

**SPDC & DKBA ORDERS TO VILLAGES:**  
**SET 2001-A**

**Papun, Pa'an, Thaton, Nyaunglebin, Toungoo, &**  
**Doooplaya Districts**

**Karen Human Rights Group**

**May 2001**

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# **SPDC & DKBA ORDERS TO VILLAGES: SET 2001-A**

## **Papun, Pa'an, Thaton, Nyaunglebin, Toungoo, & Dooplaya Districts**

An Independent Report by the Karen Human Rights Group  
May 18, 2001 / KHRG #2001-02

**[Note: Some details have been blanked out with 'xxxx' for Internet distribution.]**

*This report presents direct translations of 568 order documents and letters, selected from a total of 735 such documents. They dictate demands for forced labour, money, food and materials, place restrictions on the movements and activities of villagers, and make threats to arrest village elders or destroy the villages of those who fail to obey. Almost all of them were sent from SPDC military units and local SPDC authorities to village elders in Papun, Nyaunglebin, Pa'an, Thaton, Toungoo and Dooplaya Districts, which together cover almost all of Karen State and part of eastern Pegu Division (see **Map 1** showing Burma or **Map 2** showing Karen Districts). The remainder were sent by the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA), a Karen group allied with the SPDC, or were sent back and forth between village elders. All but a few of them were issued between January 2000 and January 2001, with the majority of them dated in the latter half of this period.*

*Villages in Karen areas receive a constant stream of order documents such as these almost every day, from all SPDC Army camps near their village as well as the various levels of SPDC authorities, commanding them to provide people for forced labour, materials and supplies for the Army, extortion money, food, crop quotas, intelligence and other forms of support for the military. Many of the orders simply command village elders to rush to Army camps for 'meetings' at which military officers dictate lists of demands and threaten them with punishment for any failure to comply. The orders translated in this report should be seen as only a small representative sample of the thousands of orders issued to villages in these areas during this time period. For every order reproduced here, hundreds more are issued every week. This report does not aim to provide a comprehensive picture of the human rights situation in these areas, but to provide a reference containing examples of several kinds of orders received by villages in several different regions. More information on the human rights situation in each District is available in other existing KHRG reports. Additional information on the structure and details of the SPDC and DKBA Armies can be found in "**Abuse Under Orders: The SPDC & DKBA Armies through the Eyes of their Soldiers**" (KHRG #2001-01, 27/3/01).*

*Over 300 of the orders in this report contain demands for unpaid forced labour placed on villages by SPDC authorities (this includes orders in the sections '**General Forced Labour**', '**Forced Labour Supplying Materials**', and many of the orders in the '**Set to a Village**' sections). All of the orders demanding forced labour were issued well after May 14<sup>th</sup> 1999, which is when the SPDC leadership claims to have issued 'Order 1/99' to all of their military and administrative units to halt conscription of forced labour under the Villages Act and the Towns Act, colonial-era laws which allow authorities to press-gang labour under certain circumstances. In practice, most of the demands made by the military and SPDC authorities violate the conditions of these Acts (for example, that only able-bodied and unemployed men be conscripted and that conscripted labour should be paid), and when demanding forced labour the*

authorities almost never even make reference to the Acts. Since May 1999 there has been no abatement in orders issued demanding forced labour, and the fact that those included below were issued by many different SPDC battalions and authorities in several different regions shows that such demands are not isolated incidents. In June 2000 the International Labour Organisation (ILO) gave the SPDC until November to take measures to bring an end to forced labour; when the deadline passed with no sign of positive reform, they voted to enact ILO Article 33 for the first time in the Organisation's 83-year history. Under this Article, the ILO presses its member governments, workers' organisations and employers' organisations, as well as other United Nations agencies and bodies, to review their relations with the SPDC to ensure that they are not contributing to the continuation of forced labour in Burma.

The orders in this report demanding forced labour dated right up to January 2001 tend to support the ILO conclusion that the SPDC has taken no concrete action to reduce or eliminate forced labour. According to testimony gathered by KHRG from SPDC deserters, villagers, and some of the orders below, it appears that some sort of 'window-dressing' is occurring in the form of orders from higher authorities telling local authorities to tone down their use of forced labour (see for example Order #151 in the section '**General Forced Labour**' below and Order #18 in "**SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B**" [KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/2000]); however, as can be seen in Order #151 below, it appears that these orders only tell local civilian authorities not to use forced labour for their personal gain, while forced labour for the military and the State are still to be used as before. It even appears that these orders are increasing the use of forced labour by telling local authorities that they must no longer accept money from villagers to avoid forced labour, that people must come for the labour without exemptions. Further discussion on this subject is included in the introduction to the '**General Forced Labour**' section below.

Originals of most of these orders were obtained by KHRG researchers in each region, while some were gathered by field researchers for the field offices of the Federated Trade Unions of Burma (FTUB) and the Karen Office for Relief and Development (KORD). KHRG would like to thank the field researchers of the FTUB and KORD for their extensive help in gathering these orders, and for working with KHRG to translate many of them.

Where necessary to protect people from retaliation, village names, people's names and some other details have been blanked out in the order translations below. Additional details have been blanked out for this Internet version of the report. The print version of the report and the full set of copies of the original orders (blacked out where necessary) are available subject to approved request submitted to KHRG. Additional orders can be found in previously published KHRG reports, including "**SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B**" (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00) and "**SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-A**" (KHRG #2000-01, 29/2/00).

### **Structure of the report**

To make it easier to find orders on specific subjects we have divided them into thematic sections such as '**General Forced Labour**' and '**Extortion of Money, Food and Materials**'. Where an order could fit into more than one section, such as a demand for both forced labour and money, we have categorised it based on the aspect which would be the most important to the villagers; for example, an order demanding both forced labour and money would be placed under '**General Forced Labour**'. All orders were issued by SPDC military units and authorities except where otherwise noted; DKBA orders have been placed in the '**DKBA Letters**' section. The sections are listed and explained below.

**General Forced Labour:** This section includes direct orders for forced labour at Army Camps, on roads, portering, and many other forms of forced labour, and related documents. Demands for bullock carts, tractors and boats are also included here, because these demands implicitly demand the forced labour of the owner/driver of the cart, tractor or boat.

**Forced Labour Supplying Materials:** This section includes orders indirectly calling for forced labour by demanding materials from villagers which require intensive labour to produce and deliver. For example, demands for hundreds of thatch roofing shingles, tons of logs, or quantities of firewood or bamboo force villagers to do hard labour cutting, gathering, preparing and then delivering these materials to Army camps. In contrast, demands for rice, pigs, money and other goods are not included in this section because they are not as labour-intensive; they are included in the section '**Extortion of Money, Food and Materials**'.

**Set to a Village I:** All of these orders were sent to 'Village A' in Papun District between August and October 2000 from the same local authorities. Many of these are direct and indirect demands for forced labour. Rather than mixing them in with the other orders, we have presented them as a set to give an idea of the incessant stream of demands which village elders have to cope with.

**Set to a Village II:** All of these orders were sent to 'Village B' in Papun District between July and October 2000. As with 'Set to a Village I', most of them are for forced labour and they are separated here to give some idea of the incessant stream of demands placed on a single village.

**Set to a Village III:** These orders were all sent to 'Village C' in Thaton District between August and October 2000, and all of them relate to demands for teak wood from the local SPDC Army officers, who force all villages in the area to provide logs and planks which they then sell for their own profit.

**Extortion of Money, Food and Materials:** This section contains orders which use implicit or explicit threats to demand cash, rice, livestock, and various other goods from the villagers, usually with no payment whatsoever.

**Crop Quotas:** These are orders related to the rice quotas which the SPDC forces all farmers to hand over every year for less than half of market price. No exemptions are granted for bad years or natural disasters and the system is fraught with corruption, driving many farmers into starvation or off their land.

**Restrictions on Movement and Activity:** These orders force villagers to carry travel passes to be able to go anywhere and to register any guests in their own homes. They also restrict the transport of food to and from villages and ban villagers from cutting wood for their own use. We have also included the translation of a 'Peace Pass', an SPDC propaganda card which is supposed to allow freedom of movement to villagers if they volunteer to become informers.

**Demands for Intelligence:** These are sent to village heads ordering them to come and report intelligence information on all activities of their villagers and resistance movements in the area. Several of the orders demand that village heads provide 'register lists' of all families, crop acreages, schools, health clinics, monasteries and churches for military intelligence purposes.

**Education, Health and Religion:** This section includes orders for villagers to provide materials and forced labour to build schools, to attend HIV seminars and health clinic openings, and calls for people to go on SPDC-sponsored pilgrimages to temples in Rangoon and Pagan. It is divided into 3 subsections: **Education, Health, and Religion.**

**Summons to ‘Meetings’:** These orders call village elders to come to Army camps to meet with the military or SPDC authorities; the purpose is often unspecified, but at these ‘meetings’ the officers usually dictate demands for forced labour and materials, restrict the activities of villagers and issue threats.

**DKBA Letters:** All of the orders issued by the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA) have been placed in this section, with the exception of 3 DKBA orders which appear in the sections ‘Set to a Village I’ and ‘Set to a Village II’. The content of these orders is similar to those issued by the SPDC military and authorities. We have divided them into 5 subsections: **Landmines, DKBA General Forced Labour, DKBA Demands for Materials and Money, DKBA Restrictions and Trade Controls Against Villagers, and DKBA & KPA Meetings and Festivals.** The last subsection also includes one order, #568, which was issued by the ‘Karen Peace Group’, a smaller Karen group allied with the SPDC.

Within each of the above sections, we have sorted the orders chronologically from the oldest to the most recent, except in some sections with few orders where a topical sequencing is more appropriate. Orders with no indication of date are placed at the end of each section. Beside each Order Number heading we have given its district of origin (Papun, Pa’an, Thaton, Nyaunglebin, Toungoo, or Dooplaya) in parentheses.

### **Notes on the text of the orders**

Most of these orders were handwritten, some typed, and carbon-copied or copied on a cyclostyling machine if sent to more than one village. Many of them have been produced as form letters for distribution to many villages, with the village name and any other specific details written in afterwards by hand. The orders were written in Burmese with the exception of some of those issued by the DKBA; under each DKBA order we have indicated the language used.

We have attempted to accurately reproduce the visual page layout of each order, and underlining, etc. are as they appear in the order. ‘**Stamp:**’ gives the translation of the rubber-stamped unit identifier affixed to many of the orders, while ‘**[Sd.]**’ denotes the usually illegible signature of the issuing official. The language of many of the orders sounds awkward because Burmese grammar is very different from English; for example, the ordering of phrases within a sentence is almost opposite, sentences are often very long and convoluted, and personal subject and object pronouns are often omitted in Burmese. We have translated the words and expressions as directly as possible, though we have sometimes had to make minor changes in the sequence of the words for the wording to make sense and to have the exact same meaning in English. Moreover, many SPDC Army officers and Non-Commissioned Officers are semi-illiterate so they write with terrible grammar and frequent mistakes, and misspell place names and people’s names. Where necessary, we have added notes in italics in square brackets for clarification, but all other text is as it appears in the orders. All text not in square brackets is in the text of the order document itself.

*To protect people and their villages against retaliation, we have blanked out the names of people, villages, Army camps, Army officers and other details where these could be used to track the villages involved. These have been replaced with ‘xxxx’, ‘yyyy’, ‘aaaa’ etc. We have generally used ‘xxx’ for numerals and general information, ‘xxxx’, ‘yyyy’, ‘zzzz’, ‘www’, ‘vvv’, etc. for place names, and ‘aaaa’, ‘bbbb’, ‘cccc’, etc. for people’s names. When an order refers to several people or places, we have assigned each person and place a specific string (‘yyyy’, ‘cccc’, etc.) to keep the references consistent and avoid confusion. In blanking out names, we have often left the honorifics in place: for example, in Burmese ‘Daw’ is used for married women and ‘Ma’ for young unmarried women, while ‘U’ is for older or respected men, ‘Ko’ and ‘Maung’ for men close to the writer’s age, younger men or to indicate a lower level of respect. In Sgaw Karen, ‘Saw’ or ‘Pa’ are prefixes for men and boys and ‘Naw’ for women and girls, regardless of marital status.*

*In Burmese, numerals are usually written in parentheses; in the translations these have been omitted in most cases where they would not be used in English. As in the originals, all numeric dates are shown in **dd/mm/yy** or **dd/mm** format. Some orders use Burmese dates: the year 1362 is the period from April 2000-April 2001, the months begin at each new moon and are divided into the moon’s ‘waxing’ and ‘waning’ phases. We have noted the equivalent Gregorian calendar date where it is not already specified.*

*Most of the orders were issued by local SPDC Army commanders and Peace & Development Councils (PDCs), which are local-level SPDC administration at the Township, Village Tract and Village levels. A village tract is a group of 5-20 villages, usually 10-20 kilometres in diameter and administered from the largest village of the group. A township is a larger area consisting of several village tracts centred on a significant market town, and a district is several townships covering a significant geographic region. While the Township and often Village Tract PDCs consist of SPDC officials under direct military control, the Village PDC chairperson and members are appointed, often against their will, by the local military. Most orders are addressed to the ‘Chairperson’, who is the SPDC-appointed Chairperson of the Village Peace and Development Council (VPDC), and/or the ‘Secretary’ of the same VPDC. This council, consisting of a Chairperson, Secretary, and Members, is supposed to administer the village for the SPDC, which mainly consists of arranging whatever the Army and the higher-level PDCs demand. Other orders are addressed to the ‘Village Head’, who is head of the village elders, and is often the same as the VPDC Chairperson. If a village fails to comply with an order, the Chairperson or Village Head is usually the first to be punished by being arrested and beaten or detained for ransom; this is what is meant by threatening phrases such as “if you fail it will be your responsibility”.*

*Village heads have to spend so much time supervising the forced labour of their villagers and running back and forth to the Army camp whenever summoned by the officers that it is difficult for them to find time to farm their own fields. Moreover, whenever the Army demands money, livestock or goods, it is difficult for the village heads to get it from the villagers so they often end up paying for it themselves. Finally, the village head is at constant risk of arrest, interrogation and torture if he/she fails to comply with a single order or if there is any resistance activity near the village. Therefore, most villagers, especially in or near conflict areas, are too afraid to be a village head. Some villages now rotate their village heads every month if they cannot find anyone willing to take the responsibility. Another solution which is now used by many villages is to choose women as village heads, because the villagers feel that women, particularly elderly women, will be detained and tortured less often than a male headman would be. This is somewhat true, because Burmese culture requires that the young show great respect*

to parents and elders, and many Burmese officers feel intimidated when dealing with elderly women who remind them of their mothers; however, many of them will still not hesitate to detain or torture an elderly village headwoman. Some of the orders address the village headwoman colloquially as **‘Mother’**, and the sender sometimes refers to himself as **‘Son’**. Other terms such as **‘Uncle’** and **‘Auntie’** are usually terms of respect for elders or commanders, not actual blood relations.

At the village level, the **‘Chairperson’** is usually victimised by the local military; however, at the village tract and township levels the **‘Chairperson’** is often a corrupt SPDC appointee who works closely with the local military. The local Army often dictates demands to the Township or Village Tract PDC leaders, who then divide the demands among the villages and issue the written orders; this is why many of the orders to village heads are sent by village tract heads, but merely repeat the direct demands of the Army. The orders often contain phrases such as **‘in the Elder’s village’** or **‘the Elder yourself must come’**; **‘Elder’** here is our translation of the gender-neutral term **Lu Gyi Min**, a reference to the village elder who receives the letter, and though it may sound awkward it is the closest term we have been able to find in English. In some past KHRG reports this was translated as **‘Gentleman/Gentlemen’**, but we have discarded this because the Elder being addressed is frequently a woman.

Many orders call for **‘loh ah pay’**, a Burmese term referring to a traditional practice of contributing one’s labour for small village or temple projects in order to earn Buddhist merit; however, the labour demanded in these orders is forced under threat and is not actually **‘loh ah pay’** at all. Rather than translate this misuse of the term, we have left it intact where it occurs in the orders. The term **‘wontan’** also appears frequently; we have translated this literally as **‘servant’**, and it is used by the SPDC to refer to porters and other forced labourers. **‘Operation servants’** are forced labour porters for frontline operations. Many of the orders demand that the village head **‘bring information’** or **‘report information’** to the Army camp; this is a summons for the village head to report intelligence on opposition movements near the village, any visitors to the village, and all activities of the villagers. Reference is made to **‘servants’ fees’**, also known as **‘porter fees’**; these are the routine extortion fees which villagers must pay to all Army battalions in their area. Many orders contain phrases like **“if you fail it is your responsibility”** or **“we will not take any responsibility for your village”**; these are threats that village elders will be arrested and detained under torture or houses will be looted and/or burned for failure to comply with the order. Some Battalions in the orders call themselves **‘Frontline’** battalions, indicating that they operate in conflict areas.

The reader may notice that some orders marked as originating in Papun District actually bear the stamps and other marks of military units based in Thingan Nyi Naung or Nabu, which are further south in Pa’an District (see for example Order #395). These orders were issued in Papun District by SPDC units under Military Operations Command #12, which are based in southern Pa’an District but were sent on operations to northern Papun District from September or October 1999 through to about May 2000.



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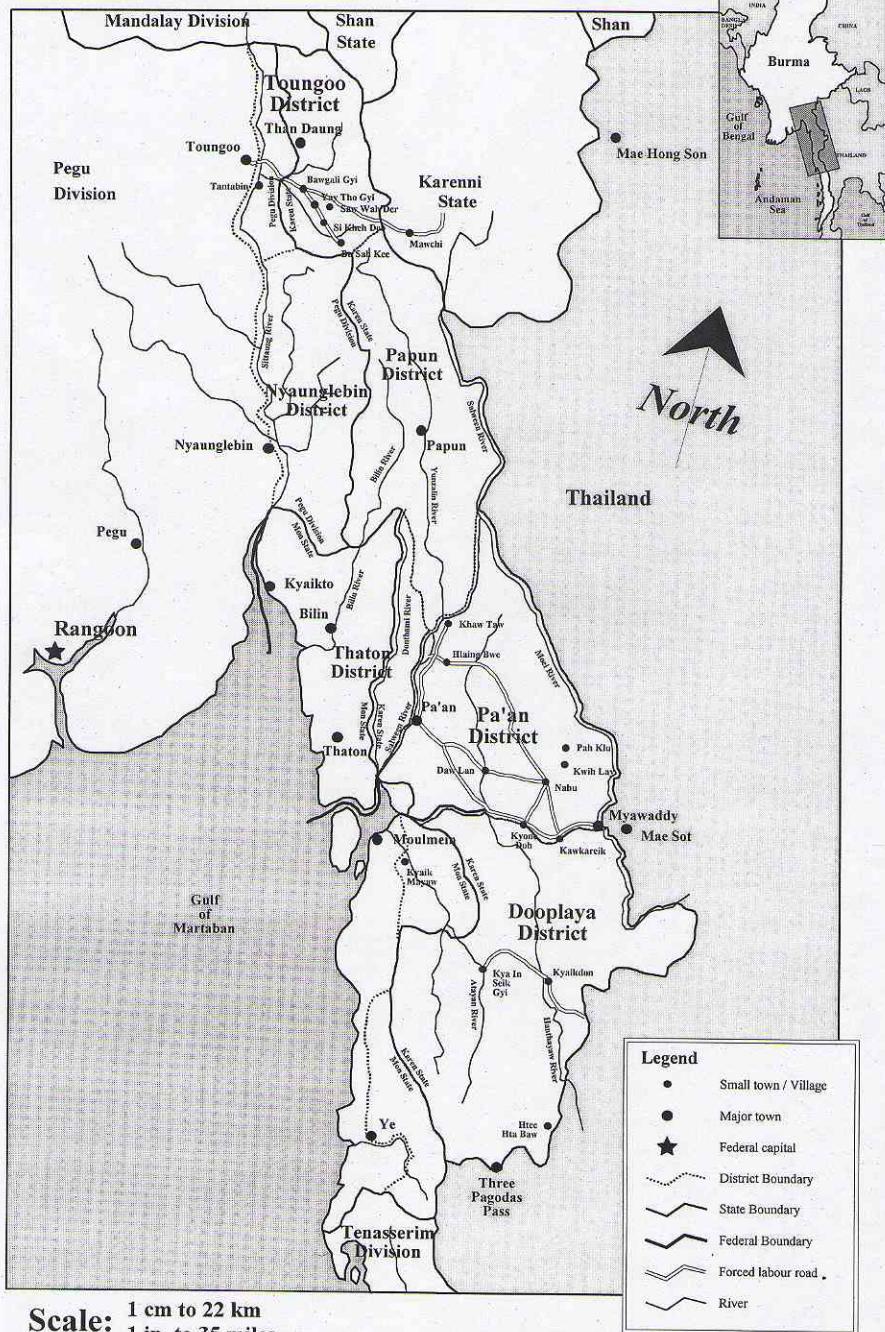
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## Terms and Abbreviations

<b>SPDC</b>	State Peace & Development Council, military junta ruling Burma
<b>PDC</b>	Peace & Development Council, SPDC local-level administration
<b>VPDC</b>	Village Peace & Development Council (abbreviated ' <i>Ya Ya Ka</i> ' in Burmese)
<b>TPDC</b>	Township Peace & Development Council (abbreviated ' <i>Ma Ya Ka</i> ' in Burmese)
<b>IB</b>	Infantry Battalion (SLORC/SPDC), usually about 500 soldiers fighting strength
<b>LIB</b>	Light Infantry Battalion (SLORC/SPDC), usually about 500 soldiers fighting strength
<b>LID</b>	Light Infantry Division (SLORC/SPDC), made up of 10 Light Infantry Battalions
<b>Company</b>	Military unit of about 100 soldiers, though often understrength in SPDC Army
<b>Column</b>	Combination of Companies, assembled for operations; usually 100-300 soldiers
<b>Camp</b>	Army base or outpost; from remote hill posts of 10 soldiers to Battalion HQ camps of several hundred soldiers
<b>KNU</b>	Karen National Union, main Karen opposition group
<b>KNLA</b>	Karen National Liberation Army, army of the KNU
<b>DKBA</b>	Democratic Karen Buddhist Army, Karen group allied with the SPDC
<b>KPA</b>	Karen Peace Army, a small group under SPDC control in Dooplaya District
<b>Nga Pway</b>	'Ringworm', derogatory SPDC slang for KNU/KNLA
<b>loh ah pay</b>	Voluntary labour to make merit, but used by SPDC for most forms of forced labour
<b>set tha</b>	'Messengers'; forced labour as errand-runners, messengers, and for some odd jobs
<b>wontan</b>	'Servant(s)', used by SPDC officers to mean forced labourers, usually porters
<b>Kyat</b>	Burmese currency; US\$1=6 Kyat at official rate, 300+ Kyat at current market rate
<b>Viss</b>	Unit of weight measure; one viss is 1.6 kilograms or 3.5 pounds
<b>Kyat Tha</b>	16 grams; 100 <i>kyat tha</i> equals 1 <i>viss</i>
<b>Pyi</b>	Volume of uncooked rice equal to 8 small condensed milk tins; about 2 kg / 4.4 lb
<b>Bowl</b>	Volume of uncooked rice same as a <i>pyi</i>
<b>Tin</b>	Also 'big tin', volume of rice or paddy of 8 <i>pyi</i> ; about 17 kg / 37 lb of husked rice
<b>Basket</b>	Volume of rice or paddy equal to 2 Big Tins
<b>Taun</b>	Burmese unit of measurement equalling 1.5 feet or ½ metre (elbow to fingertip)
<b>Twa</b>	Burmese unit of measurement equalling 8-9 inches or 20-22 cm (one handspan)
<b>U</b>	Burmese honorific prefix for older or respected men
<b>Ko, Maung</b>	Burmese honorific prefix for younger or less respected men
<b>Saw, Pa</b>	Sgaw Karen prefix for men and boys
<b>Daw</b>	Burmese honorific prefix for married women
<b>Ma</b>	Burmese honorific prefix for younger unmarried women
<b>Naw</b>	Sgaw Karen prefix for women and girls



# Districts of Karen State



## General Forced Labour

The most systematic and burdensome abuse inflicted on villagers by SPDC military units and authorities is forced labour, and the orders included below give some impression of the constant stream of demands for all kinds of labour which villages have to face. They include demands for one person per family to go for forced unpaid road labour or to tend crops for the Army, various numbers of villagers to go as porters carrying munitions and supplies for mobile military columns, forced labour building and maintaining Army camps, carrying Army rations and supplies, acting as unarmed sentries, military messengers and general servants at Army camps, and various other forms of labour. We have also included orders which demand bullock carts, tractors or elephants for use by the Army, because such orders implicitly force the owner to go along and do forced labour driving his/her bullock team, tractor or elephant (see Orders #21, 115, 116, 121, 182, and 186, among others; Orders #115 and 116 clearly state that the demand for bullock carts means *“people, bullocks, and cart”*). Also included are some notes written by village heads on the forced labour they have been forced to send; some of these they have written on the order papers themselves (we have noted where this occurs), but they have also written up some of their own lists (see Orders #168 and 220). In addition to all of these forms of direct forced labour, villagers are also ordered to provide building materials and other such things to the Army, and producing and transporting these materials is forced labour in itself; these orders have been separated out and included in the next section, *“Forced Labour Supplying Materials”*. Even orders demanding that village heads run to Army camps to report intelligence or to deliver food, which are included in the other sections of this report, can in their own way be considered forms of forced labour.

Each of the orders below demands anywhere from one to over 100 villagers at a time for forced labour. Most of the demands specifying one or only a few people are for rotating forced labour as messengers and general servants at an Army camp or as porters with mobile patrols. Demands for larger scale projects, such as transporting a rations shipment or clearing the scrub along roadsides, often demand one person per family (for example, Orders #155 and 181) or specify a total of 20, 30, 80 or 100 people per village (see Order #144). The orders do not usually discriminate by gender, though some orders specify men only (such as #141, 144 and 162) while others specifically demand women, such as Orders #150 and 157, or Orders #55 and 201, which specify that if no men are available then women must come. Facing several demands for forced labour at once, many villagers have no alternative but to send their children so that the parents can work their fields. SPDC officers generally show no reluctance to force children to do hard labour, though they prefer adults because they can do more work. For this reason, Order #201 specifies that if there are no men women can be sent, but not children. Order #1 is more explicit: *“When you sent the loh ah pay from the village, they were children, so the work is not going well. Therefore, send adults when loh ah pay is to be done.”* Though he is not happy with their work, the LIB 308 officer who wrote this order makes no mention of exempting the children from the work until the adults arrive.

Many of the orders are not specific about the nature of the labour, simply calling a group of people to come. In most cases these are for forced labour as servants, messengers and doing sentry duty and general maintenance at the Army camp, or carrying supplies. Some orders specifically demand villagers to carry Army supplies (Orders #130 and 156) or to build Army camps (Orders #59, 75, 145, 146, and 147). Those for larger scale labour are usually more specific; for example, there are several demanding forced labour on road and bridge construction (see Orders #54, 101, 138, 149, 160, and 197). Roads throughout Karen areas are usually built using forced labour under inept military supervision, so they are washed out every rainy season

and have to be rebuilt by more forced labour. Apart from building and maintaining roads, villagers are also forced to clear wide ‘killing grounds’ along both sides of roads used by the Army. For example, Order #185 orders everyone in 6 villages to work for 6 days clearing all vegetation for 75 yards to either side of an Army road. Other similar orders include #2, 9, 10, 13, 26, 84, and 209. These ‘killing grounds’ are intended to make it more difficult for resistance forces to mount ambushes on Army convoys or landmine the road, and they also make it difficult for anyone, including fleeing villagers, to cross the road. Orders #2 and 140 demand that a village return to do the work again because they didn’t cut the area clearly enough; Order #2 goes on to threaten that if the village fails to do so it will be forcibly relocated. Order #206 demands that villagers build fences along both sides of the road for the same purpose. Once these security measures are taken, the villagers are forced to do rotating 24-hour or 48-hour shifts of forced labour standing as unarmed sentries every few hundred metres along the road (see Order #24, which also orders them to build sentry huts for the purpose, and Order #22); they are supposed to report any movement to the Army camp, and if anything subsequently happens along their stretch of road their village is held responsible and punished. Order #184 warns that ***“If anything happens along the road, it will be the Chairperson’s responsibility so [you] will have to pay compensation.”***

SPDC Army units are also confiscating farmland and calling on villagers more and more to grow food for them; see for example Order #317 under ***“Set to a Village II: Village B, Papun District”***, which calls villagers to weed the Battalion’s ricefield, and Order #30, in which an officer tells the village headwoman to hand over the chickens he has ordered her to breed for him. Forced labour demands even include the absurd or trivial; for example, the demands of an LIB 3 officer for a village headwoman to sew his clothes expressed in Orders #218 and 219.

The orders below usually refer to forced labour as ‘*loh ah pay*’, a Burmese term meaning voluntary community work such as clearing the path to the next village or repairing the Buddhist temple. By definition, ‘*loh ah pay*’ cannot be demanded by an Army or a distant central government, it has to be initiated within the local community. As can be seen from the orders below, none of the labour demanded is voluntary and it is demanded under threat; some of the orders threaten village elders with physical punishments if they fail to send the ‘*loh ah pay*’, or dictate punishments after forced labourers have run away. Rather than attempt to translate ‘*loh ah pay*’, we have left it as it stands in the orders. Some orders also refer to forced labourers as ‘*wontan*’ (‘servants’), a term more commonly used to refer to government civil servants; however, none of the labourers demanded in the orders below were paid or compensated in any way. ‘*Sit seh nyay wontan*’ (‘Military operation servants’) is used to refer specifically to frontline forced labour porters for Army columns, while ‘emergency’ labour usually means *ad hoc* portering to carry rations and supplies to Army posts. One type of forced labour is called ‘*set tha*’ (‘messenger’), which essentially means forced labour as military messengers, general servants, errand-runners and occasional sentries at Army camps. Most villages are forced to send one or more people each day on a rotating basis for ‘*set tha*’ labour at every nearby Army camp. Ironically, it is villagers doing ‘*set tha*’ forced labour who have to deliver orders such as those in this report from the Army camps to the villages.

Many military units and lower-level officers send their orders for forced labour directly to the heads of each village in the area, but some higher commanders and military units use the head of the village nearest their camp as a conduit, sending orders to him and leaving it to him to allocate the demands among the villages in the area. This is why some of the orders for forced labour below are addressed from a village head or village tract head to another village head. In the end it is usually the village head receiving the order who must decide which villagers must go to fill the quota demanded by the Army. A rotating system between the families of the village is generally used to do this, in order to spread the burden as evenly as possible. However, with so

many different forms of forced labour being constantly demanded by every Army unit and SPDC authority in the area, families find that they must send someone for forced labour at least once every week or two. Some of the demands are on an *ad hoc* basis, such as orders to spend a week building a road or a day fencing an Army camp, while other orders demand ‘servants’ on a ‘permanent’ or ‘rotating’ basis, which means that the village must provide a certain number of forced labourers on a rotation of a few days to a week. The villagers must take along their own food and stay at the Army camp for their rotation, doing labour as messengers, sentries, building and maintaining buildings, bunkers, trenches and fences, clearing scrub, cutting and hauling firewood, hauling water, short-distance portering and any other duties demanded of them. They are usually not released until their replacements arrive. Women often go because the men do not dare face the soldiers, and children often go so that their parents can continue to work in the fields. Villagers forced to go for *ad hoc* forced labour are often kept much longer than originally specified, and ‘rotation’ labourers often have to keep working longer than their shift because the village fails to send replacements on time; in these cases, they run out of food and the Army sends orders to their village to send food for them (see for example Orders #76, 88, and 89). Orders for work such as road building or clearing often specify a length of road or a specific assignment and a deadline instead of specifying the number of workers; in these cases, it is up to the village head to decide how many people must go to finish the work in the specified time. Some of the orders demand that the village elders or a forced labour ‘leader’ personally accompany the labourers from their village to the worksite (using language such as ‘Chairperson, come yourselves to bring them’); this is so that the officers can simply give the assignment and then leave the elders to supervise the work, in full knowledge that if the work is not satisfactory the elders will be arrested and punished.

When villages are delinquent in complying with orders for forced labour, the Army or PDC authorities usually respond by sending threatening and angry letters, often written in red ink, until after the second or third letter the village has little option but to comply or face the possibility of very serious punishment which usually includes the arrest and torture of village elders. The threats for failure to comply are often vague, such as ***“If you fail it will be the Chairperson’s responsibility”***, but some are more explicit: for example, Order #203 tells the village head that if he/she doesn’t send 8 people for forced labour by 2 p.m., ***“know that your village will suffer”***. Order #178 demands 2 villagers and adds, ***“If you fail, we will send a bomb”***, meaning they will shell the village. Orders such as #131 threaten ***“serious action”***, while Order #74 says that if the village head does not pay a fine for 2 villagers who failed to show up, ***“[I’m] not going to take any responsibility for xxxx village”***, meaning the village may be destroyed or relocated as punishment. Order #2 tells several villages that their work clearing the scrub from the roadsides was ***“not satisfactory”***, and threatens that if they do not come back to do it again their villages will be forcibly relocated. The anger of the SPDC officers at not being sent their forced labour is clear in orders such as #109: ***“Has your xxxx [village] not arranged the matter of rotation servants? Do you not understand that you are responsible for the village? Do we need to resolve this? Don’t act like you don’t care about us. We have already written letters to you twice. If we arrive at the village it will not be good for our relationship. You must understand that.”*** One of the strongest threats is stated in Order #187: ***“No one came in accordance with the call for servants when the Strategic Command went back, so the Head yourself must come to clear [the matter]. If [you] don’t come, [we] will call you with the Mobile Column. ... Every time [we] call for servants from the Village Head, [you] give many excuses and avoid it. In future, if battles or landmines occur concerned with your village, the village will be destroyed.”***

None of the labour mentioned in the orders below is undertaken voluntarily, but always under the direct or implied threat that the village elders or villagers will face serious punishments for any failure to comply. In addition to threats, villagers are also fined for failing to show up for work;



sometimes this is stated as a fine (Order #74), while sometimes it is claimed that people had to be hired in their place and they must reimburse the cost (Orders #8, 15, and 52). Villages supposed to send people on a 'permanent' rotating basis for forced labour frequently fail to send a new shift of people on time because no one is available, and this results in orders from the Army to ***“come and replace the servants”*** with fresh people, particularly if the workers already at the camp have run out of food. Usually the Army will not release the rotation workers until their replacements arrive; for example, Order #170 states, ***“Yesterday I didn’t get the messenger that I asked for, so I didn’t release the bullock cart driver yet. In your village there are about 100 houses. I will tell [you] one more thing. One person is always a messenger for me, so send [one messenger] together with the messenger who comes now. When the day is finished come to change [the messengers]. If you don’t send one with the messenger who comes now, we won’t release the bullock cart driver.”***

SPDC officers get particularly angry when forced labourers flee before their shift or their work assignment is done, and usually fine the village or demand that the people be identified and brought back for punishment. Order #44 demands a fine of rice and pork for villagers who fled, while Order #60 demands a fine of 5,000 Kyat in cash; Order #73 demands that the 2 villagers who fled be brought back, plus an additional 2 people for forced labour. Other similar orders include #29, 61, 64, 189, 210, and 212, the last of which states, ***“All of the sentries went back. Uncle is angry. As soon as you receive this letter now, send back all the sentries. Send them effectively, Mother.”*** Order #133 is angrier: ***“The Mother [Village] Head has sent the 5 villagers and [they] arrived yesterday and [we] are asking them to cut bamboo, but [they] didn’t cut the bamboo and fled back [to their village]. I am very angry about this. As soon as you receive this letter, give quickly 10 villagers to me and include those 5 villagers [who fled the day before]. We are treating the villagers from xxxx well, but think that we can’t continue like this. We are the soldiers, if [you] want us to deal [with you] brutally, we can. [We are] Not satisfied at all on this matter. ... [We] Asked for thatch and it didn’t arrive. [We] Asked for people, but [they] didn’t do anything and ran back. So, there is no reason to accommodate [you]. If [you] can stay without coming, stay [in your village]. That is all there is to tell.”***

It is difficult for villagers to go for all of this forced labour, so they often try to pay bribes to the Army to get out of it, which the orders refer to as ‘paying to hire servants’. For some types of routine forced labour, money is accepted by the local Army officers. However, the Army officers then just pocket the money and demand the labour elsewhere. Eventually, they begin demanding the labour from the same village - so the village has to send the labour while also paying to ‘avoid’ it. Later the villagers may begin paying more in order to avoid the ‘actual’ forced labour as well, first on an *ad hoc* basis and then on a routine basis, until this too becomes a normal extortion ‘fee’, and the Army takes the money and begins demanding yet more ‘actual’ forced labour on top of it - and so on. In many villages this system has become so formalised that they now pay several types of weekly and monthly ‘servant fees’, ‘porter fees’, and ‘messenger fees’ to various Army camps, while simultaneously doing all forms of forced labour at those camps. Demands for such ‘fees’ can be seen in the section ***‘Extortion of Money, Food, and Materials’*** below. Many Army units demand more forced labour than they really need, then insist that only half of the workers actually be sent and that they be paid money for the remainder. In the case of rotating forced labour such as ‘*set tha*’ (‘messengers’), on days when the labour is not required the Army does not grant the villagers a day off, but instead demands that money be sent instead of a labourer on that day. Some villages also hire people to go in their place. When the Army channels its forced labour demands to small villages through a village tract head or the head of a garrison village, some village tract heads automatically hire people to go for the labour and then send demands for money out to the smaller villages to cover their share; systems like these can be seen in the sections ***“Set to a Village I”*** and ***“Set to a Village II”*** below, and in both cases the village tract head tries to force the villages to send



people instead of money. If the villagers can no longer pay the money, all of these ‘fees’ which have piled up one by one suddenly start being converted back into real forced labour - leaving the villagers with so much forced labour that they are left with little option but to flee the village.

Facing increasing international censure for its systematic use of forced labour, particularly from the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the SPDC has repeatedly claimed to have issued ‘secret directives’ and ‘special orders’ barring the use of forced labour. SPDC leaders told the ILO that on May 14<sup>th</sup> 1999 they had issued Order 1/99, which they claimed instructed officials and military officers to cease conscripting forced labour under the Villages Act and the Towns Act, and dictated that violators would be punished. However, as can be seen in the orders below, demands for forced labour never make reference to the Villages Act or the Towns Act, and the SPDC admits that until now there has not been a single case of anyone being charged under Order 1/99 for demanding forced labour. In June 2000 the ILO voted to implement Article 33 of its constitution beginning in November if the SPDC failed to show concrete progress in reducing forced labour by that time. Article 33, which had never before been used in the ILO’s 83-year history, stipulates that the ILO will press its member governments, labour and employers’ organisations, and United Nations agencies and others to review their relations with the SPDC to ensure that these do not encourage the use of forced labour.

In response, the SPDC claimed again to be acting against forced labour, and this time there were reports from some SPDC Army deserters and villagers that vague orders had come down that forced labour should not be used for personal profit, but would still be used for everything else. Even these same villagers and deserters stated that nothing was done to reduce forced labour as a result. For example, a 19-year-old Lance Corporal who fled SPDC Light Infantry Battalion #549 in Pa’an District in December 2000 told KHRG, *“The SPDC said they won’t call Wontan [‘servants’, meaning porters] after November [2000], but it isn’t true. They call Wontan [porters] and Loh Ah Pay [other forced labour]. They forced the civilians to dig toilets. They forced them to dig the earth, to build the road and forced them to weave baskets for the porters. They force them to do everything. They force them to send firewood for charcoal and firewood for the brick kilns [brick kilns owned by the Army. The bricks made there are sold by the officers for personal profit]. After the villagers cut the wood they have to send it by bullock cart. Later, they don’t want do it anymore. They are tired of it. ... I heard that the senior leaders ordered it [a reduction in forced labour]. But they didn’t stop it. They still call people to go.”* [see Interview #2 in *“Abuse Under Orders: The SPDC & DKBA Armies Through the Eyes of their Soldiers”* (KHRG #2001-01, 27/3/01)]. In practice there has been no restriction placed on forced labour for the military, which the ILO has repeatedly stressed as its strongest concern, and no mention of punishment for those using forced labour. Orders for forced labour of all kinds continue to be issued throughout Burma as steadily as they ever were; this report alone contains approximately 300 direct orders for forced labour (contained in the section *‘General Forced Labour’* and the three *‘Set to a Village’* sections) and over 50 orders requiring forced labour to supply wood, bamboo, thatch and other materials (contained in the section *‘Forced Labour Supplying Materials’*). These orders come from many different battalions and SPDC authorities in six different regions, issued up to and including January 2001. Of all of these orders, the only one making any reference to cutting back on forced labour is Order #151, issued in October 2000, which states, *“Except for operations and security affairs which require operations servants, civilian servants/carts are not allowed to be used for administrative affairs.”* No further explanation or details are included in this order, and it is important to note that the exceptions of ‘operations and security affairs’ include all forced labour for the military. Similarly, Order #18 in *“SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B”* (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00), issued in October 1999, states, *“other than calling [people] for military operation servants, matters concerning the whole population, or emergency ‘loh ah pay’ needed to face natural disasters, it has already been ordered not to call for ‘loh ah pay’”*. Again, the stated

exceptions of “military operation servants” and “matters concerning the whole population” such as infrastructure go directly against the recommendations of the ILO and the supposed stipulations of Order 1/99. Furthermore, in this order the Myawaddy township officials go on to say that this does not mean that villagers cannot be used for these and other forms of forced labour, but that they must draw up a rotation roster and do the forced labour, and will no longer be allowed to pay money to get out of it. If this is how Order 1/99 is being implemented in the field, it means an increase in actual forced labour, not a decrease. After reviewing the situation once more in November 2000, the ILO decided to implement Article 33 and since that time has been communicating with governments, ILO member organisations, and international bodies regarding their relations with the SPDC.

The SPDC also claims to be using convict labour instead of civilians, but while it is true that they are using convict labour more than ever before, this has not reduced demands for forced labour on civilians; instead, they are simply using much more forced labour in total to support their ever-expanding Army [for more information see *“Convict Porters: The Brutal Abuse of Prisoners at Burma’s Frontlines”* (KHRG #2000-06, 20/12/00)]. The only order obtained for this set which makes reference to convict labour is #7, which tells village heads to report and hand over any convict labourers who arrive in their village after fleeing the SPDC.

This section contains most of the direct orders for forced labour, but some such orders have also been included in the sections *“Set to a Village I”*, *“Set to a Village II”*, *“Education”*, and *“DKBA Letters”*. Orders which indirectly require forced labour are included in all sections of this report.

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### **Order #1 (Papun)**

#### **Stamp:**

#308 Light Infantry Battalion

Date: 16-1-99

Company #x

[To:] Chairperson

U aaaa

When you sent the *loh ah pay* from the village, they were children, so the work is not going well.

Therefore, send adults when *loh ah pay* is to be done. Send them early.

Send them to arrive at 8 o’clock at the work place.

You are informed.

**[Sd.] 16-1-99**

LIB #308

Important.

*[On the back this order says, “Help with 50 kyat tha [800 g/1.75 lb] of sesame paste.” Note that the officer has not refrained from using the children for the work; he is only complaining because they are too small so the work is not going well.]*

## **Order #2 (Papun)**

To:

25-9-99

Village heads

vvvv, wwwwww, xxxx, yyyy, zzzz [villages]

Subject: Informing you to come to 21-Mile

[We] Have already given the villages the duty to cut the brush on the left / right sides of the road from 21-Mile to 18-Mile, but the cutting and clearing is not satisfactory, and [we] have already [sent] this letter three times for the [village] heads to come to meet. If [you] don't come again now, according to the directive of the Strategic Operations Command, [we] will move [your village] to a better place for security reasons, letting you know.

If the heads do not come, the xxxx Strategic Operations Command will arrange to move [the villages], we inform you again.

Ko aaaa, come without fail.

[Sd.]

Company Commander

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## **Order #3 (Papun)**

To: xxxx [village]

6-11-99

Chairperson

Mother, letting you know and informing you with this letter. Mother and 6 loh ah pay people must come together with the messenger who has come now. Come quickly to yyyy camp, you are informed.

If [you] have green chillies,  
bring a little of them.

yyyy camp  
IB 19

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## **Order #4 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#547 Light Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

To:

11-11-99

Chairperson  
xxxx village

- 1) As soon as you receive this letter now, the Elder yourself must come quickly to meet at yyyy camp.
- 2) To cut the scrub along the road and for road sentry duty, the villagers must come on the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup>.
- 3) If [you] do not obey and carry this out, harsh action will be taken.

Obey.

[Sd.]

Company Commander  
Company #x  
(Mobile Column)  
xxxx

### **Order #5 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter now, send without fail 2 *loh ah* pay servants to yyyy at the zzzz river bridge, to arrive today at 17:00 hours.

Place: yyyy  
Date: 15/11/99

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Column Commander  
Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion

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### **Order #6 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 20/11/99

From xxxx village send (*[blank]*) people as rotation servants, Chairperson yourself come to bring them to arrive on 20-11-99 at yyyy camp, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Camp Commander  
yyyy camp  
Frontline #19 *[IB]*, Company #x

*[‘Rotation servants’ are villagers who must go for constantly rotating shifts of forced labour.]*

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### **Order #7 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #547 Light Infantry Battalion  
Column Headquarters

To: Chairperson (xxxx *[village]*)

The servants who are being used in our Columns/Companies are convicts who are being punished. If you see any servants who have fled and escaped from the Column, come quickly to report the information to the nearest Columns.

**[Sd.] 21/11/99**  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline #547 LIB Column

*[The SPDC uses prison convicts along with villagers to do forced labour, especially as porters and on major infrastructure projects; the convicts are treated brutally and are often forced to work until they die or escape. See “Convict Porters: The Brutal Abuse of Prisoners on Burma’s Frontlines” (KHRG #2000-06, 20/12/00).]*

### **Order #8 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 24-11-99

- 1) For fencing duty, xxxx village must come and complete the fencing by 30-11-99.
- 2) You have already been informed to send 2 rotation servants to arrive on 20-11-99, but they have failed to come up until today. During the failure for 5 days from 20-11-99 through 24-11-99 [we] had to hire 2 servants from yyyy, so come quickly to give the servants' hiring fees of 800 Kyat for each day. Send 2 rotation servants, you are informed.

***[Sd.]***

(for) Camp Commander  
yyyy camp  
Frontline #19 [IB], Company #x

*[On the back is written, "Important. Send quickly." 'Rotation servants' are villagers who must go for constantly rotating shifts of forced labour. The camp wouldn't pay to hire people from yyyy village, they would simply demand more forced labourers; however, they use the failure to send forced labour as an excuse to demand money from the village.]*

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### **Order #9 (Papun)**

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
#356 Light Infantry Battalion  
Thingan Nyi Naung

Subject: To cut the scrub along the right/left of the road

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village must take the responsibility to cut the scrub along the right/left of the vehicle road. [You] Must come to clear until finished the miles which have been specified on the 27<sup>th</sup>/28<sup>th</sup>/29<sup>th</sup>.

When finished cutting and clearing the scrub, the one who takes responsibility for the village must come to report to the Column, you are informed.

Place: yyyy camp  
Date: 26-11-99

***[Sd.]***  
(for) Battalion Commander  
#356 Light Infantry Battalion

### **Order #10 (Papun)**

To

Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**

#356 Light Infantry Battalion  
Thingan Nyi Naung

Subject: To cut the brush on the right and left sides of the road

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village must take the duty for cutting the brush on the right / left side of the road at the specified miles. Come to clear it completely on the 27<sup>th</sup> / 28<sup>th</sup> / 29<sup>th</sup> [of November 1999].

When the brush is cleared completely, one responsible person [village head or other village leader] from the village must come to report to the Column, you are informed.

Place: yyyy Camp

Date: 26-11-99

**[Sd.]**

(for) Battalion Commander  
#356 Light Infantry Battalion

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### **Order #11 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy Village

To:

Chairperson

The village head yourself must come and bring 1 person from each house of civilians who are staying in xxxx to yyyy village with 3 days of rations on 27-11-99, you are informed. If they don't come from your village, it will be the responsibility of the village head.

**[Sd.]**

Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

*[The village heads of large villages, particularly if it is the centre of a village tract, are often ordered by SPDC units to issue the orders demanding quotas of forced labour from all the smaller villages in their areas. The SPDC-appointed village head is referred to as the Chairperson of the Village Peace and Development Council.]*

## **Order #12 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

30-11-99

Village Peace and Development Council

Date: 30-11-99

yyyy Village

To: xxxx [village]

Informing the Chairperson

The subject is that each village has to pay for the cost of boat diesel, [illegible] Kyat. [I] Have sent back the *loh ah pay* people. It must be carried by boat [it is better to carry the supplies by boat than by forced labourers]. If we use people, they are not free to work their paddy fields. Then send 1 *loh ah pay* servant from each village to yyyy village on 1-12-99, you are informed. If the people cannot come, you can come and hire people for 500 Kyat per day in yyyy village. You must come to send the price of the diesel and the servants. Therefore, I am insisting that you must send it.

