

FORCED LABOUR ORDERS SINCE THE BAN

A Compendium of SPDC Order Documents Demanding Forced Labour Since November 2000

An Independent Report by the Karen Human Rights Group

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Below are the direct translations of 453 order documents and letters received by village leaders in Karen State and Pegu Division of Burma. All but a few of them are demands for forced labour issued by State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) military units and local authorities, while the remaining few are letters and notes written by village heads about the forced labour they have been ordered to provide. All of these orders and letters were written and issued *after* November 1st 2000, which is the date when SPDC Secretary-1 Lt. Gen. Khin Nyunt signed an order prohibiting the further use of forced labour by military and civilian authorities (see **Appendix B**). The orders translated here carry dates up to November 2001, more than a year after Khin Nyunt's order was supposedly implemented, and a perusal of all of them shows that there has been no reduction in forced labour in any of the regions covered by this report. Villagers and village heads throughout these regions also consistently testify to KHRG that there has been no reduction in forced labour in their areas, and their testimonies are presented in other KHRG reports. Meanwhile, though the most recent documents translated herein are dated November 2001, similar orders are still being issued and gathered by KHRG.

The orders translated herein are only a small representative sampling; for every order produced here hundreds more are issued every week. From over 1,500 order documents examined for this report, we have selected only those which specifically involve some form of forced labour since November 2000. The translations below are from original order documents in Burmese obtained by KHRG field researchers in Toungoo, Nyaunglebin, Papun, Thaton, Pa'an and Doolaya districts of Karen State and Pegu Division. They were issued by dozens of different military units and SPDC authorities over an area spanning more than 500 kilometres. Their consistency of theme and similarity of wording indicates that they are representative of state policy; yet, as the SPDC admits, as of February 2002 not a single case of the illegal use of forced labour has been brought forward for prosecution under the terms of Khin Nyunt's November 2000 order banning forced labour. **Appendix A** contains excerpts from the Village Act and the Towns Act, colonial-era laws which allow the conscription of forced labour and are still on the SPDC's law books, despite pressure for over 30 years from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to remove or revise them. **Appendix B** contains the texts of three SPDC orders which claim to ban forced labour: Order 1/99, the Order Supplementing Order 1/99 (October 2000), and Khin Nyunt's order of November 1, 2000.

We have divided the orders demanding forced labour into two sections: "**General Forced Labour**", which contains orders directly demanding people for forced labour or bribe money to avoid forced labour, and "**Forced Labour Supplying Materials**", consisting of orders which implicitly require forced labour by demanding materials which require intensive labour to produce, such as logs, planks, bamboo posts and ties, and thatch roofing shingles.

Within each section we have sorted the orders chronologically from the oldest (starting at November 1 2000) to the most recent (November 2001). A few of the orders are undated, and we have inserted these in the sequence based on when they were most likely issued, judging by the other documents with them and interviews with the village leaders who received them. We have translated the orders as directly as possible and have tried to retain the visual formatting of the documents as well. The heading of each order translation indicates its sequential number and the region where it was issued. Printed copies of this report, and copies of the full set of

Burmese orders translated in this report, are available (with appropriate details blacked out) on approved request from KHRG.

To see additional orders on a broader range of topics, see “**SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2001-A**” (KHRG #2001-02, 18/5/2001) and other preceding Order Sets published by KHRG.

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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.

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.

Names in the orders are usually prefixed with an honorific; 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.

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. Some 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. If they fail to pay the fees, they are taken for forced labour. 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.

'Set tha' is forced labour as messengers and errand runners for the Army. Villages are normally forced to provide one or two villagers every day or two to each Army camp in their area for a 24-hour shift of **set tha**. Almost all of the order documents translated in this set were carried from the Army or local authorities to the recipient villages by villagers doing **set tha** forced labour. Many of the orders contain phrases such as **"send 4 people with this set tha"**, **"reply by letter with this set tha"**, **"come along with the set tha who has brought this letter"**, or **"give the money to this set tha"**; meaning that the villager who delivered the order is to return to the camp with a reply, or money, or additional forced labourers.

Terms and Abbreviations

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

Insert here Map 1: Burma showing military commands

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Insert here Map 2: Karen Regions

This map has been omitted from the PDF version of the report to make the PDF file much smaller. The map can be downloaded from <http://www.ibiblio.org/freeburma/humanrights/khrg/archive/maps/99reports/ordersmap.jpg>

General Forced Labour

This section includes direct orders for forced labour at Army Camps, on roads, portering, and other forms of forced labour, and related documents. Demands for bullock carts, tractors and boats are also included here, because these demands implicitly require the forced labour of the owner/driver of the cart, tractor or boat. Villages receive these types of orders from every Army camp in their area as well as from the local village tract and township authorities. Much of it is referred to as '*loh ah pay*', a Burmese term for a traditional practice of contributing one's labour on small village or temple projects to earn Buddhist merit; but in these orders and in the lexicon of the SPDC and the villagers, *loh ah pay* has come to mean most forms of forced labour with the exception of military portering and major infrastructure projects. With the apparent aim of diffusing international criticism, many SPDC officers have recently told villagers that portering is also to be called '*loh ah pay*' from now on, which angers the villagers because they view portering as much worse and more dangerous than other forms of labour. Most villagers would go for *loh ah pay* but would do anything they could to avoid portering, but now the orders give them little idea of how they will be used until they arrive at the Army camp. '*Wontan*', literally 'servant', can mean either porters or other forced labourers. In the order documents porters are commonly referred to as 'operations servants'. '*Set tha*' is forced labour as messengers and errand runners; Army camps keep several '*set tha*' on call at all times, so most villages have to send one or more people each day for this labour. Villagers are also called for forced labour as unarmed sentries guarding Army camps and military supply roads; see for example Orders #55, 56, and 62, which demand that villagers build sentry huts and provide sentries on rotating 24-hour shifts, and Order #301, which demands additional bridge sentries and intelligence runners from every village in the village tract.

Many forms of forced labour, particularly *set tha* and some forms of portering, are done on a rotation basis; people must be sent for a shift of one or more days (taking along their own food), and are supposed to be replaced when the shift ends. The villagers draw up a roster and take turns for rotation labour. Sometimes people are sick, busy or unwilling to go when their turn comes, and in these cases the Army usually detains the current shift of workers until the next shift comes (Orders #178 and 272 give specific examples of this). This often results in angry letters from the Army to the village head, complaining that the workers have been with them for too long and are already exhausted or out of food (see Order #86). Such letters are not written out of any concern for the workers, but because the Army does not want to have to feed them and wants people who can work hard continuously.

In response to increasing international pressure, the SPDC has taken several steps in an attempt to make it appear that the Army has been demanding less forced labour. One of these already mentioned above is the new insistence that portering be called '*loh ah pay*'. In addition some officers have resorted to doublespeak; for example, the officer writing Order #104 states that the Army ***"Are not using or calling 2 loh ah pay people from the Elder's village, so do it as we have ordered by this messenger now. If [you] fail we will call and use 4 loh ah pay people."*** Yet another tactic is for the Army to dictate its demands to the village tract authorities, then have the village tract issue the order documents; Orders #185 and 442 give clear examples of this. The reality, however, can be seen in the fact that of the over 1,500 order documents examined for this report, not one makes any reference to the SPDC's Order 1/99 or its orders of October and November 2000 banning forced labour, even though those orders actually make the demands in most of these documents illegal (transcripts of these orders can be seen in Appendix B). The only reference occurs in Order #328 and comes not from the SPDC officer who wrote the order but from the village head who received it; the village head wrote the list of SPDC demands on the order and then noted ***"This is not covered by loh ah pay 1/99"***.

None of the labour mentioned in the orders below is paid. Nor is it 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. This threat is often left unstated, simply indicated by the

use of red ink, or alluded to through statements such as **“if you fail the responsibility will be yours”**. Order #97 demands money for forced labour which the villagers did not go to do, and warns, **“If the delay becomes any longer, the money will not be good enough. It could lead to suspicion”**. In some cases it is made more explicit, such as **“If [you] fail to come, [we] will take harsh action”** (from Order #135), **“If [you] fail, the Elder will be tied up with rope”** (from Order #80) or **“If [you] fail, [we] will send a bullet”** (from Order #99). In addition to threats, villagers are also fined for failing to show up for work or for fleeing during forced labour; sometimes this is stated as a fine in cash or meat (see Orders #58, 84, and 194), while sometimes it is claimed that people had to be hired in their place and they must reimburse the cost. Sometimes the fines are combined with demands for additional labour as punishment (see Orders #44, 68, 79, 80, 119, and 144) and threats such as this one in Order #69: **“If villagers with our Mobile Column escape or don’t come [for forced labour] and our Column arrives at their village, the Column will not be at fault [for whatever punishments it imposes], you are informed.”**

Men, women and children are generally accepted for forced labour as long as they are physically able to do the work. Very few order documents make any distinction; Order #31 says, **“The loh ah pay volunteer must not be female. Not to be too young or too old.”**, Order #312 states that **“Female servants will also be accepted”**, and Orders #163, 240, 258, and 307 similarly state that women can or should be sent. When villagers are wounded or killed doing forced labour it is generally the villages in the area who are called upon to provide compensation, while none is provided by the SPDC (contrary to paragraph 2h of the ‘Order Supplementing Order 1/99’, shown in Appendix B). Orders #186 and 294 give examples of this; Order #294 states that after the villages hired people to go in their place as porters, one man was killed and one stepped on a landmine, but it is the same villages who hired them who are expected to compensate the men’s families.

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. 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.

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. This is most clearly exemplified by Orders #100, 131, 155, 187, 227, 251, 273, and 306, all of which were issued by a village tract in Toungoo District. In this village tract the Army demands porters from the village tract head, who then contacts labour agents in Toungoo town to hire the required number of people; at the end of every month, he then bills all of the villages in the tract for their portion (based on village size) of the total, at a rate of 4,000 Kyat plus 250 Kyat transport fee for each porter. The bill each month for this alone can add up to 1,000 Kyat or more per family, and as can be seen in these orders many villages are behind in their payments. 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 (see for example Order #117) - leaving the villagers with so much forced labour that they are left with little option but to flee the village.

For additional explanations and examples of the nature of these types of orders see “**SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2001-A**” (KHRG #2001-02, 18/5/01). The orders below are presented in chronological order, from November 2000 to November 2001.

Order #1 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
yyyy Town
Letter No: xxx / 2000 / Oo 1
Date: Year 2000, November 2nd

To:
Chairperson
 xxx village

Subject: To quickly repair the car road

Regarding the above matter, the Elders from each Village Tract have to take responsibility to eliminate potholes along part of the vehicle road. [You] Must carry stones from the (left/right) sides of the road and fill them, and there must be no water [puddles] left on the road. [You] Must carry this out and finish tomorrow evening, you are informed.

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

[This is a typed and carbon-copied order sent to several villages with the village name written in by hand.]

Order #2 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract- xxxx Township

[To:] U aaaa, U bbbb
Village Heads

Date: 3-11-2000

Subject: The matter of coming and paying the money which is owed

Regarding the subject matter, come to pay the money that the Elder's village must pay by 4-11-2000 at the latest, you are informed. The Department Head has also ordered it. [You] Also didn't complete your duty in the matter of Township servants, so it has been noted and apportioned among the [villages of the] Tract. Therefore, come to pay on the specified date.

Movement fee	5,000
Bicycle porter	1,000
Township porter	10,000
Bone K'Htein [ceremony]	500
For leaders' travel	<u>2,000</u>
	18,500

This is the money that must be paid for the 10th month [October]. There is a lot of money which remains to be paid.

[Sd.]aaaa
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract - xxxx Township

[All of the above fees are various forms of extortion, several of them related to forced labour. 'Movement fee' is supposedly money for Army patrols, 'Bicycle porter' is a fee in lieu of supplying a bicycle (and possibly a rider) to the Army at all times, 'Township porter' means money in lieu of supplying forced labour porters to the township authorities, and 'Bone K'Htein' is a Buddhist ceremony when new robes are offered to monks (the money is for the Army to buy robes to make their own offerings).]

Order #3 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
Letter No. 01
Date: 6-11-[2]000
#x Company

xxxx Village
6 - 11 - 2000

Chairperson Ko aaaa, from the Elder's village ten *loh ah pay* people led by one village head, each with a machete and bringing along a morning rice pack, [*must come*] without fail and report to yyyy Camp on 7-11-2000 at 7 o'clock.

Note:
Do not include people who are not fully 18 years old.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy Army Camp

Order #4 (Toungoo)

To:
Chairperson

Date: 6/11/2000

Tomorrow (7/11/2000), gather 10 *loh ah pay* people to carry the rations up and down, you are informed.

7/11/2000	Daytime	10 people (Male)
8/11/2000	"	10 people (")
9/11/2000	"	10 people (")

The above *loh ah pay* [*people*] should be kept at xxxx village, you are informed.

[Sd.]Captain

[On the back this order is addressed to "xxxx Village, Chairperson". The last sentence means that the 10 people are to come for forced labour during the day but sleep in their home village each night.]

Order #5 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x

7-11-2000

To: [*Village*] Head
xxxx Village

When [*you*] receive this letter, the Head yourself must summon one *set tha* [*messenger*] and come to contact yyyy [*Army*] Camp, you are informed.

[Sd.] 7.11.2000
yyyy Camp
(for) **Stamp:** Column Commander
Column #x Headquarters
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion

Order #6 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

8-11-2000

Subject: Informing [you] to send 7 loh ah pay people

As soon as this letter is received, send 7 loh ah pay people to yyyy Camp on 8-11-2000 to arrive at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed. When [they] come, each must bring along a mattock [large hoe], you are informed. Each should bring along a rice pack [precooked rice for the afternoon meal], you are informed.

[Sd.]
Captain aaaa

[The original of this order has very faint impressions of 2 overlapping SPDC Army stamps and one DKBA stamp at the top of the page; however, none of these were actually affixed on the order, the ink simply leached onto it when it was stacked with some other orders and the paper became wet.]

Order #7 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x

9-11-2000

To: [Village] Head
xxxx Village

When [you] receive this letter, today on 9-11-2000 the Head yourself must come and hand over 3 wontan [servant] people to the camp commander (or) into the hands of the responsible people at yyyy [Army] Camp, you are informed.

[Sd.] 9.11.2000
yyyy Village
(for) **Stamp:** Column Commander
Column #x Headquarters
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion

Order #8 (Toungoo)

To: U aaaa
xxxx Village

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Letter No. 1
Date: 10-11-00
Column x Headquarters

Subject: Calling loh ah pay Date: 10-11-00

There is work at our IB #xxx [camp], so a strength of 10 people from xxxx village must come to the xxxx [village] square on the night of 11-11-00 to gather and prepare. Chairperson U aaaa must come without fail to meet with the Column Commander on 10-11-00 in the evening, asking for help, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Column Commander
IB #xxx
Mobile Column

[Underlined in red ink:]
If the Chairperson is not there, any ten-houses leader or one [VPDC] member come without fail to meet

[On the back of the above order the village head has written a list of 7 names with numbered spaces for 3 more, presumably the villagers who are going to have to go for the forced labour. The 'member' referred to in the note at the bottom means a member of the village council under the village Chairperson; villages are also divided into units of ten houses, each led by a 'ten-house leader'.]

Order #9 (Toungoo)

To:
U aaaa
xxxx Village

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Letter No. 2
Date: 10-11-00
Column x Headquarters

Date:10-11-00

Subject: Calling loh ah pay

There is work at our IB #xxx [camp], so a strength of 10 people from xxxx village must come to the xxxx [village] square on the night of 11-11-00 to gather and prepare. Chairperson U aaaa must come without fail to meet with the Column Commander on 10-11-00 in the evening, asking for help, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Column Commander
IB #xxx
Mobile Column

[Underlined in red ink:]

If the Chairperson is not there, any ten-houses leader or one [VPDC] member come without fail to meet

[This is identical to Order #8 but was sent to a different village.]

Order #10 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 10-11-2000

Subject: Demanding loh ah pay power

Regarding the above subject, [you] must help with 30 loh ah pay people from xxxx village. These loh ah pay groups must come to yyyy village to arrive on Nov[ember] 11th at 0700 hours, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) Temporary Battalion Commander
LIB #xxx

Order #11 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters

To: U aaaa
VPDC Chairperson
xxxx Village

13/11/2000

Subject: Asking the help of *loh ah pay* servants

For Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion's Column x Base Camp at yyyy, [you are to] contact the authority in charge at Frontline #yyy Infantry Battalion's zzzz rations storehouse camp at vvvv village, and organise the Village Heads from wwwv Village and xxxx Village. Then use the required servant power to send 5 sacks of rice (five sacks) (without fail) without fail to yyyy Camp, to arrive on November 16th in the year 2000 (16-11-2000), Thursday, you are directed.

[Sd.] 13/11/2000

Column Commander
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion

To send: Rice 5 sacks
3 people for 1 sack
Total 15 people.

The Village Chairpersons will coordinate and arrange the 15 *loh ah pay* people.

[Sd.]

[The above order is from an IB xxx Army camp, telling the village head to gather 15 villagers from 2 villages for forced labour, then go to the rations storehouse camp of another Battalion, get 5 sacks of rice (50 kg/110 lb each) and carry them to the IB xxx camp. The officer has repeated phrases such as 'without fail' several times as shown above. Both signatures are the same. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village". The people of the same village were forced to do this labour again just one week later (see Order #19).]

Order #12 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
xxxx Tract – yyyy Township

Date: Year 2000, November 15th

To: Chairperson
xxxx Tract

Subject: To attend the special meeting

1. Ya Ya Ka [VPDC] Groups, Pagoda trustee Groups, village mother / village father groups from the Elder's [village] tract and Development Groups, a total number of exactly 25 people must come to a meeting.
2. Come to arrive at the meeting at xxx Hall tomorrow on 16-11-2000 at 7:00 o'clock exactly in the morning.
3. The people who are attending the meeting are to bring along rice packs [a prepared meal, meaning they will be kept at the meeting until afternoon].

Notes: [This is] The directive of the IB xxx Column Commander, so do not fail regardless.

2. Kyauk Tait *loh ah pay* has been cancelled so no need to come at all, letting [you] know.
3. Bring along the quota money tomorrow (Do not fail).

[Sd.] 15-11-2000

Stamp: Secretary
Village Tract Peace and Development
xxxx Village Tract – yyyy Township

[On the back the above order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Tract. Come without fail to the Ya Ya Ka [VPDC] Office on 16-11-2000".]

Order #13 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column

Date: 16-11-2000

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

The Elder yourself must come without fail to deliver 2 *loh ah pay* people from the Elder's village, each person with 5 bowls [11 kg/24 lb] of rice, to yyyy village on 16-11-2000 to arrive at (1600) hours. If [you] fail it will be the Elder's responsibility, you are informed.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander
Frontline LIB #xxx Military Operations Command

[The village head told KHRG that they obeyed and sent 2 people as ordered on November 17th. The 2 people were forced to porter for 15 days and then released. The village head said they only obeyed because if they had not, the soldiers would have come to the village to capture people instead, including women. The 5 bowls of rice is a significant quantity, and shows that the SPDC made them take their own food for the entire 2-week shift of labour.]

Order #14 (Toungoo)

Name: U aaaa and 5 [sic: 4] companions
Age: 30 years
Father's name: Saw bbbb
Address: Villagers of xxxx [village]

This [group] totalling 5 people have been doing duty as Servants with our Army starting from 13-11-2000 through to 16-11-2000. [They] Have fully completed their duty, so have been released to go back, and [they] are recommended.

[Sd.]

(for) Battalion Commander

[Group] Members (5) people

[This is a pass given to a group of 5 villagers to allow them to return to their village after they have completed 4 days of forced labour. Without such a pass, they would have a good chance of being arrested and detained along the way for being outside their village, or grabbed for forced labour along the way by another Army unit.]

Order #15 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

18-11-2000

[You] Have to coordinate and carry out the matter of clearing the scrub on the left and right sides of the road and filling the [potholes on the] road with earth, so come and arrive at yyyy village monastery on 19-11-2000 at (0900) hours in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Company Commander
#x Company
Frontline IB #xxx

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village". The village head told KHRG that on the morning of 19-11-2000, 15 villagers from xxxx village went to the monastery as ordered and did the labour. He said that they have no option but to comply because the SPDC camp is very near their village.]

Order #16 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council [To:] U aaaa, U bbbb
xxxx Tract – yyyy Township Village Heads

Date: 20-11-2000

Subject: Operations servant porters

Reference: In accordance with the order of the Ma Ya Ka [Township PDC], send without fail operations servant porters (1 person and one fraction) as below, you are informed.

Date: 27-11-2000
Time: Morning 10 o'clock
Place: To yyyy Peace and Development Chairperson

Pay quickly the rest of the money
for the 10th month [October].

[Sd.]cccc
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
xxxx Village Tract – yyyy Township

[Operations servants are porters for long term forced labour on frontline operations. Everyone is terrified of this kind of forced labour, and villagers cannot be coerced into doing it except at gunpoint, so whenever possible they pay to get out of it. In this case the village is being ordered to pay for '1 person and a fraction', meaning the standard bribe for one person plus some fraction of a person; for example, if the village tract has been ordered to provide 6 people and there are 4 villages in the tract, each village has to pay enough for 1½ people. On the back this order is addressed to "U aaaa, U bbbb, Village Heads, xxxx [village]".]

Order #17 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
[unclear]

20-11-2000

To:
Chairperson, Secretary
xxxx [village]

Subject: To clear the servant hiring fees to hire [forced labour] for the #xxx [Infantry Battalion] Column

Regarding the above subject, from the Chairperson's village the balance of servant fees to hire [forced labour] for the #xxx Column is 20,200 Kyat, send it to arrive this evening on 20-11-200[0], writing this letter to inform you.

[Sd.]20-11-2000
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, zzzz Township

Order #18 (Toungoo)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Frontline Fighting Company
yyyy [camp]
Date: Year 2000, November 23rd

Subject: Calling *loh ah pay*

1. Regarding the above subject, 20 servant people are needed from the Chairperson's village.
2. The servants must come to yyyy Camp on [blank]-12-2000.
3. Every person must bring a machete and 1 piece of (big) bamboo.
4. Must bring supplies / food for 3 days.
5. If [you] fail, it is the responsibility of the Chairperson.

[Sd.]
Company Commander
yyyy Camp

Copies to-
Tract Chairperson
Receipt

Order #19 (Toungoo)

To: Ko aaaa
VPDC Chairperson
xxxx Village
Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters
Date: 26/11/2000

Subject: Asking help for *loh ah pay*

To send rations to the yyyy Base Camp of Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion, gather a [group] strength of 10 people from xxxx village at the zzzz rations storehouse on the morning of 27/11/2000 (Monday), you are informed.

* To send
→ Rice (4) sacks

[Sd.]26/11/2000
Column Commander
Frontline IB #xxx

[On the back of this order the Commander has written "xxxx [village], 10 people for 4 sacks of rice". Each sack weighs 50 kg/110 lb, so it takes 2-3 people to carry it to an SPDC camp in the hills as this order tells them to do. The villagers of the same village had just been forced to do the same labour one week earlier (see Order #11).]

Order #20 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village]
29-11-2000

For a one-day return trip carrying rations for #xxx [Operations Command], send 1 *loh ah pay* person from the Elder's village to deliver the rations, to arrive at yyyy tomorrow on 30-11-2000 at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed. If [you will] hire, send [the money] for one person today or tomorrow on time.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[This order gives the village head the option of sending a person to carry supplies to an outlying camp or sending money so that the village tract can hire someone to go in their place.]

Order #21 (Papun)

To:

30-11-2000

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

[We] Have to continue delivering rations tomorrow on 1-12-2000, so not only one person from your Elder's village is to deliver rations. Give 2 more people, you are informed.

Note: Arrive without fail at yyyy on 1-12-2000 at 6 o'clock in the morning.

Today, received the money (500K [kyat]).

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[This concerns forced labour carrying rations to outlying Army posts. It is a follow-up to Order #20, which demanded only 1 person.]

Order #22 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To:

Chairperson
xxxx Village

[You] Must give one person each day to yyyy [Army] Camp as regular set tha [messengers]. The Chairperson yourself must come to the Camp to clear the set tha fees that have been used to hire [messengers], you are informed.

[Sd.] 30-11-2000
Stamp: Column Commander
Column
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion

[This means that the village has not been sending daily forced labour messengers as ordered, so the Army is demanding money and ordering that from now on these messengers must be sent or paid for.]

Order #23 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters

To:

Chairperson, Secretary
xxxx Village

To deliver rations from the IB #xxx Column at yyyy village to zzzz, the Chairperson and Secretary must come without fail with 20 villagers to meet with the Column Commander on 4-12-2000 (Monday), you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander
Intelligence Officer
Frontline IB #xxx

Order #24 (Papun)

To:

4-12-2000

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

Come quickly to pay the fees for 2 people for the one-day return trip to zzzz carrying rations [which occurred] on 1-12-2000, you are informed again.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[This means that the village was supposed to send 2 people to carry SPDC rations on December 1st but did not, so they are being ordered to pay money instead. There is an Army camp at zzzz.]

Order #25 (Papun)

To:

7-12-2000

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

To harvest the paddy for xxx [Battalion], send 3 loh ah pay people from the Elder's village to harvest paddy to yyyy tomorrow on 8-12-2000, to arrive at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[This order was followed by Order #27 two days later; see also the explanatory notes after Order #27.]

Order #26 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters

To:

xxxx Village Chairperson / Secretary and
Village Mothers, Village Fathers
xxxx Village

8/12/2000

Subject: Calling for a meeting and calling for loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject matter, to hold the Village Chairpersons meeting [we] have already called [you] by letter or messenger many times, but [you] did not come to meet the Column Commander at all. Moreover, [you] also do not come and help with loh ah pay.

Therefore, when this letter is received, the Chairperson / Secretary and Village Mothers and Village Fathers must come (without fail) and meet with the Frontline #xxx Column Commander, and send without fail 20 loh ah pay villagers to yyyy village on Sunday. This is the last warning, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Column Commander
Frontline IB #xxx

Order #27 (Papun)

To:

9-12-2000

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

Xxx [Battalion] wants to meet and discuss with the Elder, so come and wait at the yyyy Chairperson's house tomorrow on 10-12-2000 at 10 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Why didn't you come to harvest the paddy yesterday? Have [you] finished clearing the scrub along the roadside?

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[This order followed Order #25. Many SPDC Battalions have confiscated farmland from the villages, then force the villagers to plant, tend and harvest the crops for them. The village head is being summoned for a lecture from the local Light Infantry Battalion because his village failed to send forced labourers to harvest rice for #xxx Battalion as ordered (as can be seen in Order #35, the whole village was ordered once again to go and harvest on December 18th). The village tract head is also concerned to find out if the village has completed their other forced labour assignment to clear the scrub from the roadsides.]

Order #28 (Papun)

To:

9-12-2000

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

The Operations Command will send supplies to zzzz [Army camp], so send 1 loh ah pay person from the Elder's village to yyyy to arrive at 6 o'clock tomorrow morning on 10-12-2000.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

Order #29 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Township Security and Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Township Security and Management Assistance
Committee, yyyy Town
Letter No. / 2 / xxx / La Sa Ta
Date: Year 2000, **December 30th** [sic: 10th]

To:

Chairperson
xxxx Section/ Village Tract
yyyy Township

Subject: The matter of arranging and sending
Two people for servants

Reference: LIB xxx

1. Regarding the matter in the above reference letter, it is directed to arrange and send servants, so do not fail to send and hand over 2 people for servants (Two people) from the Elder's Section / Village Tract as specified below, you are informed.

[continued on next page]

[continued from previous page]

Date: **10-12-2000**
Time: **Midday (12:00) o'clock**
Place: **To Security Management**
It is urgent - carry it out quickly.

Note: If [you] fail, are late or the quantity is low [lower than specified], it will be the responsibility of the concerned Ya Ya Ka [VPDC] group.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
Stamp: Joint Secretary
Security / Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Copies to - [blank]

[The following note is added at the bottom in a different handwriting:]

On 11-12-2000, received the Ah Ya Pa [PDC] fees. **[Sd.]**

[This is a stock form with blanks as shown. This copy has had the stamp affixed as shown at the top, the blanks have been filled in using a blue felt tip marker with the details shown here in bold italics, the signature and the stamp below the signature have been affixed. The date written at the top is clearly December 30th, but both dates at the bottom show that it should be December 10th. The note at the bottom was added by someone else and the meaning is unclear.]

Order #30 (Papun)

To: U aaaa 12-12-2000
xxxx [village]

Children under 5 years old and pregnant women to be vaccinated must come without fail to yyyy [village] tomorrow on 13-12-2000 at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

The servant will be kept only for 2 days. Take care of this as well.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[The servant is a villager who has been sent for forced labour.]

Order #31 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

[To:] U aaaa
VPDC

Date: 15-12-2000

Subject: The matter of repairing xxxx bridge

The xxxx Column Commander has ordered the repair of the xxxx Bridge which has been destroyed, so the responsible person must come and bring 1 *loh ah pay* person with food for 1 day to the zzzz Camp Commander, you are informed.

The *loh ah pay* volunteer must not be female.
Not to be too young or too old. Must bring a machete.

Arrive and gather at zzzz village at 6 o'clock, then send [them].

[Sd.]bbbb
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[The order to 'arrive and gather' means that other villages are also being ordered to send people, so they are to assemble at zzzz village and then proceed to the Army camp together. On the back this order is addressed to "U aaaa, VPDC, xxxx [Village]". Orders #31, 32, 46, 50 and 52 are all concerned with forcing all of the villages in the tract to repair this particular bridge.]

Order #32 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

[To:] Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Date: 16-12-2000

Subject: To repair the xxxx bridge

Starting from 16-12-2000, send 1 *loh ah pay* person every day. [Also] Report information to the zzzz Camp Commander.

If [you] fail, it will be your responsibility.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

[Orders #31, 32, 46, 50 and 52 are all concerned with forcing all of the villages in the tract to repair this particular bridge.]

Order #33 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Date: 16-12-2000

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson, Secretary, Section Leaders, Upper/Lower xxxx Village

Subject: Informing the concerned *loh ah pay* groups

1. On 17-12-2000, attend Church on Sunday, so no need to come and work.
2. On 18-12-2000, Monday, the number of bamboo that I specified must be completed, so come and work with abundant strength *[in numbers of people]*.

Cut the cane *[to lengths of]* 4 cubits, then split the cane to use for tying.

Note: When *[you]* come on Monday, the Chairperson and Secretary also must come.

[Sd.]

xxxxxx *[Army serial no.]*
Camp Commander
yyyy Camp

[4 cubits is 6 feet / 2 metres. The reference to using the split lengths of cane is not clear, though it may mean for use in tying the bamboo poles into bundles.]

Order #34 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

16-12-2000

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters

To:
Chairperson / Secretary
xxxx Village

Subject: Calling Servants

1. Regarding the above subject, 10 servant people must be sent from xxxx to yyyy village on 17-12-2000 to arrive at 7 o'clock at night; and,
2. To plant at the Battalion, *[send]* 100 betelnut *[tree]* seedlings from each family at xxxx village, asking for *[your]* help.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander
Frontline Infantry #xxx

Must send the servants, you are informed again.

[Sd.]

Intelligence Office
Frontline Infantry #xxx

[This order was initially written in blue ink, then the place where the 'servants' are to be sent was changed so the officer used correction fluid and wrote 'to yyyy' in red ink overtop. He also added the note at the bottom and the second signature (of the same person) in red ink.]

Order #35 (Papun)

To:

18-12-2000

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

To harvest the paddy for xxx [Battalion], come to send the whole village, one person per house from the Elder's village, to yyyy tomorrow on 19-12-2000 at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note: Bring along rice packs [precooked rice for the afternoon meal].

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[Many SPDC Battalions have confiscated farmland from the villages, then force the villagers to plant, tend and harvest the crops for them. Later the same day this order was superseded by Order #36 below sent to the same village.]

Order #36 (Papun)

To:

18-12-2000

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

For 2 days' continuous *loh ah pay* on the 20th-21st sending rations [a distance of] one day's return trip, the Elder's village must send 3 sacks of rice each day, 6 sacks for the 2 days, and must go to sleep at Papun tomorrow evening on 19-12-2000, so the Elder yourself must come to deliver the *loh ah pay* [people] to yyyy on 19-12-2000, Tuesday evening at half past 4 o'clock, you are informed.

Note: Carry this out without fail.

Tomorrow, [you] do not need to harvest the paddy for xxx [Battalion].
Do not need to come harvest the paddy for xxx.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[This order superseded Order #35 above, telling the villagers that they are to do forced labour carrying rations instead of harvesting rice as originally ordered. This means that the village must carry sacks of Army ration rice from Papun to an outlying SPDC camp. They are to make 2 trips, each taking one full day; this village must send enough people to carry three 50-kilogram (110 lb) sacks on each trip, but other villages will have to send people as well. Carrying a 50-kilogram sack through the hills all day will require at least 2 or 3 people per sack, so the village must send 6-9 people. The forced labourers are to come to Papun the day before the labour to sleep there and get an early start on the 20th.]

Order #37 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract
yyyy Township
Date: Year 2000, December 24th

Subject: Operations servant porters

Reference: Directive from Sa Ka Ka [*Military Operations Command*]

Operations servant porter - 1 person, one person, from the Elder's village - send without fail as below, you are informed.

Date: 27-12-2000
Time: Morning, 10 o'clock
Place: To yyyy Peace and Development Chairperson

Copies to: Village VPDC
Office Receipt

[Sd.] bbbb

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[Operations servants are porters for long term forced labour on frontline operations, the most feared form of forced labour in Burma. On the back this order is addressed "To U aaaa, VPDC, xxxx Village".]

Order #38 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

Subject: Summoning loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, to do loh ah pay constructing a road, come and send 2 loh ah pay people to yyyy Army Camp to arrive on 30-12-2000 at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.] 29/12

Stamp: Intelligence Sergeant
#xxx Infantry Battalion

Order #39 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

One man from each house in your village must come to report at yyyy camp at 8 o'clock in the morning. Bring along bamboo and morning rice [*breakfast*].

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy Camp

[The order to bring along bamboo implies that the work will be forced labour fencing or doing other construction work at the camp.]

Order #40 (Papun)

To: xxxx village head, writing this letter to you.

Letting you know that your villagers all came and went back. One person from each house must come tomorrow. The fire burned all the hill fields. You must come tomorrow.

Letting you know like this.
You must bring rice packs.

Bo aaaa orders it.

[This means that the villagers were used as forced labour to burn off the Army's hillside rice field, and they must now come back to continue the clearing work.]

Order #41 (Dooplaya)

To: (xxxx [village] Chairperson)

One of your *wontan* [servants] can't [work anymore], so come to replace [him/her] quickly.

[Unsigned]

Order #42 (Toungoo)

To:
Village Head
xxxx Village

Subject: Come to send porters (fees) in their entirety. [I am] Writing these few words to tell the Pastor, Elder and all the villagers, because if you don't come to send the porters (fees) on time or you don't send the complete amount, we can't do anything. You should understand and comply for sure and send [them] next week on time on Monday. I am pleading with you in writing for you to understand.

Send for sure.

Signed, [Sd. 'aaaa']

[This letter from a village tract head to a local village head is a warning that if they continue to fail to pay the forced labour fees, 'we can't do anything' to stop the Army from taking action against the village, which would normally involve storming the village and rounding up villagers for forced labour.]

Order #43 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council To:
yyyy Township Chairperson - Village: xxxx
yyyy Tract

Subject: The matter of sending letter *chaw* ['letter porters', i.e. messengers] every day

Regarding the above subject, in accordance with the directive of the Battalion Commander, Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion, send 1 villager every day from the Elder's village every day [sic: 'every day' is written twice], you are informed. Therefore, if [you] do not obey, it will be your own responsibility, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[In the above order 'Letter chaw' means villagers to do forced labour as messengers between Army units and delivering order documents such as this one. Villages are routinely ordered to send 1 or 2 people each day for a 24-hour shift of this forced labour at each of the local Army camps.]

Order #44 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

5 *wontan* [servant] people from the Elder's village who were accompanying [the Army] to carry things have fled and gone back, so the Chairperson yourself must come without fail carrying a firebrand to deliver and hand over 10 people to take their place.

[Sd.] Captain
Camp Commander
yyyy [Army] Camp

[This order was clearly issued late in the day, and specifies that the village head should 'carry a firebrand' to light his way (flashlights are presumed to be tools of resistance forces, so villagers are told that anyone seen carrying a flashlight will be shot), meaning he is to come immediately in the dark with the 10 forced labour porters. The number of forced labourers has been doubled as a punishment. On the back of this order the village head has made a list of 10 names, presumably the villagers who will have to go.]

Order #45 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Date: 1-1-2001

Subject: Informing you to send the *loh ah pay*

Regarding this matter, the Elder yourself must come to send the two *loh ah pay* people from the Elder's village to yyyy today, Monday, 1-1-2001, to arrive at 1200 hours, you are informed.

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

Order #46 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township
Date: Year 2001, January 2nd

To: U aaaa + U bbbb (VPDC)
xxxx Village

Subject: The matter of sending the *loh ah pay* for building the bridge

Regarding the above subject, to build the yyyy bridge the Elder yourself must come from the Elder's village to hand over 2 *loh ah pay* people with food for 2 days, machetes, and hatchets to zzzz Camp on 3-1-2001 at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Do not fail.
If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Secretary - Member (1)
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[See also Order #52 below. Orders #31, 32, 46, 50 and 52 are all concerned with forcing all of the villages in the tract to repair this particular bridge.]

Order #47 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson Mother

2-1-2001

[!] Am writing a letter. Send without fail 3 people who can saw to yyyy [Army] Camp, to arrive tomorrow at 8 o'clock, you are informed.

Send them for sure.

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

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #48 (Papun)

Peace and Development Council
xxxx Township
yyyy Village

To:
Saw aaaa

3-1-2001

Informing [you] as soon as you receive this letter immediately send 2 carriers [porters] from the Elder's village as soon as you receive this letter, now, with this messenger.

- (1) Carrier
- (2) 2 people
- (3) Send without fail
- (4) Hand [the carriers] over to #340 Battalion.

[Sd.]
U aaaa
Stamp:
Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village, yyyy Township

['Send quickly' has been written on the back of this order.]

Order #49 (Papun)

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Village

To:
Ma aaaa

3-1-2001

As soon as you receive this letter send immediately 1 carrier [porter] as soon as you receive this letter.

- (1) Carrier
- (2) 1 person
- (3) Send without fail
- (4) Hand [the carrier] over to #xxx Battalion.

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

Order #50 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion, Column #x
yyyy [town]
Letter No. xxx / 0001 / Oo 1
Date: Year 2001, January 3rd

To: _____ Village Tract

Subject: The matter of loh ah pay for yyyy Bridge

To repair the yyyy bridge which has been destroyed, the Elders' villages were already informed to send 2 people by rotation from each group of *say d'nah shin loh ah pay* [*loh ah pay workers who are actually volunteers, in the true meaning of 'loh ah pay'*]. But this has failed, so starting on 5-1-2001 ~~every~~ ~~day~~ the person responsible must come yourself to hand over [*2 forced labourers*] to the zzzz Camp Commander along with 1 week's food, you are informed again.

