

## **SPDC and DKBA order documents**

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January 2009 to June 2010



**Karen Human Rights Group**

Documenting the voices of villagers in rural Burma

**SPDC and DKBA order documents:**  
January 2009 to June 2010

The Karen Human Rights Group  
September 2010

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## **Abstract**

This report includes translated copies of 94 order documents issued by State Peace and Development Council Army and Democratic Karen Buddhist Army officers to village heads in Karen State between January 2009 and June 2010. These documents serve as supplementary evidence of ongoing exploitative local governance in rural Burma. The report thus supports the continuing testimonies of villagers regarding the regular demands for labour, money, food and other supplies to which their communities are subject by local military forces. The order documents collected here include demands for attendance at meetings; the provision of money and food; the production and delivery of thatch shingles and bamboo poles; forced labour as messengers and porters for the military; forced labour on bridge repair, the provision of information on individuals and households; and restrictions on trade. In almost all cases, such demands are uncompensated and backed by an implicit or explicit threat of violence or other punishment for non-compliance. Almost all demands articulated in the orders presented in this report involve some element of forced labour in their implementation.

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## Notes on the text

This report is comprised of 94 Burmese and S'Gkaw Karen language order documents that SPDC and DKBA officers issued to villagers in Karen State between January 2009 and June 2010. The district names mentioned in the report are indicated on the accompanying maps. While districts are identified with Burmese language names, their boundaries follow Karen designations (shown in the Karen State Districts map below), but not those used by the SPDC. Under SPDC designations (as shown in the Burma map below), sections of western Toungoo and Nyaunglebin Districts fall within eastern Pegu (Bago) Division, western Thaton and Doolaya Districts form part of Mon State, and Tenasserim comprises a division wholly separate from Karen State.

While KHRG conducts research in all of the above areas, order documents for this report are primarily from Papun and Toungoo districts. This is because of constraints on KHRG's ability to collect written documents in other locations; KHRG researchers and villagers supporting them conduct documentation activities under intense threats to their personal security.<sup>1</sup> The last collection of order documents published by KHRG, for example, contained orders chiefly from Papun, Pa'an and Thaton districts. This report, then, represents only a fraction of the total number of order documents issued by military authorities. The 94 orders translated below should be taken as case studies, which support the conclusion that the SPDC and DKBA continue to violate their obligations to end the use of forced labour; nothing about the conditions in Papun and Toungoo suggest military practices documented there are unique from other locations, and KHRG continues to document the use of forced labour across eastern Burma.

In the text of the orders, 'Sd.' indicates the signature of the issuing officer. The village head to whom the order letter is sent is often referred to as 'Village Head' or 'Chairperson'. Village and personal names have been censored using single and double letters beginning from A--- and continuing alphabetically to Z---, then beginning at Aa and continuing to Az--- and so on, according to the order in which they first appear in the report. These letters do not represent the first letters of the censored words. They also do not necessarily appear in the text chronologically; multiple orders issued by the same SPDC or DKBA authorities or received by the same village or village head retain the same alphanumeric character. Thus, for instance, G-- camp appears in a July 14<sup>th</sup> 2009 order (#7) on page 14 and then on multiple subsequent occasions throughout the SPDC order letters from Toungoo District presented in Section III. Other identifying alphanumeric characters have been censored with dashes "--". In limited cases, original order documents include incomplete dates written with dashes which do not indicate censored information. In translating these documents, KHRG has sought a literal over idiomatic rendition where possible. In some cases, KHRG has added words or phrases where necessary to clarify the original text. These are inserted within square brackets, such as in "[You] are informed." The authors of SPDC and DKBA order documents often enclose numbers, times and sometimes words or phrases within parentheses as, for example, "on (5-1-2009) at (1) o'clock". These parentheses reflect the content of the original document and are not additions by KHRG.

DKBA orders often include the Burmese script transliteration of the group's English language acronym. This has been transliterated back into Roman script in this report as 'Dee Kay Bee Ay.' In other cases, DKBA order documents include the group's acronym in Roman characters as 'D.K.B.A.' Italicised notes at the bottom of individual orders are additional comments, which KHRG field researchers who collected the documents in Karen State have provided to elaborate on the context. We have tried to accurately reflect the grammar and layout of the original

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the threats faced by KHRG researchers, see *Self-protection under strain: Targeting of civilians and local responses in northern Karen State*, KHRG, August 2010: pp. 5-6.

documents wherever possible. Thus, missing words, poor grammar and inconsistent formatting have been retained in the orders for the sake of accuracy.

Map 1: Locally defined Karen State



## Map 2: Burma



## I. Introduction and executive summary

Forced labour continues to be the most common abuse reported by villagers living in rural areas of Karen State controlled by Burma's State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) and its locally ally, the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA). The SPDC has worked to establish a secure hold on the civilian population in Karen State through an expanded military presence. At the same time, the central military command has provided insufficient funding and logistical support for troops operating in the field, while not punishing perpetrators that violate human rights. As a consequence, local SPDC Army units often support themselves via forced extraction of labour, money, food and supplies from local villagers in order to sustain frontline troops and ongoing military operations.<sup>2</sup> As the military presence in Karen State has continued to expand, the burden on communities having to support local army units has likewise increased.

Given the pervasive and persistent character of exploitative demands levied on rural communities, such abuse significantly contributes to poverty, livelihoods vulnerability, food insecurity and displacement for large numbers of villagers across rural Karen State.<sup>3</sup> Villagers complying with demands must divert time, labour, money and other resources away from their own livelihoods to meet demands – reducing their capacities to meet their own household or community needs. For this reason, demands for the provision of material support such as roof thatching or collecting forest products should be recognised as forced labour. In the case of roof thatching, for example, villagers may have to work two or three days to collect materials, fabricate the thatching, and then deliver it to military authorities. Such labour is involuntary, often uncompensated and trades off with crucial livelihoods activities.

Despite the harmful consequences for civilian populations of rural Karen State, both SPDC and DKBA forces have continued the practice of supporting units via local extraction. Extractive demands are frequently issued in the form of written order documents. Such documents are written by the officers themselves or otherwise dictated by an officer and written down or typed by a scribe, before being dispatched to particular villages by a messenger (who is typically a local villager forced to serve in this capacity without compensation).

Over the last 18 years, order documents have been important evidence of the continued use of forced labour in Burma. In response, there has been an increasing reluctance by military authorities to articulate specific demands in writing. In some cases officers also appear to have refrained from identifying themselves or their unit in orders. Village heads are instead called to attend 'meetings' at which SPDC and DKBA authorities explain verbally what is required. Out of the 94 order documents included in this report, 53 (roughly 56%) contain demands for village heads to attend meetings; 33 out of 61 (54%) order documents from the SPDC and 20 out of 33 (60%) documents from the DKBA are of this type. Many order documents of this type included in the report are accompanied by explanations of what transpired in the meetings. In some

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<sup>2</sup> The SPDC Army's consistent reliance on forced extraction of resources, labour and material support from the civilian population has been referred to as the 'live off the land' or 'self-reliance' policy by KHRG as well as respected scholars of Burma's military history. Andrew Selth, for example, dates the policy to 1997, when Burma's War Office reportedly issued an order instructing the country's Regional Commanders that troops "*were to meet their basic logistical needs locally, rather than rely on the central supply system.*" See, Andrew Selth, *Burma's Armed Forces: Power Without Glory*, Norwalk: Eastbridge, 2002 p. 136. See also, Mary Callahan, "*Of kyay-zu and kyet-zu: the military in 2006,*" pp. 36-53 in Monique Skidmore and Trevor Wilson (eds.), *Myanmar: The State, Community and the Environment*, Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, 2007 p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> For more on the relationship between abuses such as forced labour and food insecurity, see *Food crisis: The cumulative impact of abuse in rural Burma*, KHRG, April 2010. For more on the relationship between abuses such as forced labour and displacement, see *Abuse, Poverty and Migration: Investigating migrants' motivations to leave home in Burma*, KHRG, June 2009. See also, "Central Papun District: Village-level decision making and strategic displacement," KHRG, August 2010.

cases officers also appear to have refrained from identifying themselves or their unit in orders (see for example, Order #76, 80). Nonetheless, explicit demands for labour, money, food and other supplies continue to be issued by both by SPDC and DKBA authorities. Many such orders are included in the present report.

Written orders are often backed by implicit, and occasionally explicit, threats against non-compliance. Village heads have been threatened with unspecified violence in writing (Order #14), and warned that soldiers would enter their village and that they would be “*punished*” if they failed to comply with an order (Order #73). Several orders included in this report state that the consequences for non-compliance would be the “*responsibility*” of the village leaders of the entire community. Some village heads were also informed in writing of fines for failure to fully comply with past or future orders (Order #1, 9, 10). Regarding some of the order letters included in this report, village heads explained to KHRG that, had they not complied, the SPDC or DKBA authorities who issued the order would simply have sent soldiers to forcibly conscript villagers, or the village heads themselves (Order #71, 72). Several village heads, for example, told KHRG they were detained, made to do forced labour for an extended period, and threatened with conscription for attempting to negotiate a DKBA order to provide villagers as recruits (Order #71); this incident has been documented elsewhere by KHRG.<sup>4</sup> In the face of such implicit and, at times, explicit threats, village heads who receive order documents stipulating particular demands, or who are called to a meeting where they are given a demand in person, must arrange for the residents of their respective villages to comply. Alternatively, where possible, village heads may attempt to respond in a manner that allows them to reduce or otherwise completely avoid the stated requirements.