That's all.

***[Sd.]***

Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council

yyyy village, Papun township

*[This order followed Order #11, and the 'loh ah pay people' mentioned here are those who were demanded in that previous order.]*

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## **Order #13 (Papun)**

To: Mother Head, xxxx [village]

From xxxx [village], the scrub still has to be cut on the left and right sides of the road between yyyy and zzzz. Come to cut it tomorrow, 1-12-99, you are informed.

***[Sd.] 30-11-99***

Intelligence Officer

Frontline LIB xxx Column

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## **Order #14 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion

Column x Headquarters

To:

Chairperson

xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter now, the Chairperson yourself must come without fail with 1 servant for *loh ah pay* to yyyy village, to arrive today, 2-12-99, and meet with the Column Commander.

Date: 2/12/99

Place: yyyy village

***[Sd.]***

(for) Column Commander

Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion

### **Order #15 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

6-12-99

When you receive this letter, from 15-11-99 to 30-11-99 the two rotation servants failed *[to come]*. *[People]* Had to be hired from yyyy village in place of these servants, so for the servants' fees send without fail 4,000 Kyat exactly to arrive on 7-12-99. Send it without fail. If the Chairperson cannot come a representative must bring it, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Camp Commander  
yyyy camp

*[The servants' fees are the money supposedly used to hire people to take the place of the villagers who didn't show up for rotating shifts of forced labour as ordered during the 15 day period specified.]*

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### **Order #16 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 10-12-99

1) The rations have to be carried from the bank of the river at yyyy to the camp. Chairperson yourself come and bring 15 men from xxxx village together with 3 days of rice on 12-12-99, you are informed.

2) If *[you]* fail it will be the responsibility of the Chairperson.

*[Sd.] 10-12-99*  
(for) Camp Commander  
yyyy camp  
Frontline #19 *[IB]*, Company #x

*[Written on the back: "Important, send quickly. Pass on [to other villages]".]*

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### **Order #17 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Now, as soon as you receive this letter, the Chairperson yourself must come without fail to yyyy camp to bring replacements for the 3 servants who went back *[to their village]*, you are informed.

Place: yyyy camp  
Date: 15-12-99

*[Sd.] 15-12-99*  
(for) Column Commander  
Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion

*[Three villagers have fled from forced labour, and this order demands replacements for them.]*



### **Order #18 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: Sending back the loh ah pay servant

Regarding the above subject, the 1 loh ah pay servant from the Elder's village who we are sending back now did his duty well, so for this 1 servant, give him a chance to be free from the [forced labour] rotation for 3 weeks, you are informed.

Place: yyyy camp

Date: 15-12-99

**Stamp:**

#356 Light Infantry Battalion  
Thingan Nyi Naung

***[Sd.] 15/99***  
Intelligence Officer

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### **Order #19 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:  
xxxx [village] Chairperson

Now, when [you] receive this letter, send 3 servants from xxxx [village] with rice for 3 days. Moreover, send 4 bowls [6.4 kg/14 lb] of rice again.

Date: 25-12-99

Place: yyyy camp

***[Sd.]***

(for) Column Commander  
Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion

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### **Order #20 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter now, come quickly to yyyy to replace the 2 servants, and bring along the rice for the servants, you are informed. If [you] have any sticky-rice, bring one bowl [1.6 kg/3.5 lb] to give [us].

Place: yyyy

Date: 27-12-99

***[Sd.]***

(for) Column Commander  
Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion

*[To 'replace the 2 servants' means that the forced labourers from the village have already finished their shift, but they will not be released until the village provides replacements for them.]*

### **Order #21 (Papun)**

Subject: Informing you to send bullock carts

Regarding the above subject, the Head yourself must come and bring 5 bullock carts to yyyy camp on 28-12-99 to arrive at 0600 hours, you are informed.

Place: yyyy camp

Date: 27-12-99

**Stamp:**

#xxx Infantry Battalion

Company #x

**[Sd.] 27-12-99**

Company Commander

Company #x

#xxx Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #22 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 1-1-2000

As soon as you receive this letter now, the Chairperson yourself must bring road sentries and report without fail to the Column at yyyy. If *[you]* fail, it will be the responsibility of the Elder, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**

(for) Intelligence Officer

Frontline LIB xxx, Column x

*[‘Road sentries’ are villagers for forced labour as unarmed sentries along the road. They must watch for any activity along the road and report it to the military column; if anything subsequently happens along the road, their village is held responsible and punished.]*

---

### **Order #23 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion

Column x Headquarters

To:

Chairperson

xxxx village

Now, as soon as you receive this letter, replace the servants. Gather them at yyyy camp on 3/1/2000. Bring along ration rice.

Place: yyyy camp

Date: 2/1/2000

**[Sd.]**

(for) Column Commander

Frontline #356 Light Infantry Battalion

*[‘Replace the servants’ means to bring villagers to take over for those already doing forced labour.]*

### **Order #24 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

To:  
Chairperson

8-1-2000

As soon as you receive this letter now, to build the vehicle road sentry huts and to sentry, send quickly 5 villagers from the Elder's village with full rations. Chairperson, come to send 1 cart to the Company Commander at yyyy on the Kway Thay river. If [you] fail, it will be the responsibility of the Elder, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
**Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xxx Infantry Battalion

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx village. Important/Urgent."]*

---

### **Order #25 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

8-1-2000

The Chairperson yourself must come to bring the sentries from chairperson's village along with food rations on 8-1-2000 to arrive at 1200 hours, you are informed.

If [you] fail, it is the responsibility of the chairperson, you are informed.

*[Sd. 8-1-2000]*  
Sgt. aaaa  
IB #xxx  
Company #x  
Regional in-charge

*[On the back of this order it is marked 'Important. Send Urgently'. 'Sentries' means villagers to do forced labour as unarmed sentries at the Army Camp or along the road.]*

---

### **Order #26 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

To:  
Chairperson / Village Head  
xxxx [village]

Date: 9-1-2000

To cut the scrub on the left and right sides of the vehicle road, call one person per house from the Elder's village. The Chairperson/Village Head yourself must come to arrive at the yyyy river tomorrow, 10-1-2000, at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed. If [you] do not come, it will be the responsibility of the Elder, you are warned.

*[Sd.]*  
Company Commander  
Company #x  
Frontline LIB xxx Column

### **Order #27 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson (U aaaa)

10/1/00

- The Chairperson yourself must come at once tonight with 5 servants. If *[you]* don't arrive before daybreak, it will be the responsibility of the Chairperson.

*[Sd.]*

Company Commander  
Frontline LIB xxx  
yyyy

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson U aaaa, xxxx village".]*

---

### **Order #28 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
(Chairperson)

10/1/00

- Now, as soon as you receive this letter, there is an emergency so send 5 servants with the one who brings this letter now.
- Do not fail.

*[Sd.]*

Company Commander  
Frontline LIB xxx  
yyyy village

---

### **Order #29 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx *[village]*

Date: 17-1-200[0]

The 5 servants from xxxx *[village]* who fled will be fined. It is the responsibility of the village head to arrange and think about this.

**Stamp:**

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x

*[Sd.]*

(for) Column Commander  
Column x  
Frontline LIB xxx

### **Order #30 (Papun)**

To: Mother + Daw aaaa

21-1-2000

Son is writing a letter.

Give the chickens that Son gave you to the person who comes now.

If the chickens that Son gave are still small, give Mother's big chicken and continue breeding the chickens that Son asked you to breed.

If you can't give them to the person who comes now (if you can't catch them), send them with Mother's son at night.

Respectfully,  
Son  
bbbb [his name]  
[Sd.]

*[Officers and NCO's often refer to the older village headwomen as 'Mother' and to themselves as 'Son'. This letter means that the officer sent some chicks to the village headwoman and ordered her to raise them and breed them at her own expense. He is now demanding the chickens if they are full-grown; if they are not, she is to send him one of her own full-grown chickens (without payment) and continue raising his for him. The last sentence means if they are scattered around and difficult to catch, she should send them later with her real son. We have included this order under 'Forced Labour' because essentially it refers to forced labour raising chickens for the Army at the headwoman's own expense and sending them to the camp when full-grown.]*

---

### **Order #31 (Papun)**

Mother

23/1/2000

To make sides around the well, send 5 loh ah pay people today with Saya Gyi [used here to mean Sergeant] aaaa.

**Stamp:**  
#xx Military Operations Command Headquarters  
Tactical Command, Military Operations Control Group

[Sd.]  
Capt. bbbb  
Tactical Command #x  
xxxx [camp]

### **Order #32 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
Village xxxx

28-1-2000

Subject: Informing [you] to send servants

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion needs 2 servants for the Column which is at the Elder's village on duty in our area of control. As soon as you receive this letter, the Elder yourself must come to send them quickly to the Column, and if you fail it will be the Elder's own responsibility, you are informed.

*[Handwritten note:]* Bring along 5 dried coconuts.

*[Sd.]*

(for) Column Commander  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[This is a carbon copied handwritten order with the village name, signature and the note at the bottom written in with ink.]*

---

### **Order #33 (Papun)**

To: Mother Head

31-1-2000

*[We]* Want 4 men temporarily for one morning tomorrow. After morning rice, send them without fail to arrive at xxxx at 6 o'clock in the morning.

*[Sd.]*

Officer in charge

---

### **Order #34 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Staff Department

To: U aaaa (Village Chairperson)  
xxxx village

*[I]* Am sending this letter now with a letter for yyyy village. Send it on to yyyy. Asking for your help.

Place: zzzz camp  
Date: 31-1-2000

*[Sd.]*

Intelligence Officer  
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion

### **Order #35 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

7/2/2000

Now, as soon as you receive this letter, bring 3 *loh ah pay* servants with rice for 3 days and machetes, bring them to yyyy.

[Sd.]  
(for) **Stamp:** Column Commander  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #36 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter, come without fail and replace the servants who are staying with the Column. Arrive today, and bring rice for 3 days with these servants and a machete each. Come and change them at yyyy. Bring along the sacks of rice that [I] left in the monastery. Bring also 1 *thandurin* [long crowbar-like pole with a metal end used for driving holes in the ground].

Place: yyyy  
Date: 8-2-2000

[Sd.]  
(for) Column Commander  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

[‘Replace the servants’ means to bring villagers to replace those presently doing a shift of forced labour.]

---

### **Order #37 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

As soon as you receive this letter now, send without fail the one servant who was already requested with 3 days’ rice, and bring along a machete and a *du yin* [a long crowbar-like pole with a metal end used for driving holes in the ground], to yyyy tomorrow, 10/2/2000, informing you again.

Place: yyyy camp  
Date: 9/2/2000

[Sd.]  
**Stamp:** Column Commander  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

### **Order #38 (Papun)**

Subject: To send one cart

Send 1 cart tomorrow morning, 10-2-2000, to arrive at 0900 hours at yyyy camp. Asking for help.

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

**[Sd.]**  
**Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xxx Infantry Battalion

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx village". The cart means a bullock cart owner will have to go with his team and cart and haul supplies without payment.]*

---

### **Order #39 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#[illegible] Battalion  
Company #x

To:  
Ko aaaa  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 11/2/2000

Ko aaaa, I am writing a letter. Of the 5 loh ah pay people who were called, [I am] asking for your help to replace 3 of them. [We are] Taking care of and feeding them well, you can ask the ones who come back now. Ko aaaa, help [us] with green/dry chillies and 1 bottle of cooking oil/sesame oil.

Thank you very much.

**[Sd.] Bo bbbb**  
Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xxx Infantry Battalion

*[On the back the village head has written a short list of villagers' names, probably the names of potential replacements for the 3 forced labourers who have been sent back.]*

---

### **Order #40 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

**[To:]** Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 18-2-2000

Chairperson, as soon as this letter arrives now, the Chairperson yourself must come to send 5 servants to yyyy village, you are informed.

Do not fail, informing you in advance.

**[Sd.]**  
**Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xxx Infantry Battalion



### **Order #41 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 24/2/2000

Now, as soon as you receive this letter, send quickly 3 servants from the Elder's village with the servants' rice to yyyy camp, to arrive on 25/2/2000, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #42 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column #x Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter now, send quickly 3 servants from the Elder's village with the servants' rice to yyyy to arrive on 25-2-2000, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #43 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: Head

Date: 26-2-2000

**Subject:** The matter of calling loh ah pay to roof the DKBA houses

From the Head's village, send without fail 5 loh ah pay people at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

**Note:** If [you] fail, it will be the responsibility  
of the Head and the villagers.

**[Sd.]**  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[This is a carbon-copied order and is marked 'Urgent' on the back.]*

### **Order #44 (Papun)**

To: Ko aaaa  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 27/2/2000

The 4 servants from xxxx who were staying with me fled on 26/2/2000 in the evening. Replace them with 4 replacement servants and a fine of 5 bowls [8 kg/17.5 lb] of rice and 5 viss [8 kg/17.5 lb] of pork from the Elder's village. Send it quickly, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*

*[Most of the signature and what appears below it has been torn off and lost.]*

---

### **Order #45 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson xxxx village	<b><u>Stamp:</u></b> Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion Column x Headquarters	27-2-2000
---------------------------------	--	-----------

Want you to send 2 bullock carts from Chairperson's village to yyyy camp on 28-2-2000 to arrive at 0700 hours, to be used temporarily.

With friendliness,  
*[Sd.]*

*[The rest of the bottom of this order was torn off. On the back the village head has written a list of bullock cart owners, and the sender has marked "To xxxx village chairperson, from yyyy camp". The demand for 2 carts means the cart owners must drive them to the camp and haul things.]*

---

### **Order #46 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa Village head xxxx village	<b><u>Stamp:</u></b> #xxx Light Infantry Battalion Company x	5-3-2000
--	--	----------

- 1) Bring 2 servants from xxxx village to yyyy village quickly as soon as you receive this letter.
- 2) The Elder yourself should *[come to]* meet.

*[Sd.]*  
Captain bbbb  
**Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company x  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

**Order #47 (Papun)**

yyyy village  
Papun township  
Karen State

To: Head  
xxxx village

Date: 11-3-2000

Subject: To send back the servants

Regarding the above subject, the servants who went back to the Elder's village must be replaced and sent, you are informed.

Bring them together with the Elder tomorrow, 12-3-200[0], Sunday at 10 o'clock, to yyyy. Come to meet with the leader concerned, informing you again. With the Elder bring along 1 bowl [1.6 kg/3.5 lb] of sticky-rice, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Chairperson  
yyyy village  
Papun township

---

**Order #48 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 12-3-2000

Subject: Changing the *set tha* [messengers] and *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above subject, from the Elder's village replace the 1 *set tha* on duty when the day is finished, and replace the 2 *loh ah pay* people together with the *set tha*. Send them to arrive on 13-3-2000 at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed. The total number to replace is 3 people.

*[Sd.]*

*[‘Set tha’ is forced labour as messengers and errand-runners, and ‘loh ah pay’ is most other forms of forced labour except portering. The village head is being ordered to replace those who are already working at the Army camp on a rotation basis; ‘set tha’ labour is often for a 24-horu shift, while the ‘loh ah pay’ labourers have probably been there for several days.]*

### **Order #49 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
Village xxxx

Date: 14-3-2000

Subject: Informing [you] to send servants

3 servants from the Elder's village are needed by the Column. Now, as soon as you receive this letter, the Elder yourself must come quickly to bring them to the Column, you are informed.

If [you] fail to come, it will be the responsibility of the Elder.

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Column Commander  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[This is a carbon-copied handwritten order with the village name and date written in ink on this copy.]*

---

### **Order #50 (Thaton)**

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx Village

Date: 17-3-2000

The servants from Chairperson's village didn't arrive, so now as soon as you receive this letter send them together with this messenger, you are informed.

5 servants.

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Column Commander

### **Order #51 (Thaton)**

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx Village

Date: 17-3-2000

Subject: The matter of sending servants.

Regarding the above subject, now as soon as you receive this letter send quickly 3 servants from Chairperson's village to the Column, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Column Commander

**Order #52 (Papun)**

To: Head

yyyy village  
Papun township  
Date: 19-3-2000

Subject: Sending back the servants

Regarding the above subject, one servant which the Head must always send from the Elder's village has not arrived at yyyy, and failed their duty.

Today, [we] need servants, so [we] have to hire one servant for the Elder's village at yyyy. The cost in money is one thousand, 1,000 Kyat. The Elder yourself must come to meet the Secretary and bring the money, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
aaaa  
Secretary  
yyyy [village]

*[This is a letter from a village tract to a smaller village. The village tract is responsible for organising the forced labour demanded by the Army from the smaller villages. As the recipient village has failed to send the routine forced labourer for a shift of work, they are demanding the money needed to hire someone in the big village to go instead. An identical letter, also obtained by KHRG, was sent to another village in the village tract as well.]*

---

**Order #53 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

Date: 21-3-2000

To: Head

**The matter of calling loh ah pay**

Regarding the above subject, to roof the health teacher's house at yyyy, send 5 loh ah pay people from Head's village on 23-3-2000 to arrive at 6 o'clock, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
(for) Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

*[This is a carbon-copied order sent to several villages.]*

### **Order #54 (Pa'an)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village tract

Stamp:  
Frontline #20 Light Infantry Battalion  
Column [illegible] Headquarters

Subject: Calling a discussion meeting about completion (first part) of road construction

1) The first part of Nabu / Aut Bo Deh road construction has been completed to the Mi Pa Leh bridge. Therefore, the supporting groups of *loh ah pay* workers from the 6 village tracts are called for a meeting.

2) The supporting groups from the 6 village tracts, Chairpersons and village elders are informed to come to yyyy monastery on 25-3-2000.

Date: 24-3-2000  
Place: yyyy monastery

[Sd.]  
(for) Battalion Commander  
Light Infantry Battalion #20

---

### **Order #55 (Papun)**

To: xxxx village  
Mother Head

28/3/2000

One person per house from Mother's village has to come to yyyy for *loh ah pay* tomorrow, 29/3/2000, early in the morning. If there are no males, females must come. If [they] fail to come, action will be taken.

Cut *wah boh* bamboo for the Camp, 10 pieces each 9 *taun* [14 ft/4.5 m] long, and bring it along. Also bring along the nipa palm thatch that remains to be sent.

[Sd.] 28/3/2000  
Company Commander  
Company #x

---

### **Order #56 (Papun)**

Stamp:  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: Head  
xxxx [village]

Date: 28-3-2000

Subject:

To build yyyy Army Camp, send quickly 10 *loh ah pay* people with this messenger now, you are informed.

Note: Do not fail to comply.

[Sd.]  
Stamp: Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

[The back of this order is marked "Urgent".]

### **Order #57 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
zzzz [base]

Subject: To send emergency carts

Regarding the above subject, from the Elder's village send 1 emergency cart to yyyy camp on 29-3-2000 in the early morning, and the village head must come along to meet, you are informed.

When bringing the emergency cart, bring it to stay 3 days and sleep 2 nights [with us], and bring rice for them [the cart owners/drivers].

Place: yyyy camp  
Date: 28-3-2000

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Battalion Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #58 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
zzzz [base]

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: To send carts on rotation

1) Regarding the above subject, from the Elder's village send 4 carts on rotation on 30-3-2000 to arrive at 6 o'clock.

2) The Chairperson yourself must come with the carts, and if [you] fail it will be the responsibility of the Elder, you are informed.

Place: yyyy camp  
Date: 29-3-2000

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Battalion Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #59 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

Date: 30-3-2000  
To: Head

Subject: Asking for *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above subject, to build yyyy Army Camp, send 10 *loh ah pay* people from the Head's village on 31-3-2000 to arrive at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note:  
If [you] fail, harsh action  
will be taken.

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

### **Order #60 (Papun)**

To: [blank]

30-3-2000

Writing to inform the Elder. The *loh ah pay* from the Elder's village went back [fled]. The *loh ah pay* from the Elder's village who has arrived now already went back 5 days ago, so we are sending back *aaaa* who has come now.

Send 2 more *loh ah pay* from the Elder's village tomorrow at 0900 hours. If [you] fail, it will be the responsibility of the Elder. [We] want you to bring 5,000 Kyat in cash for the people who went back [as a fine for those who fled].

[Unsigned]

[The text of this order is difficult to follow because it appears to be written by a soldier who is somewhat mentally deficient. Order #64 appears on the back of this one in a different handwriting, and is related.]

---

### **Order #61 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 30-3-2000

Subject: The matter of servants

Regarding the above subject, of the 2 servants from the Elder's village, one came for 2 days and then went back by himself without reporting. Now that the 5 days is finished, the next 2 servants must come, and the Elder yourself must come and clear the matter of the person who was absent for 3 days, you are informed. If [you] fail, it will be the responsibility of the Elder and of the Elder's village, letting you know and informing you.

The Elder and 2 servants must bring  
2 bowls [3.2 kg/7 lb] of rice from their houses.

[Sd.]  
Company Commander  
LIB xxx

---

### **Order #62 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Stamp:  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
zzzz [base]

When you receive this letter now, from the Elder's village send 7 *loh ah pay* people to arrive tomorrow at 7 o'clock at yyyy village. If late, it is the responsibility of the Elder.

[Sd.] 30-3-2000  
(for) Battalion Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion



### **Order #63 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

**To Head**  
xxxx [village]

Date: 30-3-2000

**Subject:**

From the Head's village, DKBA Bo aaaa urgently needs 2 urgent bullock carts. Arrange it quickly with the DKBA who come now [with this letter]. Requesting you to inform [us].

**Note:** Arrange it without fail.

[Sd.]

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[The following note is written on the back:]*

At 8 o'clock in the morning, send 10 loh ah pay people to yyyy Army [an SPDC Army camp] to build the rations godown.

---

### **Order #64 (Papun)**

To: Saya aaaa

31-3-2000

To let you know and inform you.

For the one servant from xxxx village who fled on the 8<sup>th</sup>, the total days left [to work when he fled] was 3.

The fee for the remaining days is 3,000 Kyat exactly.

[Unsigned]

*[This note appears on the back of Order #60, in a different handwriting; it is a note to a Corporal (commonly referred to as 'Saya' in the Army) about the fine to be paid by xxxx village because their forced labourer fled.]*

---

### **Order #65 (Pa'an)**

To: Chairperson (Village head)  
xxxx village

Date: 4-4 [-2000]

Subject: Calling for loh ah pay

The Elder's village must send 5 loh ah pay workers today at 9 o'clock. Be informed that the Elder yourself must bring them.

Place: xxxx village

[Sd.]  
Captain aaaa

**Order #66 (Papun)**

To: Head  
xxxx village

Stamp:  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x

4-4-2000

As soon as you receive this letter, now, 1 servant must come quickly with the village head, you are informed. Come without fail, [I] warn you.

[Sd.]  
Intelligence Officer  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

**Order #67 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

8-4-2000

Subject: Calling for servants

As soon as you receive this letter, you are requested to gather and make ready 20 servants from the Elder's village. Report the information to aaaa Captain bbbb that IB #xx has ordered you to gather them [the servants].

[Sd.] 8/4/2000  
Company Commander  
Frontline IB #xx, Company #x  
yyyy

---

**Order #68 (Papun)**

Stamp:  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
zzzz [base]

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

8-4-2000

The Chairperson yourself must come to bring 5 loh ah pay people from the Elder's village on 9-4-2000 to arrive at 0700 hours at yyyy village, you are informed.

[Sd.]

### **Order #69 (Papun)**

To: Stamp: Date: 9-4-2000  
Chairperson #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
xxxx village Column x

Subject: Informing [you] to change the servant

Regarding the above subject, The Elder's village must come and change with a new servant, and be informed that if [you] fail it will be the responsibility of the persons concerned.

[Sd.]  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[This order means that the village has to send someone for a shift of 'rotation' forced labour to replace the person who is already doing forced labour at the Army camp.]*

---

### **Order #70 (Papun)**

Stamp: To: Date: 10-4-2000  
Peace and Development Council Head  
yyyy village tract

Subject:

From the yyyy village Strategic Commander: to roof the yyyy health clinic, send without fail 10 loh ah pay people with one bundle of bamboo ties from each house at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
Stamp: Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is marked "To Head, xxxx [village]. (Urgent)". Bamboo ties are used to tie thatch onto the roof.]*

---

### **Order #71 (Papun)**

Stamp: To:  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion Chairperson  
Column x Headquarters xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter now, the Chairperson yourself must call 2 servants and come without fail to bring them to yyyy camp on the 13<sup>th</sup>. If [you] fail it will be the responsibility of the Chairperson, you are informed.

Place: yyyy camp [Sd.]  
Date: 12/4/2000 (for) Column Commander  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

### **Order #72 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

To: Head  
xxxx village

Date: 12-4-2000

Subject: Calling for cart servants

As soon as you receive this letter now, send quickly at night 2 bullock carts from the Elder's village to #xxx Light Infantry Battalion, Company #x, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #73 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 14-4-2000

Subject: Calling servants

Regarding the above subject, the servants from the Elder's village haven't come for their rotation again, and have fled many times. Therefore as soon as you receive this letter, now, the Elder yourself must come with the 2 servants who fled on 12-4-2000, and 2 additional servants, you are informed. If *[you]* fail, it will be the responsibility of the Elder's village and the Elder, you are informed again.

Note: The Elder yourself must come to meet.

*[Sd.]*  
Company Commander  
Frontline LIB xxx, Sa Ka Ka *[Military Operations Command]*

---

### **Order #74 (Papun)**

Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: To send servants

From the Chairperson's village, the Chairperson yourself must come and bring the 2 absent servants on 17-4-2000, and the Chairperson yourself must come to clear and smooth over the matter of their days absent *[to pay a fine]*, you are informed. If *[you]* fail, *[I'm]* not going to take any responsibility for *[what happens to]* xxxx village, informing you again.

Send them to arrive at yyyy  
at 1000 hours in the morning.

*[Sd.]*  
Major aaaa  
LIB xxx, Col. x  
16-4-2000

### **Order #75 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
Military Operations Control Headquarters  
#x Tactical Command,  
Military Operations Control Group

17/4/2000

Subject: To build the camp

To build yyyy camp, come and send the required material according to the quantities below on 19/4/2000.

- (a) Thatch: 100 [*shingles*]
- (b) Bamboo: 50
- (c) *Myaw*: 10
- (d) People: 2 persons

With friendliness,  
**[Sd.]**  
Capt. aaaa  
Tactical Command #x, yyyy [*camp*]

[*'Myaw' are bamboo roof support poles, which hold up the thatch roofing shingles.*]

---

### **Order #76 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

17-4-2000

Subject: Asking for help with rice

Elder, regarding the servants from the Elder's village who are with our Column, we have a problem with rice for the servants, so help with 4 bowls [*6.4 kg/14 lb*] of rice from the Elder's village, you are informed.

Send it to arrive on the 18<sup>th</sup>.

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Column Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

**Order #77 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: Head

18-4-2000

Subject: The matter of calling for male loh ah pay people

Regarding the above subject, for the yyyy Strategic Command Base, come to send 5 male loh ah pay people on 19-4-2000 to arrive at 6:00 in the morning, you are informed.

(Note) Do not fail by any means. If [you] fail harsh action will be taken.

*[Sd.] 18-4-2000*  
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent."]*

---

**Order #78 (Papun)**

*[To:]* U aaaa  
Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

20-4-2000

- \* Send now 8 people in a group to cut the scrub, together with the groups to cut scrub from yyyy and zzzz [villages]. Bring along rice for 3 days.
- \* Send 2 rotation servants to wwww now to change.

*[Sd.]*

---

**Order #79 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: To send loh ah pay servants

Regarding the above subject, the Chairperson or an assistant must come to send 4 loh ah pay servants from the Elder's village to the Column now, when you receive this letter, you are informed.

Place: yyyy [village]  
Date: 20-4-2000

*[Sd.] 20/4/2000*  
(for) Column Commander

**Order #80 (Thaton)**

To:

22-4-2000

Mother [Village] Head  
xxxx [village]

The servants from Mother [Village] Head's village are to come and change with [the servants from] Ko aaaa's village, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
22/4/2000

*[This order means that the village headwoman must send forced labourers to replace those from another village who are already at the Army Camp.]*

---

**Order #81 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**  
[illegible]

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

25-4-2000

As soon as you receive this letter, ask for the name list of LIB #20's *loh ah pay* workers, check whether they have returned or not, and report to U aaaa's house at 12 o'clock without fail, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
[Signature stamp - illegible]

*[Though the number of the issuing Battalion in the stamp is not clear, it is not Light Infantry Battalion #20; it appears that this order was issued by another battalion which wants to know when the forced labourers come back to the village so that they can demand them for other work.]*

---

**Order #82 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: [blank]

Date: 25-4-2000

Subject: The matter of calling for loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, to build the yyyy Army Hill pagoda, the Head yourself must come without fail and bring 10 *loh ah pay* people from the Head's village to yyyy gate on the 26<sup>th</sup>, to arrive at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note:

Do not fail by any means.

[Sd.]  
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[The back of this order is marked "Urgent".]*

### **Order #83 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: Head - xxxx [village]

26-4-2000

**Subject:** The matter of calling loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, the yyyy Strategic Command base ordered us to inform you to come and bring 10 male loh ah pay people from the Head's village tomorrow to arrive at 6:00 in the morning.

(Note) All [10] of them must not fail [to come]. If they fail, harsh action will be taken.

**[Sd.] 26-4-2000**  
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

---

### **Order #84 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Subject:** To clear the left/right of the specified portion of road

1) The Elders' villages have to clear the left/right roadsides, both sides, of trees, scrub, and bamboo, along the vehicle road from Ka Ma Maung to Papun in accordance with the portion assigned to your village.

2) When your village has finished clearing your assigned portion, the Elders yourselves must come to report, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 26/4/[2000]**  
(for) Battalion Commander

*[This order is identical to another obtained by KHRG, but to a different village. This is a carbon-copied typed order which was clearly sent out to many villages, with the village name and signature written in afterwards on each copy.]*



**Order #85 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 26-4-2000

Subject: To send carts

Send (one) cart from the Elder's village to yyyy camp on 28-4-2000, to arrive in the middle of the day, you are informed. Send it together with (one) cart from zzzz [village], total 2 carts.

***[Sd.] 26-4***

(for) Battalion Commander

*[This demand for a bullock cart means that the cart owner must go with his team and cart to do forced labour.]*

---

**Order #86 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: Head  
xxxx [village]

27-4-2000

From the Elder's village, send 10 *loh ah pay* people on 28-4-2000 to arrive at 6 o'clock in the morning at the Army camp.

(Note) Do not fail by any means.

***[Sd.]***

(for) Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

---

**Order #87 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Date: 28-4-2000  
yyyy village tract

To: Head - xxxx [village]

28-4-2000

Subject: The matter of calling loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, to rebuild the yyyy Army Camp pagoda *yin pyin [the surfaced pathway encircling the pagoda]*, 10 male *loh ah pay* people from the Head's village must come tomorrow, 29-4-2000, to arrive at 6:00 in the morning, you are informed.

(Note:) Do not fail.

***[Sd.] 28-4-2000***

(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is marked "Urgent".]*

### **Order #88 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:

aaaa Chairperson  
xxxx village

Send 3 bowls [4.8 kg/10.5 lb] of rice with the servant who has come now [bringing this letter]. The servants didn't bring enough rice. Some servants didn't bring any rice. So [I'm] writing this letter and sending it to the Chairperson. Send it for sure.

[Sd.]

28/4/2000

*[Villagers going for forced labour are also expected to bring their own food, and if they fail to do so the officers send out demands such as this one to the village head to send rice for them. The families of the forced labourers will then have to pay back the village head.]*

---

### **Order #89 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:

Ko aaaa, Chairperson  
xxxx village

Send 5 bowls [8 kg/17.5 lb] of rice with the servant who has come to you now. The rice that the servants brought with them is not enough. Some did not bring any rice. Therefore, sending this to the Chairperson [you] to ask him for rice. The Chairperson must send it without fail.

[Sd.]

28/4/2000

*[The village was forced to send forced labour, but the people didn't take enough rice to eat for the time they will be detained; therefore, the officer has sent a 'servant' (villager doing forced labour as a messenger) to the village with this letter demanding more rice from the village head for his forced labourers to eat.]*

**Order #90 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

29-4-2000

Peace and Development Council

Date: 29-4-2000

yyyy village tract

To: Head - xxxx [village]

Subject: The matter of calling for loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, the Strategic Command Hill [camp] orders [you] to call 10 big men for loh ah pay from the Head's village, so come tomorrow, 30-4-2000, to arrive at 6:00 in the morning, you are informed.

(Note:) Do not fail by any means. If [you] fail, the Camp will take harsh action, informing you again.

[Sd.] 29-4-2000

(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council

yyyy village tract, Papun township

[On the back this order is marked "Urgent".]

---

**Order #91 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

30-4-2000

The servants from xxxx must come to arrive today, and bring along 2 servants to be given to Column 1, you are informed.

[Unsigned]

---

**Order #92 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion

Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson

xxxx village

1-5-2000

Subject: Calling for loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, send without fail one person per house from the Elder's village to yyyy Army Camp to arrive on 2-5-2000 at 0700 hours, you are informed.

With the loh ah pay groups, bring along 2 cane baskets.

[Sd.]

Camp Commander

**Order #93 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Date: 1-5-2000

Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: Head, xxxx [village]

Calling for *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above subject, to build the pagoda at yyyy Army Camp, send quickly the regular 11 *loh ah pay* people from the Elder's village, you are informed.

***[Sd.]***

Member

Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

---

**Order #94 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

2-5-2000

Peace and Development Council  
Date: 2-5-2000  
yyyy village tract

To: Head - xxxx [village]

**Subject:** Calling for *loh ah pay* to build a *yin pyin* [see below] for the pagoda

Regarding the above subject, yyyy Strategic Command [has ordered that] to build the pagoda *yin pyin*, 10 *loh ah pay* men from the Head's village must come tomorrow, 3-5-2000, to arrive at 6 o'clock in the morning at the Army Camp, you are informed.

(Note) Do not fail by any means. If [you] fail, harsh action will be taken, they ordered us to inform you.

***[Sd.] 2-5-2000***

Member

Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

[ 'Yin pyin' is a Pali term referring to a surfaced pathway which encircles a pagoda.]

### **Order #95 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

4-5-2000

Subject: The matter of calling for *loh ah pay*

xxxx village has to do *loh ah pay* at yyyy camp on 5-5-2000, so the Chairperson must arrange and send them.

[*You*] Must cut *wah boh* bamboo 13 *taun* [20 feet/6.5 m] long, the number is 60 pieces. The people who come for *loh ah pay* must bring machetes.

In order not to fail, the Chairperson must lead and send them.

[*Sd.*]  
IB xx  
yyyy camp

[*'Wah boh' is a large species of bamboo.*]

---

### **Order #96 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

8-5-2000

Now, as soon as you receive this letter, send 2 servants to yyyy camp.

[*Sd.*]  
yyyy camp

---

### **Order #97 (Papun)**

#### **Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
xxxx [*village*]

Now, as soon as you receive this letter, the Chairperson or representative must come to send without fail 3 servants to arrive today at yyyy camp. Bring along again the rice fees for the excess used by the servants, and rice.

Place: yyyy Camp  
Date: 9/5/2000

[*Sd.*]  
**Stamp:** Column Commander  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

[*'The rice fees for the excess used by the servants' means that the previous set of forced labourers provided by the village ran out of food, probably because the SPDC held them longer than they'd been called for, so the Army had to give them some rice and is now demanding both money and rice to compensate for this expense.*]

### **Order #98 (Papun)**

To: Daw aaaa  
Chairperson (xxxx [village])

Date: 10-5-2000

Subject: Calling for servants

Regarding the above subject, from Daw aaaa's village come to arrive today at 0600 in the evening to sleep and wait for 11-5-2000, you are informed.

#### Note

If this is not carried out by Daw aaaa's village in accordance with this letter, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd.]  
Sgt. bbbb  
yyyy [camp]

*[This means for the villagers to come to the garrison village this evening and sleep there in preparation for forced labour the following day.]*

---

### **Order #99 (Papun)**

To: Mother Head  
xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter now, come and bring 6 servants to yyyy camp, you are informed.

[Sd.] 11-5-2000

---

### **Order #100 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Date: 13-5-2000  
yyyy Village Tract

To: Head

Date: 13-5-2000

Subject: *Loh ah pay matters*

Regarding the above subject, to build the yyyy (VPDC) office, 10 male *loh ah pay* people from the Head's village must come on 14-5-2000, ~~Saturday~~ Sunday, at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

#### Note

Bring along short bamboo ties / long bamboo ties.

[Sd.]  
**Stamp:** Member  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[With the exception of the 'Note', this entire order is written in red ink, which is commonly used by SPDC units to indicate urgency/threats, and is definitely interpreted that way by the villagers.]*

**Order #101 (Papun)**

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters Office

17-5-2000

Subject: The matter of sending *loh ah pay*

To come and help with building a bridge, send 15 *loh ah pay* people from xxxx village with 3 days of rations, machetes, saws, ropes, hatchets, and other needed materials, to report to yyyy camp on 18-5-2000, arriving at 0600 hours.

Respectfully,  
[Sd.] 17/5/2000  
Frontline LIB xxx  
yyyy camp

---

**Order #102 (Papun)**

To: Head  
xxxx village

17-5-2000

Subject: The matter of calling for emergency *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above subject, one of the carts that came from the Elder's village is not needed for use, so instead of the cart, come and send 5 male *loh ah pay* people for urgent use today, at 4 o'clock in the evening. Come to get the cart.

(Note:) This is important. Come to take back the [12-volt] battery.

[Sd.] 17-5-2000

**Stamp:** Member (1)

Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is marked "Urgent". The battery refers to a 12-volt car-type battery, sometimes used in villages to power electric lights and such things; the Army camp has probably borrowed it from the village and used it until the charge is dead.]*

### **Order #103 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: Head  
xxxx [village]

Date: 18-5-2000

Mother, writing a letter. Mother, it is not good to break your promise. We are not children. Mother gave her guarantee and we released the carts.

Want to know if they will be sent/not sent.

**[Sd.] 18-5-2000**

**Stamp:** Member (1)  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[The villagers in this area are forced to supply water-carrying bullock carts to the local Strategic Command Camp on a rotating basis, arranged through the Village Tract PDC (see also Order #107 and #119). This order apparently indicates that the present set of carts were allowed to go home before this village headwoman had supplied replacements, but she hasn't supplied them yet. In most cases, the carts would not be released until their replacements arrive. The back this order is marked "Urgent. Important."]*

---

### **Order #104 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: Head  
xxxx [village]

Date: 19-5-2000

**Subject:** The matter of calling for emergency bullock carts

For yyyy Strategic Command, send without fail 1 emergency bullock cart to yyyy Army Camp now, at 6 o'clock, you are informed.

**Note:** Bullock cart with box sides, will be used for 1 day.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent letter."]*



### **Order #105 (Papun)**

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

19-5-2000

Send 1 boat from yyyy to zzzz. Bring 1 bullock cart to yyyy. The Chairperson yourself must come with the boat and bring it now, you are informed. Carry this out without fail. If the Chairperson is not there, the Secretary must carry it out. The Chairperson must come with the boat, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**

Column Commander

---

### **Order #106 (Papun)**

To: Ko aaaa

**Stamp:**

20-5-2000

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

Major bbbb writing this letter. Tell the servants from www, xxxx, yyyy, and zzzz [villages] to come and change at vvvv [with the forced labourers presently there; vvvv is a village with an SPDC Army camp]. Go yourself to take care of the matter of the boat at yyyy. Bring along the Chairperson from yyyy.

**[Sd.]**

(for) Column Commander

*[On the back this order is addressed to "Chairperson, uuuu village".]*

---

### **Order #107 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Date: 24-5-2000

Peace and Development Council  
Date: 24-5-2000  
yyyy village tract

**To:**

Head - xxxx [village]

**Subject: The matter of calling for water-container carts by rotation**

Regarding the above subject, for #x Strategic Command, in accordance with the rotation of village responsibilities it is now the turn of the Head's village, so come to send [the carts] to #x Strategic Command camp tomorrow, 25-5-2000 at 6 o'clock in the morning to the camp, you are informed.

(Note) Do not fail by any means.

**[Sd.] 23-5-2000**

**Stamp:** Member

Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[The villagers in this area are forced to supply water-carrying bullock carts to the local Strategic Command Camp on a rotating basis, arranged through the Village Tract PDC (see also Orders #103 and #119). On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent."]*

### **Order #108 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Stamp:  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x

24-5-2000

xxxx [village] has not changed the servants. [You must] Send 1 servant, but as of today they haven't arrived yet, so the servant from xxxx must come without fail to change today. Come and change quickly, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Intelligence Officer  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[The back of this order is marked "Important. Come urgently." The Army Camp is calling the village to replace their 'rotation servant' currently with the Battalion; Army units usually hold village 'rotation servants' until their replacement arrives, but villages often have difficulty finding anyone to go to take their place. This order was followed by Order #109 the next day.]*

---

### **Order #109 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa / U bbbb

Stamp:  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

Date: 25-5-2000

Has your xxxx [village] not arranged the matter of rotation servants? Do you not understand that you are responsible for the village? Do we need to resolve this? Don't act like you don't care about us. We have already written letters to you twice. If we arrive at the village it will not be good for our relationship. You must understand that. As soon as you receive this letter now, inquire after me and you must come. If the Chairperson/Secretary does not come, send a representative whom you trust.

[Sd.]

Bo cccc  
Company Commander  
Company #x  
LIB xxx

*[This order came to the same village the day after Order #108 above. Threatening language such as this is often followed by the arrest and torture of the village elders concerned.]*

---

### **Order #110 (Papun)**

To: xxxx [village] Chairperson

25-5-2000

The Chairperson and 3 servants from xxxx village must bring along 10 coconut seedlings and come today to arrive at yyyy village. This is the last time [I] will warn you and inform you. Do not fail. The Chairperson and Secretary must carry this out thoroughly.

[Sd.]

*[The coconut seedlings are for planting at the Army camp.]*

### **Order #111 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

Date: 26-5-2000

**To:** **Head**

**Subject:** **The matter of calling for emergency bullock carts**

From the Head's village send without fail 5 emergency bullock carts with this messenger to yyyy Army Camp for #x Strategic Command Group, you are informed.

Note: Will be used for 1 day to carry rations.

***[Sd.]***

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[This entire order is written in red ink, which usually indicates urgency and a threat to the villagers who receive it. On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent letter. Send urgently."]*

---

### **Order #112 (Papun)**

**To:** xxxx [village] head

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x

27-5-2000

The Head must come with 3 servants along with the messenger who has brought this letter now. Writing a letter for the last time, you are informed. If you do not come along, it will be the responsibility of the village head. Come without fail to yyyy village with the messenger who has come now.

***[Sd.]***

**Stamp:** Intelligence Officer  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[‘Writing a letter for the last time’ is a threat meaning that if the forced labourers don’t come, the officer will come to the village with troops or take other action. ‘The messenger who has come now’ means the villager who was forced to deliver this order while doing ‘set tha’ forced labour.]*

### **Order #113 (Thaton)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

27-5-00

Mother Daw *aaaa*, send 3 emergency servants from Mother's village today to *yyyy* village.

Thankfully, *[Sd.]*  
LIB *xxx*  
Column *x*

*[Marked on the back: xxxx [village]. Battalion Commander bbbb, Captain cccc, Captain dddd.]*

---

### **Order #114 (Papun)**

xxxx village

From the Elder's village, send without fail 5 people as *loh ah pay* servants together with the person who brings this letter now, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
30-5-2000

*[The top part of this order, which probably had additional details of the issuing unit and the addressee, has been torn off and lost.]*

---

### **Order #115 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 31-5-2000

Subject: Come to send 1 cart to *yyyy* camp

Regarding the above subject, from the Elder's village the Chairperson yourself must send without fail 1 cart (people, bullocks, and cart) tomorrow, 1-6-2000, to *yyyy* camp, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
Camp Commander  
*yyyy* camp

*[The note "(people, bullocks, and cart)" appears in the original, and demonstrates that demands for bullock carts also involve forced labour.]*

**Order #116 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

1-6-2000

Subject: Come to send one cart to yyyy camp

Regarding the above subject, the Chairperson yourself must come and send without fail one cart (people, cart, and bullocks) from the Elder's village to arrive today at yyyy camp.

[Sd.]  
yyyy camp

---

**Order #117 (Papun)**

To: Head  
xxxx village

2/6/2000

[You] Haven't sent the everyday *set tha* [messengers] since a long time ago, so as soon as you receive this letter, send now. If [you] fail, it will be the Head's responsibility. The Head yourself must come to send [a messenger]. Do not fail.

[Sd.]  
Frontline IB #xx  
yyyy camp

[The 'everyday messengers' means villagers which are supposed to be sent every day for rotating 24-hour shifts of forced labour as messengers and general errand-runners.]

---

**Order #118 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To Head  
xxxx [village]

Date: 5-6-2000

Subject: The matter of calling for emergency loh ah pay

To send emergency rations for DKBA #333 Brigade, from the Head's village send quickly 5 loh ah pay people with this messenger, you are informed.

Note: Need to hire [people], so bring the money now at once.

[Sd.]  
**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent."]

### **Order #119 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

**To Head**  
xxxx [village]

Date: 6-6-2000

**Subject:** The matter of calling for water carts

The yyyy Army Camp Commander [orders that] it is the turn of the Head's village for [to send] water carts. As soon as you receive this letter now, send the water carts quickly, you are informed.

**Note:** Carry it out quickly, it is to  
get water for the Strategic Commander.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[The villagers in this area are forced to supply water-carrying bullock carts to the local Strategic Command Camp on a rotating basis, arranged through the Village Tract PDC (see also Orders #103 and #107). On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent."]*

---

### **Order #120 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

**To:**  
**Head**  
xxxx [village]

Date: 6-6-2000

**Subject:** The matter of calling for water carts

As of now, the water carts from the Head's village have not yet arrived to get water for the yyyy Strategic Command Group, so as soon as you receive this letter now, send the water carts quickly, you are informed.

**Note:** Second notice.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[The villagers in this area are forced to supply water-carrying bullock carts to the local Strategic Command Camp on a rotating basis, arranged through the Village Tract PDC (see also Orders #103, #107, and #119). On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent."]*

### **Order #121 (Papun)**

8-6-2000

To: Pa aaaa

Come today to bring the elephant here. I am waiting. Will be waiting at Pa bbbb's house. Come to arrive today.

Must come. Come decisively. Urgent.

*[This order is unsigned. It involves forced labour, because the elephant owner will have to go as well to control his elephant; most likely the work is to be dragging logs for the Army. The village head complied with this order, but not until 3 days later.]*

---

### **Order #122 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson (xxxx village)

19-6-2000

Subject: To arrange and send bullock carts

Regarding the above subject, for the use of yyyy camp the Chairperson yourself must send without fail 3 bullock carts from the Elder's village on 21-6-2000 to arrive at yyyy camp, you are informed. If *[you]* fail, it will be the responsibility of the Elder, you are informed.

*[Handwritten afterwards:]* Tomorrow the 21<sup>st</sup>, at 12 o'clock midday. The Chairperson yourself must arrive without fail. Will use only for the day of the 21<sup>st</sup>.

*[Sd.]*

Camp Commander

*[This is a carbon copy of a typed letter, with the village name, signature and the handwritten note at the bottom written in afterwards.]*

---

### **Order #123 (Papun)**

To: Head  
xxxx village

27/6/2000

Send 3 durians from xxxx village with this messenger to arrive today. Needed for an emergency, so asking for help. (You must help.)

\* If you have orchid plants, send them.

\* The *set tha* *[villagers for forced labour as messengers and errand-runners]* haven't come for a long time now, so send *set tha* without fail.

With thanks,

*[Sd.]*

ID *[Infantry Division]* Officer

Frontline IB #xx

yyyy village

(Send this letter on to 2 *[additional]* villages, vvvv / wwww)

*[Durians are large and highly valued seasonal fruit.]*

**Order #124 (Papun)**

Mother Daw aaaa

8-7-2000

Send 30 villagers from xxxx - yyyy to zzzz to arrive on the 10<sup>th</sup> at 9 o'clock in the morning.

Ask everyone to bring tarpaulins and bamboo hats. When finished working at zzzz, they will be released.

*[Unsigned]*  
Strategic Commander  
www camp

---

**Order #125 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

11-7-2000

Change the servants from Big Chairperson's village in accordance with the number of people who have come before. Send them at once to Sergeant aaaa at yyyy village.

*[Sd.]*

*['Change the servants' means to replace the forced labourers who are there on rotation.]*

---

**Order #126 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

13-7-2000

Gather 5 male servants and send them to yyyy village to arrive on 14-7-2000 at 0800 hours.

*[Sd. 'aaaa'] Lt.*  
13-7-2000

---

**Order #127 (Papun)**

U aaaa

24-7-2000

Chairperson - xxxx [village]

Demanding loh ah pay.

Demanding loh ah pay from xxxx village. To do loh ah pay, send 10 people to arrive on 25-7-2000. *[They]* Must do loh ah pay for 2 days.

From xxxx [village] it is 2 people,  
yyyy [village] - 4 people,  
zzzz [village] - 4 people  
10 people

25-7-2000 until 27-7-2000. It will be 2 days.