[Sd.]
Column Commander

[This is a handwritten carbon-copied order sent to several villages with the village name written in afterward on each copy. In this order the Column Commander claims that he tried to implement something closer to the real meaning of 'loh ah pay' by asking for each village to send 2 people at a time who actually volunteered for the work on the bridge. No one came, so now he demands the forced labour in the usual fashion, ordering that 2 forced labourers be sent with enough food to last them for 1 week of labour. Orders #31, 32, 46, 50 and 52 are all concerned with forcing all of the villages in the tract to repair this particular bridge.]

Order #51 (Papun)

To: Village Head
xxxx [village]

3/1/2001

The Elder yourself must come and hand over 3 people from the Elder's village for carrying supplies, [*hand them over*] to the Chairperson tonight, 3/1/2001, at 4 o'clock in the evening, you are informed.

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

['Carrying supplies' means that the Army has demanded forced labourers to carry Army supplies to outlying posts, and the village tract is calling a few people from each village to come and do it. On the back this order is addressed "To U aaaa, xxxx [village]".]

Order #52 (Nyaunglebin)

To: aaaa (VPDC)
 xxxx Village

Date: 4-1-2001

Subject: The matter of sending loh ah pay for building yyyy bridge

Regarding the above subject, to build yyyy bridge [we] had already informed the Elder's village to send 2 loh ah pay people, but the Column Commander is informing [you] again that [they] haven't been sent yet up until today. Therefore, send 2 loh ah pay people for duty with 2 days' food / machetes to zzzz Camp on 5-1-2001, you are informed.

Do not fail.
If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]
(bbbb)
Temporarily at yyyy

[This order is a follow up to Order #46 above. Orders #31, 32, 46, 50 and 52 are all concerned with forcing all of the villages in the tract to repair this particular bridge.]

Order #53 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
 xxxx village

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Papun
Letter #1 / Oo 1 / 2001
Date: Year 2001, January 5th

Subject: Calling a meeting

1. Regarding the above subject, as soon as you receive this informing letter come quickly to yyyy village to the LIB #xxx column and [we] will discuss the matter of building the road.
2. If you do not come [our] Army will come ourselves, and it will be the responsibility of the Chairperson, you are informed.
3. Bring 5 carriers [porters].

[Sd.]
Major bbbb
LIB #xxx
yyyy village

[Item 2 is a clear threat that the troops will plunder the village and arrest the village head.]

Order #54 (Papun)

To: Saw aaaa, Maung bbbb

5/1/2001

As soon as you receive this letter come immediately with 5 carriers [porters] and the 2 village heads.

[Sd.]
U cccc
yyyy Tract

[This order is addressed to 2 village elders and was written in red ink, which indicates urgency and an implicit threat of punishment for failure to comply.]

Order #55 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To:

Chairperson
xxxx [village]

5-1-2001

Subject: Calling 6 adults with 3 days' rations to come to the 2 sentry huts from xxxx village.

Regarding the above subject, build the 2 sentry huts for xxxx village on the left and right sides of the road. [You] Have to station 3 people in each sentry hut, so send 6 adult people to arrive on the 6th, you are informed.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander
Frontline IB #xxx

[Villagers are routinely forced to rotate 24 or 48 hour shifts as unarmed sentries along roads used by the military; their villages are then held responsible for any opposition activity which happens along their stretch of road. The village head told KHRG that these two sentry huts were built by his villagers three days later. See also Orders #56 and 62.]

Order #56 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x

5-1-2001

To:

Chairperson
xxxx (yyyy Village)

Subject: Calling for 3 sentry huts and 6 adult people from yyyy village

Regarding the above subject matter, build 3 sentry huts on the left and right sides of the vehicle road. Then 2 people for each sentry hut, 6 people *[altogether]*, must bring along rice and cookpots and stand sentry. The 6 people for the 3 sentry huts are to bring along clothing, blankets, and mosquito nets and come to arrive tomorrow on the 6th at (0900) hours, you are informed.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander
Frontline IB #xxx

[In Karen areas, villagers living near vehicle roads are always forced to built sentry huts and take turns doing 24-hour shifts as unarmed sentries in order to protect military convoys from attack. If ambushes or landmines occur on the road, their village is severely punished, sometimes by being burned and relocated. This order is addressed to 'xxxx' village, its Karen name, and in brackets 'yyyy' village, its Burmese name. See also Orders #55 and 62.]

Order #57 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
Date: 5-1-2001
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
xxxx Village
yyyy Tract

Subject: To pay the Tha Ka Sa Pa support money

The Elder's village must pay 6,200 Kyat in cash for the 12th month *[December]* right now with the letter porter *[the villager doing forced labour who has brought this letter]*, you are informed.

[It is] Emergency money, so carry this out.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Secretary - Member (2)
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[On the back this order is addressed to "U aaaa, zzzz [village]."]

Order #58 (Nyaunglebin)

To: 6-1-2001
Chairperson

1. *[We]* Have already directed *[you]* to finish building your village fence on 7-1-2001, so report on 7-1-2001 whether it is complete or not.
2. *[We]* Will come and check on 8-1-2001, so let the people of your village know that they have to do their duty / for the households which do not work, *[we]* will carry out punishments using the method of cash fines of 500 K*[kyat]*, you are informed.

[Sd.] 6-1-2001

Stamp: Camp Commander
yyyy Army Camp
(LIB) xxx

[The SPDC is now ordering most villages in Karen areas to 'fence themselves in' by building fences around the entire village perimeter with only one or two gates, and forbidding villagers to go outside the fence without a pass. This makes it very difficult to tend crops and also requires a great deal of forced labour gathering and preparing the fencing materials (usually split bamboo) and building the fence itself, which can be up to several kilometres long. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #59 (Papun)

To: 6-1-2001
U aaaa
xxxx *[village]*

The carrying of supplies started on the 3rd, so it has been 4 days already including today. If the days become many *[and you still haven't sent people or paid]*, it isn't good. Therefore, when this letter is received come without fail to yyyy, you are informed.

From the 3rd to the 6th, for 4 days, 3 people cost 6,000 K *[kyat]*. If 1,000 K are paid, the remainder will be 5,000. Afterwards, give only 2 people, but people must come.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy *[village]*

[This means that the Army has already been using villagers as forced labour to carry supplies for the past 4 days, but as this village hasn't sent anyone the village tract has hired 3 people to send in their place.]

However, they haven't sent money to pay for this either, so the last sentence tells the village head that from now on he must send people and not money.]

Order #60 (Papun)

To:

[Village] Head
xxxx village

7-1-2001

Head,

Sell 3 viss [4.8 kgs. / 10.8] of chicken to the set tha [messenger] who comes now. [I] Will pay the money at the current price.

Head, bring along three wood cutters. When the [Village] Head arrives [we] will pay the price of the chickens.

The three wood cutters and the [Village] Head must come to yyyy camp at 0800 hours. Please pick and bring four papaya.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander
yyyy Camp

[The village head told KHRG that the soldiers gave the villagers only 400 Kyat and that villagers in the area normally buy and sell chickens for 1,000 Kyat per viss.]

Order #61 (Papun)

Stamp:

#1 Tactical Operations Command, Military Operations Supervisory Group

Date: 8/1

yyyy Town

To:

Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 8-1-2001

Subject: Summoning [you] to report information

1. Regarding the above subject, wood is needed for the teaching school at yyyy Village, and the Chairperson yourself must supervise the sawyers [wood cutters], so come and report information to yyyy Camp to arrive on 9-1-2001 at 10 o'clock in the morning.
2. When [they] come, must bring along beds [sleeping mats] and other needs, you are informed.

[Sd.]

(for) Tactical Operations Commander

Order #62 (Papun)

Stamp:

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Military Operations Command

To:

Chairperson
xxxx village

9-1-2001

Chairperson, I am respectfully writing a letter.

The matter is that *[we]* called two *loh ah pay* people from yyyy village. That village must take responsibility for three sentry huts for road security. That village has asked to reduce the *loh ah pay*.

Therefore, *[we]* are calling only one *[person]* from that village. Send the remaining two people from xxxx village, or we want xxxx village to take responsibility for one of yyyy village's sentry huts. In that village there are only six people, so if they have to take responsibility for three sentry huts they will have a problem.

Therefore, the Chairperson's village must take responsibility for one sentry hut from yyyy, and for our column *[also]* send one *loh ah pay* person. Arrange *[it]*, you are informed.

Respectfully,
[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer
Frontline LIB #xxx, Column #x

[Villages are usually ordered to provide two villagers to stand as unarmed sentries in each of the village's assigned sentry huts along vehicle roads, in order to protect SPDC military convoys (see for example Orders #55 and 56). There are only six people available from yyyy village, so xxxx village must send two villagers to make up the quota. This is in addition to the villagers which xxxx must send to stand guard at its own sentry huts as well as other forced labour, such as the one person demanded for the column in this order.]

Order #63 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To:

Chairperson
xxxx village

9-1-2001

Subject: Informing *[you]* to fence the left/right sides of the car road.

Regarding the above subject, in accordance with the area assigned to your village, carry out the fencing of the left/right sides of the road by 15-1-2001. You are informed.

[Sd.]
Column Commander

[Each village is assigned a length of the road which they must clear of brush. This order was hand copied and sent out by IB #xxx to the villages along the road. See also Orders #64, 65, and 66, which were sent to other villages in the area.]

Order #64 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 9-1-2001

Subject: Informing [you] to fence the left/right sides of the car road

Regarding the above subject, in accordance with the area assigned to your village, carry out the fencing of the left/right sides of the road by 15-1-2001. You are informed.

[Sd.]
Column Commander

Order #65 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 9-1-2001

Subject: Informing [you] to fence the left/right sides of the car road

Regarding the above subject, in accordance with the area assigned to your village, carry out the fencing of the left/right sides of the road by 15-1-2001. You are informed.

[Sd.]
Column Commander

Order #66 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 9-1-2001

Subject: Informing [you] to fence the left/right sides of the car road

Regarding the above subject, in accordance with the area assigned to your village, carry out the fencing of the left/right sides of the road by 15-1-2001. You are informed.

aaaa [officer's name]

Order #67 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 9/1/2001

Subject: Informing [you] to build a fence on the left / right sides of the vehicle road

Regarding the above subject, [you] must carry out fencing along the left / right sides of the road in your village area and finish on 15/1/2001, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Column Commander

[Villages are routinely forced to clear wide 'killing grounds' and build fences along the entire length of roads in the area of their village which are used by SPDC military vehicles, as a security measure. They are then forced to stand sentry along the roads (see Orders #55, 56 and 62).]

Order #68 (Papun)

To:

10-1-2001

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

Today early in the morning, U bbbb from xxxx [village] went back. As soon as this letter is received, send a replacement for bbbb. Tomorrow early in the morning replace one worker for the Papun – Kaw Boke road, send one person tomorrow in the early morning.

Also take care of the rest of the money [owed] from before (2,000 K[kyat]), [send it] now with the person who is replacing bbbb.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[This means that one of the villagers doing forced labour on the road (U bbbb) either fled or returned home because he was ill, and an immediate replacement is being demanded.]

Order #69 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column

Date: 10-1-2001

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

2 loh ah pay people from the Chairperson's village have fled. Come to send replacements for these 2 loh ah pay people to yyyy to arrive on 11-1-2001. If villagers with our Mobile Column escape or don't come [for forced labour] and our Column arrives at their village, the Column will not be at fault [for whatever punishments it imposes], you are informed.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Sergeant

[The village head told KHRG that the people who fled had been ordered to go for 3 days of forced labour but were then held by the Army for 10 days before they fled, so the village did not send the replacements as demanded herein. "The Column will not be at fault" is a serious threat, meaning the Column will be given full impunity to pillage or destroy the village and capture as many villagers as it pleases.]

Order #70 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion, Column #x
yyyy Region
Letter No xxx / 00xx / Oo 1
Date: Year 2001, January 11th

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village Tract

Subject: To send loh ah pay

1. To repair yyyy [Army] Camp, send 3 loh ah pay people with food for 3 days without fail (without fail) from the Elder's village to zzzz Army Camp to arrive on 12-1-2001 at (1500) hours in the evening.
2. The loh ah pay [people] are not to be too young or too old, and the Elder yourself is to supervise, arrange and carry this out, you are informed.

Note: Reply by letter when [you] receive this letter.

Bring machetes / mattocks [large hoes].

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

[The following note was added to the bottom in different handwriting:]

Date: 12-1-2001-
From xxxx Village Tract-
To repair yyyy Camp
Received 3 loh ah pay people.

[Sd.]12-1-2001
U bbbb
zzzz VPDC

[The note added to the bottom by the VPDC chairman makes it clear that the village tract sent the 3 labourers the following day as ordered.]

Order #71 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy tract, yyyy Township

Date: 11-1-2001
To:
U aaaa
xxxx Village

Subject: The matter of sending Kyauk Taung loh ah pay

[Regarding] The above subject, from the Elder's village, the Elder yourself must come (without fail) and hand over 1 loh ah pay person for duty, bringing along food for 3 days and machete, to U bbbb's house in zzzz [village] on 12-1-2001 at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, you are informed.

Do not fail.

[We] Have received the training cost money (4,000K [kyat])

[Sd.]
Stamp: Secretary - Member (1)
Village tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract-yyyy Township

[The 'training cost money' is for training the villagers who have been forcibly conscripted into the Pyitthu Sit militia. 'Kyauk Taung loh ah pay' means forced labour carrying supplies to an SPDC Army camp at Kyauk Taung; villagers in this area are regularly forced to do this. On the back this order is addressed to

"U aaaa, VPDC, xxxx [village]", and the village head has written as below representing money extorted from the names of other village heads:]

cccc 11th month / 1,000/ 12th month / 800
Maung dddd 11th month / 1,000/ 12th month / 800
eeee 11th month / 1,000/ 12th month / 800
ffff 1,500

Order #72 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column 1

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
yyyy (zzzz School camp)
Letter #01/ Ya Ta- xxx/ Oo x
Date: Year 2001, January 12th

To:
Chairperson (U aaaa)
xxxx village

Subject: Informing [you] of the matter of xxxx loh ah pay

1. To repair the 2 Pagodas of yyyy / zzzz at xxxx village and to clear the scrub surrounding the Pagoda, the villagers from the whole Kyaikdon Village Tract are to gather for loh ah pay on 13-1-2001 (Saturday).
2. Therefore, from the villages concerned 1 person from each house (if there are 50 houses, 50 people) must come. Bring along machetes / spades and morning rice, and the village chairperson / village mothers village fathers yourselves are to supervise. Come without fail to zzzz School camp on 13-1-2001 (Saturday, 0600 hours), you are informed.

[Sd.]

(for) Temporary Battalion Commander

Copies to:

Kyaikdon Village Tract Chairperson | To carry [this] out on the day, you
| yourself must come to lead and supervise.

[This order was copied to all villages in Kyaikdon village tract, with the village name, headperson's name, and date written in on each copy. Kyaikdon is a main village in central Dooplaya which was a peaceful trading village until 1997, when SPDC troops overran it. All Muslims were driven out of the village and their mosque was bulldozed, and the troops heavily garrisoned the village, converting the former schools into their Army camps.]

Order #73 (Papun)

To:

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

13-1-2001

For the Papun – Kaw Boke road, send one person back.

[Your villagers] Went last week for 4 days, so [you] have to go for 2 days of this week. Therefore, for the Papun – Kaw Boke road send one person from the Elder's village to the yyyy [village] Chairperson tomorrow on 14-1-2001, Sunday, at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed. Carry this out without fail. Also send the rest of the money (2,000 K[kyat]) for carrying supplies.

[Sd.]

Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[There is a major SPDC garrison at Papun, and in 1995-97 a road was built with forced labour to a new Army camp at Kaw Boke. The villagers are regularly forced to carry supplies along this road, which is only

passable to vehicles for part of the year. Every year the road must be entirely rebuilt after rainy season; the people demanded by this order are to be used for road rebuilding work. The 2,000 Kyat "for carrying supplies" is money in lieu of forced labour which the villagers didn't do. This order was followed by Order #74 below.]

Order #74 (Papun)

To: 14-1-2001
U aaaa
xxxx [village]

Why weren't the people sent today for the Papun – Kaw Boke vehicle road? [We] Heard the news that "Pu bbbb" [a Karen person's name, written in Karen] would come, but didn't see [him] come. [We] Started [work on the road] on Sunday 14-1-2001, today (this morning at 7 o'clock). To substitute a person, [we] got one person from yyyy section of Papun. Regarding that matter, U aaaa yourself (or) another person instead must come to meet with me at the zzzz Chairperson's house tomorrow, Monday, at 12 o'clock, you are informed.

(Note) Do not fail-
Carry this out-
[Written sideways along left margin:]
Also carry out the previous matter of 2,000 K [kyat].

[Sd.]
Chairperson
www [village]

[This order followed Order #73 above. This means that forced labour on the road began on the day this letter was sent, but as the recipient's village didn't send anyone, the village tract chairperson found someone to take their place from Papun town. The recipient village will probably be forced to pay the cost of hiring this person and to send people on the following days.]

Order #75 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To: Chairperson, xxxx village 16-1-2001

U aaaa, [in the] morning of 17-1-2001 U aaaa yourself must come to yyyy camp with 2 bullock carts to arrive at 0600 hours, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Stamp:
Intelligence Officer
#xxx Infantry Battalion

[Demands for bullock carts also include the bullock team and cart owner for forced labour.]

Order #76 (Papun)

To: Chairperson 19-1-2001
xxxx village

Chairperson – come early to yyyy village with 1 loh ah pay person on 20-1-2001.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander
Frontline LIB #xxx, Col. #x

Order #77 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Date: 20-1-2001

The 2 loh ah pay people are overdue, so come to change [them] today, 20-1-2001 near yyyy sawmill.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander

[The village must send forced labourers on a regular rotation; in this case, the officer is complaining that the fresh labourers have not arrived on schedule to replace the present shift, so they must come immediately. Village heads have trouble finding people to go for forced labour so they are often late in sending the new shift; when this happens, the old shift is detained for labour until their replacements arrive.]

Order #78 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion, Column #x
yyyy Region
Letter No. xxx / 00xx / Oo 1
Date: Year 2001, January 20th

To:
Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
____xxx____ Village Tract

Subject: To send loh ah pay

1. To repair yyyy [Army] Camp, come to send 3 loh ah pay people with food for 5 days from the Elder's village to zzzz Army Camp to arrive on 21-1-2001 at (1400) hours in the afternoon.
2. The loh ah pay [people] must bring along their machetes / spades, and to ensure the full number of people, the Chairpersons / Secretaries yourselves must come to deliver them without fail (without fail), you are informed.

[Sd.]

Reply when [you] receive this letter.

(for) Column Commander

[This is a handwritten carbon-copied order sent to several villages with the village name written in afterward on each copy. On the back this order the commander wrote "Emergency/Urgent" in red ink, and "Give to Chairperson, xxxx tract". The village head wrote as below:]

xxxx [village] finished reading.

Note:	1. xxxx [village]	1 person
	2. www [village]	1 person
	3. vvv [village]	1 person
	Total	3 persons

Tomorrow, the people will go.

Order #79 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 20-1-2001

The loh ah pay [people] who were going along with the Mobile Column have fled, so the Elder yourself must come quickly today to send more [replacement porters] to the sawmill near yyyy. If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility. [They] Fled, so bring 50 kyat tha [800 g / 1.75 lb] of a chicken.

[Bring also] 1 Bowl of sticky-rice.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander

[A direct translation of the start of the above order would be "The loh ah pay's", i.e. it is clearly in the plural. When a village sends forced labourers and they flee, the village is normally forced to send replacements as well as a fine, like the chicken and sticky-rice mentioned in this order. In addition, the officers often demand that those who fled be handed over for additional 'punishment' forced labour.]

Order #80 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 20-1-2001

The loh ah pay [people] from the Elder's village flee very often, so as soon as this letter is received the Elder yourself must come to send 2 loh ah pay people to the sawmill near yyyy, to arrive on 20-1-2001. If [you] fail, the Elder will be tied up with rope.

For the loh ah pay who fled, [bring a fine of] 2 packets of jaggery and and 2 bowls [4 kg/8.8 lb] of sticky-rice.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander

[This order was sent by the same officer but to a different village on the same day as Order #79; clearly several of the forced labour porters fled the column so all the villages who sent the labour are to be punished. When a village sends forced labourers and they flee, the village is normally forced to send replacements as well as a fine, like the jaggery [slabs of hardened crystallised sugar cane juice] and sticky-rice mentioned in this order. In addition, the officers often demand that those who fled be handed over for additional 'punishment' forced labour.]

Order #81 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

Date: Year 2001, January 20th

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Subject: More wood is needed for the rice storehouse

Regarding the above subject, [we] need your 4 villages to take duty to provide 16 pieces of 5x2 [inch], 10 taung [cubits in length] wood, so each village must [provide] 4 pieces of 5x2, 10 taung wood. The quota allotted for the rice storehouse, whether [you're] finished sending it or not, send it. To build the rice storehouse, bring also 500 Kyat for the cost of nails, 2 saws, 2 axes, 2 grubbing hoes and the allotted [quota of] thatch. To build the rice storehouse, call one person from each house for loh ah pay with rice packs, and come quickly without fail to build the rice storehouse on 23-1-2001, you are informed.

[Sd.]20/1/2001

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and
Development Council
yyyy [village]

[The village where the storehouse is to be built has been heavily militarised and garrisoned by the SPDC. The troops force the people of surrounding villages to hand over their rice and receive it back as daily rations, and the rice storehouse is most likely to be built to store this rice and other rice confiscated for consumption of the troops. See also Order #98 on the same subject.]

Order #82 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Township Security and Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Township Security and Management Assistance
Committee, yyyy Town
Letter No. / 2 / xxx / La Sa Ta
Date: Year 2001, **January 21st**

To:

Chairperson
xxxx Section / Village Tract
yyyy Township

Subject: The matter of arranging and sending
Operations servant porters

Reference: According to the directive of Sa Ba Ha 2 [Strategic Operations Command 2]

1. Regarding the matter in the above reference letter, it is directed to arrange and send operation servants, so do not fail to send and hand over 2 operations people (Two people) from the Elder's Section / Village Tract as specified below, you are informed.

Date: **25-1-2001**

Time: **Morning (10:00) o'clock**

Place: zzzz Police Camp
Come to hand over on time.

Note: If [you] fail, are late or the quantity is low [lower than specified], it will be the responsibility of the concerned Ya Ya Ka [VPDC] group.

[Sd.]

Chairperson

Stamp: Joint Secretary

Security / Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Copies to -

- **Sa Ba Ha 2 [Strategic Operations Command 2], yyyy [village]**
- **Ma Ya Ka [Township PDC],**
- **Receipt**

[This is a stock form with blanks as shown. This copy has had the stamp affixed as shown at the top, the blanks have been filled in using a blue felt tip marker with the details shown here in bold italics, the signature and the note 'Come to hand over on time' have been added in pen, and the stamp below the signature has been affixed. The form was printed with the year 2000 at the top but the sender has changed it to 2001. 'Operation servants' are porters for long term forced labour on frontline operations with Army columns on patrol or on the offensive, which is the most dreaded form of forced labour in Burma.]

Order #83 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

Date: 21-1-2001

Come to change the *loh ah pay* people. Come and send [them] to near yyyy sawmill to arrive at 12 o'clock. If you fail it is the Elder's responsibility.

Column Commander

Order #84 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Stamp:

Frontline [unclear]

Date: 21-1-2001

The *loh ah pay* people are running away. As soon as you receive this letter, come immediately to send it [10 viss of pork – see note below] to near the yyyy sawmill and arrive at 12 o'clock. If you do not come it is the responsibility of the Elder.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander

[The village head told KHRG that two porters had fled so the soldiers fined the village 10 viss (16 kg / 36 lb) of pork, which was given to the soldiers on 25-1-2001.]

Order #85 (Papun)

To:

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

21-1-2001

xxxx [village] had to restart on 18-1-2001 with workers to repair the Papun – Kaw Boke road. 20-1-2001 was already the 3rd day. Take care of the cost money for this at your convenience today or tomorrow, you are informed. *[There was]* No time to inform *[you]* in advance, so *[we]* hired *[workers to take your place]*. *[I]* Want this to be understood.

[Sd.]

Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[There is a major SPDC garrison at Papun, and in 1995-97 a road was built with forced labour to a new Army camp at Kaw Boke. The villagers are regularly forced to carry supplies along this road, which is only passable to vehicles for part of the year. Every year the road must be entirely rebuilt after rainy season. This order means that the Army demanded that villagers be sent for forced labour repairing the road starting on January 18th, but the village tract chairperson had no time to get people from the villages so he hired people to go in their place, and only now after the fact is he notifying the villages that they must send money in lieu of the forced labourers they didn't send. See also Orders #68, 73, 74, and 97.]

Order #86 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx village

Stamp:

Frontline #[unclear]

Date: 22-1-2001

The *loh ah pay* is already past due, so as soon as you receive this letter the Elder yourself must come to change *[them]*, to arrive near yyyy sawmill on 22-1-2001 in the evening. Do not fail, carry this out seriously.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander

[The village must send forced labourers on a regular rotation; in this case, the officer is complaining that the fresh labourers have not arrived on schedule to replace the present shift, so they must come immediately. Village heads have trouble finding people to go for forced labour so they are often late in sending the new shift; when this happens, the old shift is detained for labour until their replacements arrive.]

Order #87 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Stamp:
Frontline [unclear]
Column [unclear]

Date: 22-1-2001

1 loh ah pay person has fled and only one is left, and the days [of this shift of forced labour] are over, so as soon as this letter is received, come and replace [them] at the sawmill near yyyy. If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility. Summon and bring 2 people.

Must arrive on 22-1-2001 in the evening.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

[This village is forced to provide 2 people at all times to the Army Column on a rotating basis; this time one has fled before his shift is finished, while the second has finished his shift, so the village head is being ordered to replace both of them.]

Order #88 (Papun)

[To:] Mother Daw aaaa,

22/1/2001

In the matter of relocating the houses, the Tactical Operations Commander already notified [you] but nothing has changed yet.

Ask [the villagers] to finish relocating tomorrow. If finished, reply by set tha [messenger] tomorrow.

[Sd.]22/1

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village. From yyyy [Army Camp]". The village must send a villager as a 'set tha' messenger with the reply.]

Order #89 (Papun)

[To:] Mother Daw aaaa,

[We] Want to know the situation of the relocation of the houses. Reply with the set tha [messenger] who has come now.

[Sd.]22/1

[This order was issued on 22/1/2001. A 'set tha' is a villager doing forced labour as a messenger.]

Order #90 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Stamp:
Frontline #[unclear]

Date: 24-1-2001

[We] have already ordered [you] to come and send 2 loh ah pay people many times, so as soon as you receive this letter come and send them, informing you again. When you come, bring a half sack [25 kg / 105 lb] of rice from U aaaa's house.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

Order #91 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract
yyyy Township
Date: Year 2001, January 24th

[To:]

U aaaa
VPDC

Invitation to a meeting

Without fail attend the meeting on the date shown below, you are invited.

Date - 25-1-2001

Time - Midday at 11 o'clock

Place - yyyy Chairperson [house]

Matter - Money and general matters

Bring along the money for Township servants fees and the money that is owed.

Also bring the [Village PDC rubber] stamp.

[Sd.]bbbb

Stamp: Chairperson

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

['Township servants fees' is routine extortion money collected in lieu of forced labour and handed over to the township authorities. Villages paying this money still have to do forced labour.]

Order #92 (Papun)

To:

24-1-2001

Mother, regarding the bottle of alcohol that Ah Ba Lay [*little uncle*] asked for, fill [*a bottle*] with alcohol and give it via this *set tha* [*messenger*] now.

With friendliness,

Major aaaa

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #93 (Papun)

Stamp:

#1 Tactical Operations Command, Military Operations Supervisory Group
yyyy Town

To:

Mother Daw aaaa,

The Tactical Operations Commander said that Mother yourself must come to deliver 30 *loh ah pay* people to yyyy Army Camp tomorrow. Must come without fail.

[Sd.]25/1

[On the back this order is addressed "To Mother Daw aaaa, Chairperson, xxxx [village]. From yyyy [Army Camp]".]

Order #94 (Papun)

[To:] Mother Daw aaaa,

This was stated by the Tactical Operations Commander.

[The Commander] Stated that tomorrow 30 male people must come with 30 spades from Mother's village. Arrive at 0700 hours to report information to yyyy Army Camp.

[Sd.]25/1

[This order was issued on 25/1/2001. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #95 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
Date: 25-1-2001
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract
zzzz Village

Subject: Demanding Township servants

Regarding the above matter and the Township directive, Operations Servants are being demanded, so the Elder's village has the duty of 1¼ servant people. The cost in money is 10,200 K[kyat]), send it (without fail) to the Chairperson on 29-1-2001, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Stamp: (for) Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[Operations servants are porters for long term forced labour on frontline operations. Everyone is terrified of this kind of forced labour, and villagers cannot be coerced into doing it except at gunpoint. In this case the village tract chairperson knows that no one will be sent, so he has divided the number of people demanded between the villages of the tract (this village gets the odd allocation of 1¼ people; for example, if the village tract has been ordered to provide 6 people and there are 4 villages in the tract, each village has to pay enough for 1½ people) and asked for the money required to pay off the military instead.]

Order #96 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Military Operations Command

25-1-2001

To: U aaaa
Chairperson
xxxx village

[We] Have a problem with rations for feeding the loh ah pay [people] at the Column, so send 1 sack [50 kg / 110 lb] of rice for them, you are informed. Send [it] with the loh ah pay people who come now.

[Sd.]

Frontline LIB #xxx
Col. #x

[When villagers are called for forced labour, they must also take along their own food. However, the troops often keep them much longer than the originally specified time period, and when their food runs out the Army demands that their village send more food for them. In this case, the village head told KHRG that the sack of rice was given but no money was paid for it.]

Order #97 (Papun)

To:

25-1-2001

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

For the Papun – Kaw Boke road, xxxx village's turn for [sending] workers is from the 18th to the 20th, 3 days. Therefore send the cost money of 1,500 K[kyat] with this messenger now. From the 21st to the 23rd, yyyy [village]. From the 24th to the 26th, xxxx's turn again. Arrange this [the upcoming 2 shifts of labour] as well. Go for 3 days, rest for 3 days, consistently. If possible, [I] want U aaaa yourself to come and meet with the Chairperson.

Schedule of workers for the Kaw Boke road:

From the 18th to 20th xxxx, zzzz [villages]
From the 20th to 23rd yyyy, wwww [villages] - finished and cleared.
From the 24th to 26th xxxx, zzzz [villages]
From the 27th to 29th yyyy, wwww [villages]

[Sd.]
Chairperson
vvvv [village]

[There is a major SPDC garrison at Papun, and in 1995-97 a road was built with forced labour to a new Army camp at Kaw Boke. The villagers are regularly forced to carry supplies along this road, which is only passable to vehicles for part of the year. Every year the road must be entirely rebuilt after rainy season (see also Orders #68, 73, 74, and 85). This orders the villages to alternate turns of 3 days work, 3 days rest on the Papun – Kaw Boke vehicle road. However, it appears that the villages often send money instead of going, so this village is being ordered to pay 1,500 Kyat right now because they didn't send people for their January 18-20 shift. Another order was written on the back of the same sheet, demanding this money again as well as the money for the 24th-26th shift, and is shown below (as can be seen below, the village is actually supposed to send 3 people for each shift of 3 days, and the cost for not sending them is 500 Kyat per person per shift):]

From the 18th to 20th 3 days, 1,500 [kyat]
From the 24th to 26th 3 days, 1,500
For 3 people for 2 times 3,000 Kyat

Without fail send it now with this set tha [the forced labour messenger who has delivered this order]. If the delay becomes any longer, the money will not be good enough. It could lead to suspicion.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
vvvv [village]

[This note is very threatening, implying that if the money is not sent immediately the village head and possibly the entire village will be accused of opposing the SPDC and punished.]

Order #98 (Dooplava)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

Date: 25-1-2001

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Subject: To send *loh ah pay* for building the rice storehouse

Regarding the above subject, for the rice storehouse come and gather with thatch, 10 *loh ah pay* people, 1 axe, a machete each, and rice packs all complete, at the village tract secretary's house tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock exactly, you are informed.

Note- Do not fail.
Bring along the thatch.
Bring along 700 Kyat for the cost of nails.

[Sd.] 25/1/2001
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and
Development Council
yyyy [village]

[See also Order #81 on the same subject.]

Order #99 (Pa'an)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

26-1-2001

Subject: Requesting the help of *wontan [servants]*

It is [your] turn to strip the bark from the logs, so the Elder yourself must summon village *wontan [servants]* from the Elder's village and come without fail to arrive on 27-1-2001 at 7:00 o'clock. If [you] fail, [we] will send a bullet.

(for) Column Commander
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

Order #100 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
xxxx Tract

To:
Chairperson / Secretary
_____ [blank] _____ village

Date: 26-1-2001

Subject: The matter of collecting and sending the monthly military servant fees for the month of 12/2000 and the money for the balance of the army servant fees which remain to be paid from previous months

Regarding the above subject, the villages of xxxx village tract hired 40 people in total as military servants for the month of 12/2000. Collect and send [money] as allocated to each village below, and also come without fail to send the balance of money which is owed for previous months to arrive at the same time on (31-1-2001), you are informed.

1. aaaa [village]	- 21 people	(21 x 4,250)	= 89,250 Kyat
2. bbbb [village]	- 8 people	(8 x 4,250)	= 34,000 Kyat
11/2000 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>6,605</u> "
		Total	= 40,605 "
3. cccc [village]	- 3 people	(3 x 4,250)	= 12,750 Kyat
11/2000 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>99,150</u> "
		Total	= 111,900 "
4. dddd [village]	- 3 people	(3 x 4,250)	= 12,750 Kyat
11/2000 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>None</u>
		Total	= 12,750 Kyat
5. eeee [village]	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 Kyat
11/2000 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>114,250</u> "
		Total	= 131,250 "
6. ffff [village]	- 1 person	(1 x 4,250)	= 4,250 Kyat
11/2000 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>None</u>
		Total	= 4,250 "

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
xxxx Tract

[This order relates to the standard "servants' fees" (often called 'porter fees') which villages must all pay every month in addition to the forced labourers they must send. In this Village Tract, the PDC is working closely with the local SPDC Battalions; they receive orders from the Battalions, then pass them on to the elders of all villages under their administration, sometimes with extra demands tacked on to enrich themselves. In the process, a complex system of 'servants' and 'servants' fees' has developed within this village tract. Initially the local Battalions issue orders to the Village Tract PDC demanding numbers of forced labourers for a specific purpose. Knowing that the villages do not want to do the labour and will be slow to comply, the Village Tract PDC often hires day labourers through agents in Toungoo, pays for their 'car fees' (i.e. transport costs) to the village tract, and supplies them to the SPDC military. The Village Tract PDC then issues orders to the villages under their administration to pay their share of the cost based on the relative size (number of households) of their village; for example, a village may be ordered to pay for 10 of the 80 people hired by the Village Tract PDC. In this order, the amount billed to the villages is 4,000 Kyat for each short-term porter plus 250 Kyat for his 'car fee' where necessary. The first part of the order indicates that in December 2000 the village tract was forced to send 40 porters to the local Battalions, and the rest of the order divides up the costs between the villages of the village tract. The payment generally averages out to 1,000 or more Kyat per family per month. The Army also demands many other fees from them, as well as food and, of course, their forced labour as 'servants'; many families cannot pay, and as can be seen by the 'balances' still remaining from previous months, several villages are behind in their payments. Each village in the tract receives a document like this every month, as can be seen by the copies from later months included later in this set.]

Order #101 (Papun)

To:

28-1-2001

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

For the xxxx road, U aaaa said that [you] would come to bbbb's house in yyyy [village] on 26-1-2001, so [we] sent people to go and see. Why didn't [you] come? Carry it out without fail today or tomorrow. If possible, U aaaa yourself must come to the Chairperson. [We] Have things to discuss. For the [SPDC] public relations tour, help with 500 K[kyat].

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[Village head U aaaa was ordered to bring forced labourers for the xxxx vehicle road on 26-1-2001 and promised the village tract head that he would, but then failed to show up.]

Order #102 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Stamp:
Frontline [unclear]

Date: 30-1-2001

From the Elder's village give 5 loh ah pay people. Come and send them to near the yyyy sawmill on February 1st at 1200 hours. If they don't arrive it is the responsibility of the Elder, you are informed.

Elder yourself.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

['Elder yourself' means the village head must come to deliver the forced labourers. The village head told KHRG that the villagers didn't go.]

Order #103 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx village

Stamp:
Frontline [unclear]

Date: 30-1-2001

From the Elder's village give two loh ah pay people. Come to send them to near the yyyy sawmill on February 1st at 1200 hours. Do not fail. If they don't arrive it is the responsibility of the Elder, you are informed.

Elder yourself.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

['Elder yourself' means the village head must come to send the people. On the back of the note the village head has noted the names of the two villagers who had to go for this forced labour on three different days; 1-2-2001, 3-2-2001, and 5-2-2001.]

Order #104 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Stamp:

Frontline #[unclear]

Date: 30-1-2001

[We] Are not using or calling 2 loh ah pay people from the Elder's village, so do it as we have ordered by this messenger now. If [you] fail we will call and use 4 loh ah pay people.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander

[In this classic example of doublespeak, the Commander calls for 2 forced labourers by saying that he is not doing so; that they'd better come without him having to call for them or else he will demand 4 people instead.]

Order #105 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx village

30-1-2001

From the Elder's village send 2 bullock carts to LIB #xxx at yyyy to arrive today, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Frontline LIB #xxx Col. #x

[Demands for bullock carts require the forced labour of the cart owner and the bullock team as well. The village head told KHRG that the villagers gave one bullock cart for two days.]

Order #106 (Papun)

Stamp:

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

To:

Village Head
xxxx village

Date: 3-2-2001

Subject: The matter of calling for loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, for the use of the DKBA from yyyy send without fail (without fail) five male loh ah pay servants to the DKBA office on 4-2-2001 to arrive at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note:

If you fail it is the responsibility of the village head.

[Sd.]

Stamp:

(for) Chairperson

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township

[The village head told KHRG that the villagers went and had to carry the rice daily from the SPDC Army camp until the rice had all been delivered.]

Order #107 (Papun)

To:

6-2-2001

U aaaa
[Village] Head, xxxx Village

U aaaa, U aaaa, U aaaa, read [this letter] closely. Do not mistake the date.

[You] Must help with 10 loh ah pay people from the Chairperson's village to arrive tomorrow evening on 7-2-2001. If possible, the [village] head must also come. [You] Must carry this out and ensure a full complement of people.

[Sd.] 6/2/2001

Stamp: Kyi - xxxxx Captain bbbb

[The Captain starts this letter by repeating the village head's name 3 times, indicating that he is angry and impatient with him; the village may have been slow in sending people for forced labour recently. The Captain scratched out his Army serial number from the stamp under his signature.]

