracy.

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Drowning the Green Ghosts of Kayanland can be viewed at www.salweenwatch.org

Acknowledgements

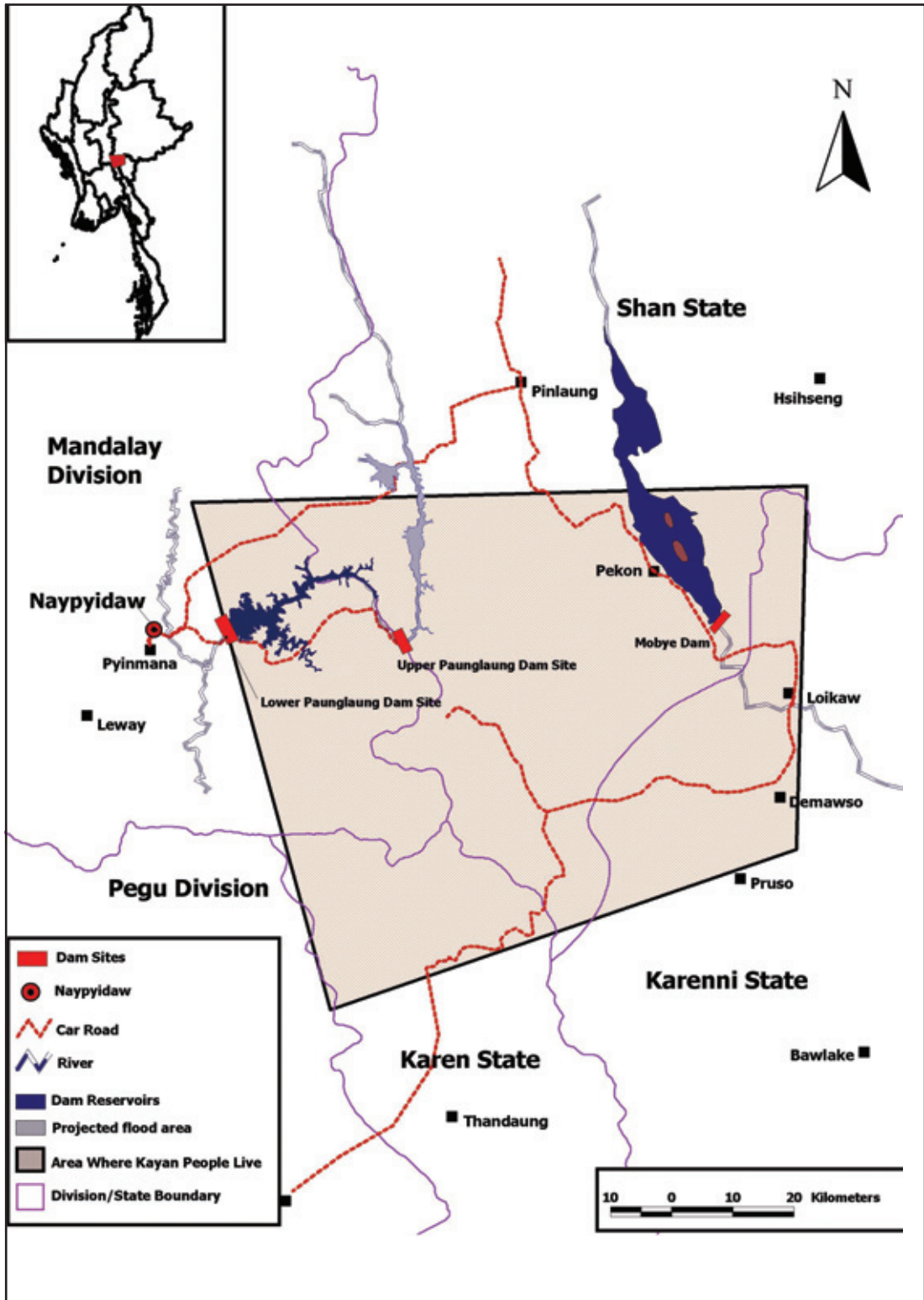
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Kayan area and dam reservoirs



Executive summary

Twenty six miles east of Burma's new capital Naypyidaw, a fertile valley with a population of over 3,500 is soon to be flooded to boost power to Burma's military leaders.

The Upper Paunglaung dam, being built with Chinese investment in the Pyinmana Hills of southern Shan State, will produce 140 MW of electricity and store water to increase the generating capacity of the Lower Paunglaung Dam, completed in March 2005, which currently powers Naypyidaw.

The reservoir of the 99-meter-tall dam will flood twelve villages and submerge over 5,000 acres of fertile farming land. The villagers, comprising some of the few remaining indigenous Kayan Lahta people, were never consulted about the dam plans, and have been offered no compensation. Instead, since 2004, when the dam construction began, they have faced an encroachment of Burma Army troops, and accompanying forced labour and other abuses.