As evidence of ongoing demands, the present report comprises a collection of 94 translated order documents issued by SPDC and DKBA authorities in Papun, Toungoo and Nyaunglebin Districts of Karen State between January 2009 and June 2010. Out of the total 94 documents, 61 were issued by SPDC authorities and 33 were issued by DKBA authorities. As the DKBA has operated with the sanction of the SPDC and as the two groups often participates in joint operations, demands on the civilian population issued by this group should be understood as having been sanctioned by the SPDC.<sup>5</sup> The eradication of DKBA-demanded forced labour is thus part of the SPDC’s wider obligation to end this practice in Burma.

Order documents from both groups included here were either hand-written or typed. Both SPDC and DKBA officers issuing the orders often certified the letters with an official stamp. The order documents issued by SPDC authorities contained in this report include demands for attendance at meetings; the provision of money and food (for example, Order #25 and 58); the production and delivery of thatch shingles and bamboo poles (for example, Order #58 and 60) and firewood (Order #46); forced labour as messengers (for example, Order #33) and porters (Order #39); forced labour on bridge repair (Order #29); and the provision of village information (for example, Order #53 and 57). Compliance with these demands requires forced labour in the delivery of the stated items to specified army camps and bases, or simply travelling to these locations to meet with authorities and/or provide information. Further forced labour is also required in the collection of raw materials for, and in the fabrication of, building materials like thatch shingles or bamboo planks. Other SPDC orders presented below that may not directly

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<sup>4</sup> See “Central Papun District: Abuse and the maintenance of military control,” KHRG, August 2010.

<sup>5</sup> While SPDC and DKBA units have for years operated together, this operational hierarchy became formalised with the DKBA’s transformation into a ‘Border Guard Force’ under control of the SPDC and containing a fixed number quota of SPDC officers. This transformation dates to at least May 2009, when commanding officers stated in high-level meeting of DKBA officers that the DKBA would transform itself into a ‘Border Guard Force.’ Leaked minutes from the May 2009 meeting are retained by KHRG on file. Ceremonies attended by SPDC commanders officially announced the transformation of large portions of the DKBA into a Border Guard Force in September 2010. See, “Border Guard Force formed at Atwinkwinkalay region, Myawady Township, Kayin State,” *New Light of Myanmar*, September 2010.

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involve forced labour include regulations regarding trade (Order #28) and fees for registering motorcycles (Order #44). The DKBA order documents contained in this report articulate demands for attendance at meetings, the provision of money (for example, Order #64, 78, 93), food (Order #75), thatch shingles (Order #86, 89) and recruits to the DKBA (Order #71, 72). For a comprehensive list of the order documents contained in this report see the table included below on pages 10-11.

While the orders included here illustrate the persistent forced extraction of labour and resources by military units in rural Karen State, they also reveal that local communities do not passively comply with every exploitative demand. In order documents #14, 63, and 73, for example, the issuing SPDC or DKBA officers express varying levels of frustration that village leaders had failed to comply with previous orders. In the case described above of the village heads in Papun who had failed to comply with the DKBA orders to provide villagers as recruits, one village head reportedly avoided reporting to a meeting with local DKBA officers until almost a month after the deadline, despite established threats of detention, punitive forced labour, and threats that either he or members of his community would be arrested and forcibly conscripted if the demand was not met (Order #73).

Aside from such cases of non-compliance, villagers' testimonies, as quoted extensively in other KHRG reports, as well as order letters included in this report, indicate that where villagers do comply, such compliance is frequently only partial in character. In orders #9 and 10, for example, local SPDC units in Toungoo District imposed fines on two villages for only partially meeting previous demands for the provision of materials. While such efforts to avoid or limit exploitative abuse via delayed or partial compliance with demands may seem slight at first glance, it is important to recognise that villagers employ such tactics in large numbers across rural Karen State (and presumably across much of rural Burma). Steps taken by communities to protect themselves from abusive demands by the SDPC and DKBA appear to be the product of careful assessment of local power relationships and other factors supporting or constraining certain protection responses; as such circumstances may vary widely across rural Burma, responses to abuse vary from community to community according to the context within which they occur.<sup>6</sup> This does not mean that villagers have been able to eliminate abuse and the considerable harm that it brings to the lives and livelihoods of themselves, their families and communities. Villagers remain in a disadvantaged position relative to military personnel and such relations of power continue to undermine their abilities to address local human rights issues. In this context, external support for local-level efforts to protect communities and livelihoods from abuse could strengthen villagers' capacities for self-protection from the intertwined human rights and humanitarian issues they face.

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<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the ways in which local communities respond to abuse such as forced labour, see: "Supporting local responses to extractive abuse: Commentary on the ND-Burma report *Hidden Impact*," KHRG, September 2010.

## II. List of order documents

#	Source	District	Date issued	Content / order requirement	Page #
1	SPDC	Papun	April 27 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
2	SPDC	Papun	Likely June 2009	Fabricate and deliver thatch	
3	SPDC	Papun	Likely mid 2009	Attend a meeting	
4	SPDC	Toungoo	June 15 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide honey or chicken	
5	SPDC	Toungoo	June 30 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Cut and deliver bamboo	
6	SPDC	Toungoo	July 13 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide chicken and <i>set tha</i> (messenger)	
7	SPDC	Toungoo	July 14 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
8	SPDC	Toungoo	July 14 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
9	SPDC	Toungoo	July 20 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Fabricate and deliver thatch; fine	
10	SPDC	Toungoo	July 20 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Cut and deliver bamboo; fine	
11	SPDC	Papun	July 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
12	SPDC	Toungoo	July 24 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide villagers for forced labour	
13	SPDC	Toungoo	July 26 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
14	SPDC	Toungoo	Likely mid 2009	Attend a meeting; threat for failure to follow previous orders	
15	SPDC	Toungoo	August 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2009	Provide chicken	
16	SPDC	Toungoo	August 6 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide chicken	
17	SPDC	Toungoo	August 7 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
18	SPDC	Toungoo	August 7 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
19	SPDC	Toungoo	August 11 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide rattan and <i>set tha</i> (messengers)	
20	SPDC	Toungoo	August 11 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide rattan and <i>set tha</i> (messengers)	
21	SPDC	Toungoo	August 18 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide chicken and <i>set tha</i> (messengers)	
22	SPDC	Toungoo	August 19 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
23	SPDC	Toungoo	August 19 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
24	SPDC	Toungoo	August 19 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
25	SPDC	Toungoo	August 27 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Collect and deliver rattan, fruit and chicken	
26	SPDC	Toungoo	Likely mid 2009	Collect and deliver jungle palm	
27	SPDC	Papun	September 13 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
28	SPDC	Toungoo	September 22 <sup>nd</sup> 2009	Notification to inform local authorities about trading activities	
29	SPDC	Papun	October 10 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide villagers for labour	
30	SPDC	Toungoo	October 16 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide betel leaf, betelnut, rattan and <i>set tha</i> (messengers]	
31	SPDC	Papun	October 31 <sup>st</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
32	SPDC	Toungoo	November 5 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
33	SPDC	Toungoo	November 5 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide rattan and <i>set tha</i> (messengers); attend a meeting	
34	SPDC	Toungoo	November 14 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide rattan	
35	SPDC	Papun	November 20 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting; cut and deliver bamboo	
36	SPDC	Toungoo	November 20 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide bananas and rattan	
37	SPDC	Papun	Likely late 2009	Cut and deliver bamboo	
38	SPDC	Papun	December 18 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
39	SPDC	Toungoo	January 6 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Provide villagers as porters	
40	SPDC	Papun	Likely January 2010	Provide money	
41	SPDC	Papun	February 10 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting; provide villagers as sentries for road security	
42	SPDC	Toungoo	Likely February 2010	Attend a meeting	
43	SPDC	Papun	February 18 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting; provide bamboo and thatch	
44	SPDC	Toungoo	February 19 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Regulations re: motorcycle registration and tax	
45	SPDC	Nyaunglebin	March 11 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting; provide villagers and carts for portering rations	
46	SPDC	Nyaunglebin	March 12 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Cut and deliver firewood	
47	SPDC	Toungoo	March 18 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting; provide villagers as forced labour portering rations	