Order #108 (Papun)

To:

Stamp:

7-2-2001

Chairperson
xxxx Village

#1 Tactical Operations Command
Military Operations Command Supervisory Group
yyyy Town

Subject: Sending loh ah pay

For the use of yyyy [Army Camp], the Chairperson yourself must come to report information to yyyy Camp with 25 male loh ah pay people from xxxx village, to arrive on 8-2-2001 at 5 o'clock in the evening, you are informed.

[Sd.] 7-2

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village. From yyyy [Army Camp]."]

Order #109 (Papun)

To

8-2-2001

U aaaa
xxxx [village]

To clear a lay yin gwin [literally 'aircraft ground', this can mean an airstrip but almost certainly means a helipad in this case], one person per house from the Elder's village must come for loh ah pay, each with their own machete, and gather at yyyy tomorrow at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note: Bring along rice packs [precooked rice for the afternoon meal].

[Sd.]

Chairperson
yyyy [village]

Order #110 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Tract

Date: 14-2-2001

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

Subject: The matter of sending loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, the Elder yourself must come without fail to hand over 1 loh ah pay person from the Elder's village to #xxx Infantry Battalion at yyyy [Army] Camp on 15-2-2001 to arrive at 5 o'clock in the evening, you are informed.

Date: : 15-2-2001, Thursday
Time: : Evening at 5 o'clock
Place: : yyyy Army Camp

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

Order #111 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract
yyyy Township
Date: 2001, February 14th

[To:]
U aaaa
VPDC

Subject: To pay the money for movement fees

2 nd month [February] money for movement fees	3,500 K [kyat]
2 nd “ bicycle porter	1,000

Must pay this money at the latest on the 15th of the 2nd [month].
Urgent.

[Sd.] bbbb
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

['Movement fees', supposedly fees to support SPDC mobile patrols, are yet another name for extortion. 'Bicycle porter' means that the villagers have to supply a bicycle for use by the military on a regular basis, possibly with a rider - as they cannot spare one, they are forced to pay a regular 1,000 Kyat per month instead, which has simply developed into another form of extortion. On the back this order is addressed to "U aaaa VPDC, xxxx [village]".]

Order #112 (Papun)

To: Chairperson Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion Date: 17-2-2001
xxxx village Column #x Headquarters

Subject: To send the things

Send 10 people from the Elder's village to yyyy camp on 18-2-2001 and arrive at 8 o'clock in the morning. Do not fail, you are informed.

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

Order #113 (Papun)

To: xxxx village #xxx Infantry Battalion Date: 17-2-2001
Chairperson #x Company

Subject: The Strategic Operations Command Commander demands people to cut the bushes on the left/right sides of the road.

Chairperson lead 50 people, each with their machetes, and come to report information to the 29 Miles / 6 Furlongs place [on the road] at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes in the afternoon [12:30 p.m.]. You are informed.

[Sd.] bbbb
Strategic Operations Command Group

[The village head told KHRG that 40 people went and it took them two days to finish clearing the scrub along the roadsides. 'Send information' is an order to provide the soldiers with any information the movements of villagers or KNU/KNLA near the village.]

Order #114 (Papun)

Stamp: Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion yyyy village
Column #x Headquarters Letter #1000 / 0x / Oo x
Year 2001, February 17th

To: Chairperson
____xxx____ village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

1. To coordinate the matter of military operations and security in the Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion area of military operations, the Chairperson and 2 set tha ['messengers'] must come without fail on 17-2-2001 to arrive at 1100 hours, you are informed.

2. If you fail to come it is the responsibility of the concerned village, you are informed.

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

['Set tha' are villagers for forced labour as messengers and general errand-runners; most villages are forced to supply people for this duty on a daily basis.]

Order #115 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx Village

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters

Date: 17-2-2001

Subject: Come to meet

1. Come to report whether or not the yyyy [village] Chairperson went to deliver 20 people to zzzz Camp, [report it] to the Column at www on 18-2-2001, to arrive at 10 o'clock in the daytime.
2. Do not fail, you are informed.

[Sd.]

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

[In the context, the 20 people are clearly for forced labour.]

Order #116 (Pa'an)

Stamp:

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
yyyy [village]

To:

Head
xxxx village

17-2-2001

As soon as you receive this letter now, send without fail 1 loh ah pay person for the brick kiln from the Elder's village, you are informed.

[The remainder of this order document has been torn off and lost. Brick kilns are run by many officers at Army camps for their own personal profit, using the forced labour of local villagers and their own soldiers.]

Order #117 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
#[unclear] Company

To:

xxxx [village] Chairperson

Date: 19-2-2001

Come to report information to the yyyy Village Chairperson's house on 19-2-2001.

Bring the servant fees at the same time.

If [you] can't pay the servant fees, send the people to be servants.

[Sd.]

Deputy Warrant Officer bbbb
Camp Commander
yyyy Camp

[This order states clearly what is left out but implicitly understood in most orders demanding 'servant fees': that if the fees are not paid, the villagers must go for forced labour. 'Come to report information' means to report intelligence on everything happening in and around the village. On the back this order is addressed "To xxxx [village] Chairperson. Report information to the camp."]

Order #118 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract
yyyy Township
Date: Year 2001, February 21st

[To:] U aaaa
VPDC

Subject: The matter of sending loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, in accordance with the directive of the Frontline #xxx Sa Ka Ka Mu [Military Operations Commander] that the Elder's village is to repair zzzz Camp, the Elder yourself must go without fail and hand over 1 person, one person, for loh ah pay to www Army Camp on Feb 22nd 2001, to arrive at (05:00) o'clock, you are informed.

With food for 5 days.

[Sd.] bbbb

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

Order #119 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Chairperson, the servants from xxxx [village] have fled, so the Elder yourself must come quickly to send 2 servant people from xxxx to arrive today.

[Sd.]
21-2-2001
(for) Column Commander
Frontline LIB #xxx, Column x

[The village head told KHRG that he went to send 2 porters to the Army the following day as ordered.]

Order #120 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract- yyyy Township

[To:] U aaaa
VPDC

Date: 22-2-2001

Informing [you] again.

This afternoon at 3 o'clock exactly,
Go to deliver and hand over 1 person, one person, for loh ah pay with food for 5 days to the zzzz Column Office for [forced labour at] www [Army camp], you are informed.

Already sent a letter in advance yesterday on 21-2-2001. Asked the xxxx [village head] to forward the letter. Do not know whether [the letter] arrived or not. Right now, informing [you] again. Carry [this] out quickly.

[Sd.] bbbb
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[This was a follow up to Order #118. On the back this order is addressed to "U aaaa, VPDC, vvvv [village]".]

Order #121 (Nyaunglebin)

Date: 22-2-2001

[To:] xxxx Village
VPDC [Chairman] U aaaa

Subject: The matter of sending *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above subject, in accordance with the directive of the Frontline #xxx Sa Ka Ka Mu [Military Operations Commander], to repair yyyy [Army] Camp, the Elder's village is to deliver and hand over one *loh ah pay* person to zzzz Army Camp today at 2 o'clock. Do not fail. If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

With food for 5 days.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Village Head
www Village (3)
vvvv Village Tract
yyyy Township

[On the back this order is addressed to "U aaaa, VPDC, xxxx [village], Urgent".]

Order #122 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract- yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract
yyyy Township
Date: Year 2001, February 24th

[To:] U aaaa
VPDC

Subject: To send Township servants

The directive from the Township Ma Ya Ka [TPDC] on the 21st says that the Elder's village is to send and hand over 1 person, one person, as a Township servant to yyyy Village Tract Peace and Development Chairperson on 27-2-2001 at the latest, you are informed.

[Sd.] bbbb
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[Township servants' are forced labourers demanded by the Township authorities, usually to fulfil demands passed to them by the Army but sometimes for Township projects. On the back this order is addressed to "U aaaa, VPDC, xxxx [village]".]

Order #123 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village]

24-2-2001

To clear the forest for the Operations Command, one person per house from the Elder's village, each with a machete, must come to report to the yyyy Chairperson tomorrow on 25-2-2001 at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note: Do not fail.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

Order #124 (Dooplaya)

To:
Letting the Chairperson know by letter.

Date: 24-2-2001

Send 1 bowl [2 kg/4.4 lb] of rice and vegetables with the letter carrier *set tha* [forced labour messenger] who will come tomorrow, you are informed.

LIB xxx

Order #125 (Papun)

To:
xxxx Village Chairperson

27-2-2001

[You have] Already sent 600 nipa palm thatch [shingles] for repairing of the Camp but 1,000 more are needed, so send [them] to arrive on 4-3-2001.

Already informed [you] to send 1 *set tha* [messenger] but [s/he] has not arrived yet, so as soon as this letter is received, must send.

If [you] fail harsh action will be taken, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy [Army] Camp

Order #126 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Date: 4-3-2001

[To:] Village Elder Groups and VPDC Groups,
former and present

Now, the matter of *loh ah pay* involves not only one [village] tract, it also includes other [village] tracts. Your village must comply with the assigned number of people fully. If [the number sent is] not complete, it will be your responsibility. The present VPDC groups and the former VPDC are to coordinate and carry this out.

In the meeting it was decided that only the people who still owe monthly money from yyyy village must go [for forced labour]. [They] Also must pay the monthly money [which they owe]. [They] Also have to go for *loh ah pay* duty now. [We] are using a system of rewards and punishments.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[The villagers are forced to pay regular monthly extortion money to the local military and SPDC authorities under names such as 'porter fees', with the understanding that if they do not pay they must do forced labour; though at the same time they still must do other forced labour, including portering. The second paragraph of this order means that more forced labourers are now being demanded from the village tract by the Army, so the first people they will send are those who are behind in their payments of 'porter fees'. On the back this order is addressed to "Village Elders, VPDC, xxxx [village]".]

Order #127 (Papun)

To: 4-3-2001
Chairperson **Stamp:** Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
xxxx Village Column #x Headquarters

[We are] Taking Maung aaaa as a guide from the Elder's village temporarily, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

Order #128 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp: Village Peace and Development Council Peace and Development Council
Date: 4-3-2001 yyyy Tract
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township xxxx Village

Subject: To send Kyauk Taung loh ah pay

Regarding the above matter, [we] have to send Kyauk Taung loh ah pay, so the Elder yourself must come from the Elder's village to xxxx Army Camp to hand over 20 people for duty on the date of 5-3-2001 at 12 o'clock noon, you are informed.

(If [you] fail and are late, it will be the Elder's responsibility.)
Note: Bring rations for 5 days.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Secretary - Member (1)
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[On the back of this order the village head has written the following:]

yyyy [village]	20	people	
uuuu [village]	10	"	
vvvv [village]	20	"	
wwww [village]	20	"	Hired 10 people, went 10 people. One person is 2,500 [Kyat]
xxxx [village]	35	"	
[Total:]	85		

For 5/3/2001, sent on 6/3/2001. Asking yyyy Tract to gather at xxxx [village].

[Kyauk Taung is an SPDC Army camp in the hills, so the labour is either carrying supplies there or working at the camp. The demand that the forced labourers each bring 5 days of rations makes it clear that the labour is to be for at least that long, though SPDC units often keep villagers much longer than they originally specified. On the back this order is addressed to "Village Head, wwwww [village]". The village head wrote his own notes as shown above, indicating that a total of 85 people were demanded from 5 villages in the area, and that all of them went on March 6th. His village sent 10 of its own people and hired an additional 10, at a cost of 2,500 kyat each, to fill their quota.]

Order #129 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
Date: 4-3-2001
yyyy tract, yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
yyyy tract
xxxx Village

Subject: Sending for Kyauk Taung *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above matter, *[we]* must send Kyauk Taung *loh ah pay*, so the Elder yourself must come to hand over 20 people for duty from the Elder's Village to zzzz Army Camp on the date 5-3-2001 at noon, 12 o'clock, you are informed.

(If *[you]* fail and are late, it will be the Elder's responsibility)
Note: Bring rations for 5 days.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Secretary- Member (1)
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract-yyyy Township

[This is a carbon-copied order with the date written in by hand. On the back this order is addressed "To Ko aaaa, Give 3 torchlights to Ko bbbb; [Sd.] 7-3-2001, Village Head, xxxx".]

Order #130 (Pa'an)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Military Operations Command

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Subject: Calling *[you]* to a meeting

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion wants to coordinate and hold a meeting with the village heads from villages in the Battalion's organising area *[area of control]*. Therefore, the village chairpersons / heads yourselves must come without fail to #xxx Light Infantry Battalion on the 14th waxing day of Dta Baun month (6-3-2001), at 0900 hours, you are informed.

Place: yyyy
Date: 5-3-2001

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

[This is a form letter with the village name written in by hand. On the back the village head has written in by hand the following:]

xxxx *[village]*

Demands

Five of our villagers from xxxx village tract had to go for *loh ah pay* with machetes and mattocks. *[They]* Also ordered each of us to bring bamboo and one *viss* of shaved bamboo.

[Shaved bamboo ties are used to hold things together in bamboo construction. One 'viss' is 1.6 kg / 3.5 lb.]

Order #131 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Tract

To: Chairperson / Secretary
_____ village

Date: 5-3-2001

Subject: The matter of collecting and sending the monthly servant fees for the month of 1/2001 and the money for the balance of the servant fees which remain to be paid from previous months

Regarding the above subject, the villages of yyyy village tract hired 46 people in total as military servants for the month of 1/2001. Collect and send [money] as allocated to each village below, and also come without fail to send the balance of money which is owed for previous months to arrive at the same time on (6-3-01), you are informed.

1. <i>aaaa [village]</i>	- 22 people	(22 x 4,250)	=	93,500 Kyat
2. <i>bbbb [village]</i>	- 9 people	(9 x 4,250)	=	38,250 Kyat
	12/2000 - balance of money from previous month			<u>+18,555 "</u>
			Total:	56,805 Kyat
3. <i>cccc [village]</i>	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	=	17,000 Kyat
	12/2000 - balance of money from previous month			<u>+99,150 "</u>
			Total:	102,900 "
4. <i>dddd [village]</i>	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	=	17,000 Kyat
	12/2000 - balance of money from previous month			<u>+750 "</u>
			Total:	17,750 Kyat
5. <i>eeee [village]</i>	- 5 people	(5 x 4,250)	=	21,250 Kyat
	12/2000 - balance of money from previous month			<u>+None</u>
			Total:	21,250 Kyat
6. <i>ffff [village]</i>	- 2 people	(2 x 4,250)	=	8,500 Kyat
	12/2000 - balance of money from previous month			<u>+None</u>
			Total:	8,500 Kyat

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[These orders are issued monthly to the villages in this village tract; see the notes under Order #100.]

Order #132 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 6-3-2001

Subject: Calling [you] to coordinate the matter of servants

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion will coordinate and carry out the matter of servants with the Elder's village, so come (without fail) to yyyy Camp on 7-3-2001 to arrive at (0800) hours, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Camp Commander
yyyy Camp
Frontline IB #xxx

Note:

Bring 1 chicken.

[On the back this order bears the stamp of "Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion, #x Company", and is addressed "To Chairperson, Secretary, xxxx [village]".]

Order #133 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

6-3-2001

Subject: Calling [you] to coordinate the matter of servants

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion will coordinate and carry out the matter of servants with the Elder's village, so come (without fail) to yyyy Camp on 7-3-2001 to arrive at (0800) hours, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy Camp
Frontline IB #xxx

Note:
Bring 1 chicken.

[This order is identical to Order #132 above, but was sent to another village; both were written out by hand.]

Order #134 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
xxxx Township, yyyy Village

To: Chairperson / xxxx Village

Date: 7-3-2001

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

[We] want to discuss and coordinate urgently the matter of the stone pits for the Ye – Kyaun Ywa vehicle road, so attend (without fail) a meeting in accordance with the agenda below, you are invited.

Date: 10-3-2001
Time: Morning at 10:00 o'clock
Place: VPDC Office / yyyy *[village]*

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
xxxx Township, yyyy Village
[Sd.]
(for) **[Sd.]**

[Identically worded copies of this order were sent out to every village in the village tract.]

Order #135 (Toungoo)

To: Chairperson
xxxx (Lower)
(Upper) *[upper and lower parts of the village]*

8-3-2001

I am writing a letter. Every week on Sunday *[you]* fail to send *set tha* *[forced labour messengers]*. Also right now, *[I]* already asked for the register of households and population on 5-3-01 but *[you]* have not come and brought it yet, so the Chairpersons of the 2 villages, the upper village and the lower village, must come without fail to send these registers to yyyy Army Camp, you are informed.

* Come and arrive this evening.
* If [you] fail to come,
[we] will take harsh action.

[Sd.]
Captain aaaa
yyyy Army Camp

[Most villages are forced to send one or two people as forced labour messengers ('set tha') every morning. This village was complying with this but did not do so on Sunday because it is a day of rest, particularly for Christians. However, even this is unsatisfactory to the Army camp. On the back this order

is addressed "To Chairperson/ Secretary, xxxx (Upper), xxxx (Lower). Urgent - Do not sleep at night. zzzz [village] Chairperson, send this letter tonight to arrive at yyyy.]

Order #136 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion, Column #x
yyyy Region
Letter No. / xxx / xx / Oo 1
Date: Year 2001, March 9th

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village Tract

Subject: Come to report whether the loh ah pay people are complete/incomplete

Regarding the above subject, the Elder yourself must come without fail to yyyy Army Camp to report whether the zzzz [Army Camp] loh ah pay people have fully / not fully arrived back, on 9-3-2001 at (1600) hours in the evening, you are informed.

[Sd.] 9/3/2001

Stamp: (for) Intelligence Corporal
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

[In this instance LIB xxx has ordered that a group of the Elder's villagers be sent to zzzz Army camp for forced labour, and wants to know whether they have all returned yet or not.]

Order #137 (Papun)

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Date: 11-3-2001

1. [We] Want to hold a meeting for peace in the villages, so the Elder yourself and 1 set tha [messenger] must come to yyyy village to arrive at 12 o'clock noon today, you are informed.
2. If [you] fail to come, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Place: yyyy Village
Date: 11-3-2001
Column #x Headquarters

[Sd.] 11/3
(for) Column Commander
Column #x Headquarters
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #138 (Dooplava)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

Date: 12-3-2001

To: Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Subject: Informing [you] about sending the group of carpenters

[Regarding] The above, the Divisional officers' building is not finished yet, so send fully and without fail the group of carpenters and the carpentry supplies on 13-3-2001 in the morning, you are informed.

Village senior Chairperson, come to meet with the Village Tract Chairperson tomorrow.

[Sd.] 12-3-2001

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and
Development Council
yyyy [village]

Order #139 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

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

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

As soon as [you] receive this letter, the Chairperson and 1 *set tha* [messenger] must come quickly, you are informed for the last time.

Date: 12-3-2001

[Sd.] 12/3
Stamp: Column Commander
Column #x Headquarters
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

Order #140 (Toungoo)

To: Chairperson
xxxx (Lower) [village]

14-3-2001

Subject: The matter of sending *set tha* [forced labour messengers] regularly every Sunday

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village fails to send *set tha* regularly every Sunday. Therefore pay 1 *viss* [1.6 kg/3.5 lb] of chicken for failing, and in the future [you] must send the *set tha* regularly, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Captain aaaa
yyyy Army Camp

[Most villages are forced to send one or two people as forced labour messengers ('set tha') every morning. This village was complying this but did not do so on Sunday because it is a day of rest, particularly for Christians. However, even this is unsatisfactory to the Army camp.]

Order #141 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson.

Date: 14-3-2001

For our camp, send 1 bowl [2 kg/4.4 lb] of good rice, duck eggs, 5 *tha* [could mean *viss* or *kyat tha*] of fishpaste, vegetables, with the *set tha* [forced labour messenger]. Please send.

yyyy Army Camp....

[LIB] (xxx)

[The writer of this order can barely write.]

Order #142 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
yyyy Village Tract
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Town

16-3-2001

To: Chairperson
VPDC
xxxx [village]

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

A meeting will be held in accordance with the agenda below, so the Elder yourself must attend (without fail), you are invited.

According to the directive of the zzzz Column Commander,

Date to be held	-----	17-3-2001
Time	“	Morning 11:00 o'clock
Place	“	yyyy Tract, Chairperson's house
Matter	“	The matter of dividing the work

[Sd.]

Stamp: Member (2)
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

['The matter of dividing the work' means that the Army has demanded a quota of forced labour from the village tract, and the village tract authorities will allocate a certain amount of labour to each village.]

Order #143 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
Date: 18-3-2001
yyyy Tract, yyyy Township

To:
Village Head
xxxx Village
yyyy tract

Subject: Calling for Kyauk Taung *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above matter, *[we are]* calling for Kyauk Taung *loh ah pay*, so come to hand over 2 people for duty from the Elder's Village, along with rations for 5 days and machetes, to zzzz Village on the date 19-3-2001 at 12 o'clock, you are informed.

If *[you]* fail or are late, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Secretary -Member (1)
Village tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract-yyyy Township

[Kyauk Taung is an SPDC Army camp; the 2 villagers are clearly to be detained for at least 5 days. Identically worded copies of this order were sent to several villages.]

Order #144 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council

Date: 18-3-2001

yyyy Tract, yyyy Township

To:

Village Head

xxxx Village

yyyy tract

Subject: Calling for Kyauk Taung *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above matter, *[we are]* calling for Kyauk Taung *loh ah pay*, so come to hand over 2 people for duty from the Elder's Village, along with rations for 5 days and machetes, to zzzz Village on the date 19-3-2001 at 12 o'clock, you are informed.

If *[you]* fail or are late, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

Last week left/fled: 1 person

To pay at zzzz: 3 / 4 people, to be handed over at the same *[time]*

Total: 6 people

[Sd.]

Stamp: Secretary - Member (1)
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract-yyyy Township

[Kyauk Taung is an SPDC Army camp; the 2 villagers are clearly to be detained for at least 5 days. This is a carbon copy of Order #143, with a different village name written in. The note at the bottom was also written by hand, and means that the village must send the 2 people demanded, plus an extra one because one of their villagers fled forced labour last week, plus 3-4 others who are behind on their 'porter fees' payments so they must pay money and do forced labour as well (see Order #126) - bringing the total number of forced labourers demanded to 6.]

Order #145 (Toungoo)

To:
Chairperson

18-3-2001

Send 7 *loh ah pay* people with *[their]* own mattocks *[large hoes]* and *tu yin pya* *[long iron crowbar- like tools for digging in hard ground]* to yyyy *[Army]* Camp to arrive tomorrow the 19th at (0700) hours.

[Sd.]

yyyy Camp
IB #xxx

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #146 (Toungoo)

To:
Chairperson

19-3-2001

[We] Called for 7 *loh ah pay* people but only 3 people arrived, so send the remaining 4 people to arrive tonight. Bring along mattocks *[large hoes]*, shovels, and food for 5 days. The Chairperson and Secretary are also to come. If *[you]* do not come, it will be the Chairperson's responsibility.

[Sd.]

(Camp Commander)
yyyy Camp

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

Order #147 (Toungoo)

To:
Chairperson
Secretary

20-3-2001

Chairperson and Secretary, come together with 4 *loh ah pay* people.
Come to arrive at 7:30 in the morning.

[Sd.]
Bo [Commander] aaaa
yyyy Camp

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

Order #148 (Papun)

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

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 21-3-2001

Subject: Informing [you] to send loh ah pay

1. Regarding the above subject, to repair yyyy Camp, the Chairperson yourself must come to deliver 3 *loh ah pay* people with food for 3 days from the Elder's village to yyyy Camp to arrive on 23-3-2001, you are informed.
2. If [you] fail to come, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp Commander
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

Order #149 (Dooplaya)

No. xxx MYANMAR REGIMENT

Date: 21-3-2001

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

For the intelligence group of the Column, send cheroots and 2 chickens (or) dried fish with the *set tha* [forced labour messenger] who comes now.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer

[Page 2:]

No. xxx MYANMAR REGIMENT

Date.....

Cheroots 150
Alcohol 3 bottles

[This 2-page order is written on notepad stationery with 'No. xxx Myanmar Regiment' in large letters across the top, as well as a space for the date.]

Order #150 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Date: 22-3-2001
#x Company

22-3-2001

To: Chairperson / Secretary, xxxx [village]

Send 10 *loh ah pay* people to the camp for building the bridge on 23-3-2001, to arrive at 7 o'clock in the morning.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
Frontline IB #xxx
yyyy Camp

Order #151 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

24-3-2001

To: [Village] Head
xxxx [village]

Subject: Calling for Wontan ['servant'] fees

Regarding the above subject, for xxxx village the third month's [March's] salary for hiring [porters] for 20 days has not yet arrived as of today. Therefore, without fail come and send it to arrive on 25-3-2001. Letting you know and you are informed.

[Sd.] 24-3-2001
Stamp:
(for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township

[The 'wontan (servant) fees' is money paid to avoid going for forced labour as porters. Some camps have established a system with the surrounding villagers wherein the villages pay on a schedule to avoid having to go for forced labour portering. Though they call this money to 'hire' porters, they actually just keep the money and force people from other villages to be porters; meanwhile, they also take money from those villages and grab porters from this village, so every village has to pay money to avoid going as porters but also has to go as porters. The villages are usually in arrears because they cannot afford the fees, although they also cannot afford to take any more time away from their crops for forced labour. Once the villagers have defaulted for too long an Army column will come to take them for extra shifts as porters and punish the village head.]

Order #152 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village]

24-3-2001

Without fail attend the emergency meeting at #xxx Light Infantry Battalion on 25-3-2001 at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

To dig the Operations Command well, summon and bring (male, 2) people at the same time.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[The 'Operations Command well' means to dig a well at the Operations Command camp.]

Order #153 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township/ yyyy Village Tract
Date: 19__ year / March (26)th

To:

U aaaa, U bbbb
Village Peace and Development Council
xxxx village

Subject: The matter of arranging and sending township servants

Reference: 3rd month

Regarding the matter in the letter referenced above, *[you are]* directed to arrange and send Township Servants, so from the Elder's Section / Village do not fail / send and hand over 1 person (*[blank]*) as below, you are informed.

Date: : 28-3-2001
Time: : Morning 10 o'clock
Place: : to yyyy Tract

Note: : If *[you]* fail, are late or the quantity *[brought]* is insufficient, it will be the responsibility of the concerned Ya Ya Ka *[VPDC]* group.

[Sd.] cccc

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract-yyyy Township

Copies to:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

*[This is a typed form letter duplicated on a cyclostyling machine, with the details shown in italics written in afterward by hand, as well as the signature and the VPDC and signatory stamps. While this form letter is clearly designed for demanding goods or materials, here it has been used to demand a person for forced labour. There is no reference letter, so the issuer has only written in '3rd month', meaning March 2001. On the back this order is addressed "To U aaaa, U bbbb, Village Heads, xxxx [village]. **Stamp:** Village head, xxxx village (2), yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township".]*

Order #154 (Dooplaya)

Date: 26-3-2001

To:

Chairperson. Letting *[you]* know and informing *[you]* by letter. We are having difficulty getting things to eat so send fishpaste and duck eggs with the letter *set tha* *[messenger]* who will come tomorrow, you are informed.

LIB #xxx
yyyy Camp

[The 'letter set tha' is the villager which this village must send for forced labour as an order document messenger the following day. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson".]

Order #155 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Tract

To: Chairperson / Secretary
_____ xxxx _____ village

Date: 27-3-2001

Subject: The matter of collecting and sending the monthly military servant fees for the month of 2/2001 and the money for the balance of the army servant fees which remain to be paid from previous months

Regarding the above subject, the villages of yyyy village tract hired 46 people in total as military servants for the month of 2/2001. Collect and send [money] as allocated to each village below, and also come without fail to send the balance of money which is owed to pay for previous months to arrive at the same time on (31-3-2001), you are informed.

1. aaaa [village]	- 22 people	(22 x 4,250)	= 93,500 Kyat
2. bbbb [village]	- 9 people	(9 x 4,250)	= 38,250 Kyat
1/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= +41,805 "
		Total:	= 80,055 Kyat
3. cccc [village]	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 Kyat
1/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= +88,400 "
		Total:	= 105,400 Kyat
4. dddd [village]	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 Kyat
1/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= +4,095 "
		Total:	= 21,095 "
5. eeee [village]	- 5 people	(5 x 4,250)	= 21,250 Kyat
1/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= None "
		Total:	= 21,250 Kyat
6. ffff [village]	- 2 people	(2 x 4,250)	= 8,500 Kyat
1/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= None "
		Total:	= 8,500 Kyat

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[These orders are issued monthly to the villages in this village tract; see the notes under Order #100.]

Order #156 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Date: 29-3-2001
#x Company

Subject: Summoning loh ah pay

For building the bridge, 10 people from xxxx Village and the Chairperson / Secretary yourselves must come to yyyy Camp to arrive tomorrow at 7 o'clock in the morning. If [you] fail, serious action will be taken.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
Frontline IB #xxx
yyyy Camp

Order #157 (Papun)

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

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 29-3-2001

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

1. Regarding the above subject, a security coordination meeting will be held at yyyy Camp, so the Chairperson yourself must come with 1 *set tha [messenger]* to arrive on 1-4-2001, you are invited.
2. If *[you]* fail to come, *[we]* will come ourselves to call *[you]*, you are informed.

Note: *Bring 20 coconuts.*

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp Commander

[This is a carbon copy of an order with the details shown in italics written in by hand.]

Order #158 (Dooplaya)

To: Uncle
xxxx Village Head

30-3-2001

- Regarding the building that Uncle built, *[we]* need to do it again. Call 15 *loh ah pay* people with 50 pieces of bamboo, your help is requested on 31-3-2001 at 8 o'clock in the morning.

* Just for 1 day.

Respectfully,

[Sd.] aaaa
Captain aaaa
Frontline LIB #xxx
yyyy Camp

[In this order he uses the term 'Pa Ti' (Sgaw Karen for 'Uncle') as a term of respect, not to indicate any blood relation.]

Order #159 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Village

To: (Naw aaaa)

30-3-2001

Informing *[you]* that now *[I]* have already met with Major *bbbb* about the matter of servants. *[You]* Must give, so I am dividing the duty among the villages. *[I]* Will allocate duty quotas to Elder Sister's xxxx village, *uuuu [village]*, *vvvv [village]* and *wwww [village]*, totalling 4 villages for one month of 30 days.

(1) xxxx [village]	6 days	From	2-4-2001	to	8-4-2001 year
(2) uuuu	9 days	From	8-4-2001	to	17-4-2001 year
(3) vvvv	9 days	From	17-4-2001	to	26-4-2001 year
(4) wwww	6 days	From	26-4-2001	to	2-5-2001 year

[continued on next page]

For these days, you can hire people if you want / if the people want to go, go. When your dates are finished, contact *uuuu [village]* and arrange to rotate.

[Sd.] cccc
U cccc
Chairperson
yyyy Village Tract
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village/ yyyy Township

[The four villages mentioned are being forced to take turns doing an unspecified form of forced labour for a month. "You can hire people if you want / if the people want to go, go" means that the villagers have the option of going for the forced labour themselves or hiring people to go in their place, as long as the expected number of people shows up at the designated time. The order is addressed to "Naw 'aaaa", headwoman of village xxxx.]

Order #160 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp: Date: 31-3-2001
Village Peace and Development Council *[To:]* U aaaa, U bbbb
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township Village Heads

Informing *[you]* - Come quickly to pay (10,200 K*[yat]*) of Township Servant fees today. Any Elder, come to meet with the Chairperson.
It is an important matter.
[You] Must send servants to yyyy.

[Sd.] cccc
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract-yyyy Township

Order #161 (Dooplava)

To: Chairperson Date: 1-4-2001
xxxx *[Village]*

The Chairperson must come to yyyy with 3 bullock carts from the Chairperson's village on 2-4-2001 to arrive at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note: Must come without fail.

Bo *[officer]*

Order #162 (Dooplava)

To: 1-4-2001
Chairperson

If *[you]* have food and vegetables, send *[them]* with the person who will come and report information tomorrow, asking for *[your]* help.

Respectfully,
[Sd.]
Bo aaaa

[Going to the Army camp to 'report information' every day or two on all movements of villagers or resistance forces is a routine form of forced labour. On the back this order says "Paid money 13,000 Kyat on the date 3-5-2001. 906", probably serving as a receipt for some extortion money which has just been received from the village.]

Order #163 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Tract

1-4-2001

[To:] xxxx Village Head

Subject: The Army needs (*loh ah pay*) people to go and carry rice, so 2 villagers are requested to go and help them. It is ordered by (Operations Command), so please try to send *[them]* for sure. Anyone (female or male) can go to help them. Bring along food for 1 day.

Time - Tomorrow at 5 o'clock in the evening. Come and gather at the (VPDC) Office. The village head yourself must come to send *[them]*.

Signed, your sibling **[Sd. aaaa]**

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[This order is written in Sgaw Karen with the exception of the stamps. It was sent by the village tract head to one of the local villages, passing on an Army demand.]

Order #164 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

Date: 2-4-2001

[To] xxxx [village]

To build the rations *godown [a small warehouse]* at the Army camp hill send 5 *loh ah pay* people from the Head's village to the gate of the Army camp on 3-4-2001, to arrive at 6 o'clock in the morning.

Note:

Do not fail.

[Sd.]
Stamp: (for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township

Order #165 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Date: 2-4-2001
#x Company

Date: 2-4-2001

Subject: Calling for *loh ah pay*

To build the bridge, send 5 *loh ah pay* people from xxxx village to the camp, and send the quota of 4 and a half sacks of rice within 2 days.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
Frontline IB #xxx
yyyy Camp

Order #166 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Date: 2-4-2001
#x Company

Date: 2-4-2001

Subject: To pay servant fees and send *loh ah pay*

The village of xxxx hasn't yet paid the money for servant fees, so come quickly to yyyy camp to deliver the money for servant fees and 5 *loh ah pay* people to build the bridge. Send the quota of 4 and a half sacks of rice to the camp within 2 days.

[Sd.]

Camp Commander
Frontline IB #xxx
yyyy Camp

Order #167 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Date: 2-4-2001
#x Company

Date: 2-4-2001

Subject: To pay the money for servant fees

The village of xxxx hasn't yet paid the money for servant fees, so come to yyyy Camp to pay *[it]* as soon as this letter is received now, and come to send the quota of 4 and a half sacks of rice within 2 days.

[Sd.]

Camp Commander
Frontline IB #xxx
yyyy Camp

Order #168 (Toungoo)

To: *[Village]* Secretary

2-4-2001

Send 5 *loh ah pay* people from Saw *aaaa's* village to yyyy *[Army]* Camp tomorrow on 3-4-2001 to arrive at 6 o'clock in the morning. *[They are]* For building the Mawchi vehicle road, to clear the bushes and trees.

* (reply by letter that this has been received)

[Sd.]2-4-2001

Bo *[Commander]* *bbbb*
(yyyy Camp)

[This is the road being built with forced labour from Klay Soe Kee in central Toungoo District to Mawchi, over 50 kilometres to the east in southern Karenni (Kayah) State. For more details on this road see "Peace Villages & Hiding Villages" (KHRG #2000-05, 15/10/2000). On the back this order is addressed "To Secretary, xxxx [village]. Reply by letter that this has been received".]

Order #169 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

3-4-2001

servant

When this letter is received now, summon and bring 2 ~~loh-ah-pay~~ people to arrive on 5-4-2001 at (0700) hours, you are requested.

* Estimate *[the needs]* for building 200 feet of fence, then summon the people and bring along the bamboo + wood at the same time.

Respectfully,

[Sd.] bbbb
Captain bbbb
Frontline LIB #xxx
yyyy Camp

Order #170 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract-yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township
Date - Year 2001, April 3rd

To: U aaaa + U bbbb
Ya Ya Ka *[VPDC]*
xxxx Village

Subject: The matter of duty to dig pits and send bamboo spikes

Regarding the above subject, duties were already allocated *[to the various villages]* for digging pits at the xxxx Frontline Office Army Camp, but the Elder's village still has not done its duty digging the pits. The Column Commander has directed that *[you]* must go to dig tomorrow the 4th at the latest, and *[you also]* have the allocated duty to come, bring and hand over 1,000 bamboo spikes each 3 *taung* *[cubits]* in length, to the xxxx Column Office (without fail) by the deadline date of 7-4-2001, you are informed.

If *[you]* fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

Also come and pay the Pa Tha Sa *[abbreviation for 'Pyitthu Sit' - "People's Militia"]* support money.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Secretary - Member (1)
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract-yyyy Township

[The bamboo spikes are used for building defences at Army camps; 3 taung is 1.5 metres/4.5 feet. The Pyitthu Sit ("People's Militia") is a group of villagers trained as a militia by the SPDC and sometimes used as cannon fodder and local spies. In some villages people volunteer for this in order to exert power over others, while in smaller villages people are forced to join; the other villagers are then forced to pay their training costs, salaries and food.]

Order #171 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

3-4-2001

servant

When [you] receive this letter now, summon and bring 2 ~~loh ah pay~~ people, to arrive on 5-4-2001 at (0700) hours, you are requested.

* Estimate [the needs] for building 200 feet of fence, then summon the people and bring along the bamboo + wood at the same time.

Respectfully,

[Sd.] bbbb
Captain bbbb
Frontline LIB #xxx
yyyy Camp

[In this order the Captain wrote 'loh ah pay', but then scratched it out and wrote 'wontan' ('servant') above it.]

Order #172 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To: Chairpersons
xxxx / yyyy villages

3-4-2001

There are important things to discuss, so follow with this *set tha* [messenger] now.

[Sd.]
(for) zzzz Camp Commander

[*'Set tha' is forced labour as messengers and errand-runners; this order has been brought by a villager doing 'set tha' forced labour and the village heads are to follow him back to the Army camp.*]

Order #173 (Toungoo)

[To:] [Village] Secretary

3-4-2001

[You] Must send 5 loh ah pay people. With 3 days' food. Send them to arrive at 6 o'clock in the morning. If [they] do not come, it will be the Chairperson/Secretary's responsibility.

Reply about the situation.

[Sd.]
Bo [Commander] aaaa
(yyyy Camp)

[*'Reply about the situation' means to send a report on all activities and movements of villagers and resistance forces in the area. On the back this order is addressed "To Secretary, xxxx [village]".*]

Order #174 (Papun)

Stamp:

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

Date: 4-4-2001

[To:] Head
xxxx village

To transport the sacks of rice from the rations godown at zzzz Army camp hill send five *loh ah pay* people to the Army camp on 5-4-2001 to arrive at 7 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note: Do not fail.

[Sd.] 5-4-2001

Stamp:

(for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township

[The village head told KHRG that five people had to go each day for this forced labour.]

Order #175 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract- yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract
yyyy Township
Date: Year 2001, April 5th

[To:] U aaaa, U bbbb
Village Heads

Subject: To carry out matters of religion

Regarding the subject, to extend the zzzz hill pagoda *[which is]* worshipped by the villages from yyyy Village Tract, the Sayadaw *[abbot]* of wwww monastery has requested help to carry bricks. The villages from yyyy Village Tract are ordered to help in carrying this out, *[it is]* the responsibility of the religious people. From vvvv hill brick kiln, these bricks must be *[brought and]* placed in neat rows at the foot of zzzz hill, in the shelter on the east side. Therefore, the xxxx village Elders have to give alms-labour by sending 1,000 bricks using 5 bullock carts, 200 *[bricks]* in each cart, along with the people who will lead *[the work]* on 6-4-2001, you are informed.