The deployment of Burma Army troops along the Paunglaung River is in direct contravention of the ceasefire agreement reached between the main Kayan resistance army, the Kayan New

Land Party (KNLP), and the Burmese military regime in 1994, which had granted the KNLP control of this area. The regime has now seized most of the former KNLP territories in the Pyinmana Hills.

Ironically, the KNLP was first set up in 1964 in protest at the building of Burma's first major hydropower project, the Moby Dam, which flooded 114 villages, and the electricity from which was mostly sent to the capital Rangoon. Over forty years later, the Kayan people's rights are being abused in the same way, as they find themselves dispossessed of their lands and their resources being siphoned off at gunpoint, this time to the military regime's new capital Naypyidaw.

The Kayan Women's Union calls on the Burmese military regime and Chinese investors to immediately stop construction of the Upper Paunglaung Dam. There has been no transparency in the planning and implementation the project, and no informed consent by affected villagers. We also demand an end to the Burma Army invasion of Kayan territories and the grave human rights abuses being inflicted on our people.



Introduction

Nearly forty years ago, more than 8,000 people, including many Kayan, were forcibly displaced in Pekhon, southern Shan State, when Burma's first major hydropower project, the Moby Dam, was built by the ruling military regime.

114 villages, including the historical capital of Pekhon, were submerged under the dam's reservoir, as were thousands of acres of fertile farmland. Those displaced received pitiful compensation, and attempted to set up new farms along the banks of the reservoir, only to have them confiscated again to make way for six Burma Army battalions sent in to secure the area. Formerly prosperous rice farmers were driven into the hills west of Pekhon, and resorted to growing opium for survival, fuelling local addiction rates. As violence and abuses by Burmese troops escalated, many villagers fled to

Thailand, some ending up in refugee camps or, in the case of over a hundred Kayan-Padaung "long-necked" women and their families, in "human zoos" on display to tourists in Thailand.

None of the electricity produced by the dam benefited local communities, but was transmitted directly to Rangoon.

Today, the same nightmare is happening again, as the current military regime – the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) — proceeds with plans to build the Upper Paunglaung Dam in the western Kayan territories in the Pyinmana Hills. Once again, our peoples face forced displacement at gunpoint with no compensation. Once again, a river on which we relied for our livelihoods will be dammed to power a capital city, this time, the generals' military bastion Naypyidaw.

All of the communities along the Paunglaung Valley are now under the tight control of the SPDC military, and it was with great difficulty that we carried out research for this report during 2007. The aim of the report is to raise awareness among our own peoples as well as internationally about how the regime and the Chinese investors are trampling on the rights of our people in building this dam, and to call for an immediate end to the military invasion of our lands and the exploitation of our resources without local benefit.

The Kayan people

The Kayan people are ethnically related to the Karen and reside in southern Shan State, northern Karenni State and northern Karen State of Burma. Their population is around 200,000. They are comprised of four ethnic sub-groups, the largest being the Padaung (or Kayan La Hui, famed for the brass coils worn around women's necks, giving them an appearance of being "long-necked"). The smallest is the Kayan Lahta, numbering only about 5% of the total Kayan population.

The Kayan sub-groups speak different dialects of the Kayan language, but all share the same script, which uses the Roman alphabet. Kayan are traditionally hill-farmers with animistic beliefs. Nowadays many practice Christianity or Buddhism.

The Kayan Lahta

The Kayan Lahta are the smallest of the Kayan sub-groups, numbering only about 10,000 in total. They live mainly in southern Shan State, in Pekhon and Pinlaung townships, and in the mountain ranges east of Pyinmana in Mandalay Division.

Kayan Lahta wear distinctive white and red striped sarongs. Women traditionally wore brass rings coiled around their lower arms and lower legs. However, nowadays these have mostly been replaced by coils of rattan.

Kayan Lahta in traditional dress





The Paunglaung River

The Paunglaung river flows from its source in western Shan State through the south-west Shan plateau into the central Burmese plains east of Pyinmana, where it joins the Sittang, one of Burma's major rivers. Coursing through high mountains, its banks are largely uninhabited, except for a 14-mile stretch of flatland along the Paunglaung Valley, east of Pyinmana, home to numerous farming communities, including the indigenous Kayan Lahta.

The Paunglaung dams

Two hydropower dams have been planned on the Paunglaung River: the Lower and Upper Paunglaung dams. The former is already in operation, and is currently the largest hydropower project in Burma. The upper dam remains under construction.

The Lower Paunglaung Dam

The Lower Paunglaung Dam, which is located 10 miles east of Pyinmana, was completed in March 2005. The 131-meter-high dam has an installed capacity of 280 MW of electricity.