48	SPDC	Toungoo	March 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2010	Attend two meetings; provide information with <i>set tha</i> (messenger)	
49	SPDC	Toungoo	March 29 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
50	SPDC	Toungoo	April 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2010	Provide money	
51	SPDC	Papun	April 25 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting; provide information about village population and property	
52	SPDC	Papun	April 26 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
53	SPDC	Papun	Likely early 2010	Provide information about adult residents of village	
54	SPDC	Papun	May 4 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
55	SPDC	Papun	May 4 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting; provide information about adult residents of village	
56	SPDC	Papun	May 6 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
57	SPDC	Papun	May 7 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting; provide information about adult residents of village	
58	SPDC	Papun	May 10 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Provide bamboo, thatch, money	
59	SPDC	Papun	May 12 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
60	SPDC	Papun	May 30 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Cut and deliver bamboo poles and planks	
61	SPDC	Papun	June 15 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
62	DKBA	Papun	January 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting; fabricate and deliver thatch	
63	DKBA	Papun	January 30 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Comply fully with prior order to fabricate and deliver thatch	
64	DKBA	Papun	February 25 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide money; deliver thatch	
65	DKBA	Papun	July 10 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting; provide recruits to DKBA	
66	DKBA	Papun	July 16 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting; provide recruits to DKBA	
67	DKBA	Papun	July 16 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
68	DKBA	Papun	July 20 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Summary of meeting	
69	DKBA	Papun	July 20 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Summary of meeting	
70	DKBA	Papun	August 28 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Comply with a previous order	
71	DKBA	Papun	August 29 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Comply with a previous order for forced recruits, or attend a meeting	
72	DKBA	Papun	August 29 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Comply with a previous order for forced recruits, or attend a meeting	
73	DKBA	Papun	September 6 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting; fine and threat for failure to comply with prior order	
74	DKBA	Papun	October 6 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	
75	DKBA	Papun	Likely late 2009	Collect and deliver limes	
76	DKBA	Papun	January 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
77	DKBA	Papun	January 18 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting; provide villagers as sentries for road security	
78	DKBA	Papun	January 20 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Provide money	
79	DKBA	Papun	January 20 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Provide money	
80	DKBA	Papun	February 13 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting; fabricate and deliver thatch	
81	DKBA	Papun	February 22 <sup>nd</sup> 2010	Provide money	
82	DKBA	Papun	February 24 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
83	DKBA	Papun	February 24 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
84	DKBA	Papun	March 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
85	DKBA	Papun	March 4 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
86	DKBA	Papun	Likely early 2010	Fabricate and deliver thatch	
87	DKBA	Papun	Likely early 2010	Attend a meeting	
88	DKBA	Papun	March 5 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Provide money	
89	DKBA	Papun	March 8 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Fabricate and deliver thatch (in addition to prior order)	
90	DKBA	Papun	March 10 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
91	DKBA	Papun	March 10 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
92	DKBA	Papun	March 12 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	
93	DKBA	Papun	March 19 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Provide money	
94	DKBA	Papun	June 8 <sup>th</sup> 2010	Attend a meeting	

### III. SPDC order documents

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#### Order #1 (Papun District)

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Infantry Battalion #--- Letter No: ____ Date: ____ Column #---</p>
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Date: 27.4.2009

To  
Chairperson, Secretary  
A--- village

Subject: Invitation to meeting

Concerning the above information, we [inform] the chairperson or secretary to attend a weekly meeting to be held on Friday at 9:00am, without fail. If [they are] late or fail to attend the meeting [they] will be fined one *viss* of chicken (1.6 kg. / 3.6 lb.). The *viss* of chicken fine will be cooked and fed to village heads who attend the meetings.

Note: If the chairperson or secretary is not free, send a [representative].

Sd.  
Battalion Commander  
(representative)

*Saw Bp---, the head of A--- village attended this meeting. He said that local village heads were instructed by IB #- officers based at B--- camp in Dweh Loh Township to cooperate with the SPDC and provide regular information about KNU members and KNLA activity near their villages.*

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#### Order #2 (Papun District)

Date: unspecified

To  
C--- village  
Chairperson

I'm writing to inform you with respect. I want the 200 thatch [shingles] that I have ordered to be brought on 7.6.2009. Within the next day, I won't have money. I'm writing to let you know because it will become a debt and I won't keep [my] promise if [you] come and send [the thatch today].

Sd.  
D---  
Camp Commander

*Although this order letter was undated, the date specified in the letter suggests that it was written in early June 2009.*

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**Order #3 (Papun District)**

Date: unspecified

To  
C---  
Chairperson

There is an issue to discuss. Come and meet me at D--- camp as soon as you get this letter. I inform you with respect. If *Lu Gyi Min* [generic reference to the village head] is not free to come, send someone [such as] elders of the community.

Sd.  
D---  
Camp Commander

*Although this order letter was undated, it was included in a batch of documents from Papun District dated between June and September 2009 and is thus likely of similar provenance.*

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**Order #4 (Toungoo District)**

To  
Na Ya Ka [Patron] Gyi (E--- village)

If you have the honey that I ordered, tomorrow I want you to send it along with the group that is coming down [in the direction of the camp]. If not, if chicken is available, send along one small chicken. I will be waiting for it.

Sd.  
15.6.2009

**Order #5 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 30.6.2009

To  
Na Ya Ka [patron] Gyi. As ordered by the Camp Commander, I'm informing you with respect. To repair the place in [our] camp, send 30 bamboo [poles] on July 1<sup>st</sup> 2009. Organize as soon as you can when this [letter] arrives. Send [the bamboo] to us without fail on Wednesday, July 1<sup>st</sup> 2009. [We] ask for [your] help.

Sd.  
Camp Commander

*Although this order letter did not specify the SPDC camp issuing the order, it was included in a batch of documents from Toungoo District dated between June and August 2009 and is thus likely of similar provenance.*

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**Order #6 (Toungoo District)**

Date 13.7.2009

To  
Chairperson (F---)

Subject:

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Chairperson, are you getting better? Come to get treatment. [Since] you haven't arrived to the camp I don't know anything and can't do anything for you. So, tomorrow send a chicken with *set tha* [a messenger]. Here, it is difficult for grandfather [the senior commander].

That is all,  
Be Healthy  
Sd.  
13.7.2009

<b>Stamp:</b> #--- Tactical Operation Command MOC #--- Letter: ____ Date: ____
---

*Villages are often ordered by nearby SPDC Army units to supply a certain number of villagers on a regular basis for forced labour as set tha. The term 'set tha' denotes forced labour as a messenger stationed at army camps or bases and serving as a go-between to deliver orders from army officers to village heads, but also involving other menial tasks such as cooking, collecting water and cutting firewood.*

---

**Order #7 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 14.7.2009

To  
U Bq---

Subject: Calling a meeting about an issue

Chairperson, [we are] informing you to come to attend a meeting at G--- camp on 15.7.2009 at 8 o'clock in the morning, without fail.

If the chairperson can't attend the meeting, the secretary must come. If [they] fail to come, it is the chairperson's responsibility.

With respect,  
G--- Camp

Sd.  
14.7.2009

**Bring village documents**

<b>Stamp:</b> #--- Tactical Operation Command MOC #--- Letter: ____ Date: ____
---

---

**Order #8 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 14.7.2009

To

---

Saw Br---

Subject: Calling a meeting about an issue

Chairperson, [we are] informing you to come to attend a meeting at G--- camp on 15.7.2009 at 8 o'clock, without fail.

If the chairperson can't attend the meeting, the secretary must come. If [they] fail to come, it is the chairperson's responsibility.

With respect,  
G--- Camp

*Sd.*  
14.7.2009

**Bring village documents**

<b>Stamp:</b> #--- Tactical Operation Command TOC Letter: ____ Date: ____
--

---

**Order #9 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 20.7.2009

To  
F--- Chairperson

Subject:

On 16.7.2009 only 12 stacks of toddy-palm [a type of thatch, typically used as a roofing material] arrived at G--- Camp. You are therefore fined 25 more stacks of toddy palm on 21.7.09 by 4 o'clock [pm].

If [the materials] do not arrive, it is the responsibility of the Chairperson. You have been informed.

*Sd.*  
20.7.2009

<b>Stamp:</b> #--- Tactical Operation Command TOC Letter: ____ Date: ____
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---

**Order #10 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 20.7.2009

To  
H--- Chairperson

Subject:

On 16.7.2009 only 71 bamboo poles arrived at G--- Camp. 23 bamboo poles are [still] needed. Therefore, the 23 bamboo poles that are needed and 25 stacks of toddy-palm must arrive on 21.7.2009 at 4 o'clock in the evening. [You] have been informed.

If there is an absence [if the materials are not delivered], it is the Chairperson's responsibility.

With respect  
Sd.  
20.7.2009

<p><b>Stamp:</b> #--- Tactical Operation Command MOC #--- Letter: ____ Date: ____</p>
---

---

**Order #11 (Papun District)**

Date: 23.7.2009

To

U Bs---  
I--- School [monastery]

I'm writing to inform you with respect for *Pa'ya* [a term of respect to refer to monks].

The issue is about [your] elephant document [license]. On 27.7.2009, come and meet T'Bpyint Daw [polite term to refer to oneself when speaking to a monk] at Bt---'s house, at J--- village. T'Bpyint Daw [I] will submit the list then speak with Bu---.

With respect,

Sd.  
T'Bpyint Daw  
Temporary, Papun  
K---

---

**Order #12 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 24.7.2009

To

L---

Chairperson, tomorrow on 25.07.2009 at 7:00am, the Camp Commander orders [you] to send five villagers, each with *Nork Lwe P'laing* [baskets carried on the back], to G--- camp. [You have been] Instructed by the G--- Camp Commander. Could you please help again.

With respect,

Sd.  
24.7.2009

G--- Camp

---

**Order #13 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 26.7.2009

To  
Chairperson

Subject: Issue to discuss at G--- Camp

[If] the chairperson and secretary can't come, an advisor must arrive today on 26.7.2009, without fail. The order is from G--- camp. If [they] are absent it is all the gentlemen's [in the village] responsibility.