After transporting them, *[you]* must report to Tract Peace and Development Chairperson.

[Sd.] cccc

Stamp: Chairperson

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[On the back this order is addressed "To U aaaa, U bbbb, Village Heads, xxxx Village".]

Order #176 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 6-4-2001

loh ah pay

Subject: Calling servants

loh ah pay

To carry out the needs of Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion, send 30 ~~servant~~ people and (+) a draught cow from xxxx village to yyyy camp on April 7th, year 2001, to arrive at (0700) hours, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Camp Commander
yyyy Camp
Frontline IB #xxx

[In the Subject and then again in the text, the officer wrote 'wontan' ('servants') but then scratched it out and wrote 'loh ah pay' above it. The '+' in brackets is there for no apparent reason. On the back of this order the sender has written "Chairperson, xxxx village, 30 people". This order is almost identical to Order #177, but to a different village and demanding more people.]

Order #177 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Frontline #[blank] Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 6-4-2001

loh ah pay

Subject: Calling servants

To carry out the needs of Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion, send 25 *loh ah pay* people and (+) a draught cow from xxxx village to yyyy camp on April 7th, year 2001, to arrive at (0700) hours, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Camp Commander
yyyy Camp
Frontline IB #xxx

[In the Subject, the officer wrote 'wontan' ('servants') but then scratched it out and wrote 'loh ah pay' above it. The '+' in brackets is there for no apparent reason. On the back of this order the sender has written "Chairperson, xxxx Village, 25 people".]

Order #178 (Toungoo)

[To:] [Village] Secretary

7-4-2001

Come quickly tomorrow morning to deliver the 1 *loh ah pay* person that is needed. I had to detain aaaa [name of a villager]. If 1 person comes from you, I will release aaaa. Then, give also the *loh ah pay* fee to hire bbbb. bbbb says if [he] doesn't get the money, [he] won't go. Moreover, the 2 people who are staying here have been here a long time. Come to replace them. You must come yourself tomorrow.

[Sd.]

(yyyy Camp)

[The village has failed to send a forced labourer as demanded, so the Army officer has captured someone from the village and is detaining him/her until a forced labourer is sent. The 'fee to hire bbbb' means that

the village head has told the Army camp that bbbb will go in place of another forced labourer from their village, but bbbb has told the Army that the village hasn't paid him yet and he won't go until they do. 'The 2 people who are staying here' means 2 villagers doing a rotation of forced labour at the Army camp; the village is supposed to rotate them on a regular basis, but replacements have not been sent for 'a long time', so the Army has continued to detain them at the camp for forced labour. On the back this order is addressed "To Secretary", and stamped "Chairperson, Village Tract Peace and Development Council, zzzz Village Tract".]

Order #179 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx village

7-4-2001

Tomorrow at (0600) hours in the early morning gather 20 male *loh ah pay* people, then assemble them at the Chairperson's house.

Major bbbb.

[Sd.] Captain
(for) Column Commander
Frontline IB #xxx, Col[umn] #x

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

Order #180 (Papun)

Stamp:

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

Date: 8-4-2001

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

To build the godown at the Army camp hill send without fail 10 *loh ah pay* people from the Elder's village on 9-4-2001 to arrive at 6 o'clock in the morning. On 8-4-200[1], 10 *loh ah pay* people from zzzz *[village]* came and did it. *[The villages]* have to do it by rotation of 10 people each day.

Note: 10 people have to do it by rotation. Do not give less *[than 10 people]*.

[Sd.]
Stamp:
(for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Papun Township

[This order means that the area villages must take turns sending 10 people each day for forced labour building the warehouse; today zzzz village is doing it, so tomorrow xxxx village must do it.]

Order #181 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson, xxxx Village

Date: 8-4-2001

Subject: The matter of cutting the road *[roadside scrub]*

Regarding the above matter, *[you]* have to carry out the cutting of the road *[roadside scrub]* tomorrow on 9-4-2001 along the *aaaa - bbbb - cccc* road, from the east side to the top of yyyy village, and each village must send 500 thatch *[shingles]* for the use of the *[Army]* camp, you are informed.

(U cccc)

[This order is signed by the Village Tract PDC Chairman.]

Order #182 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

[To:] Village Head
xxxx [Village]

Subject: For the matter of the bullock cart, the Elder's village has been assigned [to pay] 5,000 K [kyat] money for the cost of 5 sheets of zinc [roofing]. Give it to the letter porter now, you are informed.

[You] Must also pay 3,200 K [kyat] for Pyitthu Sit [‘People’s Army’ SPDC militia] support.

(This is an emergency)

Requesting [also] the 3,000 K [kyat] in cash
that U aaaa has to pay.

[Sd.] 10-4-01

Stamp: Secretary - Member (1)
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[The matter of the bullock cart is not clarified, but may mean that the village failed to send a bullock cart for forced labour as demanded so they are being punished with a cash fine. ‘Letter porter’ is a direct translation of ‘Sah Kyaw’, meaning the villager doing ‘set tha’ forced labour who has been forced to deliver this order. The ‘Pyitthu Sit’ is SPDC militia which villagers are forced to support with food and money. On the back this order is addressed to “Ko bbbb, xxxx [village], Emergency”.]

Order #183 (Toungoo)

To:

10-4-2001

Village Mother Village Father-

Send 1 loh ah pay person to arrive on the 13th in the evening. Must go to yyyy with food for 5 days.

1 loh ah pay person must always come once every 4 days.
Must send.

[Sd.] 2001

Bo [Commander] aaaa
zzzz Camp

[The forced labourer demanded in the first sentence is to bring along their own food for 5 days and go to yyyy. The second demand is for the village to send one person every 4 days for rotating 4-day shifts of forced labour as servants at the Army camp. On the back this order is addressed “To Village Mother Village Father, xxxx Village”.]

Order #184 (Papun)

Stamp:

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

Date: 16-4-2001

[To:] Head, xxxx [village]

Send 5 loh ah pay people and food from the Head's village without fail to the Ya Ya Ka [VPDC] office on 17-4-2001 at 6 o'clock in the morning.

Note: Weave one yin [a bamboo screen which may be for fishing or used as a sun blind] for the Byu Ha [Operations Command] office.

[Sd.]

Stamp:

(for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township

Order #185 (Papun)

Stamp:

Peace and Development Council
Date: 18-4-2001
yyyy Village Tract

Date: 18-4-2001

To:
Head – xxxx [village]

From zzzz Army camp: Three people from the Elder's village are to come, each with a machete, to the yyyy VPDC office tomorrow, 19-4-2001, to arrive at 6:30 in the morning.

Note: [We] are asking you to work only a half day.

[Sd.] 18-4-2001

Stamp:

(for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township

[The first phrase of this letter indicates that the order originates from the Army camp, though it is being sent out by the Village Tract PDC.]

Order #186 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Tract

19-4-2001

[To:] [Village] Head, (xxxx) [village]

Subject: The matter of the carriers [porters] who were injured

Regarding the above matter, we must have an understanding and help us to pay back the costs to the people who were injured, so you must understand and help with love and unity, this [letter] is for us to let each other know. Please come to send [the money] on 21-4-2001.

Signed,
Naw aaaa

xxxx [village]: (5,000) Kyat

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[This order is written in Sgaw Karen from the Village Tract Chairperson to a nearby village. It demonstrates that even when villagers are injured while portering for the SPDC Army, the only compensation they get is whatever is raised from their own and the surrounding villages.]

Order #187 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Tract

To: Chairperson / Secretary
xxxx village

Date: 19-4-2001

Subject: The matter of collecting and sending the monthly military servant fees for the month of 3/2001 and the money for the balance of the army servant fees which remain to be paid from previous months

Regarding the above subject, the villages of yyyy village tract hired 46 people in total as military servants for the month of 3/2001. Collect and send [money] as allocated to each village below, and also come without fail to send the balance of money which is owed to pay for previous months to arrive at the same time on (22-4-01), you are informed.

1. <i>aaaa [village]</i>	- 23 people	(23 x 4,250)	= 97,750 Kyat
2. <i>bbbb [village]</i>	- 9 people	(9 x 4,250)	= 38,250 "
2/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= +80,055 "
			Total = 118,305 Kyat
3. <i>cccc [village]</i>	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 "
2/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= +74,900 "
			Total = 91,900 Kyat
4. <i>dddd [village]</i>	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 "
2/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= +13,145 "
			Total = 30,145 Kyat
5. <i>eeee [village]</i>	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 "
2/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= None "
			Total = 17,000 Kyat
6. <i>ffff [village]</i>	- 2 people	(2 x 4,250)	= 8,500 "
2/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= +4,250 "
			Total = 12,750 Kyat

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[These orders are issued monthly to the villages in this village tract; see the notes under Order #100.]

Order #188 (Toungoo)

To: Chairperson / Secretary
xxxx Village

21/4/2001

To discuss and arrange the servant fees for #xxx Light Infantry Battalion and other administrative matters, come and report information on 22-4-2001 to arrive in the evening, you are informed.

Also summon and bring along 2 people for *set tha* [messenger forced labour].

[Sd.]

Officer In charge
LIB #xxx

Order #189 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column x

To:
Chairperson / Secretary, xxxx Village

Informing [you] to pay in full 10,000 K [kyat] for the third month [March] servants' salary and 10,000 K [kyat] for the fourth month [April] to #xxx Light Infantry Battalion on 22-4-2001.

If [you] fail, the responsible people will take action and will act step by step [level by level from the top down], you are informed.

[Sd.]
Officer in Charge
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

Order #190 (Dooplaya)

To:
Uncle aaaa
xxxx Village

23-4-2001

400 [shingles of] thatch and 10 people to thatch the roof, coordinate with yyyy [village] and come for loh ah pay, you are requested.

Respectfully,
[Sd.]
Captain bbbb
yyyy Camp

Order #191 (Toungoo)

[To:] U aaaa

24-4-2001

I am writing a letter. There is no unusual matter. Is [your] whole family healthy? Keep the cost of 2 bottles of honey from the money I sent for the cost of things, then send the rest of the money with the loh ah pay group who will rotate next week. Write a letter about it and send it.

With friendliness,
Your Private

[Sd.]
Deputy Warrant Officer bbbb
Camp Commander
yyyy Camp

[‘The loh ah pay group who will rotate next week’ means the group that will come to replace the group presently doing forced labour; clearly the village is forced to send groups by rotation each week. On the back this order is addressed “To U aaaa, xxxx Village”.]

Order #192 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy – zzzz Township
Date: 24-4-2001

To:
Chairperson, xxxx [village]

Subject: The matter of carpenters

Regarding the above matter, [you] have not finished building the Operations Command building at yyyy - Divisional Hill yet, so the Chairperson must send the carpenter teachers [meaning professional carpenters] before tomorrow morning on 25-4-2001, you are ordered again.

[Sd.] U bbbb 24-4-2001
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

['Divisional Hill' means the Army Division camp. In Burmese, the term 'saya' ('teacher') is used not only for teachers, but also to indicate respect or professional status.]

Order #193 (Papun)

To: Pa aaaa, Chairperson

Regarding the subject of servants, Pa aaaa's village must pay servant fees.

Right now every village has completed [paying in full] and only Pa aaaa's one village remains to pay, [so] come to pay tomorrow on 26-4-01, letting [you] know.

If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

U bbbb
yyyy [village]

Order #194 (Dooplaya)

To:
xxxx [village] Chairperson

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

25-4-2001

The wontan [servant(s)] from xxxx [village] fled on 24-4-2001 when the Column was about to go, so the xxxx Chairperson must bring 10-weight [10 viss; 16 kg/35 lb] of pork, or the cash equivalent of 10-weight, as a fine and come to meet me, you are informed. As soon as this letter is received, [you] must come to meet today.

From Column #xxx Column
Intelligence Officer
xxx / xxxxx [Army serial number]
2nd Lieutenant bbbb

Order #195 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

Subject: Must send 10 servant people

As soon as this letter is received the Chairperson yourself must come and hand over 10 servant people to yyyy village. If *[you]* fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility, you are informed.

Place: yyyy
Date: 26-4-2001

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

[This order was written in red ink, commonly used as an indicator of urgency.]

Order #196 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

29-4-21 [2001]

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

Subject: 15 *wontan [servants]* must come. As soon as this letter is received, come to meet with the Column at yyyy, you are informed. The xxx Chairperson yourself must come with 15 *wontan [servants]* at once, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer

Order #197 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Date: 29-4-2001

To
U aaaa
Village Head

Informing *[you]* - Come today to pay the money for the quota Township servants' fee to the tract Chairperson at yyyy, you are informed. *[We]* Must go to the Township *[office]* on the morning of the 30th. Come to pay today.

[Sd.] cccc
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[The SPDC township authorities demand forced labour from the village tracts, who divide the demands among the villages. In this case, it appears that the village tract (and the villages under it) have the option of sending the people or paying money which will be used to hire people to go in their place from labour agents in the town. Here the village tract head is telling a village head that he must pay the 'fee' for their regular quota of forced labourers today, because the village tract head must go to the Township office the 30th, the last day of the month, to pay the money or else the quota of people will have to go for forced labour. On the back this order is addressed "To U aaaa, Village Head, xxxx [village]".]

Order #198 (Toungoo)

To:
Chairperson

30-4-2001

For zzzz camp, send 500 pieces of halved bamboo [*bamboo split in half lengthwise*] with Mother's (Daw *aaaa's*) vehicle which comes now.

Then, the Chairperson must also go to meet with the Battalion Commander.
Also take along the family register and the register of the number of students.
In addition, I gave money (1000 K [*kyat*]) and asked for 5 bottles of honey, did [*you*] get it? Send 2 *loh ah* pay people for *www* camp to *yyyy* tomorrow.

[Sd.]
(Bo [*Commander*] *bbbb*)
yyyy Camp

[*In this order an Army officer tells the village head to send forced labourers to 2 other Army camps as well as the demand that honey be sent to his own camp. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, Saw bbbb".*]

Order #199 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Battalion Office

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
yyyy [*town*]
Letter No: 2001 / *xx* / Yay *xx*
Date: Year 2001, May 2nd

To:
Chairpersons
zzzz Village Tract - *xxxx* Village, *yyyy* Village

Subject: : Informing [*you*] to arrange (2) bullock cart porters

For the use of #xxx Light Infantry Battalion for administrative matters, [*we*] need two bullock carts for ~~every day~~ 1 day, so start arranging and sending (2) bullock cart porters from the Elder's village tract to the Battalion on (4-5-2001) to arrive at (0500) hours, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(*for*) Battalion Commander

[*This is a typed letter with blanks left which have been filled in by hand with the details shown in italics (village names, number of bullock carts, date, time, and 'for' at the bottom). The term used for porters is 'kyaw'; literally, the phrase is 'bullock cart porters', really meaning bullock carts, teams and drivers for forced labour. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village, From xxxx Camp".*]

Order #200 (Papun)

xxxx [*village*]

Date - 2-5-2001

Mother [*Village*] Head
Daw *aaaa*

Subject: Note

Give 30 mangoes via this *set tha* [*messenger*] now.

That is all.

yyyy Army Camp Commander
[Sd.]

[*This order is included here because it makes reference to the 'set tha' forced labour messengers who are used to send these letters to the villages and return to the Army camp with whatever has been demanded.*]

Order #201 (Toungoo)

To:
Village Head
xxxx Village

5-5-2001

Subject: The matter of giving *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above subject, the Army has requested *loh ah pay* for tomorrow morning at 7:00 o'clock, so please arrange to send 1 person this evening for sure. If *[you]* can't and want to hire, you can. Therefore, think about it and arrange to send *[the person]*, or if *[you]* would rather pay the money, come to give it via the *[village]* head, *bbbb*.

Just a few words, your sibling **[Sd.]**

[This order was written in Sgaw Karen from one village head to another.]

Order #202 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
yyyy Camp

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

6-5-2001

Subject: Informing *[you]* to send *loh ah pay*

1. To do *loh ah pay* for the Camp, requesting the Chairperson yourself to come and hand over 7 villagers. Come on 9-5-2001 at 1000 hours.
2. *[We]* Will not accept any reason for not sending the *loh ah pay*, and if *[you]* fail the responsibility will fall entirely (entirely) on the Chairperson.
3. The villagers who are sent must bring along food for 3 days, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Camp Commander
yyyy *[Army]* Camp

[This order is identical to Order #203 but was sent to a different village.]

Order #203 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
yyyy Camp

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

6-5-2001

Subject: Informing *[you]* to send *loh ah pay*

1. To do *loh ah pay* for the Camp, requesting the Chairperson yourself to come and hand over 7 villagers. Come on 9-5-2001 at 1000 hours.
2. *[We]* Will not accept any reason for not sending the *loh ah pay*, and if *[you]* fail the responsibility will fall entirely (entirely) on the Chairperson.
3. The villagers who are sent must bring along food for 3 days, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Camp Commander
yyyy *[Army]* Camp

[This order is identical to Order #202 but was sent to a different village.]

Order #204 (Doplaya)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To:
xxxx Village Head

8-5-2001

I am writing and informing the xxxx Village Chairperson / Secretary respectfully by letter. yyyy [camp] demanded 4 people as servants. 4 servant people from xxxx Village had to do this duty. So [we] hired 4 servant people from zzzz village. [They] Had to go to wwww Camp with food for 2 days. [It cost] 500 Kyat per day for each servant, we gave [them] 4,000 Kyat for the moment. For those 4 servant people, xxxx village must send 4,000 Kyat in cash along with this set tha [messenger] who has come now. If there is anything unusual in the village, reply by letter with this set tha.

LIB xxx
Intelligence Office [Sd.]

[To the left at the bottom the village head has listed 3 names, 2 men and a women, presumably 3 of the 4 villagers who will go for the next shift of this forced labour. This means that as xxxx village didn't send the 4 servants demanded of them, this officer claims that he had to hire 4 people from another village for 500 Kyat per day. He claims that they have had to carry things to wwww camp for 2 days so he has paid them 4,000 Kyat (1,000 Kyat each) so far, and he is demanding that money from the village which was supposed to send the forced labourers in the first place. If the forced labour lasts additional days, he will demand more. On the back this order says "8-5-2001, xxxx [village], Give to Chairperson, Secretary. Important matter."]

Order #205 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

8-5-2001

Mother, [we] are sending now two loh ah pay people from yyyy each with a half sack of rice to be sent to the Military Operations Command. Send [the rice] from xxxx to zzzz, from zzzz to wwww, and then to vvvv Camp.

yyyy Army Camp

[Sd.]8/5/2001
Camp Commander

[This means that the Army Camp at yyyy wants a sack of rice sent all the way to another Army camp at vvvv. For the first leg of the journey they have sent two villagers who are doing forced labour at their camp with the rice and this letter, which tells the village headwoman to arrange forced labourers to send the rice along the next leg of its journey. On the back this order is addressed "To xxxx Chairperson Daw aaaa, carry out urgently".]

Order #206 (Toungoo)

To:
Chairperson (Uncle Saw aaaa)

12-5-2001

Send 1 loh ah pay person to arrive at the camp this evening. Write a reply letter about the situation and send it with the letter porter set tha [forced labour messenger] who comes now [delivering this letter].

[Sd.]
Bo [Commander] bbbb
yyyy Camp

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

Order #207 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy – zzzz Township
Date: 12-5-Year 2001

[To:] Chairperson - xxxx [village]

Subject: The matter of building the new 2-storey additional school building at Kyaikdon High School.

Regarding the above matter, sand is needed to build the new 2-storey additional school building at Kyaikdon High School. xxxx village must do *loh ah pay* carrying the sand. Bullock carts [from the village] must deliver 240 big tins of sand to the additional Kyaikdon High School [building], you are ordered.

Note:
Delivery must be completed on 14-5-2001

[Sd.] 12-5-2001
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

[A 'big tin' is a square biscuit tin, measuring about 25 cm (10 inches) square by 35 cm (14 inches) deep. This forced labour will involve villagers gathering the sand from riverbanks, measuring it, then using their bullock carts and teams to deliver it. On the back this order says "21-5-2001, [for] IB #xxx Column Commander bbbb, 1 chicken weighing 80 [kyat] tha [1.44 kg/3.2 lb], and 640 Kyat in cash. To Chairperson, xxxx village".]

Order #208 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Subject: 10 loh ah pay people must come

As soon as this letter is received, the Chairperson must come quickly together with 10 *loh ah pay* people, you are informed. If [you] do not come, it will be the Chairperson's responsibility, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

Order #209 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

14-5-2001

Chairperson, when you receive this letter, gather 25 people with food for 2 days and go to report information at the Column Headquarters at yyyy Village.

Among the 25 people, include one member of the VPDC with duty as the leader, and send them today on 14-5-2001.

[Sd.]
Company Commander

[This order was followed the same day by Order #210 below.]

Order #210 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

14-5-2001

1. Elder, the Column Headquarters has been informed that as of now, the 25 people from xxxx Village have not yet arrived at yyyy Camp.
2. All of those from the other villages have arrived, so *[you]* must answer why those from the Elder's village have not gone and arrived yet.
3. When this letter is received now, 25 people must go to yyyy *[Army]* Camp tonight. If *[you]* fail it will be the Elder's village's responsibility, you are warned and informed for the second time.

[Sd.] Captain
Company Commander

[This order is a follow-up to Order #209 above.]

Order #211 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson. For the 5th month *[May]*, send one chicken along with the *set tha [forced labour messenger]* who will come tomorrow, you are informed.

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

[On the back the village head has written:]

To: - - - Date: 18-5-2001

The report from the yyyy Camp Commander:
The camp commander must report that there is no unusual news in xxxx village.

Chairperson
[Sd.]

[‘The set tha who will come tomorrow’ means the villager who will come to the Army camp for a shift of forced labour as a messenger. On the back of this order, it appears that the village head is requesting the camp commander to report to his superiors that there is nothing unusual happening in his village.]

Order #212 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson
xxxx village

23-5-2001

When this letter is received now, come and send 4 servants to yyyy village where the Column is.

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

Order #213 (Papun)

To: Village head
xxxx village

23-5-2001

Subject: The matter of coming to the Army camp.

Regarding the above subject, *[we would like to know]* the situation of xxxx village, so come to the yyyy mobile Army camp as soon as *[you]* receive this letter. You are also informed to bring a rotating messenger.

[Sd. 23-5]
Column Commander
yyyy Mobile Army Camp

Order #214 (Papun)

To: Village Head
xxxx village

23-5-2001

Subject: The matter of coming to the Army Camp

Regarding the above subject, *[we]* want to know the situation in the area of xxxx village, so when the letter which we are sending now is received, come to yyyy Mobile Army Camp. Bring along also a rotation *set tha [forced labour messenger]*, you are informed.

[Sd.] 23/5
Column Commander
yyyy Mobile Army Camp

Order #215 (Papun)

To: Village Head
xxxx village

23-5-2001

Subject: The matter of coming to the Army Camp

Regarding the above subject, *[we]* want to know the situation in the area of xxxx village, so when the letter which we are sending now is received, come to yyyy Mobile Army Camp. Bring along also a rotation *set tha [forced labour messenger]* at the same time, you are informed.

[Sd.] 23/5
Column Commander
yyyy Mobile Army Camp

[This letter was followed 2 days later by Order #219.]

Order #216 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairpersons
Upper xxxx, Middle xxxx, Lower xxxx villages

24-5-2001

As soon as this letter is received, the 3 villages of xxxx are to gather and then come quickly to send 3 servant people to the Column at yyyy Village. If *[you]* fail, it will be the chairpersons' responsibility, you are informed.

[Sd.]Captain
Stamp: Column #x Commander
#xxx Infantry Battalion

Order #217 (Doplaya)

To: Chairperson
xxxx village

24-5-2001

When this letter is received now, come and send 4 servants to yyyy village quickly. If *[you]* fail it will be the Chairperson's responsibility, letting you know.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Column x Commander
#xxx Infantry Battalion

Order #218 (Papun)

To: Chairperson

Date: 24-5-2001

Right now yyyy Camp is handing over *[giving duties]* to Mother *[herself, the village elder who is writing this letter]*.

Send 15 *loh ah pay* people from xxxx *[village]* right now at the same time with this *set tha* *[messenger]*.

From
(for) Chairperson
Daw aaaa

Date: 24-5-2001

[This is a letter from a village headwoman to the head of another village, stating that the Army camp has just demanded a lot of forced labourers from her so she is calling for 15 from the other village. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx [Village]".]

Order #219 (Papun)

To: Village Head
xxxx village

25-5-2001

Subject: Must send 1 set tha

Regarding the above subject, *[we]* already sent one letter to the *[village]* Head on 23-5-2001, but *[we]* found out that the head is not there, so *[we are]* writing and sending 1 letter again now. When this letter is received now, come and bring 1 rotation *set tha* to yyyy Army Camp, you are respectfully informed.

[Sd.] 25/5
Column Commander
Column x Headquarters
yyyy Army Camp

[A 'rotation set tha' is a villager for a rotating shift as a forced labour messenger. The letter of 23-5-2001 mentioned is Order #215.]

Order #220 (Papun)

To:

Village head
xxxx [village]

25-5-2001

Subject: Send 1 messenger.

Regarding the above subject, [I] have sent 1 letter dated 23-5-2001 to the village head already, but I have learned that the village head was absent so [I am] respectfully informing [you] to send a rotating messenger to the yyyy Army camp as soon as you receive this letter.

[Sd. 25-5]
Column Commander
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

Order #221 (Dooplaya)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 27-5-2001

Subject: Demanding wontan [servants]

Regarding the above subject, as soon as this letter is received the Chairperson must come quickly to the column with one servant, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Column Commander

Order #222 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

#xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To:

Chairperson - U aaaa
xxxx Village

Date: 28-5-2001

Big Chairperson, [I am] sending pork with the person who is coming now [with this letter]. Send it to Captain bbbb at zzzz Camp with a set tha [messenger] to arrive today, asking for [your] help. Yesterday, Little Uncle [I] wrote a letter and sent the pork. Reply by letter whether it was received or not, via the person who has come [with this letter]. Thanks.

[Sd.] 28/5
Corporal cccc
Frontline #xxx, Column #x

[This Corporal is using the villagers as forced labour to deliver letters and pork to officers in other Army camps. On the back this order is addressed "To U aaaa, Chairperson, xxxx Village" and is stamped with a checklist indicating whether it has been cleared yet by the Column Commander, Adjutant / Quartermaster, and Intelligence Corporal (none of the three are checked).]

Order #223 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

Date: 28-5-2001

To: Chairperson, Secretary
xxxx [village]

Subject: To clear the servant hiring fees and to coordinate the matter of servants

Regarding the above subject, come to yyyy village without fail to meet at yyyy village on 20-5-2001 at 12:00 o'clock. [You] Must bring along the rest of the money for servant fees, you are ordered by the Camp Commander.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, zzzz Township

Order #224 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – zzzz Township

U aaaa, U bbbb
xxxx [village]

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract
zzzz Township
Date: Year 2001, May 29th

Subject: To send Township servants

Regarding the subject matter, Township Security has issued a directive demanding Township servants, so the Elder's Village must send and hand over the quota without fail to the Tract Peace and Development [Council] on 30-5-2001, you are informed.

Send *b'kah myaw* [scrap wood].

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – zzzz Township

[The township demands 'quotas' of forced labourers from each village tract under it, and the village tract in turn divides these demands among the villages. On the back this order is addressed to "U aaaa, U bbbb, Village Heads, xxxx [village]".]

Order #225 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

[To:] Chairperson
xxxx Village

29-5-01

Subject: Asking help with *loh ah pay*

Regarding the above subject, from the area of Elder's village send 1 person from the lower village, 2 people from the middle village and yyyy [village], and 3 people from the upper village, totalling 6 people and each bringing a machete, to zzzz [Army] Camp on 30-5-01 in the early morning. Whoever can cut bamboo can come. Do not bring food. The Camp will feed them. Help for 3 days.

With thanks,

[Sd. 'aaaa']
Stamp: (for) Column Commander
Column #x Headquarters
#xxx Infantry Battalion

Order #226 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 30/5/2001

Subject: Calling wontan [servants] and mill owners

Regarding the above matter, summon 1 wontan [servant] and the owners of rice mills and sawmills from xxxx village and come to meet with the Column Commander at yyyy village on 31-5-2001 at (07:00) hours, you are informed.

Note: If [you] fail, it will be the responsibility of the Chairperson concerned.

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

Order #227 (Toungoo)

To:
Chairperson
Secretary
_____ village

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
zzzz Township
yyyy Tract

Date: 5-2001

Subject: The matter of collecting and sending the monthly military servant fees for the month of 4/2001 and the money for the balance of the army servant fees which remain to be paid from previous months

Regarding the above subject, the villages of yyyy village tract hired 46 people in total as military servants for the month of 4/2001. Collect and send [money] as allocated to each village below, and also come without fail to send the balance of money which is owed to pay for previous months to arrive at the same time on (31-5-01), you are informed.

1. aaaa [village]	- 23 people	(23 x 4,250)	= 97,750 Kyat
2. bbbb [village]	- 9 people	(9 x 4,250)	= 38,250 Kyat
3/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>78,305 "</u>
		Total	= 116,555 Kyat
3. cccc [village]	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 Kyat
3/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>91,900 "</u>
		Total	= 108,900 Kyat
4. dddd [village]	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 Kyat
3/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>25,145 "</u>
		Total	= 42,145 Kyat
5. eeee [village]	- 4 people	(4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 Kyat
3/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>None</u>
		Total	= 17,000 Kyat
6. ffff [village]	- 2 people	(2 x 4,250)	= 8,500 Kyat
3/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>2,000 "</u>
		Total	= 10,500 Kyat

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[These orders are issued monthly to the villages in this village tract; see the notes under Order #100.]

Order #228 (Pa'an)

[This is a page of notes written by a village head.]

On 12-1-2001, our xxxx Village had to trample and crush bricks. *[To do this we had to send] 2 pairs of bullocks each day until the end of the first month [January].*

On 3-2-2001, we had to send firewood for baking bricks by the lan. xxxx *[village]* had to send 30 lan, yyyy *[village]* 35 lan, zzzz *[village]* 20 lan, wwww *[village]* 15 lan, and vvvv *[village]* 10 lan. One lan is 6 bullock cart loads. Until 21-2-2001.

On 1-3-2001, we had to send firewood again to bake again all the remaining bricks that had not finished baking. xxxx *[village had to send]* 10 lan, yyyy 10 lan, zzzz 5 lan, wwww 5 lan, and vvvv 3 lan.

On 3-4-2001, they *[SPDC]* called a meeting. Because no paddy was planted at qqqq fields and rrrr fields *[the fields of qqqq and rrrr villages]*, xxxx *[village]* had to pay 100 baskets of paddy, yyyy 100 *[baskets]*, zzzz 60 baskets, wwww 40 baskets, and vvvv 25 baskets. *[To compensate the Army for the quotas it could not collect from qqqq and rrrr villages.]*

On 25-5-2001, each village had to send 10 square cubits of reed matting.

The list of flat field owners whose fields were confiscated *[by SPDC]*:

1. U aaaa	4 acres	
2. U bbbb	4 acres	
3. U cccc	5 acres	
4. U dddd	6 acres	
5. U eeee	3 acres	
6. U ffff	5 "	
7. Daw gggg	6 "	
8. Maung hhhh	7 "	
9. Daw jjjj	3 "	
10. U kkkk	5 "	One acre is 5 baskets of paddy.
	48	

[The meaning of "One acre is 5 baskets of paddy" is unclear; it may mean that one acre can be planted with 5 baskets, and perhaps the villagers were forced to provide this seed to plant these fields for the SPDC after they were confiscated. One acre yields 50 baskets or more, and the usual SPDC quota on one acre of flat field is 15 baskets. On the back this document is marked "xxxx [Village]."]

Order #229 (Papun)

To: Daw aaaa
Chairperson, xxxx *[village]*

When this letter is received now, come to meet with the Column Commander at yyyy. Bring 2 set *tha [forced labour messengers]* along with you.

[Sd. 'bbbb']
FL *[Frontline]* #xxx *[IB]*, Column x

Order #230 (Papun)

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

Date: 2-6-2001

Subject: The matter of roofing the clinic

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village is informed to contribute *loh ah pay* unitedly for the clinic tomorrow (3-6-2001). Bring 2 pieces of bamboo each.

(Note:)
Without fail.

[Sd.] U aaaa

[This order is signed by the Village Tract PDC Chairman.]

Order #231 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

2-6-2001

As soon as *[you]* receive this letter, one *wontan [servant]* and the Chairperson yourself must come to meet at the Column. If *[you]* fail, it will be the chairperson's responsibility, you are informed.

[Sd.] Captain
Stamp: Column #x Commander
#xxx Infantry Battalion

Order #232 (Toungoo)

[This is a note written by a village elder.]

IB #xxx, Southern Command Headquarters

2-6-01

Captain *aaaa* demanded carriers *[porters]* at *yyyy [village]*. We had to carry 1 sack of rice to *zzzz*.

16-3-01

Captain *aaaa* demanded 37 milk-tins of rice and 5 chicken eggs to eat.

Order #233 (Nyaunglebin)

[To:] Chairperson
xxxx Village

Send 2 *gat* ducks *[a type of duck]* with Ko *aaaa*. Send 1 pair of male and female. If *[you]* can't get 2 ducks, send 1 male duck.

[Sd.] 4.6.01
bbbb
yyyy Camp

* *[I]* Have sent him *[this messenger, Ko aaaa]* without the leaders' knowledge. Tell 8 people from the *loh ah pay* group *[to come]* for tomorrow. *[We]* Will cook rice *[for them]*. Do not bring rice and curry.

[The 'loh ah pay group' means the list of people in the village who normally take turns going for forced labour.]

Order #234 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

5-6-2001

To:
Chairperson

With respect, writing and informing *[you]* by letter. *[You]* Must provide 20 *loh ah pay* people from the Chairperson's village to *yyyy* Camp to arrive tomorrow evening at 4 o'clock with rice for 2 days.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

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

Order #235 (Toungoo)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

5-6-2001

Send without fail 3 rotation *set tha [messengers]* from xxxx village to arrive on 6-6-2001 at 6 o'clock in the morning. Must send *[them]* to yyyy Camp (zzzz village). The loads have increased a little bit, so please summon the rotation *set tha [messengers]* for a few extra days and send *[them]* without fail, asking for help.

Note: Send 3 *set tha [messengers]* to zzzz Village.

[Sd.]
Column Commander
LIB #xxx

Order #236 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

6-6-2001

Chairperson, there is an emergency, so now as soon as this letter is received, send 20 *loh ah pay* people at once with food for 2 days.

[Sd.] Captain
Army Camp Commander

Order #237 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
Chairperson, xxxx village

Date: 7-6-2001

Dear U aaaa, send 2 bullock carts to the Camp as soon as you receive this letter. Buy 1 bottle of alcohol and send *[it]* with the drivers of the carts. The money *[for the alcohol]* will be paid here. Chairperson must come with 2 carts.

[Sd.]
FL *[Frontline]* #xxx *[IB]*, Col. x
yyyy Camp

[When this order was not responded to immediately, it was followed the same day by Order #238 below.]

Order #238 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
Chairperson / xxxx village

Date: 7-6-2001

Dear U aaaa, we already sent one letter. Did you receive it? Bring 2 bullock carts with 1 bottle of alcohol, and U aaaa yourself must come before this afternoon.

[Sd.]
FL *[Frontline]* #xxx *[IB]*, Col. x
yyyy Camp

[This order is a follow-up to Order #237 above.]

Order #239 (Nyaunglebin)

[To:] Chairperson
xxxx Village

Send one big tin of rice with U aaaa.
Send back the special set *tha* [messenger] with U aaaa.

[Sd.] bbbb
8-6-01

[‘Send back the special set *tha*’ means that a villager doing forced labour as an ad hoc messenger either fled or was released, and this messenger is to be sent back with the messenger (U aaaa) who has brought this letter.]

Order #240 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Date: 10/6
Column #x

Date: 10-6-2001

Subject: Calling *loh ah pay*

Send 2 (either male or female) *loh ah pay* people from xxxx village to yyyy Army Camp on 11-6-2001 at 3 o'clock in the evening, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Order #241 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

Date: 11-6-2001

To:
Chairperson, Secretary
xxxx [village]

Subject: To come and clear the servant fees

Regarding the above subject, [the authorities] have come now to demand the balance of the money for servant fees (6,000 K [kyat]) [for previous months] and the servant fees for the 6th month [June] from the Chairperson's village, so come and bring servant fees for one person from Chairperson's village today, writing to inform [you] by this letter. Must arrive today.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, zzzz Township

[This means that the military has arrived at the village tract seat, and are demanding the balance of “servant fees” owed by all villages in the tract as well as this month's “servant fees”. These fees are money paid in lieu of forced labour by the villages (though they still have to go for forced labour). This particular village pays fees in lieu of one forced labourer.]

Order #242 (Toungoo)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

13-6-2001

The groups of rice carriers from xxxx village arrived to us today. *[We are]* Very grateful. Go and carry the rest of the rice again on 16-6-2001 (Saturday), respectfully asking for help.

[Sd.]
Column Commander

[The villagers were ordered to pick up the ration rice from a roadhead or another Army camp and deliver them to the camp of this commander. They did so as ordered and arrived at the camp with the rice, so this order demands that they repeat the labour with another load 3 days later. There is no reason why this commander cannot have his soldiers do this work, but he prefers to force the villagers to do it.]

Order #243 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson (xxxx village)

14-6-2001

[We] Need the Chairperson's village to send 2 bullock carts right now at once to yyyy.
[Carts] Can't cross the river here.

Yours,
Captain
[Sd.]
zzzz Camp Commander

[This requires the villagers to drive their carts and teams to the specified place for forced labour hauling things. Rather than sending them to the Army camp, they are being told to send them to a place where they can ford the river. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx village. From zzzz Camp."]

Order #244 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To: Ko aaaa

14-6-01

I am writing a letter.

[I] Have received well the mangosteens and durians that *[you]* sent. *[You]* Found it and carried out *[my demand]* in hard times like now, so thanks a lot. The big battalion commander also said thanks a lot. *[We]* Took care of the group who came to deliver it and fed them well with rice.

The other day when *[we]* got meat, I sent some *[to you]*. Did you receive it? Right now *[I am]* sending 2 parcels of meat that have to be sent onward to the Camp. There is no other thing.

[We] Chose and marked the land for the yyyy students' boarding house today. 60 feet x 80 feet = 9 plots for the boarding house and 17 plots for people's living places. *[We are]* Arranging *loh ah pay* from zzzz *[village]* for tomorrow to cut the scrub at the boarding school site. Coordinate with U bbbb *[the head of zzzz village]* and carry it out. *[We]* Should fence and plant trees on the land that is available at the moment, before it is lost.

Wishing *[you]* happiness and health,

[Sd.]
Major cccc
14-6-01

Order #245 (Nyaunglebin)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

14-6-01

Send the letter porter fees that have been collected with the person who has come now *[to deliver this letter]*.