The dam was a joint project of the Irrigation Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation and the Hydroelectric Power Department of the Ministry of Electric Power (MEPE). China's Exim Bank provided over 1 billion yuan (over 120 million US\$) as loans to help build the power station, which was jointly built by the MEPE and the Yunnan Machinery and Equipment Import and Export Company (YMEC). YMEC provided the machinery and equipment for the dam under a US\$160 million contract. The deal was announced in 1998 as "China's largest export of complete sets of hydropower equipment to southeast

Asian countries, and also Yunnan's largest foreign trade project." (People's Daily Online, Sept 19 2000)

Power from the dam is fed directly through two 230 kilovolt power lines to the Pinyinmana power substation. While power was promised to other parts of Burma, such as Mandalay, once the Paunglaung dam was built, it appears that most of the electricity is being sent to Burma's new capital Naypyidaw.

There have also been reports that the dam has not been able to produce as much electricity as expected. A report by Mizzima news agency in April 2006 revealed that the water levels in the reservoir were so low that only two of the four 70 MW turbines were functioning.

The Upper Paunglaung Dam

The site of the Upper Paunglaung Dam is located 26 miles east of Pinyinmana, 15 miles above the Lower Paunglaung Dam, and just a few miles from the southern end of the Paunglaung Valley.

This means that the entire Paunglaung Valley, the only fertile plain along the river, will be entirely submerged by the dam's reservoir once the dam is built.

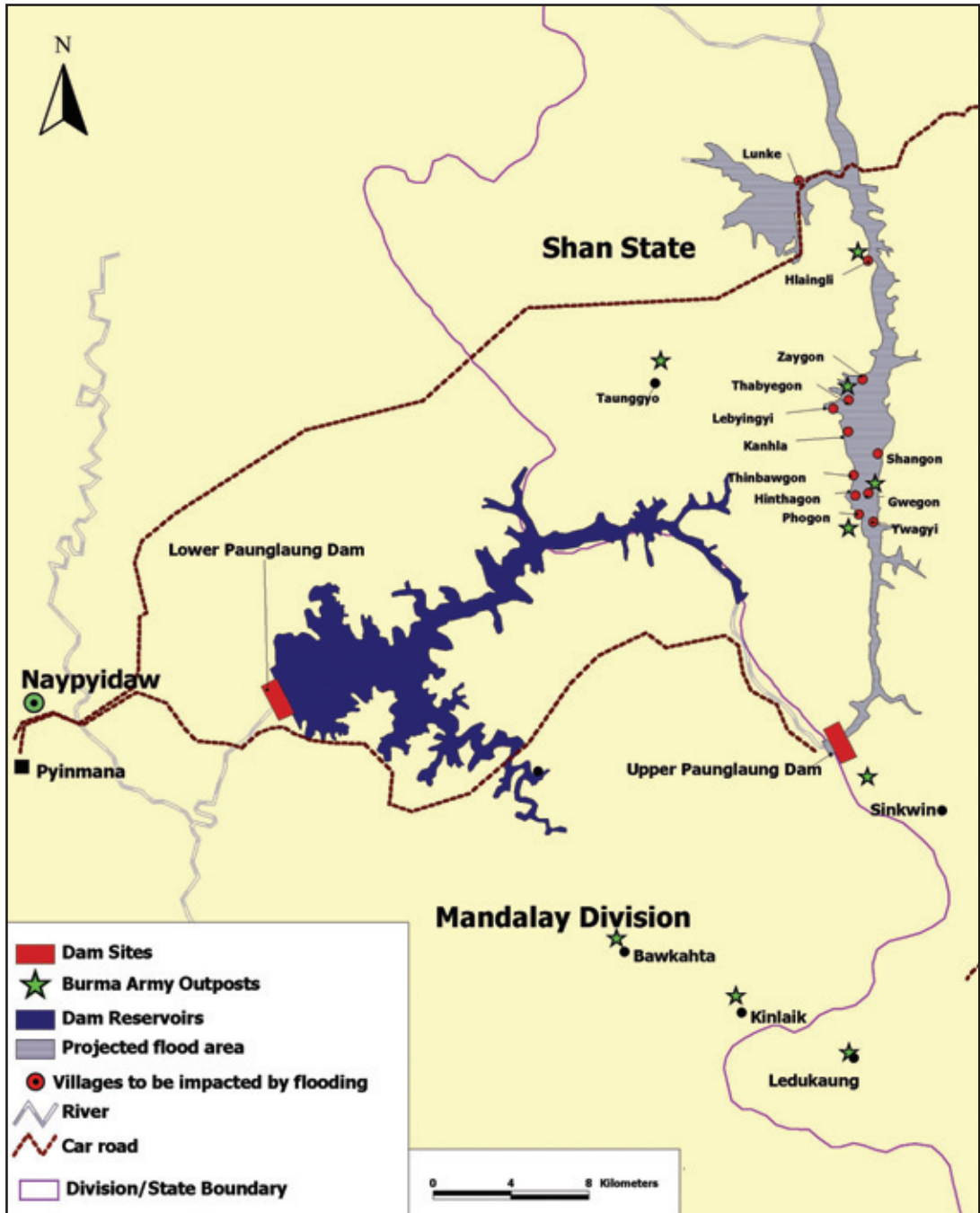
The MoU to implement the Upper Paunglaung Dam project was signed on September 1, 2005, by the Hydroelectric Power Department (HPD) of the Ministry of Electric Power and the Yunnan Machinery and Export Co. Ltd (YMEC) of China. YMEC agreed to provide machinery and equipment worth US\$80 million for the project, which would be undertaken jointly by the HPD and YMEC. The German company FOSCE Consulting Engineers is also involved in the dam construction.