*[Sd.] 24-7-2000*  
(U bbbb)  
West bank [of the river]



### **Order #128 (Toungoo)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 2-8-00

Subject: Demanding loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, from the Elder's village the Elder yourself must come without fail and bring 6 loh ah pay people with 5 days of rations to yyyy Army Camp on August 3<sup>rd</sup> 2000, to arrive at 9 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*

**Stamp:** Bo aaaa

Kyi / xxxxx

*[Handwritten:]* Frontline #xxx *[IB]*, Company x  
yyyy Army Camp

---

### **Order #129 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Intelligence

To:  
Chairperson  
\_\_\_\_\_ village

Subject: To send a person who can cut wood

The Elder's village must send 2 people who can cut wood. Bring along one big *[2-person]* saw to cut the wood to #xxx Light Infantry Battalion on 7-8-2000 to arrive at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Place: yyyy  
Date: (3-8-2000)

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Acting Battalion Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[The type of saw mentioned is a straight saw about 2 metres long with a handle at each end. Usually a frame is set up sticking out from a hillside, a log is placed on top and one man stands on top of the log while the other stands underneath, sawing the log lengthwise to make planks.]*

## Order #130 (Papun)

aaaa / Chairperson, xxxx [village]

6-8-2000

So that you can prepare in advance for an urgent matter, letting you know and writing this letter to you.

How many people must you get tonight? Reply to me how much money you will get. Have to hire for [village] Section 2. You must reply today.

The scale [weight] ration for xxxx [village]:

- 1) Rice - 10 sacks. People - 30 people
- 2) Milk - 2 cases. People - 4 people
- Total people → 34 people

It will be gone [if the people come to carry it all]. For this matter you must send your people to arrive on the night of 7-8-2000. Or you arrange how much money will come.

[page 2]

The rations that I mentioned have to be sent the same day. As you are the Chairperson, arrange and carry it out for the remaining villages until complete. Do it on time and reply to me.

As for xxxx village tract, you will carry the rations I told you about, so you must try to carry it out. As you know, about U bbbb. If more are needed, I will explain it to you when you arrive here.

Know that you have to come yourself on 7-8-2000. You must come for that.

That's all. Yours, [Sd.]  
(cccc)  
West

[page 3]

xxxx [village] rations quota

- (1) Rice 10 sacks. People - 30 people.
- (2) Milk 2 cases. People - 4 people.
- 34 people

Total people - 34 people and it will be gone.

All of these rations must be sent on the same day. You must try to carry this out.

*[The writer is semi-illiterate and writes using very bad grammar, hence the unclear sentences. Essentially he is demanding villagers for forced labour carrying some supplies, or money which must be paid for any villagers who cannot come. The village receiving this letter is assigned to send 34 people to carry 10 sacks of rice and 2 cases of tinned milk, and the village head is also supposed to arrange similar labour from the other villages in the area.]*

### Order #131 (Papun)

*[Note: this order is written on a piece of stationery torn off from a pad; the references to Army Day and the Armed forces shown in bold at the top are part of the stationery. The rest is handwritten. Army Day is celebrated on March 27<sup>th</sup> each year by the SPDC.]*

**Year 2000** **Date:** 7-8-2000  
**[Armed Forces** **55<sup>th</sup> Year Anniversary of Army Day** **Place:** [blank]  
**logo]**

---

To: U aaaa  
Chairperson, xxxx [village]

The 4 servants I already asked for haven't arrived, so right now I am writing a letter. Right now, [you] must send 4 people at once. If [you] fail, serious action will be taken.

*[Sd.]*  
Captain bbbb  
yyyy [camp]

Come to arrive tonight.

---

### Order #132 (Papun)

To: Chairperson, xxxx village Date: 10-8-2000

Sister - 5 bullock carts and 10 people, [send them] together to yyyy tonight. Give one of Sister's people. Have to gather tonight at yyyy.

(Note) If [you] don't send the people, the Elder yourself must come to  
(Without fail) meet with the Camp Commander as soon as you receive this letter.

*[Sd.]*  
**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun Township

*[Written in red ink on the back:]*

- |                 |                        |            |
|-----------------|------------------------|------------|
| 1. Soap         | 10 long bars           | 1,200 Kyat |
| 2. Watch        | 2 pieces               | 6,300 Kyat |
| 3. Tea leaves   | 1 viss and 75 kyat tha |            |
| 4. Shan pyo meh | 1 bottle               | 200 Kyat   |
| 5. Backpack     | 1 piece                | 1,400 Kyat |
| 6. Candles      | 10 packs               |            |
| 7. Flashlight   | 2 pieces               |            |

*[The language of this order is truncated and abrupt. 'Sister' refers to the village headwoman. In 'Give one of Sister's people' he uses a pronoun for people which is normally reserved for inanimate objects. The villagers told KHRG that they complied with this forced labour order one day later, and that the writing in red ink on the back refers to things they had to send to the SPDC Army camp for which the soldiers gave them only half the price.]*

## **Order #133 (Papun)**

*[Note: this 2-page order is written on 2 pieces of stationery torn off of a pad; the references to Army Day and the Armed forces shown in bold at the top are part of the stationery. The rest is handwritten. Army Day is celebrated on March 27<sup>th</sup> each year by the SPDC.]*

<b>Year 2000</b>		<b>Date:</b> <u>10/8/2000</u>
<b>[Armed Forces</b>	<b>55<sup>th</sup> Year Anniversary of Army Day</b>	<b>Place:</b> <u>[blank]</u>
<b>logo]</b>		

---

To:

Daw aaaa (xxxx Village)

The Mother [Village] Head has sent the 5 villagers and [they] arrived yesterday and [we] are asking them to cut bamboo, but [they] didn't cut the bamboo and fled back [to their village]. I am very angry about this. As soon as you receive this letter, give quickly 10 villagers to me and include those 5 villagers [who fled the day before].

We are treating the villagers from xxxx well, but think that we can't continue like this. We are the soldiers, if [you] want us to deal [with you] brutally, we can. [We are] Not satisfied at all on this matter.

Then, Mother [Village] Head must come to get the recommendation [letter] for one of the above villagers; male, 18 years old, from Mother's village. In future, we will consider people who don't have a pass to be enemies and take action against [them], we have already informed all the columns of LIB #2. If a problem occurs, it is the responsibility of the villagers. [We] don't know whether Mother's village is testing us. If [you] dare to stay, stay. Later, do not say we are bad.

We are dealing with Mother's villagers accordingly. [We] Asked for thatch and it didn't arrive. [We] Asked for people, but [they] didn't do anything and ran back. So, there is no reason to accommodate [you].

If [you] can stay without coming, stay [in your village]. That is all there is to tell.

**Stamp:**  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
#x Company

**[Sd.]**  
Company Commander  
#x Company  
Captain bbbb  
Frontline Infantry Battalion #xx  
yyyy Camp

### **Order #134 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Intelligence

To: Chairperson  
\_\_\_\_\_ village

Subject: To produce *ga wone* [laterite] and to send wood

The Elder's village must dig ( 10 ) pits of *ga wone* and [send] ( 5 ) pieces of wood each 10 feet long (5"x2") to be carried out by the deadline of 14-8-2000, you are informed.

Date: 11-8-2000

***[Sd.]***

Place: LIB #xxx

(for) Acting Battalion Commander

*[This is a carbon-copied order sent to several villages, with the village name, the number of pits and pieces of wood, and the signature written in on each copy. The specification for the wood is for 5-inch by 2-inch planks each 10 feet long. Laterite ('ga wone') is brick-coloured soft rock rich in iron and aluminium oxides which can be used for some types of building.]*

---

### **Order #135 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson (Mother)  
\_\_\_\_\_ village

11/8/2000

At the former Saya Ma's [female teacher's] house there is a face towel left behind to dry. Give it to the messenger who brings this letter now.

*[It is]* At Daw bbbb's house.

Yours,  
Captain

*[The Captain left his face towel to dry in the village and then forgot it, and now sends a forced labour messenger all the way back with this letter to get it.]*

---

### **Order #136 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
zzzz Town

24-8-2000

[To:] Chairperson  
\_\_\_\_\_ [village]

Subject: Sending *loh ah pay*

For transporting rations, send 14 male *loh ah pay* people on 26-8-2000 to arrive at 8 o'clock in the morning at the yyyy monastery. [They] Will have to sleep one night on the way, so bring the necessary plastic / tarpaulins, you are informed.

***[Sd. 24/8]***

**Order #137 (Papun)**

24-8-2000

To: Pa aaaa  
xxxx [village]

Tomorrow send 5 people. Must come.

That is all. *[Sd.]*

U bbbb

Send 6 people on 26-8-2000. Must come. Must come.

That is all. [Sd.]

*[This document has 2 orders to 2 different village elders on the same page, written and signed by the same person. On the back it is addressed "To Pa aaaa, Pa bbbb". The elders told KHRG that at the time there was a group of forced labourers from their village already at the Army camp, and that when they complied with this order 2 days later and sent the new labourers, the previous group of labourers was released.]*

---

**Order #138 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**  
Light Infantry Battalion #xxx  
Battalion Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: Calling loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village must send 10 carpenters and loh ah pay workers to finish construction of bridges on 29-8-2000 without fail, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
Intelligence Officer  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

**Order #139 (Papun)**

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx Village

**Stamp:**

#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
zzzz Town

2-9-2000

Subject: Sending the *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above subject, the 15 *loh ah pay* people from xxxx village (must be male) must come and report to yyyy Army Camp on 3-9-2000 at 0800 hours. [They] Will have to sleep one night so bring the necessary tarpaulins and tools, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*

Coordinating Supervisor  
#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group

*[The grammar in this order document is very bad.]*

## Order #140 (Papun)

[Note: this order is written on a piece of stationery torn off of a pad; the references to Army Day and the Armed forces shown in bold at the top are part of the stationery. The rest is handwritten. Army Day is celebrated on March 27<sup>th</sup> each year by the SPDC.]

**Year 2000**  
*[Armed Forces  
logo]*

## 55<sup>th</sup> Year Anniversary of Army Day

**Date:** 4-9-2000

**Place:** yyyyy

To: Mother Head Daw *aaaa*

Respectfully writing a letter. The subject is to send 15 men, each with a machete, from Mother's village as soon as you receive this letter.

Send them along with the messenger who brings this letter now. The Battalion Commander said that the roadside was not cut clear enough by Mother's village. Must send [*the men*] without fail. If [*you*] fail, it will be the responsibility of Mother Head.

*[Sd.]*

Capt. *bbbb*  
Frontline IB #*xx*  
*yyyy* [Army Camp]

*[Villages are routinely ordered to cut and clear the scrub along the roadsides, and this village has not managed to satisfy the Battalion Commander with their work.]*

### **Order #141 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Letter No. x  
Date: 5/9/00  
zzzz Town

To:

Daw aaaa  
Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

Subject: To send loh ah pay

- 1) [You] Have to do loh ah pay at yyyy on 7-9-2000. Come to report with 30 loh ah pay people to yyyy Army Camp on 7-9-2000, to arrive at 4 o'clock in the evening.
- 2) [They will] Have to sleep the night at yyyy, so bring the necessary tarpaulins and bamboo hats.
- 3) Come with one representative village head to lead the loh ah pay, you are informed.
- 4) Do not send female loh ah pay, send only males.

[Sd.] 5/9

[On the back is written "Daw aaaa, Chairperson, xxxx village. 30 loh ah pay people, 7-9-2000, 4 o'clock".]

---

### **Order #142 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Military Operations Command

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: Calling for loh ah pay

- 1) Regarding the above subject, to do loh ah pay the Elder's village must send 20 people with rations for 2 days on 6-9-2000 to arrive at 0800 hours, you are informed.
- 2) If [you] fail to do the loh ah pay, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

Place: yyyy

Date: Year 2000, September 5<sup>th</sup>

[Sd.]

(for) Acting Battalion Commander

[The back of this order is marked "Acting Battalion Commander aaaa".]



### **Order #143 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**

6-9-2000

Frontline #x Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Office

To:  
Daw aaaa (Chairperson, xxxx village)

Instead of 2 servants from xxxx village, only 1 servant arrived at the Column, so [we] need 1 servant with rice for 5 days, send today to yyyy village, you are informed.

***[Sd.]***

Kyi xxxxx, Bo bbbb  
Intelligence Officer

---

### **Order #144 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
zzzz Town

To:  
U aaaa  
Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

Subject: To send loh ah pay

- 1) [You] Must do loh ah pay at yyyy, so come to report with 80 loh ah pay people from xxxx village to yyyy Army Camp on 7-9-2000, to arrive at 4 o'clock in the evening.
- 2) [They will] Have to sleep at night in yyyy, so bring what is required such as tarpaulins and bamboo hats.
- 3) One representative of the village head must come to lead the loh ah pay people, you are informed.
- 4) Do not send female loh ah pay / Send only males.

***[Sd.] Capt.***

### **Order #145 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group

Letter No.: x

zzzz Town

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

Subject: To build the rations godown

1. [We will] Build a rations godown in yyyy camp, so for cutting the needed wood / bamboo the village head yourself must come to present 20 male *loh ah pay* people from xxxx village on 10-9-2000.
2. [They will] Have to stay two nights and three days at yyyy village, so bring all the needed machetes / *ko maw [bamboo hats with broad brims]* / tarpaulins / rations and other necessities, you are informed.

**[Sd.] Capt.**  
8/9[2000]

---

### **Order #146 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group

Letter No. x

zzzz Town

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

Subject: To build a godown for rations

- 1) [We] Have to build a godown for rations at yyyy camp, so cut the required wood/bamboo. The village head yourself must come to give 20 men for *loh ah pay* on 10-9-2000 at yyyy camp.
- 2) [They will] Have to sleep 2 nights and stay 3 days in yyyy village so bring everything required, including machetes / bamboo hats / tarpaulins / rations / other goods, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**  
8/9[2000]

### **Order #147 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
( xxxx ) village  
Village Peace and Development Council

Date: 25-9-2000

Subject: Calling a meeting

To hold a meeting for fencing the perimeter, come to Light Infantry Battalion #xxx on 26-9-2000 to arrive at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, you are informed.

*[Sd.] 25/9/2000*  
Adjutant Captain

*[This is a carbon copy with just the village name and signature written in by hand. Copies were sent to several villages. Two village heads told KHRG they attended this meeting and were assigned forced labour duties for the village to build fences at the Army camp.]*

---

### **Order #148 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
( xxxx ) village  
Village Peace and Development Council

Date: 25-9-2000

Subject: Calling for a meeting

To make fences, there will be a meeting at #xxx Light Infantry Battalion, so you are informed to come on 26-9-2000 at 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

*[Sd.] 25/9/2000*  
Adjutant Captain

*[This is a meeting to assign forced labour duties to the villages to build bamboo security fences at the Army camp.]*

---

### **Order #149 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Headquarters

To: Chairperson / Village headwoman  
xxxx village  
26-9-2000

The Elder's village is required to send 40 *loh ah pay* workers including carpenters to repair bridges and resurface the road, so be informed to send them to #xxx Light Infantry Battalion on 27-9-2000 at 7 o'clock in the morning.

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Intelligence Officer

### **Order #150 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Military Operations Command

To: Chairperson / Head  
\_\_\_\_\_ village

Subject: Come for loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, male 5 people, female 5 people, total 10 people, must come from the Elder's village for loh ah pay without fail with mattocks [*large hoes*], machetes, and rations for one day on the 4<sup>th</sup> waxing day to arrive at 1000 hours, you are informed.

Place: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: 30-9-2000

[*Sd.*]  
(for) Acting Battalion Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[The '4<sup>th</sup> waxing day' is October 1<sup>st</sup> 2000, the 4<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Thadin Kyut month. This is a typed order with the stamp, signature and village name added later by hand.]*

---

### **Order #151 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Headquarters

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
yyyy [*camp*]  
Letter No. xxx / xx / Oo x  
Date: Year 2000, October 2<sup>nd</sup>

To: Chairperson / Village head  
\_\_\_\_\_ village

Subject: The use of servants/carts

- 1) Except for operations and security affairs which require operations servants, civilian servants/carts are not allowed to be used for administrative affairs.
- 2) For matters where they are required, report to the headquarters including the length of time, you are informed.

[*Sd.*]  
(for) Acting Battalion Commander

aaaa/\*xx

*[Apparently the battalion is passing on to the village heads the text of an order which they have received from above regarding their conscription of forced labour.]*

### **Order #152 (Papun)**

To: Head  
xxxx village

4-10-2000

Right now when [you] receive this letter, send 15 men to arrive at the camp tomorrow, 5-10-2000, at 7 o'clock in the morning. Bring along evening rice [dinner]. Do not fail.

[Sd. 'aaaa']  
yyyy camp

*[The note to 'bring along evening rice' indicates that they will be kept for forced labour well into the evening and possibly overnight.]*

---

### **Order #153 (Thaton)**

Mother [Village] Head  
xxxx Village

[We] received the letter sent [by you]. We will try to help and arrange for Pa aaaa and Maung bbbb to come back. The unit which called [them] is not the same as our unit. We don't ask the emergency rotation [servants] from Mother's village to do anything. [We] Keep them in the monastery comfortably. We will send a telegram for the two servants to come back. On the night of the 9<sup>th</sup> the Nga Pway ['Ringworm', SPDC slang for KNLA] came to shoot at my camp. On that night Mother also heard the sound. If there is unusual information, tell us quickly. Continue sending the wood that we require to be sent.

May Mother be healthy. If you have frogs and food send some, here we don't have any more food to eat.

[Sd.]  
Captain cccc  
yyyy camp  
11-10-2000

*[ 'Mother' is the village head, who has apparently expressed concern that 2 of her villagers have been taken away as porters and has requested the local Captain to send them back, probably for some specific reason because otherwise the Captain would not normally intervene on their behalf. The 'rotation [servants] from Mother's village' are the regular shift of forced labourers which this village must send on a rotating basis to the Captain's camp.]*

---

### **Order #154 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters Company

To: Chairperson  
xxxx & yyyy [villages]

Date: 11-10-2000

Send 10 loh ah pay people with the person who brings this letter. Send the full number: 10 people.

[Sd.] 11/10/2000  
Column Commander  
Column x  
zzzz village

### **Order #155 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Armed Forces (Army)  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Papun town  
Letter No. xxx / xx / Oo x  
Date: Year 2000, October [blank]

To: Chairpersons  
Village Peace and Development Council  
(www / xxxx / yyyy / zzzz villages)

Subject: To send one person with one wah boh bamboo from each family

Regarding the above subject, for use on the Battalion construction work of #xxx Light Infantry Battalion, The Elder's village is informed to send one person from each family with one wah boh bamboo to #xxx Light Infantry Battalion on 16-10-2000 at 0800 hours in the morning.

[Handwritten:] Send the rest of the servant money (2,000 Kyat) with this messenger.

[Sd.]

(for) Battalion Commander

Copies to:  
Office  
Circular

aaaa/\*\*\*

[‘Wah boh’ is a species of large bamboo. Copies of this order were sent to several villages, with various handwritten notes added on the bottom. One of the other copies sent to another village has the handwritten note “Send quickly 1,000 Kyat for 2 persons carrying supplies on 13-10-2000”, which means to pay money for 2 people who failed to show up for portering labour on October 13<sup>th</sup>.]

---

### **Order #156 (Toungoo)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Ko aaaa  
xxxx Chairperson / Secretary  
xxxx village

16/10/2000

Ko aaaa:

- I am Column Commander bbbb.
- Send the villagers to carry the rations to yyyy.
- Help to carry out the clearing of the way for these troops.
- Our troops cannot go.
- If possible, give also 1 guide.
- If you are free, come to meet me this evening. [We] Have to discuss and coordinate.

Respectfully, [Sd.]  
bbbb

Column Commander  
Frontline IB #xxx

[Here villagers are being demanded for forced labour as porters carrying rations to an outpost, to slash a clear path for a moving column of troops, and one to act as a guide.]

### **Order #157 (Papun)**

To: Mother Head

20-10-2000

I am writing a letter. Tomorrow early in the morning, Mother Head must lead to xxxx a group of 10 men and 10 women, total 20 people, from Mother's village. Go and report information to the troops who are staying at xxxx. Go without fail. Bring along baskets. Bring along morning rice [breakfast].

**[Sd. 'aaaa']**

Saya Gyi [Sergeant] aaaa, yyyy [camp]

[ 'Saya Gyi' literally means 'big teacher', but is used in the Army to refer to Sergeants.]

---

### **Order #158 (Nyaunglebin)**

**Stamp:**

#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Headquarters Office

#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Kyauk Kyi town  
Letter No. 1001 / xx / Oo 1  
Date: Year 2000, October 20<sup>th</sup>

To: Chairperson, Secretary  
      xxxx village  
      Kyauk Kyi town

Subject: Informing [you] to send loh ah pay

1) Infantry Battalion #xxx requires loh ah pay people for Battalion construction work, so you are informed to send loh ah pay workers as specified below.

- (a) Loh ah pay (male/female) number ( 4 ) people
- (b) Loh ah pay people should bring machetes
- (c) The loh ah pay will only be for the morning

2) Therefore, you are informed to send the loh ah pay people on 21-10-2000 (Sunday) at 0600 hours.

**[Sd. 'aaaa']**

(for) Battalion Commander

xxx \*xxx

### **Order #159 (Pa'an)**

To: Head  
xxxx village

Stamp:  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x

Subject - Asking for *loh ah pay* help

Regarding the above subject, for the use of the Column, send 2 *loh ah pay* servant people from xxxx village to yyyy village today, 22-10-2000, to arrive at 6 o'clock in the evening, you are informed. The 2 *loh ah pay* people specified will be used for 1 day.

Date: 22-10-2000

*[Sd.]*

Place: yyyy village

(for) Column Commander

---

### **Order #160 (Nyaunglebin)**

Stamp:  
Township Peace and Development Council  
Kyauk Kyi town

Township Peace and Development Council  
Kyauk Kyi town  
Letter No. 3 / 42-1 / Yay 5  
Date: Year 2000, October 24<sup>th</sup>

To: Chairperson  
\_\_\_\_\_ ~~ward~~/village tract  
Peace and Development Council  
Kyauk Kyi town

Subject: To repair the Kyauk Kyi - Nat Than Gwin - Than Bo roads

Regarding the above subject, at the meeting held on 23-10-2000 at the Kyauk Kyi township Peace and Development Council office attended by the Deputy Battalion Commander of Infantry Battalion #60, the Chairperson of the Township Peace and Development Council, vehicle owners and Ward/Village Tract Peace and Development Council Chairpersons, it was decided to resurface the potholes along the Kyauk Kyi - Nat Than Gwin - Than Bo road as follows.

1) The following wards/village tracts must load and unload gravel by rotation and get the specified number of *kyin* [1 *kyin*=100 cubic feet] of gravel starting on 25-10-2000.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Village Tract</u>	<u>Number of <i>kyin</i></u>	<u>Duty Dates</u>
a)	In Net tract	14 <i>kyin</i>	25-10-2000 to 27-10-2000
b)	Ywa Gyi In tract	6 <i>kyin</i>	28-10-2000 to 29-10-2000
c)	Naung Gone tract	5 <i>kyin</i>	30-10-2000 to 31-10-2000
d)	Nat Than Gwin tract	20 <i>kyin</i>	From 25 <sup>th</sup> until finished

2) Aung Soe Moe village, Tha Pyay Gone village, and Kywe Chan village should collect 10 *kyin* of sand from Aung Soe Moe bridge, carry the sand with *taw la gyi* [small rice-ploughing tractors], and place it where gravel has been piled.

*[continued on next page]*



[page 2 of original begins here]

- 2 -

3) Thay Gone, Seik Gyi, Ma Oo Byin Seik, Naung Gone, Yan Myo Aung, Lay Wain Gyi, and Nat Than Gwin villages located along the road must cooperate in the resurfacing process with the People's Construction department.

4) Vehicle associations and *taw la gyi* associations must transport gravel from the *loh ah pay* villages. The type of vehicle, number of *kyin* of gravel, and the quota of fuel and oil should be listed and reported to the Strategic Command, #60 Infantry Battalion, and the Township Peace and Development Council office.

[Sd.]

Chairperson

( U Kyit Hlaing - Bpa/2449 )

Copies to:

- Strategic Commander, Southern Command Headquarters, Kyauk Kyi town
- Battalion Commander, Frontline #60 Infantry Battalion, Kyauk Kyi town
- Township engineer, People's Construction department, Kyauk Kyi town
- Executive officer, Township Municipal Board, Kyauk Kyi town
- Chairperson, Vehicle Association, Kyauk Kyi town
- Chairperson, *Taw La Gyi* Association, Kyauk Kyi town

*[Nat Than Gwin is on the Sittaung River, about 20 kilometres southwest of Kyauk Kyi in eastern Pegu Division. Than Bo (also spelled Thaung Bo) is an SPDC Army base about 5 kilometres north of Kyauk Kyi along the road heading east into Karen State. For locations see the map of Nyaunglebin District in **KHRG Information Update #2001-U3** (9/4/2001) or in "**Death Squads and Displacement**" (KHRG #99-04, 24/5/99). Notes: Each village tract consists of 5-10 villages. Nat Than Gwin is being forced to provide the most gravel and also do forced labour on the resurfacing (paragraph 3), and Nat Than Gwin has a higher proportion of Karen people than the other villages. The 'vehicle associations' and 'taw la gyi associations' are used by the SPDC as a way to systematically commandeer cars, trucks and tractors on a regular basis. The listing of the meeting attendees at the beginning of the document shows a hierarchy, for example that the Deputy Battalion Commander is considered higher than the Township Peace and Development Council Chairman. One 'kyin' is 100 cubic feet, usually measured off as 10 feet by 10 feet by 1 foot deep of gravel or sand.]*

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### **Order #161 (Dooplaya)**

To:

Date: 24-10-2000

xxxx / yyyy / zzzz [villages] chairpersons

Come without fail to send information with 5 bullock carts and 15 *loh ah pay* people from each village to *www* village on 28-10-2000 to arrive at 5:30 in the morning.

If [you] fail, it is the responsibility of the Chairperson.

Chairperson, as soon as you receive this letter, come to send the information to *www*.

[Sd.] 24/10/2000

Column Commander

LIB xxx

*[This is a call for forced labour from 3 villages for the Army. The note to 'come to send the information' means that the village heads are also commanded to report intelligence information on the movements of villagers and opposition forces.]*

## **Order #162 (Nyaunglebin)**

**Stamp:**

#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Headquarters Office

#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Kyauk Kyi town  
Letter No. xxx / 01 / Oo 1  
Date: Year 2000, October 24<sup>th</sup>

To: Chairperson, Secretary  
      xxxx village  
      Kyauk Kyi town

Subject: Informing [you] to send loh ah pay

1) Infantry Battalion #60 requires *loh ah pay* people for Battalion construction work, so you are informed to send *loh ah pay* workers on 25-10-2000 at 0600 hours.

- (a) Required (male\female) number ( 5 ) people
- (b) Each should bring machetes for cutting grass
- (c) The *loh ah pay* will only be for the morning

2) Therefore, you are informed to send the set number of *loh ah pay* people on the set date.

***[Sd.]***

(for) Battalion Commander

xxx xxx xxx

*[ 'Battalion construction work' means construction work at the Battalion camp. ]*

---

## **Order #163 (Thaton)**

Mother *[Village]* Head  
xxxx Village

Son is writing a letter to let Mother know to send one bullock cart tomorrow (26-10-2000) to arrive at yyyy camp at 8 o'clock in the morning. With the bullock cart send 5 big, dried coconuts. Son doesn't have any curry, so if *[you]* get frogs, give some. *[We]* are not asking for bullock carts only from Mother's village. *[We]* are also asking from vvvv and wwwv villages. *[We]* Recommend again for Ma aaaa to be a teacher in xxxx village.

***[Sd.]***

Captain bbbb  
yyyy *[camp]*  
25-10-2000

### **Order #164 (Thaton)**

To:

26/10/2000

Mother [Village] Head  
xxxx Village

Send without fail 6 people for emergency *loh ah pay* today to arrive at 6 o'clock in the evening at yyyy village. Arrange the things which you have to arrange from the village, then Mother Head yourself come with the messenger who has brought this letter now to meet with the Column Commander, you are informed.

\* If you fail, it is the responsibility of Head Mother.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander

---

### **Order #165 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**

26-10-2000

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Office

To:  
Chairperson (xxxx village)

1 permanent [rotating] servant from xxxx village is finished his time, so come to yyyy to change [servants] quickly, and bring the [money] needed for one servant's fees along with the replacement servant. Send without fail, you are informed.

[Sd.] 26-10-2000

Intelligence Officer

Bo aaaa

[The 'servant' doing a shift of forced labour will probably not be released until his replacement arrives.]

---

### **Order #166 (Toungoo)**

**Stamp:**

#[illegible] Infantry Battalion

Letter #xx

To:

Date: 26-10-2000

aaaa

Company #x

On 27-10-2000, [you] must come to meet at my camp with 2 messengers ['set tha'] at about 10 o'clock in the morning, you are informed. If [you] don't come, I myself will come to xxxx village, letting you know.

[Sd.] 26-10-2000

Bo bbbb

yyyy Camp Commander

[There is an additional line below the signature, but it has been torn off. Though the battalion number is illegible in the stamp, at the time of this order the issuing camp was occupied by Infantry Battalion #xx.]

### **Order #167 (Papun)**

To: Daw aaaa

28-10-2000

I am writing a letter. As soon as you receive this letter, send 6 people for *loh ah pay* from xxxx village with one *set tha* [messenger], total 7 people. I'm not satisfied at all with the troops that came back from your village. Come yourself now.

[Sd. 'bbbb']

yyyy camp

*[The sentence beginning "I'm not satisfied" could mean several things; either the troops failed to return with the forced labourers as he had ordered, or their report on the village indicated that the headwoman was being uncooperative or that there had been some KNLA activity in the area. Whichever is the case, it is an implicit threat that he is considering action against the village if they do not quickly comply with all of his demands.]*

---

### **Order #168 (Papun)**

xxxx village, doings of [LIB] xxx

On 5-10-2000, [LIB] xxx ordered 3 people on rotation and it cost 7,500 Kyat.

On 12-10-2000, two people had to go as porters to yyyy.

On 17-10-2000, they ordered one person per house to go in the morning and they really had to go.

*[These are the notes of a village elder, who wrote the above in Sgaw Karen on the top half of a sheet with a translation into Burmese below it. The first item indicates that the village had to pay 7,500 Kyat to avoid sending 3 people for a shift of forced labour. In the last item, 'they really had to go' means that the village was not allowed to pay money to avoid the labour.]*

---

### **Order #169 (Thaton)**

To: Mother [Village] Head

1-11-2000

Send 2 servants to yyyy with the messenger we have sent now. At the end of the day, come to change the people. We are from LIB xxx. Send quickly without fail 2 servants with the messenger who has come now.

[Sd.]

Captain aaaa

LIB xxx

yyyy village

### **Order #170 (Thaton)**

To: Chairperson

2-11-2000

I'm writing a letter again. Yesterday I didn't get the messenger that I asked for, so I didn't release the bullock cart driver yet. In your village there are about 100 houses. I will tell [you] one more thing.

One person is always a messenger for me, so send [one messenger] together with the messenger who comes now. When the day is finished come to change [the messengers]. If you don't send one with the messenger who comes now, we won't release the bullock cart driver.

We will release [the driver] when the chairperson sends one [messenger]. As for me, I ask only what is possible. Also send one viss [1.6 kg/3.5 lb] of chicken.

[Sd.]  
LIB xxx  
yyyy Village

*[The village head who received this letter had previously been forced to send a bullock cart with driver from his village for forced labour. At the same time he is supposed to send one villager each day for 24-hour forced labour as a messenger ('set tha'). However, the officer says that the bullock cart driver will not be released until the messenger is sent. 'The messenger who comes now' is the person who has delivered this order document, a villager from another village who is doing forced labour as a 'messenger'.]*

### **Order #171 (Nyaunglebin)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Headquarters Office

**Stamp: URGENT**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Kyauk Kyi town  
Letter No. xxxx / xx / Oo 1  
Date: Year 2000, November 2<sup>nd</sup>

To: Chairperson/Secretary  
      xxxx village  
      Kyauk Kyi town

Subject: Informing [you] to send loh ah pay

1) Infantry Battalion #xxx requires village support for Battalion construction work, so you are informed to send loh ah pay workers on the dates specified below.

(a) Dates to be sent

- |     |           |          |
|-----|-----------|----------|
| (1) | 3-11-2000 | Friday   |
| (2) | 4-11-2000 | Saturday |

(b) Number to be sent: (xx) people

(c) Materials to be brought: Each should bring mattocks and machetes

2) As this is emergency loh ah pay, it is informed to come without fail on the specified 2 days. [The workers] Will be released at 10 o'clock in the morning, so the number of people specified should come without fail.

[Sd. 'aaaa']  
(for) Battalion Commander

### **Order #172 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion  
Column x

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Give regularly one messenger each day to yyyy camp. The Chairperson yourself must come to clear the fees for the messengers who were hired, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 3-11-2000**  
**Stamp:** Column Commander  
Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #173 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion  
Column #x Headquarters

To:  
Village Head  
xxxx Village

6-11-2000

The [village] head yourself and 2 loh ah pay people must come on 7-11-2000 to report at the Army camp.

Bring along pickaxes and grubbing hoes.

Note: In the morning cut the brush on the left / right side of the road and fence the bridge.

**[Sd. 6/11]**

---

### **Order #174 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion  
Column x

To:  
Head  
xxxx village

7-11-2000

As soon as you receive this letter, contact and send without fail one *set tha* person to yyyy camp, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 7-11-2000**  
yyyy camp  
(for) Column Commander  
Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion

[‘Set tha’ is forced labour as messengers and errand-runners.]

### **Order #175 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**  
Light Infantry Battalion #xxx  
[illegible]

Light Infantry Battalion #xxx  
yyyy [camp]  
Letter No.: xxx / x / xxxx x  
Date: Year 2000, November 8<sup>th</sup>

To: Chairperson  
    xxx village

Subject: To attend a meeting

Regarding the above subject, Light Infantry Battalion xxx will hold a meeting to discuss road and bridge affairs on 9-11-2000 at 12 o'clock. Chairperson, village headwomen and pagoda trustee are informed to attend without fail at the Battalion Office.

***[Sd.]***  
(for) Acting Battalion Commander

aaaa/xx \*\*\*  
xxxx / yyyy / zzzz

*[ 'To discuss road and bridge affairs' generally means to assign forced labour maintaining roads and rebuilding bridges, and to demand the materials required for the work.]*

---

### **Order #176 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion  
    Column x

To: Head  
    xxx village

9-11-2000

As soon as you receive this letter, the head yourself must come to give 3 servants to yyyy camp today, 9-11-2000, in the evening. Hand them over to the Camp Commander or to the person in charge, you are informed.

***[Sd.] 9-11-2000***  
    yyyy camp  
(for) Column Commander  
    Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion

*[Copies of this order were sent to several villages and obtained by KHRG, each demanding the same thing in the exact same words.]*

### **Order #177 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Peace and Development Council  
yyyy Village

Date: 11-11-2000

To:  
Chairperson, xxxx Village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, to meet with the Battalion #xxx Column Commander, come to meet tomorrow, 11-11-2000, at yyyy, you are informed.

(Direct *[the villagers]* to fence tomorrow.)

*[Unsigned]*  
(U aaaa)

*[The order 'to fence' indicates that the villagers must do forced labour fencing either the Army Camp or the perimeter of their own village.]*

---

### **Order #178 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Office

13-11-2000

To:  
Chairperson (xxxx village)

The Chairperson from xxxx village has failed many times to meet with the Column Commander, so the Column Commander is very angry. Therefore, today the xxxx Chairperson must arrive with 2 sacks of rice and bring along 2 permanent *[rotating]* servants. If you fail, we will send a bomb *[mortar or artillery shell]*, informing you again.

*[Sd.] 13-11-2000*  
Bo bbbb  
Frontline LIB #xxx Column

---

### **Order #179 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Office

14-11-2000

To:  
Chairperson - xxxx village

Right now, as soon as you receive this letter, xxxx village head Daw aaaa and 2 permanent *[rotating]* servants must come quickly to meet with the Camp Commander. If Daw aaaa fails to come, the Camp Commander will take action. When you come, bring along 1 sack of rice.

*[Sd.] 14-11-2000*  
Bo bbbb

*[This order was sent by the same officer to the same village headwoman named in Order #178 above.]*



**Order #180 (Dooplaya)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Intelligence Department

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

15-11-2000

Subject: One person per house come without fail to #xxx Infantry Battalion for *loh ah pay* on the 26<sup>th</sup>. If *[you]* fail it will be the responsibility of the village Elder.

***[Sd.]***  
(for) Battalion Commander  
#xxx Infantry Battalion

---

**Order #181 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Intelligence Department

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

15-11-2000

Subject: Dear village Elders, Infantry Battalion #xxx requires one person from each family for *loh ah pay* on the 28<sup>th</sup>. If *[you]* fail, it will be the village Elder's responsibility.

***[Sd.] 15-11-2000***  
(for) Battalion Commander  
#xxx Infantry Battalion

---

**Order #182 (Thaton)**

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

15-11-2000

Tractor with *htwe lah [an implement to attach to the tractor]* must arrive tomorrow. Send it to yyyy. If it doesn't arrive, the Chairperson will bear the responsibility. Send it without fail.

Captain aaaa  
yyyy *[village]*  
LIB #xxx

**Order #183 (Papun)**

To:  
[Village] Head

Date: 18-11-2000

Now, as soon as you receive this letter, send a messenger. Tomorrow, 19-11-2000, send 30 pieces of red cane [*rattan-like cane used to make things*] of 10 cubits [*15 ft/5 m*] length. [Send] to the yyyy chairperson.

[Sd.]  
Column

*[‘Send a messenger’ means to send a villager for a shift of forced labour as a messenger.]*

---

**Order #184 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

20-11-2000

Subject: To cut the scrub 50 feet wide on the left and right of the car road

In accordance with the subject, starting from today Chairperson’s village must cut and clear all the bushes 50 feet from the left and 50 feet from the right along the yyyy car road over the area that was specified last year. If anything happens along the road, it will be the Chairperson’s responsibility so [*you*] will have to pay compensation.

With friendliness,  
[Sd.]  
Captain bbbb  
LIB xxx

*[The villagers are forced to clear wide ‘killing zones’ on both sides of all roads used by the military; each village is assigned a specific length of road every year. ‘If anything happens along the road’ means that if there are any ambushes or mines on the road, the village will be punished with fines and possible arrests and other punishments.]*

## Order #185 (Papun)

### Stamp:

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Headquarters

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Papun Town  
Letter No. 2000 / xxx / Oo 1  
Date: Year 2000, November 21<sup>st</sup>

To:    *aaaa* village  
      *bbbb* village  
      *cccc* village  
      *dddd* village  
      *eeee* village  
      *ffff* village

Subject:    Informing [you] to cut and clear the scrub on the left/right sides of the road

1) Regarding the above subject, to cut and clear the scrub along the left/right of the Papun - Ka Ma Maung vehicle road, every village must take duty and carry it out for the areas as specified below.

- (a) *aaaa* village: From 5-Mile to 5-Mile and 7 furlongs.
- (b) *bbbb* village: From 5-Mile and 7 furlongs to the wooden bridge north of *dddd* village.
- (c) *cccc* village: From the wooden bridge north of *dddd* village to 7-Mile.
- (d) *dddd* village: From 7-Mile to 7-Mile and 5 furlongs.
- (e) *eeee* [misspelled] village: From 7-Mile and 5 furlongs to 8-Mile and 3 furlongs.
- (f) *ffff* village: From 8-Mile and 3 furlongs to *gggg* bridge.

2) When cutting and clearing the scrub, [you] must clear everything within 75 yards of the left and 75 yards of the right of the vehicle road, and [you] must cut down all the big trees that can be cut with machetes.

3) [You] Must finish carrying out the cutting and clearing of the scrub between November 22<sup>nd</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> in the year 2000. Village Peace and Development Council Chairpersons yourselves must supervise it systematically, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 21/11/2000**  
(for) Battalion Commander

Copies -

Strategic Command Group (Base), Papun  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[This order has been carbon-copied and distributed to all villages in the list. Designations such as '5-Mile' and '8-Mile' are milestone references; one mile equals 8 furlongs. Each village is assigned a length of road dependent on the size of the village. The unpaved seasonal dirt road south from Papun to Ka Ma Maung (which lies where the Yunzalin River flows into the Salween River, upstream from Pa'an) is about 100 kilometres long, though this order only covers a small stretch of the road. The order to clear a swath of all vegetation 150 yards wide (75 yards on each side of the road) is for the purposes of a 'killing ground', to make it difficult for resistance forces to ambush Army convoys or mine the road. It also makes it hard for displaced villagers to cross the road when fleeing without being detected. The villages along this road are also forced to send forced labour on a rotating basis to stand as unarmed sentries every day and night at every few hundred metres along the road, and their villages are punished directly for any opposition activity which occurs along the route.]*

### **Order #186 (Thaton)**

To:

[Village] Head  
xxxx Village

21-11-2000

Send two tractors from Mother's village to arrive at yyyy on 22-11-2000 at 0900. If you fail, it will be the responsibility of the Mother [village] head, you are informed.

[Sd. 21-11-2000]  
Column Commander  
Frontline LIB #xxx

---

### **Order #187 (Papun)**

21-11-2000

To:

xxxx Head Daw aaaa / come with the schoolteacher to arrive on the 22<sup>nd</sup>

- 1) No one came in accordance with the call for servants when the Strategic Command went back [rotated out of the area], so the Head yourself must come to clear [the matter]. If [you] don't come, [we] will call you with the Mobile Column.
- 2) Every time [we] call for servants from the Village Head, [you] give many excuses and avoid it. In future, if battles or landmines occur concerned with your village, the village will be destroyed.
- 3) The troops from above the Head's village have suffered from landmines, so [we] are not happy at all. If the camp/activities [meaning of the preceding phrase unclear, even in Burmese] such as a battle occurs, we will shoot with big weapons. Letting you know in advance, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
Captain bbbb  
Camp Commander

[‘We will call you with the mobile column’ means they will send a column to plunder the village and arrest the elders. In paragraph 3, the clear meaning is that if the SPDC column is attacked in any way in the area of the village, they will fire artillery or mortars into the village.]

**Order #188 (Thaton)**

To: Village Head  
xxxx Village

Subject: Come to report information to the camp.

On 21-11-2000, [we] sent a messenger and you were informed to come to the Army camp. Until now [you] haven't arrived yet, so [we are] sending the messenger again. Now, when you receive this letter, come quickly to report information to the Army camp. You are informed again.

Place: yyyy  
Date: 22-11-2000

[Sd.]  
Camp Commander  
yyyy Camp

---

**Order #189 (Thaton)**

To: Chairperson - xxxx village

Date: 29-11-2000

The servants provided by the xxxx head have fled, so as soon as you receive this letter come to send 3 servants and 1 messenger tonight. The head must come with the messenger we have sent now.

[Sd.]  
LIB #xxx Column Commander

---

**Order #190 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

29-11-2000

Subject: Not to send loh ah pay

No need (no need) to send the workers for loh ah pay at yyyy, you are informed.

[Sd.]

### **Order #191 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

30-11-2000

As soon as you receive this letter, come from Chairperson's village with this *set tha* [messenger] to send 3 big tins of rice today, quickly before dark. If [you] don't arrive before dark, it will be the Chairperson's responsibility, you are informed.

With friendliness,  
[Sd.]  
Captain bbbb  
(for) Col. Commander

*[We have included this order in the forced labour section because the 'set tha' is a villager doing forced labour, and the village head is also being forced to go to the Army camp with 3 big tins of rice; at least 2 people will be required to carry this rice, and other villagers will probably be used for this.]*

---

### **Order #192 (Thaton)**

Chairperson  
xxxx village

3-12-2000

Mother:

1 person from xxxx, 1 person from yyyy, totalling 2 servants. Send them to arrive on 4-12-2000 at 7 o'clock at zzzz camp. Send *a'kyan wah* [bamboo split lengthwise] and *dtan wah* [small-diameter bamboo, probably for fencing] quickly, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
Captain aaaa  
zzzz Camp Commander

**Stamp:**  
Village Peace and Development Council  
www Village

### **Order #193 (Thaton)**

To:  
Chairperson  
Two people from xxxx village  
One person from yyyy village

Send back the servants [the above three people from the two named villages] to arrive back on 4-12-2000, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
Frontline LIB #xxx Col. [Column]  
Sgt. aaaa

*[The three 'servants' (forced labourers) have either run away from the Army or are needed for further work.]*

### **Order #194 (Thaton)**

To:  
Mother Chairperson

7-12-2000

I am writing a letter, tomorrow morning send the toddy [*palm wine*] that you have with this messenger. The Column is arriving. Also send the servants from Mother's village at the same time. Also send the 25 *kyat tha* [400 g/0.9 lb] of *kala beh* [*chick peas*]. [We] Will give money when the sentries come back. When Ko *aaaa* [*another village elder*] arrives, tell [*him*] that I am asking him [*to come*]. Send the toddy and *kala beh* tomorrow to arrive at 0800 hours. [You] Must send any way [*you can*].

With Thanks  
[*Sd.*]  
Lieutenant cccc  
yyyy Camp

*[‘The Column is arriving’ means that a mobile column is expected to arrive and stay at their camp, so they are demanding alcohol, food and forced labour servants. ‘When the sentries come back’ means when the village headwoman sends more villagers to do forced labour as unarmed sentries at the Army camp.]*

---

### **Order #195 (Thaton)**

To:  
Mother Chairperson

8-12-2000

I am writing a letter. Send the toddy [*palm wine*] and *kala beh* [*chick peas*] to arrive this morning. Also send the servants at the same time. Tell Ko *aaaa* or *bbbb* that I am asking [*for them to come*]. If the person can come, come, and if [*a person*] doesn't come, fill in [*send someone else*]. Send the *xxxx* [*village*] servants also at the same time.

\* Tomorrow morning [*we*] will come to carry the wood with bullock carts. Wait.

With Friendship,  
[*Sd.*]  
Lieutenant cccc  
yyyy Camp

*[This order came the day after Order #194 above. In addition to his previous demands, he is asking the village headwoman to arrange and send forced labourers from another village as well.]*

**Order #196 (Toungoo)**

To: 14-12-2000  
Daw *aaaa* (Chairperson)  
xxxx village  
Daw *bbbb* (Chairperson)  
yyyy village

Subject: To send servants

Regarding the above subject, today we have urgent need for 5 people for *loh ah pay* from xxxx village and 5 people from yyyy village, so send them without fail to arrive on 14-12-2000 at 3 o'clock, you are informed.

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

**[Sd.]**  
Company Commander  
#x Company  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

**Order #197 (Pa'an)**

To: Chairperson / Village Head Date: 14-12-2000  
xxxx village tract (*tttt / uuuu / vvvv / wwwwww / yyyy / zzzz* villages)

The Elders' villages must take responsibility to lay stones / lay sand / make ditches / clear the ground along the Yin Kweh Taung to Nat Zin Gone road. One person from each family and 8 bullock carts must come and wait at the LIB xxx rubber plantation field tomorrow, 15-12-2000, at 0800 hours, and do not work [*i.e. wait for further orders*].

May you have peace in your mind and be able to serve the work of the country.

Respectfully,  
**[Sd.]**  
Mobile LIB xxx

---

**Order #198 (Pa'an)**

To: Head  
xxxx village

Subject: Calling for *loh ah pay*

You are informed to send 4 *loh ah pay* workers to yyyy village today at 6 o'clock in the evening for the use of the Column.

Date: 21-12-2000  
Place: yyyy village

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Column Commander



### **Order #199 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**

22-12-2000

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion To:  
Column x Office

Chairperson (xxxx village)

Bring 2 servants from xxxx village today to yyyy village, and the village head from xxxx himself must come, you are informed.

***[Sd.]***

Bo bbbb

Frontline LIB #xxx Column

---

### **Order #200 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Office

27-12-2000

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

*[Send]* one servant from east of the river in xxxx village and one servant from west of the river. Send them early tomorrow to yyyy village, take this responsibility and do not fail.

***[Sd.]***

Frontline LIB #xxx Column

---

### **Order #201 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:

Chairperson  
Village xxxx

Subject: To send loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, come to send quickly 4 loh ah pay people to the Column from the Elder's village as soon as you receive this letter, now. If *[you]* cannot get male loh ah pay servants, come to send females, you are informed.

Children are not to be included, you are informed.

***[Sd.]***

(for) Column Commander  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[On the front and back of this order the village head has scribbled the names of 37 villagers as candidates for this and other forced labour, more than half of them women's names.]*

**Order #202 (Papun)**

To:    xxxx village head

Send 5 servants in the early morning to yyyy village. Send them with the one who has come to call them now. The Head also must come.

[Sd.]  
IB #xx

---

**Order #203 (Papun)**

To:    xxxx village

Why didn't you come when called by the camp? [We] Have already been waiting 3 days for your village. Send 8 villagers at once. Will wait until 2 o'clock. If [they] don't come, know that your village will suffer.