Thanks a lot,
[Sd.] aaaa
aaaa
Camp Commander
yyyy *[Army]* Camp

['Letter porter fees' is extortion money paid in lieu of sending villagers for 'set tha' forced labour carrying messages.]

Order #246 (Nyaunglebin)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

16-6-01

(1) Give both the money *[you have]* collected for letter *chaw* *[porter]* fees and the money collected for *loh ah pay* to the person who comes now *[to be sent]* at the same time.

(2) If *[you]* still have thatch, send it with the group which comes to sign *[a document not specified]* on Monday.

(3) Hire 3 spades *[for us]*.

With thanks,

[Sd. 'aaaa']
aaaa (Camp Commander)

['Chaw' literally means porter, so 'letter chaw' means messenger. This order demands that the village head send the money he has collected from his villagers as extortion fees to avoid forced labour. He is to hand it over to the forced labour messenger who has come to deliver this letter, who will take it back to the Commander. As item 2 shows, despite these fees the villagers still have to go for forced labour.]

Order #247 (Toungoo)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

18-6-2001

Elder,

Send the 3 villagers who must go to yyyy Camp from the elder's village to our place right now, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) Column Commander

Order #248 (Nyaunglebin)

Ko aaaa

1. As soon as [you] receive this letter, send 2 loh ah pay people to go and get 20 durian fruits and 100 mangosteen fruits from xxxx as a present for the Chairperson.
2. After sending [them], inform the Camp.

[Sd.] 20/6/2001

Ko bbbb, yyyy [village]

Regarding the above subject, arrange to carry these presents to the lower [place]. If the arrangements can be finished by others, that is fine.

[Sd.] 20/6/01
VPDC Member

[Mangosteens are small, but durians are large spiked fruits a foot or more in diameter and it would take several people or a bullock cart to transport 20 of them. The two sections of this order are in different handwriting and bear different signatures.]

Order #249 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

#xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

[To:]

Chairperson
xxxx Village

1. Send the remaining (10,000K) [Kyat] cash for the Army with this letter porter.
2. The Elder must pay in full the letter porter money of (8,500K) [Kyat] for [the period] 14-6-01 to 30-6-01 in advance. This money must be handed over to the Column Commander, asking for your help.

[Sd.] bbbb
(for) Column Commander
20-6-01

Order #250 (Nyaunglebin)

[To:] Ko aaaa

[I am] Writing and informing [you] by letter. Right now, [I am] asking xxxx tract to come and carry rations. Requesting [them] to sell rice, beans and sugar at yyyy [village]. If [you] take only rice, send back the other things. Ask [them] to buy rice [again] at the lower [place]. There, take one sack of rice for yourselves. The rest must be carried back to the Camp. [I am] Requesting this and hoping that the villagers will cooperate.

Yours,

[Sd.] 21-6-2001
Captain bbbb

[In this order the Captain demands that the villagers come to the camp, take the Army rations back to their village and 'sell' them (i.e. pay for it themselves), then use the money to go down to the plains, buy better quality rice and carry it back up to the Army camp. SPDC Army units often force the villagers to 'buy' their poor-quality ration rice and then use the money to buy better quality rice on the market in this way. Some units simply force the villagers to exchange their good-quality crop rice for poor-quality Army ration rice. On the back this order is addressed to "Ko aaaa, Chairperson".]

Order #251 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Tract

To: Chairperson
Secretary
xxxx Village

Date: 21-6-2001

Subject: The matter of collecting and sending the monthly military servant fees for the month of 5/2001, and the servant fees from previous months that remain to be paid

Regarding the above matter, the villages under yyyy village [tract] have hired 46 people in total as military servants for the month of 5/2001, this month. Every village must collect and send [money] as allocated below, and bring along the money remaining to be paid for previous months. Deliver it without fail to arrive on 30-6-2001, you are informed.

1. aaaa [village]	23 people (23 x 4,250)	= 97,750 Kyat
2. bbbb [village]	9 people (9 x 4,250)	= 38,250 Kyat
	4/2001 balance of money from previous month	= <u>No</u> "
	Total	= 38,250 Kyat
3. cccc [village]	4 people (4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 Kyat
	4/2001 balance of money from previous month	= <u>25,900</u> "
	Total	= 42,900 Kyat
4. dddd [village]	4 people (4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 Kyat
	4/2001 balance of money from previous month	= <u>20,425</u> "
	Total	= 37,425 Kyat
5. eeee [village]	4 people (4 x 4,250)	= 17,000 Kyat
	4/2001 balance of money from previous month	= <u>2,000</u> "
	Total	= 19,000 Kyat
6. ffff [village]	2 people (2 x 4,250)	= 8,500 Kyat
	4/2001 balance of money from previous month	= <u>No</u> "
	Total	= 8,500 Kyat

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[In this village tract, the local military units make demands for forced labour to the village tract head in yyyy village and he divides the total demand for people among the villages in the tract. However, the villages usually fail to send the people or ask to send money instead, so a system has developed where the village tract head pays labour agents to hire people to fill the demands of the military, then divides the cost among the villages in the tract at a rate of 4,250 Kyat per person hired (4,000 plus 250 Kyat 'travel cost'). Orders like this one from this village tract have regularly appeared in KHRG order sets in the past, and several occur in this order set from almost every month. See also the notes under Order #100.]

Order #252 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 21-6-2001

As soon as this letter is received, the Chairperson yourself must come together with this set *tha* [messenger] for a meeting, you are informed.

The meeting will be held at 1 o'clock in the afternoon exactly.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Column #x Commander
#xxx Infantry Battalion

[The order above is included here because it makes reference to the 'set tha' forced labour messengers who are used to send these letters to the villages and return to the Army camp with whatever has been demanded.]

Order #253 (Nyaunglebin)

To: Chairperson U aaaa

22-6-2001

Loh ah pay people are needed to carry the rations that we are taking and the things for zzzz, so send 20 loh ah pay people to yyyy Camp.

If the tinned milk, [cooking] oil and beans arrive at xxxx, send them on to wwwwww with bullock carts (or) bicycle carriers.

With respect,

[Sd.]

Order #254 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
Daw aaaa
xxxx Village

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
#x Company

Date: 23-6-2001

Writing a letter. Send rice now from hand to hand [village to village] to arrive today at yyyy, [I am] asking for help. Chairperson Daw aaaa, come quickly to send the rice today. Daw aaaa must come to meet at zzzz [Camp], you are informed.

[Sd.]

Stamp: xxx xxxxx [Army serial number] Captain bbbb
zzzz [Army Camp]

[This order demands that the village headwoman and some of her villagers transport rice to an Army camp, calling porters from each village along the way if necessary to pass it from 'hand to hand'.]

Order #255 (Dooplaya)

[To:] xxxx / yyyy [village] Chairpersons

25/6/2001

- Why do [you] fail to send the daily set tha [villagers for forced labour as messengers]?
- There is unusual information in the environs of yyyy. After finding out about it, the Chairpersons must come to zzzz Camp to arrive at (1100) hours.
- Must come without fail.

[Sd.]

zzzz Camp

['Set tha' is forced labour as messengers; most villages are forced to provide one or two 'set tha' people to each Army camp near them every day for a 24-hour shift running errands and delivering order letters like this one. 'Unusual information' means that the Army thinks there have been resistance movements in the area and is ordering the village heads to report on it. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #256 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x
Letter No. xxx / 2 / Oo 1
Date: Year 2001, June 26th

To: Chairperson
Section / Village Peace and Development Council
_____ village
yyyy Township

Subject: Must send loh ah pay

Regarding the above subject, to carry out the cutting and clearing of bushes and trees surrounding yyyy pagoda, the Elder's village must send without fail 10 loh ah pay people to Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion at Strategic Command Hill on 27-6-2001 to arrive at 0700 hours. In order for our Column / Companies to carry out organisational matters, [you] must arrange, help and send one bullock cart of (dry) firewood on the same day, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) **Stamp:** Intelligence Officer
#xxx Infantry Battalion

[The back of this order bears the same unit stamp and address, with "**Important**" marked both above and below.]

Order #257 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
#[unclear] Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To: xxx [village] Chairperson

26-6-2001

Send 3 men with food for 2 days this evening, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Order #258 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Date: 26/6
Column #x

To: Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 26-6-2001

Subject: Calling loh ah pay

Send without fail 2 (male/female) loh ah pay people from xxxx Village to yyyy Army Camp to arrive on 27-6-2001 at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Intelligence Officer
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion

Order #259 (Nyaunglebin)

[To:] U aaaa
Chairperson
xxxx Village

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
#x Company

I am writing a letter. [We] Received the 3 viss [4.8 kg/10.5 lb] of pork that were sent, so thanks a lot.

Next, give me two other kinds of help. The first is, if [you] have machetes, spades, pickaxes and saws, please hire them and [send] with the letter porter who has been sent now [with this letter].

The second is, play the lotteries for me as specified in the attached letter [he has specified the numbers to play] and send [the tickets] with this letter porter. If [you] can't, send the letter porter to yyyy to play it. The lottery is about to be held, so [we] must play today. Therefore, please carry this out quickly.

The Chairperson must also come to visit the Camp. [You] Have to discuss some small things with me. A green viper bit my left leg and it is very swollen. Otherwise I would come down to the village. Right now I am still taking the treatment. If [you] have any sick people, tell [me]. [I] Will send the medic sergeant to treat them.

[In red ink:]* If [you] have betel leaf, please send some.
I can't live without chewing betel.

[Sd.] 27.6.2001, WED.

May you fulfil all the needs of God.

Stamp: xxx xxxxx [Army serial number], Captain bbbb

Order #260 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
yyyy Command Headquarters
#xx Strategic Operations Command Group

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

As soon as this letter is received now, follow [the messenger] to yyyy with a bullock cart and report information.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

[To come "with a bullock cart" means to bring a cart, team and driver for use as forced labour.]

Order #261 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson. Messenger aaaa, father's name bbbb, is to take duty on 3-7-2001. aaaa must report at yyyy Camp to arrive tomorrow, you are informed. If [he] fails, it will be the Chairperson and aaaa's responsibility.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

[On the back the village head has written:]

To: - - - Date: 5-7-2001

The report from the xxxx Camp Commander:
The camp commander must report that there is no unusual news in xxxx / zzzz villages.

Chairperson
[Sd.]

[On the back of this order, it appears that the village head is requesting the camp commander to report to his superiors that there is nothing unusual happening in his village.]

Order #262 (Dooplaya)

[To:]
Daw aaaa

5-7-2001

- Already called [you] 4 days ago by letter [sent with a person] who came to yyyy.
- Calling for the needs of the leader, [we] require the specified [amount of] thatch to be sent again.
- If the leader isn't happy [with us], it will be Daw aaaa's fault.
- This letter is the last time. Later, [we] will ask the Column to call [you].
- Must come without fail today.

That is all.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

- Send a xxxx [village] set tha [forced labour messenger] to me right now and write telling the reason [why the person hasn't been sent yet].
- In future, send set tha every other day.

[The 'leader' is some sort of senior Commander, and this officer says that if the leader becomes angry because the demands are not met, he will point the finger at this village headwoman. He goes on to threaten that if she does not comply he will tell the Column to go to her village for what they want; the context here is that the combat Column will be much more brutal with her and her villagers than the local stationary Army camp, and when a Column comes to a village terrible things usually happen. On the back this order is addressed to "Daw aaaa, Chairperson, xxxx [village]".]

Order #263 (Papun)

To:
[Village] Head
xxxx Village

Date: 7-7-2001

[I am] Sending a request for things with this set tha [messenger] who has come now. When the things are ready, send [them] back with this set tha.

[Sd.]
(for) Captain aaaa
yyyy

Order #264 (Nyaunglebin)

[To:] Chairperson

Date: 8-7-01

Arrange about 3 viss [4.8 kg/10.5 lb] of pork (or) beef from xxxx or yyyy [village] and send it on Monday or Tuesday for our camp, you are informed.

Arrange 2 people to carry things to the Camp along with our group who has come now [with this letter], [because] we have asked U aaaa, who is taking duty as set tha [messenger] for today, to work on the plantation.

[Sd.]
(for) **Stamp:** xxx xxxxx [Army serial number], Captain bbbb

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #265 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

yyyy Camp
yyyy Village
Letter No. yyyy / 05 / Oo 5
Date: Year 2001, July 8th

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

On 22-6-2001 the Camp Commander at yyyy [Army] Camp was changed and [a new one] received. The [new] Camp Commander wants to introduce himself in friendship to the village mothers / fathers from the area surrounding yyyy village, and to gather, coordinate and discuss with the local people about Peace and Development work, so come to yyyy [Army] Camp on 9-7-2001 at 1300 hours, you are invited.

[Sd.]

Camp Commander
xx/xxxxx [Army serial number] 2nd Lieutenant aaaa

[The village head who received this order says that on 9-7-2001 he went to this meeting, and the Commander said that the villagers must go to make fences and cut and clear around the Army camp. The one who ordered it is officer bbbb from LIB xxx and one of his Sergeant Majors. The villagers had to make fences from 11-7-2001 until 18-7-2001. Several villages received orders calling them to this meeting.]

Order #266 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Daung Township
yyyy Tract

To: Chairperson / Secretary
_____ Village

Date: 11-7-2001

Subject: The matter of family registers and coordinating the loh ah pay servants

Until now, the family register which was already requested from the Elder's village has not yet been received by the Strategic Operations Command concerned, so the Elder's village must compile it quickly and send [it].

To coordinate the hiring of loh ah pay servants, come without fail on 14-7-2001 at 8 o'clock on Saturday morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

Order #267 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy township, yyyy Tract

To: Chairperson/Secretary
_____ Village

Date: 11-7-2001

Subject: The matter of coordinating the family register and loh ah pay servants

The concerned Strategic Operations Command has not received the family register which was already requested from the Elder's village, so compile it quickly and send [it].

[continued on next page]

To coordinate the hiring of *loh ah pay* servants, come without fail to meet on 14-7-2001 at 8 o'clock on Saturday morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

Order #268 (Nyaunglebin)

To:
Chairperson

Date: 12-7-01

I am writing a letter. The rotation *htain gkin* [*sitting sentries*] have not come to our camp, it has already been 3 days. Write and explain the reason by letter. As for the matter of the meat that we requested, is it going well? *[We]* Want *[you]* to arrange it.

Chairperson, play the lottery numbers as below for me and send it *[the tickets]*. I've sent along the money.

- (1) 225 - 50 K *[Kyat]*
- (2) 306 - 50 K
- (3) 810 - 50 K
- (4) 108 - 50 K
- (5) 835 - 50 K
- (6) 180 - 50 K

[Sd.]
Stamp: #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Company Warrant Officer aaaa
#x Company

The total is 300 K *[Kyat]*.

[‘Htain gkin’ (literally ‘sitting sentries’) means villagers who have to go on a rotating basis for forced labour as sentries and ‘sit’ at the camp until they are needed. On the back this order is addressed “To Chairperson, xxxx Village”.]

Order #269 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters

12-7-2001

[To:] U aaaa / Chairperson / Secretaries

I am writing a letter.

How are you all? *[I]* Pray that the whole village is healthy.

The matter *[at hand]* is to ask for your help in sending all of our rations that arrive at U aaaa's house onward to yyyy with bullock carts tomorrow on 13-7-2001.

At yyyy, one member from the VPDC, bullock carts, and people from zzzz will be waiting *[to send the rations further]*.

Help as far as yyyy. *[We]* Want it sent early if possible. The people and bullock carts from zzzz will be waiting at yyyy early in the morning.

If *[you]* need any medicine, write and ask for it by letter. If *[you]* need to feed any children who are unhealthy, take whatever milk you need *[from the tinned milk in the rations]*.

May the whole village be peaceful.

With thanks,
[Sd.]
Column Commander

[Here the commander is using the villages to transport rations from the roadhead to his camp step by step. When the rations arrive in the village of this particular headman, he is to use his villagers to transport them to another village along the way, where the people of a third village will be waiting to transport them the next step of the way.]

Order #270 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:

Western Command Headquarters
#xx Strategic Operations Command Group

Date: 13-7-2001

To: Chairperson
_____ xxxx Village

Subject: The matter of making fences for the Army Camp

1. According to the decision agreed upon at the meeting about making fences for the Army Camp which was held on 10-7-2001 at yyyy Village, *[from each of]* the villages which are included in the list to make fences for the Army Camp, it is (130) pieces of bamboo *[that they must send]*.

2. Therefore, between receiving this letter and 31-7-2001, bring the bamboo and *[you]* must come to complete the fence, you are informed.

[Sd.]

(for) Strategic Operations Commander

[See also Order #271 below.]

Order #271 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:

Western Command Headquarters
#xx Strategic Operations Command Group

Date: 13-7-2001

To: Chairperson
_____ xxxx village

Subject: The matter of making fences for the Army camp

1) In accordance with the decisions and agreements made at the meeting concerning making fences for the Army camp which was held in yyyy village on 10-7-2001, the villages whose addresses are included *[must supply]* 150 pieces of bamboo to make fences for the Army camp.

2) Therefore, starting from the receipt of this letter until 31-7-2001, the full quantity of bamboo must be brought and *[your villagers]* must come to fence, you are informed.

[Sd.]

(for) Strategic Operations Commander

[This is a carbon-copied form letter sent out to all villages which were represented at the meeting, with the village name, date and number of bamboo required written in on each copy.]

Order #272 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:

Western Command Headquarters
#xx Strategic Operations Command Group

To: Chairperson
_____ xxxx village

Date: 15-7-2001

Subject: The village must send *set tha* *[forced labour messengers]* every day

One *set tha* must report for duty every morning at 7 o'clock until the next morning at 7 o'clock. They must be sent from the Chairperson's village to yyyy Camp starting on 16-7-2001. The *set tha* who is on duty will be sent back to the village when the next *set tha* arrives, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Army Camp Commander
yyyy Camp

[This is a form letter sent to several villages. The date, village name and start date (16-7) has been written in by hand.]

Order #273 (Toungoo)

To: Stamp: Date: 19-7-2001
Chairperson Village Peace and Development Council
Secretary yyyy Township
xxxx village yyyy Tract
yyyy Tract

Subject: The matter of collecting and sending the monthly military servant fees for the month of 6/2001 and the money for the balance of the army servant fees which remain to be paid from previous months

Regarding the above subject, the villages of yyyy village tract hired 31 [*sic: 32 (see below)*] people in total as military servants for the month of 6/2001. Collect and send [*money*] as allocated to each village below, and also come without fail to send the balance of money which is owed to pay for previous months to arrive at the same time on (30-7-2001), you are informed.

1. aaaa [<i>village</i>]	- 14 people	(14 x 15,000)	= 210,000 Kyat
2. bbbb [<i>village</i>]	- 6 people	(6 x 15,000)	= 90,000 Kyat
5/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>38,250 "</u>
		Total	= 128,250 Kyat
3. cccc [<i>village</i>]	- 1 person	(1 x 15,000)	= 15,000 Kyat
5/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>33,400 "</u>
		Total	= 48,400 Kyat
4. dddd [<i>village</i>]	- 1½ people	(1½ x 15,000)	= 22,500 Kyat
5/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>20,525 "</u>
		Total	= 43,025 Kyat
5. eeee [<i>village</i>]	- 2½ people	(2½ x 15,000)	= 37,500 Kyat
5/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>7,000 "</u>
		Total	= 44,500 Kyat
6. ffff [<i>village</i>]	- 1 person	(1 x 15,000)	= 15,000 Kyat
5/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>None</u>
		Total	= 15,000 Kyat
7. gggg [<i>village</i>]	- 4 people	(4 x 15,000)	= 60,000 Kyat
8. hhhh [<i>village</i>]	- 1 person	(1 x 15,000)	= 15,000 Kyat
9. jjjj [<i>village</i>]	- 1 person	(1 x 15,000)	= 15,000 Kyat

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[In comparing this to almost identical orders issued each preceding month (see Order #251 and other monthly orders preceding it) in the same village tract, we see that the number of people 'hired' has decreased from 46 to 31, but the price per person has drastically risen from 4,250 Kyat to 15,000 Kyat, and three new villages have been added to the list. This could be a reflection of the falling value of the Kyat, the increased difficulty of hiring people to do forced labour for the SPDC, or an increase in the greed of the local authorities who pocket some of the money. See also the notes under Orders #100 and 251.]

Order #274 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

22-7-2001

The Elder's village must do *loh ah pay* at the camp tomorrow on 23-7-2001. Send 6 adult male people, bringing along machetes and rice packs [*precooked food for the afternoon meal*], to the camp to arrive at 6 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

Maung aaaa
Saw bbbb Daw ffff
Pa cccc
Saw dddd
Saw eeee

[The names written at the bottom left by the village head are the villagers who will be called to go for the forced labour. Though the order specifies 6 male workers, the last of the 6 names (Daw ffff) is a woman.]

Order #275 (Dooplaya)

[To:] Chairpersons
 xxxx / yyyy [villages]

22-7-2001

- Send 3 male servant people at 6 o'clock this evening, requesting them for general work. Bring along rice for 1 day.
- Do not fail to carry [*this*] out.

[Sd.] Commander
yyyy Camp

[On the back this order is addressed to "Chairperson, xxxx. Operations Command, aaaa, yyyy [camp]".]

Order #276 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Western Command Headquarters
#xx Strategic Operations Command Group

Date: 25-7-2001

To:
Chairperson
_____ Village

Subject: The Chairperson and the fence-making group for yyyy Camp must come

To make fences for yyyy Camp, the chairperson and the fence-making group must come and arrive on 26-7-2001, you are warned and informed for the last time.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy [Army] Camp

[This relates to Orders #270 and 271, which were carbon copies sent to all villages in the area on July 13th ordering each village to bring bamboo and come to build fences at the Army camp by July 31st. Villages usually postpone complying with SPDC orders for as long as possible, so in this case with only 5 days to the deadline the Camp Commander is becoming impatient.]

Order #277 (Doplaya)

To: Chairperson xxxx village

25-7-2001

The subject is that there is an urgent matter with the Chairperson, so as soon as this letter is received, come without fail to meet at the camp, you are informed. If [you] fail, it will be the Chairperson's responsibility.

[Sd.]

yyyy Camp Commander

[On the back the village head has written "On 22-7-2001 yyyy Camp demanded 3 servant people. The servants didn't go, so on 25-7-2001, [they] demanded 2 chickens."]

Order #278 (Papun)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

26-7-2001

Subject: Calling 5 set tha people [forced labour messengers]

Regarding the above matter, send 5 set tha people from xxxx Village together with the set tha who brings this letter now, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Camp Commander
yyyy [Army] Camp

Note: Must send without fail 5 set tha [messenger] people. If [you] fail, it will be the Chairperson's responsibility, letting [you] know.

[On the back this order is addressed "Chairperson, xxxx Village. From Camp Commander, yyyy [Army] Camp".]

Order #279 (Nyaunglebin)

To: Ko aaaa
Chairperson
xxxx Village

I am writing a letter and sending it with U bbbb. Chairperson, buy 3 big packs of candles and 3 packs of Diazepam (injection) [one pack is 1 dozen] with my htain chaw [sitting porter] money and send them. If Ko aaaa can't get the medicine from xxxx [village], ask it from yyyy [village].

The month is about to end, so it will be better if the Chairperson clears the account for the htain chaw [sitting porter] money. Deduct the things that I've asked [you] to buy and clear it [pay the rest]. In future we will not clear the [money for] htain chaw at the end of the month, it will be better if we clear it in advance, so that the Chairpersons do not also need to pay money when asked for things. If the money has already reached me, [I] will have money. Then when I ask for things, I can give some of the htain chaw money at the same time. Then the Chairperson won't need to keep a written list and dry out your head [strain your mind with difficult calculations]. [I] Want us all to meet and discuss this, [but] the poison in my leg is not better. There is still pain (from the snakebite wound). I have to make an incision and inject it. Otherwise, I would come and visit the village.

[Sd.] 27/7/2001, Fri[day]

Stamp: xxx xxxxx [Army #], Captain cccc

May God give good things to the
Chairperson and the villagers.

['Htain chaw' (literally 'sitting porters') means villagers who are forced to go by rotation and sit on call at the Army camp for whenever porters are needed for ad hoc duties. In this case, the camp doesn't need them so much so it forces the village to pay money every month instead of going. This officer is ordering

the village head to use some of the money due for these fees to buy medicine for his snakebite wound and other supplies. His arguments for paying the fees in advance in the future are very weak, and are probably just excuses to demand the money in advance next time.]

Order #280 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson

28-7-2001

[You] Must send 5 loh ah pay people each with a machete this midday, you are informed.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

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

Order #281 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson
xxxx village

28-7-2001

Send a set tha [messenger] to report information about whether or not there is unusual news. Do not send a letter with someone who is coming [i.e. send a special messenger, don't just send a letter with the first person who is coming this way].

[You] Must send 5 daily loh ah pay people each with a machete every day, you are informed.

[Sd.]
aaaa

Order #282 (Papun)

To: xxxx [Village] Head

30-7-2001

With respect, writing to inform you as below. There is nothing unusual. When you receive my letter arrange 5 of your people, with fully 5 days' food, one machete each and 3 viss [4.8 kg/10.5 lb] of chicken. Do it immediately on receipt [of this order]. Do not fail. Arrive tomorrow at yyyy Camp. On receipt [of this letter] arrange fully also 50 thatch [shingles].

Just these few words,

Signed by,

yyyy Camp

[This order is written in Sgaw Karen. It is almost identical to Order #283 but was sent to a different village. It calls for 5 people for 5 days of forced labour, bringing all of their own food and tools; the chicken demanded is in addition and is for the Army, not the workers. Making and delivering the 50 thatch shingles is also forced labour. On the back this order says, "Deliver this to arrive at once. Urgent Army matter, [to] xxxx Village Head".]

Order #283 (Papun)

To: xxxx [Village] Head

30-7-2001

With respect, writing to inform you as below. There is nothing unusual. When you see this letter, please arrange your people with one machete each. Do it as soon as you find out and receive *[this letter]*. Bring along food for 5 days. Arrange 5 of your people and 3 viss *[4.8 kg/10.5 lb]* of chicken. Arrive tomorrow at yyyy Camp. With fully 50 thatch *[shingles]*.

Do it immediately on receipt.

Just a few words,

Signed by,

yyyy Camp

[This order is written in Sgaw Karen. It is almost identical to Order #282 but was sent to a different village. It calls for 5 people for 5 days of forced labour, bringing all of their own food and tools; the chicken demanded is in addition and is for the Army, not the workers. Making and delivering the 50 thatch shingles is also forced labour. On the back this order says, "Deliver this to arrive at once. Urgent Army matter, [to] xxxx [Village] Head".]

Order #284 (Dooplaya)

31/7/2001

[To:] Chairperson - xxxx village

- *[You]* Failed to send *loh ah pay*, so the Chairperson yourself must come to yyyy *[Army camp]* with 3 *loh ah pay* people right now at once.
- Any failure will be the responsibility of you and your village.

[Sd.] Commander
yyyy Camp

Order #285 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

31/7/2001

To carry the things which were bought for our Camp, the Chairperson's village must arrange and deliver 1 bullock cart, you are informed.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

[This order is written in red ink, generally used to indicate urgency.]

Order #286 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson
xxxx village

The Elder must send 1 viss *[1.6 kg/3.5 lb]* of chicken from the Elder's village with the *set tha [forced labour messenger]* who will come tomorrow, you are informed.

[Sd.]3-8-2001

Order #287 (Toungoo)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy township, yyyy Tract

To: Chairperson / Secretary
_____ Village

Date: 3-8-2001

Subject: The matter of sending the loh ah pay

In accordance with the request of the Strategic Operations Commander from yyyy Army Camp, to gather the rations, the villages from yyyy village tract must send *loh ah pay* in accordance with the number of villagers shown below, with their own food for 4 days, on 4-8-2001 at 6 o'clock Saturday morning, you are informed.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------|
| 1. aaaa [village] | 3 people |
| 2. bbbb | 1 “ |
| 3. cccc | 1 “ |
| 4. dddd | 2 “ |
| 5. eeee | 2 “ |
| 6. ffff | 1 “ |

Must come to yyyy Camp.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council

[All of the villages listed in this order have to pay high amounts of 'porter fees' each month so that the village tract can hire people to go as forced labour porters in their place. They are the same villages listed in Order #273 and other similar orders, and Order #306 below shows that they were later ordered to pay this money for the month of August. However, as this order shows, they are still forced to send forced labourers on an ad hoc basis.]

Order #288 (Papun)

Stamp:

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

To: [Village] Head

Date: 3-8-2001

Subject: Sending the money for the teaching school toilet

The money from the Elder's village for the teaching school has not arrived yet, so send 4,500 Kyat in cash and servants' money of 5,000 Kyat to arrive on 4-8-2001, you are informed.

The people who are working as servants need money.

The Elder must arrange it quickly, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township

[The 'servants need money' means that the village tract has hired people to go for a shift of forced labour in place of the villagers, and is now demanding the money from the village so these people can be paid. On the back this order is addressed "To [Village] Elder, xxxx [Village]. Send quickly".]

Order #289 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairpersons
xxxx - yyyy Villages

4-8-2001

Elder, send 1 viss [1.6 kg/3.5 lb] of chicken from the Elder's village with the *set tha* [forced labour messenger] who will come tomorrow, you are informed.

[Sd.]

[*'The set tha who will come tomorrow' is the villager who must be sent for a shift of forced labour as a messenger.*]

Order #290 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 9/8/2001

The messengers from the Elder's village must arrive at the camp at 7 o'clock in the morning. Bring along morning rice packs and come to do duty at the camp. Our camp will feed them a morning meal with bean curry. Just send [cooked] rice with the messengers.

yyyy Camp

[*The 'messengers' are villagers to do a shift of forced labour as Army messengers.*]

Order #291 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Intelligence Department

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Temporary yyyy Village
Letter No. Frontline - 106 / 05 / Oo 2
Date: Year 2001, August 12th

To: Chairperson / Village head
_____ Village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

1. To gather the rations for zzzz Camp, a meeting will be held to specify and allocate the *loh ah pay* as shown below.

- (a) Place : yyyy Village Monastery
- (b) Date : 14-8-2001 (Tuesday)
(10th waning day of Second Wa Soh month)
- (c) Time : Afternoon at 1 o'clock, (1300) hours

3. Therefore, the village chairperson / head yourself must attend the meeting without fail, you are informed.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion

[*On the envelope: "**Stamp:** #xxx Light Infantry Battalion, Intelligence Department. To Chairperson/ Head, xxxx Village". On the back of the envelope: "Operations Commander aaaa, Column Commander bbbb. cccc Battalion Commander".*]

Order #292 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 15-8-2001

Writing a letter. Right now the Column has 11 servants from xxxx village. These 11 servants will be released [to go] back. Therefore the Chairperson's village must send 5 people to replace the 11 people when this letter is received now. Come and send [them] quickly, letting you know.

[Sd.]
15/8
(for) Column Commander

Order #293 (Papun)

To: xxxx [Village] Head

Date: 16-8-2001

With respect, replying to you by writing. Bring thatch and 10 people of your workers with one machete each tomorrow. Do not fail. That is all. Written by your elder brother aaaa.

xxxx

bbbb

[This order is written in Sgaw Karen. On the back of the order it says, "Urgent Army matter, give to the xxxx [Village] Head".]

Order #294 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

To: Chairperson / Secretary
_____ Village

Date: 16-8-2001

Subject: To pay donation money for the matter of the injured and dead servants that were hired

The villages from yyyy village tract hired 2 servant people whose names are included below. One died and one stepped on a landmine and was injured, so the villagers from every village are to give donation money commensurate with your goodwill and the fund money that can be collected. Come to pay it to yyyy VPDC, you are informed.

- (1) Soe Tin, Father: U Aung Shein - Dead
- (2) Aung Gu, Father: U Nyunt - Stepped on a landmine

[Sd.]
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[In this village tract (as can be seen in Orders #306, 273, 251 and similar orders included in this set), the local military makes demands every month for porters to the village tract authorities. Rather than allocate these demands to the local villages, the village tract hires labourers and then bills the local villages. In this case, two of the people they hired were wounded/killed while doing the forced labour as porters, so now it is the villagers, not the SPDC, who are expected to compensate their families.]

Order #295 (Papun)

Stamp:
#[illegible] Infantry Battalion
#[illegible]

[To:] Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 18-8-2001

[We] Have to coordinate about the servants that were specified, so come to meet.

[Sd.]
Company Commander

Order #296 (Nyaunglebin)

[To:] Chairperson / Secretary / U aaaa / School Headmaster

20-8-2001

To fence the teaching school at xxxx [village], timber will be sent using 2 bullock carts from yyyy to zzzz on 22-8-2001. 2 bullock carts and 4/5 people from xxxx [village] must come to pick it up at zzzz. Come and wait at zzzz on 22-8-2001 at 9 o'clock in the morning. Also sending 1½-inch nails. Fence [it] completely. If [you] need more, ask again.

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

Wishing [you] peace.
[Sd.]

[In this case orders have been issued to several villages. Each village is to haul the logs on to the next village, to be met there by the people who must haul them onward to their next destination. The people at the final destination will then have to do forced labour building the fences.]

Order #297 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson

23/8/201 [sic: 2001]

Sending a machete with this set tha [messenger]. Must get this machete repaired. There are no good machetes in the camp. Therefore repair the machete that is sent now. Repair the machete then send it back quickly.

If it can be returned on the 25th, that is good. For the person who does the machete, one shirt will be sent.

One of the Saya Gyi [Sergeants] already asked for one machete to be done. If it is finished, send [it] with the set tha [forced labour messenger] tomorrow.

The camp needs machetes so do nicely the machete that [I have] asked [you] to do, then send it back quickly.

Respectfully,

yyyy [Camp]

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

Order #298 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
#x Company

24-8-2001

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [village]

As soon as this letter is received, send 8 villagers to yyyy Camp today at 6 o'clock in the evening, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander

[Sd.]

[On the back of this order the village head wrote in Karen, "Enemy #xxx, Company #x, on 1-9-2001, demanded 7 villagers, sesame paste 1 viss, 4 bunches of betelnuts, and 3 bunches of coconuts. On 5-9-2001 they demanded 4 people. They don't like it if we don't pay them".]

Order #299 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson
VPDC
xxxx Village

25-8-01

Subject: To report information on anything unusual / not unusual in the area

1. On the 26th of August, the Chairperson yourself must come and bring along 30 pepper plants to LIB #xxx.
2. Must send *set tha* [forced labour messengers] once a week to yyyy [Army] Camp and make contact.
3. Do not fail, or it will be the Chairperson's responsibility.

[Sd.]
2nd Lieutenant aaaa
LIB #xxx

[The village head has written in pencil on the back of this order, "To: bbbb, With respect, Letting [you] know as below. Here the [village] head is not free, so arrange the people from there. Please. From [village] Head."]

Order #300 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

Date: 31-8-2001

Subject: Calling a meeting

Regarding the above subject, the Column Commander wants to meet and question the elder, so as soon as this letter is received, come quickly without fail to meet at yyyy Village, you are informed.

Note: The Chairperson must bring along 2 *wontan* [servant] people.

[Sd.]
Column Commander

[KHRG obtained three identically worded copies of this order which were sent to different villages.]

Order #301 (Nyaunglebin)

Township Peace and Development Council
yyyy Town
Letter No. 3 / x -x / Oo x
Date: Year 2001, August 31st

To: Chairpersons
Village Tract VPDCs concerned
xxxx village tract

Subject: Each village must keep village sentries
Reference: Letter No. 1001 / x / Oo x of the Mobile Strategic Operations Command #xx
dated 23-8-2001

- 1) In order that sentries for road bridge security are provided by the villages of yyyy township, and moreover that whenever insurgents enter *[the area]* it can be reported to the nearest Army Camp at the same time, each village must provide more security sentries for duty, as ordered by the reference letter.
- 2) Therefore, more duties must be assigned to village security sentries in your own village tracts. *[You]* Must report on the implementation of this *[order]* to this office on 3-9-2001, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) Chairperson
(U xxxx / Secretary)

Copies to:
Strategic Operations Commander, Mobile Strategic Operations Command #xx
yyyy Township chief, Myanmar State Police Group, yyyy Town
Receipt / File

[This is a cyclostyled form letter sent out to every village tract in the Township, with the village tract name filled in by hand. In areas anywhere near conflict regions, the SPDC forces villagers to provide unarmed sentries along military supply roads; these sentries are supposed to guard against ambush of passing Army convoys or landmining of the road. Any opposition activity is supposed to be reported, and if an attack occurs the nearby villages are normally burned as punishment for not doing their 'duty' vigilantly enough. This order, sent out by the Township Peace and Development Council on the orders of the Army Strategic Command, indicates that these sentries cannot continue to guard the roads and at the same time run back and forth to report regularly to the Army camps, so the villages are to be ordered to provide more forced labour sentries to fulfil this dual role.]

Order #302 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson

Date: 2-9-2001

I still have 1 machete. Tell *[him]* to measure this machete for a sheath and make it.
Tell this exactly to the person who does *[repairs]* the machetes. I already gave him one shirt.

Respectfully,

yyyy *[camp]*
Saya Gyi *[Sergeant]*

['Saya Gyi' actually means 'Senior Teacher', but in the Army it is used informally to mean Sergeant. On the back this order is addressed to "U aaaa, xxxx village, Chairperson".]

Order #303 (Doplaya)

Stamp:
[illegible]
Column xx

To: xxxx [village]
Chairperson / Secretary

Date: 2-9-2001

Subject: Releasing the servants

Regarding the above subject, when the 2 people who have gone to send this letter come back, [we] will release the servants who were summoned from xxxx village and sent by the Chairperson. These 5 servants previously arrested and brought will be sent back, and [we] will call for 5 more people to be captured, you are informed.

[Sd.] 2-9-2001
Column Commander

Order #304 (Toungoo)

To: Chairperson / Secretary
_____ Village
 xxxx

Date: 4-9-2001

Subject: The matter of repairing the Toungoo – Baw G’Li Gyi vehicle road and digging the stones needed for the repairs

According to the directive of the Deputy Battalion Commander from #xxx Infantry Battalion at zzzz Army Camp, the Toungoo – Baw G’Li Gyi vehicle road needs to be repaired. Therefore stone is needed, and repairs need to be carried out such as clearing out the drainage ditches, laying and erecting of timber posts, digging out rocks, filling in with earth, and laying of stones. The villages are to carry this out as specified below. Starting on 5-9-2001, each of you has the duty to carry this out, you are informed.

If the Chairpersons / Secretaries are not clear on this matter, come to meet and inquire at zzzz VPDC Office, you are informed again.