The upper dam will be a 99 meter tall roller-compacted concrete dam, installed with two 70 MW turbines. Increased water storage at this upper dam is also aimed to increase the power generating capacity of the Lower Paunglaung Power Plant. The dam is slated for completion in December 2009. Preparations for construction of the dam began at the site in early 2004.

*Excavation work for the Upper Paunglaung Dam
Photo from YMEC website*



Flood areas of Upper and Lower Paunglaung Dams



Impacts of the Upper Paunglaung dam

Displacement

The fertile Paunglaung Valley has been inhabited by indigenous Kayan Lahta people for over a thousand years. (See box: Legend of the White Elephant). There are currently twelve villages in the valley, with a total population of over 3,500 (see Table 1). The villagers are all subsistence farmers. There is no paved road between the villages along the river; villagers commonly travel by ox-cart, or use small motor boats to

travel along the river.

According to the height of the dam, it is calculated that the reservoir of the Upper Paunglaung dam will stretch for the entire length of the Paunglaung Valley, submerging all the villages along the valley. The sacred graveyards of each village and three Buddhist pagodas in Gwegon, Thinbawgon and Ywagyi villages will be flooded.

Table 1: Villages to be flooded

	Village	Household	Population	Ethnicity
1	Ywagyi	116	580	Kayan Lahta, Shan, Burman
2	Gwegon	83	515	Shan, Burman
3	Hinthagon	47	235	Burman
4	Thinbawgon	43	215	Shan, Pa-o, Burman
5	Kanhla	80	400	Kayan Lahta, Pa-o
6	Thabyegon	87	435	Shan, Pa-o, Burman
7	Hlaingli	32	160	Kayan Lahta, Pa-o, Burman
8	Shangon	48	240	Shan, Burman
9	Lunke	50	250	Kayan Lahta, Pa-o, Burman
10	Zaygon	33	165	Shan, Pa-o, Burman
11	Phogon	38	190	Shan, Pa-o, Burman
12	Lebyingyi	37	185	Shan, Burman
	Total	694	3570	

Note: The Kayan Lahta comprise approximately 25% of the population



Traditional Kayan homes and Buddhist pagodas like these will be lost under the flood waters



Legend of the White Elephant

Kayan Lahta elders recount to this day a legend that establishes their royally-bestowed claim over the Kayan territories of southern Shan State.

During the reign of King Anawratha in Pagan, in the 11th Century, one of his white elephants died. An order to search for a replacement was given out, and his courtiers were advised by the royal astrologers to travel to the Kayan Lahta region of southern Shan State.

After passing along the Paunglaung river, the search party found elephant droppings. They then came across a Lahta woman tending her hill farm, who told them that a white elephant grazed daily nearby. The group tried to catch it, but to no avail. They entreated the woman to help them catch the animal. She was able to do so, but it refused to follow the group back to the palace. The courtiers again entreated the woman to help them bring the elephant with them. The woman complied, but after some days, she was unable to keep on walking.

Likewise, the white elephant also stopped walking. The courtiers then ordered that the Lahta woman be carried on a stretcher to the palace.

In this way, the white elephant was eventually presented to the king. To show his gratitude, the king asked the woman to make a wish. Unable to understand the language, the woman kept quiet. The king then placed a pile of jewelry before her, but she paid no interest to it. The king asked again what she wanted. She then took out a knife and struck the palace ground with it thrice. The royal astrologers explained to the king that this must mean she was asking for land. The king then demarcated a settlement area in southern Shan State for the people of the woman who had brought him the white elephant. The Kayan Lahta have settled in this area from that time to the present.

No informed consent, no compensation

The villagers living in the Paunglaung Valley were never consulted about the building of the Upper Paunglang dam, and only learned of the construction when the dam-site was declared off limits and Burma Army troops sent in to guard the area in 2004.