[Unsigned]

---

**Order #204 (Papun)**

To:  
     Ko aaaa

I am writing a letter. Now, as soon as [you] receive this letter send 3 loh ah pay servants for the pagoda. Send males. To clear the matter of the messenger, come to meet with me today.

[Sd.]  
yyyy [Army Camp]

*[On the back this order is addressed to xxxx village.]*

---

**Order #205 (Papun)**

To:    Chairperson  
           xxxx       village

When you receive this letter, the Elder yourself must come without fail to yyyy camp and bring along the set tha [villagers for forced labour as messengers] at the same time, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
Intelligence Officer

*[This is a typed form letter with only the village name written in by hand. It was typed immediately below Order #411 on the same sheet, with the same typewriter and the same signature. However, it concerns a completely separate subject, so we have separated the two here.]*

### **Order #206 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

To fence the left/right of the vehicle road, come tomorrow.

[Sd.]  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline LIB #xxx  
yyyy [village]

*[Along with clearing wide 'killing zones' on both sides of roads used by the military, the villagers are also forced to build fences along both sides of many military roads.]*

---

### **Order #207 (Papun)**

xxxx [village] Chairperson

Report the news to yyyy Army Camp, to arrive on the 23<sup>rd</sup> at 7 o'clock in the morning. Call the zzzz chairperson also to come along. It is about the matter of *loh ah pay* for the vehicle road.

[Sd.]  
IB xx  
yyyy camp

---

### **Order #208 (Papun)**

Informing the xxxx and yyyy village heads.  
Gather 2 people from each village and come for *loh ah pay* to send the video, you are informed.

aaaa

*[This demands 4 people from the 2 villages to carry a VCR, TV, and probably a generator somewhere for the Army.]*

---

### **Order #209 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

To cut the scrub and to fence the road where xxxx [village] has been assigned duty, tomorrow morning one person per house must come and report with full rations.

[Sd.]  
Company #x Commander  
yyyy Camp  
LIB xxx Column

### **Order #210 (Papun)**

To: Head  
xxxx [village]

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion  
Column x

1 servant from the Elder's village went back to the village without orders from our Column, so send back 1 servant to replace him, and bring along 1 servant to change *[with the other who is still there]*. If they do not come, it is the responsibility of our Column. Come to replace them today at yyyy village.

[Sd.]  
Sgt. aaaa  
Frontline #xx [IB]

---

### **Order #211 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject - Calling the Head and villagers

Had already told you that 10 villagers and 3 wood-carrying carts must come to arrive yesterday, but even today they haven't arrived, so as soon as you receive this letter now, the Head must lead *[them]* and come quickly today. If they don't arrive, *[we]* will take action and do as required. Informing you again.

[Sd.]  
Company Commander  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
yyyy camp

---

### **Order #212 (Papun)**

To: Mother Head

Mother, how is your village doing? All of the sentries went back. Uncle is angry. As soon as you receive this letter now, send back all the sentries. Send them effectively, Mother.

Uncle also scolded Son. Send back the full number of people at once now, Mother.

Son.  
CQ [Chief Quartermaster]  
[Sd.]

*['Son' is the Chief Quartermaster (usually a Sergeant or Sergeant Major) of the local camp writing this letter to 'Mother', the village headwoman. 'Uncle' is the writer's commanding officer. The 'sentries' are villagers who have to do forced labour as unarmed sentries at the Army camp. The context and language of this letter may sound childish, but the meaning would be explicitly and gravely threatening to any village head.]*

### **Order #213 (Papun)**

xxxx Chairperson:

Now, as soon as the one bringing this letter arrives, send quickly 3 servants from xxxx village to yyyy village, to arrive today in the evening.

*[Unsigned]*  
Captain aaaa  
yyyy village

---

### **Order #214 (Thaton)**

To:

Mother *[Village]* Head

Send the owners of the four sawmills from Mother's village to meet me today. The messenger being sent *[back]* now has finished his day *[of duty]*, send a new one again.

Send the mill owners and messenger to arrive today. *[You]* must find and get two chickens for me and send them together with the messenger.

If Mother is healthy, come to meet one day. Until that time, if I have to come to Mother's village, I will come, that is all.

Reply with a letter if there is anything unusual happening in the region or not.

*[Sd.]*  
Camp Commander  
yyyy *[camp]*

*[ 'Anything unusual happening' means if there are any KNLA movements. ]*

---

### **Order #215 (Papun)**

From xxxx village, send 3 bundles of firewood with the messenger who has come now, and 3 people from the Head's village, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
Strategic Command #x

### **Order #216 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**

#xx Tactical Command,  
Military Operations Supervision Group  
yyyy Town

U aaaa:

- Carry 6"x1" [*planks*], 20 feet long, 40 pieces from Saya *bbbb*'s sawmill.
- When [*you*] arrive at yyyy, give them to the camp.

*[Sd.]*

(for) Tactical Commander

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### **Order #217 (Papun)**

xxxx [*village*] Head Pa aaaa, I am writing a letter with respect. The subject is that it will be the turn of our households, so send the money for one to go to yyyy.

We will surely be waiting. You must send it.

*bbbb*

*[This appears to be a note from one village head to another, saying that it is their turn to send forced labour, so the recipient's village has to pay for one person to go.]*

---

### **Order #218 (Thaton)**

To: xxxx [*village*] chairperson

We stay at the house where Captain aaaa is staying. We keep the rice there. Give it to the sentry. If my clothes are done, give them as well.

I will clear things when I get back.

*[This means that the village headwoman is supposed to hand over some rice and an officer's clothing she has been ordered to sew to the 'sentry', a villager doing forced labour as an unarmed sentry who has been sent to pick up the things. To 'clear things' usually means payment, but the officers almost never pay full value for anything. See also Order #219 below.]*

---

### **Order #219 (Thaton)**

To: Chairperson Mother Daw aaaa

Give rice and the clothes you've sewn to the sentry who comes now from the house where the Captain is staying.

*[Sd.]*

Temporarily at yyyy  
LIB #xxx

*[See also Order #218 above.]*

## **Order #220 (Papun)**

*[The following is a set of notes written down by a village head regarding events in and around his village.]*

The xxx Battalion Commander's name is Sa Sa Ka Major *aaaa*,  
Company Commander Major *bbbb*

10-9-2000 - Had to build godown, had to go and cut bamboo, wood, they demanded 20 men who had to take along their food and all other needs.

Battalion [*sic: LID*] 66, #xxx [*Battalion*] entered xxxx village and demanded porters, 2 people each time and every 5 days we have to go and replace them. The people who go have to take all their own food. Starting on 13-5-2000, if a person doesn't go to replace them they demand 2,000 Kyat per person.

*[page 2]*

Sa Sa Ka xxx entered and did the following things at xxxx:

Forcing the civilians:

On 17-6-2000 they demanded villagers for *loh ah pay* to go and carry their things.

- 1) 14 people altogether [*on 17-6-2000*].
- 2) 20-6-2000, 14 people.
- 3) 21-6-2000, 12 people carried food for them when they were on patrol.
- 4) 23-6-2000, 12 people.
- 5) 24-6-2000, 15 people.
- 6) 25-6-2000, 11 people.

Burmese Army demanded *loh ah pay* at xxxx village:

- 1) 2-7-2000, 42 people.
- 2) 6-7-2000, 40 people      They ordered them to carry the food they had taken
- 3) 9-8-2000, 30 people      from yyyy village to zzzz.

1. On 7-9-2000 they demanded *loh ah pay* at xxxx village. We had to go and carry the food they had taken from yyyy up to *www*. 80 people, men, had to go and sleep there for 2 days and take along their own food from their houses.

On 11-9-2000 they demanded *loh ah pay* at xxxx village, 18 female and 7 male people. They took things in the village and ordered them to carry them to *vvvv* Army base.

1. The Battalion based at *uuuu* town came to the frontline and stay at yyyy camp.

## **Forced Labour Supplying Materials**

This section includes orders indirectly calling for forced labour by demanding materials from villagers which require intensive labour to produce and deliver. For example, demands for hundreds of thatch roofing shingles, tons of logs, or quantities of firewood or bamboo force villagers to do hard labour cutting, gathering, preparing and then delivering these materials to Army camps. In contrast, demands for rice, pigs, money and other goods are not included in this section because they are not as labour-intensive.

Most of the orders below demand building materials such as timber, which must be cut in the forest, sawn into posts or planks, and then hauled to the Army camp by the villagers, specific types and diameters of bamboo which must be sought out and cut in the forest, or thatch roofing shingles, which require the villagers to gather leaves and cut bamboo, then split the bamboo into sticks, make it into metre-long frames, and tie the leaves onto the frames using bamboo ties. A demand for 500 thatch shingles or 300 wooden fenceposts can take a whole village several days of labour to produce, after which they must haul it to the Army camp on bullock carts, boats, or on their backs. Orders demanding wooden planks (such as #237, 243, and 245) force villagers to incur a cash expense, because they have to pay sawmill owners to mill the wood; by contrast, when the SPDC forces the sawmill owners to do it for them directly, no money is paid them. The worst case of heavy labour inflicted on a village included below is Order #245, in which one village is ordered to produce and send 9 tons of sawn planks. Additional demands for logs can also be seen in the section *“Set to a Village III: Demands for Logs in Thaton District”* below.

Materials demanded also include shaved bamboo ties which are used for tying things together when building, rattan-like cane (Orders #222, 229, 250, and 251) for use in making furniture, and even cotton-like kapok (Order #263) to stuff the Tactical Commander’s pillow. All of these require the villagers to seek them out in the forest, process them and deliver them to the Army.

Some orders which demand such materials and also include direct demands for forced labour have been included in the *‘General Forced Labour’* section above; see for example Order #216, which orders villagers to carry planks to an Army camp from a sawmill which has been forced to cut them, probably without compensation. Orders #221 and 222 below only specify the materials to build a godown at the Army camp, but KHRG has confirmed that the villagers were also forced to build it. Similarly, many of the demands below that villagers bring bamboo for fencing carry the implicit assumption that when the villagers deliver the bamboo, they will be kept at the camp to build the fence.

While most of these materials are demanded for Army camp construction, some are also demanded simply so that Army officers can sell them for profit; for example, the 9 tons of sawn planks demanded in Order #245 by a Camp Commander are probably not all for use at his camp. Even when demanding building materials for the camp, the officers often demand two or three times what they require and then sell the surplus. Soldiers who desert the Army often tell of such money-making schemes, which are used by officers throughout Burma to make money. One common scheme is for officers to demand large quantities of firewood from villagers, then force their own soldiers to use it to bake bricks entirely for the officers’ personal profit.

Villagers are never paid for any of the materials they provide except in rare cases; some orders promise to pay for some of it, but this often proves to be an empty promise when the materials are actually delivered. Order #232 promises to pay some money for the chicken which is being demanded, but no mention is made of paying anything for the 100 shingles of thatch which are demanded at the same time. Villagers interviewed by KHRG regularly state that they are never



paid for such materials. Despite this, and even though the deadlines given are often next to impossible to meet, any village which fails to deliver the materials on time and according to specification faces threatening letters and the possibility of severe punishments.

---

### **Order #221 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 28-11-99

- 1) To build the new godown for yyyy camp, [we] need wood / bamboo / nipa palm thatch. Send it according to the quota on 1-12-99.
- 2) The 2 quota servants from xxxx are not being used at yyyy camp. [You] Need to know that it is for Tactical Command #3. Regarding these failed servants [who didn't come], the Chairperson yourself must come to clear the matter, you are informed.

[Sd.]

(for) Camp Commander  
yyyy camp

Frontline #xx [IB], Company x

*[The thatch shingles are for roofing, and require a great deal of labour to produce. Each village is assigned a 'quota' to produce and hand over in such cases. The 'quota servants' are forced labourers who must be provided on a similar basis. This order informs the village head that the servants who were demanded were not for the local Army group but the Tactical Command, which is more serious, and therefore the village head must comply to 'clear the matter' urgently.]*

---

### **Order #222 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 8-12-99

- 1) When you receive this letter, to build the godown at yyyy camp send quickly on 9-12-99 the urgently needed materials as listed below.

- (a) red cane [similar to rattan] 30 pieces
- (b) bamboo roof struts 18 taun [27 ft/9 m] long, 25 pieces
- (c) nipa palm [thatch] quota

- 2) For the servants who failed [to come] from 15-11-99 through 31-11-99, send quickly the servants' hiring fees, 4,000 Kyat in cash. Informing you for the last time. That money is not for our Army. The money has to be paid to the yyyy villagers [who were hired in place of the forced labourers].

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander  
yyyy camp

Frontline #xx [IB], Company x

*[On the back is written "Important. Send quickly. Pass on [to other villages]." The 'nipa palm quota' means the regular quota of thatch roofing shingles. All of the materials in paragraph 1*

*require considerable labour to produce and transport. Paragraph 2 relates to a common Army practice; knowing that the villagers from most villages will try to avoid forced labour, they conscript or hire people in the garrison villages and then demand money from the other villages for their 'costs' in doing so.]*

---

**Order #223 (Papun)**

<b><u>Stamp:</u></b>	To:	
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion	Village Head	Date: 8-1-2000
Column x Headquarters	xxxx village	

As soon as you receive this letter now, send without fail 100 nipa palm [*thatch shingles*] to roof the huts at yyyy camp. Carry this out with special attention, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
Intelligence Officer  
#xx Infantry Battalion

---

**Order #224 (Papun)**

<b><u>Stamp:</u></b>		21-2-2000
#xx Infantry Battalion	To:	
Company #[blank]	xxxx [ <i>village</i> ] Chairperson	

To build the yyyy Army Camp:

- (a) Nipa palm (125 [*shingles*])
- (b) *Myaw* (20-foot) 2 poles
- (c) *Myaw* (10-foot) 2 poles

Send it to the Army Camp to arrive on 25-2-2000, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
**Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
**Stamp:**  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
Date: 21-2-20[00]  
Company #[blank]

*[‘Myaw’ are bamboo roof support poles, which hold up the thatch roofing shingles.]*

**Order #225 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Peace and Development Council  
xxxx village tract

To: Village Head

Date: 24-2-2000

Informing the village head that for the use of yyyy Army Camp, the Head yourself must bring wooden posts 2 *twa* [2 *handspans in diameter*] and 15 feet long, 20 of them, to yyyy Army Camp on 1-3-2000, you are informed.

Note: Do not fail.

***[Sd.]***

**Stamp:** Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council  
xxxx village tract, Papun township

---

**Order #226 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#x Strategic Command Group  
Southwestern Command

28-2-2000

***[To:] Heads***

www / xxxx / yyyy / zzzz [*villages*]

Specifications of house posts / struts:

Send house posts not to be smaller than 3 *twa* [*handspans diameter*], exactly 15' feet long.  
Informing you again.

***[Sd.]***

uuuu Camp, Strategic Command #x

*[On the back this order is marked 'Urgent'.]*

### **Order #227 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline Light Infantry Battalion #xxx  
Column x Headquarters

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters, yyyy village  
Letter #xxxx / xxx / Oo x  
Date: Year 2000, March 10<sup>th</sup>

To: Village head  
xxxx village

Subject: To send firewood to zzzz monastery

- 1) zzzz monastery needs firewood for the rainy season, and there is scrap wood at aaaa's sawmill which is available to send to the monastery.
- 2) Therefore, xxxx village should go with 4 bullock carts to aaaa's sawmill and take the scraps to zzzz monastery by the deadline of 5 o'clock in the evening. The village head is informed to transport the scraps yourself.
- 3) If they don't arrive by 5 o'clock in the evening, this will be the village head's responsibility, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*

(for) Battalion Commander  
Light Infantry Battalion #xxx

---

### **Order #228 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Peace and Development Council  
Date: 11-3-2000  
yyyy village tract

12-3-2000

To:  
Head - xxxx [village]

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, the yyyy Strategic Command #x Base has a matter to meet and discuss with the village heads. Come to the VPDC office on 14-3-2000 to arrive at 10 o'clock in the morning, and bring along thatch and bamboo, you are informed.

(Note) If [you] fail, the Strategic Command will take harsh action.  
Warning you again.

*[Sd.] 12-3-2000*

(for) Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

### **Order #229 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Date: 18-3-2000  
Company #[blank]

Date: 18-3-2000

**To:** xxxx village  
Chairperson

For yyyy Army Camp, come to send 300 pieces of *kyet shi* cane [*rattan-like cane*] each 10 *taun* [*15 ft/5 m*] long to zzzz to arrive on 19-3-2000. Do not fail. When this letter arrives now, the Chairperson must come to zzzz, informing you in advance.

[Sd.]  
(for) **Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company #[blank]  
#xxx Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #230 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
Date: 19-3-2000  
Company #x

xxxx Village

Mother Head, as soon as [*you*] receive this letter, send 1 *viss* [*1.6 kg/3.5 lb*] of chicken and 100 thatch [*shingles*] to the yyyy Chairperson's house. [*We*] Will give money for the price of the chicken. You must find it to buy, you are requested.

Send the chicken and thatch on 21/3/2000 to Column *x* at zzzz.

[Sd.]  
**Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xx Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #231 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Date: 20-3-2000  
yyyy village tract

Date: 20-3-2000

**To:** Head

#### **The matter of asking for bamboo ties**

Regarding the above subject, for the use of yyyy Army Camp, send without fail from the Elder's village 5 *viss* [*8 kg/17.5 lb*] of short bamboo ties / long bamboo ties on 23-3-2000 to arrive at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
(for) Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

[*Bamboo ties are shaved bamboo strips used to tie things together when building.*]

### **Order #232 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 24-3-2000

Subject: To send nipa palm

Regarding the above subject, share out the responsibilities to produce 100 nipa palm thatch [shingles] and send them quickly from the Elder's village when you receive this letter, you are informed.

Bring 1 viss [1.6 kg/3.5 lb] of chicken at the same time and [we] will pay its cost in money.

*[Sd.]*

**Stamp:** Intelligence Officer  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion

*[‘Share out the responsibilities’ means that the village head is to assign a quota of shingles to each family in the village to get the entire 100 shingles. Gathering the materials and producing these shingles is quite labour intensive.]*

---

### **Order #233 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 26-3-2000

Subject: To send nipa palm thatch

To roof the buildings at yyyy camp, send 500 shingles of nipa palm from xxxx village to arrive on 30-3-2000, you are informed.

*[Sd.] 26-3*

(for) Battalion Commander  
Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[On the back of this document the village head has written a long list of names many with checkmarks beside them, possibly a list of those who were assigned to make their portion of the thatch shingle quota.]*

### **Order #234 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 26-3-2000

Subject: To send nipa palm thatch

To roof the buildings at yyyy camp, send 500 shingles of nipa palm from xxxx village to arrive on 30-3-2000, you are informed.

***[Sd.] 26-3***  
(for) Battalion Commander  
Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

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### **Order #235 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 4-4-2000

Subject: To send nipa palm thatch

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village must still send the remaining 110 shingles of nipa palm thatch. Come to bring it (without fail) to yyyy Army Camp on 6-4-2000, you are informed.

***[Sd.]***  
Camp Commander  
yyyy camp

*[On the back this order is marked "Urgent. Send 1 rotation messenger to arrive today.", meaning to send a villager for forced labour as a messenger.]*

---

### **Order #236 (Papun)**

8/4/2000

Head, I'm writing a letter. The rain will come, so to prepare the huts send 5 viss (five) viss of long bamboo ties on 8/4/2000, to arrive at 5 o'clock in the evening today, you are informed.

***[Sd.]***  
Deputy Warrant Officer  
aaaaa  
Strategic Command #x, Southwestern Command

*[Bamboo ties are shaved bamboo strips used to tie things together in building, in this case probably to put new roofs on the huts (thatch roofing must be replaced every 2-3 years, and bamboo ties are used to tie the thatch shingles onto the roof supports). The amount demanded is by weight, 8 kilograms/17.5 pounds.]*

### **Order #237 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

17-4-2000

To:  
Mother Daw aaaa

Ironwood planks are needed by yyyy camp, and xxxx [village] must take the responsibility. Therefore, from xxxx 300 feet of 6" x 1/2" [planks], [you] must take responsibility to carry this out. The village must arrange the logs needed for the sawmill.

[Sd.]  
Captain bbbb  
Company Commander  
#x Company

---

### **Order #238 (Pa'an)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
Column x Headquarters  
Light Infantry Battalion #xxx

Date: 19-4-2000

Subject: Requesting donation of thatch for a zayat [waiting shelter]

Regarding the above subject, xxxx village tract is requested to assist by sending 100 thatch [shingles] to yyyy on April 20<sup>th</sup> 2000.

[Sd.]  
(for) Battalion Commander  
Intelligence Officer  
Light Infantry Battalion #xxx

*[Producing 100 thatch shingles within one day would be extremely difficult unless the village already has them on hand for their own houses.]*

---

### **Order #239 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

[To:] Head  
xxxx [village]

15-5-2000

For the use of yyyy Army Camp hill in rainy season, send 2 cartloads of firewood to arrive on 17-5-2000.

[Sd.] 15-5-2000  
**Stamp:** Member (1)  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township



**Order #240 (Papun)**

To: Stamp: Date: 26-5-2000  
Chairperson #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
xxxx village Column x

Subject: Informing *[you]* to meet the Column

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village must send 20 wooden posts / *wah boh* bamboo, 5 coconut tree seedlings, and 5 *ywa lah* flower plants to the Column on the 27<sup>th</sup> at 0800 hours without fail. If *[you]* fail, it will be the responsibility of the respective persons.

*[Sd.]*  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

[‘Wah boh’ is a particularly large variety of bamboo used mainly for building posts.]

**Order #241 (Papun)**

To: Head (Ko *aaaa*) 8-6-2000  
xxxx village

Now, as soon as you receive this letter, to build the camp within 4 days send the quota of (nipa palm) thatch, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
(for) Column Commander  
IB xx  
yyyy [*camp*]

*[The back bears the unit stamp: "Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion / Column x" and the officer has written "300 thatch".]*

**Order #242 (Papun)**

To: Head 8-6-2000  
xxxx [village]

As soon as you receive this letter now, for building the camp send the (thatch) quota within 4 days to yyyy camp, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Column Commander  
yyyy camp  
IB xx

*[The back of this order is stamped “Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion / Column x” and bears the address and the number ‘200’, probably the number of thatch shingles which the village is being ordered to send.]*

### **Order #243 (Papun)**

xxxx [village]:

23-7-2000

4"x2" - 23 feet (16 taun)	80 planks
5 x ¾ - 12 taun	250 "

[Sd.]

*[This is a brief order demanding 80 2-inch by 4-inch planks each 23 feet long, and 250 5-inch by ¾-inch planks each 18 feet long. 1 taun is 1½ feet or ½ metre.]*

---

### **Order #244 (Papun)**

Mother Daw aaaa:

3-8-2000

What is the unusual news? If [you] want to contact [us], write a letter and give it to the yyyy village head. Write on the envelope (Strategic Commander, yyyy camp) and seal the envelope properly.

What is the situation of the teaching school? Is there still teaching? Where are they teaching? Reply by letter. Do as you've been asked by cutting the wood for zzzz [Army Camp]. That is all.

[Unsigned]

Strategic Commander  
yyyy camp

---

### **Order #245 (Pa'an)**

16/8/2000

To: U aaaa Pagoda Trustee  
U bbbb Pagoda Trustee

Subject: To send cut wood

The Elders' village must send one ton of 5x2 wood, one ton of 6x2, and one ton of 4x2 to yyyy camp on 20/8/2000. U aaaa and U bbbb do not need to attend the meeting which I informed you of through U cccc from zzzz. Nine tons should be sent, but send 3 tons on 20/8/2000.

Start arranging it on 16/8/2000, then send it to the camp on 20/8/2000.

The Elders' xxxx area is exempted from clearing the ground, and is to take responsibility for wood instead.

Camp Commander [Sd.]

*[Pagoda trustees are villagers on a committee which takes the responsibility of caring for the local pagoda and monastery. 5x2, 6x2 and 4x2 are plank measurements in inches; the lengths are not specified here. This village is being forced to provide 9 tons of wood instead of doing forced labour 'clearing the ground', which means either clearing land for an Army camp or clearing scrub along the sides of a military road.]*

**Order #246 (Pa'an)**

To: Chairperson  
      xxxx village

Date: 16-8-2000

Subject: Come to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, the head yourself must come without fail to Battalion Headquarters on the 4<sup>th</sup> waning day of Wah Kaun month, 18-8-2000, Friday, to arrive at 1000, ten o'clock, you are informed.

Bring along the timber.

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Office

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Battalion Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[On the back this is addressed to the village head and marked "Acting Battalion Commander aaaa". It is a carbon copy with only the village name, stamp and signature added afterwards on the front.]*

---

**Order #247 (Papun)**

To: Head  
      xxxx [village]

Date: 24-8-00

With respect, writing to inform you as below.

If you receive my letter, help me with 100 pieces of bamboo *blaw* [a small type of bamboo often stuffed with sticky-rice which is then cooked inside it]. Come to send it to me tomorrow evening, because I really need it. Please help me.

**[Sd.] 24-8-00**  
Saw aaaa  
Liaison Officer  
Frontline Office, yyyy

*[This letter is written in a mixture of Sgaw Karen and Burmese, written by an SPDC officer who is Karen.]*

---

**Order #248 (Pa'an)**

To: Pagoda trustee and monthly village head

30-8-2000

Come to yyyy camp as soon as you receive this letter. Calling for the wood which is overdue to arrive. Bring the wood. Bring also chicken or fish.

Camp Commander, yyyy **[Sd.]**

xxxx [village]

Bring also yweh lah flowers.

### **Order #249 (Thaton)**

To:

9-9-2000

Daw aaaa (Chairperson, xxxx village)

U bbbb (Teacher bbbb, xxxx village)

How much of the wood which was requested by the Column have you gathered? Show it. Inform *[us]* quickly of which day you will be able to send it to yyyy village, you are informed.

***[Sd.] 9-9-2000***

Frontline LIB #xxx Column

*[On the back of this order many calculations have been written which appear to relate to log and plank sizes and numbers.]*

---

### **Order #250 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#xx Infantry Battalion

#x Company

Date: 13-9-2000

*[Village] Head, come to send 25 red cane [rattan-like, used to make furniture etc.] to arrive on 15-9-2000 at 10:00 in the morning at yyyy camp, you are informed.*

***[Sd.]***

(for) Company Commander

#x Company

Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion

*[On the back this is marked "To Head, xxxx village".]*

---

### **Order #251 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#xx Infantry Battalion

Company #x

Date: 13-9-2000

*[Village] Head, come to send 25 red cane [rattan-like, used to make furniture etc.] to arrive on 15-9-2000 at 10:00 in the morning at yyyy camp, you are informed.*

***[Sd.]***

(for) Company Commander

#x Company

Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion

*[This order makes the same request as Order #250 above, but was sent to the head of a different village.]*

**Order #252 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

To: Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

Subject: To send hill toddy [palm leaf] roofing

For the use of yyyy camp, send 500 shingles of hill toddy roofing on 15-9-2000 to yyyy camp, you are informed.

[Sd.]

---

**Order #253 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 17-9-2000

Subject: As soon as you receive this letter, you are informed to send 150 pieces of bamboo to the camp for repairing the camp for security by the deadline of the 20<sup>th</sup>.

[Sd.]

---

**Order #254 (Pa'an)**

To: Chairperson / Village head  
\_xxxx\_ village

Date: 25-9-2000

Subject: Requesting wood and bamboo

Regarding the above subject, to build a Strategic Command camp, the Elder's village must send 100 bamboo and 30 wooden posts to Deputy Warrant Officer aaaa, chief of the Battalion Cooperative [shop] of #xxx Light Infantry Battalion in yyyy. You are informed to send them by the deadline of 27-9-2000.

**Stamp:**

Military Operations Command

**[Unsigned]**

Headquarters Company Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

**Order #255 (Papun)**

To: **Stamp:**  
Chairperson #x Tactical Command  
xxxx village Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town 2-10-2000

Subject: Sending bamboo for fencing

For the use of yyyy Army Camp, send 200 (two hundred) pieces of fencing bamboo from xxxx village to yyyy Army Camp to arrive on 7-10-2000, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 2/10/2000**

[‘Fencing bamboo’ is bamboo split into almost-flat slabs and cut to length; they may also be required to sharpen one end to a point.]

**Order #256 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx Village

**Stamp:**  
#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

3-10-2000

Subject: Informing *[you]* to come to yyyy Army camp.

For the use of yyyy Army Camp send quickly 2 pieces of 3"x2" wood 12 *taun* [18 ft/6 m] long, and 4 pieces of 5"x3/4" wood 12 *taun* long, from xxxx village to yyyy Army Camp, and to coordinate and discuss the situation of the area, come to meet at yyyy Army camp on 4-10-2000 at 0900 hours, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 3-10-2000**

Coordinating Supervisor  
#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group

**Order #257 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 9-10-2000

Subject: To find *wah boh* bamboo for making bamboo water carriers

Regarding the above subject, bamboo water carriers are needed for the use of yyyy camp, so send quickly 5 *wah boh* bamboo from the Elder's village, you are informed.

**Stamp:**

#x Tactical Command	[ <i>Sd.</i> ] 9/10
Military Operations Control Group	(yyyy Camp officer in charge)
Kalay Town	

*[Bamboo water carriers are hollow segments of bamboo closed at one end, usually at least 6 inches (13 cm) in diameter and 2 to 3 feet (50 to 75 cm) long, which are tied together and used to carry water.]*

**Order #258 (Thaton)**

To: 12-10-2000  
U aaaa

Writing a letter to inform you that the tonnage of logs *[demanded]* is not yet complete. Get more to complete it.

yyyy *[camp]*  
Camp Commander  
bbbb

---

**Order #259 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson Date: 21-10-2000  
xxxx village

To build fences for the Battalion's security, xxxx village must send 500 bamboo to the front of the yyyy village chairperson's house on October 25<sup>th</sup> 2000. Your assistance is requested.

*[Sd.] 21/10/2000*  
Intelligence Sergeant  
LIB xxx

---

**Order #260 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson 27-10-2000  
xxxx village

Subject: To send posts

For the use of yyyy camp, send 30 posts, each 10 *taun* [15 feet/5 m] long, to arrive on 29-10-2000 at yyyy, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
**Stamp:** Control Supervisor  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group

### **Order #261 (Papun)**

To: xxxx Chairperson

2-11-2000

Son is writing with respect to Mother. Please accept Son and help me again. Help to get 150 bamboo tomorrow. Let me rely on you, Mother.

Mother,  
Son.

*[Sd.]*  
Camp Commander

Note: If a wooden raft is going downriver, report it to the camp first.

*[SPDC officers often address older village headwomen as 'Mother' and refer to themselves as 'Son'.]*

---

### **Order #262 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: Head - xxxx *[village]*

Date: 9-11-2000

Subject: The matter of giving firewood

Regarding the above subject, *[this comes]* from yyyy #x Military Strategic Command. To cook alms-food *[food for offerings]* for *nay ga za dtin*, send without fail 2 bullock cartloads of dry firewood, to arrive on 9-11-2000 at 10 o'clock. If *[you]* fail, the Head yourself must come to meet with the yyyy Army Camp commander, you are informed.

Note:

The Head yourself must come to send it.

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

---

### **Order #263 (Papun)**

To: Mother Daw aaaa

The kapok *[stuffing]* in the Tactical Commander's pillow is no good anymore, so we want to replace it with new kapok. Bring it with Mother today and come to meet with the Tactical Commander. The Tactical Commander wants to meet because he hasn't seen you in a long time.

*[Sd.] 12/11/2000*

*[Kapok is a cotton-like substance which grows in small balls as the fruit of the kapok tree; it is commonly used to stuff pillows and for other similar uses.]*



## Order #264 (Papun)

To: Chaiperson  
xxxx Village

**Stamp:**  
#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

Subject: Sending the bamboo for fencing

For the use of yyyy Army camp, send 150 bamboo for fencing from xxxx village to yyyy Army camp to arrive on 20-11-2000, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 16-11-2000**  
Control Supervisor  
#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group

[On the back is written: "xxxx [village]. [I] want to know the situation of the houses from zzzz. Inform and reply."]

**Order #265 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

Subject: To send bamboo for fencing

For the use of yyyy Army Camp, send 200 bamboo trees for fencing from xxxx village to yyyy Army Camp to arrive on 20-11-2000, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
**Stamp:** Control Supervisor  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group

*[This order was issued by the same camp as Order #264 above and with a similar demand, but was sent to a different village.]*

**Order #266 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**  
Light Infantry Battalion #xxx  
Battalion Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
\_\_\_\_\_/yyyy villages  
zzzz village tract

Date: 2-12-2000

Subject: Sending bamboo

The Elder's village is informed to send one hundred and fifty (150) pieces of bamboo for the use of Light Infantry Battalion #xxx to arrive at the Battalion on 6-12-2000 (Wednesday).

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Acting Battalion Commander

### **Order #267 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy Village

Date: 3-12-2000

To:  
Chairperson, xxxx village

To fence yyyy Army Camp, the specified villages must cut bamboo again. The villages are to send it on 4-12-2000, and continue to arrange and send 1,000 Kyat per day (video) and sentry fees (*set tha*) of 500 Kyat per day, you are informed.

*[Sd. 'U aaaa']*

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy Village, Papun Township

*[The "1,000 Kyat per day (video)" is not clarified and could have either of two meanings: either the villagers have a video machine and must pay 1,000 Kyat each time they use it, or the Army has a video machine to watch videos themselves, and they demand money from the village to finance it. The Army camp also demands forced labour as sentries but actually just wants money, not people - the villagers have to pay 500 Kyat per day not to send someone.]*

---

### **Order #268 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy village

Date: 4-12-2000

To:  
Chairperson, xxxx village

Once again *[we]* need bamboo for fencing the Army camp, so the villages specified must cut bamboo again. Send it to yyyy Army Camp on 5-12-2000, you are informed.

(U aaaa)

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

### **Order #269 (Thaton)**

Mother:

4-12-2000

*[We]* received only 500 *dtan wah* [*small-diameter bamboo, probably for fencing*] and *a'kyan wah* [*bamboo split lengthwise*] in all. The bamboo was small so cut 500 more bigger *a'kyan wah* and *dtan wah*.

I sent a letter for Teacher *aaaa* this morning with the tractor. Ask Teacher *aaaa* if he received / didn't receive it. Tell Teacher *aaaa* again to come to meet Captain with the money today. If it doesn't come today, *[it is]* no good. Mother, go and tell Teacher *aaaa* precisely.

Mother, go yourself to tell Teacher *aaaa* to come today for sure.

*[Sd.]*

Capt. *bbbb*  
yyyy Camp Commander

### **Order #270 (Pa'an)**

To: Village Head / Chairperson      Stamp:      yyyy  
     xxx village      Military Operations Command  
                                 LIB xxx

Subject: To send firewood

The firewood requested by Light Infantry Battalion xxx must be sent without fail on 17-12-2000. If [you] fail, you are informed that it will be the village head's responsibility.

Place: zzzz - www      [Sd.]  
Date: 13-12-2000      Adjutant Captain

[Handwritten note:] There is a meeting with village heads, so report to the Battalion at 11 o'clock in the morning.

[This is a typed order with the village name written in by hand, and a handwritten note on the bottom.]

---

### **Order #271 (Papun)**

Stamp:  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion      Mother, 100 thatch [shingles].  
     yyyy [base]      Come tomorrow at 6 o'clock.

                                 [Sd.]  
                                 Camp Commander  
                                 aaaa  
                                 yyyy camp

[This order was written in a quick and messy scrawl, probably in a hurry.]

---

### **Order #272 (Papun)**

U aaaa  
xxx [village]

House posts 9 taun [14 feet/4.5 m long], myaw [roof supports] 10 pieces, seh myaw [another type of roof supports] 8 taun [12 feet/4 m long], long myaw 70 pieces.

100 kyat thaung bamboo.

[This is a routine demand for building materials, unsigned and undated.]

## Set to a Village I: Village A, Papun District

All of these orders were sent to the same village in Papun District between August and October 2000 from the local authorities, SPDC Army and DKBA. Almost all of these are direct and indirect demands for forced labour. Rather than mixing them in with the other orders, we have presented them as a set to give an idea of the incessant stream of demands which village elders have to cope with. Take note of the dates on the orders, and you will see that the village receives order documents almost daily; yet these are only a subset of the orders received by the village during this time period.

Most of the demands are for porters to go with columns on patrol or to carry supplies to Army outposts. In this village they use 'emergency servant' (see for example Orders #274, 286 and 287) to mean forced portering for several days with a patrolling Army column, as opposed to the more routine demands to carry supplies to outlying posts which require one to two days each time.

In this area the SPDC military, primarily Light Infantry Battalion #xxx, demands porters and other forced labour through the village tract head, who has to notify each of the villages in the area to send their share of forced labourers; this is why most of the orders in this section have been sent by 'Chairperson, yyyy village' (the village tract head) instead of the Army. The smaller villages usually fail to send enough forced labourers on time in response to these orders, so in order to avoid punishment by the Army the village tract head, who lives in a much larger village, hires some day labourers to fill the demand and sends them to the Army, then sends letters to each small village demanding the money needed to pay their share of these workers when they return from their labour. Through constant repetition this has developed into a system; the Army dictates its demands to the village tract head, he demands the labour from the small villages, they don't send anyone so he hires people to go, then he demands 500 Kyat per day for each person he has hired, the total amount depending on the number of people originally demanded from the smaller village and the number of days they are kept by the Army. The problem is that the Army demands people almost every day, so the small villages run out of money and cannot pay. This results in desperate letters from the village tract head, who has to face the returning labourers demanding their promised payment or must pay them himself. In the end, he complains in Order #283, *"The amount of money [already owed for failure to send labourers] will increase if it takes any longer. If that happens, there will be a dispute between us. The amounts I have previously paid for have still not been returned to me yet. I am very sad that it doesn't work, even when I repeat it again and again. I would like to know if they will ever be returned to me or not. I want to know this. That's all."* Two weeks later, he says in Order #285, *"The Elder's village should send only people, don't deal with money. It is not good for the Elder or for me."* He reiterates this in Order #286, but the text of subsequent orders makes it clear that the small village is still trying to arrange money instead of people. If the village sends people every time it will be hard for them to work their fields and they will also have to risk facing the SPDC soldiers, so even if they cannot pay the money they still try to avoid going themselves.

This leaves the village tract head caught between the Army and the smaller villages. Sometimes a village tract head in such a situation can no longer keep supplying all the forced labour demanded, and when the Army comes to question him he sees no choice but to point them at the small villages, which can result in orders being issued to forcibly relocate the small villages, or the military storming and looting of small villages, the arrest of elders and the capture of

villagers to be porters. On August 24<sup>th</sup> 2000, the local Battalion Captain did come to see the village tract head because forced labour had not been sent; this resulted in Order #282, in which the village tract head called the smaller village heads to come *“yourselves to meet the Captain of xxx [Battalion]”*. Similarly, on August 16<sup>th</sup> the village tract head writes in Order #279: *“You are informed to come and meet with the xxx [Battalion] Commander as soon as you receive this letter. Why did you fail yesterday? The Commander informs you that if you fail today, he will take no responsibility.”*

---

### **Order #273 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

3-8-2000

Send one emergency servant for [LIB] xxx to the yyyy chairperson tonight. You are informed to do it as soon as you receive this letter.

Note: Bring the person yourself.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

---

### **Order #274 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

4-8-2000

- Yesterday's affair was not an emergency servant. It was carrying supplies to zzzz [an SPDC Army outpost]. Hired 1 person for U aaaa's village, so the Elder should arrange [payment] for 1 person quickly. Also arrange the balance for the previous 1 servant.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This is a letter from the village head to the head of a subvillage which follows up the demand from Order #273 above. The village did not send anyone, so the village tract hired someone to go in their place and is now demanding the money. In this village they use 'emergency servant' to mean forced portering for several days with a patrolling Army column, as opposed to the more routine demands to carry supplies to outlying posts which require one to two days each time. The military demands porters through the village tract and the demands are divided down among the villages. Villages can either send people or hire them; if no one goes, the village tract hires people to go and then charges the villages 500 Kyat per day for each person hired. This is further elaborated on in the text of the orders below.]*

**Order #275 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

4-8-2000

Subject: Informing you to arrange thatch for roofing

Regarding the above subject, Chairman's village must send 100 thatch [*shingles*] for roofing to U aaaa's house (yyyy [*village*]) by the date of 6-8-2000, you are informed. Do it without fail.

**[Sd.] Lt.**

Frontline Office  
yyyy Town  
Dee Kay Bee Ay [*DKBA*]

---

**Order #276 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa

5-8-2000

You are informed to come on 6-8-2000, tomorrow at 8 o'clock in the morning, to the Chairperson of yyyy. There are important matters to be discussed, so come without fail.

Note - Come without fail, as it is a very important matter.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

---

**Order #277 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa + U bbbb  
xxxx [*village*]

14-8-2000

If you cannot come today, come tomorrow, 15-8-2000, at 8 o'clock in the morning. The xxx Battalion Commander would like to discuss with you Elders. Come without fail, you are informed again.

Note: Bring the balance of the servants' money.

**[Sd.]**

Chairperson  
yyyy [*village*]

**Order #278 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa

14-8-2000

As soon as you receive this letter, come to the Chairperson. The #xxx Light Infantry Battalion Commander wants to meet. It is to meet with the Battalion Commander, so come without fail.

Note: Without fail. If you fail, it will be The Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]

Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

---

**Order #279 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa + U bbbb  
xxxx [village]

16-8-2000

You are informed to come and meet with the xxx [Battalion] Commander as soon as you receive this letter. Why did you fail yesterday? The Commander informs you that if you fail today, he will take no responsibility.

Bring the rest of the servants' money. Send an additional person to carry supplies to zzzz [camp] tomorrow (17-8-2000). Bring the balance for one person from 12-8-2000. Bring servants' money and supply-carrying money together.

[Sd.]

Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[The Commander 'will take no responsibility' means that the villagers will have only themselves to blame for whatever punishment the Commander decides to inflict on them.]*

---

**Order #280 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

20-8-2000

The Elder's village must send 2 loh ah pay workers, each with a machete, tomorrow on 21-8-2000 at 7 o'clock in the morning to yyyy for #xxx [LIB].

Note: Both male and female can come. Reply as to why you failed to send thatch today.

[Sd.]

Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

### **Order #281 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

21-8-2000

To clear the ground along the road from www to zzzz, The Elder's village must send one person from each family tomorrow, 22-8-2000, Tuesday morning at 6 o'clock, to www village.

Note: Without fail.

U aaaa yourself should  
lead the group.  
Send thatch for xxx [LIB] today  
without fail. The Army is asking.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[‘To clear the ground along the road’ means to clear all the scrub on both sides of the road to create an open ‘killing ground’ in order to protect SPDC troops from ambush and landmines.]*

---

### **Order #282 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa + U bbbb  
xxxx [village]

24-8-2000

Why did you fail *[to send]* the loh ah pay for #xxx [LIB] yesterday and today? I understand that you Elders have problems. Therefore I inform the Elders yourselves to meet the Captain of xxx [Battalion]. Come together with this messenger.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

---

### **Order #283 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa - U bbbb  
xxxx [village]

26-8-2000

For one day of carrying supplies for #xxx [LIB] to zzzz camp, Elders' village must send 2 loh ah pay people tomorrow at 6 o'clock in the morning to yyyy, you are informed. If they can't arrive by 6 o'clock in the morning on 27-8-2000, come to yyyy today at 6 o'clock and sleep here.

The amount of money *[already owed for failure to send labourers]* will increase if it takes any longer. If that happens, there will be a dispute between us. The amounts I have previously paid for have still not been returned to me yet *[the amounts he has paid to hire porters on the addressed village's behalf have still not been reimbursed to him by that village]*. I am very sad that it doesn't work, even when I repeat it again and again. I would like to know if they *[the sums of money]* will ever be returned to me or not. I want to know this. That's all.

*[Written sideways along the left margin:]* Need 60 thatch *[shingles]* for [LIB] xxx. Send them tomorrow.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]



### **Order #284 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

6-9-2000

Maung bbbb [another village elder of the recipient village] just sent 2,500 Kyat. U Maung bbbb said U aaaa has the remaining money of 3,500.

Therefore, send the rest of the money, 3,500 Kyat, with this messenger U cccc. Here there are a lot of difficulties, so do it without fail.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

---

### **Order #285 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

11-9-2000

The Elder's village must send 2 loh ah pay people to carry supplies for [LIB] xxx. You are informed to send them to yyyy before 5 o'clock in the afternoon today. The Elder's village should send only people, don't deal with money. It is not good for the Elder or for me.

Note: Send people. They should be male, females are not accepted.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[Usually instead of sending the porters demanded almost daily by LIB xxx, the recipient village has been leaving it to the head of the garrison village to hire people in their place, and he then demands money from them which they usually are very slow in paying. 'Send only people, don't deal with money' means that the head of the garrison village no longer wants to do this, and is now insisting that the forced labourers be sent as demanded.]*

---

### **Order #286 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

12-9-2000

It is not for carrying supplies. It is emergency servants, and will take about 3 days. Therefore, The Elder's village should send 2 servants with 3 days' supplies today or tomorrow.

I do not want to deal with money affairs. [I] Want people. There are different types of people, so it is not good to solve it with money. In future, send people. Right now, [you] are hiring people because of your difficulties [in sending people], so send the money for hiring as quickly as possible.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*['I do not want to deal with money affairs' means that the head of the garrison village is insisting that in future the recipient village send people for the forced labour, not money.]*

*However, this last time he is prepared to accept money instead of people because he knows the recipient village has difficulty sending forced labourers. See also Order #285 above.]*

---

### **Order #287 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

18-9-2000

The emergency servants returned today. They took 7 days. Arrange the amount [of money] for 2 persons for 7 days. Send it with tomorrow's loh ah pay people. The Elder's village should come and contribute labour to make fences for [LIB] xxx.

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This order relates to the forced labourers demanded in Order #286 above. The demand was for 2 people to go for 3 days 'emergency servant' (portering) labour for a column of LIB xxx going out on extended patrol. The receiving village did not send anyone, so the head of the garrison village hired people to go in their place. The SPDC column then held these labourers for 7 days instead of the 3 days they had specified (this is normal practice). Now that the labourers have been released they want their payment for 7 days from the village head of the garrison village, so he is in turn demanding it from the village which was originally ordered to provide the forced labour.]*

---

### **Order #288 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

28-9-2000

In accordance with the duty assignments from [LIB] xxx, you are informed to send 1 wah boh bamboo 13 taun in length from each family to Sergeant bbbb of [LIB] xxx, tomorrow, Friday on 29-9-2000 at 7 o'clock in the morning.

Note: The whole village - bring machetes and rice packs along.

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*['Wah boh' is a species of large bamboo used in building; 13 'taun' is 21 feet/7 metres in length. The 'note' makes it clear that one person from each family must come to carry their piece of bamboo to the Army camp and will then have to remain there to do forced labour building or fencing. The other orders in this set imply that the work involved is building fences around the Army camp. This order was followed by Order #289 the following day.]*

### **Order #289 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

29-9-2000

No one came for today's *loh ah pay*. Therefore, one person from each family together with one *wah boh* bamboo, machetes, and rice packs, must go to xxx Battalion and contribute labour tomorrow, 30-9-2000, without fail. You are informed again. If you fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

[This order relates to the demand made in Order #288.]

---

### **Order #290 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

2-10-2000

The Elder's village must send 3 male *loh ah pay* people today at 3 o'clock in the afternoon to the yyyy chairperson. It is *loh ah pay* for [LIB] xxx and Elder U aaaa is informed to come along.

Note: Come yourself.  
Will take no responsibility if you fail.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

[ 'Will take no responsibility if you fail' means that he will not try to protect the recipient village from the wrath of the LIB xxx officers. See also Order #291 below.]

### **Order #291 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

8-10-2000

The 3 servants took 5 days, and it cost 7,500 Kyat. 6,000 Kyat was given already, so send the remaining money, 1,500 Kyat, tomorrow without fail.