List of places where the road is to be repaired and the villages which must repair it

1) Above Thit Say Taung [village]	Baw G’Li Gyi, Thit Say Taung, Kyaut Pone, Baw G’Li Lay, Sa Ba Gyi, Meh Kyaw, Doe Doh [villages]
Above Pyaung Tho [village]	Thit Say Taung, Pyaung Tho, Ku Pyaung
Ko Tat Kweh	Baw G’Li Gyi, Thit Say Taung, Pyaung Tho

Villages which have to gather stone

1. Baw G’Li Gyi
2. Pyaung Tho
3. Thit Say Taung
4. Kyaut Pone

To dig out and gather the stone which is needed, dig and gather stone which is located near the vehicle road.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
zzzz Tract

Order #305 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

To:
Chairperson / Secretary
_____ Village

Date: 4.9.01

Subject: The matter of repairing the Toungoo – Baw G’Li Gyi vehicle road and digging the stones needed for the repairs

According to the directive of the Deputy Battalion Commander from #xxx Infantry Battalion at yyyy Army Camp, the Toungoo – Baw G’Li Gyi vehicle road needs to be repaired. Therefore stone is needed, and repairs need to be carried out such as clearing out the drainage ditches, laying and erecting of timber posts, digging out rocks, filling in with earth, and laying of stones. The villages are to carry this out as specified below. Starting on 5-9-2001, each of you has the duty to carry this out, you are informed.

If the Chairpersons / Secretaries are not clear on this matter, come to meet and inquire at yyyy VPDC Office, you are informed again.

List of places where the road is to be repaired and the villages which must repair it

- 1) Above Thit Say Taung [*village*] Baw G’Li Gyi, Thit Say Taung, Kyaut Pone, Baw G’Li Lay, Sa Ba Gyi, Meh Kyaw, Doe Doh, Ku Pyaung [*villages*]
- 2) Above Pyaung Tho [*village*] Thit Say Taung, Pyaung Tho, Ku Pyaung
- 3) Ko Tat Kweh Baw G’Li Gyi, Thit Say Taung, Pyaung Tho
- 4) Villages which have to gather stone:
 - (a) Baw G’Li Gyi
 - (b) Pyaung Tho
 - (c) Thit Say Taung
 - (d) Kyaut Pone

To dig out and gather the stone which is needed, dig and gather stone which is located near the vehicle road.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[This is almost identical to Order #304. Every village involved received versions of this order.]

Order #306 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Tract

To:
Chairperson / Secretary
_____ village
zzzz

Date: 5-9-2001

Subject: The matter of collecting and sending the monthly servant fees for the month of 8/2001 and the money for the balance of the servant fees which remain to be paid from previous months

Regarding the above subject, the villages of yyyy village tract hired 20 people in total as servants for the month of 8/2001. Collect and send [*money*] as allocated to each village below, and also come without fail to send the balance of money which is owed for previous months to arrive at the same time on (9-9-2001), you are informed.

(1) <i>aaaa</i> [<i>village</i>]	- 12 people	(12 x 15,000)	= 180,000 Kyat
(2) <i>bbbb</i> [<i>village</i>]	- 4 people	(4 x 15,000)	= 60,000 Kyat
7/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= 94,250 “
		Total	= 154,250 Kyat

[continued on next page]

(3) *cccc* [*village*] - 1 person (1 x 15,000) = 15,000 Kyat

7/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>38,400</u> "
	Total		= 53,400 Kyat
(4) <i>dddd [village]</i> - 1 person	(1 x 15,000)		= 15,000 Kyat
7/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>21,580</u> "
	Total		= 36,580 Kyat
(5) <i>eeee [village]</i> - 1 person	(1 x 15,000)		= 15,000 Kyat
7/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>6,500</u> "
	Total		= 21,500 Kyat
(6) <i>ffff [village]</i> - 1 person	(1 x 15,000)		= 15,000 Kyat
7/2001 - balance of money from previous month			= <u>44,500</u> "
	Total		= 59,500 Kyat

Collect it quickly and come to give it on 9-9-2001.

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[Orders like this one are received every month by villages in this village tract; see the notes under Order #273, Order #251 and others which precede them in this set.]

Order #307 (Papun)

Stamp: #xxx Infantry Battalion
Company x

To: Daw *aaaa* (Chairperson)
xxxx village

Subject: Summoning the village chairperson

Regarding the above subject, Daw *aaaa* (Chairperson) is informed to come and meet at *yyyy* Army Camp without fail (without fail) as soon as this letter is received.

Note: 15 persons, either male/female, should be brought.
Come with U *bbbb* today without fail.

Place: *yyyy*
Date: 6/9/2001

[Sd.] Captain
6/9/01
Stamp: Company Commander
Company x
#xxx Infantry Battalion

[The "15 persons" added in the note are for forced labour.]

Order #308 (Toungoo)

Meeting Invitation Letter

Chairperson / Secretary / Pastor
xxxx [village]

Date: 6-9-2001

To coordinate the matter of military servants, attend without fail (without fail) a meeting in accordance with the agenda below, you are invited.

Date the meeting will be held : : 7-9-2001 (~~Tuesday~~) *Friday*
Time " " : : *Morning at 7:30* o'clock
Place " " : : U *aaaa's* house

[Sd.] 7-9-2001
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

Order #309 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #[unclear] Infantry Battalion
Column #[unclear] Headquarters

To: Chairperson
xxxx village tract

9-9-2001

Subject: Calling wontan [servants]

Regarding the above subject, 20 wontan [servant] people from the Elder's village, bringing along rice for 1 day and whatever is needed, must come without fail together with the Chairperson to yyyy [Army] Camp on 10-9-2001 at 1800 hours in the evening, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Column Commander

[The village head and 20 villagers went as ordered on 10-9-2001 and took all of their food. They say that they were then forced to go and carry loads for the SPDC column for 2 days. They had to carry loads from yyyy Army camp to zzzz village. They say that they would not be able to remain in their village if they didn't go as ordered.]

Order #310 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters

To: Chairperson
xxxx village tract

9-9-2001

Subject: Calling for servants

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village must send 20 servants with one day's rice supply and the required materials and equipment, and the Chairperson yourself must come to yyyy camp on 10-9-2001 at 18:00 hours in the evening without fail, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Column Commander

Order #311 (Papun)

Stamp:

#xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x Headquarters

Subject: Calling servants

To: Chairperson
xxxx village tract / yyyy [village]

9-9-2001

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village is informed to send 20 servants with 1 day's food supply and the required materials. Come along with the Chairperson on 10-9-2001 before 1800 hours to zzzz Camp without fail.

[Sd.]

(for) Column Commander

[When the forced labourers were not sent as ordered, this was followed by Order #313 below.]

Order #312 (Papun)

To: **Stamp:** 10-9-2001
Chairperson Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
xxxx village tract Column x Headquarters

Subject: Calling for servants

The Elder's village is informed to send 20 servants to yyyy Camp on 10-9-2001 at 1800 hours without fail.

If not this evening, must arrive at the camp on 11-9-2001 before 0600 hours in the morning.

* (Female servants will also be accepted.)

[Sd.]
Column Commander

Order #313 (Papun)

Stamp: **URGENT**
#xxx Infantry Battalion 11-9-2001
Column x Headquarters [To:] Chairperson
xxxx village

Subject: Calling servants

The Elder's village was called upon to send 20 servants, but they have not yet arrived as of today. Be informed that as soon as you receive this letter, the village head must bring 20 servants to yyyy Camp without fail.

If [you] fail, it will be xxxx village's responsibility.

URGENT **[Sd.]**
Column Commander

[This order was a follow-up to Order #311 above. By placing the responsibility on the village as a whole, the underlined note at the bottom implies that if the forced labourers still fail to come the troops will storm and punish the entire village.]

Order #314 (Dooplaya)

To: Date: 11/9/2001
Chairperson
xxxx village

The Chairperson from the Elder's village must come and meet at the camp on 12/9/2001 at 10 o'clock in the morning. Must send two sacks of bamboo shoots with the *set tha* [messenger] the morning of 13/9/2001, you are respectfully informed.

Stamp: Camp Commander
yyyy Village
yyyy Township, Karen State

[Bamboo shoots are seasonal food which can be gathered in rainy season. Gathering them requires a lot of work and they must be dug out of the ground. The 'set tha' means the villager the village must provide for forced labour as a messenger 2 days hence.]

Order #315 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 11/9/2001

The Elder's village must send exactly two sacks of bamboo shoots with a messenger on 13/9/2001 in the morning.

The Chairperson must come without fail to meet at yyyy Camp on 12/9/2001 at 10 o'clock in the morning, you are respectfully informed.

Stamp: Camp Commander
yyyy Village
yyyy Township, Karen State

[See also Order #314 above. The messenger mentioned is the villager who must go for a shift of 'set tha' forced labour the next day.]

Order #316 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

To:
Chairperson / Secretary
xxxx Village

Date: 13.9.01

Subject: The matter of reporting information on the status of completion of transporting the stones

According to the directive of the Operations Commander at yyyy Army Camp, each village must take 20 pits full of stone needed for repairing the yyyy vehicle road and pile *[them]* along the side of the vehicle road.

Therefore, when finished moving the specified 20 pitfuls of stone, the Chairperson / Secretary yourself must report this information to yyyy Army Camp, you are informed.

** [You] Must report this information within one week.*

[Sd.]
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[This order is a carbon copy with the village name, signature, and note on the circumference (shown in italics here) written in by hand.]

Order #317 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To:
Uncle U aaaa

Date: 13-9-2001

Tomorrow, do not bring *loh ah pay*. At the moment, only the 3 Uncle Chairpersons must come and meet. At the moment the *loh ah pay* is not needed yet. The 3 Uncles must come to meet at the camp, and arrive at 7 o'clock tomorrow morning. Bring whatever pepper can be obtained as has already been requested. *[We] Want to send [it] tomorrow.*

That is all.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy Village
yyyy Township, Karen State

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

Order #318 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson

13-9-2001

Sending 1 shirt for the person who made the machete to wear. Tell *[him]* thanks very much.
Send back the machete with the *set tha [forced labour messenger]* tomorrow.
Send also 1 machete collar *[the metal collar between the blade and the handle]*.

Thanks.

yyyy Camp

[This order relates to the demands in Orders #297 and 302. On the back this order is addressed "To U aaaa, xxxx [village]. yyyy Camp."]

Order #319 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To: Chairpersons
U aaaa, U bbbb, U cccc

Date: 13-9-2001

As soon as this letter is received now, the Chairpersons yourselves must come and send 2 *loh ah pay* people from each village (with rice) to the camp, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy Village
yyyy Township, Karen State

[The 3 village heads listed are from 3 different villages. On the back this order is addressed "To U aaaa, xxxx village".]

Order #320 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

Subject: Calling a discussion on work matters

Regarding the above subject, as soon as the Chairperson (Head) from xxxx village receives this letter, come without fail (without fail) to yyyy *[Army]* Camp, you are informed.

Place: yyyy
Date: 17/9/2001

[Sd.]
Column Commander

[This order was entirely written in red ink, indicating urgency. One of the representatives of the village head went to meet the commander on 17/9/2001. The column commander told him that the villagers must come to do 'loh ah pay'. According to the villager who met the commander, the commander said, "When SPDC soldiers force you to do things, you must always do them. If you see KNU soldiers going around, entering the village or asking things from the village, you must come quickly to inform our camp. If you don't come to report it at once, we will designate you as protecting the KNU. Then we will force all of you to move alongside the car road."]

Order #321 (Dooplaya)

To: **Stamp:** Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion Date: 17/9/2001
Chairperson / Secretary Col. x Headquarters
xxxx village

Subject: Calling for a meeting

Regarding the above subject, the Column Commander needs to meet and discuss with the [Village] Heads, so come now together with this *set tha [forced labour messenger]* to meet the Column Commander at yyyy village. Come to meet without fail, letting you know.

[Sd.]
17/9
(for) Column Commander

[This order is included here because it makes reference to the 'set tha' forced labour messengers who are used to send these letters to the villages and return to the Army camp with whatever has been demanded.]

Order #322 (Papun)

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

Subject: Calling [you] to discuss work matters

Regarding the above subject, as soon as the Chairperson (Head) from xxxx [village] receives this letter, come without fail (without fail) to yyyy [Army] Camp, you are informed.

Place: yyyy **[Sd.]**
Date: 17/9/2001 Column Commander

[This order is written entirely in red ink, indicating urgency. 'Work matters' generally mean assignments for forced labour.]

Order #323 (Papun)

Stamp: #xxx Infantry Battalion To: [Village] Head Date: 18-9-2001
#x Company xxxx Village

1. [Village] Head, starting tomorrow the [village] Head yourself must write letters whether there are unusual [happenings] / not, and inform us by sending them with a *set tha [messenger]*.

2. Our Company has not enough rice and it is a problem, so help by supplying 4 bowls of rice from the Head's village at the same time along with the *set tha [messenger]* on 19-9-2001.

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

[The village head told KHRG about this order: "They forced us to go and report information on time and forced us to feed them rice. We had to go and pay them 4 bowls of rice. They didn't give us any Kyat for the cost. We always have to provide 2 people a week for 'set tha' [messenger duty]."]

Order #324 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 25-9-2001

Subject: Requesting servants

Village chairperson (U aaaa) from xxxx village: as soon as [you] receive this letter sent by the Column, U aaaa must summon quickly 5 servant people and send them to the Column.

[Sd.] bbbb
#x Company
Frontline Column #xxx [IB]

Order #325 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To:
[Village] Head
xxxx Village

Date: 25-9-2001

Head, as soon as [you] receive this letter, the Head yourself must come to yyyy village.

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

[The village head says that he went as ordered, and the Commander demanded 10 porters to go and carry rations for the Army. The porters had to go and pick up the rations at yyyy [Camp] and carry them to zzzz village. The villagers went on September 26th 2001 and it took them 2 days' walking and carrying. On the back this order is addressed "To [Village] Head, xxxx Village. Emergency, send quickly".]

Order #326 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Township
yyyy Village

To:
Chairperson, xxxx village

Date: 25-9-2001

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, come to yyyy tomorrow on 26-9-2001 at 9 o'clock, you are informed.

(Note)
Do not fail.

(U aaaa)
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village, yyyy Township

[The village head received this letter and went to the meeting, where he was told that the village must pay porter fees once a month every month. He added, "Each month, we have to pay 4,500 Kyat. If we don't pay, they will force all of us to go and stay near the Army camp."]

Order #327 (Pa'an)

To: Chairperson / Head
xxxx village

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Battalion Office

Subject: Come to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, [we] want to meet and discuss with the Elder, so come without fail on 26-9-2001, 9th waxing day of Taw Tha Lin month, at 1000 hours, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) Battalion Commander

[After attending this meeting the village head wrote the following on the back of this order:]

xxxx [village]

This order requires:

- 1) 30 pairs of bullocks from the entire village tract of xxxx must break up [trample] earth for 15 days [for brick baking].
- 2) Each village must send 2 pieces of wah boh bamboo and over 50 tha [800 g / 1.75 lb] of chicken. [They] Said it is for feeding their elders [commanders] when they come.
- 3) Each village must bring one thousand [Kyat] in cash whenever attending a meeting.
- 4) 10 lan [armspans] of firewood are required, and one lan is 6 bullock cartloads per village. Not now - this will start in the 11th month [November 2001].

[Many SPDC officers make money by baking and selling bricks. Materials and some labour (such as the firewood and bullocks mentioned above) are demanded from the local villagers, and off-duty soldiers are used to bake the bricks. All profits go to the officers. Though this meeting occurred in late September, some of the demands were set to begin in November; according to some village heads in the area, they were told that this is to wait until after the visit of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) High Level Team in September-October.]

Order #328 (Pa'an)

To: Chairperson / Head
xxxx village

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Battalion Office

Subject: Come for a meeting

Regarding the above subject, [for us] to meet and discuss with the Elder come without fail on 26-9-2001, 9th waxing day of Daw Tha Lay [Burmese month], to arrive at 1000 hours, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) Battalion Commander

[The village head has written a note and attached it to this order, reading as follows:]

Regarding the matter of the above meeting on 26-9-2001:

From xxxx village, 5 pieces of bamboo,
50 kyat tha [800 g/1.75 lb] of chicken,
and brick-baking firewood → 5 lan [armspans] in circumference,
were demanded again.

This is not covered by loh ah pay 1/99.

[They] Demanded again 30 baskets of paddy from xxxx village, so the Elder has to check and report.

[By 'loh ah pay 1/99' the village head means SPDC Order 1/99, which the SPDC claims to have issued in May 1999 banning forced labour. Order 1/99 only referred to forced labour conscripted under the "Villages Act" and the "Towns Act", which are not usually cited by the Army or authorities when demanding forced labour. There was never any evidence whatsoever that Order 1/99 was distributed or implemented anywhere; it appears to have been concocted only to show to the ILO and other foreign organisations.]

Order #329 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To:
Village Head
xxxx Village

Subject: [You] Must come to the Camp

[We] Have to coordinate and discuss with the Elders, so come to the [Army] Camp on 28-9-2001 at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Place: yyyy
Date: 27-9-2001

[Sd.] 27/9
(for) Battalion Commander

[The village head sent a representative to this meeting. When the representative arrived he was asked, "Have you seen any KNU soldiers?" He was ordered to send reports once a day every day to the camp, and that each village must provide one person as a 'set tha' [messenger]. Each 'set tha' must go and stay at the Army camp for 3 days, and every 3 days a new person must be sent. This order is a carbon copy with the village name and signature written in by hand.]

Order #330 (Papun)

To:
[Village] Head
xxxx [Village]

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x

As soon as [you] receive this letter, come to report information at yyyy.

[Sd.] 28/9

[According to the village head, this order was issued on September 28th 2001 and forced the village to send a 'set tha' messenger to report to the camp that they had seen no Karen soldiers or anything unusual.]

Order #331 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To:
Village Head
xxxx [village]

Subject: [You] Must come to the Camp

[We] Have a matter to discuss with the Elder, so come to the [Army] Camp tomorrow on 30-9-2001 at 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Place: yyyy
Date: 29-9-2001

[Sd.] 29/9
Captain aaaa

[The village head says that he went to the camp and the Army forced the villagers to go to cut and clear the vehicle road and to carry rations, and also demanded 5 people for Army camp labour. The villagers had to go for this work on October 1st 2001.]

Order #332 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To:
Head
xxxx village

Date: 1-10-2001

[Village] Head, as soon as [you] receive this letter now, the Head yourself must come quickly to yyyy village.

If the Head is not there, send quickly one person in place of the Head.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Company Commander
#x Company
#xxx Infantry Battalion

[On the back this order is addressed "To [village] head, xxxx village. Emergency, send quickly". The village head went himself. He says that he was told, "If you see KNU soldiers going around, you must come to tell us. If you see them but do not come to tell us at once we will take action on the village head. We will fine you 30 viss (48 kg/105 lb) of pork." At the same time, they demanded 2 porters for 3 days. The village head sent the two porters on October 3rd 2001 at 3:00 p.m., because he says he had no choice.]

Order #333 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To:
[Village] Head
xxxx Village

Date: 1-10-2001

Head, as soon as [you] receive this letter, the Head yourself must come quickly to yyyy village.

If the Head is not there, send quickly one person in place of the Head.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Company Commander
#x Company
#xxx Infantry Battalion

[The village head says that when he went as ordered, he was told to send 2 porters to the Column for 3 days of forced labour. He went and took the 2 porters on October 2nd. On the back this order is addressed "To [Village] Head, xxxx village. Emergency, send quickly".]

Order #334 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To:
[Village] Head
xxxx Village

Date: 1.10.2001

[Village] Head, as soon as [you] receive this letter, the Head yourself must come quickly to yyyy Village.

If the Head is not there, send quickly one person in place of the Head.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Company Commander
#x Company
#xxx Infantry Battalion

[The village head says he received this letter and went at once. When he arrived, Captain aaaa told him that he must provide 3 porters and 2 viss (3.2 kg/7 lb) of chicken. He had no option but to comply, so when he got back to his village he had to find chickens and 2 people to go as porters. On October 2nd

2001 he had to go and send them to the SPDC troops at yyyy village. On the back this order is addressed "To [Village] Head, xxxx Village, Emergency, send quickly."]

Order #335 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

Date: 10-10-2001

To:
[Village] Head
xxxx Village

As soon as [you] receive this letter, come quickly to yyyy village. Send this letter on to zzzz village with a set tha [messenger] at once, you are informed.

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

[The village head says that he went as ordered and the Commander demanded 2 big tins of rice, 3 viss (4.8 kg/10.5 lb) of fishpaste, and 2 villagers for forced labour as messengers. They also ordered the villagers to send regular reports as to whether or not they have seen any Karen soldiers. The villagers had to comply with all of these demands. The back of this letter says in red ink, "Must come without fail. *Send this letter on to zzzz Village with a messenger". This means that the same demands are to be imposed on zzzz village as well.]

Order #336 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

Date: 10-10-2001

To:
[Village] Head
xxxx village

When [you] receive this letter, come without fail to yyyy village on Thursday 11-10-2001 to arrive at 1000 hours in the morning, you are informed. If the Head is not there, send a representative.

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

[On the back this order is addressed to "Head, xxxx village. Come without fail." The village head told KHRG that when he arrived the Commander said, "You do not come to report when KNU soldiers come into the village. You do not come to tell us at once. Right now, I will punish you. You must come to cut and clear around my Camp and make a fence, and bring along 2 viss (3.2 kg/7 lb) of chicken. You must come to do this and finish it completely by 13-10-2001. If you don't come and do this for us you can't stay [in your village]. Don't say anything more to me." On October 13th the villagers gathered and went to work for the SPDC as ordered.]

Order #337 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To:
[Village] Head
xxxx Village

18-10-2001

Subject: Calling a meeting

To cut the scrub and make fences along the left/right sides of the vehicle road in the bright season [dry season, November-May], the Head yourself must come without fail to yyyy [Army] Camp to attend a meeting on 19-10-2001 not later than 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) **Stamp:** Column Commander
Column #x Headquarters
[Handwritten:] Camp Commander
yyyy Camp

[This order concerns the same meeting specified in Order #338. The village head says that at the meeting, Battalion Commander aaaa said, "If you see KNU soldiers you must come to tell us immediately. Right now, you must come to cut and clear both sides of the vehicle road. Each village must do 3 miles [total], east and west of the village, and it must be finished within 4 days."]

Order #338 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To:
[Village] Head
xxxx Village

18-10-2001

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

To clear the scrub and make fences along the left/right sides of the vehicle road in the bright season [dry season, November-May], the Head yourself must attend without fail a meeting at yyyy [Army] Camp on 19-10-2001 not later than 8 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) **Stamp:** Column Commander
Column #x Headquarters
[Handwritten:] Camp Commander
yyyy Camp

[This order is for the same meeting specified in Order #337, but was sent to a different village. This village head went to the meeting and says that at the meeting, "They said that they would be arriving in the hot [season]. They forced us to go and clear around the perimeter of their camp and fence their camp, and we also had to go and cut and clear the vehicle road."]

Order #339 (Papun)

Stamp:
#[Unclear] Light Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 21-10-2001

I am writing a letter. Find out if there is any unusual information or not from xxxx and yyyy villages about Kay En Yu [KNU] insurgents and then reply by letter with a set tha [messenger] right now.

[Sd.] 21/10/2001
zzzz Army Camp

Order #340 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To: [Village] Head
xxxx Village

Date: 22-10-2001

[Village] Head, as soon as this letter is received now, the Head yourself must come quickly (quickly) without fail to yyyy village. If the village head is not there, send another person instead.

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

[The village head went as ordered and was ordered to replace the villagers from her village currently doing forced labour as porters, because they had already been carrying for too many days. The troops also demanded 10 viss (16 kg/35 lb) of pork to be delivered the same evening. The officer said he would pay 250 Kyat per viss, whereas the price in the village is 600 Kyat per viss. On October 23^d, the villagers went to replace the porters and also took along the pork which had been demanded.]

Order #341 (Papun)

To: xxxx [Village] Head

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

Come today to yyyy [Army] Camp not later than 10 o'clock, you are informed. When [you] receive this letter, come without fail to report information to the Camp.

[Sd.] 24/10
(for) Battalion Commander
yyyy Camp

[At the meeting, the village head says the Commander ordered him to report information about KNLA movements, that if the villagers see them they must go to tell the SPDC. The officer then ordered that the villagers go to clear the sides of the vehicle road and fence both sides of the road. As a result, the villagers had to go and clear the roadsides for 3 days starting on October 26th 2001. They received no payment for this.]

Order #342 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village] Chairperson

When [you] receive this letter now come quickly to yyyy Army Camp, you are informed.

[Sd.] 24/10/2001

[The village head says that he had to go and meet the officer at yyyy Camp, and the villagers were then forced to clear the sides of the vehicle road. The villagers started on October 26th 2001 and it took them 4 days. They had to take along their own food and sleep by the road. The village head said they had no choice but to go because "We worry that they will come to make problems and come to destroy our paddy, and that we wouldn't have time to harvest. We are afraid of them so we went to work for them."]

Order #343 (Papun)

To: [Village] Head (xxxx [village])

30-10-2001

Send 5 wontan [servant] people to yyyy to arrive at 7 o'clock tomorrow morning.

[Sd.] Captain

[About this order the village head said, "IB#xxx Company #x Commander Captain aaaa wrote this letter demanding 5 porters, but we only managed to give him 4 people. I went to send them to him on 31-10-2001."]

Order #344 (Papun)

To: Chairperson, xxxx village

([LIB] xxx) Order

5-11-2001

Informing [you] to comply with cutting [the scrub along] the road and doing loh ah pay tomorrow, between yyyy and xxxx.

(Carry this out and do not fail)

Must also send the servant fees for the 10th month [October].

U bbbb

[The writer of this letter is the village tract PDC chairman of yyyy village tract. The village head says that the villagers had to start this work cutting and clearing the road between his village and the village tract seat on November 8th 2001, and when he was interviewed by KHRG 3 days later they were still doing the work.]

Forced Labour Supplying Materials

This section contains orders which call 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. Some orders (for example Orders #349, 350 and 357) give the villagers the option of sending the materials or sending much more than their market value in cash.

Some orders which demand such materials and also include direct demands for forced labour have been included in the '**General Forced Labour**' section above. Similarly, many of the demands below that villagers bring bamboo for fencing or thatch for roofing carry the implicit assumption that when the villagers deliver the bamboo or thatch, they will be kept at the camp to do the work as well (see for example Orders #345, 346, 354, 362, 363, and 407). Orders #373, 377, 380 and 402 force several villages to pay a fee or provide a 'landmine clearing bullock cart', meaning they would have to drive one of their bullock carts along a military supply road to detonate any anti-vehicle mines.

While most of these materials are demanded for Army camp and other construction, some are also demanded simply so that Army officers can sell them for profit; for example, the 10 tons of "teak and hardwood" demanded in Order #404 is almost certainly not "to make electrical poles and a chicken shed" as stated, nor are the 10,000 thatch roofing shingles demanded in Order #367 all likely to be used at the Army 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 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.

As is the case with direct orders for forced labour, the Army often dictates its demands for materials to the village tract leaders, who must then divide the demands between the villages in their tract. Order #442 gives a clear example of an Army officer telling a village tract leader to issue demands to the villages under his authority. The Army then puts a great deal of pressure on village tract leaders to comply, resulting in orders such as #377, 380, 381, 383, and 388, all of which were issued by one village tract leader. As time passes his increasing desperation is apparent in statements such as "The Army and DKBA come to look every day" (Order #380), "Why didn't [you] come to the meeting that was called by the Army today?" (Order #381), "U aaaa's village is not taking any responsibility" (Order #383), and "The Army is asking very often. I have to tell them lies." (Order #388) He warns the village head "for the last time" that "it is an emergency matter", and in Order #381 warns that "If [you] don't deliver it, [I] won't take any responsibility for whatever problems will happen".

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 (see the village heads' comments under Orders #356 and 369). 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. Some of these are vaguely implied in Orders #377 (“*the Elder yourself must come to clear it with the Battalion Commander*”), #381 (“*If [you] don’t deliver it, [I] won’t take any responsibility for whatever problems will happen*”), #451 (“*If [you] fail, action will be taken*”), and #452 (“*If [you] fail, [you] will have to send more than the quantities [originally] specified. If [you] fail completely, action will be taken.*”).

For additional explanations on the nature of these types of orders see “**SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2001-A**” (KHRG #2001-02, 18/5/01). The orders below are presented in chronological order, from December 2000 to October 2001.

Order #345 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Date: 5-12-2000

To:
U aaaa + U bbbb (VPDC)
xxxx [village]

Subject: The matter of arranging and sending bamboo

[Regarding] The above subject, in accordance with the directive of the LIB #xxx Sa Ka Ka Mu [Military Operations Command Commander], to build the second ring of Army fence at zzzz Camp, send a duty quota of 100 pieces of bamboo from the Elder’s village (without fail) to zzzz Column Office on 7-12-2000, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Secretary - Member (1)
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[Each Army camp has as many as 5 rings of fencing around it for defence. The villagers must supply all the bamboo for these fences as well as do forced labour building them.]

Order #346 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Township Security and Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Township Security and Management Assistance
Committee, yyyy Town
Letter No. / 2 / xxx / La Sa Ta
Date: Year 2000, **December 5th**

To: Chairperson
xxxx Section / Village Tract
yyyy Township

Subject: The matter of arranging and sending
Thatch to roof yyyy + zzzz [Army] camps

Reference: **According to the directive of Sa Ba Ha 3 [Strategic Operations Command 3]**

1. Regarding the matter in the above reference letter, it is directed to arrange and send **thatch to roof yyyy + zzzz camps**, so do not fail to send and hand over **2,000 shingles of thatch (Two thousand shingles)** from the Elder's Section / Village Tract as specified below, you are informed.

Date: **15-12-2000**
Time: **Morning (10:00) o'clock**
Place: **Ma Ya Ka [Township PDC] yyyy**

Note: If [you] fail, are late or the quantity is low [lower than specified], it will be the responsibility of the concerned Ya Ya Ka [VPDC] group.

[Sd.]

Chairperson
Stamp: Joint Secretary
Security / Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Copies to -
- **Sa Ba Ha 3 [Strategic Operations Command 3], yyyy**
- **Ma Ya Ka [Township PDC],** "
- **Receipt**

[This is a stock form with blanks as shown. This copy has had the stamp affixed as shown at the top, the blanks have been filled in using a pen with the details shown here in bold italics, the signature and the stamp below the signature have been affixed.]

Order #347 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

[To:] U aaaa
VPDC

Date: 6-12-2000

Subject: The matter that wood needs to be sent again

Regarding the subject matter, in accordance with the directive of [LIB] #xxx Sa Ka Ka Mu [Military Operations Command Commander], send 1 log 9 feet long with circumference 5 [units not given], make [it into] 2 logs at U bbbb's sawmill at zzzz village, on 7-12-2000 at the latest. After sending [it], report to the Tract Peace and Development Chairperson, you are informed.

[Your] Quota of the cost for the entertainment group at the 23-11-2000 ceremony at www (3,175K[kyat]), pay [it] to the Tract on 10-12-2000.

[Sd.] cccc

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

Order #348 (Nyaunglebin)

To:

Chairperson, the Sa Ka Ka [*Military Operations Command*] is demanding many things, so send the wood from the Elder's village to U aaaa's sawmill at yyyy village tomorrow morning. Chairperson, pass on this information to zzzz village also, to send [*the wood*] without fail tomorrow. Write and send a register showing the number of short footage [*length*] logs and the number of long footage [*length*] logs.

[Sd.] 11-12-2000
Camp Commander
LIB #xxx
www Camp

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #349 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Township Security and Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Township Security and Management Assistance
Committee, yyyy Town
Letter No. / 2 / 1 – xx / La Wa Ka
Date: Year 2000, **December 14th**

To:

Chairperson
xxxx Section / Village Tract
yyyy Township

Subject : (**Second**) time, a reminder has already been given

Reference: (1) **According to the directive of Sa Ba Ha 3 [Strategic Operations Command #3]**
(2) [blank]

1. According to the reference letter, the Elder's Section / Village Tract has already been informed to arrange and send **thatch** (**1,200 shingles**), but [*we*] have seen that [*you*] have not sent them yet until today / have only sent (---).

2. Therefore, as soon as [*you*] receive this reminder come quickly to contact [*us*], deliver and hand over (**1,200 shingles [of thatch]**), you are informed.

***Decided at the Ma Ya Ka [Township PDC] meeting on 14-12-2000
Current price for one shingle of thatch is 20 K (Twenty Kyat)***

Note: If [*you*] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
Stamp: Joint Secretary
Security / Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Copies to -
-Receipt

[This is a stock form with blanks as shown. This copy has had the stamp affixed as shown at the top, the blanks have been filled in with the details shown in bold italics, the signature has been added, and the stamp below the signature has been affixed. The note beginning 'Decided at...' was also written in by hand. The 'current price' of 20 Kyat per shingle does not mean the villagers will be paid for the shingles, it means they must pay 20 Kyat for each shingle of their quota which they do not send (see Order #350 below).]

Order #350 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract – yyyy Township

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract
yyyy Township
Date: Year 2000, December 17th

Subject: The matter of arranging and sending thatch shingles

Reference: According to the directive letter of Sa Ba Ha [*Strategic Operations Command*]

yyyy Village Tract has to send 2,500 thatch shingles, two thousand five hundred shingles, to the Sa Ba Ha [*Strategic Operations Command*]. According to the Ma Ya Ka [*Township PDC*] meeting on 14-12-2000, it was specified that the rate is 20K (twenty Kyat) for one shingle.

Therefore, the Elder's village must pay duty money (8,500K / Eight thousand five hundred) to the yyyy Peace and Development Chairperson on 19-12-2000 at the latest, you are informed.

Copies to: Village Chairpersons
Office Receipt

[Sd.] aaaa
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[The 'rate' of 20 Kyat per shingle does not mean the villagers will be paid for the shingles, it means they must pay 20 Kyat for each shingle of their quota which they do not send. In this case the village tract Chairman expects them to pay 8,500 Kyat in lieu of providing 425 shingles. On the back this order is addressed "To U bbbb, U cccc, VPDC, xxxx [village]".]

Order #351 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson / Village Head
xxxx village

Date: 1-[unclear]-2001

Subject: Come quickly to send the wood that was ordered

Regarding the above subject, we ordered [*the wood*] from the Elder's village (6 inches x 3 inches, length 13 feet, 100 pieces) and now [*that*] you have acquired it all, the village head yourself must send it today without fail to the yyyy boat landing, you are informed.

Stamp:
#xxx Tactical Operations Command
Supervisory Group

[Sd.]
Captain aaaa
TOC xxx
Temporary yyyy [*camp*]

[This order was carbon copied and had the village name and the specifications for the wood filled in later.]

Order #352 (Papun)

To: Chairperson / Village Head
xxxx village

1-1-2001

Subject: Come to quickly send the wood which was ordered.

Regarding the above subject, we ordered wood from the Elder's village (3 foot circumference, 6 cubits [9 feet] length, 60 pieces / 8 cubits [12 feet length] 30 pieces). Now as [you] have acquired it all, the Village Head yourself must come today to the yyyy boat landing, you are informed.

Stamp:

#xxx Tactical Operations Command
Supervisory Group

[Sd.]
Captain aaaa
TOC xxx
Temporary yyyy [camp]

[This order is identical to Order #351, but was sent to a different village with different quantities of wood demanded.]

Order #353 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
[illegible]
yyyy Camp

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

Date: 1-1-2001

The wood and bamboo that was ordered to arrive on 2-1-2001 must be sent. If [you] cannot send [it], the chairperson yourself must come to meet with the camp commander, you are informed.

If [you] fail, it will be the elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy Camp

Order #354 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xx Tactical Operations Command, Military Operations Supervisory Group
zzzz Town

4-1-2001

To: Chairperson
xxxx [Village]

To make a fence for yyyy [Army] Camp, send 400 [pieces of] bamboo to yyyy [Army] Camp to arrive on 6-1-2001 (Saturday).

[Sd.]

[When the bamboo was not delivered on time, this order was followed by Order #355 below.]

Order #355 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [Village]

7-1-2001

To make a fence for the camp, [we] ordered [you] to send 400 pieces of bamboo to arrive on 6-1-2001, but the Chairperson yourself must now come with the bamboo to report why it was not sent yet, you are informed.

[Sd.]

[This order is a follow-up to Order #354 above.]

Order #356 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson

12-1-2001

With friendliness,

- I requested but the Chairperson didn't come, nor did a representative come.
- Now, buy 4 big tins [50 kg / 110 lb] of (hill field sesame) then send it to yyyy. yyyy village has to quickly press [the sesame] for the oil and has to send it quickly. Write a letter for the one who sends the sesame stating the cost. If the Chairperson is free, come.
- I am asking [your] help for 3 planks of wood. Send them along by boat.

[Sd.]
(Captain aaaa)

[Villagers press sesame to produce sesame oil. The village head told KHRG that the sesame and wood were given as demanded, but no money was paid for it as promised by the soldiers.]

Order #357 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
- yyyy
Date: Year 2001, January 12th

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Subject: To repair 45 camp huts at Frontline #xx Military Operations Command Headquarters, [we] need wooden and bamboo posts, nails, zinc sheeting, and quota money for the cost of zinc sheeting, nails, and thatch.

Regarding the above subject, for the 45 camp huts [we] estimate 13,315 roofing thatch [shingles], and 100 thatch [shingles] cost 1,500 Kyat, so the total cost is 199,725 Kyat, in words one hundred ninety nine thousand seven hundred twenty five Kyat. To roof the officers' building with zinc, one sheet of zinc is 650 Kyat, so the total cost for zinc and [zinc roofing] nails is 100,000 Kyat, in words one hundred thousand Kyat. The costs for wooden and bamboo posts, zinc nails, thatch, zinc, and nails is in the table below. Send the allotted things on 20-1-2001 at the latest, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

[This is a carbon copied order with different village names addressed on each copy. The lists of the writer are confusing and somewhat unclear, and the 'table' mentioned is not attached.]

Order #358 (Papun)

13-1-2001

To:

xxxx [village] Chairperson

Writing a letter to let [you] know to come to send bamboo, seven pieces from each house. Do not be late on the 15th. Then for the [dinner] table bring 1 viss [1.6 kg / 3.6 lb] of roosters. We will pay you 500 [Kyat] for the cost. [You] must bring it. An emergency is close.

From
[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

[The market value of 1 viss of chicken is at least 1,000 Kyat. The approaching 'emergency' probably means the visit of a higher commander.]

Order #359 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Township Security and Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Township Security and Management Assistance
Committee, yyyy Town
Letter No. / 2 / 1 – xx / La Wa Ka
Date: Year 2000 [sic: 2001], **January 16th**

To:

Chairperson
xxxx Section / Village Tract
yyyy Township

Subject : (**Second**) time, a reminder has already been given

Reference: (1) **In accordance with the directive of Sa Ba Ha 3 [Strategic Operations Command #3] dated 6-12-2000**
(2) _____

1. According to the reference letter, the Elder's Section / Village Tract has already been informed to arrange and send **350 thatch shingles** (**three hundred and fifty**), but [we] have seen that [you] have not sent them yet until today / have only sent (**none**).

2. Therefore, as soon as [you] receive this reminder come quickly to contact [us], deliver and hand over (**350 shingles [of thatch]**), you are informed.

Note: If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
Stamp: Joint Secretary
Security / Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Copies to -
- Receipt

[This is a stock form with blanks as shown. This copy has had the stamp affixed as shown at the top, the blanks have been filled in with the details shown in bold italics, the signature has been added, and the stamp below the signature has been affixed.]

Order #360 (Nyaunglebin)

To:

Chairperson, the bunkers at our Camp are big, so the logs that were sent before are not long enough. Therefore, from the Elder's village *[we need]* 7-cubit logs, each village must send 5 logs again tomorrow on 18-1-2001, asking for your help.