However, in early 2007, the village heads from Thabyegon village tract were taken by local Pinlaung township officials to Hopon township (40 miles from their current homes), and shown the place where they would have to move when their villages were flooded by the dam. No mention was made about compensation for their farms which would be flooded.

“The village heads were taken and shown a location in Hopon township where we were supposed to move to. The place was on bald hills with stretches of grassland. How can we fend for our subsistence in such surroundings? Nobody has any

*intention of moving to such a place.”
(Interview 6)*

Local villagers interviewed in April 2007 mentioned that they dreaded having to move from their homes and set up new lives elsewhere.

Usually, during April, villagers take advantage of the dry season to repair and re-thatch their houses. However, no one could be seen doing so during the 2007 dry season.

A villager from Hsin Kwin explained: *“Look. Actually it is the time to build or patch the houses but as you see now, there is no one patching or building his house. There used to be the sound of hammering going on all over the village, but these sounds have all gone during the past three years. If we didn’t have to move away, our houses would look smart and bright. It is all due to the coming eviction.”
(Interview 11)*

By early 2008, some villagers in the valley had begun moving out of their homes and relocating to other areas of Shan and Karenni States.

**“We just cannot imagine how to begin our lives again. Moving away means we must start all over again back from square one, and we will certainly have to struggle.”
(Interview 7)**





Impacts on livelihoods

Farming

The fertile alluvial land on the riverside is where most of the local inhabitants cultivate their crops, particularly wet paddy, irrigated by the streams running into the river. Farms get a high yield of 80 to 100 baskets of paddy per acre. Locals also cultivate cash crops such as potato, peas, garlic and onion in the dry season. There are also many fruit trees such as mango, jack fruit, coconut and djenkol. Turmeric is also widely grown on the hillsides as a cash crop, which is sold in Pinlaung – one day’s journey away by motorized tractor.

Once the Upper Paunglaung dam is built, not only will the local people lose their homes, but also their fertile fields. The total acreage of farmlands which will be submerged by the dam’s

reservoir is estimated to be over 5,300 acres.

Table 2: Farmlands to be flooded

No.	Village	Farmland [acres]
1	Ywagyi	893.2
2	Gwegon	639.1
3	Hinthagon	361.1
4	Thibawgon	331.1
5	Kanhla	616.0
6	Thabyegon	669.9
7	Hlaingli	246.4
8	Shangon	369.6
9	Lunke	385.0
10	Zaygon	254.1
11	Lebyingyi	292.6
12	Phogon	284.9
	Total	5,343.8

Fisheries

The Paunglaung River is the home and breeding ground of various species of rare and nutritious fish. Most local people catch fish for their own consumption. Fish are also central to the traditions of the Kayan Lahta people, who make offerings of fish to the spirit guardians of the forest before sowing paddy.

Many species of fish used to migrate up from the Sittang River and into the Paunglaung tributary and breed in its feeder streams and creeks. Since the completion of the Lower Paunglaung Dam three years ago, villagers have noticed that various fish species have decreased, including catfish and eels. Once the Upper Paunglaung Dam is built, they expect the fish population will decrease even further.

Forest products

The Kayan Lahta have a close dependence on the forest. The forests seasonally provide such resources as fruits, vegetables and other produce for both people and animals alike. Forest produce such as resin and honey are key ingredients of traditional local medicine. Various species of rare orchids, mushrooms, and wild djenkol beans grow in the forests.

Once the dam is built, remaining forests along the Paunglaung will be submerged, and villagers displaced by the reservoir will also be forced to clear further areas of forest to establish new homes on higher ground. Increased military deployment in the area to provide for security for the dam once it is built, is also likely to lead to further destruction of the forest as the troops clear land and cut down trees to build new military bases.

“At the moment we are well endowed with our farmlands. Most people rely on wet farms along the riverside. The whole stretch of land along the river banks serves as farmlands,



while hill paddy and turmeric are grown on the hills. If our wet farms are flooded, we will lose our means of subsistence.” (Interview 13)



Above photos: electric lines and new housing in Naypyitaw

Below photos: inside the control room at Lower Paunglaung Station

Burma's new capital: lit-up in isolation

On November 6, 2005, at the astrologically auspicious time of 6.37 am, civil servants in Rangoon were forced to begin moving 320 kms north to the new capital of Naypyidaw, meaning “Royal City,” a sprawl of half-constructed buildings outside the town of Pynmana, in Mandalay Division.

The exact reasons for the relocation remain unclear. Some believe the regime hoped the new inland location would provide greater protection from foreign invasion. Others speculate that the military rulers wanted to be in a better

strategic position to control the ethnic states. Many are convinced that the move was guided by the generals' fortune-tellers.