G--- Camp  
Sd.  
26.7.2009

<p><b>Stamp:</b> #--- Tactical Operation Command MOC Letter: ____ Date: 26.7.2009</p>
---

---

**Order #14 (Toungoo District)**

To  
Chairperson (H---)

Tomorrow morning at 6:00 am, the Chairperson himself [must] come to the camp. This is already the second letter. No letter will come next time. [I] will let the termites [bullet tips] fly over [your] head.

Sd.  
Bv---  
G--- Camp

<p><b>Stamp:</b> LIB #--- Battalion Headquarters Office Letter: ____ Date: ____</p>
---

*Although this order letter was undated, it was included in a batch of documents from Toungoo District dated between July and September 2009 and is thus likely of similar provenance.*

---

**Order #15 (Toungoo District)**

To  
Chairperson, Na Ya Ka [Patron]

---

M---

I inform you to send one chicken for curry with Bw--- who will come tomorrow [probably for *set tha* duty].

*Sd.*  
With respect  
G--- Camp  
2.8.2009

---

**Order #16 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 6.8.2009

To

L--- secretary and Na Ya Ka [patron]

Tomorrow I want [you] to send one chicken for Bx--- [a person] and the Operation Commander, who will come back. I inform you with respect.

*Sd.*  
Camp Commander  
G--- Camp

---

**Order #17 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 7.8.2009

To

Chairperson  
F---

Subject: Present yourself at G--- camp

On 8.8.2009 at exactly 9:00 am, come and present yourself at G--- camp without fail. I inform you.

For holding this meeting, come without fail.

*Sd.*  
7.8.2009  
Ka Sa [Camp Commander]  
(representative)

---

**Order #18 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 7.8.2009

To

Chairperson  
H---

Subject: Present yourself at G--- camp

On 8.8.2009 at exactly 9:00 am, come and present yourself at G--- camp without fail. I inform you.

For holding this meeting, come without fail.

---

Sd.  
7.8.2009  
Ka Sa [Camp Commander]  
(representative)

---

**Order #19 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 11.8.2009

To  
Village Head  
F---

Informing you to send three rattan [poles], [each] ten cubits long to G--- camp with *set tha* [messengers] on the 13<sup>th</sup> [13.8.2009].

Sd.  
11.8.2009  
Camp Commander (Ka Sa)

3 [rattan poles] x 10 cubits

---

**Order #20 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 11.8.2009

To  
Village Head  
M---

Informing you to send three rattan [poles], [each] ten cubits long to G--- camp with *set tha* [messengers] on the 13<sup>th</sup> [13.8.2009].

Sd.  
11.8.2009  
Camp Commander (Ka Sa)

3 [rattan poles] x 10 cubits

---

**Order #21 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 18.8.2009

To  
M--- secretary

Subject: Informing you to send one chicken for G--- camp tomorrow with *set tha* [messengers], without fail.

Sd.  
G--- Camp

---

**Order #22 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 19.8.2009

To  
Village Head  
N---

---

Subject: Present yourself at G--- camp

(1) Na Ya Ka [patron] and (2) Chairperson, I inform the two of you to come to G--- Camp without fail on 20.8.2009 at the time of 9:30am.

*Sd.*  
G--- Camp

---

**Order #23 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 19.8.2009

To  
Village Head  
M---

Subject: Present yourself at G--- camp

(1) Na Ya Ka [patron] and (2) Chairperson, I inform the two of you to come to G--- Camp without fail on 20.8.2009 at the time of 9:30am.

*Sd.*  
G--- Camp

---

**Order #24 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 19.8.2009

To  
Village Head  
F---

Subject: Present yourself at G--- camp

(1) Na Ya Ka [patron] and (2) Chairperson, I inform the two of you to come to G--- Camp without fail on 20.8.2009 at the time of 9:30am.

*Sd.*  
G--- Camp

---

**Order #25 (Toungoo District)**

To  
M--- Village Head

Send five rattan [poles] for [our] camp, and *Shwen Nga Bpyaw* [sweet smelling bananas with dark red skin] or any fruit and one chicken every week.

*Sd.*  
G--- Camp  
27.8.2009

---

**Order #26 (Toungoo District)**

---

Date: unspecified

To

E--- Chairperson

Secretary, we need 20 bunches of jungle palm [leaves]. Send them to us on the first day [as soon as possible] without fail.

*Sd.*

G--- Camp Commander  
Ba Ka [Captain] By---

*Although this order letter was undated, it was included in a batch of documents from Toungoo District dated between June and August 2009 and is thus likely of similar provenance.*

---

### Order #27 (Papun District)

Date: 13.9.2009

To

Chairperson  
O--- village

There is an urgent issue. I inform you to come and meet with the Battalion Commander as soon as you get this letter.

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Frontline Infantry Battalion #--- Letter: ____ Date: ____ Column #1</p>
--

*Sd.*

Battalion Commander  
LIB #---, Frontline

*At this meeting the headman of O--- village said that SPDC LIB #--- Battalion Commander Lt. Colonel Bz--- accused two villagers from O--- of participating in a KNLA operation that had resulted in the destruction of the P--- Bridge. The commander did not, however, identify the villagers he accused of being involved, and ordered O--- to send labourers to repair the bridge on October 7<sup>th</sup> 2009 (the date for beginning repair of the bridge was later changed to October 8<sup>th</sup>).*

---

### Order #28 (Toungoo District)

<p><b>Stamp:</b> #--- Tactical Operation Command MOC #--- Letter: ____ Date: ____</p>
---

Date: 22.9.2009

---

To  
G--- Village Chairperson

Subject: Announcement and Warning

1. Regarding the above subject, [we are] investigating whether pigs, cows and buffalos were slaughtered and sold without informing [us].
2. Therefore, in future if we find that there has been any trading without informing the G--- Camp, the VPDC will take action. We are warning and informing you.

Sd.  
G--- Camp

---

**Order #29 (Papun District)**

Date: 2.10.2009

To  
Chairperson (or) Saw Ca---  
O--- village

The date for repairing the bridge had been changed to 8.10.2009. Informing [you] to send villagers on 7.10.2009.

Also discuss [this matter] with other villages too.

Sd.  
2.10.2009  
Captain Cb---  
B--- Camp

*Saw Ca--- reported that his village had to send forced labourers to repair the P--- Bridge on October 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> 2009. Five villagers were required to go on October 8<sup>th</sup>, four on October 9<sup>th</sup> and three on October 20<sup>th</sup>.*

---

**Order #30 (Toungoo District)**

To  
Chairperson

I'm writing this letter to you. Tomorrow with the *set tha* [messenger] duty, send five bunches of betel leaf, a 50-*tha* pack of betelnut (.82 kg. / 1.8lb.), and a bunch of 15 poles of rattan. This is for the *Gate Mu* [checkpoint officer]. If possible, include lemons and pennyworth at the same time.

With thanks  
Sd.  
16.10.2009  
Gate Mu [Checkpoint Officer]

---

**Order #31 (Papun District)**

Date: 31.10.2009

To

---

U' Saw Ca---  
O---

As soon as you get this letter, come and meet at B---. I inform you.

*Sd.*  
31.10.2009  
Captain Cb---  
B--- Camp

---

**Order #32 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 5.11.2009

To  
Na Ya Ka [Patron], Secretary, ten household leaders  
H--- village

Subject: [A matter] to discuss with two elderly people

There is an issue. [I] inform you to come and bring news to G--- camp on 7.11.2009 at 8:00.

*Sd.*  
G--- Camp

---

**Order #33 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 5.11.2009

To  
Chairperson

With honor, I write this letter to [you]. Chairperson, cut a bunch of 15 rattan [poles] for me. I will give you tins of [condensed] milk in return. On 7.11.2009 send [the rattan] to me with *set tha* [messenger]. I will send the tins of milk in return with this *set tha*. Then, grandfather, on 7.11.2009, *Bo Gyi* [the captain] will meet with the chairperson and secretary, so come as early as possible. If the chairperson doesn't come, *Bo Gyi* will fine [you] 10 chickens.

*Sd.*  
*Gate Mu* [Checkpoint Officer]  
G--- Camp

---

**Order #34 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 14.11.2009

To  
Chairperson  
H--- village

The Checkpoint Officer gave two tins of [condensed] milk to the *Lu Gyi Min* [elderly person], but until now the rattan hasn't arrived yet. I inform and request [you] to send [rattan] with a *lun kyo* [a chance messenger: the next person who happens to travel to the camp].

If you will give [us] the rattan, give it to the Checkpoint Officer with a letter.

*Sd*

---

14.11.2009  
G--- Camp

---

**Order #35 (Papun District)**

Date: 20.11.2009

To  
Village Head (or) Saw Ca---  
O--- village

There is a meeting on 22.11.2009. I inform you to come without fail.

*Sd.*  
20.11.2009  
Captain Cb---  
B--- Camp

*O--- deputy village headman Saw Ca--- went to meet the B--- Camp Commander on November 22<sup>nd</sup>, and was ordered to instruct his villagers to cut 150 bamboo poles and deliver them to B---. The villagers were not paid for the labour; the SPDC reportedly told the village head that they would use the bamboo to repair their camp.*

---

**Order #36 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 20.11.2009

To  
Chairperson and Secretary

I'm writing this letter to you.

The reason I'm writing the letter is not anything of importance. In our camp, for the Grandfather Spirit's shrine, I inform you to send six bunches of bananas. Include with [the bananas] a bunch of rattan poles.

Please

*Sd.*  
G--- Camp

Send [the items] without fail on 23.11.2009.