[Sd.] 17-1-2001

Stamp: Camp Commander
yyyy Army Camp
(LIB) xxx

[The logs demanded are to cover the tops of the underground bunkers at the Army camp. As these bunkers are quite wide, the logs already sent by the villages are too short, so each village is being forced to find, cut and deliver 5 more logs which are at least 7 cubits ('taung') long. 7 cubits is approximately 10.5 feet / 3.5 metres, and as cover for bunkers the logs would have to be quite thick. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx village".]

Order #361 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Township Security and Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Township Security and Management Assistance
Committee, yyyy Town
Letter No. / 2 / 1 – xx / La Wa Ka
Date: Year ~~2000~~2001, **January**

To:

Chairperson
xxxx Section / Village Tract
yyyy Township

Subject : (**Second**) time, a reminder has already been given

Reference: (1) **Directive of Sa Ba Ha [Strategic Operations Command]**
(2) **Informing [letter] of Ma Ya Ka [Township PDC]**

1. According to the reference letter, the Elder's Section / Village Tract has already been informed to arrange and send **thatch** (**1,200 shingles**), but *[we]* have seen that *[you]* have not sent them yet until today / ~~have only sent~~ (**none**).

2. Therefore, as soon as *[you]* receive this reminder come quickly to contact *[us]*, deliver and hand over (**1,200 shingles [of thatch]**), you are informed.

Note: If *[you]* fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]

Chairperson

Stamp: Joint Secretary
Security / Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Copies to - *[blank]*

[This is a stock form with blanks as shown. This copy has had the stamp affixed as shown at the top, the blanks have been filled in with the details shown in bold italics, the signature has been added, and the stamp below the signature has been affixed. On the back the sender has written in red ink "After reading this letter, send it back".]

Order #362 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 14-2-2001

To repair the camp send without fail, without fail, 30 *myaw [posts]* and 150 pieces of bamboo to arrive on 15-2-2001, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander

Order #363 (Nyaunglebin)

To:
Chairperson

From your village [*tract*], each village must send 1,000 [*bamboo*] spikes for yyyy Army Camp, to arrive on 20-2-2001. If they are not good, [*you*] will have to make new ones again. Each spike must be 16 inches long, you are informed.

[Sd.]17-2-2001
Stamp: Camp Commander
yyyy Army Camp
(LIB) xxx

[These bamboo spikes are used for making punji-pit style defences around Army camps. Fields of them are stuck in the ground angled outwards. After making and delivering them, the villagers are usually forced to plant them as well. In the stamp below the signature blanks are left which have been filled in with 'LIB' and 'xxx' to indicate the battalion. On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #364 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract-yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township
Date: Year 2001, February 17th

[To:] aaaa
Village Head

Subject: The matter of sending Inn Pet [*broadleaf thatch*]

Regarding the subject matter, send a quota of 700 Inn Pet [*thatch shingles*] from the Elder's village to the camp. Send [*them*] to yyyy Camp by 25-2-2001 at the latest, you are informed.

Copies to - yyyy Camp Commander
Office Receipt

[Sd.] bbbb
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract- yyyy Township

[On the back the above order is addressed to "U aaaa, Village Head, xxxx [village]".]

Order #365 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson, xxxx Village

Date: 25-2-2001

For the use of yyyy Army Camp, send 100 pieces of bamboo on 26-2-2001, you are informed.

U bbbb

[The sender of this order is the village tract Chairman.]

Order #366 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
Battalion Headquarters Office

#xxx Infantry Battalion
yyyy
Letter #1000 / xx / Oo 1
Date: Year 2001, February 28th

To:
Chairperson
xxxx Village Peace and Development Council

Subject: To gather and send thatch

To cover the roof of #xxx Infantry Battalion, gather and send 500 shingles of thatch from the Elder's village without fail (without fail) to #xxx Infantry Battalion, Battalion Headquarters Office, to arrive on 14-3-2001. Arrange this, you are informed.

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

[This is a carbon copy of a typed order, with the village name and signature written in and the rubber stamp affixed at the top.]

Order #367 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

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

1-3-2001

According to what was decided at the meeting, *[our village tract]* must send 10,000 Da Ni thatch *[nipa palm thatch shingles]* to Division #xxx. Therefore, the Elder's village has to take responsibility for 2,000 thatch *[shingles]*; send *[them]* to arrive on 7-3-2001, you are informed.

(Note) *[We]* Will give cash payment at the rate of 600 Kyat in cash for each 100 Da Ni thatch *[shingles]*.

[Sd.] 1-3-2001
Stamp: (for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract / yyyy Township

[The Army Division has demanded 10,000 thatch shingles from the village tract authorities, who must then issue orders like this one to each village demanding a portion of the total. A demand for 10,000 thatch shingles is too large for use roofing local Army camps, and is most likely for the officers to sell on the market for personal profit. This particular village has been allowed only 6 days to produce 2,000 shingles, which will force most of the villagers to drop all of their own work and spend all of their time making thatch for the Army all week. See Order #369 below.]

Order #368 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village]

2-3-2001

The Major from xxx [Light Infantry Battalion] needs the house roofing thatch that [you] have. [He] Will buy it at the current price. Therefore, the Elder's village must come to deliver whatever thatch [you] have to the yyyy Chairperson's house on 5-3-2001. If [you] want money in advance, come to get it tomorrow.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

Order #369 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

To: [Village] Head
xxxx [village]

4-3-2001

The 2,000 Da Ni thatch [nipa palm thatch shingles] that [we] asked to buy from the Head's village, [we] don't need [it] anymore so no need to send [it] to yyyy Army Camp, you are informed.

[Sd.] 4-3-2001
Stamp: (for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract/ yyyy Township

[This order was a follow up to Order #367 above. The village headman who received this order told KHRG, "They replied that they don't need it so I am very glad. Previously they said that they would give us money for the cost of the thatch, but after they took it they didn't give the price. They said that they would pay after 3 days. When we went to ask after 3 days, they always said tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. Later those troops were changed so our money disappeared. We always have to give them things for free like that. They said that they would give half the price but they never gave it. That is why I am glad [that they have cancelled the demand this time]."]

Order #370 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x

5-3-2001

For the needs of yyyy Camp, send hill toddy thatch, wah bo bamboo and myaw [roof support poles] from xxxx village to yyyy Camp to arrive on 31-3-2001, as specified below.

- (1) Hill toddy thatch = 300 [shingles]
- (2) Wah bo bamboo = 25 [pieces]
- (3) A'Chin bamboo = 35 [pieces]
- (4) Myaw = 25 [poles]

[Sd.] 5-3-2001
yyyy Camp Commander

[The village head has written in below:]

House thatch (30) each house (10)
Wah Bo bamboo (25) each house (1) piece
Weh Pyu (12) each house (3) pieces
Myaw (25) each house (1) piece

Order #371 (Doplaya)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
- yyyy [village]
- Date: Year 2001, March 5th

To: Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Subject: Bamboo sections are needed to build camp huts for accommodation at the local battalion, and bamboo is needed for flag sticks.

Regarding the above subject, send without fail 100 bamboo sections for the 56th Anniversary of Army Day [Armed Forces Day, March 27th each year] sports festival, and 100 pieces of bamboo for flag sticks at yyyy hill school, on 9-3-2001, and send quickly the servant support money, you are informed.

[Sd.] 5/3/2001

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and
Development Council
yyyy [village]

[Armed Forces Day on March 27th is the SPDC's biggest festival. The bamboo being demanded is to build temporary accommodation for the festival, and to use as flag sticks for many small flags, which village children will probably be forced to hold and wave as the soldiers march past. 'Servant support money' means either money in lieu of forced labour, or money to feed the forced labourers currently held by the Army.]

Order #372 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Tactical Operations Command Group
Ta Ma Ka #xxx [LID #xxx HQ]

To: Chairperson
_____ Village

Date: 9-3-2001

Subject: Informing to send Da Ni [nipa palm thatch] / hill toddy-palm thatch

Regarding the above subject matter, to repair the rations storehouse and the people's [soldiers'] living huts at yyyy Camp, from the Elder's Village come to send 500 [shingles of] Da Ni [nipa palm thatch] / hill toddy-palm thatch to yyyy Camp on 30-3-2001, to arrive at yyyy Camp, you are informed.

[Sd.] 9/3

Chief (Ta) Yay / Taut [Adjutant / quartermaster]
#xxx Tactical Operations Command Group

Order #373 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village]

9-3-2001

Have already told [you] to help with 500 K [kyat] for the landmine clearing bullock cart, so come to deliver it today. Also come to deliver the house roofing thatch for Teacher Midwife.

[Sd.]

Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[These particular villages are forced to drive their bullock carts along roads to detonate landmines if they do not pay fees to avoid it. See also Orders #377, 380, and 402 about the same topics.]

Order #374 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

To: [Village] Head
xxxx [village]

Date: 11-3-2001

From the Head's village, send without fail a quota of 1,000 Da Ni thatch [nipa palm thatch shingles] and 200 pieces of white bamboo, to arrive on 15-3-2001, you are informed.

Note:

If [you] fail, it will be the [Village] Head's responsibility.

[Sd.]
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract / xxxx Township

Order #375 (Nyaunglebin)

To: Chairperson
Peace and Development Council
xxxx Village

11/3/2001

Subject: Demanding help with bamboo

Regarding the subject matter, help with 5 pieces of straight Wah Boh Wah [a species of giant bamboo] for the use of our yyyy camp, and send it to arrive on 19-3-2001, asking for [your] help.

March 18th
Year 2001

[Sd.] Sgt.
Camp Commander
yyyy [Army Camp]
Ya Ta Ma [Frontline] #xxx [Battalion]

Order #376 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

To: [Village] Head
xxxx [village]

15-3-2001

Subject: The matter of bringing Da Ni [nipa palm] thatch

Regarding the above subject, in accordance with the Village Heads meeting which was held at the Ya Ya Ka [VPDC] office on 10-3-2001, of the 5,000 nipa palm thatch [shingles] required for the use of the Army Camp, [we] have already informed and let [you] know that the Elder's village must take responsibility for 1,000 nipa palm thatch [shingles], and to send [it] to arrive on 15-3-2001. [It] Has not yet arrived as of today. Therefore, send these 1,000 nipa palm thatch [shingles] to the Army Camp to arrive on 17-3-2001, you are informed again.

[Sd.] 15-3-2001
Stamp: (for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract / xxxx Township

Order #377 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village]

20-3-2001

For the yyyy midwife's house, haven't you got the thatch? [You] Haven't come to deliver [it] yet. Come to deliver it quickly.

[We] Haven't seen a single shingle of thatch for the DKBA until now. The DKBA come to ask very often. What to tell them? If [you] can get some, come to deliver it quickly. The specified date has also passed.

As for the matter of the bullock cart for clearing landmines, [we] have not received 500 K [kyat] for a month now. If it is not convenient [to pay], come and let [me] know the reason. Do not speak badly to me later.

[Light Infantry Battalion] xxx is asking for help of 250 thatch [shingles]. Come deliver it to arrive tomorrow. If [you] can't send, the Elder yourself must come to clear it with the Battalion Commander.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[These particular villages are forced to drive their bullock carts along roads to detonate landmines if they do not pay fees to avoid it. See also Orders #373, 380 and 402.]

Order #378 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village

Date: 21-3-2001

To:
Chairperson, xxxx Village

Subject: According to the decision of the meeting, zzzz Camp will use thatch, so each village must send 500 thatch [shingles] when they receive this letter, you are informed.

(U aaaa)
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village / xxxx Township

Order #379 (Nyaunglebin)

To:
Chairperson

Date: 22-3-01

As soon as [you] receive this letter now, from the Chairperson's village please find and send 100 [shingles of] thatch and 3 bowls of Kin Moon Thee [soap acacia, used for washing hair].

[Sd] 23-3-01
(for) Camp Commander
yyyy Camp
LIB xxx

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

Order #380 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village]

24-3-2001

Thatch for the midwife, thatch for the DKBA, thatch for xxx [Light Infantry Battalion], any kind [of thatch] has not arrived yet. The Army and DKBA come to look every day. So when [you] receive this letter, come to deliver it tomorrow and the Elder yourself must come to meet with the Chairperson, you are informed.

If U aaaa is not free to come, U bbbb must come. [We] Will clear the matter of the landmine clearing bullock cart at the same time. Finish carrying out the other matter from before, letting [you] know and informing [you].

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[This order is a follow-up to Order #377. See also Orders #373 and 402.]

Order #381 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village]

28-3-2001

Why didn't [you] come to the meeting that was called by the Army today?
Come to deliver thatch tomorrow, 29-3-2001, at the latest.

Also come to deliver the thatch for the DKBA.

If [you] don't deliver it, [I] won't take any responsibility for whatever problems will happen.

The Army has been coming to ask for thatch every day.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[The above order is related to Orders #373, 377, 380, 383, 388, and 402.]

Order #382 (Nyaunglebin)

To: Chairperson

Date: 31-3-01

From the Chairperson's village, [you] must send 50 bamboo [posts] and 2 bottles of honey to yyyy Army Camp on 3-4-01. [We] will clear [pay] the money for the honey price. With thanks,

[Sd.]
31-3-01
(for) Camp Commander
yyyy Camp
LIB #xxx

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

Order #383 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village]

1-4-2001

- U aaaa's village is not taking any responsibility. [You] have not come to send any kind of thatch for the teacher [midwife], thatch for the Army, or thatch for the DKBA yet.
- [You] Also did not come when the Army was calling.
- Therefore, when [you] receive this letter now, come along together with the *set tha [the forced labour messenger who has brought this letter]*, letting [you] know and informing [you] for the last time. If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.
- Note: It is an emergency matter.

To cut the roadsides on 3-4-2001, one person from each house must go to cut at the place where they have cut before.

[Sd.]
Chairperson

[This order is related to Orders #373, 377, 380, 381, 388, and 402. 'Cutting the roadsides' means clearing all scrub from strips ranging from 10 metres to 50 metres wide along both sides of vehicle roads in order to create a 'killing ground' to protect SPDC columns from ambush and make it difficult for resistance forces to cross the road.]

Order #384 (Thaton)

Wooden *myaw [roof support poles]* - 50 pieces
Diameter = 1 handspan / 8 inches
(or)
Circumference = 4 handspans / 3 feet
Length = 6 cubits [9 feet / 2.8 m]

Send the 50 *myaw* as above to yyyy [Army] Camp on the 12th waxing day of Dta Gu month [April 5th 2001].

[Sd.] 1/4/01
Camp Commander
yyyy [Army] Camp

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

Order #385 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy tract – yyyy Township

Date: 3-4-2001

U aaaa - U bbbb
Village Heads

Subject: The matter of sending Inn Pet [broadleaf thatch]

Regarding the subject matter, to roof the xxxx [town] People's Police Camp, in accordance with yyyy village tract's [assigned] responsibility of 1,200 shingles of Inn Pet [thatch], send a quota of 200 shingles of Inn Pet [thatch] from the Elder's village to xxxx People's Police Camp by 4-4-2001 at the latest, you are informed.

After sending it, [you must] keep the receipt that it has been received.
Go and sell the 10 baskets of beans that were already specified to the xxxx Buying Centre.

[Sd.] cccc
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township

[The "10 baskets of beans" mentioned in the above order are part of a crop quota which farmers are forced to sell to the SPDC at far below market prices. On the back this order is addressed, "To U aaaa, U bbbb, Village Heads, xxxx [village]".]

Order #386 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract-yyyy Township

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract – yyyy Township
Date - Year 2001, April 3rd

To:

U aaaa + U bbbb (Ya Ya Ka [VPDC])
xxxx [Village]

Subject: The matter of sending bamboo spikes

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village has been allocated duty for bamboo spikes, each 3 taung [cubits] in length, so go without fail and hand them over to the zzzz Frontline Office by the deadline date of 7-4-2001, you are informed.

If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Secretary - Member (1)
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract- yyyy Township

[The bamboo spikes are used for building defences at Army camps; 3 taung is 1.5 metres/4.5 feet. KHRG obtained identically worded copies of this order sent to several villages.]

Order #387 (Papun)

Stamp:

Peace and Development Council
Date: 8-4-2001
yyyy Village Tract

Date: 8-4-2001

To:

[Village] Head - xxxx [village]

Subject: The matter of asking for nipa palm thatch

According to the list, the Elder's village has to take responsibility for nipa palm thatch for yyyy Army Camp. The Elder yourself must bring along 1,000 nipa palm thatch [shingles] to the yyyy VPDC office on 15-4-2001 at 9 o'clock in the morning. You are informed.

(Note) Do not fail.

If you fail action will be taken.

The [Village] Head yourself is to attend the meeting.

[Sd. 8-4-001]

Stamp:

(for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township

[KHRG obtained identically worded copies of this order which were sent to several villages.]

Order #388 (Papun)

To: U aaaa
xxxx [village]

8-4-2001

Thatch for the DKBA, thatch for the teacher [midwife], thatch for xxx [Light Infantry Battalion], [you] have not done any of it yet. [We] Do not know any reason yet. [We] Want to know what is the situation. For that, come to coordinate with the yyyy Chairperson tomorrow on 9-4-2001, Monday, at (10) o'clock in the morning, you are informed. If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility. Bring along 500 K [kyat] for the landmine clearing bullock cart.

If U aaaa is busy, ask U bbbb to come. The Army is asking very often. I have to tell them lies. Do not fail to come.

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[This order is a follow-up to Order #383, and is also related to Orders #373, 377, 380, 388, and 402.]

Order #389 (Thaton)

To: [Village] Head
xxxx Village

9-4-2001

[!] Received the letter written by Mother [Village] Head. I had requested 8 pieces of wood [logs]. [You] Do not need to split them. They will be split at the sawmill, which is in yyyy. Send only the wood that [you] have now. [We] Will cut it into the sizes needed when it arrives here.

With thanks,

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy Camp

Order #390 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

Date: 15-4-2001

[To:] Head, xxxx [village]

To roof the storehouse at the Army camp hill gather 1 viss [1.6 kg / 3.6 lb] of long bamboo ties and 1 viss of the short kind from the Elder's village. Send it now along with the person who brings this letter. If you don't have it on hand come and send it to arrive at 3 o'clock in the evening.

Note: It cannot be that you can't get the bamboo ties.

[Sd.]
Stamp:
(for) Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, xxxx Township

[Bamboo ties are shaved bamboo strips used to tie things together when building.]

Order #391 (Papun)

To: xxxx [village] Chairperson

24-4-01

The matter of thatch for yyyy [Army camp].

Regarding the above subject, send 700 shingles of thatch from xxxx village to yyyy. [You] Have to carry and send [them] all tomorrow, 25-4-01. If you fail it is the responsibility of the [Village] Head.

[This order was unsigned. There is no way a village could produce 700 shingles of thatch in one day; it will take several days of labour at least, unless they already have them on hand.]

Order #392 (Papun)

To: xxxx [village] Chairperson

24-4-01

The matter of the thatch for yyyy Army camp

Regarding the above subject, carry and send 1,500 shingles of thatch from xxxx village to yyyy Army camp on 25-4-01, tomorrow.

It is the responsibility of the [Village] Head.

[This order was unsigned. There is no way a village could produce 1,500 shingles of thatch in one day; it will take a week of labour at least, unless they already have them on hand.]

Order #393 (Papun)

To:

Chairperson
xxxx village

27-4-2001

Subject: To send bamboo and split bamboo

1. Our Army troops are carrying out repairs at yyyy Camp, and [we] need bamboo and split bamboo for the repairs.
2. Therefore, from the Elder's Village come and deliver 500 pieces of bamboo and small split bamboo, to arrive on 28-4-2001, you are informed.

[Sd.] Captain
Army Camp Commander

Order #394 (Papun)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village

27-4-2001

Subject: To send bamboo and split bamboo

1. Our Army troops are carrying out repairs at yyyy Camp, and [we] need bamboo and split bamboo for the repairs.
2. Therefore, from the Elder's Village come and deliver 500 pieces of bamboo and small split bamboo, to arrive on 28-4-2001, you are informed.

[Sd.] Captain
Army Camp Commander

Order #395 (Papun)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To:
Chairperson

27-4-2001

I am writing a letter. To make a fence for the camp, send quickly Wah Pyu Gyi [*big white bamboo*], a type of bamboo and long split bamboo on the most convenient date.

Respectfully,

[Sd.] Captain
Camp Commander

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #396 (Dooplaya)

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

[You] Must send 50 bamboo from the Elder's village to the camp tomorrow morning, you are informed.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

Order #397 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
#[unclear] Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [*village*]

The subject is: to plant rainy season vegetables at the camp, send about 100 plants with a person who is coming here, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander

Order #398 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
yyyy Town

Township Peace and Development Council
yyyy Town
Letter #3 / xx -xx / Yay xx
Date: Year 2001, May 3^d

To:
Chairpersons
(xxxx, yyyy, zzzz [*villages*])
Village Tract Peace and Development Council, yyyy Town

Subject: The matter of gathering the wood required for the Kyauk Kyi - Than Bo bridge

The bridge over the Than Bo River, 200 feet long, connects Kyauk Kyi to Than Bo. The bases of the posts have rotted, and if they are not repaired in time the water will wash them away and the bridge will be destroyed. In order to repair the bridge in time, find and gather logs as specified below, and pile them above [*upstream from*] the Than Bo bridge, you are informed.

[continued on next page]

- (a) xxxx tract Diameter 10' / Length 20' of Thay Ma [hardwood], (30) pieces
(b) yyyy Diameter 10' / Length 20' of Thay Ma [hardwood], (10) pieces
(c) zzzz Diameter 10' / Length 20' of Thay Ma [hardwood], (5) pieces

[Sd.]
Chairperson
(U aaaa, Pa/ xxxx)

Copies to:

- Strategic Operations Command Commander, Mobile #1 Strategic Operations Command Group, wwww Town
- Township Development Group, wwww Town
- File copy
- Receipt copy

[This is a typed and carbon-copied order with the details shown in italics added in by hand. It demands hardwood logs in the quantity specified from the 3 village tracts indicated, and these same villages will most likely be used for forced labour rebuilding the bridge supports. The specifications for the logs in the original document are as shown above; Diameter 10' (10 feet) was probably meant to mean 10" (10 inches), but the length appears correct at 20' (20 feet). Than Bo (a.k.a. Thaug Bo) is a village with an Army camp just north of the town of Kyauk Kyi on the road which then turns eastward toward Papun District (it is shown on KHRG maps of Nyaunglebin District).]

Order #399 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

7-5-2001

Send 25 shingles of roofing thatch from the Chairperson's village with tomorrow's letter carrier, asking for [your] help.

[Sd.] 7-5-01
(for) Camp Commander
yyyy Camp

[There is no postal service in this area, so the 'letter carrier' means the villager going for a shift of forced labour as a messenger.]

Order #400 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
Date: 9.5.01
yyyy [Unclear] Platoon

Date: 9-5-2001

To:
Chairperson / Secretary (xxxx Village)

Send without fail 500 pieces of bamboo to arrive on 15-5-2001, you are informed and letting [you] know.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy Camp
IB #xxx

Order #401 (Doplaya)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [village]

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy – zzzz Township

To:
Chairperson- xxxx [village]

Date: 12-5-Year 2001

Subject: The matter of demanding help with bullock carts to build the new 2-storey school building

Regarding the above matter, bullock carts are needed to gather the stone for building the new 2-storey school building. Therefore, in accordance with the stone quota, send 240 big tins of stone tomorrow on 13-5-2001. This stone must arrive on time tomorrow at Kyaikdon additional High School, letting [you] know and you are commanded.

[Sd.] U aaaa 12-5-2001

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and
Development Council
yyyy [village]

[A 'big tin' is a square biscuit tin, measuring about 25 cm (10 inches) square by 35 cm (14 inches) deep. This forced labour will involve villagers gathering the sand from riverbanks, measuring it, then using their bullock carts and teams to deliver it, all by the following day. The order refers to the 'additional' high school, meaning a second building which is being built for the school.]

Order #402 (Papun)

To: U aaaa + U bbbb
xxxx [village]

13-5-2001

Send the 5 viss [8 kg/17.5 lb] of medicine [probably meaning tobacco] that the DKBA requested, send [it] with the set tha [forced labour messenger] who comes now [bringing this letter].

The [Light Infantry Battalion] xxx Adjutant Captain wants to meet. If [you are] not free today, come to meet tomorrow. Arrange the landmine-clearing bullock cart fee for this month, the fifth month, and give it to the set tha [forced labour messenger who brings this letter] now at the same time.

[This paragraph is in Sgaw Karen language:] Pu aaaa, if you need the percussion lock firearm, come to get it from me. I have already kept [it] for a long time. I went to find you at zzzz but didn't see you.

Send thatch for the Teacher [meaning the village midwife].

[Sd.]
Chairperson
yyyy [village]

[These particular villages are forced to drive their bullock carts along roads to detonate landmines if they do not pay fees to avoid it. For additional references to the thatch for the midwife and the landmine-clearing bullock cart, see Orders #377 and 380.]

Order #403 (Pa'an)

To:
Chairperson / Head
_____ village

Date: 18-5-2001

Subject: Demanding thatch / bamboo

Regarding the above subject, to build xxxx High School the materials below are demanded from the Elder's village. Send them to arrive on 24-5-2001, you are informed.

(a) Thatch	(150) shingles.
(b) Bamboo	(-) pieces
(c) Wall [of woven bamboo]	(2) sheets
(d) Posts	(4) pieces
(e) Viss Shaved bamboo ties	(2) viss [3.2 kg/7 lb]

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Battalion Office

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

[This is a typed and carbon-copied order with the village name written in by hand. On the back this order is addressed, "xxxx Village - Emergency, Urgent".]

Order #404 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
Column #x Headquarters

To:
U aaaa
Na Ya Ka [patrons]
xxxx Village

22-5-01

Subject: Requesting wood

Regarding the above subject, to make electrical poles and a chicken shed, help by supplying 10 tons of teak and hardwood, you are requested.

[Sd.] bbbb
(for) **Stamp:** Column Commander
Column #x Headquarters
#xxx Infantry Battalion

[Given the amount demanded and the specification of teak and hardwoods, it is more likely that this wood is to be sold for the profit of the officers rather than used for a chicken shed and electrical poles.]

Order #405 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Intelligence

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 25-5-2001

Emergency (roofing) repairs are needed for yyyy Camp, so [you] must send 200 shingles of nipa palm [thatch] to arrive on 27-5-2001, you are informed.

[Sd.] 25/5
Camp Commander
yyyy [Army] Camp

Order #406 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

27-5-2001

The Chairperson's village must send 100 roofing thatch [*shingles*] and 50 pieces of bamboo to arrive on 29-5-2001, asking for your help.

[Sd.] 27-5-01
(for) Camp Commander

Order #407 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy [*village*]

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
- yyyy [*village*]
- Date - Year 2001 - June 4th

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [*village*]

Subject: Informing about sending fenceposts to build fences for the Village Tract hospital

Regarding the above subject, for fencing, send without fail fenceposts over 6 feet in length, 60 fenceposts [*altogether*], on Friday 8-6-2001 at the latest. [*We*] Will build the fence on Saturday so send [*them*] without fail, you are informed.

[Sd.] 4/6/2001
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and
Development Council
yyyy [*village*]

[This is a carbon copy of a handwritten order, with the village name and signature written in and the stamps affixed on each copy.]

Order #408 (Papun)

To:
Chairperson (xxxx [*village*])

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx [*illegible*] Infantry Battalion
Column xx Headquarters

Date: 6-6-2001

If [*you*] can get durian, [*we*] will buy 100 [*durian*] fruits at the agreed price. Reply whether you can get / cannot get using this *set tha* [*'messenger', the villager doing forced labour as a messenger who has delivered this letter*] now by writing a letter. [*We*] Will not accept small fruits. Find and gather 100 big [*durian*] fruits and send [*them*] to yyyy to arrive tomorrow morning. When [*they*] arrive, [*we*] will give the price. Reply by letter now. [*They are*] Needed urgently, so send [*them*] to arrive tomorrow morning.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

[This order is included here because it involves forced labour gathering the durian fruit, which grow in large trees in the forest and are difficult to gather, and then more forced labour delivering it to the Army; not to mention the 'set tha' forced labour of the person who delivered this letter. Several villagers will have to abandon whatever work they needed to do that day in order to accomplish this task. On the back this order is addressed "To xxxx (Chairperson), 8/6/2001".]

Order #409 (Pa'an)

To:
Chairperson
_____ village

For the use of the Battalion Camp, come and send 300 thatch [shingles] from the Elder's village without fail to arrive on 10-6-2001, you are informed.

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Battalion Office

[Sd.]
Adjutant
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion

Note: Will pay money for the cost.

[This is a typed and carbon-copied order with the village name written in by hand.]

Order #410 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Township Security and Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

To:
Chairperson
xxxx [village]

Stamp: URGENT

Date: 13-6-2001

Subject: Must send bamboo
Reference: TPDC Security/Management

Regarding the above subject, the Elder's village must come and deliver 300 pieces (three hundred pieces) of bamboo (white bamboo) tomorrow evening or the day after tomorrow (14-6-2001 in the evening or 15-6-2001 in the morning) to the front of the yyyy office (People will be waiting at yyyy).

Important - Send it without fail.

The other village tracts are busy helping to build an embankment for planting trees. [They are] Carrying this out along the xxxx vehicle road.

[We are] Only asking for bamboo from the Elder's village tract. Carry it out without fail.

Stamp: IMPORTANT

[Sd.]
Stamp: Joint Secretary
Security/Management Assistance Committee
yyyy Township

Order #411 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To:
[Village] Head
xxxx village

Date: 19-6-2001

xxxx village must send 100 shingles of thatch for the office and 1 viss [1.6 kg/3.5 lb] of sesame paste with this set tha [messenger], you are informed.

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

[On the back this order is addressed "To Head, xxxx village, 19/6/2001. Send a few limes."]

Order #412 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
yyyy Town

Township Peace and Development Council
yyyy Town
Letter No. [blank]
Date: Year 2001, June 19th

To: Chairperson
xxxx Village Tract (VPDC) Group
yyyy township

Subject: The matter of arranging and delivering 15 pieces of bamboo

Regarding the above subject, for use at the model planting ground, [you] must arrange and deliver 15 pieces of *wah net* bamboo or *kya loh* bamboo, each 15 cubits [7 m/22.5 ft] long, to arrive at the Township office on 22-6-2001, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) Chairperson
(U aaaa / Secretary)

Copies to: Receipt
Receipt
File

[Handwritten note:] Must gather the 15 pieces of *kya loh* bamboo or *wah net* bamboo at U bbbb's house, yyyy village.

[This is a typed letter with the dates, the number of bamboo and their length written in by hand.]

Order #413 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson
xxxx village

2-7-2001

Subject: To build the Army camp

1) Regarding the above subject, for use in building yyyy Army Camp, come and send 500 bamboo, 100 smooth posts, and 500 thatch from xxxx village.

2) The Chairperson himself must come.

[Sd.]
#xxx Infantry Battalion

Order #414 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

To: Head
xxxx [village]

Date: 6-7-2001

Subject: The matter of inviting [you] to a meeting

The #xx Strategic Operations Commander of Southwest Command Headquarters has to meet, discuss and coordinate with the elders, so attend without fail a meeting at yyyy VPDC Office on 8-7-2001 at 10 o'clock in the morning, you are informed.

Note: The Elder yourself must attend the meeting.

(600) nipa palm thatch [shingles] were requested from the Elder's village. Bring along the wontan [servant] money for the 6th month [June], 5,000 [Kyat] in cash, and the 600 nipa palm thatch [shingles], you are informed.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, zzzz Township

[On the back this order is addressed "To [Village] Head, xxxx [Village], Important Letter".]

Order #415 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Western Command Headquarters
#xx Strategic Operations Command Group

6-7-2001

To: Chairperson
xxxx village

To build a watchtower, [you] must send 3 posts of pyin k'doh [ironwood] with circumference of 4 handspans and length of 8 handspans to yyyy Camp to arrive on 8-7-2001, requesting your help.

Respectfully,
[Sd.]
Captain aaaa
Military Operations Commander (Third Level) Control/Support

Order #416 (Thaton)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column Office

To: Chairperson
xxxx [village]

7-7-2001

Subject: Informing [you] to send bamboo and myaw dtine [house posts]

[You] Were informed to send 200 pieces of bamboo and 50 posts for yyyy [Army] camp, but have sent only 60 pieces of bamboo, so send 140 pieces of bamboo and 50 posts to arrive on 8-7-2001, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander

Order #417 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x
Letter No. xxx / x / Oo 1
Date: Year 2001, July 7th

To: Chairperson
xxxx village
yyyy Township

Subject: Must gather and send nipa palm / thatch

Regarding the above subject, the buildings of Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion, which is based at Strategic Command Hill, are collapsing and dilapidated, so to repair them the Elder's village must come without fail to deliver 25 nipa palm / thatch [*shingles*] and 10 bamboo each [*family*] on 9-7-2001 to arrive at 0700 hours. The Chairperson / Secretary yourselves must gather [*the people and materials*] and come to deliver them, you are informed.

[Sd.]
(for) **Stamp:** Intelligence Officer
#xxx Infantry Battalion

[Nipa palm or other leaves can be used to make thatch; by using 'nipa palm / thatch' the order implies that either nipa palm or other materials can be used. Though it is not explicitly stated, this order requires the villagers to go and do forced labour reconstructing Army camp buildings as well as preparing the materials for the repairs. On the back this order is addressed as follows:]

Important

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
[Sd.] 7/7/2001
Column x

To: Chairperson (U aaaa)
Secretary (U bbbb)
xxxx village
yyyy Township

Important

Order #418 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

[To:] Head
xxxx [*village*]

Date: 8-7-2001

Subject: For the teaching school

#xx Operations Command [*orders that*] in order to build the teaching school toilet,
From the Elders' village: expense money (4,330) Kyat.
For one door handle, (30) Kyat;
For one viss [*1.6 kg/3.5 lb*] of nails, (1,000) Kyat;
For one hinge, (100) Kyat;
For one bolt, (100) Kyat;
Carpenter fee (3,000) Kyat.

[Sd.]
Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, zzzz Township

[Note that the budget items listed add up to 4,230 Kyat, not 4,330; either the village tract head cannot add or he wants to keep some of the money.]

Order #419 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
Letter #xxx
Date: 14-7-2001
yyyy [village]

Village Tract Peace and Development Council
yyyy – zzzz Township
Date: July 14th
Letter #Ta-Na-xxx -Management-xx / Year 2001

To: Chairperson - xxxx village

Subject-- The matter of specifying quotas for wood for the new 2-storey additional school building at Kyaikdon Ah Hta Ka [High School]

- (1) Regarding what is stated above about wood quotas, to explain and inform the village tracts in Kyaikdon area [we are] attaching to the back [of this order] lists of the wood quota quantities.
- (2) Accomplish quickly the duty that is allocated. To complete the duty in accordance with the decision of the meeting, gather all the wood by the last week of the coming September and send it to arrive at the (Hong Thayaw Special Region) Karen Peace Frontline Headquarters Office, you are informed.

Note: The wood that is being sent must not be scarred, broken, or *let ya*, and must be *pyinkado* [ironwood] - *pidaut* [gum-kino], informing the Chairperson - Secretary.

bbbb
Chairperson

[Sd.] 14-7-2001

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Tract Peace and Development Council
Kyaikdon [village]

Copies to:

Frontline #xxx Military Operations Command Headquarters
Karen Peace Frontline Headquarters
Frontline #xxx Local Battalion
Office receipt

[page 2 of original begins here]

Register of the wood quotas to be met for the Kyaikdon Village Tract new 2-storey additional High School building

1. <u>Win Lone Village</u>	:	: 5 x 2	-16 feet	60 pieces
“	:	: 4 x 2	- 6 feet	3 pieces
2. <u>Mi Tain Village</u>	:	: 5 x 2	-10 feet	96 pieces
“	:	: 4 x 2	- 6 feet	3 pieces
3. <u>Kyaikdon Village</u>	:	: 5 x 2	-12 feet	80 pieces
“	:	: 4 x 2	- 6 feet	3 pieces
4. <u>Mi Nah Ah Village</u>	:	: 5 x 2	-16 feet	14 pieces
“	:	: 5 x 2	-10 feet	4 pieces
“	:	: 5 x 2	-12 feet	35 pieces
“	:	: 8 x 3	-10 feet	6 pieces
“	:	: 4 x 2	- 6 feet	3 pieces
5. <u>Leh Daw Gyi</u>	:	: 4 x 2	-15 feet	78 pieces
“	:	: 4 x 2	- 6 feet	3 pieces
6. <u>Htee Wa Glu</u>	:	: 4 x 2	- 6 feet	3 pieces
“	:	: 5 x 2	-14 feet	28 pieces
“	:	: 5 x 2	- 8 feet	10 pieces
7. <u>Pu Yay Village</u>	:	: 5 x 2	- 8 feet	20 pieces
“	:	: 5 x 5	- 6 feet	8 pieces
“	:	: 6 x 3	-10 feet	6 pieces
“	:	: 6 x 3	- 6 feet	23 pieces
8. <u>Sho Hta Village</u>	:	: 4 x 2	- 6 feet	113 pieces

[continued on next page]

9. Weh Done Village	:	:	4 x 2	-15 feet	53 pieces
10. Naung Ta Koh	:	:	4 x 2	-15 feet	53 pieces
11. Weh Ta Kone	:	:	4 x 2	-15 feet	49 pieces
12. Theh Pa Htaw	:	:	4 x 2	-15 feet	49 pieces
13. Paya Taung	:	:	4 x 2	-15 feet	30 pieces

[The second column of the above table indicates plank measurements in inches, followed by the length specified in the third column. This order requires the villagers to cut and haul logs, then pay to get them milled and deliver them to the project. It is a carbon copy of a typed order with the village name, date and letter number written in by hand on the first page. The order was issued by the SPDC authorities at the village tract level in Kyaikdon, a heavily garrisoned SPDC-controlled village in central Dooplaya. It mentions the Karen Peace Army, a group created by the SPDC under the command of Thu Mu Heh, a KNLA commander who defected to the SPDC in 1997. The group was initially given authority (under the SPDC) over some parts of Dooplaya District but was gradually marginalised. It is also relevant to note that before his defection to the SPDC, Thu Mu Heh was heavily into commercial logging and was known for corruption.]

Order #420 (Papun)

Subject: Requesting help with thatch / myaw [roofing posts] / bamboo

Stamp:

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

To build the camp at Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion, yyyy [Army] Camp, the materials below are needed, so the Elders' villages must send them to arrive on 17-7-2001, requesting this help.

(a) Thatch roofing	(250)	aaaa [village]	Chairperson
(b) Myaw	(30)	bbbb [village]	Chairperson
(c) Wah Bo bamboo	(45)	cccc [village]	Chairperson
(d) A'Chin bamboo	(60)	dddd [village]	Chairperson
(e) A'Chin bamboo	(20)	}	
		} eeee [village]	Chairperson
Bamboo ties	(15)	}	
(f) Kyat Thaug bamboo	(30)	ffff [village]	Chairperson

Letter No. xxx / xx / Oo 1
Date: Year 2001, July 16th

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy [Army] Camp

[‘Myaw’ are roof support poles of wood or bamboo. The numbers in the list indicate the number of pieces in the case of bamboo, shingles of thatch, or ‘viss’ (1.6 kg/3.5 lb) of bamboo ties. On the back this order is addressed “Chairperson, xxxx Village”.]