The hired persons have returned, so arrange it for them.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This relates to the demand for forced labour in Order #290 above. Instead of sending the 3 people demanded by LIB xxx, the village sent 6,000 Kyat to the village head of the garrison village to hire 3 people to go for them. He did so, but the Army held them for longer than expected so he is now demanding the balance of payment from the other village head. The recipient village has to pay for the hired substitutes at a rate of 500 Kyat per person per day, totalling 7,500 Kyat (3 people for 5 days) in this case. This was followed up by Order #292 below.]*

---

### **Order #292 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

10-10-2000

As soon as you receive this letter, send immediately the rest of the money, 1,500 Kyat. The people who were hired are asking for it every day. U aaaa should try to see it from my side. Therefore, send it today without fail. If things are not going smoothly, [I] will try a method to make it smooth. Don't blame it on me this time.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This followed 2 days after Order #291 above. The village has still not sent the 1,500 still owed to the hired labourers, and they have been asking the village head of the garrison village for it.]*

### **Order #293 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

12-10-2000

To send supplies from #xxx [LIB] to zzzz [camp], The Elder's [your] village needs to send 2 supply carriers to yyyy on 13-10-2000, tomorrow, at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed. If [you want to] hire, inform me in time.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[Once again, the village head of the garrison village gives the recipient village the option of sending forced labour or paying him to hire people to go in their place.]*

---

### **Order #294 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

20-10-2000

On 19-10-2000 at 9 o'clock in the evening, #xxx [LIB] called for 1 emergency servant. As there was no time to call the Elder's [your] village, yyyy village hired one as a substitute for the Elder's village. I don't know how many days it will be. To discuss this matter, the Elder yourself should come and meet with me, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*['I don't know how many days it will be' means that he does not even know how long the Army will keep the forced labourer, and the amount owed by the addressed village will depend on the number of days when it comes time to pay the labourer. The answer is given in Order #295 below.]*

---

### **Order #295 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

23-10-2000

The servant for 19-10-2000 took 2 days. One person from the Elder's village costs 1,000 Kyat. Therefore you are informed to send it without fail today or tomorrow.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[See Order #294 above. The recipient village has to pay for the hired substitute at a rate of 500 Kyat per person per day, totalling 1,000 Kyat (1 person for 2 days) in this case.]*

## **Set to a Village II:** **Village B, Papun District**

All of these orders were sent to the same village in Papun District between July and October 2000 from the local authorities, SPDC Army and DKBA. Most of these are direct and indirect demands for forced labour. Rather than mixing them in with the other orders, we have presented them as a set to give an idea of the incessant stream of demands which village elders have to cope with. Take note of the dates on the orders, and you will see that the village receives order documents almost daily; yet these are only a subset of the orders received by the village during this time period.

Many of the demands are for porters to go with columns on patrol or to carry supplies to Army outposts. In this village they use 'emergency servant' (see for example Orders #306 and 323) to mean forced portering for several days with a patrolling Army column, as opposed to the more routine demands to carry supplies to outlying posts which require one to two days each time.

The content of this set is similar to those in "*Set to a Village I*" above. In this area the SPDC military, primarily Light Infantry Battalion #xxx, demands porters and other forced labour through the village tract head, who has to notify each of the villages in the area to send their share of forced labourers; this is why most of the orders in this section have been sent by 'Chairperson, yyyy village' (the village tract head) instead of the Army. The smaller villages usually fail to send enough forced labourers on time in response to these orders, so in order to avoid punishment by the Army the village tract head, who lives in a much larger village, hires some day labourers to fill the demand and sends them to the Army, then sends letters to each small village demanding the money needed to pay their share of these workers when they return from their labour. Through constant repetition this has developed into a system; the Army dictates its demands to the village tract head, he demands the labour from the small villages, they don't send anyone so he hires people to go, then he demands 500 Kyat per day for each person he has hired, the total amount depending on the number of people originally demanded from the smaller village and the number of days they are kept by the Army. Examples of this system in operation can be seen below in Orders #319, 328, and 333 through 335. The problem is that the Army demands people almost every day, so the small villages run out of money and cannot pay. This results in desperate letters from the village tract head, who has to face the returning labourers demanding their promised payment or must pay them himself. In Order #329 he writes, "*Send the servants' money with this messenger. Think of the hired carriers. They are asking the Chairperson every day [for their money].*" In Order #305 he complains, "*Try to get the hiring money for the previous 2 servants within 3 days. I'm in bad circumstances and can't wait any longer.*" As a result, he tries to insist that the village send people, not money, as in Order #323: "*I prefer not to deal with money, and prefer to get people. Dealing with money is not good my friend, as there are different kinds of people.*" This is reiterated in Orders #325 and 330 with statements such as "*Send people only, [I] do not want money.*" This village does send actual labourers much more often than Village A in "*Set to a Village I*", but they still try to avoid sending people whenever possible because the villagers need to work their fields and do not dare face the soldiers. The village tract head is often placed in a difficult situation when the small villages do not send forced labour but he has no money to hire replacements. If no one is sent the Army comes to the village tract head for an explanation, and if he blames it on the smaller villages then they will be forcibly relocated, stormed by the Army or otherwise punished. This is what is meant in Order #327 when the village tract head calls for 8 people to do forced labour for LIB xxx and writes, "*Bring them yourself. If you fail, [I] will take no responsibility.*"

Along with portering, this village is also ordered to do other forms of forced labour such as clearing scrub to create open ‘killing grounds’ along the roadsides (Order #316) and growing rice for the Army (Orders #297, 305, and 317). In these cases they generally have to send large numbers of people and cannot pay to get out of it. The rice farming is usually on good farmland which the Army has taken from the villagers without compensation. The villagers are then forced to plant the crop, sometimes even using their own seed, tend and weed the crop through the growing season, then harvest, thresh and winnow it. The entire crop is then taken by the Battalion for its own use or for the officers to sell for their personal profit. Order #317 of August 23<sup>rd</sup> 2000 calls for 10 villagers to go for forced labour weeding the Army ricefield. August is normally “weeding time” in rice fields, so the villagers would all be busy with their own fields and no one complied. When no villagers showed up, Order #318 was issued, demanding that they come to explain to the Battalion Quartermaster Captain. At this point, the villagers would have little choice but to go and perform the labour as demanded.

This set also includes demands for various items, particularly large quantities of durian and mangosteen fruits (Orders #299, 301 and 302). These fruits are hard to obtain in the large quantities demanded, so the village notified the village tract head that they could not comply on time. He replied with Order #301, which shows the inflexibility of Army demands: ***“Friend, I completely understand your problem, but it is very important. It can’t be that we don’t get the durians and mangosteens today. If 20 durians and 200 mangosteens do not reach them today at 11 o’clock, would U aaaa yourself go and explain to the Strategic Command?”*** When the village finally managed to comply after several days the Battalion immediately came back with another order for the same quantity again. The second time they offered some money, but the amount is no more than 20% of the value of the fruit they have demanded.

---

### **Order #296 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

11-7-2000

To carry supplies from Battalion xxx to zzzz Camp, be informed that the Elder’s village must send 2 people tomorrow at 6 o’clock in the morning to the yyyy Chairperson.

If hiring [*if you want to hire someone to go for you*], send 1,000 Kyat for 2 persons with this messenger. xxxx Chairperson, Adjutant Captain from [*LIB*] xxx wants a discussion, so come today or tomorrow, 12-7-2000, at 10 o’clock.

[*Written sideways down the left margin:*] **Note:** The carrying of supplies will be for one day.

**[Sd.]**  
Chairperson

### **Order #297 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

17-7-2000

To grow rice for the Strategic Command, send 4 *loh ah pay* farmers from the Elder's village to yyyy tomorrow, 18-7-2000, Tuesday, at 6 o'clock, you are informed.

Note: Without fail.

Send servants' money today. The hired persons are asking *[for it]*.

*[Sd.]*

**Stamp:** Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council

yyyy village, Papun township

*[The 'servants' money' refers to money which the village still owes to pay for substitutes who already did forced labour in their place.]*

---

### **Order #298 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

20-7-2000

To move rice from the Army supply depot storehouse, the Elder's village must send 3 *loh ah pay* people to yyyy tomorrow, 21-7-2000, at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note - Send them without fail.

Send today the remaining money for 2 servants. Elder, come yourself.

*[Sd.]*

Chairperson

yyyy [village]

*[This order was followed up by Order #300 below.]*

---

### **Order #299 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

21-7-2000

Send 20 good, big and nice durians and 200 mangosteens tomorrow, 22-7-2000, at 8 o'clock in the morning to the Chairperson's house or the Strategic Command. They are for the Strategic Command and it is important, so send without fail. If you fail to do so, the Elder yourself should go and explain, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*

Chairperson

yyyy [village]

*[Durians are seasonal and highly valued fruit which weigh 1 to 5 kilograms (2 to 10 pounds) each, while mangosteens are small, sweet and expensive seasonal fruit. See also Order #301.]*



### **Order #300 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa

22-7-2000

The 3 *loh ah* pay people for yesterday didn't come. Don't [you] care? Send 6 people today as soon as you receive this letter. Male or female is acceptable. It will be okay if you don't send them, but [I] will take no responsibility for your problems in coming.

Aren't you sending the remaining servants' money? If not, reply.

Send 20 durians and  
200 mangosteens as well.  
The Strategic Command has asked.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This order was a follow-up to Order #298 above, and also gives a reminder about the durians and mangosteens demanded in Order #299.]*

---

### **Order #301 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa

22-7-2000

Friend, I completely understand your problem, but it is very important. It can't be that we don't get the durians and mangosteens today. If 20 durians and 200 mangosteens do not reach them today at 11 o'clock, would U aaaa yourself go and explain to the Strategic Command?

[Sd.]  
**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

*[This followed Order #299 above. The village head has clearly notified the head of the garrison village that he cannot supply the durians and mangosteens as demanded (these are both expensive fruits which are not always easy to obtain). This places the head of the larger village in difficulty, because the Army has insisted they be delivered today. See also Order #302 below.]*

### **Order #302 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

25-7-2000

Sending 1,200 Kyat with this messenger. Tomorrow, keep 200 big and nice mangosteens and 20 durians as nice as today's at U aaaa's house. Will send a messenger to fetch them. Do it without fail.

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This followed Orders #299 and 301 above. Now that the village has finally managed to gather and send, possibly at great expense, the durians and mangosteens demanded 4 days earlier, the Army tastes them, likes them, and immediately demands the same number again for the next day. Given the number demanded, the Army officers may be selling them. This time some money is being sent, but 1,200 Kyat is no more than 10% of the value of the fruit demanded.]*

---

### **Order #303 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

27-7-2000

Send 3 loh ah pay people tomorrow, 28-7-2000 at 6 o'clock, to carry supplies to zzzz [Army Camp].

Note: Send people only.  
Without fail.

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[‘Send people only’ means not to send money to hire people as substitutes.]*

---

### **Order #304 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

31-7-2000

Send 3 persons to carry supplies for a one day trip tomorrow, 1-8-2000, at 6 o'clock in the morning, to the Chairperson, you are informed. Send money for the previous 3 persons. If possible, bring it yourself.

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[The ‘previous 3 persons’ refers to the forced labourers demanded in Order #303. Clearly the village did not send those people as demanded, so the head of the larger village had to hire 3 substitutes to send to the Army.]*

### **Order #305 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

1-8-2000

Send 5 people to grow the Strategic Command's rice on 2-8-2000, tomorrow at 7 o'clock in the morning, to the yyyy Chairperson, you are informed.

Note - Without fail.

Try to get the hiring money for the previous 2 servants within 3 days. I'm in bad circumstances and can't wait any longer.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[To 'grow the Strategic Command's rice' means forced labour growing rice for the Army on land they have confiscated from the villagers. The 'hiring money' is money which the village owes for hiring 2 people who already did a shift of forced labour in their place.]*

---

### **Order #306 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

4-8-2000

The letter sent this morning said 'emergency servant' but it is not. It is carrying supplies to zzzz [Army camp]. They left at 8 o'clock this morning. Hired 2 persons for U aaaa's village. Therefore, send [money] for 2 persons with this messenger. Do it quickly for the previous 2 servants too.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

### **Order #307 (Papun)**

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

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

4-8-2000

Subject: To arrange thatch for roofing

Regarding the above subject, you are informed to send 100 thatch [shingles] for roofing from xxxx village to the Chairperson's house by the date of 6/8/2000. Without fail.

[Sd.] Lt.  
Frontline Office  
yyyy Town  
Dee Kay Bee Ay

*[This DKBA order is written in Burmese. On the back, it is addressed to the village specified and marked 'Army Affairs'. The village head has also written on the back a list of village names]*

*and quantities of rice, beans, chillies and sugar, probably amounts they were forced to hand over to the SPDC or DKBA.]*

---

**Order #308 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

5-8-2000

Yesterday I hired 2 people to carry supplies [for the Army]. Therefore, send 1,000 Kyat with this messenger. Do it for the previous 2 servants too.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

---

**Order #309 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

5-8-2000

To discuss very important matters, come to the yyyy chairperson tomorrow, 6-8-2000 at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note - Very important matter.

[Sd.]  
**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

---

**Order #310 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

8-8-2000

Come quickly to the yyyy chairperson as soon as you receive this letter. There is one more trip to carry supplies to the hills. The quota is 8 sacks as before.

Note - Without fail.

To continue hiring, bring the money along.  
Will hire from Papun. My guys can't do it anymore. They ask 2,000 per sack.  
Come yourself if possible.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[‘The quota’ means they must provide enough people to carry 8 sacks of rice to the SPDC hill outpost. The village tract chairperson is saying that the people he usually hires to go in place of the villagers are too tired to do this trip, so he'll have to hire people from Papun town and they are asking to be paid 2,000 Kyat per sack carried.]*

**Order #311 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa

11-8-2000

The Elder's village must send 2 people tomorrow, 12-8-2000 at 6 o'clock in the morning, to carry supplies to zzzz [Army camp], you are informed.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

---

**Order #312 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

13-8-2000

The Battalion Commander of #xxx Light Infantry Battalion would like to discuss with the Elder, so come to the Chairperson's house on 14-8-2000, tomorrow at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

As U aaaa was told before, bring the remaining servants' fees.

Note - Without fail.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

---

**Order #313 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa

16-8-2000

Send 3 people from the Elder's village to carry supplies to zzzz [Army camp] on 17-8-2000.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

[This was followed by Order #314 the following day.]

### **Order #314 (Papun)**

To:    U aaaa  
          xxxx [village]

17-8-2000

[You] Were informed yesterday to send 3 people today to carry supplies. Didn't you receive the letter yesterday? The supply group climbed this morning. It was for a one day trip.

Send without fail.

Inquire into that other affair.  
Inform the zzzz village head  
to meet with [LIB] xxx.  
The Battalion is angry now.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This followed the day after Order #313. 'The supply group climbed this morning' means the forced labour porters left to carry the Army supplies to the hill outpost.]*

---

### **Order #315 (Papun)**

To:    U aaaa  
          xxxx [village]

20-8-2000

Send 5 loh ah pay people for [LIB] xxx. Both male and female are acceptable. You are informed to send them, each with a machete, to yyyy on 21-8-2000, tomorrow at 7 o'clock in the morning.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

### **Order #316 (Papun)**

To:    U aaaa  
          xxxx [village]

21-8-2000

To clear the ground along the vvvv - wwww road, send one person from each family from the Elder's village to yyyy on 22-8-2000, Tuesday, tomorrow at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[‘To clear the ground’ means to sweep for landmines and clear the scrub over a wide swath along both sides of the road to create a ‘killing zone’.]*

### **Order #317 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

23-8-2000

To cut the grass from [LIB] xxx's ricefield, the Elder's village must send 10 loh ah pay people to yyyy on 24-8-2000, tomorrow at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note: Without fail. If you fail, the Elder's village must plough the fields with 3 buffaloes.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[To 'cut the grass' means to weed the field, which is standard practice at this time of year, halfway through the growing cycle. Of course, villagers are very busy weeding their own fields at this time, but the Army still demands that they do all the work of rice farming for them. This order was followed by Order #318 below.]*

---

### **Order #318 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

24-8-2000

[Your village] failed to come yesterday and today to contribute loh ah pay for [LIB] xxx. Why? I know the Elder's village has been [busy] growing rice. Therefore, the Elder yourself should come to discuss and explain to the xxx [Battalion] Quartermaster Captain. The Quartermaster Captain has just arrived at my house. Come and meet the Quartermaster Captain as soon as you receive this letter.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This order followed the day after Order #317 above.]*

---

### **Order #319 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

26-8-2000

Send 4 people to yyyy tomorrow, 27-8-2000 at 6 o'clock in the morning, to carry supplies from [LIB] xxx to zzzz [camp], for one day's trip. If hiring [if you want to hire someone to go for you], send the money to hire together with this messenger.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

### **Order #320 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

27-8-2000

*[I] Would like to know if xxxx [village] will take responsibility for the no-moon day donations to the monks. Reply so that [I] can arrange it tomorrow when I go to the monastery [he will tell the monks].*

*[The money] To carry supplies today was given, but not fully yet. Will continue tomorrow. Bring [money] for 4 persons tomorrow when coming to the monastery.*

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[Instead of sending 4 people as porters as demanded (see Order #319), xxxx village sent money to hire 4 substitutes for one day, but the labour will be for more than one day. 'Will continue tomorrow' means that the forced labour will continue for at least another day, so xxxx village will still have to pay for whatever number of additional days the Army keeps the workers.]*

---

### **Order #321 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

11-9-2000

Send 5 loh ah pay people from the Elder's village to yyyy today at 5 o'clock in the afternoon to carry supplies for [LIB] xxx, you are informed. If hiring *[if you want to hire people to go in your place]*, send the money with this messenger. Reply to me what you will do.

Note - Without fail.

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

### **Order #322 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

12-9-2000

The Captain from [LIB] xxx would like to discuss with the Elder, so you are informed to come on 13-9-2000, tomorrow at 11 o'clock in the morning.

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]



### **Order #323 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

12-9-2000

Yesterday's [call for forced labour] was not for carrying supplies, it was emergency servants and will take about 3 days. Arrange [money to pay] for 4 persons for 3 days, so that when the hired persons return it can be given immediately.

I prefer not to deal with money, and prefer to get people. Dealing with money is not good my friend, as there are different kinds of people. It doesn't matter that [you] failed to give the full moon day donations for Taw Tha Lay month.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This order followed the day after Order #321. 'Carrying supplies' usually means 1 day of forced labour carrying loads to a hill Army outpost, but 'emergency servants' means forced labour as porters with a mobile patrol for several days. The village failed to send people to meet the demand, so the head of the larger village has hired 4 people to go in their place and promised them payment on their return. See Order #324, which followed a week later.]*

---

### **Order #324 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

19-9-2000

The servants arrived [back from carrying] on 18-9-2000 in the evening, and it took 7 days. Therefore bring the fees tonight or tomorrow.

To make fences for [LIB] xxx, xxxx [village] failed to reach the toilets [the fence built by the village was supposed to reach the toilets but didn't]. zzzz [village] has few families and is widely scattered, so come to meet with me to discuss this matter.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This order relates to the forced labour demanded in Orders #321 and 323. Now that the 4 hired porters have arrived back, the village which was originally ordered to send them is supposed to pay them for their 7 days of labour. In addition, the village is being ordered to finish some fencing forced labour they did at the Army camp which the Army found unsatisfactory.]*

### **Order #325 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

28-9-2000

To carry supplies from [LIB] xxx to zzzz camp, the Elder's village must send 3 *loh ah pay* people to the yyyy chairperson on 29-9-2000, tomorrow at 6 o'clock in the morning, without fail, you are informed. Send people only, [I] do not want money.

I heard that U aaaa did not give the rest of the money, 3,000 Kyat. It will be okay.

Note:

If you can't make it tomorrow at 6 o'clock,  
Come and sleep at yyyy .

[Sd.]

Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

---

### **Order #326 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

28-9-2000

In accordance with the assignments given by [LIB] xxx, the Elder's village must send 1 *wah boh* bamboo 13 *taung* [21 feet] in length from each family, and contribute *loh ah pay* to Battalion xxx on 29-9-2000, tomorrow, Friday.

Note: Each should bring one *wah boh* bamboo, a machete and a rice pack, and report to Sergeant bbbb of #xxx [Battalion] on 29-9-2000, Friday, at 7 o'clock.

[Sd.]

Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This is actually demanding one person per family as forced labour, not just one piece of bamboo per family. The work is most likely fencing or other building at the Army camp.]*

---

### **Order #327 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

2-10-2000

To contribute *loh ah pay* for [LIB] xxx, the Elder yourself should bring 8 male *loh ah pay* people from your village to the yyyy chairperson today at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, you are informed.

Note: Bring them yourself. If you fail, [I] will take no responsibility.

[Sd.]

Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[ 'Will take no responsibility' means that the head of the large village will not try to protect the smaller village from the Army if they fail to comply with this order.]*

### **Order #328 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

8-10-2000

Send the servants' fees tomorrow. The hired servants have returned.

4 days - 3 persons	6,000 [Kyat]
5 days - 2     "	<u>5,000 [Kyat]</u>
Total	11,000 Kyat
Advance payment	<u>2,000</u>
	9,000 Kyat only

Send it tomorrow, 9-10-2000, without fail.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[As usual, the recipient village has failed to send the forced labourers demanded by the Battalion so the head of the main village has hired people to go in their place. Now the porters have been released and must be paid by the villagers, so the small village is being ordered to pay.]*

---

### **Order #329 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

10-10-2000

Send the servants' money with this messenger. Think of the hired carriers. They are asking the Chairperson every day *[for their money]*. If you cannot send the money, U aaaa yourself should come and meet the Chairperson.

If you fail to resolve this today and if *[I]* have to resolve it in another way, don't blame it on me.

Would like to know how much		[Sd.]
donation money you will assist		Chairperson
with for Thadin Kyut.		yyyy [village]

*[This order relates to the money demanded in Order #328 above to pay porters who were hired to go for forced labour in place of the villagers. Thadin Kyut is a month in which there is a major Buddhist festival at the full moon, which occurred on October 12<sup>th</sup> 2000.]*

---

### **Order #330 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

12-10-2000

To send supplies from *[LIB]* xxx to zzzz camp, the Elder's village must send 4 loh ah pay people to the yyyy chairperson on 13-10-2000, tomorrow at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note: People themselves must come. *[i.e. don't send money.]*

*[This order is unsigned, but is clearly in the handwriting of the same village tract PDC head who issued most of the other orders in this section.]*

**Order #331 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

Democratic Karen Buddhist Organisation

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

Date: 12-10-2000

Elephant owners from xxxx village and the Chairperson yourself must come and meet at zzzz tomorrow at 9:00 without fail, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** [illegible] (Captain)

Secretary-1

Organising Committee, yyyy District

---

**Order #332 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

18-10-2000

The servant fees of 3,000 [Kyat] for 11-9-2000 and servant fees of 2,000 [Kyat] for 2-10-2000, totalling 5,000 Kyat, should be arranged with this messenger. If [you] fail to arrange it, come to the Chairperson tomorrow, 19-10-2000, at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed. If [you] fail, it will be your responsibility.

**[Sd.]**

Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[These 'fees' are the money to hire substitutes for the Army forced labour demanded in Orders #321 (11-9-2000) and 327 (2-10-2000) respectively.]*

---

**Order #333 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

20-10-2000

On 19-10-2000 at 9 o'clock in the evening, [LIB] xxx called for emergency servants and I hired [some] on behalf of the Elder's village. Therefore, send the hiring money with this messenger. It is for 2 servants. To discuss with me the matter of the previous balance in money and these emergency 2 people, the Elder yourself should come without fail, you are informed for the last time. Don't put the blame on me in the future.

**[Sd.]**

Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[After the forced labour was finished, this was followed by Order #334.]*

### **Order #334 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

23-10-2000

The emergency servants of the night of 19-10-2000 took 2 days. Send 2,000 Kyat today for 2 people for U aaaa's village. With the previous balance of 2,000 Kyat, the total will be 4,000 Kyat. Send it together. U aaaa, please think of me too.

The Army called them for 2 days exactly. I heard that you have been travelling. If you go somewhere, hand over your duties to someone. Come and meet me in advance, too. [I] Would like to discuss in advance before meeting with the Army. Yesterday the D.K.B.A. came and waited [positioned themselves around the village]. I told them to go easily [on the villagers].

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

*[This relates to the forced labour mentioned in Order #333 above. The Army took 2 people and kept them for 2 days, so at 500 Kyat per person per day the total is 2,000 Kyat. The 'previous balance' refers to money still owed relating to previous forced labour demands.]*

---

### **Order #335 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

27-10-2000

Send 2 emergency servants as soon as [you] receive this letter. If hiring [if you want to hire people to go in your place], send the hiring fees together with this messenger. [I] Prefer to get people if available.

Note: Don't be later than 12 o'clock noon today.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy [village]

## **Set to a Village III:** **Demands for Logs in Thaton District**

All of these orders were sent to the same village in Thaton District between August and October 2000, and all of them relate to demands for teak wood. The local SPDC officers demand the logs on a regular basis, then force the local sawmill owners to mill them without payment, and sell them for personal profit. In December 2000 Order #434 demanding more teak planks was also received by the same village, but we have included it under the ***“Education”*** section below because it claims to be for the purpose of building a school (though Army officers frequently make such claims and then sell the wood for their own profit). As with ***‘Set to a Village I’*** and ***‘Set to a Village II’***, these orders are separated here to give some idea of the incessant stream of demands placed on a single village.

Though the village headwoman is sick, the local Camp Commander, an Army Captain, demands 3 tons of teak logs from her village and the same from two other villages at the same time (see Order #338). Orders #339 and 340 make it clear that the village is having a hard time complying, but they manage to do so one ton at a time. However, on receipt of the wood the Captain sent out Order #341 complaining that ***“the wood which Mother sent is small and we could not mill it. If we cut it, we will get only scrap. Much of it is thay pote [dalbergia kurzii, a large tree with malodorous wood] and other kinds, and they are small and crooked. The wood you sent makes it look like you just did it to fulfil your duty. ... Send 2 tons of big teak to arrive on 20-10-2000. Send it quickly, before that date.”*** He followed this with Order #342, adding, ***“There are over 80 houses in Mother’s village, ask one piece of wood from each house and if you gather it you can get one ton of teak planks. If you have a problem sending logs, send one ton of teak planks.”*** In both orders, he makes it clear that if the headwoman wants to take back the wood she already sent, ***“You can have it”***. However, after the village had sent him his big teak by the deadline and taken back their 3 tons of “small” logs, he immediately sent out Order #343 demanding the “small” logs back again because ***“we need them for an emergency”***. In the end this village had to supply 6 tons of wood in the space of 2 weeks, 3 tons of it big teak logs, and they had to cut and haul 3 tons of big teak logs to the Army camp, and 3 tons of smaller logs to the Army camp, then back to the village, then back to the Army camp again. They had to do all of this while the village headwoman was sick.

However, this is not the end of the demands. Other demands to this same village during this same time period are included in the other sections of this report. As can be seen in Order #337 below, they also face demands to take their elephants to haul logs to the road for the Army, and to provide tractors free of charge to haul the same logs along the road to the sawmills. The sawmill owners who are summoned to the Army camp by Order #336 are then told to mill the logs into planks, also free of charge. All of this goes to the personal profit of the SPDC officers.

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### **Order #336 (Thaton)**

<b><u>Stamp:</u></b>	22-8-2000	
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion	To:	
Column x Office	Chairperson (xxxx village)	

The Column Commander wants to meet the sawmill owners from xxxx village, so gather and send them today to arrive at yyyy village, you are informed.

***[Sd.] 22-8-2000***  
Frontline LIB #xxx Column

### **Order #337 (Thaton)**

To: U aaaa (Elephant owner, xxxx village)

27-8-2000

When U aaaa's elephant arrives at yyyy village, pull the *thay pote* [*dalbergia kurzii*, a large tree with malodorous wood] logs that have been cut near yyyy village to the road using the elephant. [We] will take the logs along the road using Ko bbbb's tractor. When the elephant arrives at yyyy village, pull all of the *thay pote* logs that have been cut to the road, you are informed.

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column [illegible] office

[Sd.] 27-8-2000  
Frontline LIB #xxx Column

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### **Order #338 (Thaton)**

Mother [Village] Head  
xxxx Village

I received the letter and the goods that Mother sent. Mother didn't come this morning, so Son's leader has asked Mother's assistant to give three tons of logs from Mother's village to Son. We have demanded [logs] from vvvv and wwwv villages [as well]. Send three tons of logs from Mother's village to arrive on 3-10-2000. For Mother, I have sent milk and bottled tonic. When Mother is healthier come to visit me for a while. If there are any unusual things reply by letter with the emergency [servants] who will come tomorrow.

[Sd.]  
Captain aaaa  
zzzz Camp  
1-10-2000

[SPDC officers often refer to older village headwomen as 'Mother' and to themselves as 'Son'. 'The emergency servants who will come tomorrow' refers to a group of forced labourers which the headwoman has been ordered to send to the camp the following day.]

---

### **Order #339 (Thaton)**

To:

Mother [Village] Head  
xxxx Village

Mother, Son is writing a letter, send the wood quickly that was asked from Mother. [You] have to continue to send it to yyyy [village] by any available long-tail boat. Get it tomorrow and send some wood quickly. If Mother is healthier, come to visit.

zzzz Camp Commander  
[Sd.]  
Captain aaaa  
7-10-2000

### **Order #340 (Thaton)**

Mother [Village] Head  
xxxx [village]

Received the one ton of logs that you sent yesterday.  
Send the rest of the logs to arrive today. Mother, don't come [yourself]. Just send the logs.

[Sd.]  
Captain aaaa  
zzzz Camp Commander  
9-10-2000

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### **Order #341 (Thaton)**

Mother [Village] Head  
xxxx Village

Writing a letter to inform Mother Head that the wood which Mother sent is small and we could not mill it. If we cut it, we will get only scrap. Much of it is *thay pote [dalbergia kurzii, a large tree with malodorous wood]* and other kinds, and they are small and crooked. The wood you sent makes it look like you just did it to fulfil your duty [i.e. you scraped together anything to add up to the tonnage demanded]. We are keeping the wood that Mother sent as is at yyyy. Send 2 tons of big teak to arrive on 20-10-2000. Send it quickly, before that date.

Reply with an explanation tomorrow.  
If you want the *thay pote* and other kinds of wood  
back again, you can have it.

[Sd.]  
Captain aaaa  
zzzz Camp Commander  
15-10-2000

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### **Order #342 (Thaton)**

Mother [Village] Head  
xxxx village

Writing a letter to inform Mother Head that the wood which Mother sent is small [diameter] and crooked. If [we] cut it at the mill we will only get scraps. Send 2 tons more of teak which is bigger. There are over 80 houses in Mother's village, ask one piece of wood from each house and if you gather it you can get one ton of teak planks. If you have a problem sending logs, send one ton of teak planks. Reply by letter today what Mother will send.

If Mother wants the wood back that you already sent, you can have it.

[Sd.]  
Capt. aaaa  
zzzz Camp Commander  
17-10-2000



**Order #343 (Thaton)**

Mother [Village] Head  
xxxx village

Son is writing this letter to inform Mother, we received the wood that you sent today. Give Son the logs that you already sent before. We need them for an emergency.

May Mother be healthy.

Son.  
[Sd. 'aaaa']  
Captain aaaa  
zzzz Camp Commander  
20-10-2000

*[‘The logs that you already sent before’ are those which were sent in response to Orders #338 and 339. In Orders #341 and 342, the Captain said that they were not big enough, demanded that an additional 3 tons be sent, and told the headwoman that if she wanted the substandard logs back “you can have it”. Now that the village has taken them back and sent another 3 tons of logs, the Captain writes this letter demanding in addition the first 3 tons which he had previously rejected.]*

## **Extortion of Money, Food, and Materials**

This section contains orders making material demands on villages. Where such demands require a significant amount of labour by the villagers, particularly cutting and hauling wood and bamboo or making thatch, they have been included above in the section ***'Forced Labour Supplying Materials'***; many orders in other sections of the report also contain material demands. SPDC Army units force villagers to provide them with everything - money, food, condiments, alcohol, cheroots, betelnut, firewood, clothing, building materials, and many other things, as well as logs and commercial goods which they can sell for profit. The villagers are threatened to provide these things or face punishment. They are almost never paid for them, and even when they are it is just a fraction of the price, paid with money previously stolen from other villages or from themselves. As the Army expands, new camps are established in all areas and every new camp means a duplication of all the demands already faced by the villagers. Some Army units send their demands to the village tract or township authorities, who then pass them on to the villages, while other demands go directly to the villages. All demands for cash and materials end up with the village head, who must then distribute the burden by assigning villagers to gather the materials on a rotation basis and dividing the amount of cash to be paid by the number of families in the village. Most families end up having to contribute several thousand Kyat per month toward the cash demands, as well as material contributions. This is in addition to the food and belongings looted by passing patrols and the forced labour they must do. Given all the demands placed on them, it is often difficult or impossible for a village to comply.

In 1998, the SPDC in Rangoon informed its field units that rations would be cut back in quantity and quality and that they should begin producing much of their own food or obtaining it from the villagers. The result has been increased confiscation of farmland by Army units, demands that villagers do forced labour farming this land (see for example Orders #297, 305, and 317 under ***'Set to a Village II'*** above), and an increase in demands for food without payment. Army units now regularly demand livestock for breeding purposes (see Order #386) or order villagers to breed livestock for them (see Order #30 under ***'General Forced Labour'***), and they also demand plant and tree seedlings (see Order #364 demanding coconut tree seedlings, Order #365 demanding coconut and betelnut tree seedlings, and Order #395 demanding unspecified 'seed', probably rice). They also demand tools for both farming and logging (see Orders #344, 352, and 367) for use by villagers or rank-and-file soldiers doing forced labour farming. Despite these attempts to farm, it is still easier for the officers to simply demand food from the villages in their area. Many of the orders below are demands for food including rice, chickens, pigs, and fruit, and as can be seen in orders throughout this entire report, SPDC Army units often add demands for 'one chicken', 'two bowls of rice', or other food items to the end of orders for forced labour and other things. Some officers admit that they have a 'problem' feeding themselves without proper rations; for example, in Order #345 a Corporal writes, ***"Then bring along sticky-rice and coconuts. If [you] have vegetables that can be eaten and meat and fish, bring it. We have a problem with food so we are asking for help."*** In January 2001 a Deputy Battalion Commander wrote Order #393 admitting that, ***"Our troops are not going anywhere, so it is very difficult for our eating and drinking. We are friendly with Big Mother. We feel embarrassed about this, but for our group to eat, send quickly tonight at once 20 viss [32 kg/70 lb] of pork and 1 sack of rice to yyyy village, you are requested."*** Normally when his troops "go somewhere" they can loot villages, but while based at the Camp they demand food from those who live nearby. In Order #383, a Captain admits that his troops have resorted to looting: ***"Sending 2 sacks of rice for Mother. Ours here is gone, [we] had to take it from others and then sent it. Sell it for 6,000 Kyat."*** Not only has he stolen rice from another village, he is ordering this village headwoman to sell some of it for him and give him the proceeds so that he can buy some other

food. Order #394 bears a similar demand. The Camp Commander who wrote Order #395 is somewhat more reasonable, demanding that the village head send 3 *bowls* [4.8 kg/10.5 lb] of rice the next day with the scheduled forced labourer, but promising to repay it (with rice) ***“when we get the rations”***. Villagers often complain that Army officers take their good rice in this way and replace it with terrible quality Army ration rice - the grains are low grade and broken, and it is full of rocks, insects and impurities.

Villages are also ordered to provide food for their own people who are doing unpaid forced labour for the Army. The SPDC expects all villagers coming for forced labour to bring their own food, but then they often detain the villagers for much longer than was originally specified, and they run out of food. Rather than providing them with additional food, it is demanded from their home villages. There are several examples of this included in orders of the ***‘General Forced Labour’*** section above, such as Order #97 which states ***“Bring along again the rice fees for the excess used by the servants, and rice”***; see also Order #356 below, which demands ***“4 bowls of rice for the present servants”*** and goes on to threaten, ***“You didn’t inform me why you didn’t come to send it when we asked for it ... You think that you can do as you please. This time must be the last time. Send it quickly...”*** Order #379 demands the ***“monthly servants’ rice”***, meaning that this village is expected to send a supply of rice to the Army Camp each month for use in feeding their forced labourers when necessary. Whenever senior SPDC officers or mobile military columns visit the local Army camp, the villagers are expected to provide extra food and money for this; see for example Orders #353, which states, ***“Some guest officers have arrived at our Strategic Command. We have a problem feeding them, so the Elder’s village must help with a chicken or duck...”***, and Order #384.

Whenever Army officers wish to make an offering at a Buddhist temple, the villagers are usually ordered to provide the money, food, incense and other requirements. Order #362 even demands that the village provide two fully-charged 12-volt batteries for electricity because the Strategic Commander wants to make an offering, while Orders #354, 355 and 357 demand food for the Army to use in making offerings. Orders #375, 376, 377, and 378 demand cash for a festival. Orders #372, 373, and 374 demand 600 Kyat from each village in the area by order of the Township Peace and Development Council, allegedly to pay for ‘paving stones’ to build a *yin pyin* (circular walkway around a pagoda), though it is uncertain how much of this money is actually required for the stones and how much is simple extortion. Order #380 dictates demands for cash, rice, chicken or fish curry, fish paste, and vegetables to 44 villages in order to hold a Buddhist festival at a large monastery in central Pa’an District. It then goes on to assign specific villages to send large quantities of firewood and other materials and assigns labour duties for the festival. The 44 villages are ordered to provide 157,500 Kyat in cash and 45 baskets of rice in comparison with the 30,000 Kyat in cash and 20 baskets of rice requested from the 5 SPDC Battalions and 1 DKBA Battalion combined. In addition, the villages are ordered to provide over 70 kilograms of meat curry, 352 kilograms of vegetables, 24 cartloads of firewood, and all of the labour to build structures, prepare the festival and cook, while the Army is assigned no duties for these. Though this order was issued in the name of the monastery, it was clearly drafted by the military because even the ‘duties’ of the local Army battalions are specified, which no monastery would dare to do; it is also worthy of note that the only duty assigned to the Army is operating the video, which is a profit-making venture (and which will cost them nothing, because they are to obtain the required equipment from the villages). People who have attended such festivals report that after the villagers provide almost all of the food, money, and labour, the Army takes centre stage, feasts on the best of the food and claims all the credit.

Demands are made for trivial things as well, such as tree bark used for washing hair (Order #385) and elephant hair for making rings (Order #368). Some officers even send their ‘shopping lists’ (see Order #370) to the local village heads, sometimes with a small amount of money and

sometimes not, with orders to buy the things on the list and deliver them to the camp. Village heads sometimes keep notes of all the demands placed on them by the Army. One such list is included as Order #391, wherein a village head lists demands ranging from whole pigs and baskets of rice to cash and 2 cases of beer.

Every Army unit also demands cash in several forms from all of the villages in their area of control. Some of this money is demanded as routine monthly extortion, usually referred to as “servants’ fees” or “Battalion donation money”, while other money is demanded in lieu of forced labour. Villagers often hire people to go in their place for forced labour or have the village tract leaders do so for them (see the sections ‘*Set to a Village I*’ and ‘*Set to a Village II*’ above), but when the Army demands “money to hire servants” they simply pocket the money and demand the labour elsewhere - meaning other villages which are simultaneously paying to avoid some other demand for forced labour. As a result, villages have to pay fees to ‘hire’ (i.e. avoid) forced labour while also doing forced labour. The fees become so routine that in the end they are simply referred to as ‘servant fees’ but there is no longer any expectation that they are given in lieu of forced labour. Then the villagers try to pay to get out of the additional forced labour they actually have to do, and eventually that becomes a routine ‘fee’ as well, while the Army continues to make new demands for actual forced labour - and so on, until villages are paying all kinds of ‘servant fees’, ‘porter fees’, and ‘messenger fees’ but still going for forced labour as servants, porters and messengers on a regular basis. All of the money simply goes into the pockets of the Army officers and local officials. This is the basis of the many mentions of ‘servant money’ in orders throughout this report, including Orders #396 and 397 below.

The sender of Order #371 stoops lower to get his money, asking a ‘loan’ of 950 Kyat from a village head but then warning that “*If not, you can only use me once. A human being has many possible futures.*” Coming from the military, this is a very clear threat.

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### **Order #344 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
yyyy [base]

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: To hire things

Regarding the above subject, from the Elder’s village, Chairperson yourself come to bring 3 big saws [2-person hand saws] and 3 axes to yyyy camp on 2-12-99 to arrive at 6 o’clock. If [you] fail it will be the responsibility of the chairperson.

Place: yyyy camp  
Date: 1-12-99

[Sd.]  
Intelligence Officer

[On the back of this document the officer has added “Send 2 notebooks and 1 pen.”]

**Order #345 (Papun)**

To:

Date 18/1/2000

Ko aaaa  
xxxx village

I am writing a letter. You need milk to make an offering. We have a little milk and we will help. Also, help us with no less than 5 viss [ 8 kg/17.5 lb] of dried, big betel nuts. Bring it when you come.

Then bring along sticky-rice and coconuts. If [you] have vegetables that can be eaten and meat and fish, bring it. We have a problem with food so we are asking for help. There is nothing else. Are you healthy? Our group is also well. That is all.

[Sd.] 18-1-2000  
Corporal bbbb

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**Order #346 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson (Mother)  
xxxx village

Date: 19-1-2000

Chairperson, I'm sending milk, sugar, and chickpeas as a present for Chairperson Mother. Buy incense sticks (Loh Dta Ya [brand]) from the shop in Chairperson Mother's village and send them. If there are no Loh Dta Ya, buy and send Gkan Pwin [brand] incense sticks. Buy about 9 packs. I am also sending money, I'm sending 200 Kyat.

Also send 5 London [brand of cigarettes].  
Friendly and respectfully, Major aaaa  
[Sd.]  
Column Commander  
Frontline LID #66, IB #xx

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**Order #347 (Papun)**

To:

22-1-2000

xxxx [village] head

When you receive this letter, come to yyyy village and bring any food [you have] for our Column, asking for help. Come with the *set tha* [messenger].

[Sd.]

[The 'set tha' is the villager doing forced labour as a messenger who has delivered this order.]

**Order #348 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
Date: 8-2-2000  
Company #[blank]

8-2-2000

**To:** xxxx [village] Chairperson U aaaa

Bring (one) pig weighing over 10 [viss; i.e. over 16 kg/35 lb] to arrive on the 12<sup>th</sup>. Will give the selling price. You said that there is a pig in xxxx village. Also a small pig in yyyy village. Arrange it smoothly.

[Sd.]

**Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
[Handwritten:] Captain bbbb

---

**Order #349 (Papun)**

To: Ko aaaa

9-2-2000

I remember you, so [I] am writing a letter. If you are free, come. Bring food (sticky-rice) and (nee toh oo [a kind of taro root]), a little of each.

With Remembrance,  
Lieutenant bbbb  
IB #xxx

---

**Order #350 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa

Date: 10-2-2000

Writing to inform you. As soon as [you] receive this letter, find one 10-weight or 8 viss pig. Will clear the cost in money when [you] bring the pig.

With thanks,  
[Sd.]

[‘10-weight or 8 viss’ means 12.8 to 16 kilograms / 28 to 35 pounds.]

### **Order #351 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Peace and Development Council  
Date: 19-2-2000  
yyyy village tract

Date: 19-2-2000

Subject: The matter of giving back the loan money

Regarding the above subject, the #xx Battalion Commander is asking to be given back the proportion of money that was given to the village head, so come quickly to give the money on 22-2-2000.

**Note:**

Do not fail.  
Bring along the agreement.

***[Sd.]***

(for) Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

---

### **Order #352 (Papun)**

xxxx [village] Head

9-3-2000

Now, as soon as you receive this letter, the Head yourself must come to give 3 mattocks and 3 machetes.

Note: Must arrive at 1200 hours.

***[Unsigned]***  
Captain aaaa

*[Mattocks are large hoes used for digging and general farming.]*

---

### **Order #353 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#xx Military Operations Command Headquarters  
#[blank] Tactical Command,  
Military Operations Control Group

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 26-3-2000

Chairperson:

I am writing a letter respectfully. Some guest officers have arrived at our Strategic Command. We have a problem feeding them, so the Elder's village must help with a chicken or duck, 1 viss [1.6 kg/3.5 lb], you are requested.

Respectfully,  
***[Sd.]***  
Sgt. / Saya bbbb  
Strategic Command #x  
yyyy camp

### **Order #354 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** Date: 1-4-2000  
Peace and Development Council      **To:**    **Head**  
      yyyy village tract                      xxxx [village]

**Subject:**

From the Southwestern Command Strategic Commander: To hold the pagoda festival, send quickly 11 hands of *ya kain* bananas with this messenger now, you are informed.

**Note:** *Ya kain* bananas, 11 hands.  
Send with this messenger now.

[Sd.]

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
      yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is marked "Urgent". In most cases like this, the Commander will then make an offering in his own name using the bananas he has extorted.]*

---

### **Order #355 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** Date: 5-4-2000  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion      **To:**    Chairperson  
      Column x Headquarters                      xxxx village

**Subject:**    **Inviting the Elder**

To discuss with the Elder, come without fail to yyyy camp with 6 hands of bananas to make an offering on the 6<sup>th</sup> at 0830 hours.

[Sd.]

**Stamp:** Battalion Commander  
      Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[The offering will probably be made in the name of the Battalion Commander.]*

---

### **Order #356 (Papun)**

**To:** [blank]    6-4-2000

From the Elder's village [we] need [you] to send quickly 4 bowls [6.4.kg/14 lb] of rice for the present servants, and the remaining money, 1,500 Kyat, with the messenger who comes now.

You didn't inform me why you didn't come to send it when we asked for it via someone who was on their way there. You think that you can do as you please.

This time must be the last time. Send it quickly with the messenger who comes now.

Company #3  
[Sd.]

*[Not only does the village have to send forced labourers, but food for them as well. In this case the 'present servants' are the people from the village currently doing forced labour. Either they*



*didn't bring enough food for themselves or the Army is keeping them longer than was initially specified, so the village has to send more food for them.]*

---

**Order #357 (Papun)**

To: Mother Head Daw aaaa  
xxxx village

19-4-2000

Mother, in our Camp it is time for the Bo Bo Gyi festival. On the 21<sup>st</sup> there will be the placing of the *bweh* [food offerings placed in front of shrines], and we want Mother to come to meet with the Battalion Commander. I ask you to send bananas and coconuts tomorrow to yyyy.

Respectfully,

*[Sd.]*

(bbbb)

Intelligence Officer

Telling Mother to bring 5 packets of jaggery [boiled crystallised sugar cane juice in slabs] from Mother's shop. I also eat jaggery.

---

**Order #358 (Papun)**

[To:] U aaaa  
Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

5-5-2000

\* Send the things which [I] left in xxxx and 1 bottle of honey tomorrow to arrive at 9 o'clock in the morning.

\* Send another bottle of honey.

*[Sd.]*

*[LIB]* xxx

---

**Order #359 (Papun)**

[To:] U aaaa  
Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

8-5-2000

Keep [hold for me] the rice packs that have been sent from yyyy.

*[Sd.]*

*[LIB]* xxx

**Order #360 (Papun)**

To: 9-5-2000  
Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

[We] have to discuss work matters, so as soon as you receive this letter now, the Chairperson yourself must come to yyyy. Bring one chicken that [I] have already given the money for.

With friendliness,  
[Sd.]  
bbbb  
Intelligence Officer  
yyyy [camp]

---

**Order #361 (Papun)**

Date: 11-5-2000

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council      To:    Head  
yyyy village tract

**Subject:**

From the Southwestern Command Strategic Commander; to rebuild the pagoda *nay ga za* [umbrella-like structure at the tip of a pagoda], from the Head's village the Head yourself must send without fail 2 viss of chicken at the Army price to yyyy Army Camp on 14-5-2000, you are informed.

**Note:** [Send also] 10 coconuts

[Sd.]  
**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[This entire order is written in red ink, which usually implies urgency and a threat to the villagers who receive it. 'Army price' means much less than actual price. On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent."]*

---

**Order #362 (Papun)**

15-5-2000

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council      [To:] Head  
yyyy village tract                      xxxx [village]

At yyyy Army Camp, the Strategic Commander will celebrate an offering on 16-5-2000, so [we] need two 12-volt batteries to run the loudspeaker. [We] Know that the Elder's village has this kind of battery, so you are requested to help for one day.

(Note) There are none of this kind [of battery] in yyyy. Send as soon as you receive this letter. They must be fully charged. Will use them for one day. Send them to the VPDC office.

[Sd.] 15-5-2000  
**Stamp:** Member (1)  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

**Order #363 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

18-5-2000

If you will get the radio, come tomorrow. It costs 2,000 Kyat.

[Sd.]  
(aaaa)  
Intelligence Officer  
yyyy [camp]

---

**Order #364 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

23-5-2000

Come to send without fail 5 coconut seedlings from xxxx village, 5 coconut seedlings from yyyy village, total 10 plants, today to arrive to the zzzz Camp Commander, Saya Gyi [used for Sergeant] bbbb.

[Sd.]  
(for) Column Commander

*[Army camps have been ordered since 1998 to produce more of their own food in place of rations, so they demand seedlings from villagers to set up their plantations; see also Order #365 below and other such orders in this set.]*

---

**Order #365 (Thaton)**

To: Chairperson / Village Head  
\_\_\_\_xxx\_\_\_\_ village

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Date: 25-5-2000

From the village head's village, [send] 5 betelnut seedlings 3 feet high and 5 coconut seedlings 3 feet high on May 26<sup>th</sup> 2000 at 1000 hours, send them to the Column (urgently), you are informed.

[Sd.]  
(for) Column Commander  
LIB xxx  
Column

**Order #366 (Papun)**

To: Head  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

27-5-2000

- From xxxx village, find and give 500 Kyat worth of durian, you are informed by the Frontline LIB xxx Battalion Commander.

Send it together with the person who has brought this letter now. Asking for your help.