---

**Order #37 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Village Peace and Development Council Letter: ____ Date: ____ Papun Township Q--- village</p>
--

Date: unspecified

To  
R---  
Village Head

---

Tomorrow morning, deliver two bamboo [poles] from each household to in front of the monastery. The bamboo will be for fencing the young teak trees.

Sd.  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
Q--- village  
Papun Township

*Although this order letter was undated, it was included in a batch of documents from Papun District dated between December 2009 and January 2010 and is thus likely of similar provenance.*

---

**Order #38 (Papun District)**

Date: 18.12.2009

To  
Chairperson,  
I---

Subject: Meeting with Column Commander

Concerning the above issue, the [LIB] #--- Deputy Battalion Commander wants to meet with elderly persons [community leaders]. On 19.12.2009, Saturday at 12:00 noon, I inform you to come to S--- without fail.

Sd.  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
S--- village  
Papun Township

---

**Order #39 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 6.1.2010

To  
Chairperson  
T--- village

For carrying rations on January 8<sup>th</sup> [2010] on Friday, from the crossroads at U---, [you] must carry [rations] to V---. Send the number of people that [I] have specified, to the U--- crossroads at 8 o'clock in the morning without fail.

Sd.  
Date: 6.1.2010  
Ya Ta Sa Ka Kha (#---)  
W---

*The head of T--- village said that he had previously been ordered to provide 23 villagers as forced porters from the crossroads at U--- to V---.*

---

**Order #40 (Papun District)**

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**Stamp:**  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
Letter: \_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_  
Papun Township  
Q--- village

Date: unspecified

To  
R---  
U Saw Cc---

Before 17.1.2010 come and give donation money for the clinic. I inform you.

*Sd.*  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
Q--- village  
Papun Township

*Although this order letter was undated, the deadline stated in the letter indicates that it was likely sent in January 2010.*

---

**Order #41 (Papun District)**

Date: 10.2.2010

To  
Chairperson  
I---

Subject: Attend a meeting with camp commander

Regarding the above issue on 11.2.2010 at 11:00 am, come and meet with the new camp commander that has arrived at S--- camp. Come without fail, I inform you.

*Sd.*  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
S--- village, Papun Township

*The head of I--- village reported that at the February 11<sup>th</sup> meeting, the camp commander discussed several matters, and asked that I--- provide villagers to serve as sentries along the vehicle road near the village.*

---

**Order #42 (Toungoo District)**

Meeting Invitation

**Stamp:**

---

Sub-Township Police Station  
Kayin State  
W---

To  
All sections / village chairpersons

The Military Operation Command that is serving, frontline No.#--- [SPDC MOC #---] at Military Operation Command Headquarters in W---, X--- Township, Pa'an District, in Kayin State will hold a meeting. So sections and villages [village heads]: at the time show below, attend without fail. Inviting [you] with respect.

Place: Frontline No.#--- Military Operation Command Headquarters, W---  
Date: 11.2.2010  
Time: Noon time (11:00 am)

Sd.  
Camp Commander  
Sub-Township Police Station  
W---

*This order letter specifies the MOC #--- Headquarters as being located in Pa'an District; this is accurate based on geographic designations used by the SPDC. The geographic area of SPDC-delineated Pa'an District, however, differs from what is locally referred to as 'Pa'an District'. KHRG typically describes places using the geographic designations used by many local villagers in eastern Burma. This order letter is described as originating from Toungoo District, which is how locals would describe the geographic area from which it was collected. However, the original language of all order documents have been preserved for the sake of accuracy. Although this order letter was undated, the meeting date specified in the letter suggests that it was sent in February 2010.*

---

**Order #43 (Papun District)**

Date: 18.2.2010

To  
Chairperson  
I---

Subject: Attend a meeting with camp commander

Regarding the above issue, come and meet with the new camp commander at S--- camp on 19.2.2010, on Friday at 12:00 noon. Come to the meeting without fail, I inform you.

Sd.  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
S--- village, Papun Township

*The head of I--- village reported that at the February 18<sup>th</sup> meeting, the camp commander asked him about KNLA activity in the area and demanded that the village provide his unit with bamboo and thatch.*

**Order #44 (Toungoo District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Sub-Township General Office Letter: ____ Date: ____ W--- Sub-Township</p>
--

Sub-Township General Office  
X--- Township  
W---  
Letter: #/---/---  
Date: 19.2.2010

To  
Chairperson  
Section and Village Tract Peace and Development Council  
T--- village

Subject: Legal Registration of Unregistered Motorcycles

Reference: General Office 20.1.2010 letter number #/---/---

1. There will not be prosecution for motorcycles and parts that were imported illegally. But tax must be paid for licensing. According to the letter from the Home Affairs Ministry Ba Hta Ya /4-2 (1805) / *Htauk.2* dated 23.12.2009, unregistered motorcycles may be legally registered. The attached copy of this [Home Affairs Ministry] letter indicates that registration from February to March 2010 will cost 15% of the value of the motorcycle and registration after April [2010] will cost 20%.
2. Therefore I inform you to let people in your section or village tracts know about following the registration process for the motorcycles that are not registered.

Sd.  
Sub-Township Governor  
---

---

**Order #45 (Nyaunglebin District)**

Date: 11.3.2010

To  
Chairperson

I'm writing this letter to [you], the [Village] tract chairperson. Come by yourself, as soon as you can to Y--- camp when you get this letter. If the chairperson is not there [unavailable], the Z--- village head [must] come to Y--- camp as soon as possible. If [they] fail to come, it is the tract chairperson's and Z--- village head's responsibility.

Sd.  
Camp Commander  
Battalion: IB #---

*On March 11<sup>th</sup> 2010 SPDC IB #--- stationed at Y--- camp under the command of Sergeant Cd--- ordered village heads from Aa--- village tract to organise villagers to transport SPDC rations.*

The villages had to send two carts each to Ab--- and transport the rations back to Y--- camp. The villagers were reportedly threatened that they would have to pay for any rations lost during the delivery.

---

**Order #46 (Nyaunglebin District)**

Date: 12.3.2010

To  
Chairperson

I'm writing this letter to ask for help with firewood. In our camp, for the summer [hot] and rainy seasons, our firewood is gone. Come and bring [firewood] to us before 16.3.2010 to Y--- Camp.

[Deliver] to Y--- Camp

Sd.  
Camp Commander  
Battalion, IB #---

On March 12<sup>th</sup> 2010, villages in Aa--- village tract received this order to supply firewood for SPDC IB #--- soldiers at Y--- camp to use as cooking fuel. On March 16<sup>th</sup>, each household sent one tau [30-40 short branches] of firewood to Y---; there are approximately 70 households in the village tract. This order was issued by Sergeant Cd---, the IB #60 Camp Commander at Y---.

---

**Order #47 (Toungoo District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Sub-Township Governor Department Letter: ____ Date: ____ W--- Sub-Township</p>
---

Sub-Township General Office  
X--- Township  
W---  
Date: 18.3.2010

To  
Chairperson/Members  
Ac--- village  
W--- Sub-Township

Subject: Attend a meeting

The Headquarters of the Military Operation Command in W--- Sub-Township, Front line #--- [MOC #---] has an issue and wants to meet and discuss [the issue] with elderly persons [in the village]. Ac--- village Chairperson or secretary or two elders of the community, as soon as you receive this letter, bring yourselves to meet at the Sub-Township general office meeting hall, I informed you.

Sd.  
Sub-Township Governor

---

*The headman of Ac--- village reported that, at the meeting with SPDC MOC #--- Commander Ce---, he was ordered to arrange for villagers to porter SPDC rations. His village was instructed to provide 15 villagers as forced labourers, to carry rations from W--- to Ad--- SPDC camp. The labour took one day, during which the porters were not provided food; villagers who were unable to serve as porters had to pay 5,000 kyat (US \$5.55) to hire others in their place.*

---

**Order #48 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 23.3.2010

To  
Ae--- Village Heads

On 24.3.2010 at 10:00 am, present yourself at G-One [military office] at W--- camp, without fail. Send me [information about] the village head who will arrive, his name, age and father's name by *set tha* [messenger]. When you come back from W---, come and report to [Af---] camp

Sd.  
23.3.2010  
Af--- Camp

---

**Order #49 (Toungoo District)**

Date: 29.3.2010

To  
Ag--- Village Head

As soon as you get this letter, come and present yourself at Af--- camp. If you fail to come, it is the village's responsibility.

Sd.  
Af--- Camp Commander

*This letter was received by the head of Ag--- village on March 30<sup>th</sup> 2010. The village head had previously been ordered by soldiers from LIB #---, under MOC #---, to report to the camp twice a week with news about KNLA activity or movements in the area.*

---

**Order #50 (Toungoo District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Sub-Township General Office Letter: ____ Date: ____ W--- Sub-Township</p>
--

Sub-Township General Office  
X--- Township  
W---  
Letter: #/---/---  
Date: 23.4.2010

To  
Chairperson  
Section and Village Tract Peace and Development Councils, Ae--- group  
W--- Sub-Township

---

Subject: Payment for expenses

For administration of Sections and village tract sub-commissions, the cost of computer use and photo printing, in total is 110,280 kyat (US \$123) so [I am] informing each section or village tract to pay 10,000 kyat (US \$11).