Order #421 (Nyaunglebin)

[To:]

Saya aaaa

19-7-2001

yyyy [Army camp]

[I] Met U bbbb who was going up to xxxx [village], so [I’m] writing this letter [to send with him]. [I] Sent a letter regarding wood with Ko cccc yesterday, but don’t know if it was received [by you].

Will it be difficult to get 1 ton of 4x2 / 5x2 hardwood, ironwood? [I] Will look at the quality and want to measure the timber at yyyy [Army camp]. Measure it approximately at xxxx [village]. Will pay the money after confirming [the quality and quantity].

Make it good wood. If split / worm-holed / scarred, the “footage” will be decreased by a bit.

When it is finished and ready, [I] will send the boat.

That is all.

[Sd.]

[The money promised for demands like the one in the order above often goes unpaid, or such a small quantity is paid that it is far below the costs of the village. 'Saya' is a respectful form of address meaning 'Teacher' but applied to others as well.]

Order #422 (Dooplaya)

[To:] Chairperson U aaaa (xxxx / yyyy [villages])

Date: 19-7-2001

Send 100 pieces of bamboo to the camp tomorrow morning, respectfully asking for your help.

[Sd.]

Camp Commander (zzzz Camp)

Order #423 (Nyaunglebin)

Stamp:

#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
xxxx Town

To:
Chairperson (xxxx [village])

Chairperson, *[we are]* repairing yyyy Camp so *[we]* need bamboo. Each village must send 200 pieces of the small fencing bamboo to arrive on 21-7-2001. Also make and bring along 5,000 pieces of one-foot long bamboo spikes with 2 ends sharpened.

For our leader, *[send]* 1 viss *[1.6 kg/3.5 lb]* of chicken from each village, *[we]* will pay the cost. Do not fail to send it to arrive on 21-7-2001.

[Sd.]

(for) Camp Commander
yyyy Camp
19-7-2001

[One-foot long bamboo spikes are used for making punji-pit style defences around Army camps. Fields of them are stuck in the ground angled outwards. Not only are the villagers forced to supply the fencing bamboo and spikes, they are usually also forced to make the fences and plant the spikes. This order was followed by Order #424 below.]

Order #424 (Nyaunglebin)

Mother:

Arrange the bamboo and *[bamboo]* spikes quickly.

The next time when ordered, do it properly. Son gives orders when needed. If not needed, *[I]* don't give orders. Carry out properly the things that are ordered as best you can.

[Sd.]

yyyy Camp
21-7-2001

[This order followed Order #423 when the bamboo and spikes were not delivered on time. It is common for Army officers to address village headwomen as 'Mother' and themselves as 'Son'. In the context of Army-village relations, this order carries a strong implicit threat.]

Order #425 (Thaton)

Stamp:

Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Letter No: xx -x - 1
Date: 21-7-[2]001
Column Office

xxxx Mother [*Village*] Head Daw aaaa, send 200 pieces of bamboo for the camp to arrive on 24-7-2001.

[Sd.]

(Camp Commander)
yyyy Camp

*[On the back this order is addressed to "xxxx [*village*"].]*

Order #426 (Papun)

Stamp:

Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

To: [*Village*] Head

Date: 24-7-2001

Subject: The matter of sending thatch

Regarding the above subject, the remaining 350 thatch [*shingles*] from the Head's village have not arrived yet. Therefore, as soon as this letter is received, send it without fail on 27-7-2001, you are informed.

[Sd.]

(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy Township

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

Order #427 (Nyaunglebin)

To:
Mother

Try to send the bamboo / [*bamboo*] spikes that Son has ordered.
The other villages have finished. [*Only*] xxxx / yyyy [*villages*] are left.
Send them quickly.

[Sd.]

Camp Commander
zzzz Camp
24-7-2001

[This relates to the demands in Orders #423 and 424.]

Order #428 (Papun)

Stamp:
Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract

To: [Village] Head

Date: 27-7-2001

Subject: The matter of requesting nipa palm thatch and the toilet for the teaching school

The 350 nipa palm thatch [*shingles*] which the #xx Strategic Operations Commander requested from the Elder's village have not arrived yet, so send them to arrive on 29-7-2001, you are informed.

Note: Bring also the carpenter fee of 4,500 Kyat in cash for the teaching school toilet. If [*you*] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]

Stamp: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Village Tract, yyyy District

[This order is a carbon copy, with the number '350' (of thatch shingles) and the signature written in ink, and the stamps affixed to the copy. On the back this order is addressed "To [Village] Head, xxxx [Village], Important letter, (Urgent)".]

Order #429 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairpersons
xxxx, yyyy villages

5-8-2001

The Elder must send without fail 30 pieces of bamboo from the Elder's village to zzzz Camp on 6-8-2001. If [*you*] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Order #430 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairperson
xxxx village

Date: 5-8-2001

As soon as this letter is received, the Elder's village must send quickly 1 bundle of fencing bamboo from each household to (yyyy) Camp, you are informed.

[Unsigned]

Order #431 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairpersons
xxxx / yyyy villages

6-8-2001

The Elder must send without fail 30 pieces of bamboo from the Elder's village to zzzz Camp on 7-8-2001. If [*you*] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Order #432 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairpersons
xxxx, yyyy villages

The Elder must send 15 pieces of bamboo from the Elder's village on 12-8-2001. That is 30 pieces from the 2 villages. If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility, you are informed.

[Sd.]

Order #433 (Dooplaya)

To: 11-8-01
Chairperson
xxxx Village

The Elder's village must send 15 pieces of bamboo from the Elder to yyyy camp to arrive on 12-8-01, you are informed. More bamboo is needed so we are demanding again. If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

[Sd.]

Order #434 (Dooplaya)

To:
Chairpersons
xxxx, yyyy [villages]

Elder, bamboo is needed urgently, so send 25 pieces of bamboo from the Elder's village, 50 from the 2 villages, to arrive on 17-8-2001, you are informed. If [you] fail, it will be the Elder's responsibility.

50 pieces from the 2 villages.

[Sd.]

Order #435 (Toungoo)

Stamp: Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[To:] Chairperson / Secretary
_____ Village

Date: 17.8.01

Subject: The matter of supporting the needs of yyyy Army Camp

yyyy Army Camp is requesting the things named below, so the villages must comply fully on 20-8-01.

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. Betelnut plant seedlings / seeds | 500 plants / pieces |
| 2. <i>Wah bo</i> bamboo 12 cubits long [18 ft/6 m] | 70 pieces |
| 3. <i>Ta bin tain</i> bamboo 12 " " | 100 pieces |

Cut the bamboo that is needed and comply completely [and stack it] along the vehicle road on 20-8-01. *Must send the betelnut seed to arrive at yyyy on 20-8-01.*

[Sd.]
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[This is a carbon-copied order with the village name, the signature, and the last note (shown in italics here) written in by hand.]

Order #436 (Toungoo)

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

To: Chairperson / Secretary
xxxx Village

Date: 18.8.01

Subject: The matter of cutting myaw posts for the needs of yyyy Army Camp

yyyy Army Camp has informed [me] that the Elder's village must cut 60 myaw posts [roof support poles] 6 cubits [9 ft/2.8 m] long, on the [same] day for cutting bamboo, 20-8-01. Cut them at the same time [as the bamboo previously demanded] and pile [them] on the vehicle road.

Circumference of the myaw posts is to be one handspan.

[Sd.]
(for) **Stamp:** Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
yyyy Tract

[The references to the 'day for cutting bamboo' relate to the demand that the village cut bamboo and stack it by the roadside which was given in Order #435. This order is a carbon copy with the village name, signature, and note on the circumference (shown in italics here) written in by hand.]

Order #437 (Dooplaya)

To: Secretary (or) ten-house leaders
xxxx village

19-8-2001

Subject: Reporting the status of completion of sawing the wood

Regarding the above subject, the Operations Command Camp issued an order for 125 pieces of wood, [a report on] the status of completion of the other orders for wood, and ordered that [all the wood] be sent to arrive on August 20th. Therefore, reply about the status by letter with the set tha [messenger] who comes now, you are informed.

Send rice and the other things which the Column has stored (the things which are in the Chairperson's house) at the same time along with the set tha [messenger], you are informed.

[Sd.]
Column
Ka Ka Group xxx
IB xxx

[On the back this order is addressed "To xxxx Village Secretary. From Ka Ka Group xxx, Column (Reply by letter)". 'Ka Ka' may be short for 'Sa Ka Ka', which is the abbreviation for Military Operations Command.]

Order #438 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson - xxxx village

Date: 19-8-2001

U aaaa's village must send 50 pieces of small bamboo to the camp to arrive tomorrow, you are informed.

Respectfully,

[Sd.]

Send a few vegetables with the person who will bring the information.

[The person who will bring the information' is the villager who will deliver the village head's regular intelligence report which he is forced to provide. On the back this order is addressed "To give to Chairperson, xxxx [village], U aaaa".]

Order #439 (Dooplaya)

To: xxxx, yyyy [Villages]

Date: 22-8-2001

On 23-8-2001 [you] must send 50 pieces of small bamboo to arrive at zzzz Camp, you are informed.

[Sd.]
zzzz Camp

[On the back this order is addressed "To Chairperson, xxxx Village".]

Order #440 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
#x Company

To:
Chairperson

Date: 31-8-2001

1. Each village must send 4 baskets, totalling 12 baskets, to arrive at the camp on 3-9-2001, you are informed. Must be the same size as the basket which is being sent [to you] now.
2. The baskets must be made systematically and neatly using good bamboo.

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy Village
yyyy Township, Karen State

[The camp has sent one example basket to the 3 villages and ordered them to make and deliver 4 similar baskets each. On the back this order is addressed to "Chairperson U aaaa, xxxx Village".]

Order #441 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x

To:
Chairperson/Secretary, (xxxx) village

Date: 31-8-2001

Subject: Must send ka nyin thatch (200 shingles)

Regarding the above subject, as soon as this letter is received the Elder yourself must come quickly to send 200 shingles of ka nyin thatch from the Elder's village. If [you] fail it will be the Elder's responsibility, you are informed.

[Sd.]
Column Commander

[‘Ka Nyin’ thatch is made from the leaves of a large forest tree.]

Order #442 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Frontline #xxx Infantry Battalion
Column x

To: Chairperson / Secretary
xxxx [village]

Date: 2-9-2001

Subject: Reply by letter regarding how much thatch has arrived or not arrived at xxxx

Regarding the above subject, you were already ordered to keep the thatch from the villages, [whether the quota is] complete/not complete, and write letters to the villages which have not sent any yet. Write a letter about the quantity of thatch. Chairperson must reply to the Column about the quantity of thatch by letter with the letter sentry who has come now [the forced labour messenger who has just delivered this order document].

[Sd.] 2-9-01
Column Commander

[The village head who received this had previously been ordered to demand and gather thatch for the Army from all the villages in the area; this letter was sent because the village head had not yet reported to the Column Commander on the progress of gathering the thatch. This is a typical example of Army officers forcing the village heads to issue orders on their behalf.]

Order #443 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairperson U aaaa

Date: 3-9-2001

[You] Must send 50 pieces of small bamboo from the Elder's village to yyyy Camp tomorrow morning, respectfully asking for your help.

[Sd.]
yyyy Camp

Order #444 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion
yyyy [Camp]
Letter No. xxx / xx / Oo x
Date: Year 2001, September 4th

To: Chairperson
Village Peace and Development Council
_____ Village

Subject: Asking for help assisting with the needed materials for the camp

Frontline #xxx Light Infantry Battalion at yyyy Camp needs the materials shown below from the Elders' villages, so from each village, the Elders yourselves must gather them and come without fail (without fail) on September 12th, year 2001, to give them, asking for help.

- (a) aaaa village, (15,000) [bamboo] spikes
- (b) bbbb village, (500) shingles of hill toddy [palm roofing thatch]
- (c) cccc [village], (50) pieces of bamboo
- (d) dddd [village], (100) pieces of bamboo
- (e) eeee [village], (50) pieces of dry firewood, each the same [thickness] as a thigh and 10 taung [cubits] in length
- (f) ffff [village], (100) pieces of dry firewood, each the same [thickness] as a thigh and 10 taung [cubit] in length
- (g) gggg [village], (50) pieces of dry firewood, each the same [thickness] as a thigh and 10 taung [cubit] in length

[Sd.]
Camp Commander
yyyy [Army] Camp

Order #445 (Dooplaya)

[To:] Chairperson
U aaaa

Stamp:
#xxx Infantry Battalion
Military Operations Command

5/9/2001

Send 50 thatch [*shingles*] to roof the huts. Must send it to arrive on the 7th.

[Sd.]

Order #446 (Dooplaya)

To: Chairpersons, xxxx / yyyy [*villages*]

Date: 10/9/2001

Send 50 pieces of bamboo to the camp tomorrow morning, you are respectfully informed.
Also send 2 big pieces of *htee mo boh* bamboo [*a type of large bamboo commonly split lengthwise and used as a gutter to catch rainwater*].

[Sd.]
Camp Commander (zzzz Camp)

Order #447 (Pa'an)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Staff

To: Chairperson / Head
xxxx village

Subject: To send baskets

For the use of the Battalion, send without fail 4 baskets, baskets (of the outermost skin of bamboo) 2 *taung* [*cubits*] in depth, inside diameter [*one*] *taung* [*plus one*] fist, to arrive on the 12th waning day of Wa Kaun month [*15th of September*], you are informed.

Place : yyyy [Army camp]
Date : 12-9-2001

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

[*The baskets are to be woven from the outermost skin shaved from bamboo, which is the normal material used for baskets. 'Taung' is a unit of measurement from the elbow to the fingertip, and a 'fist' is the diameter of a closed fist, so the depth of the baskets is to be about 3 feet / 90 cm. (2 taung), and the inside diameter is to be about 21 inches/55 cm. (1 taung + 1 fist). These baskets are most likely for use when the Army column gives loads to villagers doing forced labour as porters. Identical copies of this order were sent to several villages.*]

Order #448 (Pa'an)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
General Staff

To:
Chairperson / [Village] Head
xxxx Village

Subject: To send baskets

For the use of the Battalion, send without fail 4 baskets, baskets (made of *wah kyaw* [the shaved outermost skin of bamboo]) 2 cubits [3 ft/1 m] in depth, with inside diameter [one] cubit [plus one] fist [2 ft/60 cm], to arrive on the 12th waning day of Wa Kaun month [15th of September], you are informed.

Place : yyyy [Army Camp]
Date : 12-9-2001

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

[This is a carbon copy with the village name and signature written in by hand.]

Order #449 (Papun)

[To:] xxxx [Village]
Village Head

Send thatch, bamboo and *myaw* posts [roof support poles] to arrive tomorrow on 7-10-2001.

yyyy [Army] Camp
LIB #xxx

[The village head says he received this letter on October 6th 2001 at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The SPDC Light Infantry Battalion #xxx Commander Lt. Colonel aaaa ordered him to send 200 pieces of bamboo and 100 pieces of wood for repairing their camp at yyyy. The village head went to send the 200 pieces of bamboo and 100 pieces of wood on October 20th. He says the SPDC never gave any payment to the workers.]

Order #450 (Papun)

Stamp:
#xxx Light Infantry Battalion
Column #x

xxxx [village]

Village head:
Daw aaaa, send thatch, bamboo and *myaw* [roof support poles] tomorrow to arrive on 7-10-2001.

yyyy [Army] Camp
LIB #xxx

[The village head says that the SPDC soldiers from yyyy Camp demanded 200 bamboo and 10 logs each 4 handspans in circumference and 12 cubits [18 ft/5.5 m] in length. The village head asked the villagers to go and send them to the camp on October 8th 2001.]

Order #451 (Papun)

To:

xxxx [Village]
Village Head

15-10-2001

Subject: The matter of sending bamboo, nipa palm [thatch] and wooden posts

The Elder's village has been given the duty to send bamboo, nipa palm [thatch] and wooden posts to yyyy Army Camp, but they haven't arrived yet as of today. Therefore, as soon as this letter is received send them quickly, you are informed.

If [you] fail, action will be taken.

[Sd.] 15/10/2001
yyyy Camp, Duty Officer
Frontline LIB #xxx

[The village head says he complied with this order and sent on October 20th the 200 pieces of bamboo, 500 shingles of thatch and 100 pieces of wood which had been demanded, because if he doesn't send things the commanders send more letters and he is afraid.]

Order #452 (Papun)

To: Village Head
xxxx village

15/10/2001

Subject: Sending bamboo and nipa palm [thatch]

Duty was already assigned [to your village] to send bamboo and nipa palm [thatch] to our Army Camp but they have not been sent yet as of today, so when this letter is received send them without fail, you are informed again.

If [you] fail, [you] will have to send more than the quantities [originally] specified.

If [you] fail completely, action will be taken.

[Sd.] 15/10/2001
Camp Duty Officer
yyyy [Army Camp]

[The village head complied with this order and sent 100 bamboo and 500 shingles of thatch on 19/10/01.]

Order #453 (Papun)

Mother [Village] Head,

[We are] Repairing the Camp, so help [us] with 200 pieces of bamboo from Mother Head's village. They are needed for repairing the Camp, so send [them] to arrive on Oct. 21st.

[The villagers say that six of them went to cut the bamboo on October 20th 2001, then delivered it to xxxx Army Camp. They were not paid anything for their labour. Normally, the villagers could sell 100 pieces of this type of bamboo for 3,000 Kyat.]

Appendix A

The Village Act and the Towns Act

These two colonial-era Acts provide a legal basis for forced labour to be demanded in certain circumstances. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has pressed the SPDC and its predecessors since the early 1960s to repeal or rewrite these Acts with no success - instead, the Ne Win regime only made the wording even stronger. In reality, these Acts are never cited by SPDC authorities or military units when demanding forced labour, and most officials and officers are probably not aware of their contents. As can be seen from the text below, most of the forced labour used in Burma today is not allowed by the Acts; it is demanded for purposes outside those specified, payment is not given, "reasonable excuses" are not accepted, and the labour is not restricted to the specified limits of time and distance. We have included extracts from them here because they are directly referred to by the subsequent SPDC orders 'banning' forced labour (these are presented in Appendix B).

The Towns Act was originally enacted in 1907, and the Village Act in 1908. The full text of these two Acts is almost 20 pages long, so we have only included the excerpts below which are directly relevant to forced labour. These excerpts are reproduced from Appendix 13 of the ILO High Level Team report of November 2001 (ILO Document Number GB.282/4) and Chapter 11 of the ILO Commission of Inquiry report (1997), both of which quoted from the English version of the Acts sent to the ILO by the SLORC regime in 1993; to our knowledge, there has been no revision of the Acts since then. However, prior to 1993 there had been several changes, some of which made the Acts even stronger; we have included notes on these changes below, comparing the 1993 version to the 1944 version as published by the British colonial regime in The Burma Code, Volume 3 (1944). The full text of both ILO reports mentioned above is available online at www.ilo.org.

Extracts from the Village Act, 1908 (1993 English Version)

Section 8(1)

Every headman shall be bound to perform the following public duties, namely:

...

- (g) to collect and furnish, upon receipt of payment for the same at such rates as the Deputy Commissioner may fix, guides, messengers, porters, supplies of food, carriage and means of transport for any troops or police posted in or near or marching through the village-tract or for any servant of the Government travelling on duty: provided that no headman shall requisition for personal service any resident of such village-tract who is not of the labouring class and accustomed to do such work as may be required;

...

- (n) generally to assist all officers of the Government in the execution of their public duties; and
- (o) generally to adopt such measures and do such acts as the exigency of the village may require.

Section 11

Every person residing in the village-tract shall be bound to perform the following public duties, namely:

...

- (d) on the requisition of the headman or of a rural policeman, to assist him in the execution of his duties prescribed in sections 7 and 8 of the Act and the rules made under the Act.

Explanation – A requisition under clause (d) may be either general or addressed to an individual.

Section 12

If any person residing in a village-tract refuses or neglects to perform any of the public duties imposed upon him by this Act or by any rule thereunder, he shall, in the absence of reasonable excuse, the burden of proving which shall lie upon him, be liable

- (i) by order of the headman, to fine ..., or
- (ii) by order of the village committee, on the case being referred to it by the headman, to fine ... , or to confinement for a term not exceeding 48 hours in such place as the Deputy Commissioner may appoint in this behalf, or to both, or
- (iii) on conviction by a Magistrate, to fine ... , or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month, or to both.

Extracts from the Towns Act, 1907 (1993 English version)

Section 7(1)

The headman of a ward shall be bound to perform the following public duties, namely:

... [note: paragraph (l), the key paragraph, is omitted in the ILO reports. The 'Provided that' clause below applies to paragraph (l); see notes below]

Provided that no headman shall requisition for personal service any resident of such ward who is not of the labouring class and accustomed to do such work as may be required; and

- (m) generally to assist all officers of the Government and municipal officers in the execution of their public duties.

Section 9

Persons residing in a ward shall be bound to perform the following public duties, namely:

- ...
- (b) on a general or individual requisition of the headman to assist him in the execution of his public duties.

Section 9A

If any person residing in a ward refuses/neglects to perform any of the public duties imposed upon him by this Act or any rule thereunder, he shall, in the absence of reasonable excuse, the burden of proving which shall lie upon him, be liable, on conviction by a Magistrate, to a fine ...

Notes on the above texts and changes to the Acts

Between 1944 and 1993 several changes were made to the wording of the Acts, which can be seen by comparing the above texts as provided by the SLORC in 1993 with the text of the Acts as published in The Burma Code, Volume 3 (1944). Some of these changes are minor or semantic; for example, "Crown" has been replaced by "Government", and "at such rates as the Deputy Commissioner, with the sanction of the Commissioner, may from time to time fix" has been changed to "at such rates as the Deputy Commissioner may fix". However, some of the changes are directly relevant to the use of forced labour. Compare the text above of the Village Act, Section 8(1) paragraph (g), to the 1944 version which follows:

Every headman shall be bound to perform the following public duties, namely:

...

- (g) to collect and furnish, upon receipt of payment for the same in advance, at such rates as the Deputy Commissioner, with the sanction of the Commissioner, may from time to time fix, guides, supplies of food, carriage and means of transport for any troops or police posted in or near or marching through the village-tract or for any servant of the Crown travelling on duty and, on the written order of the Deputy Commissioner, for any traveller.

Provided that, except in the case of troops or police, the provisions of this clause shall apply only to the headmen of village-tracts which are notified by the Deputy Commissioner, with the sanction of the Commissioner, as being village-tracts where the conditions are such that the furnishing of services or supplies as specified above at reasonable rates is not ensured.

Provided also that no headman shall be bound to collect supplies beyond the limits of the village-tract of which he is headman, or to furnish carriage or means of transport for more than twelve hours' journey from such village-tract, unless the Deputy Commissioner certifies in writing that it is necessary in the public interests that carriage or means of transport should be supplied for a longer period, in which case the Deputy Commissioner shall fix higher rates of payment than the rates of payment for journeys of twelve hours or less.

Provided also that no headman shall requisition for personal service any resident of such village-tract who is not of the labouring class and accustomed to do such work as may be required;

Several changes are important. Between 1944 and 1993, "*guides, supplies of food, carriage and means of transport*" has been changed to "*guides, messengers, porters, supplies of food, carriage and means of transport*"; the addition of messengers and porters broadens the Act to allow more forms of forced labour. The 1944 Act specified payment "*in advance*", while the 1993 Act simply specifies "*payment*". The first proviso, which specifies that other than for troops or police, such labour cannot be conscripted if it would be possible to hire it on reasonable terms, has been removed from the 1993 version, as has the second proviso, which limits the journey to 12 hours without specific written permission and reiterates that the labour must be paid at rates dependent on the length of the journey. Both of these provisos were removed by Act 29 passed in 1947, but some of the other changes were made later.

The Towns Act is very similar in content and wording to the Village Act. The equivalent to Section 8(1) paragraph (g) of the Village Act is Section 7(1) paragraph (l) of the Towns Act, which stated as follows in 1944:

The headman of a ward shall be bound to perform the following public duties, namely:

...

- (l) to collect and furnish, upon receipt of payment for the same in advance at such rates as the Deputy Commissioner, with the sanction of the Commissioner, may from time to time fix, guides, supplies of food, carriage and means of transport for any troops or police posted in or near or marching through or near the town.

Provided that no headman shall be bound to collect supplies beyond the limits of the ward of which he is headman, or to furnish carriage or means of transport for more than twelve hours' journey from such town unless the Deputy Commissioner certifies in writing that it is necessary in the public interests that carriage or means of transport should be supplied for a longer period, in which case the Deputy Commissioner shall fix higher rates of payment than the rates of payment for journeys of twelve hours or less.

Provided also that no headman shall requisition for personal service any resident of such ward who is not of the labouring class and accustomed to do such work as may be required; and

As noted in the earlier excerpts of the 1993 version, the ILO has failed to include this key paragraph in its reports, showing only the proviso that follows it. It was probably omitted because its wording is almost identical to the equivalent paragraph of the Village Act, which implies that the same changes have been made in the Towns Act as noted above for the Village Act. These would include the addition of messengers and porters to the types of labour which

can be conscripted, the removal of the condition that payment be made *“in advance”*, and the removal of the first proviso in the 1944 text which places limits on the time and distance for forced labour.

The ILO reports also fail to quote Section 10 of the 1993 version of the Village Act, which allows village headmen to be punished for failing to provide forced labour, as stated below in the 1944 version:

Section 10

If a headman or a rural policeman neglects to perform any of the public duties imposed on him by this Act or any rule thereunder, or abuses any of the powers conferred upon him by this Act or any such rule, he shall be liable, by order of the Deputy Commissioner, to pay a fine not exceeding fifty rupees.

The ILO has also neglected to include the equivalent section of the Towns Act, Section 9, which is worded almost identically. It is probable that no significant changes were made to these sections between 1944 and 1993. Section 11 of the Village Act and Section 9 of the Towns Act, which explain that demands for forced labour can be placed either on an individual or can be *“general”*, meaning they can be imposed on an entire village, ward, village tract or other collective, were not changed between 1944 and 1993. Nor were Section 12 of the Village Act and Section 9A of the Towns Act, which allow people who fail to do forced labour to be punished with fines or imprisonment. However, there is a key clause in Section 12 of the Village Act and Section 9A of the Towns Act which states, in both the 1944 and 1993 versions, that a villager or townsman can be punished for not doing forced labour *“in the absence of reasonable excuse”*, meaning that if a person has an illness in the family, important work to do in the fields, or other essential obligations they do not have to perform forced labour. While this clause is present in all of the English versions of the Acts, it is glaringly absent in the current Burmese language versions of both Acts. The SPDC allows no exemptions.

It is very revealing that the revisions to the Acts between 1944 and 1993 have only made them stronger, despite the ILO's repeated calls that all powers to conscript forced labour be removed. The SLORC and SPDC regimes have always protested that it will take a great deal of time, study and governmental process before the Acts can be changed, but this is clearly not true as the Acts have been changed on several occasions already. While neglecting to change wording which is no longer applicable (such as the references to a 'Deputy Commissioner', a position which no longer exists), the Burmese regimes have made changes as noted above which alter the scope and meaning of the Acts.

Appendix B

SPDC Orders ‘Banning’ Forced Labour

The texts of the SPDC orders included below have been extracted from Appendix 13 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) High Level Team report of November 2001 (ILO Document Number GB.282/4). The full text of the ILO High Level Team’s report and appendices are available online at www.ilo.org.

The texts below are the English texts supplied by the SPDC to the ILO of Order 1/99 (May 14, 1999), the Home Ministry order of October 27th 2000, and Lt. Gen. Khin Nyunt’s order of November 1st, 2000 (the ‘secret directive’ banning forced labour on development projects allegedly issued by the SLORC in 1995 is not included here, as it was never circulated or implemented and has been superseded by these more recent orders). As documented in previous KHRG reports and the reports of other organisations, Order 1/99 was never circulated at any level of the civilian or military authorities, and was most likely only written to be shown to the ILO and other international organisations. Similarly, when the Home Ministry order and Khin Nyunt’s order were first sent to the ILO texts were only provided in English, and no Burmese texts were forthcoming until later despite repeated requests by the ILO. Burmese texts of these latter two orders only appeared in Burma in 2001 when it was becoming clear that an ILO team would visit Burma to assess their implementation. After this time, all three of the orders below began to be circulated in Burma, though as the order documents in this report and other evidence shows, they have not been effectively implemented.

Order 1/99

Government of the Union of Myanmar,
The Ministry of Home Affairs.

Order No. 1/99

Yangon, the 15th Waning of Kason 1361, M.E.
(14th May 1999)

Order directing not to exercise powers under certain provisions of The Towns Act, 1907 and The Village Act, 1907 [sic: the Village Act is dated 1908]

1. The Government of The Union of Myanmar, the Ministry of Home Affairs hereby issues this Order under the directive of the Memorandum dated 14-5-99, Letter No. 04/Na Ya Ka (U)/Ma Nya of the State Peace and Development Council.
2. Under Section 7 of the Towns Act, 1907, powers have been conferred on the Chairmen of the Ward Peace and Development Councils to enable them to execute their public duties. Among such powers, the right to requisition for personal service of the residents of the ward is provided in Sub-section (1)(l) and (m) of Section 7. It is provided in Section 9 that residents of the ward shall fulfil the duty assigned under the said power and it is provided in section 9A that on failing to fulfil such duty, action may be taken against them.
3. Similarly, under Section 8 of the Village Act, 1907 also, powers have been conferred on the Chairmen of the Village Tract Peace and Development Councils to enable them to execute their public duties. Among such powers, the right to requisition for personal service of the residents of the village tract is provided in Sub-section (1)(g), (n) and (o) of section 8. It is provided in section 11(d) that the residents of the village tract shall fulfil the duty assigned under the said power and it is provided in section 12 that on failing to fulfil such duty, action may be taken against them.

4. In order to make the Towns Act, 1907 and the Village Act, 1907 conform to the changing situation such as security, administrative, economic and social conditions within the internal domain of the State, the Ministry of Home Affairs has been scrutinizing and reviewing as to how the said Acts should be amended, inserted and deleted, in coordination with the relevant ministries, Government departments and organizations.
5. As such, this Order is hereby issued directing the Chairmen of the Ward and Village Tract Peace and Development Councils and the responsible persons of the Department of General Administration and the Myanmar Police Force not to exercise powers under these provisions relating to requisition for personal service prescribed in the above-mentioned Towns Act, 1907 and the Village Act, 1907, until and unless any further directive is issued, except for the following circumstances:
 - (a) requisition for personal service in work or service exacted in cases of emergency on the occurrence of disasters such as fire, flood, storm, earthquake, epidemic diseases that would endanger the existence or the well-being of the population;
 - (b) requisition for personal service in work or service which is of important direct interest for the community and general public and is of present or imminent necessity, and for which it has been impossible to obtain voluntary labour by offer of usual rates of wages and which will not lay too heavy a burden upon the present population.
6. Any person who fails to abide by this Order shall have action taken against him under the existing law.

(Signed) Col. Tin Hlaing;
Minister,
Ministry of Home Affairs.

Circulation:

- (1) Office of the Chairman of the State Peace and Development Council;
- (2) Office of the State Peace and Development Council;
- (3) Office of the Government;
- (4) Supreme Court;
- (5) Office of the Attorney General;
- (6) Office of the Auditor General;
- (7) Public Services Selection and Training Board;
- (8) All Ministries;
- (9) Director General, Department of General Administration (Forwarded for information and for further circulation of the copy of this Order to the State, Divisional, District and Township Administrative Officers Subordinate to him);
- (10) Police Major General, Myanmar Police Force (Forwarded for information and for further circulation of the copy of this Order to the relevant departments and organizations subordinate to him);
- (11) Director General, Department of Special Investigation;
- (12) Director General, Prisons Department;
- (13) All State and Divisional Peace and Development Councils;
- (14) All District Peace and Development Councils;
- (15) All Township Peace and Development Councils (Forwarded for information and for further circulation of the copy of this Order to the Chairmen of the Ward and Village Tract Peace and Development Councils Subordinate to it);
- (16) Managing Director, Printing and Publishing Enterprise (with a request for publication in the Myanmar Gazette).

Order Supplementing Order 1/99, October 27th 2000

The Government of the Union of Myanmar,
The Ministry of Home Affairs,
Yangon, 1st Waxing of Tazaungmon 1362, M.E.
(27 October 2000)

Order supplementing Order No. 1/99

The Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of the Union of Myanmar, under the direction of the State Peace and Development Council, hereby directs that the following amendment shall be made to Order No. 1/99 dated 14 May 1999 as requisition of forced labour is illegal and is an offence under the existing laws of the Union of Myanmar.

1. Clause 5 of the said Order 1/99 shall be substituted with the following:
 - (a) Responsible persons including members of the local authorities, members of the armed forces, members of the police force, and other public service personnel shall not requisition work or service notwithstanding anything contained in sections 7(1) and 9(b) of the Towns Act, 1907, and sections 8(1) and 11(d) of the Village Act, 1907.
 - (b) The above clause (a) shall not apply to the requisition of work or service when an emergency arises due to fire, flood, storm, earthquake, epidemic disease, war, famine and epizootic disease that poses an imminent danger to the general public and the community.
2. When the responsible persons have to requisition work or service for purposes mentioned in clause 1(b) of this Supplementary Order the following shall be complied:
 - (a) The work or service shall not lay too heavy a burden upon the present population of the region.
 - (b) The work or service shall not entail the removal of workers from their place of habitual residence.
 - (c) The work or service shall be important and of direct interest for the community. It shall not be for the benefit of private individuals, companies or associations.
 - (d) It shall be in circumstances where it is impossible to obtain labour by the offer of usual rates of wages. In such circumstances, the people of the area who are participating shall be paid rates of wages not less favourable than those prevailing in the area.
 - (e) Schoolteachers and pupils shall be exempted from requisition of work or service.
 - (f) In the case of adult able-bodied men who are the main supporters of the necessities of food, clothing and shelter for the family and indispensable for social life, requisition shall not be made except only in unavoidable circumstances.
 - (g) The work or service shall be carried out during the normal working hours. The hours worked in excess of the normal working hours shall be remunerated at prevailing overtime rates.
 - (h) In case of accident, sickness or disability arising at the place of work, benefits shall be granted in accordance with the Workmen's Compensation Act.
 - (i) The work or service shall not be used for work underground in mines.
3. When the responsible persons have to requisition work or service for purposes mentioned in clause 1(b) of this Supplementary Order, they shall do so only with the permission of the Deputy Commissioner of the General Administration Department who is also a member of the relevant District Peace and Development Council.
4. The State or Divisional Commissioner of the General Administration Department who is also a member of the relevant State or Divisional Peace and Development Council shall supervise the responsible persons to abide by the Order No. 1/99 and this Supplementary Order.

5. The phrase “Any person who fails to abide by this Order shall have action taken against him under the existing law” contained in clause 6 of the said Order No. 1/99 means that any person including local authorities, members of the armed forces, members of the police force and other public service personnel shall have action taken against him under section 374 of the Penal Code or any other existing law.

(Signed) Col. Tin Hlaing,
Minister,
Ministry of Home Affairs

Letter No. Pa-Hta-Ya / 2-3 (3140) / Oo3

Dated: 27 October 2000

Circulation:

- (1) Office of the Chairman of the State Peace and Development Council;
- (2) Office of the State Peace and Development Council (forwarded for the issuance of further directives to State, Divisional, District and Township Peace and Development Councils for supervision not to requisition forced labour);
- (3) Office of the Government;
- (4) Supreme Court;
- (5) Office of the Attorney-General;
- (6) Office of the Auditor-General;
- (7) Public Service Selection and Training Board;
- (8) Ministry of Defence (forwarded for the issuance of further directives to all units under its command for supervision not to requisition forced labour);
- (9) Ministry of Progress of Border Areas and National Races and Development Affairs (forwarded for the issuance of further directives to relevant departments and regional work committees stationed at border areas subordinate to it for supervision not to requisition forced labour);
- (10) All other Ministries;
- (11) Director-General, General Administration Department;) (forwarded for the issuance of) further directives to departments) and organizations subordinate to) him for supervision not to) requisition forced labour)
- (12) Police Major General, Myanmar Police Force)
- (13) Director-General, Bureau of Special Investigation;)
- (14) Director-General, Prisons Department)
- (15) All State/Divisional Peace and Development Councils;) (forwarded for the issuance of) further directives to) organizations subordinate to) them for supervision not to) requisition forced labour)
- (16) All District Peace and Development Councils;)
- (17) All Township Peace and Development Councils (forwarded for the issuance of further directives to wards and village-tracts subordinate to them for supervision not to requisition forced labour);
- (18) Managing Director, Printing and Publishing Enterprise (for publication in the Myanmar Gazette).

**Additional Instruction to State and Divisional Peace and Development
Councils, November 1st 2000**

The Union of Myanmar,
The State Peace and Development Council.
Letter No. 04/Na Ya Ka (U)/Ma Nya
Dated: 1 November 2000

To: Chairpersons,
All State and Divisional Peace and Development Councils

Subject: Prohibiting requisition of forced labour

1. The Ministry of Home Affairs which administers the Towns Act, 1907, and the Village Act, 1907, issued, under the directive of the State Peace and Development Council, Order No. 1/99 on 14 May 1999. The Order directs responsible persons not to exercise powers under certain provisions of the said Acts relating to requisition of forced labour and stipulates actions that are to be taken against any violation. ...
2. After the issuance of Order No. 1/99, to be in conformity with the changing situations, the Ministry of Home Affairs under the direction of the State Peace and Development Council issued the Order Supplementing Order No. 1/99 on 27 October 2000. The Supplementing Order renders the requisition of forced labour illegal and stipulates that it is an offence under the existing laws of the Union of Myanmar. Responsible persons, including the local authorities, members of the armed forces, members of the police force and other public service personnel are also prohibited not to requisition forced labour and are instructed to supervise so that there shall be no forced labour. ...
3. Therefore, it is hereby directed that the state and divisional peace and development councils shall issue necessary instructions to the relevant district and township peace and development councils to strictly abide by the prohibitions contained in Order No. 1/99 and the Supplementing Order of the Ministry of Home Affairs and also to effectively supervise to ensure that there shall be no forced labour within their respective jurisdictions.
4. Responsible persons, including members of the local authorities, members of the armed forces, members of the police force and other public service personnel who fail to abide by the said Order No. 1/99 and the Supplementing Order shall be prosecuted under section 374 of the Penal Code or any other existing laws.

By order,

(Signed) Khin Nyunt,
Lieutenant-General,
Secretary (1),
The State Peace and Development Council.

Copies to:

- (1) Office of the Chairman of the State Peace and Development Council;
- (2) Office of the Government;
- (3) Supreme Court;
- (4) Office of the Attorney-General;
- (5) Office of the Auditor-General;
- (6) Public Services Selection and Training Board; and
- (7) All Ministries.