***[Sd.]***  
Capt. bbbb (FL xxx)

*[Durian are highly valued large seasonal fruit.]*

---

**Order #367 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

31/5/2000

*[We]* Will borrow temporarily 4 mattocks *[to be sent]* with the messenger who comes now.  
*[We]* Will send them back in the evening.

***[Sd.]***  
Captain bbbb  
Tactical Command #x

*[Mattocks are large hoes used for digging and general farming.]*

---

**Order #368 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

To: Ko aaaa  
Chairperson / xxxx village

18/6/2000

On 19-6-2000, Monday, come to meet with our Column Commander with Ko aaaa *[yourself]* and call Ko bbbb. Bring along 10 elephant tails, you are informed with friendliness.

Thank you for helping with the durians.

***[Sd. 'cccc'] Lt.***  
Company Commander  
Company #x

*[By 'elephant tails' he most likely means elephant hair, which is used to make rings. 'Helping with the durians' means the village head sent the durian fruit demanded in a previous order.]*

### **Order #369 (Papun)**

To: Pu aaaa  
xxxx village head

24-7-2000

Full of respect, letting you know as stated below.

Tomorrow morning, as the Strategic Command has ordered 20 durians from you, if you can send only 15 it is okay. You can also send 150 mangosteens.

If you cannot come, I will ask people to go and fetch them for me. You can arrange them and keep them in your house.

(Arrange it for sure).

Thanks very much,  
Your friend, [Sd.]  
bbbb

*[This order is written in Sgaw Karen. Durians are seasonal and highly valued fruit which weigh 1 to 5 kilograms (2 to 10 pounds) each, while mangosteens are small, sweet and expensive seasonal fruit.]*

---

### **Order #370 (Pa'an)**

16/8/2000

To: Mother village head from xxxx village, please buy the things listed, thank you very much.

- |                     |                                 |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) Dried chillies  | 20 kyat tha [320 grams/0.7 lb]  |
| (2) Candles         | 1 pack                          |
| (3) Incense sticks  | 1 pack                          |
| (4) Cheroots        | 2 packs                         |
| (5) Potatoes        | 1 viss [1.6 kg/3.5 lb]          |
| (6) Artificial meat | 25 kyat tha [400 grams/0.85 lb] |
| (7) Tea             | 3 packets                       |

7 items only.

[Sd.]  
yyyy camp  
LIB xxx

*[‘Artificial meat’ means soy protein often used by vegetarians. Village heads regularly receive such ‘shopping lists’ from the local Army camp, which they must then buy and deliver; sometimes part of the cost is reimbursed, sometimes not.]*

### **Order #371 (Papun)**

To: U aaaa

Date: 8-19-2000 [sic: 19-8-2000]

I write this letter with respect. The reason I write this letter is nothing.

Just that I need money now. Please send some money to me. The amount is not much, the total is 950 [Kyat]. I hope that U aaaa will give it.

If not, you can only use me [my help] once. A human being has many possible futures.

That's all.

Bone bbbb.

*[Note: U aaaa, the addressee, is a village elder of xxxx village. Strangely, the writer signs using the rare honorific 'Bone', used by someone who decrees laws and is very powerful. The remarks about using his help and 'many possible futures' can very easily be seen as a threat.]*

---

### **Order #372 (Papun)**

To:  
Village Head

Date: 21-8-2000

Informing and letting you know, in accordance with the decision of the Township TPDC meeting, to donate paving stones for laying the pagoda yin pyin [surfaced pathway encircling a pagoda], the Elder's village must donate 2 pieces of paving stone. [You] Must pay the cost money for the paving stones on 24-8-2000. As soon as this letter is received collect it and come to pay, you are informed.

- (1) Paving stones, 1 piece is 300 Kyat
- (2) From the Elder's village, 2 pieces of paving stone is 600 K
- (3) The Elder yourself must come to bring it.

[Sd.]  
U bbbb  
Chairperson  
yyyy Village Tract

*[Although this is a demand for money to build a pathway around a pagoda, it originates from the Township Peace and Development Council (TPDC), not the monastery, so it is most likely tied to corruption. Much of the 600 Kyat demanded from each village in the area may end up in the pockets of the local PDC and military officers. On the back this order is addressed to "Pa aaaa, xxxx village". The village did not immediately pay the money demanded, so a week later they received Order #373. See also Order #374, which was sent to a different village.]*

### **Order #373 (Papun)**

To: Pa aaaa

28-8-2000

Informing [you] that in accordance with the decision of the Papun TPDC meeting, [we] have already sent a letter for the Elder's village to send 2 pieces of paving stone. As soon as you receive this letter, collect the money quickly and come to bring it.

- (1) For 2 pieces of paving stone, 600 Kyat.
- (2) Come and bring it without fail.

[Sd.]

U aaaa  
Chairperson  
yyyy village

*[This order is a follow-up to Order #372 which demanded money from this same village for paving stones to surface the circular pathway around a pagoda; see also Order #374 which was sent to another village. It is not actually the stones which they want the village to send, it is the money (600 Kyat). TPDC is the Township Peace and Development Council. This order is entirely written in red ink, which is usually seen as a threat that it must be complied with. On the back this is addressed to xxxx village. The villagers told KHRG that they obeyed and sent the money after 3 days.]*

---

### **Order #374 (Papun)**

To: Pa aaaa

28-8-2000

[We] Have already sent a letter telling the Elder's village to donate paving stones. As soon as this letter is received, collect quickly donation money of 600 Kyat for paving stones and then send it to arrive [here].

Come and send it without fail.

[Sd.]

U aaaa  
Chairperson  
yyyy village

*[This order relates to the matter raised in Order #372. On 21-8-2000, money was demanded from every village for paving stones to surface the circular pathway around a pagoda. This order is entirely written in red ink, which is usually seen as a threat that it must be complied with. On the back this is addressed to xxxx village. The villagers told KHRG that they obeyed and sent the money within one day after this order. See also Order #373 which was sent to another village.]*

### **Order #375 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy village

Date: 1-9-2000

To:  
Chairperson / xxxx village

Informing to let you know, in yyyy village tract we will make offerings and feed *[the people]* for the Daw Tha Lin full moon. Have already informed the Elder's village in advance.

(1) Collect from each family 1 bowl *[1.6 kg/3.5 lb]* of rice and 100 Kyat exactly in cash. Collect it and send it on 8-9-2000 to arrive on the 10<sup>th</sup> waxing day of Daw Tha Lin month, you are informed.

(2) The Elder yourself must collect it exactly.

(3) If they cannot pay 1 bowl of rice, collect cash of 200 Kyat exactly.

(4) The total number of families is 7 families.

**[Sd.]**

U bbbb

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

*[Though the 'donations' of rice and money are supposed to be to make offerings to monks and provide food for a festival, in cases such as this the local PDC and military officials usually demand much more than is actually required and take a large cut for themselves. The amounts of rice and money demanded in this case do seem excessive. The village head who received this copy only partly complied with the demands, so he later received Order #376 and then Order #378.]*

---

### **Order #376 (Papun)**

To: Pa aaaa

7-9-2000

Informing you to collect quickly the Daw Tha Lin month donation money, then come to bring it.

(1) Donation money 1,400 K *[kyat]*

(2) From each family it is 200 K

**[Sd.]**

U aaaa  
Chairperson

*[This order followed Order #375 to the same village, but suddenly the amount of the donation demanded has doubled from 100 Kyat to 200 Kyat per family. Though the donation money is supposed to be to make offerings to monks and provide food for a festival, in cases such as this the local PDC and military officials usually demand much more than is actually required and take a large cut for themselves. The village head did not comply with this order, so it was followed later by Order #378.]*



### **Order #377 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy village

To: 7/9/2000  
Pa aaaa

Informing [you] to collect quickly the Daw Tha Lin month donation money and come to bring it.

(1) Donation money of 1,000 Kyat.

[Sd.]  
U bbbb

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun Township

*[On the back this is addressed to xxxx village. The village head says that he obeyed this order and delivered the money the same day out of fear that he would not be able to stay in his village otherwise.]*

---

### **Order #378 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
xxxx village

To: 17-9-2000  
(Pa aaaa)

[We] Have already informed [you] asking you to collect the donation money for Daw Tha Lin month. Why have [you] not collected and sent it by now? [We] Need the money now, have to pay him.

Right now when this letter is received, collect quickly the donation money of 1,000 Kyat and come to bring it.

(1) Donation money Collect 1,000 Kyat exactly and come to bring it.  
(2) Bring along 200 pieces of betelnut. Must come.

[Sd.]  
U bbbb

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

*[This order followed Orders #375 and 376 to the same village. Though the donation money is supposed to be to make offerings to monks and provide food for a festival, in cases such as this the local PDC and military officials usually demand much more than is actually required and take a large cut for themselves. In this case, the original demand in Order #375 was for 700 Kyat, which then doubled to 1,400 Kyat in Order #376. A week later, the local PDC has lowered this to 1,000 Kyat, making it clear that it is an arbitrary amount. The village head told KHRG that the day following this order he went and delivered the money.]*

### **Order #379 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

Date: 8-9-2000

Subject: The IO [*Intelligence Officer*] from [*Division*] xx Column would like to discuss important matters with the Elder, so you are informed to come immediately to yyyy monastery as soon as you receive this letter.

Bring the monthly servants' rice together with you.

*[Sd.]*

**Stamp:** Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council

yyyy village, Papun Township

*[‘Monthly servants’ rice’ is a quantity of rice which the village is forced to supply to the Army camp every month to cover any shortfall in the food brought along by the forced labourers which the village sends. This commonly happens when the Army keeps people for labour for periods several times as long as they initially specified.]*

### **Order #380 (Pa'an)**

*[This document was sent to all villages in the region of Nabu, in central Pa'an District, and dictates demands on each village for the Ka Htein ceremony of offering robes to monks, held on October 26<sup>th</sup> 2000 at the Aung Thein Dee monastery in Nabu.]*

Attachment (a)

List of donation money and materials by villages / battalions for Nabu Aung Thein Dee Monastery joint Ka Htein ceremony

No.	Name of village	Donation Money (Kyats)	Rice (Baskets/ Tins)	Curry (Chicken/ Fish)	Fish Paste (viss)	Vege- tables (viss)	Remarks
1.	Nyaung Gone	4000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
2.	Kaw Nyaing	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
3.	Myat Padaing	5000 (kyats)	1½ baskets	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
4.	Noh Tee Leh	4000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
5.	Tee Swah	4000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
6.	Ka Neing Paw	5000 (kyats)	1½ baskets	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
7.	Taung Nah village	2000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
8.	In Sheh village	5000 (kyats)	1½ baskets	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
9.	Naung Hein village	4000 (kyats)	1½ baskets	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
10.	Payah Gone	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
11.	Weh Kayin	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
12.	Kaw Yay Kah	4000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
13.	Kaw Pa Lan	5000 (kyats)	1½ baskets	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
14.	Gkaw Doh	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
15.	Naung Hta Bpan	5000 (kyats)	1½ baskets	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
16.	Kaw Suh	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
17.	Taweh Lah	2500 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
18.	Taw Kaw Ko	5000 (kyats)	1½ baskets	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
19.	Naung Ta Bweh	5000 (kyats)	1½ baskets	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	

*[continued on next page]*

20.	Tee Wah Suh	4000 (kyats)	1½ baskets	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
21.	Naung Kine	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
22.	Meh Pa Leh	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
23.	Payah Ngoh Toe	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
24.	Thayet Dtaw	6000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
25.	Nan Kaw Htay	4000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
26.	Tee Sah Kaw	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
27.	Thaya Gone	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
28.	Noh Wah Klay (Tat Ka Ta)	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
29.	Noh Bpaw Heh	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
30.	Mon Zu	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
31.	Kaw Kalaung	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
32.	Nat Sah Leit	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
33.	Thaut Pein	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
34.	Law Yee	3000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
35.	Kaw Kyeik	4000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
36.	Tee Po San	5000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
37.	Kaw Pan Yah	3000 (kyats)	8 Pyi	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
38.	Kaw Tha Suh	3000 (kyats)	8 Pyi	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
39.	Taweh Dan	3000 (kyats)	8 Pyi	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
40.	Tee Kalay	3000 (kyats)	8 Pyi	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
41.	Nabu Tagun Taing	4000 (kyats)	1 Basket	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	

*[page 2 of original begins here]*

No.	Name of village	Donation Money (Kyats)	Rice (Baskets/Tins)	Curry (Chicken/Fish)	Fish Paste (viss)	Vegetables (viss)	Remarks
42.	Naung Taman	2000 (kyats)	8 Pyi	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
43.	Tha Gya Chaung	3000 (kyats)	8 Pyi	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
44.	Wah Lay	3000 (kyats)	8 Pyi	1 Viss	1 Viss	5 Viss	
45.	LIB (547)	5000 (kyats)	3- sacks	5 cans of condensed milk/ fuel 5 gallons			
46.	LIB (548)	5000 (kyats)	3- sacks	5 cans of condensed milk/ fuel 5 gallons			
47.	LIB (549)	5000 (kyats)	3- sacks	5 cans of condensed milk/ fuel 5 gallons			
48.	DKBA (999)	5000 (kyats)	1- sack				
49.	[Army] Transport (935)	5000 (kyats)	2- sacks	10 cans of condensed milk, sugar 3 viss, cooking oil 3 viss, fuel 5 gallons			
50.	[Army] Construction (943)	5000 (kyats)	1- sacks				
51.	Health [dept.]						
52.	Education [dept.]						

### **General collecting of money**

To alert that in the general collection of donation money from the villages, a rice mill should give 600 kyat, a small boat should give 500 kyat, a big boat should give 2,000 kyat, a sawmill should give 500 kyat, and a video [VCR] owner should give 600 kyat respectively, as the average amount collected.

*[continued on next page]*

### **General activities for the Ka Htein ceremony**

- (1) To supply firewood for cooking according to the quota, Taweh Lah and Weh Kayin villages should provide 6 bullock cartloads of firewood each, Kaw Pa Lan, Ka Neing Paw, and Taung Nah should provide 6 bullock cartloads of firewood *[altogether]*, and Myat Padaing village should send 6 bullock cartloads each *[sic]* to be sent on the 9<sup>th</sup> waning day of Thadin Kyut month *[21 October 2000]* to the Nabu Aung Thein Dee Monastery.
- (2) The villages responsible for cooking are Naung Hein and Taweh Dan villages.
- (3) Arranging cups, pots, plates, bowls and seating is the responsibility of In Sheh village.
- (4) Offering food to the monks is the responsibility of Tee Swah village.
- (5) To build the *mandat* *[temporary building for eating]* for the ceremony, villages from Naung Hta Bpan village tract and Naung Hta Bweh village should each bring 150 bamboos (11 *taung* *[16 feet]* in length). Noh Tee Leh village and Taweh Lah village should each send 25 *wah boh* bamboo. All of the bamboo required should be sent before the 9<sup>th</sup> waning day of Thadin Kyut month *[21 October 2000]*.
- (6) Building the *mandat* is the responsibility of Mon Zu village (inside the monastery compound) and Payah Gone (outside the monastery compound). They must be built by the deadline of 13<sup>th</sup> waning day of Thadin Kyut month *[25 October 2000]*.
- (7) To arrange loudspeakers, Payah Gone village should report to Aung Thein Dee monastery on the first waxing day of Thadin Kyut month *[28 September 2000]*.
- (8) To arrange a video show, the three battalions are responsible to arrange one video each (by arrangement with the villages under their organisation). *[Each battalion 'controls' 7 or more villages, and is to demand the video from these villages.]*

*[This is a 2-sided document; in the original, the page break occurs between lines 41 and 42 of the table. Nabu is a large village in central Pa'an District with a very heavy SPDC Army presence of 3 Battalions: #547, 548 and 549 Light Infantry Battalions, as well as DKBA #999 Brigade. 'Ka Htein' is a ceremony to offer robes to monks which occurs between the 1<sup>st</sup> (no moon) day of Dta Zau Mon month (26/10/00) and the full moon of Dta Zau Mon month (10/11/00); in this case it appears the festival is to begin on the no-moon day of October 26<sup>th</sup> 2000. This is a 2 page letter issued on behalf of the monastery, but clearly drafted or approved by the military. The total demands are quite excessive, particularly the large sums of money; considering that the villages are already giving all the food and labour required for the festival, there is no reason why such large sums of money should be needed. Many of the villages listed are quite far away and will probably not be able to attend, but will still be forced to contribute. In festivals such as this, the best of the feast will be reserved for the Army soldiers and their families, who will eat inside the monastery compound while the local villagers are kept outside. The 44 villages are ordered to provide 157,500 Kyat in cash and 45 baskets of rice in comparison with the 30,000 Kyat in cash and 20 baskets of rice requested from the 5 SPDC Battalions and 1 DKBA Battalion combined. In addition, the villages are ordered to provide over 70 kilograms of meat curry, 352 kilograms of vegetables, 24 cartloads of firewood, and all of the labour to build structures, prepare the festival and cook, while the Army is assigned no duties for these. The battalions choose to organise the videos because they will demand admission money from the villagers. As noted in the order, they will demand the videos, generators and fuel from the villages under their respective control, so the admission money gathered will be pure military profit. One viss is 1.6 kilograms / 3.5 pounds. 1 pyi of rice is about 2 kilograms / 4.4 pounds. 1 basket of rice is about 17 kilograms / 37.5 pounds. 1 sack of rice is 50 kilograms / 110 pounds.]*

**Order #381 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Date: 29-9-2000

Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy village

To:  
Chairperson, xxxx village

The *[IB]* xxx Column informs the Elder's village to send one tin of rice.

(Do as required.)

*[Sd.]*

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

*[One tin of rice is about 17 kilograms / 37.5 pounds.]*

---

**Order #382 (Pa'an)**

To:

Village head  
xxxx *[village]*

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Company x

Date: 30-9-2000

Subject: To come and meet

The village head is informed to come and meet at yyyy camp quickly on the morning of 1-10-2000.

Note: When you come, you are requested to bring meat/vegetables.

*[Sd.]*

Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

**Order #383 (Papun)**

To: Mother Daw aaaa

I am writing a letter. Sending 2 sacks of rice for Mother. Ours here is gone, *[we]* had to take it from others and then sent it. Sell it for 6,000 Kyat.

Respectfully,  
*[Sd.] Captain, 2/10/00*  
yyyy Camp

*[The Captain is out of supplies, so he has stolen or borrowed some rice somewhere and is telling the village headwoman to sell it for him and send him the money. This is a common practice among SPDC officers. See also Order #394.]*

### **Order #384 (Papun)**

To: Mother Head

19-10-2000

I am writing a letter. Help *[us]* with 2 chickens from Mother Head's village. *[We]* have to boil them and feed *aaaa*. Give 2 big chickens.

IB *[Infantry Battalion]* xx

---

### **Order #385 (Papun)**

To: Mother Daw *aaaa*

The Tactical Commander hasn't seen Mother for a long time, so he said that he wants to see you today. If Mother is free, *[we]* want you to come to meet today. If you come, *[we]* want you to bring *khin bone thee* *[soap acacia, a type of fruit used for washing hair]*, enough for one hair-washing.

*[Sd.] 2-11-2000*

---

### **Order #386 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Military Operations Command

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: Invitation for a meeting

The Elder is required to attend a meeting without fail at Light Infantry Battalion #xxx on the 1<sup>st</sup> waxing day of Na Daw month, year 1362 (26-11-2000), Sunday, at 10 o'clock in the morning. If you fail to attend, you are informed that it will be the Elder's responsibility.

Note: Bring a chick weighing 60 *kyat tha* for breeding at the Battalion.

Place: xxxx  
Date: 21-11-2000

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Battalion Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[This is a carbon-copied form letter sent to several villages. The 'note' about bringing a chick is part of the form letter, so one is being requested from each of the villages. Army camps have been ordered since 1998 to produce more of their own food in place of rations, so they demand livestock for breeding and seedlings from villagers to set up their plantations; see also Orders #364, #365 and other such orders in this set.]*

### **Order #387 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x

To: Daw aaaa (Chairperson)

26-11-2000

By the time you receive this letter, Mother's village will have obtained 30-weight [30 viss] of pork and 3 sacks of rice for the Column. Bring to yyyy camp 30 viss of pork, whether this is one or two pigs, to arrive today. Bring the pigs alive. If it is already dark, carry a firebrand, you are informed. If [you] fail, it will be Mother Head's responsibility, you are informed.

[Unsigned]

(for) Column Commander  
LIB xxx, Military Operations Command

*[The first sentence implies that an order was already given for the village to obtain the pork and rice to send to the Column, and this letter is just a follow-up.]*

---

### **Order #388 (Papun)**

To: xxxx Chairperson

16-12-2000

I am writing a letter. Tomorrow [I] want 1 viss [1.6 kg/3.5 lb] of chicken. The Battalion orders it. When [I] ask help from the Chairperson's village, [I] will clear the cost. The Chairperson must come and send it without fail. If the Chairperson fails, it will be the Chairperson's responsibility.

[Sd.]

yyyy Camp Commander

*[The writer of this letter is semi-illiterate. To 'clear the cost' means to pay, though Army camp commanders almost never pay the full value of anything.]*

---

### **Order #389 (Dooطلا)**

To: Chairperson (xxxx village)

17-12-2000

Subject: Come to yyyy village

xxxx village, the 2 chairpersons from the Upper and Lower 2 villages, or if the chairpersons are not there then the 2 secretaries, must come quickly to yyyy village to the Column Commander as soon as [you] receive this letter, you are informed. When the Elders come, bring along 3 viss [4.8 kg/10.5 lb] of chicken for food.

[Sd. 'aaaa']

Column Commander  
IB xxx

### **Order #390 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Company #[blank]

To:  
xxxx [village]

27-12-2000

If you have fruit, vegetables and food, send them. If you have unusual information, send it. Nothing more.

***[Sd.]***  
yyyy camp

*[‘Unusual information’ means to report intelligence on any comings and goings around the village.]*

---

### **Order #391 (Thaton)**

*[This is a list written by a village elder of some of the demands of local SPDC officers between August and December 2000 and their corresponding cash values.]*

Unit [Battalion] #xxx	2,000 [Kyat]	
On August 20 <sup>th</sup> , one pig	10,000	IB #xx, aaaa
Rice, 1 basket	1,800	
Unit #xx, on August 7 <sup>th</sup> , one pig	14,200	1 <sup>st</sup> Strategic Commander bbbb
On August 23 <sup>rd</sup> , one pig	12,000	“
On the 23 <sup>rd</sup> , one chicken	700	“
On the 25 <sup>th</sup> , one duck	700	“
On the 28 <sup>th</sup> , 2 chickens	2,000	“
On November 14 <sup>th</sup> , one sack of rice	2,000	Pa cccc - Major dddd
On November 25 <sup>th</sup> , one viss of pork	400	
On November 9 <sup>th</sup> , Pa cccc’s one pig	8,000	
and one duck	800	
On November 20 <sup>th</sup> , servants’ fees	6,000	
On December 1 <sup>st</sup> , yyyy camp	8,000	
20 viss of pork		
On December 25 <sup>th</sup> , Major eeee	5,000	
and 2 cases of beer		

*[Lines showing items like “one pig 14,200” mean a pig worth 14,200 Kyat. Lines simply showing amounts mean cash which was demanded by the Army. Some are combinations; for example, the last item means they had to give 5,000 Kyat cash and 2 cases of beer to the Major.]*



**Order #392 (Papun)**

To: Mother Head (xxxx village)

12-1-2001

I am writing a letter. There is no particular matter, just asking *[you]* to send 1 rooster and 1 bowl *[1.6 kg / 3.5 lb]* of sticky-rice for us with the *khin th'ma [forced labour sentry]* who comes now. Asking for help.

*[Sd.]*  
Capt. aaaa  
yyyy camp

---

**Order #393 (Dooplaya)**

To: Chairperson (xxxx *[village]* Mother)

14-1-2001

Mother -

I am writing a letter respectfully. Our troops are not going anywhere, so it is very difficult for our eating and drinking.

We are friendly with Big Mother. We feel embarrassed about this, but for our group to eat, send quickly tonight at once 20 viss *[32 kg/70 lb]* of pork and 1 sack of rice to yyyy village, you are requested.

*[Sd.]*  
Respectfully,  
U aaaa / U bbbb  
LIB #xxx Deputy Battalion Commander cccc

Note: If Big Mother doesn't have time to do it, send a whole pig.

*[The reason 'not going anywhere' creates a problem is that when mobile, the troops can steal food from villages along their way but when stationary, they must repeatedly demand food from the local villages. These officers even express shame at having to demand food from the villagers. The note means that if she doesn't have time to have a pig killed and butchered, she can just send a whole pig, live or dead, weighing 20 viss or more. On the back this order is addressed to "Chairperson, xxxx [village]".]*

### **Order #394 (Papun)**

To:    xxxx [village] (Chairperson)  
         Daw aaaa

Mother, I am sending 2 sacks of rice. Receive/not receive. [i.e. Tell me if you've received it or not.] Sell it for a price of <5,800 Kyat>.

[Sd.]  
With friendliness

*[This relates to a common practice of SPDC officers, selling the ration rice intended for their soldiers (who are then told to take rice from the villagers) or selling rice which they have confiscated from villagers. Rather than sell it themselves, they send it to a local village head and order her to sell it and send them the cash. Even if she can't sell it for the amount specified, she must send the 5,800 Kyat.]*

---

### **Order #395 (Papun)**

xxxx [village] - Chairperson

I am Camp Commander aaaa writing this letter. Send 3 bowls [4.8 kg/10.5 lb] of rice with the set tha [forced labour messenger] who will come tomorrow. Will pay when we get the rations.

That's all.  
Camp Commander  
aaaa  
yyyy Camp

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
yyyy [base]

*[The camp has run out of rice so the Commander is demanding a loan of rice from the village; 'Will pay' means they will pay it back in rice when they receive their next rations. Villagers often complain that the Army takes their good rice and pays them back with terrible quality Army ration rice - the grains are low grade and broken, and it is full of rocks, insects and impurities. On the back of this order the Commander has written "xxxx Chairperson, send as many seeds as you have." Though the stamp says yyyy (in southern Pa'an District), this unit was in Papun District for an 8-month operation from late 1999 through May 2000 when this and some other orders in this set were issued.]*

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### **Order #396 (Papun)**

xxxx [village] Chairperson, writing to inform U aaaa. The subject is that now U bbbb has come to get the remaining money and 3 bowls of rice. Come to meet for awhile. I also cannot tell [why]. Come to meet.

bbbb

*[This is a letter from one village head to another.]*

### **Order #397 (Papun)**

To inform the xxxx village Chairperson.

Writing a letter to inform you, the subject is to send the remaining servants' money tomorrow with yyyy [village head] U aaaa. The people [SPDC] are asking again [for forced labour or money]. Tomorrow, U aaaa and bbbb have to go. Send it.

cccc

[This is a letter from one village head to another.]

---

### **Order #398 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

Have already left the sticky-rice packs at U aaaa's father's house. This and 2 bowls [3.2 kg/7 lb] of sticky-rice from xxxx, [you] must send now to yyyy [village].

[Unsigned]

---

### **Order #399 (Papun)**

To: Mother (Chairperson)

Send one 20-weight pig for us, along with the owner, with the person who comes now [bringing this letter]. We will clear the money at the same time [when they arrive]. Send them to arrive today, [we] will clear the cost after the pig is killed at yyyy village. Please help.

[Sd.]  
IB xx

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### **Order #400 (Dooplaya)**

Chairperson  
xxxx village

When [you] receive this letter, the Chairperson or one member [of the VPDC] must come. Also, asking for help of 4 bowls [6.4 kg/14 lb] of rice and 1 chicken.

[Sd.]  
Column Commander  
LIB xxx

## Crop Quotas

Farmers of every type of crop in Burma have to hand over a portion of their crop to the SPDC authorities, called '*ta won kyay*' ('obligation'). The quotas are set as a certain number of baskets of paddy or units of another crop per acre. Meetings are held to notify the villages in each area how much acreage they are supposed to grow (whether they can in fact plant that many acres or not) and the quotas they must pay per acre. After the harvest, 'paddy-buying' officials go around the villages to collect the quota. These quotas are usually set at 12-15 baskets of paddy per acre, and farmers are forced to sell their quota to the authorities at less than half of market price or face arrest. In practice, when the farmers hand in their quotas the corrupt local officials steal much of this money by deducting many kinds of bogus 'fees' and claiming that the rice contains straw or impurities, and the farmers end up receiving only 20% or less of market price; meanwhile, the SPDC takes the crop quota, and the officials pocket most of the money. For examples of this process, see "***Death Squads and Displacement***" (KHRG #99-04, May 1999). Additional orders with further details on crop quotas are included in "***SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B***" (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00).

Rice growing season in Karen State runs from June to November, depending on the rains. For hill fields, advance field preparation starts as early as January or February, but for flat irrigated fields ploughing begins with the first rains in June. In mid-year the SPDC authorities dictate the overall paddy quotas for the townships, and these are then broken down by village tract, then village, and eventually to each acre owned by each farmer. Order #403 below dictates a quota of several hundred baskets to a small village. These quotas are based on the targets set at higher levels and on the acreage which the authorities say is available for planting, not the acreage which the farmers are actually able to plant. Droughts and floods over the past several years have severely cut the seed supply, and the combination of forced labour and SPDC extortion make it difficult for many farmers to plant or tend their entire fields or obtain a full crop, but no exceptions are granted and the quotas increase year by year. Farmers who do not have the seed or resources to plant can apply for cash 'advances' from the authorities to buy seed, hire buffaloes for ploughing, or other needs. These advances are later deducted from the already paltry amount they are paid for their quota rice. Orders #401 and 402 below deal with such advances.

As can be seen in Order #404, with the harvest growing near in November the Township Peace and Development Council appoints a "Township Paddy Buying Supervisory Group" and "Village Tract Paddy Buying Groups" for each village tract. The Township group is responsible to go around to the different village tracts in January/February to collect the assigned quotas, pay out the required money, and arrange for delivery of the quotas to the "paddy buying centres" in town. These Township Paddy Buying Groups are notoriously corrupt; the village officials are expected to treat them like royalty when they arrive, feast them and fête them, and they demand extra rice from all the villages for themselves as well as pocketing most of the quota money which is supposed to go to the farmers. The Village Tract Paddy Buying Groups are responsible to make sure that all villages in their tract provide their specified quotas on time; some of these groups are corrupt as well, while some are not. Note in the order that each village tract group has at least one person from the town paddy buying centre, most likely to make sure that no skimming occurs at the village level.

Due to all of the problems already mentioned, many farmers are unable to produce their full quota, and villages are late in paying, resulting in orders like Order #406, which is essentially a first warning. If the quota is still not forthcoming, the letters will get more threatening.

According to the official paddy buying agreement which the elders of each village are forced to sign [an example can be seen as Order #159 in “**SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B**” (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00)], if a farmer fails to meet the quota, even if it was caused by a natural disaster, the outstanding balance must be paid in paddy out of the next crop, plus interest (payable in paddy) calculated at an extortionate interest rate of 17% per annum. Under this system, as soon as a farmer has one bad crop he or she can never catch up with the interest on the quota. The spiralling debt can end with the State taking the land or arresting the farmer, though many villagers flee their village before this can happen. To avoid falling into this situation farmers try to provide the full quota however they can; in bad years, this means borrowing rice from others or buying rice on the open market (at double or triple the price they get for the quota) to pay the quota while their families go hungry. The SPDC then uses the quota rice to support its ever-expanding Army, and even exports some rice as an attempt to convince the outside world that the economy is in good condition.

---

### **Order #401 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy Village

Paying the advance money for agriculture costs

Regarding the above matter, for 2 acres of fields and 70 baskets of paddy, advance money of 7,000 Kyat, seven thousand kyat, has been transferred to xxxx village as noted below.

**Stamp:** Chairperson

Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township  
(the one transferring [the money])

**[Sd.]**

(the recipient of the transfer)

Name: U aaaa  
NIC No.: xxxx/xxxxxx  
Address: yyyy village  
Date: 6-7-2000

Name: U bbbb  
NIC No.: [blank]  
Address: yyyy village  
Date: 6-7-2000

*[On the back is written “Recommendation [letter] for selling the paddy”. This order means that the local PDC authorities have given the village 7,000 Kyat in advance for a paddy quota of 70 baskets from 2 acres which they will have to pay at harvest. This would only be for one or two farmers, not the whole village. Many farmers need the money to plant, but the price of 7,000 Kyat is less than 1/3 of market price for 70 baskets. If they fail to pay the quota their land is confiscated and/or they face arrest. Even if they do not request the advance money, the quota will be demanded of them for the same price. NIC is National Identity Card, which everyone is supposed to have but many non-Burman farmers do not.]*

## **Order #402 (Doooplaya)**

### **Myanmar Farm Products Sale and Export Register of Advance on Paddy Buying Money to Each Farmer**

(Sa Ka 1)

Village Tract xxxx Name of Produce Buying Centre \_\_\_\_\_ Township Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Village Name yyyy Number of Produce Buying Centre \_\_\_\_\_ State/Division \_\_\_\_\_

#	Agree- ment #	Farmer's Name	Identity Card #	Paddy to be sold (baskets)	Advance money paid (Kyat)	# of times	Paddy Sold				Cost (Kyat)	Advance money deducted (Kyat)	Balance
							Purchase Receipt		Paddy Sold				
							#	Date	Type	Baskets			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	-	Daw aaaa	-	500	-								

*[This document relates to the same cash 'advances' mentioned in Order #401. It is a large table printed by computer on extra-wide and extra-long paper and copied by duplicating machine. We have only shown the first few rows of the table here, but the remainder is blank. On the back this copy is addressed to "Chairperson, yyyy [village]. Please give [to him/her]."]*

## **Order #403 (Doooplaya)**

### **Stamp:**

Kya In Seik Gyi township office  
Myanmar Farm Products Sale and Export

Economic and Commercial Ministry Department  
Myanmar Farm Products Sale and Export  
Kya In Seik Gyi Town

### **"Assigning Duties for Selling Paddy"**

\*\*\*\*\*

To: Chairperson  
Peace and Development Council  
xxxx village / section  
yyyy village tract

The farmers who are planting paddy in the Elder's village must sell ( xxx ) baskets of the rainy season paddy crop to the Kya In Seik Gyi midtown paddy buying centre for the year 2000-2001, by February 2001 at the latest. Assigning [you] this duty.

***[Sd.]***  
Signature  
Name - *U aaaa*  
Secretary  
Midtown Paddy Buying  
Centre, Supervisory Group  
Date: *31-10-2000*

***[Sd.]***  
Signature  
Name - *U bbbb*  
Member  
Midtown Paddy Buying  
Centre, Supervisory Group  
Date: *31-10-2000*

***[Sd.]***  
Signature  
Name - *U cccc*  
Chairperson  
Midtown Paddy Buying  
Centre, Supervisory Group  
Date: *31-10-2000*

*[This is a form sent out to all villages, with only the signatures and items shown in italics written in afterwards; several copies to different villages were obtained by KHRG, each specifying a different quota of baskets of paddy. The price paid for the crop which the farmers are forced to hand over is well under half of market price.]*

## **Order #404 (Dooplaya)**

*[To:] U aaaa (xxxx village)*

**Stamp:** Township Peace and Development Council  
Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi township, Kya In Seik Gyi town  
Kya In Seik Gyi town Letter No. 5 / 41-10 / Oo-6 / xxxx  
Date: Year 2000, November *[unclear]*

**Subject:** Assigning duties for paddy buying supervisory groups for the year 2000-2001

**Reference:** District Peace and Development Council, Kawkaik Town letter number 1250 / 2-22  
/ Ka Ya Ka *[District PDC]* (Ka Ka Ya *[Kawkaik]*) dated 3-11-2000

1) In accordance with the reference letter, in the season for buying paddy, to buy the full quota of paddy, *[we are]* assigning duties to the Township and Section / Village Tract paddy buying supervisory groups as below.

### **Township Paddy Buying Supervisory Group**

(a) U Soe Thein	Chairperson / TPDC	Chairperson
(b) U Khin Maung	Chief / Land registration office	Member
(c) U Min Aye Maung	Township Manager, Agricultural Work	“
(d) U Soe Myin Kyin	Manager, Farm Exports	Secretary

### **Section/Village Tract Paddy Buying Supervisory Groups**

#### **(a) Pyu Na tract paddy buying group**

1) U Maung Htun	Chairperson / VPDC-1	Group Leader
2) U Saw Shwe	Chairperson / VPDC-3	Member
3) U Htun Win	Agricultural Work	“
4) U Mya Gkaw	Land registration department head	“
5) U Htun Shein	Centre Officer, town central <i>[paddy buying centre]</i>	Secretary

#### **(b) Kya In Shwe Doh village tract paddy buying group**

1) Naw Lay L'Yah	Member, Kya In Gyi	Group Leader
2) U Htun Win	Village Agricultural Work	Member
3) U Mya Gkaw	Land surveying clerk	“
4) Saw Tha Hay Tha Mu	“ “ “	“
5) U Htun Shein	Centre Officer, town central	Secretary

#### **(c) Kya Ka Saun village tract paddy buying group**

1) U Ban Nyunt	Chairperson / Kya Ka Saun	Group Leader
2) U Htun Win	Village Agricultural	Member
3) U Aung Myint Oo	Land surveying clerk	“
4) U Htun Shein	Centre Officer, town central	Secretary

#### **(d) Nat Kyaun Gka Nah village tract paddy buying group**

1) U Hla Thein	Chairperson / Kyaun Sah village	Group Leader
2) U Htun Win	Village Agricultural	Member
3) U Aung Myint Oo	Land surveying clerk	“
4) U Htun Shein	Centre Officer, town central	Secretary

*[continued on next page]*

*[page 2 of original begins here]*

- (e) Nat Kyaun A'Leh village tract paddy buying group
- |                     |                              |              |
|---------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Hla Win        | Chairperson / A'Leh village  | Group Leader |
| 2) U Htun Win       | Village Agricultural         | Member       |
| 3) U Aung Myo Naing | Land surveying clerk         | "            |
| 4) U Htun Shein     | Centre Officer, town central | Secretary    |
- (f) Than Pu Ya village tract paddy buying group
- |                  |                                   |              |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Soe Lwin    | Chairperson / Than Pu Ya village  | Group Leader |
| 2) U Win Myint   | Village Agricultural              | Member       |
| 3) U Min Zaw Win | Land surveying clerk              | "            |
| 4) U Theh Way    | Centre Officer, Than Pu Ya centre | Secretary    |
- (g) G'Maw village tract paddy buying group
- |                |                                   |              |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Lone      | Chairperson / Gone village        | Group Leader |
| 2) U Win Myint | Village Agricultural              | Member       |
| 3) U Kyaw Htun | Land surveying clerk              | "            |
| 4) U Theh Way  | Centre Officer, Than Pu Ya centre | Secretary    |
- (h) Gko K'Thaun village tract paddy buying group
- |                 |                                   |              |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Htun Kyi   | Chairperson / Gko K'Thaun         | Group Leader |
| 2) Saw Thein Oo | Village Agricultural              | Member       |
| 3) U Win Soe    | Land surveying clerk              | "            |
| 4) U Theh Way   | Centre Officer, Than Pu Ya centre | Secretary    |
- (i) Ah G'Law village tract paddy buying group
- |                 |                                   |              |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Ohn Lain   | Chairperson / Ah G'Law village    | Group Leader |
| 2) Saw Thein Oo | Village Agricultural              | Member       |
| 3) U Kyaw Htun  | Land surveying clerk              | "            |
| 4) U Theh Way   | Centre Officer, Than Pu Ya centre | Secretary    |
- (j) Dah Li village tract paddy buying group
- |                   |                                   |              |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Maung Sa Nay | Village head / Dah Li village     | Group Leader |
| 2) U Than Win     | Village Agricultural              | Member       |
| 3) U Min Zaw Win  | Land surveying clerk              | "            |
| 4) U Theh Way     | Centre Officer, Than Pu Ya centre |              |
- (k) Shwe Taun Bo village tract paddy buying group
- |                   |                                   |              |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Shwe Ya      | Chairperson / Ku Doh Say village  | Group Leader |
| 2) U Than Win     | Village Agricultural              | Member       |
| 3) U Win Win Htun | Land surveying clerk              | "            |
| 4) U Theh Way     | Centre Officer, Than Pu Ya centre | Secretary    |
- (l) Seit G'Lay village tract paddy buying group
- |                    |                              |              |
|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Aung Shein    | Village head / Seit G'Lay    | Group Leader |
| 2) Aung Htay Than  | Village Agricultural         | Member       |
| 3) Khin Maung Than | Land surveying clerk         | "            |
| 4) Htun Shein      | Centre Officer, town central | Secretary    |

*[continued on next page]*



[page 3 of original begins here]

(m) Taun Dtee village tract paddy buying group

- |                   |                                 |              |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Saw Khin Paw | Chairperson / Taun Dtee village | Group Leader |
| 2) Aung Htay Than | Village Agricultural            | Member       |
| 3) Shwe Lwin      | Land surveying clerk            | "            |
| 4) Myint Than     | Centre Officer, Dta Gone Dtine  | Secretary    |

(n) Kalay village tract paddy buying group

- |                     |                                |              |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Mahn Kyin Shwe | Chairperson / Kalay village    | Group Leader |
| 2) Daw Nan Thin Ohn | Village Agricultural           | Member       |
| 3) U Yin Aye Htun   | Land surveying clerk           | "            |
| 4) Myint Than       | Centre Officer, Dta Gone Dtine | Secretary    |

(o) Dta Gone Dtine village tract paddy buying group

- |                       |                                      |              |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) U Thaung Htun      | Chairperson / Dta Gone Dtine village | Group Leader |
| 2) Daw Nan Nu Nu Htay | Village Agricultural                 | Member       |
| 3) Saw Shwe Bo        | Land surveying clerk                 | "            |
| 4) U Myint Than       | Centre Officer, Dta Gone Dtine       | Secretary    |

[Sd.] 8-11-2000

Chairperson  
(Soe Thein, Bpa/3563)

Distribution:

To all people concerned

Copies:

File  
Receipt

*[This is a mass-produced cyclostyled 3-page document, with this copy sent to the village head whose name and village appear handwritten at the very top of page 1. It assigns groups to be responsible for obtaining the rice quota from the farmers and village heads; a Township group and one group per village tract (group of 5-25 villages centred on a main central village). The Township groups are notoriously corrupt and usually focus on making sure the Township PDC officials keep most of the money which is supposed to be paid to the farmers. Some of those assigned at the village tract level are local village heads while others are corrupt local officials who will probably be assigned to watch over the village officials for the Township; note that at least one person on each village tract buying group is from the Township paddy buying centre. According to farmers, whenever they pay their crop quota the 'buying team' forces them to hand over more than the real quota, then claims the crop is impure and holds back almost all of the money which is supposed to be paid out. See also the notes at the beginning of this section for further explanation.]*

**Order #405 (Doooplaya)**

**Stamp:** Township Peace and Development Council  
Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi township, Kya In Seik Gyi town  
Kya In Seik Gyi town Letter No. *x / xx-xx / Oo-x*  
Date: Year 2000, *December 4<sup>th</sup>*

To: *Village Head*  
*xxxx [village]*

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

*[We] Want to coordinate and discuss with the Elder regarding paddy buying matters. Come without fail (without fail) to the coordination meeting according to the agenda below, you are informed.*

**A G E N D A**

Date: *8-12-2000 (Friday)*  
Time: *Morning, 10:00 o'clock*  
Place: *TPDC Office*

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Chairperson

*[This is a copied form letter with the details shown in italics written in afterwards by hand along with the stamp and signature. Several villages were summoned to this paddy buying meeting using this form. It is the same form used for Order #497.]*

**Order #406 (Dooplaya)**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Stamp:</u></b></p> <p>Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Town</p>	<p>Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi township, Kya In Seik Gyi town Letter No. x / xx-xx / Oo x (xxxx) Date: Year 2000, December 15<sup>th</sup></p>
--	---

To: Chairperson / Village Head  
      \_\_\_\_\_ village  
      Kya In Seik Gyi township

Subject: The matter of coming and selling the specified paddy quickly

- 1) Regarding the above subject, the paddy specified to be bought from \_\_\_\_\_ village tract is ( xxx ) baskets. It is known that ( - ) baskets have already been given to the paddy buying centre.
- 2) This year the specified paddy has to be bought by January 15<sup>th</sup> at the latest. Therefore the villages from your village tract which still have to give the ( xxx ) baskets of paddy must come to comply and sell it by 30-12-2000 at the latest, you are informed.

***[Sd.]***  
(for) Chairperson  
(Saw aaaa - Secretary)

Copies -  
      Office Receipt/File

*[This is a copied document with the village name and number of baskets paid and still due written in by hand. When the authorities talk about 'buying' paddy, they mean the grain which farmers are forced to hand over as quota, for which they receive only a small fraction of market price. KHRG has obtained copies of this order which were sent out to several villages, each specifying a different number of baskets of paddy, usually several hundred baskets.]*

## **Restrictions on Movement and Activity**

Villagers are not allowed to go anywhere, even between villages, without a travel pass issued by the local military or a local Peace and Development Council which has been authorised by the military. Any villager caught in the fields or forest without such a pass is automatically suspected of being a subversive, and in conflict areas this frequently results in detention, beatings, torture and even summary execution. Orders such as #408 below and Order #554 in the section ***‘DKBA Letters’*** are frequently issued to remind villagers and village heads that these passes are required. Examples of such passes, and orders threatening to take action against villagers without them, can be seen in ***“SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B”*** (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00) and ***“SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-A”*** (KHRG #2000-01, 29/2/00). In addition, there is a law enforced throughout all of Burma that all houseguests must be immediately registered with the local authorities. Even in cities, and more so in rural areas, if the authorities learn of someone hosting an unregistered guest they will swoop on the house and detain both the guest and the hosts, sometimes sending them off to the frontline for an indefinite period as porters. Order #410 below is an example of a ***“Permit for a guest to sleep”*** of the type required to have a guest in your house; even though the guest in this case is a known village head from a nearby village, he needs a permit to sleep in his friend’s house.

The movement of food and goods is also strictly controlled, using both military checkpoints and movement passes. In areas where resistance forces are active, SPDC forces treat all food, medicine and other goods as though they were intended for use by the resistance, and in areas such as eastern Nyaunglebin District villagers have been executed for possession of medicine or batteries. This is the reason for Order #407, which tells villagers in part of Papun District that they must harvest and transport all of their rice to their village by December 15<sup>th</sup> 2000, after which ***“if [we] see any paddy in the hillfields [we] will use it as Army rations”***; actually this means they will take what they can use and destroy the remainder. The village head from one village in the area told KHRG that he was told of this order after SPDC troops had found villagers’ paddy storage barns hidden in the forest, and that his villagers were ordered to carry back all paddy from their storage barns to the village. Then when the villagers complied, those who carried paddy back to the village were each fined 8 kilograms of pork for having “hidden their rice”. Order #409 is a permit for a villager to transport 3 sacks of rice she has been ordered to provide for a Buddhist festival; without this permit, if she encountered SPDC troops while going along the path they would accuse her of carrying rice to rebel forces, which is punishable by summary execution.

Order #413 is supposed to be used similarly to a travel pass, though it is labelled as a ‘Peace Pass’; according to the text, it is supposed to be carried by people who are acting as informers for the military: ***“People who hold this Pass provide information to the hands of the Army, or to the responsible government authorities. ... They must be taken care of well. They must be sent quickly to the hands of the responsible authorities. Do not torture, take the belongings of, or abuse the one who holds this Pass.”*** In reality, these folding cards are widely distributed as propaganda in an effort to convince Karen soldiers to surrender and villagers to become informers; as the Pass says, ***“Do not think, take this Pass and come to the nearest Army camp”*** to volunteer to help the SPDC. Similar (but not identical) documents have been obtained by KHRG before, one of which has been reproduced as Order #14 in ***“SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B”*** (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00).

Order #411 reads like a simple effort by #xx Infantry Battalion to prevent illegal logging in the forests of the area, but it is more likely intended to establish a monopoly on logging rights for the Battalion officers. In other areas, SPDC officers have issued similar orders while also ordering villagers to do forced labour cutting and hauling logs for the Battalion to sell in the market; Order #174 in “*SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B*” (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00) is a similar example from Pa’an District. In this case, the Battalion Commander is so determined to make sure there is no competition that he threatens the “*shooting and arresting*” of anyone who tries to cut trees in his area of control without his permission. Order #412 is the only one of the orders below which appears to be for the benefit of civilians, warning villagers to stay clear of a patch of forest where the local Battalion will be blasting tree trunks out of the way to clear the route for a road. Unfortunately, this is a road route where villagers have consistently been used as forced labour.

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### **Order #407 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

Subject: To carry the hill paddy to the village

The villagers who have planted paddy in the hillfields must carry it to your villages by the deadline of 15-12-2000 to your villages [*‘to your villages’ is stated twice*].

After that date, if [we] see any paddy in the hillfields [we] will use it as Army rations, you are informed.