Sd.  
Sub-Township Governor

*This letter was received by the head of Ah--- village, Toungoo District.*

---

**Order #51 (Papun District)**

Date: 25.4.2010

To  
C--- village  
Chairperson and Secretary

Come to [the SPDC] camp without fail on 25.04.2010 at 9:00 am.

Sd.  
Ai--- Camp

*At the April 25<sup>th</sup> meeting at Ai--- SPDC camp, LIB #--- Deputy Battalion Commander Major Cf--- asked village leaders from Aj---, C--- and Ak--- for information regarding their villages, including: their villages' locations, populations, villagers' occupation, the most available food in each village, information about schools and monasteries, and the size of farms in each area.*

---

**Order #52 (Papun District)**

Date: 26.4.2010

To  
Chairpersons  
Al--- village

I have an issue to discuss with the chairpersons. I informed you to come and meet today.

Sd.  
Cg---  
Am--- Camp

---

**Order #53 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Peace and Development Council Q--- village Letter: ____ Date: ____ Papun Township</p>
--

Date: unspecified

To

---

Village Head  
An---

Come tomorrow at 10:00 am and provide a list of family members of [households in] An--- village [who are] above 18 years old, their fathers' names, and whether they have identity cards or not. I inform you.

Sd.  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
Q--- Village, Papun Township

*Although this order letter was undated it was included in a batch of documents from Papun District dated between February and May 2010 and is thus likely of similar provenance. The head of An--- village reported that he complied with this order and provided the VPDC with a list including the details of 44 adults from his village.*

---

**Order #54 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Township Peace and Development Council Letter: ____ Date: ____ Papun Township</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council  
Papun Town  
Letter # /---/---  
Date: 4.5.2010

To  
Aj---  
Village Chairperson

Subject: Meeting and Discussion

Regarding the above issue, the Township Peace and Development Council wants to meet and discuss [a matter] with you. I inform [you] to attend, [according to] the agenda shown below.

Date: 12.5.2010 (Wednesday)  
Time: 10:00 am  
Place: Township Peace and Development Council  
Yone S'Lin Hall

Sd.  
Chairperson

---

**Order #55 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Township Peace and Development Council</p>
---

---

Letter: \_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_  
Papun Town

Township Peace and Development Council  
Papun Town  
Letter #/---/---:----  
Date: 4.5.2010

To  
I---  
Chairperson

Subject: Meeting and Discussion

Regarding the above issue, the Township Peace and Development Council wants to meet and discuss [a matter] with you. I inform [you] to attend, [according to] the agenda shown below.

Date: 12.5.2010 (Wednesday)  
Time: 10:00 am  
Place: Township Peace and Development Council  
Yone S'Lin Hall

Sd.  
Chairperson

*This letter was received by the head of I--- village, who reported that after the meeting he was required to provide population information about residents of his village over 18 years of age.*

---

**Order #56 (Papun District)**

Date: 6.5.2010

To  
Chairperson  
I---

Subject: Meeting with Camp Commander

Regarding the above issue, the S--- camp commander wants to meet. Today, as soon as you receive this letter, I inform you to come to S---.

Sd.  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
S--- village, Papun Township

---

**Order #57 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development  
Council  
J--- Village  
Letter: \_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_  
Papun Township

Date: 7.5.2010 (Friday)

To  
Ao--- village

Subject: Meeting and Negotiation with Village Chairpersons

Regarding the above Issue, collect a list of persons who are 18 [years old] and above who live in your village: their number [the village population], names, identification [number], fathers' names, mothers' names, dates of birth, ages and addresses; and send it to the J--- village chairperson on Saturday at 9:00 am. I request you to bring it [the list] on time without fail.

Note: 8.5.2010 [deadline for delivering the list]

*Sd.*  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
J--- Village  
Papun Township

---

**Order #58 (Papun District)**

Date: 10.5.2010

To  
Chairperson  
I---

Subject: Send bamboo and thatch

Regarding the above issue, the camp asks for help with bamboo and thatch. So I inform I--- village to sent 200 bamboo [poles] and 50 shingles of thatch by 15.5.2010. Also, villages [must] help us by providing [money] for the DKBA's hospitality cost on 7.5.2010. I inform I--- to come and send [bring] 5000 kyat (US \$5.55) on 25.5.2010.

*Sd.*  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
S--- village, Papun Township

---

**Order #59 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Township Peace and  
Development Council  
Ap--- village  
Letter: \_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_  
Papun Town

Township Peace and Development Council  
Papun Town  
Letter #/---/-----  
Date: 12.5.2010

To  
Aq---  
Chairpersons

Subject: Meeting and Discussion

Regarding the above issue, the Hpapun Township Peace and Development Council wants to meet and discuss [a matter] with you. I inform [you] to attend, [according to] the agenda shown below.

Date: 12.5.2010 (Wednesday)  
Time: 10:00 am  
Place: Township Peace and Development Council  
Yone S'Lin Hall

Sd.  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
Ap--- village, Papun Town

*This order letter references Hpapun Township; this is accurate based on geographic designations used by the SPDC. The geographic area of SPDC-delineated Hpapun Township loosely overlaps with what is locally referred to as 'Papun District'.*

---

**Order #60 (Papun District)**

Date: 30.5.2010

To  
Chairpersons  
I---

Subject: Give bamboo and flooring for repairing teacher's house

Concerning the above issue, bamboo is needed to make a fence and floor for the teacher's house. So, I--- village [must] make [materials for] the floor and fence.

For the bamboo fence, send 100 poles of bamboo and 15 planks of bamboo 10 cubits [long], to S--- on 5.6.2010. I request and inform you to be able to help, and carry [the bamboo to S---] without fail.

Note: Make the bamboo planks

Sd.  
Chairpersons  
Village Peace and Development  
Council  
S--- village, Papun

---

**Order #61 (Papun District)**

---

Date: 15.6.2010

To

Ar--- Chairperson

Tomorrow, come to a meeting with the Operation Commander 07: 00 [am]. Come without fail to LIB #--- on day 16 [16.6.2010] at 07:00 [am].

*Sd.*  
Adjutant  
LIB #---

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## IV. DKBA order documents

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### Order #62 (Papun District)

**Stamp:**  
Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A

Date: 2.1.2009

To  
A--- Chairperson, with respect

I'm writing to inform you: if you get my letter, on January 7<sup>th</sup> 2009 come and meet me at the home of the Chairperson of As--- [village].

*Sd.*  
*Gk'Saw Wah/Tha/Ya/*  
Company #---  
As--- Camp  
Officer Ch---

*At the meeting, Sergeant Ch--- demanded that the head of A--- village instruct his villagers to fabricate and deliver 1,500 thatches shingles to As--- village, Dweh Loh Township.*

---

### Order #63 (Papun District)

Date: 30.1.2009

**Stamp:**  
Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A

To  
Village Head  
A--- village

Subject: I'm writing to inform you: when you received my [previous] letter, it was an order to you for [your] help. Complete it [the order] and by February 5<sup>th</sup> 2009, send it [to the camp].

From  
Sergeant Ch---  
Company #---  
DKBA  
As--- village

*The residents of A--- did not fully comply with the original order for 1,500 thatch shingles (see Order #62), so Sergeant Ch--- re-issued the order. On February 5<sup>th</sup> 2009, the villagers went and delivered more thatch to As--- village. They were not paid for the thatch, which they reported was to be used for repairing the roofs of houses belonging to the families of DKBA soldiers living in As---.*

---

**Order #64 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
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Date: 25.2.2009

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

To

I'm writing this letter to inform the Aq--- village head. The matter is that the appointed date to pay the public service personnel fee has already passed. Informing you respectfully to come to send [the money] as soon as possible once you receive this letter.

[Also] Those who have not come to send the roofing thatch, yet, to come and send [the thatch].

*Sd.*  
25.2.2009  
Officer In-charge of Public Service  
Personnel Fees  
*Gk'Saw Wah* Battalion  
Frontline, Papun Town  
DKBA

---

**Order #65 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army  
*Gk'Saw Wah* Battalion [#777]

Date: 10.7.2009

To

Village Head  
A--- village

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

Concerning the above issue, the Battalion Commander wants to meet and negotiate with you urgently. On July 15<sup>th</sup> 2009 at 9:00 am, I'm informing village heads to attend the meeting without fail. Village heads that live far away must come beforehand and sleep at At--- Headquarters on the evening of July 14<sup>th</sup> 2009.

*Sd.*  
Date: 10.7.2009  
Captain Ci---  
Quartermaster  
*Gk'Saw Wah* Battalion

DKBA

*At the July 15<sup>th</sup> meeting at At---, the Battalion Commanders ordered the heads of several villages to provide recruits to the DKBA by August 5<sup>th</sup> 2009; Au--- village, for example, was instructed to supply five villagers as DKBA recruits. Although the headman of A--- village did not attend this meeting, he was later ordered to provide one villager to the DKBA.*

---

**Order #66 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion [#777]

Date: 16.7.2009

To  
Village Heads  
A--- village

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

Concerning from above issue, I want to discuss with [you] urgently. On July 21<sup>st</sup> 2009 at 9:00am the meeting will be held at At--- camp, at the meeting hall. We invite you to come beforehand, on time, on the evening of July 21<sup>st</sup> 2009 without fail.