While most civil servants have been reluctant to move to the isolated new capital, one benefit the new location offers over the old capital is 24-hour electricity. Rangoon continues to suffer from lengthy blackouts, but Burma's military rulers have ensured that all available power, including from the Lower Paunglaung Dam, is being fed to Naypyidaw to keep it lit up around the clock.

Increased abuses by the Burma Army

Troop deployment to secure the dam site

Up until 2004, there had been no Burma Army troops permanently stationed along the Paunglaung valley. Only occasionally Burmese troops stationed at temporary camps south of the valley would patrol along the valley. This was in accordance with the ceasefire signed between the Kayan New Land Party (KNLP) and the regime in 1994, which granted KNLP control over the valley and surrounding territories in southwest Shan State. However, in February 2004, troops from SPDC Light Infantry Battallion 606, which had been stationed at Sinkwin, four miles east of the Upper Paunglaung dam site, set up a new camp called Kywe Yoe (“Buffalo Bone”) on a mountain at the southern end of the Paunglaung valley six miles north of the dam site.

Forced labour around new military base

In setting up the new camp on the Kywe Yoe mountain top, SPDC troops, led by Major Kyaw Lwin, forced civilians from the villages of Sinkwin, Ywagyi, Gwegon and

Thinbawgon to come and clear the land all around the new camp from the top of the mountain down to the bottom. They were forced to work without payment, under threat of a cash fine or detention. Some villagers had to do the work even when they were ill, and some died of malaria caught during the work. Major Kyaw Lwin oversaw the forced labour, which went on for two months.

Forced into government militia

Following the establishment of a permanent SPDC base in the Paunglaung valley, members of all the villages in Thabyegon tract along the valley were forced in 2005 to begin serving in a local pro-government militia. The militia have had to take it in turns to stand sentry around their villages at night, and, together with the local members of the government-sponsored Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) have been forced to monitor the movements of anyone traveling in the area. Names of all home-stay guests had to be reported to the authorities, or else a cash fine of 10,000 kyats was exacted.

“Twenty people, both young and old, male or female, from each village were forced to clear the bushes. No farm tools or food were provided. We had to clear thick dense bushes, where snakes and mosquitoes were plentiful. Sick people were not allowed to rest. Some died of malaria. We had to do their work the whole year round .Our children were starving. It is as if we were in hell.” (Interview 8)

Reneging on the Kayan ceasefire agreement

In October 2005 the SPDC informed the KNLP that the mountains east of Pyinmana were to come under SPDC control, and that the KNLP should withdraw its troops from villages south and southwest of the Paunglaung Valley.

This order was in direct contravention of the 1994 ceasefire agreement, and the KNLP did not immediately withdraw their troops. Shortly afterwards, in November 2005, SPDC troops from LIB 141 opened fire on the Kayan village of Bawkahta, killing a KNLP policeman and injuring a woman and child.

The incident coincided with the move of the SPDC to their new capital at Pyinmana. The SPDC were evidently intent on driving out the KNLP to ensure the safety of their new capital, as well as to secure the new dam on the Paunglaung. Unwilling to provoke further bloodshed, the KNLP then withdrew its troops from most of the villages to the southwest of the Paunglaung Valley.

Following the death of KNLP Chairman U Shwe Aye in August 2006, the SPDC troops began patrolling even more frequently the villages from which the KNLP had withdrawn, and established permanent bases in the villages of Ledukaung, Bawkatha and Bawlake, south of the dam-site. This in turn has led to increased forced labour for the villagers in the area:

“The SPDC IB # 85 took control of our Alaechaung-Kinlaik village tract and also other village tracts. They called up one person from every household and made us fence their base camp, clean up the kitchens, and in and around the barracks. We also had to fetch roofing leaves, thatch and bamboo to patch up the barrack roofs and also firewood. (Interview 3)

“As for portering, we had to do it twice or thrice a month, for one day and night? We usually had to carry rice supplies, ammunition and other military equipment.” (Interview 5)

As a result of these increased abuses by the Burma Army, hundreds of Kayan families have fled to the Thai-Burma border.

“Every village in our Thabyegon village tract must serve in the militia. One person is called up from every seven households. As nobody wishes to do the job, we have to choose one by casting lots and then the six individuals who escape the dreaded lot give 10,000 kyats each to the one chosen. But still we have to sit sentry watch every night, even after we have already given the militia fee! I have no idea of why we have to do this! It’s really depressing.” (Interview 5)

The Kayan New Land Party: spawned from the Moby Dam

In 1963 a group of local leaders in Pekhon Township, southern Shan State, formed an Anti-Dam Construction Committee to oppose the building of the Moby Dam, which was going to flood their homes and farms. When repeated appeals to government officials were met with threats of arrest, the group decided to go underground. On August 8, 1964, the Kayan New Land Party was set up, led by a Kayan student dissident called Ngai Kayan Htan a.k.a Khun Shwe Aye, with the aim of opposing the military dictatorship and demanding rights for the Kayan peoples. Many Kayan people from Pekhon who would be impacted by the Moby Dam joined the KNLP. The KNLP's main area of operation was in Pekhon and Pinlaung townships of southern Shan State.