[Sd.] 2/12/2000

**Stamp:** Control Supervisor  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group

*[This order has been corroborated by KHRG interviews with villagers in the region, who say they were told by the Army that any paddy found in their fields after that date would be taken by the Army or burned. The village head from one village in the area also told KHRG that he was told of this order after SPDC troops had found villagers’ paddy storage barns hidden in the forest, and that his villagers were ordered to carry back all paddy from their storage barns to the village. Then when the villagers complied, those who carried paddy back to the village were each fined 5 viss (8 kg / 17.5 lb) of pork.]*

### **Order #408 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township, yyyy Village

To: Chairperson, Secretary  
xxxx village

Date: 4-9-2000

Subject: To hold a travel pass

Travellers from the Elder's village who would like to go in Ka Ma Maung direction are not allowed to travel without a travel pass. Be informed to get a travel pass from the village tract chairperson.

*[Sd.]*

**Stamp:** Village Peace and Development Council  
*[illegible]*

*[See also Order #554, which is a similar but more detailed decree issued in the same area by the DKBA.]*

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### **Order #409 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

Recommendation

yyyy village tract, xxxx village, Daw aaaa, age 39 years old, will celebrate Thadin Kyut. You are recommended to allow her to carry 3 sacks of rice to zzzz village.

*[Sd.]*

(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[This is a typical permit which villagers must always get from the authorities, usually at a price, to go anywhere themselves or transport any goods. Thadin Kyut month has a major full moon festival which occurred on October 12<sup>th</sup> 2000, and the 3 sacks of rice are probably a forced contribution for the festival.]*

### **Order #410 (Papun)**

Permit for a guest to sleep

Date: xx-9-2000

Name: Pa aaaa  
Age: xx years  
Address: xxxx [village]  
Host house: Maung bbbb

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
yyyy village

*[In Burma no one is allowed to have a visitor without first clearing it with the authorities, or the host family and the guest can be summarily arrested and detained or sent away as porters. In this case, even though the guest is a known village head he needs a pass to stay in a friend's house when visiting another village.]*

---

### **Order #411 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

*[all but the bottom edge of the stamp  
has been torn and lost from the top of the order]*

To: Chairperson  
      xxxx village  
      Papun Township

Subject: Prohibiting the illegal cutting and selling of wood (without license)

- 1) Do not do unlicensed (illegal) cutting, selling, buying, sawing, transporting by boat or rafting of valuable wood from the national forests in the area under Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion Military Operations Region.
- 2) In accordance with the above, if [we] see [anyone] doing anything illegal (without license) with wood, [we] will take action such as shooting and arresting in accordance with the rules, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
(for) Battalion Commander

Copies to -  
- Column / All Companies (if see, arrest and take action)  
- Office receipt

*[This is a typed form letter with only the village name written in by hand. To be 'shot and arrested' is a punishment commonly threatened by SPDC forces. It may appear that this order is intended to protect the forests, but it is more likely that IB xx wants a monopoly on logging in the area for itself; SPDC units commonly ban villagers from cutting trees for themselves, then order them to cut logs for the Army. See also Order #556, issued by the DKBA in the same district with a similar subject. Immediately below this order on the same sheet another order appears, typed with the same typewriter and signed by the same officer; however, it concerns a completely unrelated subject, so we have separated it here and included it as Order #205.]*

### **Order #412 (Pa'an)**

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

Subject: Notification for the safety of civilian villagers

- 1) On the Nabu / Mi Pa Leh / Aut Bo Deh road construction, in the forest between yyyy and zzzz big trees will be blasted because machinery is unable to clear them.
- 2) Therefore, it is informed in advance that chairpersons of the respective villages should tell civilian villagers not to collect *in peh* leaves [a type of leaf used for roofing] or to cut trees for their safety.

Place: yyyy

Date: 19-3-2000

***[Sd.]***

(for) Battalion Commander  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

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### **Order #413 (Papun)**

*[This is a small card which folds out into 8 panels. It is distributed as propaganda to convince opposition forces and villagers to work for the SPDC military. Panels 1-3 are written in Sgaw Karen. Panels 5-8 are a rough translation of Panels 1-3 into Burmese.]*

Panel 1:

<b>Peace Pass</b>
-------------------

This pass is a Peace Pass. People who hold this Pass provide information to the hands of the Army, or to the responsible government authorities.

As a representative of peace, people will accept you. The Army will accept and welcome you peacefully, this is a promise.

Army

Panel 2:

<b>Directive</b>
------------------

The one who holds this Pass is designated as a representative of Peace. They must be taken care of well. They must be sent quickly to the hands of the responsible authorities. Do not torture, take the belongings of, or abuse the one who holds this Pass.

If these prohibitions are disobeyed, serious action will be taken.

Army

*[continued on next page]*



Panel 3:

### **The Peace Road**

Kay Eh Nyu [KNU] leaders and soldiers, the areas where your siblings are staying have peace and are experiencing development and improvement. Your siblings and relatives want peace. Your siblings are always waiting for the day when you will come back.

For the Karen State to develop and improve it is necessary for the whole Karen nationality to live peacefully. It is time to exchange arms for peace.

For the benefit of the Karen nationality, look ahead to the goal of the taste of peace, come back to join and work with the civilians and Army, brothers and sisters.

Do not think, take this Pass and come to the nearest Army camp.

Panel 4:

*[Panel 4 is a photo of a suspension bridge, presumably to show the wonders of development.]*

Panel 5:

### **The Peace Road**

KNU leaders and soldiers -

The areas where your siblings are staying already have peace and are experiencing development and improvement.

Your siblings, parents and relatives want peace, and are waiting day by day for the day when their siblings will come back.

If their siblings want the Karen State to develop and improve it is necessary for the whole Karen nationality to live peacefully. It is time to exchange arms for peace.

Panel 6:

### **The Peace Road**

**(2)**

For the benefit of the Karen people, look ahead to the goal of the taste of peace, come back to join with the civilians and Army.

Brothers and sisters...

Do not think...

Hold this Peace Pass and come quickly to the nearest Army camp.

Stamp:

Strategic Command Group (Base, Papun)  
Military Operations and Intelligence

*[continued on next page]*

Panel 7:

**Directive**

The person holding this Pass is designated as a representative of Peace. They must be taken care of well. They must be sent quickly to the responsible authorities.

Do not torture, take the belongings of, or abuse the one who holds this Pass.

If these prohibitions are not obeyed, serious action will be taken.

Army

Panel 8:

**Peace Pass**

This pass is a Peace Pass.

If you carry this Pass and bring information to the Army or government authorities, you will be designated as a representative of Peace. The Army will not make trouble for you and will welcome you warmly, this is a promise.

*[Graphic of a handshake  
between 2 hands in business suits]*

Army

*[This is similar to cards and documents which the SPDC has been distributing in Papun and Nyaunglebin Districts of northern Karen State for approximately 2 years now; see for example Order #14 in “SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B” (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00), which is quite similar to this. Most such documents claim that the SPDC is bringing development, and that those who ‘exchange arms for peace’ and become SPDC informers will be welcomed, and as stated in this document, they will be exempt from torture, robbery and other SPDC physical abuse.]*

## **Demands for Intelligence**

Virtually the entire population of Karen areas fears and despises the SPDC military and authorities, but this does not prevent the Army from trying to force the civilians to provide direct help to their military operations. This takes various forms, including forced labour at Army camps and as sentries and messengers (see above under ***‘General Forced Labour’***), and orders that village elders report on the activities of everyone in their villages and on any movements of opposition forces. Whenever the Army orders elders to ‘report information’ or to attend meetings to discuss ‘security matters’ or ‘control matters’, this is what they mean. This puts elders in a very difficult situation: if they report nothing they are accused of withholding information and will be severely punished if the opposition later attacks the SPDC forces in the area, but if they report anything the Army often accuses them of having contact with rebels. In most Karen areas, village elders are told that they are responsible for keeping the Army fully informed of all opposition activities, and are seriously punished if the Army is subsequently attacked or hears of opposition troops moving around their village. These punishments often include the arrest and torture of village elders, burning of houses, or forced relocation of the village. For example, Order #187 (in the ***‘General Forced Labour’*** section above) warns a village head, ***“In future, if battles or landmines occur concerned with your village, the village will be destroyed. ... The troops from above the Head’s village have suffered from landmines, so [we] are not happy at all. If the camp/activities such as a battle occurs, we will shoot with big weapons.”***

The military also makes regular demands for village heads to provide various kinds of ‘registers’ showing information about the village. For example, Orders #414, 416, 417, and 420 below demand various combinations of information including village population broken down by gender, the list of families in the village, details on the acreage of each crop and who grows it, numbers and names of students and teachers at local schools, and similar information for monks and abbots at Buddhist monasteries, and Christian churches and pastors. This information has various applications for the SPDC. The information on village population is useful in allocating forced labour and demands for ‘fees’; the crop acreage is used in allocating crop quotas and Army ‘taxes’ based on field acreage, and also to decide extortion amounts. The demands for every detail of schools, monasteries and churches are partly intended so that the Army can monitor their activities, but these demands in themselves are also probably intended as a form of intimidation; villagers and townspeople throughout Burma are often terrified to do anything simply because they think the Army already knows everything about them. Other such orders (included in previous KHRG order sets) often demand information such as the number of rice mills, sawmills, bullock carts, elephants and boats in the village, both to allocate ‘fees’ on these things and also to demand their use by the Army.

Order #421 was sent by a village head on the orders of the local Major, asking another village head for information on the number of displaced people who have arrived in her village. This order is disturbing because displaced people are usually considered as ‘rebels’ by the SPDC, and this demand for information on them may be a prelude to ordering their forced relocation to an Army-controlled site, or adding them to the demands for forced labour and extortion placed on the village where they are staying.

The orders in this section specifically call on village elders to provide intelligence to the local military, though demands for intelligence are also included in the orders of several other sections in the report.

### **Order #414 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Date: 26-1-2000  
yyyy village tract

Date: 26-1-2000

**To:**  
**Head**

**Subject:**

From (Southwestern Command) (Strategic Command): From the Head's village send a register of names, sugar cane acreage, and flat [paddy] field acreage, of those who are working on these [types of fields] in the Head's village. Also the sugar cane acreage which is being worked [here he probably meant to say 'not being worked'] and the flat [paddy] field acreage which is not being worked. The Head yourself must come to send it on 28-1-2000 at 9 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

**Note:** Send it quickly, and the Head yourself must attend the meeting.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent." Information such as that demanded here is used to assess crop quotas which farmers are forced to hand over to the Army and SPDC authorities, as well as demands for money and forced labour.]*

---

### **Order #415 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
Date: 15-2-20[00]  
Company #[blank]

**To:** Chairperson, xxxx village

15-2-2000

Send information to yyyy village on 16-2-2000, to arrive at 12 o'clock, you are informed.

**[Unsigned]**

---

### **Order #416 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

**To:**  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 6-4-2000

**Subject:** **Informing you to come to the camp**

From the Head's village, put together the list below, then the Head yourself must come to yyyy [Army camp] to arrive on 8-4-2000, you are informed.

- (1) Number of houses
- (2) Total male/female population
- (3) If there is a teaching school, number of male teachers/female teachers and male students/female students

*[continued on next page]*

- (4) If there is a monastery, number of monks/novices
- (5) If there is a Christian school [*Church*], number of pastors and their names
- (6) If there is/is not a health clinic. If there are health workers, the number of male/female workers.

**[Sd.]**

(for) **Stamp:** Battalion Commander  
Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[Copies of this order were sent to all villages in the area, with the village name written in at the top.]*

---

### **Order #417 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

7-4-2000

Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: **Head**

Regarding the orders of #x Strategic Command and the Sa Ka Ka [*Military Operations Command*] Commander, compose a data registration table for the Head's village as shown below, and send it to the VPDC office to arrive on 10-4-2000.

#### **Data**

- 1) Family register: male/female, type and quantity of livestock.
- 2) Flat fields / hill fields acreage.
- 3) Teaching school numbers of male students / female students, male teachers / female teachers.
- 4) Monastery numbers of sayadaws [*abbots*] and their degree and Buddhist monks / members of the Buddhist order.
- 5) Church school, name of the pastor.

Compose a register showing the data on whether you have / do not have [*the above things*]. Send it quickly.

**[Sd.] 7-4-2000**

(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx village. Send it to arrive today. Urgent."]*

### **Order #418 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x

Date: 16-5-2000

Subject: Informing [you] to find information and report information quickly to the Column

Regarding the above subject, xxxx village and surrounding area must send information to arrive today at the Column, and if [you] fail it will be the responsibility of the village, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Column Commander  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #419 (Thaton)**

To: Mother Daw aaaa

Date: 27-6-2000

Mother, are you healthy? Son is writing this letter. We have received information of [KNLA] movements in Mother's village. Mother said that there is nothing unusual happening. Is that true?

Mother,  
Son wants 2 bottles of honey. If I must buy it, I will. [I] want to give a present to the head. There is nothing else. May Mother be healthy. Come to visit Son.

With remembrance,  
**[Sd.]**  
Mother's Son

*[Army officers often refer to older village headwomen as 'Mother' and themselves as 'Son'.]*

---

### **Order #420 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline Light Infantry Battalion #xxx  
Column x Headquarters

Frontline Light Infantry Battalion #xxx  
yyyy [camp]  
Letter No. xxx / xxx / Oo x  
Date: Year 2000, October 7<sup>th</sup>

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village  
Kawkareik township

Subject: Informing [you] to come to yyyy camp

1) Regarding the above subject, Chairpersons of the concerned villages must come and meet at yyyy camp, Frontline Light Infantry Battalion #xxx Column Headquarters, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October 2000 at ~~1300~~ 1 o'clock without fail (without fail).

*[continued on next page]*

2) Be informed to bring along the following list when you come:

- (a) List of families in the village
- (b) List of males and females, to be divided into those under [age] 12 years and those above 12 years
- (c) Number of monasteries
- (d) Name of the abbot
- (e) Name of the Christian missionary
- (f) Total acreage of rice fields (number of farmers and number of acres)
- (g) School exists or not
- (h) If a school exists, give names of the teachers and numbers of students

[Sd.]

(for) Battalion Commander

---

**Order #421 (Papun)**

To: Daw aaaa  
xxxx [village] Chairperson

Mother - put together a registration of the population from yyyy village who have arrived in xxxx village. Then come to zzzz village tonight. If it is already dark, the Major said that you will have to sleep in zzzz.

[Sd.]

**Stamp:** Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council  
zzzz village, Papun township

*[The Army Major has ordered the head of the village beside his camp to send this letter, obtaining information on the influx of displaced villagers to another village. This will be used either to force the displaced villagers to an Army-controlled site, or to begin giving them forced labour assignments and extortion demands.]*

---

**Order #422 (Dooplaya)**

To: 13-10-2000  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

[We] Need to meet to coordinate. Chairperson or Secretary, as soon as you receive this letter now, come to send information to the Column.

[Sd.]

Company Commander  
LIB xxx

**Order #423 (Thaton)**

To: Chairperson (Village mother, village father)  
xxxx village

Subject: Come to send information to the Army camp

Right now as soon as you receive this letter, the village head yourself must come to send information to yyyy camp, and bring along the sawmill owners, you are informed.

Place: yyyy  
Date: 21-11-2000

[Sd.]  
Camp Commander  
yyyy Camp

---

**Order #424 (Thaton)**

To: Daw aaaa  
Village Head  
xxxx Village

Subject: To send information to the camp

Right now when you receive this letter, the village head yourself must come to send information to yyyy camp, you are informed.

Place: yyyy  
Date: 24-11-2000

[Sd.]  
Camp Commander  
yyyy camp

---

**Order #425 (Thaton)**

To: Daw aaaa (Chairperson)  
Daw bbbb (Deputy Chairperson)

Subject: Come to send information to the camp

Mother Daw aaaa, [we] sent a messenger with a letter on 27-11-2000 [saying] that [you] must come again on 28-11-2000 to the camp, [you] were already informed. The letter said that Daw aaaa, Daw bbbb and 3 village mothers or village fathers must come without fail, [you] were already informed. Today you didn't arrive, [you] just sent a messenger. Right now when you receive this letter, come today to the camp, you are informed.

**Stamp:**

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Date: 28-11-2000  
Company #[blank]

[Sd.]  
Company Commander  
#x Company  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
yyyy camp



### **Order #426 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Village Head  
xxxx village

30-11-2000

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

A meeting will be held at yyyy camp on 30-11-2000 at 12:00 o'clock, so the village head yourself must come without fail and report information, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
30-11

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### **Order #427 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy Village

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

Date: 1-12-2000

Today, zzzz village *[and]* xxxx village, go and find out information and come back to send it to the yyyy Column today at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

(Whether there is anything unusual or not, report the information.)

*[Sd. 'U aaaa']*  
**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy Village, Papun Township

*[This means that the village heads are supposed to find out whatever is happening with KNLA forces in the area and report it to the Army camp.]*

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### **Order #428 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Military Operations Command

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

9-1-2001

The intelligence officer Bo aaaa from Frontline LIB #xxx, Column x, is writing this letter. Now, as soon as you receive this letter, Mother Head yourself must come to meet with the Column Commander, you are informed. *[We]* need to ask about the situation in the area. If *[you]* fail, it will be Mother's responsibility. If it is okay, bring along vegetables and chicken.

Respectfully,  
*[Sd.]*  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline LIB #xxx, Col. x  
yyyy village

## **Education, Health, and Religion**

The following 3 subsections contain orders related to education, health and religious matters. As with all other aspects of life in Burma, the SPDC military and civil authorities try to exert control over all aspects of education, health and religion, and the orders in this section give some examples of this. The section '***Demands for Intelligence***' contains additional orders telling villagers to send lists of all details on schools, health clinics, Buddhist monasteries and Christian churches (see Orders #414, 416, 417, and 420), with the apparent purpose of controlling their operation and intimidating the villagers. Other orders on these topics can be seen in "***SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B***" (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00) and other previous order sets published by KHRG.

### **Education**

The orders below show that forced labour and military control intrude even into education at the village level. Orders #432 and 434 were issued by the SPDC Army demanding materials for school construction, while Orders #429 and 430 demand that villagers provide forced labour to build schools. Whenever a school is to be built, the villagers are forced to provide all of the building materials and labour as well as money for the 'cost', most of which goes into the officers' pockets. They then must provide all school materials and salaries for the teachers, while also paying 'fees' to send their children to the school. The State then claims all credit for the project. Moreover, Army officers use the construction of schools as an excuse to demand more building materials than are actually needed, and sell the surplus for their own profit. In some cases villagers have complained to KHRG that after giving the materials demanded for building schools, no school is built and they never see the materials again.

#### **Order #429 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Date: 4-3-2000

Peace and Development Council

yyyy village tract

To: Head

Subject: The matter of calling for *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above subject, to build the yyyy school, one person per house from the Head's village must come to carry sand / stones on 5-3-2000 to arrive at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

**Note:**

Do not fail by any means.

***[Sd.]***

(for) Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council

yyyy village, Papun township

### **Order #430 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Date: 7-4-2000  
yyyy village tract

**To:**  
**Head**  
xxxx [village]

Date: 7-4-2000

**Subject:**

To build the teaching school, send without fail 4 *loh ah pay* people to yyyy school at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

**Note:** Must be people who can plane wood.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is marked "Urgent letter".]*

---

### **Order #431 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

**To:**  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Subject:** Invitation to attend a meeting

Regarding the above subject, *[we]* have to hold a meeting at yyyy village about school and teaching matters, so xxxx Chairperson and Secretary, 2 people, must come to yyyy village to arrive on July 28<sup>th</sup> at 1600 hours, you are invited.

Date: 28-7-2000  
Place: yyyy

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Tactical Commander

---

### **Order #432 (Papun)**

**To:**  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

16-9-2000

**Subject:** Informing *[you]* to come to yyyy Army camp

Regarding the above subject, *[I]* want to know the situation of whether the wood required for the teaching school is ready yet. Come to meet at yyyy Army Camp on 16-9-2000 at 1200 hours, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 16-9-2000**  
**Stamp:** Control Supervisor  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group

### **Order #433 (Papun)**

#### **Invitation to a Meeting**

**Subject:** A teaching school matter

The village head must come to attend the meeting at yyyy village middle school on 29-11-2000 at 11 o'clock in the midday.

The headmaster invites [you] to the meeting on 29-11-2000, Wednesday, at 11 o'clock in the midday exactly. Come without fail.

***[Sd.]***  
29-11-2000

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx [village]".]*

---

### **Order #434 (Thaton)**

<b><u>Stamp:</u></b>	To:	14-12-2000
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion	Daw bbbb (village head)	
Company #x	xxxx village	

**Subject:** To send wood for the school

As I have already told Daw bbbb, for the school [send] 10 pieces of teak 6"x1" by 10 feet long from each sawmill, and 15 pieces 3"x2" by 10 feet long from each sawmill. The total for the 4 sawmills is 40 pieces 6"x1" by 10 feet long, and 60 pieces 3"x2" by 10 feet long. Send it tomorrow, 15-12-2000, in order to build the new school quickly.

***[Sd.]***  
Company Commander  
#x Company  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
yyyy camp

## **Health**

The orders in this section call village heads and villagers to attend meetings about HIV (Orders #435 and 436), bring their infants for vaccination (Order #437), and attend the opening of a village health clinic (Order #438). The SPDC itself has long been criticised for putting almost no resources whatsoever into health care and in 2000 the World Health Organisation rated Burma's health care system 190<sup>th</sup> out of 191 countries (Sierra Leone ranked last). The SPDC's publicly stated goal of restructuring the Myanmar Red Cross into an "effective defence force to crush destructive elements", already in evidence in some of the propaganda campaigns carried out by the organisation, leaves little room for optimism that the regime is interested in improving the health care system. At the same time, however, foreign non-governmental organisations, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), UNICEF and even the UN Development Programme have been trying to force aid for health care on the regime, and have over the past few years become somewhat more efficient in seeing that this aid reaches the target; hence the clinic openings, vaccinations and HIV meetings. All of this is financed and arranged by foreign organisations, though when these things are implemented the SPDC is quick to try to take credit for them.

### **Order #435 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Date: 26-2-2000

Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: [blank]

Subject: The matter of attending the HIV training to be held in yyyy village

Regarding the above subject, an HIV training and discussion will be held in yyyy village. It will be held in the yyyy teaching school, so send all male/female youths from 13 years old to 35 years old from the Head's village on 29-2-2000 at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]

**Stamp:** Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. URGENT. Red Cross."  
"URGENT" is written in large letters with a red felt tip marker.]*

### **Order #436 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Date: 28-2-2000  
yyyy village tract

To: Head - xxxx [village]

Date: 28-2-2000

Subject: The matter of attending the inter-youth discussion and training concerning HIV/AIDS

Regarding the above subject, the Red Cross Society youth from zzzz will hold a health discussion, so those from the Head's village between age 13 and age 45, at least 30 people, must come tomorrow, 29-2-2000 at 7 o'clock in the morning, to yyyy middle school.

(Note) Attend without fail. If [you] fail, it will be the responsibility of the Head.

[Sd.] 28-2-2000  
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Important. Urgent."]

---

### **Order #437 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: [blank]

Date: 26-4-2000

Subject: The matter of vaccinations for children under one year [old]

Regarding the above subject, [as ordered by] yyyy Health Department, for vaccinations for children under one year, come on 26-4-2000 to arrive at 9 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]."]

---

### **Order #438 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx / yyyy villages

**Stamp:**  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

21-7-2000

Subject: [You] Must come to the meeting

When [you] receive this letter, from the Chairperson's village, the Secretary and one representative of the villagers must attend the opening of the village clinic. Come to zzzz today, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
**Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xx Infantry Battalion

## Religion

Most of the orders below are calls to selected village heads, and in some cases a few of their selected villagers, to go on pilgrimage trips to worship at Shwedagon pagoda in Rangoon or at pagodas in Pagan, near Mandalay, “*at government expense*”; see Orders #439, 440, 441, and 442. The real purpose of these trips is unclear, though such junkets are sometimes used to show the SPDC’s generosity, support of religion, and public support in the state-run media, while also subjecting the pilgrims to propaganda speeches and re-education while on the trip.

Order #444 calls village heads to a ‘coordination meeting’ for a Buddhist festival (‘*Ka Htein*’, held starting on October 26<sup>th</sup> 2000) at a major temple in Nabu, central Pa’an District. At these meetings, each village is assigned duties to provide money, food and labour to prepare the festival, many of which are dictated by the military. The demands which were placed on the area villages for this festival can be seen in Order #380 in the section ‘*Extortion of Money, Food and Materials*’.

### Order #439 (Thaton)

To: Chairperson

- 1) From xxxx village, in the past Daw aaaa was the one who always took duty as [*village*] head. Come to arrive in the evening to attend the meeting on 9-5-2000.
- 2) After the meeting, [*we*] will go to worship at Rangoon Shwedagon Pagoda, so bring along the things and clothing that you need.
- 3) Daw aaaa alone can go.

Major bbbb  
Col. x  
LIB xxx

---

### Order #440 (Papun)

Stamp:

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: Come to worship at the pagoda

If the Elder is going to worship at the pagoda, bring along the materials and come today to arrive at yyyy. [*You*] Can go / not go. Reply. The nation will pay your expenses, you are informed.

Place: yyyy village  
Date: 9-5-2000

[*Sd.*]  
(for) Battalion Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

[*This order was carbon copied and sent to several villages. It appears to refer to the same SPDC-sponsored trips taking some villagers to Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon or to Pagan as are mentioned in the other orders in this section.*]

### **Order #441 (Papun)**

[To:] Chairpersons  
xxxx / yyyy [villages]

20-5-2000

The villagers who will go to worship at the pagodas at Bagan [*Pagan, near Mandalay*] will be sent at government expense. Bring the register, separated by male/female, of the villagers who want to go. The Chairperson and 5 villagers must come quickly as soon as you receive this letter now to explain this matter, informing you for the last time.

[Sd.]

[See also Order #442 below.]

---

### **Order #442 (Papun)**

[To:] Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

29-5-2000

The villagers who will go to worship at the pagodas at Bagan [*Pagan, near Mandalay*] will be sent at government expense (free). Bring the register, separated by male/female, of the villagers who want to go. The Chairperson and 5 villagers must come quickly as soon as you receive this letter, informing you for the last time. Tell the xxxx [village] sayadaw [*abbot*] and then the Chairperson and 5 villagers must come as soon as you receive this letter. Will explain this matter. Will explain the date to go and the date to come back.

[Sd.]

[See also Order #441.]

---

### **Order #443 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

20-8-2000

Subject: Invitation to listen to a religious sermon

Regarding the above subject, on the 8<sup>th</sup> waning day of Wah Kaun month, year 1362 (22-8-2000), to listen to the monk give a religious sermon to release us from problems at yyyy village, the Elder's village is invited to listen to the religious sermon.

P.S. Mother, to give alms-food, come and bring 2 chickens. [We] will send money for the cost. Come today.

[Sd.]



## **Order #444 (Pa'an)**

### **Stamp:**

Aung Thein Dee Monastery  
Pagoda Trustees Group  
Nabu Village, Year 1346

Aung Thein Dee Monastery, Nabu  
Bone Ka Htein Festival Celebration Committee  
Letter Number Aung Thein Dee / Nabu / Gka Hta / xx  
Date: Year 2000, October 12<sup>th</sup>

To:

Number 547 / 548 / 549 Light Infantry Battalions  
Number 935 Support and Transport, Gko Gka Hsay camp  
Number 943 Construction Engineers, Dtat Sweh, Nabu  
Number 999 Dee Kay Bee Ay [DKBA] Battalion [sic: *Brigade*], Nabu  
Chairperson / Pagoda Trustees Group  
\_\_\_\_\_ village, Kawkareik Township  
Health / Education group, Nabu Army area

Subject: Invitation to attend the coordination meeting for the annual celebration of Nabu Aung Thein Dee monastery Bone Ka Htein Festival

Regarding the above subject, to draw a big crowd for the annual Nabu Aung Thein Dee monastery Bone Ka Htein festival, the Elders concerned and the monastery lay helpers must all attend without fail the coordination meeting on 15-10-2000, 3<sup>rd</sup> waning day of Thadin Kyut month, year 1362, at Nabu Aung Thein Dee monastery hall. With faith in *neit ban* [nirvana], you are respectfully invited.

***[Sd.]***

Chairperson  
Bone Ka Htein Festival Celebration Committee  
Aung Thein Dee Monastery, Nabu  
Kawkareik Township

xxxx / xx

*[This is a typed and reproduced letter with the village name, date, stamp and signature added later by hand (indicated by italics). 'Ka Htein' is a ceremony to offer robes to monks which occurs between the 1<sup>st</sup> (no moon) day of Dta Zau Mon month (26/10/00) and the full moon of Dta Zau Mon month (10/11/00); in this case the festival began on the no-moon day of October 26<sup>th</sup> 2000. See also Order #380 under 'Extortion of Money, Food and Materials', which dictated demands to the villages for this ceremony.]*

## Summons to ‘Meetings’

The orders below call village elders to ‘meetings’, usually at the local Army camp. Village elders are deluged with such orders every week from each Army camp in their area, making it difficult for them to tend their fields and perform their functions within the village. Many of the orders ‘invite’ the elders, but almost without exception they add the phrase ‘without fail’. They are expected to drop everything and go immediately to the Army camp on receipt of these orders. Usually these meetings are completely one-sided: an Army officer dictates demands for forced labour, money or materials to a village elder and gives deadlines, or scolds and threatens the elder for being lax in meeting previous demands. Sometimes the elders are ordered to report on all movements of resistance forces in their area, and are threatened with punishments if any of the information later proves to be inaccurate. ‘Discussions regarding village security’ usually mean assignments for forced labour as unarmed sentries, restrictions on the movements of villagers and threats of punishment for any resistance activity which occurs in the area. The commanders often call all the village heads in their local area to gather at the camp at the same time so they can allocate demands to each village, and in this case the orders are copied and sent to as many villages as are required.

The orders commonly threaten the elders that if they fail to come “the responsibility will be yours”, or “the responsibility will fall on the village”. The former means that the elder will be arrested and punished, the latter that the village will be punished in some form, which can mean forced relocation, looting or the burning of some houses. Some carry more explicit threats, such as the threat to “take serious action”.

Village heads are usually afraid to go to these meetings, so on receiving these orders they often disappear off to their farmfields or to other places. This usually results in further angry and threatening letters from the Army officer, until after the third or fourth letter the village head has to decide whether to go to the camp or flee his/her village. Order #456 was written because a village head was so afraid to travel to a meeting with the Company Commander that he pleaded with another Army officer to intercede for him asking to be excused. Order #471 complains that the village head has repeatedly failed to come when called, and adds, “*Now [I] am warning you again for the last time*”. Order #511 warns the village head, “*Do not fail to take this seriously*”, and Order #525 threatens that “*there will be a fine*” if the village head fails to “*report to yyyy camp as soon as you receive this letter*”.

---

### Order #445 (Papun)

To: Ko aaaa (Chairperson)  
xxxx village

19/1/2000

When you receive this letter now, come to contact our Column. The Elder yourself must come, you are invited.

[Sd.]  
IB xx

**Order #446 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

21-1-2000

[We] Have to hold a meeting tomorrow, 22-1-2000, at yyyy, so attend without fail.

[Sd.]  
yyyy [camp]

---

**Order #447 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

To: 25-1-2000  
Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

As soon as you receive this letter now, come to the Column at yyyy now.

[Sd.]  
Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xx Infantry Battalion

---

**Order #448 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
#xx Infantry Battalion  
Staff Department

To: Chairperson/Head  
xxxx village

As soon as you receive this letter now, [we] must discuss urgent matters. Come quickly to meet at yyyy camp, you are informed.

Place: yyyy camp  
Date: 27-1-2000

[Sd.]  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion

[This is a carbon-copied order sent to several villages, with the village name and the signature written in afterwards in ink.]

---

**Order #449 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Date: 3-2-2000  
yyyy village tract

To: Head  
xxxx [village]

Date: 3-2-2000

As soon as you receive this letter now, Village Head, there is an urgent matter, so the Head yourself must come quickly to the yyyy VPDC office, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

**Order #450 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** Date: 5-2-2000  
#xx Infantry Battalion To:  
Date: 5-2-2000 Chairperson  
Company #x xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, [we] will hold a meeting on 6-2-2000 at yyyy camp, so come without fail tomorrow, to arrive in the morning at yyyy camp, you are informed.

[Unsigned]  
yyyy Camp  
IB xx

---

**Order #451 (Papun)**

To: Mother Daw aaaa 9/2/2000  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Come to yyyy on 10/2/2000 to arrive at 10 o'clock in the midday [morning].

[Sd.] Captain  
Deputy Battalion Commander

---

**Order #452 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** To: 11-2-2000  
#[illegible] Infantry Battalion Chairperson  
Company #x xxxx [village]

When you receive this letter now, come to yyyy camp to arrive at 7 o'clock in the morning.

[Sd.]  
**Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company #x  
[rest of stamp illegible]

### **Order #453 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

#xx Infantry Battalion  
Staff Department

To:

Ko aaaa  
xxxx village

16-2-2000

As soon as you receive this letter now, come to meet quickly at the column, you are informed.

***[Sd.]***

(for) Intelligence Officer

---

### **Order #454 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
yyyy Camp  
Letter No. 01 / xxx / Oo x  
Date: Year 2000, February 17<sup>th</sup>

To: Chairperson

xxxx village

Village Peace and Development Council

Subject: Informing /you/ to come to the Camp

To ask and discuss the matter of villages/sections with the Elder, come to meet at yyyy camp on 18-2-2000 to arrive at 0900 hours, you are informed.

***[Sd.]***

(for) Battalion Commander  
Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

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### **Order #455 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

17-2-2000

Have to discuss village matters with the Elder. The Elder yourself must come to meet at yyyy camp on 18-2-2000, to arrive at 0900 hours.

***[Sd.]***

(for) Column Commander

*[On the back this order bears the stamp of Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion, Column x Headquarters.]*

### **Order #456 (Papun)**

To: Company Commander  
aaaa Mobile Company  
#xx Infantry Battalion

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column [illegible] Headquarters

With friendliness, younger brother is writing. The matter is [your] summoning the xxxx chairperson from younger brother. He is also afraid of us [my unit] and doesn't dare to come to us either. Dee Kay Bee Ay [DKBA] officer bbbb held a donation ceremony and invited all the Chairpersons and villagers. I gave permission. Tactical Command also ordered [me] to provide security for this ceremony. The ceremony finished yesterday evening, 22-2-2000. He [the xxxx chairperson] came and pleaded [with me] to write a letter because he doesn't dare to go there. That's why younger brother is writing, [asking you] to forgive the Chairperson.

Respectfully,  
[Sd.]  
Army / xxxxx  
Major cccc

*[This is a letter from one SPDC officer to another. The addressee has ordered a village head to come to his camp, but the village head doesn't dare go so he has managed to get the writer to enter a plea for him to be exempted.]*

---

### **Order #457 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

Date: 28-2-2000

To: Head

Subject: The matter of Southwestern Command Strategic Command meeting the Heads

The Southwestern Command Strategic Command Major has to meet and discuss with the Heads. Attend the meeting on 29-2-2000 at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note: The Head yourself must attend.

[Sd.]

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[This is a carbon-copied order. On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]."]*

---

### **Order #458 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column #x Headquarters

1-3-2000

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

The chairperson yourself must come to yyyy tomorrow and arrive at 0900 hours.

With friendliness,  
[Sd.]  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline LIB #xxx

### **Order #459 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** 1-3-2000  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion To: Chairperson  
Column x Headquarters xxxx village

Come to yyyy camp to arrive tomorrow at 0900 hours.

With friendliness,  
[Sd.]  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline LIB #xxx

---

### **Order #460 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion yyyy village  
Column x Headquarters Letter No. xx / xxxx / xx / Oo 1  
Date: Year 2000, March 6<sup>th</sup>  
To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion Column x Headquarters at yyyy village wants to hold a meeting for military operations, security and village development issues. The Chairperson yourself must come without fail on March 7<sup>th</sup> 2000 to arrive at 8 o'clock, you are invited to the meeting.

[Sd.]  
**Stamp:** Intelligence Officer  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #461 (Papun)**

To: **Stamp:** 20-3-2000  
Chairperson Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
xxxx village Column #x Headquarters

Subject: Come to the column

The xxxx Chairperson yourself must come to yyyy camp on 22-3-2000, you are informed.

[Sd.] 20-3  
(for) Battalion Commander  
yyyy Camp

### **Order #462 (Papun)**

To: Mother Head  
xxxx [village]

24-3-2000

Subject: Mother Head must come to meet

Regarding the above subject, the Column Commander wants to meet Mother Head so as soon as you receive this letter, come quickly to meet at yyyy.

**Stamp:**

Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

**[Sd.]**

Sgt. bbbb

---

### **Order #463 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Date: 26-3-2000

Peace and Development Council

Date: 26-3-2000

To: Head

yyyy village tract

Subject: The matter of inviting [you] to a meeting

The Southwestern Command (Strategic Command) wants to meet and discuss with the Heads, so attend the meeting on 26-3-2000 and 27-3-2000, you are informed.

Note: Without fail, the Head yourself  
must attend the meeting.

Time: Morning at 9 o'clock

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent letter."]*

---

### **Order #464 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

29-3-2000

Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To:

Head

The yyyy Strategic Command #x Base has a matter to meet and discuss with the village heads. On 5-4-2000 at 9 o'clock in the morning, come without fail to the VPDC office, you are informed.

**Stamp:**

Frontline #x Strategic Command Group  
Southwestern Command

**[Sd.]**

**[Sd.] 29-3-2000**

**Stamp:** Chief Staff Officer (Dtat) (Control/Support)

(for) Chairperson

#x Strategic Command Group  
Southwestern Command

Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township



### **Order #465 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

To: Head

31-3-2000

Subject: The matter of inviting [you] to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, yyyy Strategic Command Base has to meet and discuss with the Elders, so come to arrive tomorrow, 1-4-2000, at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

(Note) Come without fail, you are informed again.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent."]*

---

### **Order #466 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 1-4-2000

Subject: Inviting the Elder

Regarding the above subject, [we] have to meet and ask things of the Elder, so come to yyyy camp on Monday, 3-4-2000 at 0800 hours in the morning.

Chairperson U aaaa yourself must come.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Battalion Commander  
Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

### **Order #467 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 9-4-2000

Subject: Informing [you] to come and meet at the Column

Regarding the above subject, now, as soon as you receive this letter the Chairperson yourself must come quickly without fail to meet at the Column. If [you] fail it will be the responsibility of the one concerned, you are informed.

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x

**[Sd.]**  
Intelligence Officer  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

### **Order #468 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract

Date: 9-4-2000

**To:**    **Head**

**Subject:**

From the yyyy Strategic Command Major: Now, as soon as you receive this letter, come with the Heads quickly to meet, you are urgently informed.

**Note:** Come urgently with this messenger now  
to meet.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx [village]. Urgent. Emergency letter."]*

---

### **Order #469 (Papun)**

**To:**    U aaaa  
xxxx village head

14-4-2000

**Subject:**    **Come to meet**

Now, as soon as you receive this letter, the village head yourself must come to meet with the Battalion Commander.

**[Sd.] 14/4**

(for) **Stamp:** Battalion Commander  
Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #470 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

**To:**    Chairperson  
xxxx village

15-4-2000

Come to yyyy camp on 16-4-2000 to arrive at 1000 hours.

**[Sd.]**

(for) **Stamp:** Battalion Commander  
Column x Headquarters  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

**Order #471 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 19-4-2000

[I] Have asked the Elder to come many times, but as of today [you] still haven't arrived. Now [I] am warning you again for the last time, you are informed. If [you] fail to come, it will be the responsibility of the Elder.

[Sd.]  
Company Commander  
Frontline LIB xxx

---

**Order #472 (Papun)**

Stamp:  
Peace and Development Council  
Date: 28-4-2000  
yyyy village tract

Date: 28-4-2000

To: Head - xxxx [village]

Subject: The matter of inviting [you] to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, yyyy Strategic Command has to meet and discuss with the Heads. The Heads yourselves must attend a meeting on 1-5-2000 at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note:  
Do not fail.

[Sd.] 28-4-2000  
(for) Stamp: Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

*[On the back this order is marked "Urgent." It is a carbon copy sent to several villages, with the village name written in afterwards in ink.]*

---

**Order #473 (Papun)**

Stamp:  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Adjutant Department

To: Pa aaaa

Informing [you] that #xxx Battalion will hold a meeting on 4-5-2000. Come without fail, you are informed.

[Sd.]

*[On the back this is addressed to xxxx village.]*

**Order #474 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

4-5-2000

There will be a meeting at yyyy camp on 7-5-2000 at 0700 hours, so the Chairperson must attend the meeting. Bring the village chairperson's seal *[rubber stamp]*. Come without fail to yyyy camp, you are invited. Do not fail.

Note:

If the Chairperson isn't there, the Secretary must attend.

*[Sd.]*  
IB xx  
yyyy camp

---

**Order #475 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx *[village]*

6-5-2000

Subject: The matter of calling a meeting

*[We]* Will hold a meeting on 10-5-2000 at 0800 hours at yyyy camp, so come without fail to yyyy camp and bring along the village seal *[rubber stamp]*. Do not fail.

Note

If the village chairperson is not there,  
the Secretary must attend. Do not fail.

*[Sd.]*  
yyyy camp  
IB xx

---

**Order #476 (Papun)**

To: Mother Head  
xxxx village

14/5/2000

Respectfully I am writing a letter. A meeting will be held tomorrow, 15/5/2000, at 9 o'clock. Mother Head yourself must come to yyyy village. You are respectfully invited.

Respectfully,  
*[Sd.] 14/5/2000*  
Company Commander  
Company #x

---

**Order #477 (Papun)**

xxxx *[village]*

Mother Head, why didn't you come as called to the meeting at 9 o'clock? Come at once now.

*[Sd.] Capt., 16/5/[2000]*

**Order #478 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** Date: 20-5-2000  
Peace and Development Council To: Head  
yyyy village tract xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, the #x Strategic Commander who has newly arrived wants to meet with the village heads, so attend the meeting without fail on 22-5-2000 at 10 o'clock in the morning at the VPDC office, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 20-5-2000**  
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village tract, Papun township

---

**Order #479 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson (xxxx [village]) Date: 21-5-2000

Subject: Come to the Camp

Have to meet and ask things of the Chairperson, so come to yyyy camp to arrive on 22-5-2000.

*[Unsigned]*

---

**Order #480 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** 6-6-2000  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion To: U aaaa (Head)  
Column x xxxx village

Subject: Come to meet with the IB xx Battalion Commander

The #xx Infantry Battalion is taking duty at yyyy camp, so the village heads must come without fail and meet on 8-6-2000, to arrive at 10 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**  
(for) Column Commander  
IB xx  
Include also xxxx [meaning unclear]

### **Order #481 (Papun)**

To: Head  
~~xxxx [village]~~  
yyyy [village]

9-6-2000

Have to coordinate matters of organising *[controlling the villages]*. Meet with the Battalion's big commander. Come to yyyy camp to arrive on 12-6-2000 at 12 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Column Commander  
yyyy camp  
IB xx

*[On the back is the official rubber stamp: "Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion / Column x". This is the carbon copy of an order originally sent to the village with the crossed-out name. On the carbon copy, the officer has crossed out the original village name and written in another, the date, and his signature.]*

---

### **Order #482 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion  
Column x

To: Head (U aaaa)  
xxxx [village]

14-6-2000

Every Saturday at #xx Infantry Battalion yyyy Camp, the Battalion Colonel will hold a meeting, so come without fail, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Column Commander  
yyyy camp

### **Order #483 (Papun)**

Chairperson (xxxx [village])

When *[you]* receive this letter, come to yyyy tomorrow, 17-6-2000, to arrive at 8 o'clock in the morning.

*[Sd.] xxxxxx [Army serial no.]*

**Order #484 (Papun)**

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx Village

Stamp:  
#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

Date: 24-6-2000

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

Regarding the above subject, to discuss the matter of security for the Elder's village, attend the meeting at 1200 on 27-6-2000 at the yyyy village monastery.

*[Sd.]*  
TOC #x

*[We have translated the Burmese abbreviation for Tactical Operations Command as TOC.]*

---

**Order #485 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 1-7-2000

Come and meet the Column quickly as soon as you receive this letter.

F.L. LIB xxx  
Column x

*[We have translated the Burmese abbreviation for Frontline Light Infantry Battalion as F.L. LIB.]*

---

**Order #486 (Papun)**

Chairperson  
xxxx [village]

22-7-2000

Tomorrow, 23-7-2000 at 0900 hours, attend a meeting at yyyy camp, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
Intelligence Sergeant  
yyyy camp  
Frontline IB #xx

**Order #487 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** #xx Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

2-8-2000

Subject: *[You]* Must come to a meeting

As soon as you receive this letter, come to yyyy village, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
**Stamp:** Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xx Infantry Battalion

---

**Order #488 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** Township Peace and Development Council  
Papun township

Township Peace and Development Council  
Papun town  
Letter No. 2 / x-x / xx x  
Date: Year 2000, *August 4<sup>th</sup>*

To: Chairperson  
VPDC (xxxx)

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding emergency, we will hold a coordinating meeting according to the agenda below. Attend without fail, informing and inviting you.

The place where the meeting will be held: yyyy hall  
The date when the meeting will be held: 5-8-2000 (Saturday)  
The time when the meeting will be held: 1 o'clock in the afternoon

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson

*[This is a cyclo copied form letter with only the details shown in italics written in by hand.]*



### **Order #489 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson / Secretary  
( xxxx ) village

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

Regarding the above subject, a meeting will be held to coordinate with village heads at #xxx Light Infantry Battalion, so the village chairperson or one secretary from the addressed village must attend the meeting (without fail) on 12-8-2000, to arrive at ( 12 ) o'clock, you are informed.

Place: <u>Papun Town</u>	<b><u>Stamp:</u></b>	<b><u>[Sd.]</u></b>
Date: <u>10-8-2000</u>	#xxx Light Infantry Battalion Battalion Headquarters	Adjutant Captain #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[This is a carbon copied order with only the village name, time and date written in by hand.]*

---

### **Order #490 (Papun)**

To:	<b><u>Stamp:</u></b>
Chairperson	#x Tactical Operations Command
xxxx Village	Military Operations Control Group
	Kalay Town

Mother Daw aaaa - The Tactical Command Commander wants to meet Mother and Naw bbbb from yyyy [village] today at 1400, 2 o'clock, so come, you are informed.

***[Sd. 19-8-2000]***

*[“From zzzz Camp” is written on the back of the order.]*

---

### **Order #491 (Papun)**

19-8-2000

To: Pa aaaa

When you receive this letter, come and arrive to meet. Must come. It is urgent, so [you] must come. Have to coordinate.

That is all.  
***[Sd.]***

*[On the back of this order there is a stamp which reads “#xxx Light Infantry Battalion, Battalion Headquarters”, and it is addressed to “Chairperson Pa aaaa, xxxx [village]”. The village head complied and went to meet the following day.]*

**Order #492 (Papun)**

To: Pa aaaa

20-8-2000

When this letter is received, come together with the xxxx [village] chairperson Pa bbbb. [We] Have a problem. Urgent.

That is all.  
[Sd.]

---

**Order #493 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Township Peace and Development Council  
Papun township

Township Peace and Development Council  
Papun town  
Letter No. 2 / x-x / xx x  
Date: Year 2000, September 11<sup>th</sup>

To: Village Head  
xxxx tract

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

A meeting of #1 Strategic Command Group (base), Township Peace and Development Council, and the mountain village heads will be held on 18-9-2000 (Monday) at 10 o'clock in the morning at yyyy Hall, so come without fail on the evening of 17-9-2000 to Papun town, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
Chairperson  
(U bbbb, Bpa/xxxx)

[This is a carbon-copied typed form letter, with just the village name and the signature written in by hand.]

---

**Order #494 (Dooplaya)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Intelligence Department

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Date: 23-9-2000

Subject: The matter of coming to the Battalion Headquarters

Regarding the above subject, as soon as [you] receive this letter, the village chairperson yourself must come to meet at #xxx Infantry Battalion, Battalion Headquarters, you are informed.

Note: If [you] fail, it will be the responsibility of the Elder.

[Sd.] 23/9/2000  
(for) Intelligence Officer  
#xxx Infantry Battalion

### **Order #495 (Thaton)**

Mother [Village] Head  
xxxx Village

Mother Village Head:

Tomorrow (30-9-2000) come to meet with me. There is no unusual reason. Tomorrow [you] must come.

*[Sd.]*  
Captain aaaa  
yyyy [camp]  
29-9-2000

*[On the back of this order was a small sticker of Garfield the Cat portering a suitcase.]*

---

### **Order #496 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson 3-10-2000  
xxxx village

Subject: Informing [you] to come to yyyy Army Camp

To coordinate and discuss the situation in the area under control of yyyy Army Camp, the Chairperson yourself must come to meet at yyyy Army Camp on 4-10-2000 at 0900 hours, you are informed.