Sd.  
Date: 16.7.2009  
(representative)  
Ka Sa Ka – Official in Charge  
Major Cj---  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion  
DKBA

*This order was issued after the head of A--- village did not attend a meeting on July 15<sup>th</sup> 2009 (see Order #65), at which several villages were instructed to provide recruits to the DKBA. The head of A--- village attended the meeting as instructed on July 21<sup>st</sup> and was ordered to return to his village and arrange for one villager to join the DKBA, and send the soldier to At--- by August 5<sup>th</sup> 2009. The headman was unable to meet the demand and did not send any soldiers; he was subsequently ordered to explain the failure to meet the demand (see Order #71).*

---

**Order #67 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
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Democratic Karen Buddhist Army  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion [#777]  
DKBA

Date: 16.7.2009

To  
Village Heads  
I--- village

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

Concerning the above issue, [we] want to meet and discuss an emergency [matter] with the village head. Next time, on 21.7.2009 at 9:00, the meeting will be held at the meeting hall in At--  
- camp. Come beforehand, without fail, on the night of 20.7.2009.

Sd.  
16.7.2009  
Ka Sa Ka Official in charge  
Major Cj---  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion  
DKBA

---

**Order #68 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion [#777]  
DKBA

Date: 20.7.2009

To  
All DKBA soldiers at the front line  
Village elders from I--- village

Subject: The confirmation of the rules of the meeting

[Following] the meeting between the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army Gk'Saw Wah [White elephant] Battalion Commander and village elders, the rules that were discussed in the meeting have been published on the other side [of this document] and sent to soldiers at the front lines and civilians, [for them] to know and follow.

Sd.  
20.7.2009  
Captain .....  
Ta Taw Mu  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion  
Headquarters

----- [reverse side of document] -----

On 15.7.2009 [DKBA Gk'Saw Wah] Battalion Commander held a meeting and discussion with village heads at the [meeting] hall at Gk'Saw Wah Battalion Headquarters. The issues that the Battalion Commander and village heads discussed have been confirmed, and DKBA leaders

and officers and soldiers serving in the front lines have been ordered to know and follow [the orders] below:

1. Our military unit [DKBA], when serving at the front lines, cooperates with village elders, loves people, respects people, and avoids drugs
2. Especially in the areas that you are active, when you deal with KNU families treat them as brothers and sisters.
3. Protect teachers who are teaching in villages and assist them in education

If a problem happens for any reason, discuss and solve the problem with officers who are in charge at the front lines.

---

**Order #69 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
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Democratic Karen Buddhist Army  
*Gk'Saw Wah* Battalion [#777]  
DKBA

Date: 20.7.2009

To  
All DKBA soldiers at the front line  
Village elders from Av--- village

Subject: The confirmation of the rules of the meeting

[Following] the meeting between the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army *Gk'Saw Wah* Battalion Commander and village elders, the rules that were discussed in the meeting have been published on the other side [of this document] and sent to soldiers at the front lines and civilians, [for them] to know and follow.

Sd.  
20.7.2009  
Captain .....  
Ta Taw Mu  
*Gk'Saw Wah* Battalion  
Headquarters

----- [reverse side of document] -----

On 15.7.2009 [DKBA *Gk'Saw Wah*] Battalion Commander held a meeting and discussion with village heads at the [meeting] hall at *Gk'Saw Wah* Battalion Headquarters. The issues that the Battalion Commander and village heads discussed have been confirmed, and DKBA leaders and officers and soldiers serving in the front lines have been ordered to know and follow [the orders] below:

1. Our military unit [DKBA], when serving at the front lines, cooperates with village elders, loves people, respects people, and avoids drugs
-

2. Especially in the areas that you are active, when you deal with KNU families treat them as brothers and sisters.

3. Protect teachers who are teaching in villages and assist them in education

If a problem happens for any reason, discuss and solve the problem with officers who are in charge at the front lines.

---

**Order #70 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
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Date: 28.8.2009

To  
Aw--- Village Head

With respect, informing you as follows: if you received my letter, follow the order directly.

*Sd.*  
28.8.2009  
Ax--- Camp

---

**Order #71 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion [#777]

Date: 29.8.2009

To  
Elder persons of concern in A--- village

Subject: Instruction to come and send people

Concerning the above issue, on August 5<sup>th</sup> 2009 I informed you to come and send the people that were specified. If they are not sent, the village head himself [must] come and explain [why not] with an adequate reason, I inform you.

*Sd.*  
29.8.2009  
(representative)  
Ka Sa Ka – Official in Charge  
Major Cj---  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion  
DKBA

---

*This letter was issued because A--- village failed to meet a prior order to provide a villager as a DKBA recruit by August 5<sup>th</sup> 2009 (see Order #66). The head of A--- did not go to At--- but asked a deputy, Saw Ck---, to accompany Ay--- village head Saw Cl--- and Az--- village head Saw Cm--- and attempt to collectively negotiate with the DKBA. The men told DKBA leaders that they couldn't organize soldiers, and were accused of disrespecting the DKBA's orders and told they would themselves have to become soldiers. The village heads replied that they could not and would not become soldiers; they were then forced to work without pay on a rubber plantation for seven days, after which they were released to return to their villages, but were again threatened that they would be forced to become soldiers if they could not arrange for villagers to fill their respective recruitment quotas.*

---

**Order #72 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion [#777]

Date: 29.8.2009

To  
Elder persons of concern in Au--- village

Subject: Instructing to come and send people

Concerning the above issue, on August 5<sup>th</sup> 2009 I informed you to come and send the people that were specified. If they are not sent, the village head himself [must] come and explain [why not] with an adequate reason, I inform you.

Sd.  
29.8.2009  
Ka Sa Ka – Official in Charge  
Major Cj---  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion  
DKBA

*This letter was received by Saw Cn---, the deputy headman of Au--- village, after he was unable to meet a DKBA recruitment order. On July 15<sup>th</sup> 2009, he had been ordered to attend a meeting between village heads and DKBA Gk'Saw Wah Battalion commanders at At---, Papun District (see Order #65). At the meeting, Saw Cn--- was ordered to provide five villagers as recruits for the DKBA by August 5<sup>th</sup> 2009; other village heads received similar orders, and the group was threatened that if villagers were not provided, DKBA soldiers would enter the villages and arrest residents as recruits. Despite the threat, the villagers were unwilling to send recruits; Saw Cn--- didn't present himself to the Gk'Saw Wah officer as instructed in this letter.*

---

**Order #73 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

Date: 6.9.2009

To  
I--- Village Head

I'm writing to you now; the reason for writing is that I have an issue. Why didn't you come and meet [me]? When this letter arrives, bring three viss of tobacco (4.9 kg. / 10.8 lb.) and one viss of chicken (1.6 kg. / 3.6 lb.). If you don't come and meet, in the future [do you] want us to come [to your village]? Don't think that I don't dare to go. I consider social [I consider my social image]. I worry that it will be uncomfortable [if I have come to the village]. I'm writing to let you know that if you don't come and meet [me], you will be punished.

Sd.  
6.9.2009  
Ax--- camp  
Second [Deputy] Camp Commander

---

**Order #74 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

Date: 6.10.2009

To  
Ba--- village Chairperson

An urgent issue has occurred at the Bb--- DKBA Camp. Therefore, the Chairperson [must] come to meet as soon as possible.

Without fail  
That is all,

Sd.  
Captain Co---  
Bb---  
DKBA Camp

---

**Order #75 (Papun District)**

Date: unspecified

To  
Chairperson (Ba--- village)

Come and bring as many limes as [you can collect] to Bb--- camp today.

Sd.  
Camp Commander  
Bb---

---

*Although this letter was undated, it was included in a batch of documents from Papun District dated between August and October 2009 and is thus likely of similar provenance.*

---

**Order #76 (Papun District)**

---

**Stamp:**  
Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A

Date: 2.1.2010

To  
Bc--- Village Head

Subject: Writing to inform you as below

When you receive this letter, on the English 5<sup>th</sup> [the 5<sup>th</sup> day of February, by the English calendar], come and meet at Bd--- [DKBA] Camp. This is an order from Bo Cp---; he asked me to write and inform you.

Follow the order,  
That is all,

Sd.  
"Author"  
Bd--- Camp

*According to a KHRG field researcher, at the meeting the head of Bc--- village was asked to help take responsibility for security and promise that KNLA units active in the area would not attack during a festival hosted by the DKBA; it is not clear whether the village headman had prior contact with KNLA soldiers in the area.*

---

**Order #77 (Papun District)**

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

**Stamp:**  
Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A

DKBA

Date: 18.1.2010

To  
Chairperson  
Be--- village

Subject: Invitation to come and attend a meeting

About the above issue, [I] want to discuss a general issue about work. On January 20<sup>th</sup> 2010 at 10:00 am, come to negotiate with the 2<sup>nd</sup> [Deputy] Column Commander of [DKBA] Gk'Saw Wah Battalion [#777] at K---, Papun Township. I inform you to come without fail.

Sd.  
Deputy Column Commander  
Front line office, Papun town  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion [DKBA]

*In the meeting on January 20<sup>th</sup>, DKBA Gk'Saw Wah Battalion #777 Deputy Column Commander Cq--- from Papun town instructed the village head to provide villagers as sentries along the*

vehicle road while SPDC units were delivering rations from Bf--- to Bg---, or else provide money. None of the residents of Be--- were willing to fulfil the demand for forced labour, so each household in the village had to give 5,000 to 5,500 kyat (US \$5.55 - \$6.11) until the rations delivery was finished.