Following increased Burma Army oppression of the Kayan peoples, the KNLP in 1994 agreed to a ceasefire with the Burmese military regime. The KNLP were granted military and economic control of the mountainous region east of Pyinmana. However, during recent years, this area has been progressively encroached upon by the regime's troops.

Forced labour to build new road to dam site

In order to transport equipment and workers to build the Upper Paunglaung Dam, a new road has been excavated through the hills directly from the Lower Paunglaung dam site. Villagers in the surrounding areas have been forced to build stretches of the road. This included Kayan villagers from Ye Pu Taung Myint, and Upper Boe Mar, who were forced to build the road beginning in March 2006.

Restrictions on hill farming

Beginning in early 2007, the military authorities gave the order to villagers from Sinkwin that they were not allowed to plant rice on the hills east of the Upper Paunglaung dam site. This has caused great difficulties for these villagers, who rely on their hill rice for subsistence. One villager complained:

“When we were cutting our hill farms [at the dam site] they did not say anything. Only now (March 2007) the order was issued not to burn our hill farms. What shall we do to fend for our subsistence? Will we have to plant bananas instead of cultivating hill rice?” (Interview 2)



Environmental impacts

The Paunglaung River flows through the Kayah-Karen Montane Rainforests, one of 200 areas in the world recognized by the World Wildlife Fund as outstanding examples of biodiversity. Some areas in the Paunglaung region are still covered with impenetrable dense forest, comprised of dipterocarps, teak and other species.

While elephants no longer roam along the Paunglaung river, other large wild mammals including wild buffalo, gaurs, bears, tigers, leopards, wild boars, mountain goats and deer still inhabit the region. Other small mammals such as foxes, hares, wild cats, hogbadgers, otters, porcupines and moles can be seen along the river bank along with such reptiles as lizards and snakes of various species.

Wild fowl can be seen at all times in the forest, including peacocks, pheasants, owls, hornbills, vultures, crows, woodpeckers, emerald doves, partridges, parrots and bulbuls. Other species such as snipe, little egrets and sarus cranes can be seen along the riverside, while birds as crows, pigeons, sparrows and myna birds are plentiful around the villages.

The reservoir of the dam will drown out the habitats of many of these species, and further reduce the forest cover of Burma, already fast diminishing as a result of unregulated logging and encroachment for large commercial plantations.

Traditional Kayan respect for nature

The Kayan traditionally worship and pay offerings to local spirit guardians of the mountains, rivers and creeks, as well as worshipping a creator god. It was believed that faithful practice of these beliefs together with the observance of traditional codes of conduct would ensure a harmonious existence. The Kayan used to select a suitable individual from a specific clan, to make offerings to the particular spirits.

The Kayan believe that by making offerings to the guardian of spring holes, abundant spring water will provide man and animals with clear and clean water. Similarly, profuse rainfall will result from offerings made to guardians of mountain regions, refreshing the farms and hills, and nourishing forests. Cutting down a big tree is taboo, as spirits reside in them, and can result in derangement or even death. Tree groves would be assigned to a village, clan or family, who would maintain and make offerings to them. Trees could only be cut sparingly for house use or for fuel. Clearing new farm plots was particularly prohibited, and villagers were obligated to plant on existing farm plots in rotation every three years.



Raising “Kay To Bo” post during traditional Kayan festival



Traditional Kayan house made from natural materials



Conclusion and Recommendations

The Kayan Women's Union is strongly opposed to the Upper Paunglaung Dam project. Since the project began four years ago, we have seen an influx of Burma Army troops into villages in the area, and increased human rights abuses against local communities. 3,500 villagers living in the potential flood zone are facing forcible displacement, and the inundation of over 5,000 acres of farmland, as well as sacred graveyards and Buddhist shrines.

The dam will bring no benefit to local people, but will simply generate income for the regime and Chinese investors. The electricity produced will be prioritized for the military elite and not for local development.

The Kayan people have already

experienced the devastating consequences of mass displacement from hydropower development, when the Moby Dam was built nearly forty years ago. Now, we are facing the same fate once again, with the building of the Upper Paunglaung dam.