*[Sd.] 3-10-2000*  
**Stamp:** Control Supervisor  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group

---

### **Order #497 (Dooplaya)**

<b><u>Stamp:</u></b>	Township Peace and Development Council
Township Peace and Development Council	Kya In Seik Gyi township, Kya In Seik Gyi town
Kya In Seik Gyi town	Letter No. x / xx-xx / Oo-x
	Date: Year 2000, October 4 <sup>th</sup>

To: Village Head  
xxxx [village]

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

[We] Want to coordinate and discuss with the Elder regarding village management matters. Come without fail (without fail) to the coordination meeting according to the agenda below, you are informed.

*[continued on next page]*

## A G E N D A

Date: 10-10-2000 (Tuesday)  
Time: Morning, 10:00 o'clock  
Place: TPDC Office

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Chairperson

*[This is a copied form letter with the details shown in italics written in afterwards by hand along with the stamp and signature. Several villages were summoned to this particular meeting using this form. It is the same form which was used for the meeting in Order #405.]*

---

### **Order #498 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Military Operations Command

To: Chairperson / Head  
xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

Regarding the above subject, [we] have to meet and discuss with the Elder. Come without fail to #xxx Light Infantry Battalion on 15-10-2000 (year 1362, 3<sup>rd</sup> waning day of Thadin Kyut) (Sunday) to arrive at 10 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Place: yyyy  
Date: ( 9-10-2000 )

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Acting Battalion Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

*[This is a carbon copy, with only the stamp, village name, signature and '(for)' added in. It is identical to carbon copies which were sent to other villages.]*

---

### **Order #499 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx Village

**Stamp:**  
#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

11-10-2000

Subject: Inviting [you] to attend a meeting.

Regarding the above subject, to coordinate and discuss the situation in the yyyy camp control area, come to yyyy Army Camp on 13-10-2000 at 10 o'clock, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
Coordinating Supervisor  
#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group

## Order #500 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**

#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

11-10-2000

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

Regarding the above subject, to coordinate and discuss the regional situation in the control region of yyyy camp, attend at yyyy Army Camp on 13-10-2000, arrive at 1000 hours, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*

**Stamp:** Control Supervisor  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group

**Order #501 (Papun)**

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx Village

**Stamp:**

#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

Subject: Informing you to attend the meeting

Regarding the above subject, to coordinate and discuss the situation in the yyyy Army Camp control area, come to yyyy Army Camp on 13-10-2000 and arrive at 10:00 o'clock, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*

Coordinating Supervisor  
#x Tactical Operations Command  
Military Operations Control Group

**Order #502 (Papun)**

To:

Chairperson  
xxxx village

Stamp:

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

Date: 13-10-2000

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, a regional security and village security meeting will be held on 15-10-2000, Sunday, at 10 o'clock in yyyy village. The village chairpersons yourselves must attend (without fail), letting you know and informing you.

*[Sd.]*

(for) Column Commander

### **Order #503 (Pa'an)**

To: Head  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion  
Column x

Subject - Calling for regional control

Regarding the above subject, as soon as you receive this letter now, come quickly to meet at yyyy village for a discussion, you are informed.

Date: 22-10-2000

**[Sd.]**

Place: yyyy village

(for) Column Commander

*[ 'Regional control' means that the Column Commander will most likely lay down restrictions on activities of the villagers in the area and threaten the village for any failure to comply.]*

---

### **Order #504 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion  
Column #x

To:  
U aaaa  
xxxx [village]

Tomorrow, 23-10-2000 at 11 o'clock in the midday, there is a meeting. *[You]* Must come, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**  
yyyy Camp

---

### **Order #505 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
yyyy Village

Date: 1-11-2000  
To:  
Chairperson, xxxx Village

A matter to coordinate and discuss

Regarding the above matter to be discussed with the Elder, as soon as you receive this letter come to meet at yyyy, you are informed.

(U aaaa)  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy Village, Papun Township

### **Order #506 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion  
Column #x Headquarters

To: Village Head  
xxxx Village

2-11-2000

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, [I] want to coordinate and discuss the matter of village security, so the village head yourself must come to report on 3-11-2000 at 3 o'clock to yyyy Army camp, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 2/11**  
Frontline #xx, Col. #x

---

### **Order #507 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy village

To: Saw aaaa - Maung bbbb

7/11/2000

Informing [you]. Without fail, attend the meeting with the #x Strategic Command Base Commander on 8-11-2000, Wednesday, tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock, you are informed. Come early.

**[Sd.]**  
U cccc  
**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

*[On the back this order is marked "Urgent. To Saw aaaa - Maung bbbb, xxxx village".]*

---

### **Order #508 (Papun)**

To: Head, xxxx village

Subject: To discuss and coordinate matters of security and organising

Regarding the above subject, to discuss and coordinate for the villages under yyyy camp, the village heads must come to yyyy camp on 12-11-2000 to arrive at 10 o'clock. If the heads are not healthy / away, the deputy heads should come instead. Without fail, you are invited.

**[Sd.]**  
yyyy Camp Commander  
LIB #xxx

*[This order is handwritten and carbon copied, with just the village name and signature written in afterwards in ink.]*

**Order #509 (Papun)**

11-11-2000

Invitation - yyyy camp to hold a meeting

Tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock come to the meeting at yyyy Army Camp, you are invited. The place *[where]* the meeting will be held is yyyy Army camp. The date of the meeting is 12-11-2000.

Without Fail.

*[Sd.] 11-11-2000*

---

**Order #510 (Papun)**

11-11-2000

Invitation to a meeting

Tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock, yyyy Army Camp invites *[you]* to a meeting. The place where the meeting will be held is yyyy Army Camp. The date of the meeting is 12-11-2000.

Without Fail.

*[Sd. 11-11-2000]*

---

**Order #511 (Dooplaya)**

**Stamp:**

#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Intelligence Department

To:

Chairperson  
\_\_\_\_xxx\_\_\_\_ village

Date: 13-11-2000

Subject: The matter of coming to the Battalion Headquarters

Regarding the above subject, the village chairperson yourself is to arrive on 14-11-2000 at 0900 hours at #xxx Infantry Battalion, Battalion Headquarters office. Do not fail to take this seriously, you are informed.

Note: Do not fail.

*[Sd.]*

Intelligence Officer  
#xxx Infantry Battalion



**Order #512 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Peace and Development Council  
yyyy Village

Date: 16-11-2000

To:  
Chairperson, xxxx Village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above matter, the Division Strategic Operations Command commander wants to meet and discuss, so come to meet me tomorrow (17-11-2000) at exactly 8 o'clock in the morning at yyyy, you are informed.

(Note) Without fail.

(U aaaa)  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy Village, Papun Township

*[Handwritten copies of this order were sent to several villages.]*

---

**Order #513 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy Village

Date: 20-11-2000

To:  
Chairperson, xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, to meet and discuss with the #xx *[Infantry Battalion]* Company Commander, attend without fail a meeting today at 10 o'clock at yyyy, you are informed.

*[Sd. 'U aaaa']*

---

**Order #514 (Thaton)**

To:  
Mother *[Village]* Head  
xxxx village

21-11-2000

Mother, to discuss the matter of work, come to yyyy on 22-11-2000 at 1000 hours, you are informed.

*[Sd.] 21-11-2000*  
Column Commander

*[In this context 'work' means forced labour.]*

### **Order #515 (Dooplaya)**

**Stamp:**  
Township Peace and Development Council      Township Peace and Development Council  
Kya In Seik Gyi Township, Kya In Seik Gyi town      Kya In Seik Gyi Township, Kya In Seik Gyi town  
Kya In Seik Gyi Town      Letter No. x / xx-xx / Oo-x /  
Date: Year 2000, November 21<sup>st</sup>

To:      Chairperson / Village Head  
         xxx ~~section~~ / village  
         Kya In Seik Gyi township

Subject:      The matter of attending the regular monthly meeting

Reference: Section/village tract VPDC chairpersons, village heads, township information departments: in Kya In Seik Gyi township, the Strategic Command group (base) wants to coordinate meetings at the end of every month on the 30<sup>th</sup>/31<sup>st</sup> at the township Army hall.

2) Therefore, the regular monthly meeting will be held on (30-11-2000), at 1:00 in the afternoon at the township Army hall. Attend without fail (without fail), you are invited.

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson  
(Soe Thein, Bpa/3563)

Copies to:  
Strategic Command Group (base), Kya In Seik Gyi town  
Chiefs of departments concerned, Kya In Seik Gyi town (attend the meeting,  
you are invited)  
File/Receipt

*[This form letter, sent out to all villages in the area, has been repeatedly used to call meetings at the end of every month (see also Order #530 for the December meeting); only the village name and the date is written in by hand, and almost identical copies can be seen as Orders #212, 219 and 225 in "SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B" (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00).]*

---

### **Order #516 (Papun)**

To:      xxx Chairperson

*[Regarding]* The matter of making a meeting. Attend the meeting on 23-11-2000 at 8 o'clock in the morning at yyyy Army Camp (tomorrow).

Without fail.

*[This order was unsigned.]*

**Order #517 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy village

Date: 23-11-2000

To:  
Chairperson, xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, to coordinate and discuss, come to meet with the yyyy [village] Chairperson on 24-11-2000, you are informed.

Tonight we have a video, so come to watch.

(U aaaa)

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

---

**Order #518 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

25-11-2000

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

To discuss the matters of the regional situation and village security, villages from the west side of the zzzz River must attend a meeting at yyyy Army Camp on 27-11-2000, to arrive at 1200 hours, you are invited.

**[Sd.] 25/11/2000**

**Stamp:** Control Supervisor  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group

*[This order is was carbon-copied to be sent to several villages, with the village name written in afterwards.]*

**Order #519 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
yyyy village

Date: 25-11-2000

To:  
Chairperson, xxxx village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, to meet and discuss with the #xx [Infantry Battalion] Column Commander, come to meet at yyyy today at 10 o'clock, you are informed.

(U aaaa)

**Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy village, Papun township

---

**Order #520 (Dooplaya)**

**Stamp:**

#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Office

To:  
Chairperson  
\_\_\_\_xxx\_\_\_\_ village

Date: 28-11-2000

Subject: To attend the meeting at Battalion Headquarters

Regarding the above subject, a meeting will be held at #xxx Infantry Battalion, at the Battalion Headquarters Office. Therefore the village Chairperson yourself must come to the Battalion Headquarters on 31-11-2000 to arrive at 0800 hours in the morning, you are informed.

Note - Do not fail. If [you] fail, it will be the responsibility of the village Chairperson.

**[Sd.]**

(for) Intelligence Officer  
#xxx Infantry Battalion

*[This is a carbon-copied order very similar in wording to Order #521, which was probably typed from it with slight alterations.]*

### **Order #521 (Dooplaya)**

**Stamp:**  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson  
\_\_\_\_\_ village

Date: 30-11-2000

Subject: The matter of attending the meeting at Battalion Headquarters

Regarding the above subject, a meeting will be held at #xxx Infantry Battalion, at the Battalion Headquarters Hall. Therefore the village Elder, Chairperson yourself, must come to the Battalion Headquarters on 2-12-2000 to arrive at 0800 hours in the morning, you are informed.

Note - Do not fail, the Chairperson will bear the responsibility.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Intelligence Sergeant  
#xxx Infantry Battalion  
xxxx xxxxxx [Army Serial No.], Sgt. aaaa

*[This is a typed order with the village name, date and signature written in by hand. Below the signature "Intelligence Officer, #xxx Infantry Battalion" had been typed, but it was obliterated by the 'Intelligence Sergeant' stamp. Several villages received copies of this order.]*

---

### **Order #522 (Thaton)**

(4) Ko aaaa

The above 4 people must meet with the Strategic Commander. Send them today quickly, you are informed.

**[Sd.] 1-12-2000**

Capt. bbbb  
yyyy Camp Commander

*[The top portion of this order listing the first three of the four people has been torn off and lost.]*

---

### **Order #523 (Papun)**

To: Chairperson  
xxxx village

**Stamp:**  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group  
Kalay Town

9-12-2000

Subject: Calling for a meeting

Regarding the above subject, the village Chairpersons must come to yyyy village without fail on December 12<sup>th</sup> 2000 to arrive at 10 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

**[Sd.]**

**Stamp:** Control Supervisor  
#x Tactical Command  
Military Operations Control Group

**Order #524 (Papun)**

**Stamp:** Date: 9-12-2000  
Peace and Development Council To:  
Papun Township Chairperson, xxxx village  
yyyy Village

Subject - The #xx Battalion Column wants to meet and discuss with the Elder, so as soon as [you] receive this letter, come to meet at yyyy, you are informed.

(Note) [Sd. 'U aaaa']  
xxxx [village] Chairperson  
zzzz [village] " **Stamp:** Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
yyyy Village, Papun Township

---

**Order #525 (Pa'an)**

Date: 13-12-2000  
To: For village heads from xxxx village tract  
Subject: Come and report to yyyy camp as soon as you receive this letter. If not, there will be a fine.

[Sd.]  
Company Commander  
LIB xxx

---

**Order #526 (Papun)**

To: xxxx [village] Date: 16-12-2000  
Village Head  
[blank] village

Subject: Calling a meeting

[We] have to hold a meeting at yyyy camp, so the Elder yourself must come to yyyy camp on 17-12-2000 to arrive at 0800 hours, you are informed.

**Stamp:** [Sd.] Deputy Battn. Commander  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion Column Commander  
Column x Headquarters Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion

[This order was carbon-copied and sent to several villages.]

### **Order #527 (Pa'an)**

**Stamp:**

Light Infantry Battalion #xxx  
Military Operations Command

To: Chairperson  
    xxx village

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

The Elder is invited to attend a meeting without fail at Light Infantry Battalion #xxx on 1362, Nat Daw month, 8<sup>th</sup> Waning day (18-12-2000) (Monday) morning at 10 o'clock. The Elder is respectfully invited to attend without fail.

Place: yyyy - zzzz  
Date: 17-12-2000

*[Sd.]*  
(for) Battalion Commander  
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

---

### **Order #528 (Dooplaya)**

**Stamp:**

#xx Infantry Battalion  
Battalion Office

18-12-2000

To:

xxx [village] Chairperson, to hold a meeting at #xx Infantry Battalion, come on 19-12-2000 to arrive at 0800 hours, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*  
Intelligence Officer  
#xx Infantry Battalion

*[Handwritten copies of this order were sent to several villages.]*

---

### **Order #529 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Peace and Development Council  
Papun Township  
    yyyy village

Date: 21-12-2000  
To: Chairperson, xxx village

Subject: To meet and discuss with the IB #xx Deputy Battalion Commander, meet on 22-12-2000 at zzzz village, you are informed.

For the Myaing Gyi Ngu New Year Festival on 23-12-2000, two representatives must come on the 23<sup>rd</sup> in the morning, you are invited. (aaaa)

*[Myaing Gyi Ngu is the headquarters of the DKBA, and the festival is the Karen New Year. The sender, head of the Peace and Development Council for this area some distance from Myaing Gyi Ngu, has simply written his name in brackets at the end of the order instead of properly signing it.]*

### **Order #530 (Dooplaya)**

**Stamp:**  
Township Peace and Development Council      Township Peace and Development Council  
Kya In Seik Gyi Township, Kya In Seik Gyi town      Kya In Seik Gyi Township, Kya In Seik Gyi town  
Letter No. x / xx-xx / Oo-x / xxxx  
Date: Year 2000, December 21<sup>st</sup>

To:      Chairperson / Village Head  
            xxxx section / village  
            Kya In Seik Gyi township

Subject:    The matter of attending the regular monthly meeting

Reference: Section/village tract VPDC chairpersons, village heads, township information departments: in Kya In Seik Gyi township, the Strategic Command group (base) wants to coordinate meetings at the end of every month on the 30<sup>th</sup>/31<sup>st</sup> at the township Army hall.

2) Therefore, the regular monthly meeting will be held on (31-12-2000), at 1:00 in the afternoon at the township Army hall. Attend without fail (without fail), you are invited.

*[Sd.]*  
Chairperson  
(Soe Thein, Bpa/3563)

Copies to:  
Strategic Command Group (base), Kya In Seik Gyi town  
Chiefs of departments concerned, Kya In Seik Gyi town (attend the meeting,  
you are invited)  
File/Receipt

*[This is identical to Order #515 but to a different village and for the December meeting. This form letter, sent out to all villages in the area, has been repeatedly used to call meetings at the end of every month; only the village name and the date is written in by hand, and almost identical copies can be seen as Orders #212, 219 and 225 in "SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2000-B" (KHRG #2000-04, 12/10/00).]*

---

### **Order #531 (Papun)**

To:      xxxx [village] Chairperson      31-12-2000

I am writing a letter. Now, as soon as you receive this letter, come for a discussion at the camp, you are informed. If [you] don't come, it will be the responsibility of the Chairperson.

*[Sd.]*  
yyyy Camp



**Order #532 (Dooplaya)**

To:    xxxx village  
          Village head

When [you] receive this letter now, come to meet the Column at yyyy village.

*[Sd.]*

## Column Commander

10-1-01

LIB xxx - Deputy Battalion Commander *aaaa*

## Order #533 (Thaton)

Chairperson  
xxxx village

Mother -

As soon as you receive this letter, come quickly to yyyy camp, you are informed.

*[Sd.]*

yyyy Camp Commander

**Order #534 (Papun)**

To: xxxx Chairperson

(Invitation to a meeting)

Regarding the above subject, the xxxx Chairperson yourself must come and arrive at 3 o'clock in the evening to attend the meeting at yyyy.

Without Fail.

*[This order does not indicate the sender; however, there is an SPDC Army camp at yyyy.]*

**Order #535 (Papun)**

xxxx village Chairperson U *aaaa*

As soon as you receive this letter, come to yyyy for a while, there are things [we] have to discuss.

Must come.

*bbbb*

**Order #536 (Papun)**

xxxx [village] Head Pa aaaa, I am writing a letter to inform you. As soon as you receive this letter, come. Urgent. Must come.

bbbb

---

**Order #537 (Papun)**

xxxx and yyyy heads.  
Today there will be a meeting.  
Come as soon as you receive this letter.

aaaa

---

**Order #538 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline #xx Infantry Battalion  
Company #x

To:  
Chairperson  
xxxx village

Subject: The village head must come to meet

As soon as you receive this letter now, the village head yourself must come without fail to meet at yyyy village, you are informed.

[Sd.]  
(for) Company Commander  
Company #x  
#xx Infantry Battalion

## **DKBA Letters**

The orders below were issued by Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA) units in Papun, Pa'an, Thaton and Dooplaya Districts, with the exception of #568 which was issued by the 'Karen Peace Group' (see notes below). The DKBA units in these areas are partly occupied in helping the local SPDC military as guides and in fighting the KNLA, but also spend much of their time on their own projects, such as collecting money in various ways, conducting or taxing commercial logging, demanding payments from villages, and setting up road checkpoints to collect money from all vehicles and passengers. The DKBA are also involved in supervising forced labour of villagers on roads or building pagodas in some areas, whether under SPDC orders or for their own purposes.

As a result of these types of activities, DKBA orders to villages read much like SPDC orders, except that they are often written in bad Burmese or almost equally bad Sgaw Karen. The DKBA also tend to be more direct in their language if and when they want to issue threats. However, it is important to note that some DKBA units are worse than others, and many of their orders are written in a much more genial tone than SPDC orders.

We have divided the orders below into several topical sections: *Landmines, DKBA General Forced Labour, DKBA Demands for Materials and Money, DKBA Restrictions and Trade Controls Against Villagers*, and *DKBA & KPA Meetings and Festivals*. Each of these subsections contains a brief explanation of the orders therein. Some of the orders below were written in Burmese, while the others were written in Sgaw Karen where noted. Instead of writing the DKBA's name in Karen or Burmese, the officers usually write a series of Burmese characters which are pronounced "Dee Kay Bee Ay", but which have no meaning in Karen or Burmese. Where this occurs, we have used "Dee Kay Bee Ay" in the translations. Where they have written out the name of their Army in Karen or Burmese we have translated directly; it does not usually translate directly as Democratic Karen Buddhist Army, but as 'Progressive Karen Buddhist National Army' or simply 'Karen Buddhist Army'. Where we have written DKBA, it is because it is written that way in English characters in the order.

Order #275 in the section '*Set to a Village I*' and Orders #307 and 331 in the section '*Set to a Village II*' were also issued by the DKBA. See also Orders #43, 63, and 118 in the section '*General Forced Labour*', which were issued by the local authorities on behalf of the DKBA. Additional DKBA orders are included in order sets previously published by KHRG. For more information on the DKBA, see "*Abuse Under Orders: The SPDC & DKBA Armies through the Eyes of their Soldiers*" (KHRG #2001-01, 27/3/01).

Order #568 was issued by the 'Karen Peace Group', also known as the Karen Peace Army (KPA), a group in Dooplaya District which was established in 1997 by former KNLA commander Thu Mu Heh with support from the SLORC/SPDC. He immediately allied himself with the SLORC/SPDC and the regime made a show of giving him 'authority' over Dooplaya District, but since then his group has largely been sidelined because he failed to attract enough recruits to maintain military control over the region. Since then, the SPDC has strongly reasserted its military presence in the region, and has also brought DKBA units back into some areas from which they had formerly been expelled to make way for the KPA. For more background on the KPA, see "*Dooplaya Under the SPDC: Further Developments in the SPDC Occupation of South-central Karen State*" (KHRG #98-09, 23/11/98), and "*Starving Them Out: Forced Relocations, Killings, and the Systematic Starvation of Villagers in Dooplaya District*" (KHRG #2000-02, 31/3/00).

## Landmines

Similarly to the SPDC, the DKBA units tend to hold the nearest villagers directly responsible for any military setbacks they suffer anywhere, with the logic that local villagers should always provide them with full intelligence on any and all KNLA activities. Villages are directly and severely punished for any ambushes, landmine explosions, or even reports of KNLA movements or visits to the village. Punishments usually include heavy cash fines for ‘compensation’, the burning of houses, forced relocation of the village, and/or the detention, torture and possible execution of village elders and villagers. The order below makes such a threat should the DKBA troops encounter any landmines; ironically, the DKBA itself has heavily landmined the area where this order was issued, as have both the SPDC and the KNLA. When casualties occur it is often not even clear whose landmine has exploded, but the villagers are always punished by one side or the other. A similar order issued by the SPDC can be seen in the section ‘**General Forced Labour**’ (Order #187). Many of the landmine casualties in the area are villagers. For background see Order #P1 in “**SPDC Orders to Villages: Set 99-B**” (KHRG #99-03, 19/4/99), in which the Pa’an District DKBA warns the villagers that it is about to begin landmining the area, and other reports on Pa’an District previously published by KHRG.

### Order #539 (Pa’an)

Tract leader  
xxxx village

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

Writing to let you know.

yyyy village gives you a warning.

Landmines must not occur at all near the village. If they occur, we will take action, we will burn [your village]. This is an order.

Number 999 Army  
Battalion #x  
Company #x  
Company Commander [Sd.]  
20/11/2000

*[This order is written in Sgaw Karen and entirely in red ink, which is usually seen as a threat that it must be complied with or there will be serious punishment. The writer uses bad grammar but his meaning is clear: if any landmines explode or are found near the village, the village will be burned. ‘yyyy village gives you a warning’ either means that the DKBA camp is at that village, or that they have already burned that village because of a landmine.]*

## **DKBA General Forced Labour**

The orders below demand villagers for forced labour, most of which involves building, maintaining and fencing DKBA camps, building and maintaining houses for DKBA officers and their families, portering supplies and farming to grow food for DKBA units. The working conditions are similar to forced labour for the SPDC. The DKBA routinely threatens villagers should they fail to come for the labour; for example, Order #541 threatens “*If you don’t come you can’t stay*”, meaning that the village elders will be arrested or the village destroyed. Order #543 makes a similar threat: “*The Head yourself cannot stay [in your village] without coming.*” Order #545 is less specific, demanding 2 forced labourers and stating, “*If you do not send them, you must suffer the punishment which will be given.*”

### **Order #540 (Papun)**

To:    xxxx head  
      yyyy “

2-2-2000

Subject:    Writing to inform

When you receive my letter today, send 20 of your workers from xxxx, and 30 people from yyyy. Bring along 20 mattocks [*large hoes*]. You cannot fail to come. The people from zzzz must bring 2 days of food.

Receive and obey.

From    [*Sd. ‘aaaa’*]  
          bbbb Company

[*This DKBA order is written in Sgaw Karen. On the back is written “Army matter. Send at once.”*]

---

### **Order #541 (Papun)**

To:    xxxx [*village*] Head

Writing to let you know like this:

Tomorrow, ask one villager from each house to come and roof my house. If you don’t come you can’t stay [*in your village*]. Everybody, please.

Company #1 Commander  
Bo aaaa

[*This DKBA order is written in Sgaw Karen. It came in an envelope bearing the stamp “Karen Buddhist Army / DKBA” and dated 9/2/2000.*]

### **Order #542 (Papun)**

To: xxxx [village] Head

12-2-2000

Subject: Writing to let you know as below. When you receive my letter, you must arrange and send 30 of your villagers tomorrow, 13-2-2000. The work will be for 2 days. Your people who come must please bring along food for 2 days. Bring along 10 mattocks [large hoes] for digging. Send them to yyyy on 13-2-2000 if you can. Village head, come to meet. Regardless, send your people tomorrow on 13-2-2000 to yyyy.

This is from  
[Sd.]  
Security Column

*[This is a DKBA order written in Sgaw Karen. On the back it is marked "Military matter. Send at once."]*

---

### **Order #543 (Papun)**

To: xxxx [village] Head

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

27-2-2000

Writing a reply to you. I haven't seen you send your people, so I ordered people to ask you [about it]. Now when you receive my letter, send your 25 workers on 28-2-2000 with 3 days' food and 10 mattocks [large hoes]. The Head yourself cannot stay [in your village] without coming. Come and bring along 400 betelnuts.

Receive and obey.

From aaaa  
Security Column

*[This DKBA order is written in Sgaw Karen. On the back the village head has made a list of 22 names, probably the villagers who will have to go for forced labour.]*

---

### **Order #544 (Papun)**

To: [blank]

The subject matter

Date: 12-5-2000

Regarding the above subject, informing the village heads that to fence the Dee Kay Bee Ay [DKBA] Army camp, to plant the bamboo [posts], the village heads and villagers must gather it [the bamboo] and come to fence on 14-5-2000 at yyyy Dee Kay Bee Ay [DKBA] camp. Writing this letter to inform you.

Dee Kay Bee Ay

Company Commander [Sd.] 12/5/2000  
Company #x  
Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion

*[This DKBA order is written in Burmese. On the back the village head has written a list of 25 names, presumably the villagers who went for the forced labour. DKBA officers are not very good writers, which explains the meaningless heading of 'The subject matter'.]*

## **Order #545 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

To: xxxx [village]  
Head

Date: 21-5-00

Writing a letter and informing you. The letter that I have to write is an urgent matter, so send 2 people and 1 saw. If you do not send them, you must suffer the punishment which will be given. Will give 500 Kyat for one day. Send them to arrive on 21-5-00. That's all.

***[Sd.]***

yyyy district, #333 Brigade  
Dee Kay Bee Ay

*[This DKBA order is written in Burmese.]*

---

## **DKBA Demands for Materials and Money**

The orders below contain DKBA demands to villages to provide thatch roofing (Order #546 and several others), rice (Order #551) and livestock (Order #553). Most of the demands are for thatch roofing shingles, which are labour intensive to produce; villagers must gather leaves of the specified type in the forest, cut and haul bamboo, split and shave the bamboo into sticks and ties, then weave the leaves onto the metre-long bamboo frames. An order such as #546 for 1,500 thatch shingles could easily take the whole village a week to produce, two or three given that they must do their own work and meet other forced labour demands at the same time. The demands for thatch are supposed to be ***“for the house roofs of the soldiers’ wives and children”***, as stated in Order #548, but this is probably not always the case and much of the thatch may be sold by the DKBA officers for profit. Even Order #548 actually demands money: ***“Because your village is so far, you cannot send thatch, so send money, 10,000 Kyat”***, as does Order #547.

Despite all the labour required to produce thatch, the DKBA sends out angry and threatening letters if it is not delivered on time. Order #549 asks, ***“Haven’t you prepared the thatch? I gave you time, a long time ago now. If you wait only for the [orders of the] Burmese side, then when will it come? In your village is no one free? Someone must be free. There is no way that the whole village can be busy.”*** In fact, most villagers usually *are* busy, trying to survive despite all the demands they face. Order #550 is more threatening: ***“Your ears are very dead. If you keep your ears dead, you will see trouble.”***

### **Order #546 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

Progressive Karen Buddhist Army

To: xxxx village head

Date: 23-12-99

Writing to let you know, when you receive my letter prepare one thousand five hundred (1,500) thatch shingles for me. Arrange it for me. Visit and tell the yyyy village head. Make them the full length. Send them to arrive at the end of Pya Tho month [February 3, 2000].

**[Sd.]**

Deputy Chief of Health

*[This DKBA order is written in Sgaw Karen and is marked on the back "Military Matter". Preparing such a large number of thatch shingles will require a great deal of labour, which may be why he tells the village head to tell the head of another village as well. The shingles may be to roof buildings at the DKBA camp, or to sell for DKBA profit.]*

---

### **Order #547 (Papun)**

Urgent Military Matter

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

Date: 5-2-2000

To: xxxx village head

Writing to urgently let you know. For the roofs of the Company #x soldiers and the soldiers' wives' houses you cannot send the thatch you must make. It is easier for you to send money.

1. xxxx [village] - 10,000 Kyat
2. www [village] - 10,000 Kyat
3. yyyy [village] - 7,000 Kyat
4. zzzz [village] - 13,000 Kyat

The [village] heads from xxxx must tell to let all the other villages know.

On 2000/25 [meaning of date unclear] it [the money] must arrive to the vvvv village head.

For

**[Sd.] 5-2-2000**

Ka Hsaw Wah [Battalion]

*[This DKBA order was written in Sgaw Karen. It is really just a demand for extortion money disguised as a demand for thatch roofing. The deadline date is unclear, but it is probably 25/2/2000 because this is the date specified in Order #548 below.]*



### **Order #548 (Papun)**

Urgent Military Matter: x

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

To: xxxx village head

Date: 9-2-2000

With full respect, writing to let you know as below. Because your village is so far, you cannot send thatch, so send money, 10,000 Kyat. If it is really thatch, send 2,000 shingles. These things are for the house roofs of the soldiers' wives and children. Send the money and we will buy it for them. We obey when the leaders give us orders, and you also must obey well. Come and send it to yyyy village head aaaa on 25/2/2000. Don't come to zzzz, there are many Burmese Columns there.

Receive and obey.

Gka Sa

*[The signature at the bottom has been torn off and lost. This DKBA order is written in Sgaw Karen. See also Order #547.]*

---

### **Order #549 (Papun)**

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

To: xxxx [village] Head  
Letting you know in a few words

Date: 26-2-2000

Haven't you prepared the thatch? I gave you time, a long time ago now. If you wait only for the [orders of the] Burmese side, then when will it come? In your village is no one free? Someone must be free. There is no way that the whole village can be busy. Whether you can or not, you must come to meet at once.

That's all.

yyyy [camp] writing this letter  
[Sd.]

*[This DKBA order is written in Sgaw Karen. It followed the orders above, which demanded thousands of thatch shingles or cash payment by 25/2/2000. The whole order is written in red ink, which implies urgency and a threat to villagers who receive it. On the back this order is marked "DKBA - Urgent Military Matter".]*

**Order #550 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

Progressive Karen Buddhist Army

To: xxxx village head  
aaaa

Date: 30-3-2000

With respect, when you receive this letter send the thatch to arrive on 13<sup>th</sup> waning day of Da Baun month [April 2<sup>nd</sup> 2000]. Your ears are very dead. If you keep your ears dead, you will see trouble. Send it to arrive on the day when I am writing this letter.

Come yourself.

From [Sd.]  
Deputy Medical Officer  
xxxx Battalion  
(bbbb)

[This DKBA order is written in Sgaw Karen and marked on the back "Urgent Military Matter".]

---

**Order #551 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

To: [blank]

Date: 7/5/2000

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army

Elder, I am respectfully writing a letter to inform you. As soon as [you] receive this letter, the matter is about our ration rice right now, so the Elders must collect one big tin [of rice] from each village and send it with the messenger to arrive today in the evening, you are informed.

DKBA

Company Commander [Sd. 'aaaa']  
xxxx Battalion, Company x  
From Company Commander

[One big tin of rice is approximately 17 kilograms / 37.5 pounds.]

**Order #552 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

xxxx [village; misspelled]

To: Chairperson, to inform

Date: 13-5-2000

Respectfully writing to inform. The subject is to ask nipa palm thatch from the Chairperson's village. Come to send 100 shingles of thatch from the Chairperson's village to us on 17-5-2000. Writing to inform you. You must carry this out.

***[Sd.]***

Company Commander  
Company #x  
xxxx Battalion  
Dee Kay Bee Ay [DKBA]

---

**Order #553 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

To: Head aaaa  
xxxx village

The Sergeant is writing to inform you as below. Come on the 5<sup>th</sup> of the month with 2 *duh* [*'duh'* is a qualifying word used to refer to four-legged animals, though he does not actually write 'animals']. Receive and obey. If you don't come, you can't stay [*in your village*]. When [*you*] arrive, [*I*] will give the money at once. We will pay whatever you request.

Just a few words, written by  
Major bbbb  
yyyy

*[This DKBA order was written in Sgaw Karen. On the back it is marked "Army Matter".]*

## **DKBA Restrictions and Trade Controls Against Villagers**

The 3 orders in this section each control the activities of villagers in different ways. Order #554 dictates that villagers must obtain travel passes from the DKBA or the authorised village head whenever they go anywhere, even if it is only between villages. These are similar to SPDC travel passes which are also required (see the section ***‘Restrictions on Movement and Activity’*** above); anyone found in the fields or forests without such a pass ***“will be punished”***, which means they will be arrested and detained for ransom or taken for an indefinite period of forced labour, usually as a porter. If there are suspicions that they have connections to the resistance, they may also be tortured or killed.

Order #555 shows an example of the DKBA trying to make money by forcing villagers to sell all of their seasonal cash crops through DKBA officials, forcing all traders to buy this produce from their units, and threatening punishments for any who fail to comply. For most villagers these crops are their only means of making money to supplement their subsistence rice crop, and they do not need or want an artificial middle-man to intervene. The area covered by this order includes almost all of southern Papun District.

Order #556 places restrictions on villagers cutting wood in the forest, similar to the SPDC’s Order #411 in the section ***“Restrictions on Movement and Activity”***. At first it may appear that this order is intended to protect the forests, but it is actually issued by a DKBA officer who is heavily involved in logging in the area. As with the SPDC order, its intention is to keep the wood for the profit of DKBA loggers rather than to protect the forests.

### **Order #554 (Papun)**

#### **Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army  
Number Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion - Dee Kay Bee Ay

Letter No. Ka Hsa Wa / Gka-2 / 006 / 2000

Date: Year 2000, August 9<sup>th</sup>

To:

Distribution - All villages under Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion  
( xxx ) village

Subject: The matter of carrying travel passes

1) Regarding the above subject, the civilians who travel in the Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion area must carry a travel pass from the concerned village chairperson, or the nearest Dee Kay Bee Ay organisation, or allies, whenever travelling.

2) When [you are] travelling and meet people in authority, if [they] check for passes [you] can show it. [You] Must volunteer it for checking at checkpoints.

*[continued on next page]*

3) Under our Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion, if the passengers who come to Ka Ma Maung - Myaing Gyi Ngu cannot show travel passes when they are checked, action will be taken and *[they]* will be punished. Therefore, the village heads must continue to inform your villagers, letting you know and informing you.

***[Sd.] 9-8-2000***

Duty Officer  
Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion Headquarters Office  
Base - Paw Tee Ku  
(Saw Hla Kyaing)

Copies

Chief of Staff Office (Dee Kay Bee Ay)  
Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion Commander - 1 - 2  
No. 333 Brigade Office (Dee Kay Bee Ay)  
Central Security #1 Battalion Office (Dee Kay Bee Ay)  
Maw Th'Roh Noh District Office  
Chief Quartermaster - Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion  
Intelligence Commander - Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion  
Office/Receipt

*[This DKBA order was sent to all villages over a wide area, and KHRG obtained several copies sent to various villages. It was typed in Burmese on a typewriter, then copied by cyclostyling with the village name and signature written in by hand afterwards.]*

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**Order #555 (Papun)**

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

Democratic Karen Buddhist Association

Date: Year 2000, August 21<sup>st</sup>

Subject: Notification of the local agricultural products purchasing project

1) Regarding the above subject, to find funding for Maw Tha Roh Noh District organising committee and Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion, the funds collection committee will take control of seasonal agricultural produce such as cardamom, *[illegible]* from villages in Maw Tha Roh Noh District.

2) To purchase the produce systematically and successfully, one area will be assigned to each committee.

(a) Major Dtah Dtee and Lieutenant Soe Myint Oo of Maw Tha Roh Noh District Organising Committee are responsible for Meh Tha Loh, Dta Gone Dtine, Way Mone, Way Hsan, Ku Seik, Ma Dtaw *[Ma Taw]*, etc. village tracts.

*[continued on next page]*

(b) Captain Du Dtee / Sergeant Saw Kyu are responsible for Pyin Ma Myin, Dta Byay Dta Paw Pa, Maw Law Ko, and Daw [illegible] village tracts.

(c) Lieutenant Aung Htun and group are responsible for Tee Law Thay Hta, Tee Theh Lay, Kyaun Ywa, etc. village tracts.

(d) Saw Chit Thu and group are responsible for Day Law village tract and Shwe Palah village tract.

(e) Secretary-2 Saw Pah Dah and group are responsible for the village tracts from Meh Bpa area.

(f) ~~Secretary~~ Deputy Warrant Officer Thaung Win and group are responsible for the village tracts in Meh Wain [Meh Way] area. These were the assignments.

3) Independent purchasers who would like to buy the agricultural products mentioned above must contact the assigned local person in charge. Purchase and transport of the produce will be done by their arrangement.

4) Actions including seizure [of the produce] will be taken if the related persons in charge are not informed, if they [the traders or farmers] buy and transport it themselves.

5) Be informed to explain to the local people from the areas assigned so they will understand the process. These duties must be performed exactly so that the plan will be implemented properly.

Copies to:

- 1) Military Chief of Staff's Office
- 2) Commander in Chief's Office
- 3) Patron Abbot (U Kay Mi Ka)
- 4) Brigade 333 Commander
- 5) Chairperson - Thi Ha District
- 6) Chairperson - Maw Tha Roh Noh District
- 7) Battalion Commander (Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion)
- 8) Area Chiefs (Thi Tha Kayan)
- 9) Ward & Village Tract Chairpersons
- 10) Office

[Sd.]

(for) Chairperson  
Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion  
Kyaw Heh

*[This DKBA order is written in Burmese and covers almost all of southern Papun District. For most villagers these crops are their only means of making money to supplement their subsistence rice crop. To make money, the DKBA is muscling in as a middleman to force farmers to sell and traders to buy through them; however, as they do not have the manpower or equipment to actually implement this, they will probably implement this by having the farmers sell directly to the traders but with the DKBA demanding a large cut off of every transaction, and arresting anyone who fails to comply.]*

## Order #556 (Papun)

### Stamp:

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

Progressive Karen Buddhist National Organisation

For Distribution

Date: 7/2/2000

### All Villages (Chairpersons)

Subject: Prohibition against cutting wood which is not full sized

1) Regarding the above subject, from the directive of the head of the forestry control committee, [people] have been seen in Maw Th'Roh Noh district area cutting and transporting wood which is not full sized. This must not continue happening, the Maw Th'Roh Noh district forestry control concerned has directed. The wood in the Maw Th'Roh Noh district area under 3 [unclear - possibly 3 handspans in diameter] must not be cut starting from 7/2/2000.

2) Regarding the above matter, if the rule of forestry control is not obeyed, harsh action will be carried out. Letting you know so that you are informed.

### Copies to:

- 1) Head, forestry control office
- 2) Head (Chairperson) (Dee Kay Bee Ay [DKBA])
- 3) Staff Officer
- 4) Chief of Staff
- 5) Dee Kay Bee Ay (Na Ya Ka) Sayadaw Group - U Zin Say Mi Ka
- 6) Battalion Commander, Ka Hsaw Wah [Battalion]
- 7) Battalion Office ([blank])
- 8) Brigade 333
- 9) Thi Ha district organisation committee
- 10) Chief of Security (1) commander
- 11) Maw Th'Roh Noh district (Chairperson)
- 12) All villages (Chairpersons)
- 13) Office Receipt

[Sd.] 7-2-2000

(for) Chairperson

Maw Th'Roh Noh district

Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion

Kyaw Heh

*[It may appear that this order is intended to protect the forests, but it is actually issued by a DKBA officer who is heavily involved in logging in the area. As with similar SPDC orders (see for example Order #411), its intention is to keep the wood for the profit of DKBA loggers rather than to protect the forests. On the back this order is marked "Government Matter". It was distributed throughout the area.]*

## **DKBA & KPA Meetings and Festivals**

This subsection contains orders from the DKBA for village elders to attend meetings, which are usually to dictate demands for forced labour, money, food, goods and materials. Village elders are expected to drop whatever they are doing to go to the nearest Army camp to attend these ‘meetings’, despite the fact that they also receive similar demands from every SPDC camp almost daily. If they fail to show up they are threatened with punishment by orders like #558, which warns, *“If [you] don’t come to meet, [we will] give the responsibility to the Army”*, meaning that troops will be sent to the village. Order #561 is also threatening: *“I ordered you but you don’t care. Do I have to come and get you? I will wait for you until 11 o’clock. If you are not true to your words, you will know about it.”*

Order #563 is a summons to a Buddhist festival, and Order #565 is an invitation to the annual Karen New Year festivities at the DKBA’s headquarters settlement of Khaw Taw (known in Burmese as Myaing Gyi Ngu) on the Salween River in Pa’an District. Order #568 was issued by the ‘Karen Peace Group’, a smaller Karen group allied with the SPDC, in Doooplaya District; for more information on this group, see the notes above in the introduction to the *‘DKBA Letters’* section.

### **Order #557 (Papun)**

Urgent Military Matter: x

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

To: xxxx [village] group, yyyy village head, wwww head

Date: 31/1/2000

With full respect, letting you know as below. When you receive this letter, you must come to meet at zzzz village on 5/2/2000, to arrive at 12 o’clock. If [you] don’t come, action will be taken.

Receive and obey.

Gka Sa

[Sd.]

31-1-2000

Company x, Sergeant Major

xxxx Battalion

*[This DKBA order is written in Sgaw Karen. Handwritten copies of it were sent to several villages.]*



**Order #558 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

Date: 5-3-2000

To:

Elders  
xxxx Village

*[I am] writing a letter to inform [you]. Regarding the matter of the paddy, the Elders must come yourselves to meet on time at yyyy (Dee Kay Bee Ay [DKBA]) gate. If [you] don't come to meet, [we will] give the responsibility to the Army, letting you know.*

***[Sd. 5-3-2000]***

Chairperson  
yyyy District Forestry Department  
#xxx Brigade

*[This DKBA order is written in Burmese. 'The matter of the paddy' probably means crop quotas which the villagers have been ordered to hand over. 'We will give the responsibility to the Army' means that they will tell their troops to take military action against the village.]*

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**Order #559 (Papun)**

To: xxxx village to inform.

Date: 5-4-2000

Respectfully writing this letter to inform you. The subject is that the Chairperson must come to meet with us. On 6-4-2000 at 10 o'clock bring along the pagoda trustees from Chairperson's village and come to meet at yyyy village, writing to inform you.

That's all.

Company Commander ***[Sd.] 5-4-2000***  
Company #x  
xxxx Battalion  
Dee Kay Bee Ay [DKBA]

*[This DKBA order is written in Burmese.]*

**Order #560 (Thaton)**

xxxx [village]

Have to meet and discuss about special matters with the village chairperson. On 8-4-2000 at 8 o'clock in the morning come to meet with us at yyyy Army camp, letting you know.

*[Sd.]*

#333 Brigade

#x Battalion

D.K.B.A.

Bo aaaa

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**Order #561 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army

D.K.B.A.

To: xxxx village

Head

Date: 23-5-00

Writing this letter to inform you. Come to yyyy urgently on the date 23-5-00. I ordered you but you don't care. Do I have to come and get you? I will wait for you until 11 o'clock. If you are not true to your words, you will know about it.

My notification,

Writing to reply to you like this,

Capt. aaaa

yyyy District

#333 Brigade

Dee Kay Bee Ay

*[This DKBA order is written in Sgaw Karen. "You will know about it" is a strong threat in Karen, meaning that you will be promptly and effectively punished.]*

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**Order #562 (Papun)**

To: [blank]

Date: 7/9/2000

Subject: Village heads, right now [we] will hold a meeting with the #xx [SPDC] Battalion Commander, our Dee Kay Bee Ay [DKBA], and village heads. Attend the meeting on 8/9/2000 at yyyy. I am writing this letter to inform [you].

Dee Kay Bee Ay

yyyy [camp]

*[Sd.] 7/9/2000*

*[This DKBA letter is written in Burmese. Identically worded handwritten copies of it were sent to several villages.]*

**Order #563 (Thaton)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Organisation  
Organising Committee - Thee Ha District #333 Brigade  
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Date: 2000, September 30<sup>th</sup>

To:

Village Elders -  
( xxxx ) Village

Subject: Invitations for - Ma Ta Ya Sa Festival

Regarding the above subject, the Elders yourselves from the villages are invited to come and make merit, as the attached invitation letter sent from Ohn Daw Monastery reminds and invites you.

Note: The directive is from the Brigadier himself.

***[Sd. 30-9-2000]***

Secretary  
Organising Committee - Thi Ha District  
#333 Brigade - Dee Kay Bee Ay  
Hpa/0865 U Saw Lay Htoo

*[This DKBA order was typed in Burmese and carbon-copied for distribution to many villages throughout the area, with the village name and signature handwritten in on each copy.]*

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**Order #564 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

24/11/2000

To:

Auntie aaaa

With full respect, when you receive my letter come to meet with me tomorrow at yyyy for a while. *[I]* Need something from you. It is important, come to meet me for sure.

Just a few words,  
From: your Nephew  
*bbbb*  
Officer  
District Office

*[This DKBA order was written in Sgaw Karen.]*

**Order #565 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

**Invitation Letter**

To:     xxxx     village

Date: 9-12-2000

Subject: Invitation to Karen New Year

Regarding the above subject, we are inviting all of you to come and beautify our Karen New Year this time.

**Agenda**

Time: 25-12-2000

Place: (Khaw Taw)

Note: Must arrive early at Papun on 22-12-2000 and at least 5 people from each village must bring Karen clothing.

Signed -

(Saw Lah Bpaw)

Major

Ka Hsaw Wah Battalion

D.K.B.A.

*[This invitation in Sgaw Karen has been copied on a cyclostyling machine. It has not been signed. Khaw Taw is the DKBA headquarters, known in Burmese as Myaing Gyi Ngu.]*

**Order #566 (Papun)**

**Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A.

Date: 25-12-2000

To: aaaa [the village head], xxxx [village]

With full respect, letting you know as below. When you receive my letter, you must come up to meet me at yyyy town. Come to meet me for sure on the 26<sup>th</sup>. I will wait for you in yyyy town. I will bring along for you the things that you need from the car owner. Please, you must come up to meet me for sure.

From, [Sd.]

xxxx

**Stamp:** xxxx #xx Captain

Secretary-1

Organisation Committee, zzzz District

*[This DKBA order was written in Sgaw Karen, but the stamp below the signature is in Burmese.]*

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**Order #567 (Thaton)**

xxxx [village]

To coordinate an urgent matter with the chairperson from xxxx village, come now as soon as you receive this letter to the place where I stay at yyyy Army camp.

You must come as quickly as possible.  
That is all.

[Sd.]

#333 Brigade

#x Battalion

D.K.B.A.

Bo aaaa

*[This DKBA order is written in Burmese.]*

**Order #568 (Dooplaya)**

**Stamp:**  
Karen Peace Group  
Haun Thayaw Special Region

To:  
xxxx [village] Chairperson

Date: 16-12-2000

Subject - - - - To meet and discuss with the Elder

Now, regarding the above subject, on 16-12-2000, Saturday at 8:00 exactly in the morning, come without fail to meet with Major *aaaa* at Captain *bbbb*'s house in *yyyy* town. If *[you]* fail it will be the Elder's responsibility.

For: Captain *[Sd.]*  
**Stamp:** Major *aaaa*  
Column *x* Commander  
Karen Peace Group

*[This is an order from the "Karen Peace Group", also known as the "Karen Peace Army", formed in 1997 by a corrupt KNLA officer named Thu Mu Heh, which operates in Dooplaya District under the wing of the SPDC; it is worth noting that this order is written entirely in Burmese and orders the village head to come and meet in an SPDC-controlled town in Dooplaya. For more background on the KPA, see "Dooplaya Under the SPDC: Further Developments in the SPDC Occupation of South-central Karen State" (KHRG #98-09, 23/11/98), and "Starving Them Out: Forced Relocations, Killings, and the Systematic Starvation of Villagers in Dooplaya District" (KHRG #2000-02, 31/3/00).]*