---

**Order #78 (Papun District)**

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

DKBA

Date: 20.1.2010

To  
Chairperson  
Bh---

I'm informing to let Bh--- know [this information]. On 21.1.2010 we have to take responsibility for sentry duty for road security. For the public service personnel fee, as [you] help and collect [for us] every year, do so again. Then I inform [you] to come and give [the money] to U Cr--- on 25.1.210 without fail.

21.1.2010 [sentry duty start date]  
30.1.2010 [sentry duty finish date]

*Sd.*  
Staff Officer in charge  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion  
Front line office  
Papun Town

*An officer from DKBA Gk'Saw Wah Battalion in Papun town issued this letter to the head of Bh-- - village in Dweh Loh Township, instructing him to provide money to DKBA soldiers serving as sentries along the nearby vehicle road while SPDC soldiers were delivering rations. The wording of the document suggests that the village has previously been required to make similar payments. This report documents that at least four other villages received similar orders from DKBA soldiers requesting similar payments (see Orders #64, 79, 81, 88) and at least two other villages being ordered to provide sentries by the SPDC or the DKBA (see Order #41, 77).*

---

**Order #79 (Papun District)**

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

DKBA

Date: 20.1.2010

---

To  
Chairperson  
J---

I'm informing to let J--- [village] know [this information]. On 21.1.2010 we have to take responsibility for sentry duty for road security. For the public service personnel fee, as [you] help and collect [for us] every year, do so again. Then I inform [you] to come and give [the money] to U Cr--- on 25.1.210 without fail.

Sd.  
Staff Officer in charge  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion  
Front line office  
Papun Town

---

**Order #80 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A

Date: 13.2.2010

To  
Aj--- Village Head

Subject: Writing to inform you as below

When you get my letter, come to Bd---, now called Bi--- camp. The Battalion Commander asked me to call you.

Follow the order immediately; that is all,

Date: 14.2.2010  
Arrive on this date.

Sd.  
"Author"  
Bi--- camp

*The DKBA officer writing this letter did not provide his actual name, instead simply signing with an anonymous 'author' at the bottom of the letter. At the meeting, the head of Aj--- was instructed to fabricate and deliver 750 thatch shingles to the DKBA camp at Bd--- (aka. Bi---). The heads of C--- and Ak--- villages also received the same order; villagers reported that the thatch was used for repairing the DKBA camp and the roofs of the houses belonging the families of DKBA soldiers.*

---

**Order #81 (Papun District)**

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

**Stamp:**  
Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A

DKBA

---

Date: 22.2.2010

To  
Chairperson  
Q---

I'm informing to let the village head of Q--- know: on 3.3.2010, we have to take responsibility for sentry duty on the road. [So] for the public service personnel fee, as [you] help and collect [for us] every year, do [pay] it again. Then I inform you to come and give [the money] to U Cr--- by the deadline, 27.2.2010, without fail.

*Sd.*  
Staff Officer in charge  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion  
Front line office, Papun Town

*Gk'Saw Wah Battalion Staff Officer Bo Cs--- reportedly issued this letter to the head of Q--- village, ordering the village to provide money for providing security along the road, which is described as 'public service'.*

---

**Order #82 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

Date: 24.2.2010

To  
Ak--- Village Head

I'm writing to inform you: as soon as you receive my letter, come to meet me at Bd---. Follow the order.

*Sd.*  
Date: 24.2.2010  
Battalion #--- Commander  
Bd---

*When the village head went to Bd--- on February 25<sup>th</sup>, he was asked to assist with a festival being organised by Battalion Commander Cp---, and to provide information on KNLA activities around his village.*

---

**Order #83 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
--

Date: 24.2.2010

To  
C--- Village Head

---

I'm writing to inform you with a few words: as soon as you receive my letter, on 25.2.2010, come to meet me at Bd---. Follow the order at once.

Sd.  
Date: 24.2.2010  
Defence Battalion #--- Commander  
Bd---

---

**Order #84 (Papun District)**

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

<b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A
---

DKBA

Date: 2.3.2010

To  
Bj---  
Chairperson

Subject: Invitation to attend negotiation meeting

About the above issue, [I] want to discuss a general issue about work. On March 4<sup>th</sup> 2010 at 9:00 am, come to negotiate with the 2<sup>nd</sup> [Deputy] Column Commander of [DKBA] *Gk'Saw Wah* Battalion [#777] at K---, Papun Township. I inform you to come without fail.

Sd.  
Deputy Column Commander  
Front line office, Papun town  
[DKBA] *Gk'Saw Wah* Battalion

*A KHRG field researcher reported that at the meeting, the Chairperson of Bj--- village and other village heads were ordered to deliver money collected as "porter fees"; which some villages had opted to pay instead of supplying residents as forced porters for the DKBA. Villages in the area around Bj--- had reportedly been instructed to pay 15,000 kyat (US \$16.66) per village, per month since November 2009 in lieu of providing porters.*

---

**Order #85 (Papun District)**

<b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A
---

Date: 4.3.2010

To  
C--- Village Head

Subject: Writing to inform you as below

How is it going with the issue that I have told you about? I don't know the time [it will take to respond to an unspecified prior request]; I'm informing you by letter. Anyway, come and meet me about that issue, whether it is possible or not [to arrange the unspecified prior request]. The best way is for you to come and meet me as soon as possible.

That is all,

Sd.  
Defence Battalion #---  
Representative of Sergeant  
4.3.2010

*According to a KHRG researcher who received this order letter from the head of C--- village, DKBA Officer Cp--- had previously asked the village to "help" his logging operation at Bk---. The village head informed Cp--- that his village was unable to help, but was nonetheless ordered to comply; the nature of the support provided was not clear from the field research, although villagers in other parts of Papun District have reported being forced to work without pay at DKBA logging operations.*

---

**Order #86 (Papun District)**

Date: unspecified

To  
C--- Chairperson

Village, I am the D--- Camp Commander, writing to you with respect. We [need] 300 shingles of thatch to roof [our] huts. Help us and sent [the thatch] to us by the end of this month.

Sd.  
With Respect  
D--- Camp Commander

*Although this letter was undated, it was included in a batch of documents from Papun District dated between January and May 2010 and is thus likely of similar provenance. The head of C-- - reportedly complied with this order to fabricate and deliver thatch.*

---

**Order #87 (Papun District)**

Date: unspecified

To  
C--- Village Head

I'm writing to inform you with respect: If you receive my letter, on the Burmese 13<sup>th</sup> [the 13<sup>th</sup> of the month on the Burmese calendar], in the morning, [or by] 2:00pm at the latest, come and meet me directly. Don't delay.

That is all,

Sd.  
Battalion Commander  
Cp---  
Defence Battalion  
Bd---

---

Although this letter was undated, it was included in a batch of documents from Papun District dated between January and May 2010 and is thus likely of similar provenance.

---

**Order #88 (Papun District)**

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

**Stamp:**  
Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A

DKBA

Date: 5.3.2010

To  
Bl--- Chairperson

I'm informing to let Bl--- know [this information]: on 10.3.2010, it is the duty time for the public service personnel [fee], [so] collect [money] and help us again. Keep 8.3.2010 as the last day [collect the money before 8.3.2010]. Then I inform you to come and give [the money] to U Cr---

*Sd.*  
Staff Officer in charge  
*Gk'Saw Wah* Battalion  
Front line office, Papun Town

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**Order #89 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A

Date: 8.3.2010

To  
Bm--- Village Head

I'm informing you now, excuse me, that my thatch was not enough. Make 75 more shingles of thatch for me from Bm---. Then send it to me at S---, to Ct---'s house. [Have it] Arrive within a few days.

*Sd.*  
Cu---

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**Order #90 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A

Date: 10.3.2010

To  
Bn--- Village Head

Subject: Writing to inform you

I informed [ordered] you; why did you not come? I want to know. Anyways, on 5.3.2010 in the morning, the village head really must come to meet me, without fail.

*Sd.*  
DKBA

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**Order #91 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
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Date: 10.3.2010

To  
Bl---

Subject: I'm writing to you because on 12.3.2010 at 8:00am, you [must] come to have a meeting with me at the Papun Column military office. Follow the order, the village head must come without fail.

*Sd.*  
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DKBA

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**Order #92 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
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Date: 12.3.2010

To  
Bl---  
Village Head

Subject: I'm writing to inform you that, on 12.3.2010 I ordered you [to come to meet]; why didn't you come? Whatever the reason, I want to know now. Whatever the reason, in the morning on 15.3.2010, the village head must come and meet me, without fail.

*Sd.*  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion  
Papun Town

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**Order #93 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
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Date: 19.3.2010

To

I'm writing to inform the village head of Bl---. The subject is that staff fees are out of date [overdue]. Come and bring [the money] as soon as you receive this letter. Letting you know with respect.

*Sd.*  
Staff officer in charge  
Gk'Saw Wah Battalion  
Front line office, Papun Town  
DKBA

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**Order #94 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A</p>
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Date: 8.6.2010

To

Bo--- Village Head

Writing to inform you as follows: after you receive my letter, I will hold a meeting on 11.06.2010 in the morning at 10:00 am. [You] must attend, without delay. Call with [bring] the people doing logging businesses to the [meeting] place, Bd---.

*Sd.*  
8.6.2010  
Colonel Cp---  
Battalion Commander  
#--- Security