The Kayan Women's Union therefore urgently calls for:

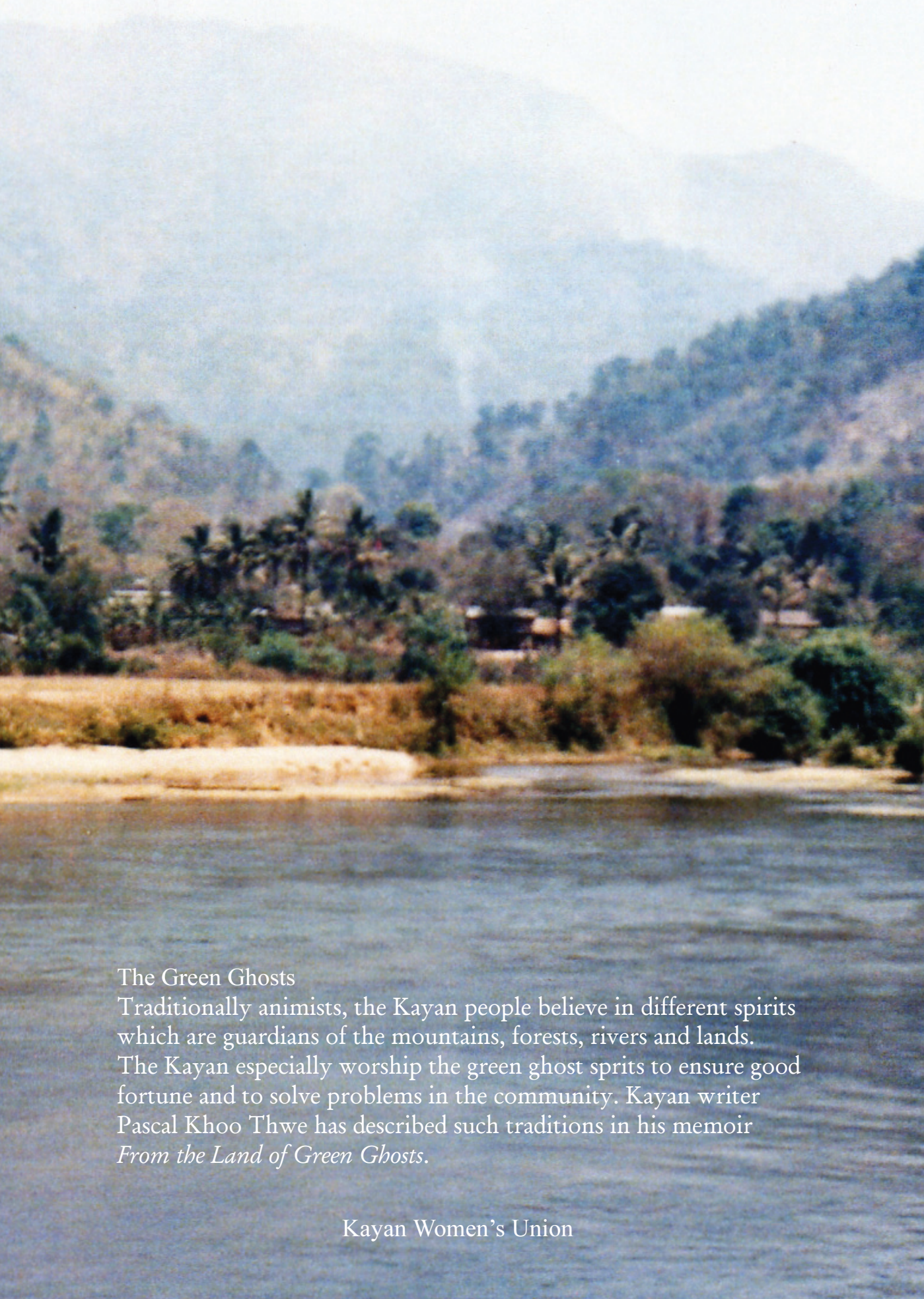
1. An immediate termination of the Upper Paunglaung dam project, which is being implemented without any transparency or local consent, and which will have serious social and environmental impacts.
2. The withdrawal of Burma Army troops from the Kayan regions, and an end to all the human rights abuses committed by these troops.

Table 3: Interviews

No.	Sex	Age	Occupation
1	F	25	teacher
2	F	57	farmer
3	F	55	Kayan official
4	M	56	farmer
5	M	57	farmer
6	M	35	Kayan official
7	M	60	farmer
8	M	58	boat driver
9	M	25	farmer
10	M	57	trader
11	M	57	farmer
12	M	55	farmer
13	F	46	farmer
14	F	37	health worker
15	M	41	health worker
16	M	58	accountant
17	M	52	driver
18	M	38	health worker



Villagers cross the Paunglaung River



The Green Ghosts

Traditionally animists, the Kayan people believe in different spirits which are guardians of the mountains, forests, rivers and lands. The Kayan especially worship the green ghost spirits to ensure good fortune and to solve problems in the community. Kayan writer Pascal Khoo Thwe has described such traditions in his memoir *From the Land of Green Ghosts*.

Kayan Women's Union